The Standard

Vol. III, No. 24 (Whole No. 76), June 16, 1888

Draft transcription · as of 2026-11-10 · henrygeorgethestandard.org/1888-06-16

Transcribed edition · henrygeorgethestandard.org/1888-06-16

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About this text (6 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”).
- p2: Irish Church compensation table figures as read add to about £11,543,000 against a printed total of £11,343,70[?]; dark crease at the right of c6 hides line ends there. “numbering [17,300,000?]” (sum implies 17,800,000). Stray “(6)” before “Notary Public” in the Clarke affidavit. A strip from another page shows below the foot (excluded).
- Harlem Single Tax Club: 247 West 125th street (p5) vs 347 (p8).
- p6 Memphis letter: “Monday, May 27” (May 27, 1888 was a Sunday).
- p7 “To Workingmen” signed HENRY GEORGE (Belford’s Magazine for June); sub-head “PRODUCTION REDUCES WAGES.” probably PROTECTION.

- p8 “Railroads” extract ends on a comma at the foot of c3, no continuation. Headline “A FRESH AIR DREAM.” (possibly OREAM) — check.

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THE STANDARD

NO. 76—VOL. [illegible; obscured by stamp], NO. 24. | NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1888. | PRICE FIVE CENTS

[Ownership stamp printed diagonally over the masthead, left side: "104 Dr Walter / Mendelson 167 / 179 W 74th st" — not part of the printed paper]

p. 1, col. 1

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

Terms of subscription will be found on the fourth page.

CONTENTS.

Chancellor Bird's Decision. Over Population. Home Life Disappearing. "Dehoofing" in France. Queries and Answers. The Boulanger Boom and Its Causes. Pen, Paste and Scissors. The Law of Labor Strikes. The Tariff Debate. Limitation of Fortunes. St. Louis Sidewalks. Plain Free Trade Talk. Society Notes. Men and Things. Electricity in Production and Exchange. The Beating of the Drums. Louisiana Farmers. Turned Off (poem). A Mormon's Story. A Scrap of Railway Talk. Song of the High Protectionist (poem). To Workingmen. Current Thought. A Fresh Air Dream. Free Trade and the Single Tax. Straws Which Show the Wind.

Governor Hill, as was expected from the first, has vetoed the ballot reform bill. He has filed with it a memorandum giving his reasons, which are of the most trivial character. His real reason evidently is that the bill would accomplish just what its friends expect from it—it would kill the political machines.

What the men who are bent upon carrying this great reform have now to do is to show that they propose to vote for it—that they propose, irrespective of party lines, to vote against those who oppose it, and in favor of those who support it. We cannot expect to obtain such a measure from politicians unless we prove to them that we are in earnest. The Central labor union, and its sections acting independently, have clearly shown what a hold the desire for this reform has taken upon the working masses of New York. They know from experience that under the present electoral system our politics must create bosses and develop machines, and that the first step to making our government really a government by the people is *to take the power of money out of elections*, put an end to bribery and intimidation. and give the voter the means of really expressing his will.

But the passage of this bill by the legislature is in itself a great triumph, and what is still more, a similar bill has, in Massachussetts[sic], become law by the signature of Governor Ames, who has the honor which Governor Hill has

Sic in the original; probably "Massachusetts".

refused. The workingmen of Boston propose to celebrate the auspicious event. The workingmen of New York can at least show how they regard the temporary defeat of the measure in this state.

The following resolutions adopted by land and labor club No. 1 of Chicago, at its last meeting on June 7, are likely to commend themselves to the sober second thought of all who had intended taking part in the proposed single tax conference in that city on the Fourth of July:

> In view of the fact that the date of the single tax national conference, July 4, 1888, will be a time of great political excitement, being in the midst of the most important presidential campaign that has occurred in twenty years, when the calm judgment of the conference may possibly be interfered with by the dictates of prejudice:
>
> And in view of the fact that the probable success of the plan upon which our friends in Texas are now working, will, at a later date, be more apparent, and that, therefore, the conference, if postponed to a proper time, will have much greater light on an important line of action, than will be possible at the date named in the call;
>
> And in view of the fact that certain gentlemen, claiming to represent the political power of the single tax movement, have, against the advice of the leaders of our reform, and against the wishes of a majority of the rank and file, held a convention and placed a candidate before the people, thereby forestalling the action of the conference, and removing from the arena of discussion the only factor whose immediate settlement is of importance:
>
> Therefore, be it resolved, That land and labor club No. 1 of Illinois hereby requests Warren W. Bailey to postpone the date of the conference to some time subsequent to the November election.

There can be no question that the Chicago men take a wise and conservative view of the matter. Their action meets the approbation of our friends in this vicinity from whom I have heard, and will, I think, commend itself to our friends in all parts of the country.

When, in February, Mr. Samuel W. Williams of Vincennes proposed, through THE STANDARD, that Mr. Warren Worth Bailey should be authorized by the individual requests of a hundred or more single tax men to call a conference on the Fourth of July, there was much uncertainty as to the development of the political situation and much perplexity and uncertainty among our friends; and there was a general feeling that we ought

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to meet together and take counsel as to what we should do. But time has made clear much that was then uncertain. The issue on which the two great parties are to join battle is now settled, and there has been among single tax men a crystallization of opinion as to what course they should pursue. The small minority who are determined on going through the forms of independent political action have met at Cinciunati[sic] and named candidates. The great majority have come to the conclusion that their part in this campaign is to support the democratic national ticket as representing the free trade side of the struggle. And some—for there are some who, though single tax men in the field of state action, are yet protectionists in the field of national action—have made up their minds to support the republican candidates.

Under these conditions there is now nothing of immediate importance or utility that such a conference could determine. It would be manifestly unwise, so long as there is the slightest difference of opinion among us, for such a gathering to formally indorse either of the old parties or to commend or condemn independent political action.

Sic in the original; probably “Cincinnati”.

The only purpose the conference could serve would be to make acquainted with each other those of our friends who might meet at Chicago and to enable them to consult as to propaganda work in the future. But, as the Chicago club intimates, there could be no worse time for such meeting and consultation than the present. Not merely shall we be able after November to see with much greater clearness what measures it would be best to take for the future, but it is hopeless to bring together in the beginning of a most exciting political campaign men whose minds are full of politics, and expect them to confine themselves, in discussion at least, to matters which have no reference to politics.

If there prevailed anywhere an impression that the gathering at Cincinnati represented the single tax sentiment and that the vote for its nominees would show our strength, then there would be some useful purpose for the conference to serve in counteracting that impression. But it is so clear that the Cincinnati action represented only a small minority—it having been repudiated even by the Chicago club, of which the Cincinnati nominee is president—that no further repudiation is needed. There is no fear of any one mistaking the failure of Mr. Cowdrey to poll a respectable vote for the weakness of the cause which his supporters assume him to represent. But such a gathering as was proposed to be held at Chicago could hardly take place without the matter being at least discussed. And "the least said, the soonest mended." It is not easy for men who have strong feelings with regard to the impending campaign to now view as dispassionately the attitude of those who differ with them, and to talk as coolly about it, as they will be able to do after November. And as whatever may be our present diversities, we should all hope to be together then, it is certainly the part of prudence to do as our Chicago friends suggest and postpone our meeting until that time. We can then certainly have a larger and more useful meeting, and may perhaps be able to make it an international conference, at least to the extent of securing the presence of some of our friends from other countries.

The Chicago land and labor club No. 1 that has adopted these resolutions is the club of which Mr. Cowdrey is president, but which has by a large majority adopted resolutions disclaiming any responsibility for putting him in the field and repudiating the Cincinnati action. In this they undoubtedly represent the general feeling of our friends in Chicago and throughout the country, and as representing the majority their opinion that the conference ought to be postponed is of more weight. It is also of more weight as coming from men resident in the place where the conference is to meet, and who could therefore attend it without the expense of time and money which would be required of those who came from a distance. Mr. Bailey, however, in calling the conference, has acted upon the written request of a considerable number of single tax men in all parts of the country. To relieve him of embarrassment it will be well for those who in the beginning authorized him to call this conference to now write withdrawing the authority. Mr. Bailey, who went into this matter at the request of others and with a view of providing a mode for harmonizing differences, has had much labor and anxiety, for which he deserves the thanks of all.

R. Frank Sylvester of Peekskill, N. Y., puts to me four questions, which I give and answer in their order:

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(1) Do you advise the single tax men to support the candidates of the democratic party for congress, state offices and members of the legislature? and if not, what would you advise them to do?

I do not.

I advise them in voting for a member of congress to vote for the candidate that will go furthest for free trade, and when both candidates are protectionists, as is likely to be the case in many districts, I advise them to vote in preference for the republican, because to beat democratic protectionists will help make the democratic party a free trade party.

As to state officers and members of the legislature, I advise them to vote for those who have voted for the Australian ballot bill, or will pledge themselves to do so; and to give their support to those who come furthest our way, especially in the exemption of personal property from taxation.

Where there is a doubt, I would advise them to give the benefit of it to the republican party, for the reason that the Australian ballot bill was passed through both houses mainly by the votes of the republican members, was opposed by the majority of the democrats, and has been refused his signature by a democratic governor. I would advise our friends everywhere, between now and election, organizing for that purpose where they can, to address letters to all candidates asking their position on such measures as the ballot bill, the exemption of personal property from taxation, the separation in assessment of land and improvements, and such other measures as may lead in our direction. I would advise them, too, where they can, to push single tax men quietly to the front.

1. Have you not said, in effect, that free trade without the "single tax" would not be a complete remedy for poverty?

I have said that free trade, as it is commonly understood, would not be a remedy for poverty; I have said this over and over again, and repeat it now. The free trade that will alone do that, is that full free trade which can only be secured by the single tax. But I regard what is commonly called free trade, or even any reduction in our protective tariff, as a step toward the single tax, and I look upon the delusion that labor can be benefited by protection as the greatest of the obstacles that prevent workingmen from [seeing?] what alone can largely and permanently benefit labor.

1. If Grover Cleveland is re-elected president, how much nearer will we be to the attainment of the object for which we organized the united labor party at Syracuse, viz.: the single tax?

The great object for which I declared my intention to support Grover Cleveland has already been secured by bringing the economic question into political discussion. What it is now certain will be discussed this year in every newspaper, on every stump, and wherever throughout the country men talk politics, is the question of taxation as related to wages. Even if Mr. Cleveland is defeated and the protectionists win, we will be nearer the object for which we organized the united labor party in Syracuse than of our own efforts[sic] we could have been in many years. A great popular education will have taken place. The masses of men will be in much better condition to listen to us and to understand us, and a political struggle will have commenced that will continue to dominate our national politics and arouse the thought of the people. If Mr. Cleveland is re-elected, as, with courage, I believe he will be, all this will have been done, and more. Protection will have received its death blow. Timid tariff tinkerers will become free traders, and an impulse will have been given to the struggle against all forms of monopoly. Whoever has read the speeches of the democratic members made in the tariff debate will see that the leading men among them without exception took radical ground against the protective principle. It only needs the prestige of success, the consciousness that free trade is the winning side, to bring the most active and influential of rising democrats to advocating the abolition of all tariffs and the resorting to direct taxation for the federal revenue. When we get to this point our work will be well nigh done.

1. Is there any hope that in the event of democratic success at the polls next fall, the members of that party, or any considerable number of them, will favor the measures we advocate, viz.: the single tax, governmental control of railroad and telegraph lines, and the Australian system of voting?

There is. And we ought to address ourselves to the work of making it sure.

Sic in the original; probably "than by our own efforts (possibly as intended)".

The free trade fight is the single tax fight in the national field. If we single tax men had entered the national field as an independent party, the only practical thing we could have done would have been what the democratic party is now committed to do—attack protection. For we must get rid of protection before we can get at the

p. 1, col. 4

revenue tariff; and we must get rid of the revenue tariff before we can get to direct national taxation; and we must get to direct national taxation before we can get to the point of imposing that taxation on land values. And we must make a break in the line of linked monopolies before we get at the railway monopoly and the telegraph monopoly and our wasteful and absurd monetary and financial system. The issue in this national campaign between free trade and protection is the issue between the interests of the masses and the interests of those who grow rich by taxing them. If monopoly is beaten at this one vital point, the result will show such strength of anti-monopoly feeling that the fight against monopoly will begin all along the line.

Even so far as the tariff discussion has already gone, it has shown a strong tendency to bring out the real democratic feeling in the democratic ranks. The effect of the campaign in this direction must be still greater—it must be to bring to the front democrats who understand the democratic philosophy and to imbue that party with more of the ideas of Thomas Jefferson than it has known for years. I also expect much from the republicans. Their speakers and papers will do great good by putting protection doctrines in the most ultra form, and by compelling the democrats to make some effort to show what is the real reason why wages are higher in the United States than in Europe. Further than this the republicans, in defense of the tariff, will be obliged to attack the internal revenue system, which in itself is as repugnant to our principles as is the tariff system.

But the great mass of the people are only nominally either democrats or republicans. It is on this great mass that I expect the campaign to tell most strongly and most hopefully. For the first time in more than a generation they will hear a large economic question discussed, and be compelled to think upon it. This will dispose them to think, and will lead them to think, upon all economic questions. That is what we want. As I said in every speech I made in the last campaign, what we are most concerned about is, not how people vote, but how they think. The great obstacle we have had in our way has been the indisposition to think upon economic questions.

It must be remembered that while we have a dual government we are but one people; and that the men who vote in a presidential election are also the men who vote in state elections. A great presidential election—and this is certain to be the most intense and exciting that we have had for many years—is the most powerful means of popular education, because the discussion goes on over the whole Union at the same time and arouses more interest than all the state elections put together. But the work of education that is thus done will tell afterward in the state elections. After this campaign, and especially if protection is defeated, we will find the people of all the states more alive to measures of real reform than they ever have been before.

Another question may arise out of what I have said. Why, it may be asked, if I think the internal revenue system as much opposed to the principle of the single tax as the tariff system, do I side with democrats against the tariff rather than with republicans against the internal revenue?

Because the tariff is far more important. Because it is supported by a theory which justifies taxation for the sake of taxation, which inevitably corrupts government, and blinds the people to the real causes and true remedies of the evils they feel—a theory that must be overthrown before we can hope for real reform. The internal revenue system, on the other hand, has no excuse but that of raising revenue, and the monopolies which it fosters stand comparatively alone. The internal revenue system is, so to speak, an isolated fortress. The protective tariff is the key of the enemy's position.

Here is a model campaign platform. It is the platform of the Cleveland free trade club, reported by L. A. Russell and unanimously adopted. If the democracy in New York and throughout the country will make their fight on these lines they will surely win:

> We hold that universal freedom of trade is a natural right.
>
> A protective tax falls unequally. It has a purpose apart from needful revenue and it is unwise, unjust and not warranted by the constitution.
>
> A tariff, delusively called protective, raises the profits of the home producer and such increased profits come solely from the home consumer, who is thereby shut out from the benefit of free competition.
>
> An import duty on goods operates as an export tax on the goods and agricultural products given in exchange.
>
> We deprecate a system which compels us

p. 1, col. 5

> to surrender the trade in manufactured goods with the 1,500,000,000 of the people on the earth to the nations of Europe in order to enable a few protected monopolies to extort double prices for their products from 60,000,000 of American taxpayers. > > A protective tariff in our country has been productive of a long list of evils. It has tended to centralize and unify, not to diversify national industries. It has raised prices and thereby limited the ability of the common people to get and enjoy the necessaries of life. It has affected unequal and unjust distribution[sic] of the fruits of labor. It has made the few very rich at the expense of the many. It has crushed small fortunes and industries, multiplied millionaires and created tramps and trusts. It has bred strikes and discontent among the people and encouraged speculation and waste. It has corrupted legislatures and fed a corrupt lobby to the general demoralization and discouragement of the people. It has lowered wages and diminished their purchasing power. It has made business unstable and employment irregular, subjected both to dread of congressional action, and taught the people to distrust and fear their representatives. It has inflicted its grossest wrong upon agricultural industry, an industry in which almost one-half of the people are employed. It has destroyed the finest merchant marine the world has seen, and made our flag a stranger to the open seas. > > We approve the American system of interstate free trade and insist upon its application by the United States in their relations to the world. > > With a firm and patriotic faith in the justice and wisdom of free trade, we associate together and invite to co-operate with us all who want no special privileges themselves or are unwilling to labor that a favored few may be protected.

President Cleveland can be re-elected, and re-elected triumphantly, if he will face the situation boldly and continue to show the same courage of his convictions that was exhibited in his message and has been shown in his attitude up to this time. But this is indispensable. It will be fatal to him to let his friends, or pretended friends, put the party which he leads in any equivocal attitude. And of this there is some appearance of danger—at least, here in New York, which in this election, as in the last, is likely to be the pivotal state.

The democratic machine in New York—owing necessarily to the elective system, a bill for the amendment of which Governor Hill has just vetoed—is rotten to the core. It has no devotion to principle and no enthusiasm for principle. Nor has it any friendship for Mr. Cleveland, although seeing that he was demanded by the great mass of the party in terms that would admit of no denial, it formally supported his nomination. It contains among its "bosses" many men whose greatest desire it is to "knife him." This they can do most effectually, under a pretense of conservatism, by decrying and disclaiming the position which the president and his party have taken before the

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Sic in the original; probably "effected".

country, and by which they must now stand or fall. It was one of the bosses of the county democracy, himself a protected manufacturer, mistakenly placed on the committee on resolutions at St. Louis, who gave Henry Watterson a good deal of the trouble he had in securing a platform up to the standard of the nominee's attitude. And the ratification meeting held by Tammany hall on Tuesday night, at which Governor Hill declared he would not have been present had the platform favored free trade, was another of many indications that the local leaders of the democratic machine intend to enter the presidential canvass making apologies for, and explanations of, their party's policy instead of boldly supporting it as sound and just.

That this policy meets the enthusiastic support of the *Sun*, whose dearest wish is to defeat Mr. Cleveland, is sufficient evidence of what it means, and what it is intended to accomplish. It is vitally important that President Cleveland, the members of his cabinet who are really in accord with him, and his sincere well wishers here, should understand clearly that any such policy of cowardly evasion and treachery will cause the democratic party to lose the electoral vote of the state of New York.

If the party in New York begins to run at the very opening of the campaign, the retreat will turn into a stampede under the onslaught which the republicans are certain to make, in all probability under the lead of their strongest man—Mr. Blaine. A campaign of explanation and apology is sure to end as the Hancock campaign ended. Mr. Cleveland has burned his ships; he stands before the country as the champion of free trade against protection, and he must make, as he has ample power to do, the weak and treacherous politicians of New York and other doubtful states accept that position or go into opposition. Else, in spite of the splendid courage he has heretofore shown, they will involve him in the fate that in affairs of great moment befalls the timid.

It is utterly hopeless to attempt to gain votes by evasion. In the president's own phrase, he is facing "a situation, not a theory." We now have a tariff with protection as its object and revenue as its

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incident. If the protective theory is right, congress ought to solve the surplus diffidifficulty either by making duties still higher, and therefore less productive, or else by abolishing the internal revenue taxes on whisky and tobacco. Instead of advising either of these courses, the president in his message recommended that the duties on imports should be reduced, and he supported this proposition with a free trade argument. The democrats in congress have, with substantial unanimity, given their support to a tariff bill that, in the main, follows the lines thus laid down, and their speeches have rung with denunciations of the whole protective theory; while the convention at St. Louis has declared the president's message to be the proper interpretation of the otherwise ambiguous tariff plank of 1884. This, then, is the situation that the democratic party must face.

The democratic leaders may rest assured of one thing, and that is that they cannot blind anybody else by shutting their own eyes to this situation. Above all they cannot fool workingmen. Republican papers and speakers can be depended on to prevent the success of any such attempt. If protection is a good thing for labor then the reduction of protective duties is a bad thing for labor. If protection keeps up wages, then the democratic party has attempted to deliver a blow at wage workers, and it must expect the wage workers to hit back. Let there be no mistake about the strength of the protective delusion among workingmen. Even among the members of the once united labor party of New York who freely confess that the levying of all taxes on land values, to which they are committed, must necessarily lead to absolute free trade, there are many who still fear to make the first plunge in tariff reduotion[sic], and who if not convinced that a tariff does not even temporarily assist in maintaining wages, will vote to perpetuate the war tariff. These men are perhaps not very wise, but they are not fools; and they certainly will not under existing circumstances turn to the democratic party to preserve that tariff. All concerned may as well accept it as certain that this year the believers in protection are going to vote for the party that proposes to

Sic in the original; probably "reduction".

give them protection, to give them plenty of it, and to give it continuously. If there are democrats who honestly imagine that they are going to catch any considerable "labor" vote by pretending that they are just as good protectionists as the republicans, and only want to cut down unnecessary protection, they will, by next November, find their mistake.

There is but one road to success for the democratic party in this canvass and that is the courageous and straightforward one. If Mr. Cleveland wishes to remain four more years in the White house let him again advise his friends to "tell the truth," and clearly repudiate those who would put him in an equivocal position. The democratic party is not the friend of the protective policy. It never has been, and it has by word and deed, and most convincingly by the enthusiasm with which its masses have rallied to the support of Mr. Cleveland, confessed this within the past year. It has declared itself as opposed to protection because protection taxes the whole people to give to a favored few the advantages of monopoly. In assuming this position the democratic party really entitles itself to the support of the workingmen, and it ought to tell them so and show them the fallacy of protectionist claims. The wage earners of the United States are more ready to be convinced of the utter humbug of protection than ever before. Had it not been for the cowardice of democratic leaders in the past the great body of workmen would long ere this have been supporting the democratic party *because* it is a party opposed to a high tariff. Even in the protected industries it is already apparent to workmen that a tariff which brings large profits to their bosses gives no assurance of high wages to the employes. The last remaining bugaboo before which they tremble is the fear that tariff reduction may bring to an end the particular industry in which they are employed, and thus cause them to be thrown out of work until they can find other employment. Our country's experience under the revenue tariff of 1846 demonstrated how groundless is this fear. And it will be easy for capable writers and speakers to show how the expansion of trade and industry that will be brought about by a reduction of duties will make the demand for labor keener and more continuous than it has been for many years.

American workingmen have been deluded into a belief in the protective theory as much by democratic cowardice as by the interested advocacy of the protected monopolists. It is now "good politics," even if nothing else, to put an end to this ruinous policy. Let the democratic party now set about showing workingmen that protection does not protect them, or cease to expect their votes. The way to win is to silence apologists, send skulkers and cowards to the rear, and face the music.

HENRY GEORGE.

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CHANCELLOR BIRD'S DECISION.

A New Jersey Lawyer on Some of the Books It Would Prohibit.

The following is from a private letter of an eminent New Jersey lawyer:

I have read the full text of Vice-Chancellor Bird's opinion in the Hutchins case, declaring invalid the bequest for the circulation of Henry George's books.

I do not believe that this doctrine is law in the state of New Jersey. I am satisfied it cannot be. It is completely at variance with that right of free speech, which it was the crowning glory of Erskine to have impressed upon the minds of his countrymen, and of Fox to have established as a part of the law by act of parliament. Aside from its conflict with the broad doctrine of law it is, I feel, certainly not sustained by the precedents; but on the contrary, in the face of the doctrine of the decided cases.

Such a doctrine would certainly make a charitable bequest to distribute gratuitously the works of Thomas Jefferson invalid. You doubtless remember Jefferson's letter to James Madison, in which he says: "I set out on this ground, which I suppose to be self evident, that the earth belongs in usufruct to the living; that the dead have neither powers nor rights over it. The portion occupied by any individual ceases to be his, when himself ceases to be, and reverts to society." He then proceeds to say: "That no man can, by natural right, oblige the land he occupies, or the person who succeds[sic] him in that occupation, to the payment of debts contracted by him. For if he could, he might during his own life eat up the usufruct of lands for several generations to come, and then the lands would belong to the dead and not to the living, which is the reverse of our principle." He then goes on to hold as to national debt, as follows: "The conclusion then is, that neither the representatives of a nation, nor the whole nation itself assembled, can validly engage debts beyond what they may pay within their own time, that is to say, within thirty-four years of the date of the engagement." Mr. Jefferson considered thirty-four years the period, practically, of a generation.

I suppose you also remember the view that Carlyle expresses in "Past and Present," written at the time of the corn law agitation (upon the subject of selling land). It is as follows:

> Men talk of "selling" land. Land, it is true, like epic poems and even higher things, in such a trading world, has to be presented in the market for what it will bring, and we say be "sold;" but the notion of "selling" for certain bits of metal, the Iliad of Homer, how much more the land of the world creator, is a ridiculous impossibility! We buy what is saleable of it; nothing more was ever buyable. Who can or could sell it to us? Properly speaking, the land belongs to these two—to the Almighty God, and to all his children of men that have ever worked well on it or that shall ever work well on it. No question of men can or could, with never

Sic in the original; probably "succeeds".

> such solemnity and effort, sell land on any other principle. It is not the property of any generation, we say, but that of all the past generations that are worked on it[sic], and of all the future ones that shall work on it.

And I suppose you also know of the view expressed by John Ruskin on the subject of private ownership in land. In his criticism of Professor Fawcett's discussion of the subject of rent, in his "Manual of Political Economy," he says, as follows:

> These principles the professor goes on contentedly to investigate, never appearing to contemplate for an instant the possibility of the first principle in the whole business—the maintenance by force of the possession of land obtained by force being ever called in question by any human mind. It is, nevertheless, the nearest task of our day to discover how far original theft may be justly encountered by reactionary theft, or whether reactionary theft is indeed theft at all, and further, what, excluding either original or corrective theft, are the just conditions of the possession of land.

I do not know of anything that more strongly and graphicly pictures the genesis of European war debts than the following paragraph from Ruskin:

> Capitalists, when they do not know what to do with their money, persuade the peasants, in various countries, that the said peasants want guns to shoot each other with. The peasants accordingly borrow guns, out of the manufacture of which the capitalists get a percentage, and men of science much amusement and credit. Then the peasants shoot a certain number of each other, until they get tired; and burn each other's homes down in various places. Then they put the guns back into towers, arsenals, etc., *in ornamental patterns* (and the victorious party put also the same ragged flags[sic] in churches). And then the capitalists tax both, annually, ever afterward, to pay interest on the loan of the guns and gunpowder. And that is what capitalists call "knowing what to do with their money;" and what commercial men in general call "practical" as opposed to "sentimental" political economy.

Now, it seems to me that one and all of these quotations are within the doctrine of the vice-chancellor's opinion—the Jefferson, the Carlyle and second Ruskin quotations—because they hold up to ridicule the one, the idea of absolute ownership of land, and the other, the obligation of a national debt, and the first Ruskin quotation, because it speaks of ownership of land as "theft." Of course, under the vice-chancellor's doctrine it would be impossible to make the subject of a charitable bequest the distribution of a work condemning capital punishment and advocating the abrogation of the laws now enforcing it. The list of the works that would thus be condemned would certainly be a significant argument to present to the court on review.

A Card and Affidavit from Mr. Michael Clarke.

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY: EDWARD M'GLYNN, D.D., President. JAMES REDPATH, Vice-President. SYLVESTER L. MALONE, Treasurer. MICHAEL CLARKE, Secretary.

ROOM 27, COOPER UNION, NEW YORK, June 12, 1888.

MR. HENRY GEORGE—*Sir:* In your note to the letter of Mr. Barnes's in THE STANDARD of Saturday last you mention me as authority for the assertion by you in THE STANDARD of June 2 that the nomination of a separate candidate at Cincinnati was against the views of Mr. Barnes. I called at your office yesterday afternoon and assured you that I never had made to anybody any such statement or any remark or suggestion that could be so

Sic in the original; probably "that have worked on it".
Sic in the original; probably "some ragged flags (Ruskin's text)".

construed. You replied that I had made the statement to you in the course of our conversation in the smoking car on our journey from Albany a couple of weeks ago.

Herewith I send you a copy of an affidavit I have just made before a notary public, which, as well as this note, I request you to publish in the next issue of THE STANDARD.

MICHAEL CLARKE.

ROOM 27, COOPER UNION. COPY.] NEW YORK, June 12, 1888.

I, Michael Clarke, hereby declare that I never made to Henry George or to any other person the statement that "the nomination of a separate candidate at Cincinnati was against the views of Gaybert Barnes," or any suggestion or remark that could be so construed or understood. MICHAEL CLARKE.

Sworn to before me, this 12th day of June, 1888.

DANIEL R. GARDNER, (6) Notary Public, N. Y. County.

I have only to say, that on the afternoon of May 25th, while I was returning from the

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hearing on the electoral reform bill at Albany, Michael Clarke, who with Dr. McGlynn, Mr. John McMackin and Mr. Peter Gatens had seats in another car, came into the smoking car where I was and took a seat beside me. That during the course of a desultory conversation, and without my having said anything to suggest it, Mr. Clarke turned to me, and with the air of a man who wishes voluntarily to correct a misapprehension, said in substance:

> You people are much mistaken if you think Barnes ran things at Cincinnati. He was opposed to a separate nomination, and it was Dr. McGlynn who carried it. Barnes wanted us to nominate Streeter even after the other convention had refused to combine with us and had gone home.

I did not consider this of enough importance to ask questions, and do not know whether it is true or false. But I do know that Mr. Michael Clarke's denial *is* false.

HENRY GEORGE.

Massachusetts Citizens Tired of Being Robbed.

At a recent meeting of the Lynn, Mass., land and labor club the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

> Whereas, The city of Lynn in all probability will soon increase its indebtedness by the erection of a new high school building, thereby increasing the rate of taxation, which is already too high, and adding to the burden of the wealth producers of the community; and

> Whereas, Our present system of taxation, being one that rests principally upon the products of labor, is necessarily restrictive in its character, having a tendency to retard the erection of buildings and the use or manufacture of machinery, and consequently an increased tax in Lynn means fewer houses and less machinery, which means less opportunity for labor and higher rents.

> Resolved, That in the judgment of this club, the city should at once take measures to secure from the Lynn and Boston street railway, the Lynn gas company, the Lynn electric lighting company, and any or all other

> corporations holding special privileges from the city, the yearly payment to the city of the full rental value of the privileges; and be it further
>
> Resolved, That the assessors of this city, instead of helping land speculators by low valuations on their lands, should take especial pains to put vacant lots throughout the city on exactly the same footing, as to valuation, with the improved lots, the city thus deriving a proper and legitimate revenue now absolutely given away.

The Tariff Question in Minnesota.

GEORGETOWN, Clay County, Minn.—The *tariff question not only* will be, but now is, the ruling topic in all circles here. Of course we are largely divided on the subject, but the sentiment is rapidly growing in favor of abolishing a system of taxation that taxes a man not in proportion to his ability to pay, but in proportion to the number of backs he has to clothe and the mouths he has to fill.

You may imagine the spread of more liberal ideas throughout our state when I mention that we have fallen off from a 40,000 republican majority to the status of a doubtful state. It is a doubtful state only in the minds of politicians and wire pullers, for there is no reasonable doubt but that the scheme of taxing the many to benefit the few will be snowed under by the intelligent votes of Minnesota's clear headed, right thinking citizens. The issue is before us and we have sense enough to see that cat clearly enough.

M. C. BARRY.

Girls' Gymnastics at the People's Palace.

London Echo.

At the People's palace, Mile end, is one little *sanctum sanctorum*, into which the foot of man, save those of the duly qualified high priests, has never penetrated. It is the gymnasium on a Tuesday or a Friday night, when the scores of tired girl workers have come in, have doffed their ordinary garb, and are ready for an hour or two of the liveliest physical recreation. Sir Edward Hay Currie asked me to come and seem them at play[sic], and accordingly I went in on an ordinary night, when the show may be taken as typical of the course of physical training which has been adopted.

The girls' gymnastic club, at the People's palace, numbers some two hundred and fifty members. It is very rarely, however, that it musters in full force, and there were by no means all present the other night. The gymnasium is a long wooden building, fitted with all the necessary appliances, and is opened to the girls at 7:30. The age of the members runs from fifteen to twenty-six. Rapidly the hall fills with a merry, laughing crowd of girls—some are swinging, some vaulting, some exercising upon the parallel bars. But this is all informal. As the clock strikes eight Sergeant Burdett, the popular drill instructor of both boys and girls, with military punctuality, calls to them to "fall in ranks," and immediately four long lines of girlish figures are ranged down the room.

Miss Connor takes her place at the piano, and the sergeant rapidly inspects his troops, while I try to take in the pretty effect. They all wear proper gymnastic dress, mostly of dark blue serge, and consisting of a loose blouse and tunic, to the knees, knickerbockers, dark stockings and white canvas shoes, and of course no stays. But a little touch of feminine individuality appears in each dress. One perhaps wears a gay Roman sash, another has a pretty

Sic in the original; probably "see them at play".

belt, a third has a few flowers, while the four leaders all wear most beautiful epaulettes, designed and made by one of their number, a young woman engaged as a braid worker all day. The dress has the effect of making them look rather short, as a body, and I found that they bore out the usual belief as to the low average height of East London. But there were one or two remarkably pretty and well developed figures among them, and the erect bearing and graceful walk and movements of those who had been for some time under the training was a notable contrast to the round shoulders and shuffling gait of the most recent recruits.

Miss Connor is an exceptional pianist for work of this kind. She dashes into a spirited march, and the girls carrying the long bar bells file off into a quick "musical walk." Then they have a long course of exercises with the bars, and this first item of the programme concludes with a steady regular march through the intricacies of double circles. It is a point of great pride to the sergeant that they can do this complicated maneuver now without his giving them a single word of command. The dumb bells came next. These weigh a pound each, and the new girls say that they are the most trying of all. They went through the whole series of bell exercises with admirable precision, and gave a charming effect at the end by singing sweetly the chorus of "The Boys of the Old Brigade," marking the rhythm by movements. The last performance was the "running maze," which was executed with great spirit and precision, and then the now almost breathless girls laughingly sat down to rest before indulging in pleasant little feats of rivalry between themselves.

One of the "leaders," a slight, pretty girl of sixteen, can jump a height of four feet three inches. Every one to whom I spoke thoroughly enjoyed the exercises, and regarded them as a real luxury and pleasure after the close confinement of dress making or millinery over which the bulk of them are employed during the day. For these girls are not the roughest and dirtiest of the factory hands; they are of a grade above that, and are gentle and well spoken. There is, indeed, some refinement and womanliness about them all. The fact, too, that the "leaders" whose gymnastic merits have carried them up to the position are nice girls of pleasant address and right feeling is a salutary check upon anything coarse or vulgar.

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OVER POPULATION[sic]..

Explanation of the Anomaly–The Possibility of Plenty for All.

The following short, concise oration was delivered by Arthur P. Davis of Washington, D. C., at the Columbian university of that city, on Wednesday, June 13:

The principle of population, as expounded by Malthus, is that population tends to increase faster than subsistence. In other words, that in all conditions of society certain checks to population have always been, and must always be, in operation, having over population as their cause. This law may have had limited application to isolated parts of the earth's surface among a few savage tribes, but the general statement is controverted by the obvious fact that neither the whole earth, nor any considerable part of it, has ever been over populated. That all the checks to population enumerated by Malthus and his followers, under the heads of "Moral Restraint," "Vice and Misery," have been at various times, and are now in operation, and that they are sometimes due to actual scarcity of subsistence, is true. But it is equally true that over population has never been the cause.

. . . . . .

Sic in the original; probably "OVER POPULATION.".

Many writers assume to controvert the theory of over population by denying the existence of the checks; and by pointing to the fact that nearly all the natural opportunities for production are unused; that light and air are inexhaustible, and that therefore the lack of subsistence cannot be a check upon population.

These persons ignore the fact that starvation does figure largely in mortuary statistics, and that poverty does operate as a strong check to marriage. They seem to be oblivious to the reports of metropolitan boards of health that thousands of children die annually from want of light and air in over crowded tenement houses, from which their parents are unable to rescue them. Of what avail are millions of square miles of natural opportunities to those who are denied the use of them. As far as they are concerned, such natural blessings might as well be in the moon, or beyond the stars; for as long as they are unused, they afford no relief whatever to the hungry, the homeless and the unemployed.

By denying men the right to employ themselves on the material so abundantly furnished by nature, we force laborers to bid against each other for permission to work, and in that way to reduce wages, which, in turn, reduces consumption and production, and the strike, the boycott and the tramp are the inevitable results.

The market value of land is an approximate criterion of its relative value in production. Land of high value by reason of its fertility or situation is superior to cheap land in the same sense that the reaper is superior to the sickle in the production of wheat. The most casual thought will convince any one that the present land system encourages and causes men to hold valuable land out of use in the hope of a rise in price, and thus drives capital and labor to cheaper land. This, besides its injustice to the disinherited class, occasions great losses to society as a whole, just as it would to prohibit the use of steam and electricity, and compel the continuance of the freight wagon and pony express. It is as great a detriment to the prosperity of the people of Washington to compel a part of them to live at Tacoma park and waste their time and money riding back and forth past vacant land, as it would be to deny those in the city the uses of horses and street cars, and compel them to waste their time and money riding in sedan chairs.

By the same force that drives clerks and business men to the outlying country, poor people are crowded into stifling tenement houses, and agriculture is banished to the bleak plains of Dakota, and the burning deserts of Arizona. The attempt to bind them together again with railroad and telegraph increases land values, and tends to still further crowd some and unnaturally scatter others.

Private monopoly of land stands convicted of causing untold misery and injustice to a large class and of depriving society of the major portion of its best means of subsistence. But this is by no means all. It is a powerful check to the development of productive forces.

In Russia the cheapness of common labor prevents the introduction of agricultural and other labor saving machines, and the sickle and flail are still in general use. In America machinery is more extensively used than in any other country except Belgium. Yet more than half our production is carried on without the use of the latest and most effective machinery, because of the cheapness of labor, and the inability of those wanting the products to purchase them. Who can doubt that if the wages of stenographers were three or four times as great, the phonograph would have been long ago perfected and in general use. The same is true of type setting machines, electric motors, cotton pickers; and almost every occupation illustrates how low wages and the consequent inability of the masses of the people to purchase act as powerful checks to the use of known methods of production, and still more powerful checks to the invention of new ones.

This powerful and tireless monster is pressing the brakes to the wheels of progress with ever increasing force, and unless destroyed must ultimately stop them, and “failure” will be written on the tomb of our civilization as it was written on the Roman, the Persian and the Egyptian.

To remedy this cruel and destructive condition of things, we have only to abolish those taxes which burden production and distribution. To cease fining men for their industry. To cease punishing them for beautifying their homes. To withhold legal condemnation of improvement. To stop offering rewards for indolence and perjury, and to recognize the fact that he who makes two blades of grass grow where one grew before is not a public malefactor. In short, to abolish all taxes on useful industry, and concentrate them on land values, and thus make rent common property. Then will the children of God share equally in his munificent gifts. Then can man go freely to nature and employ himself, unfined for his industry. Then will prosperity reward the industrious and intelligent, instead of the lucky, the greedy and the cruel.

The abolition of those vices consequent on excessive wealth, idleness, poverty and wretchedness, will decimate the ranks of dishonesty and intemperance, and we will hail the destruction of that fatal pessimism that attributes all human woes to the laws of nature and pronounces them incurable.

Population will then be limited only by the capacities of man and nature, and not by the whims of the so-called owners of nature's bounties.

Then will moral and material progress be free to roll onward at an ever accelerating speed, and man will proceed to assume that exalted position for which he is destined—that of monarch of the universe.

An Englishman's Opinion.

JERMYN, Pa.—It may interest your readers to learn the opinion expressed by a friend of mine in England on the principles advocated

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in THE STANDARD. As for myself, I have long been a thorough convert. My friend writes:

"I consider the idea of a single tax on land for all purposes of government to be the only idea which should wholly absorb the attention of workingmen and toward[sic] the realization of which they should bend all their faculties and direct their every political exertion. It is a reform compared with which all other reforms are insignificant, because it to my mind embodies all other reforms that can materially or beneficially alter the laborer's state."

PETER KELLY.

England's Taxes and Where They Go.

The annual statement of expenditures of the English government for 1887 snows[sic] a total national expenditure of £78,000,000, of which £58,000,000 went to pay for war preparation and war debt, and £2,500,000 to defray the cost of collecting the revenue. That is, only twenty-three per cent went to ward real improvements. In this connection the report of the council of the English financial reform association says:

> Early in April a memorial signed by the president and council was forwarded to the chancellor of the exchequer (the Right Hon. G. J. Goschen), pointing out how expenditure had trebled within a period in which our population had only doubled, recalling to him his own public utterances on this question, and impressing upon his consideration the necessity of very early and drastic investigation of the national expenditure, and the reduction of the present burdens upon the tax payer. Mr. Goschen, however, in his

Sic in the original; probably "toward".
Sic in the original; probably "shows".

> budget proposals merely reduced taxation at the cost of the sinking fund, and not by a reduction of expenditure. Further, this reduction of taxation took the form of a reduction of the income tax, a tax which, with all its anomalies, does not press upon the poorer classes with anything like the severity the duties upon tea, coffee, etc., do. Nor does it interfere with trade to such an extent as do those duties, the silver duty, or the carriage tax.

This report also says that the financial reformers have much reason to be satisfied with the year's work, as many politicians have taken up and discussed the questions which the association has been agitating, and they are attracting the attention of the voters.

The Cause and Cure of "Sweating" in London.

London Star.

There are two nations in London—the nation of the west and the nation of the east—the men and the women who produce and the men and women who enjoy. We do not bind ourselves to all the statements made about sweating. Some of them seem to be inaccurate enough. But there can be no doubt about the main facts and the social and economic principles which underlie them. That there are people who make mantles for a few pence which sell for as many guineas is undoubted. That little boy and girl match makers, by dint of working from early morn to late night, can only earn 2½d. and 2¼d. a gross of boxes, and that the difference of one farthing is the difference between demi-semi-starvation and a bare subsistence, is also unquestioned. The larger social facts escape us—so terrible are they in their import Thousands on thousands of our population are daily growing up, badly fed, badly warmed, badly housed, untouched by what we are pleased to call the moral movement of the age We don't[sic] know what our tory friends have to say to this. All we can say is that while we prate about ironclads and magazine rifles we are laying the seeds of a revolution which may destroy our civilization—are manufacturing a kind of moral melinite which may one day lay London, in its beauty as well as in its squalor, level with the Thames.

Where is the remedy? "Keep out the Poles," say some, "who lower the standard of subsistence and drive our unskilled laborers to the wall." Well, it is quite possible we may, in mere self-defense have to put a check *on absolute free trade in foreign paupers*, and that the ever increasing swarm of Polish immigrants, falling, as they do, infinitely below the standard of cleanliness and decency that obtains in East London, will have to be stayed. But to say that that and an abolition of dens in favor of factories will cure the sweating business is about as sensible as to say that the surgeon's knife can cure cancer. It is the powerlessness of labor in the hands of capital organized on the sweating system which is the essence of the evil. The immediate sweater is often not to blame. He is hard pressed by competition, by the exactions of the contractor above him, who by an elaborate system of fines and deductions is able constantly to cut down his prices to the lowest possible limit, by the frightful burden of rent. He himself is in the grip of social forces that work as remorselessly for him as for his victims. But, like the man on the treadmill, he dare not stop; cannot make better terms for himself, far less for his wage slaves. What seems to be needed is—first, for society to lay strong hands on that unearned increment which escapes, in the subtlest, most protean fashion, the least contribution to the state, and then to try some further organization of labor. After all, landlordism is the enemy in London. The Bedfords, the Westminsters, the Portmans are the leeches of our industrial system. As Henry George pointed out long ago, there is plenty of wealth if it could only get into the right hads[sic]. And to fold our hands and passively confess that the forces of modern industrialism are beyond our control, is to invite social ruin, where there ought to be the largest measure of social happiness that mankind has ever known.

Sic in the original; probably "the age. We don't know".
Sic in the original; probably "hands".

Selling a Birthright for a Mess of Pottage a Good Bargain Beside This.

Indianapolis News.

The street car insistance[sic] for a century's monopoly of transportation rights in Indianapolis is still pushed. The workingmen at their meeting last Monday night did wisely in calling a halt in this matter. We direct their attention to the fact that no halt will be made unless they continue their vigilant opposition. We had a sample of the working of monopoly in the octopus. The plea is the same: "A vast investment; capital not safe without some security; some further concessions needed before more money will be expended, and so on." There are one hundred street cars, say, and after five years it is graciously proposed to pay $15 a car a year—$1,500 for the transportation franchises of this city! The case of selling a birthright for a mess of pottage was a good bargain beside this. But we earnestly advise the workingmen—the poorer and hard working people who will suffer most from monopoly of franchises and privileges by rich corporations—that there is a purpose now to get their rich picking if part of the press and city officials and reinforcements of "prominent citizens" can secure it. The people who are to suffer most from this know how they had to fight to escape the octopus which sought to grasp the fuel of the town. This effort seeks to grasp the transportation of the town in all ways, shapes and kinds—electric, cable, horse, mule, surface, elevated, underground "and other improved means" for more than a hundred years.

Then Wherefore Should We Dread the European Pauper Bugaboo?

American Machinist.

A good deal of stress is laid in Tennessee *on cheap labor*. If anything *permanent* is gained in Tennessee by keeping wages low, then the experience there will be different from that of any other part of the world. What manufacturers need in the north is high priced labor, in the sense that they need workmen who receive and earn good wages, and the needs of Tennessee are in no way different. Any other labor is never cheap, except in name. There can never be prosperity—not even local prosperity—unless workingmen—the great mass of the population of any locality—are able to buy largely of the products of others. Low wages will never bring the kind of population necessary to the development of the resources of any section of this country.

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HOME LIFE DISAPPEARING.

Marriage and the Bringing Up of a Family an Impossibility in Many Cases—The Cause and the Remedy.

Professor Geo. S. Robbins in Denver Republican.

Some men remain bachelors, some women old maids, from choice, or because nobody who is good enough or rich enough for them happens to come their way; but how many so ever the maidens and young men that prefer a single life, I think that, could the actual truth be known, most of them would give up even the state of so-called single blessedness and all the alleged advantages of its alleged independence if there did not loom up extraneous conditions of vital import and moment in the shape of landlords, who not only appropriate much of the share that should go to the wages, but consume the lion's share of the already truncated wages after they are earned, so that instead of wedlock and homes being encouraged under the present system, we find young men and young

Sic in the original; probably "insistence".

women competing against each other in the labor market, and passing an unnatural and lonesome existence in single cussedness in boarding houses.

The married man, too, the head of the family, the father of children, how is he affected by our present social, commercial and taxation arrangements? He, too, is more often homeless than otherwise—he, with all the grave responsibilities of his position, with human lives and human hopes and human happiness dependent on him. Can he look to his fellow man for sympathy or aid? Oh, no, not as long as a system endures which encourages such greed, selfishness and necessary enmity among men.

He, too, and his wife and all their children and their fortune are at the mercy of this lord of the land. Is this a republic? Is it a government of the people, for the people and by the people? How, then, did we happen to take our land system from a monarchy? When we have discarded the intolerance of interference with our religious ideas and abolished the slavery which made chattel property of the blacks, how is it that we adopted our system of land tenures from the royalty and nobility of England, and still cling to this absurd and tyrannical system which makes industrial and social slaves of whites and blacks alike?

Call you him a free man whose bread and butter and the bread and butter of whose wife and children are at the mercy of a system which permits a few men to control the natural elements on which and the natural opportunities from which all must live? Do you know you wear a ball and chain and that the landlord holds the key that locks them on? Rise, O man, and strike the fetters from your limbs and help your fellow men to strike, by rousing to the thought of your condition! First, shake off the link of fatal ignorance and apathy. Then educate yourself to think, and study out and act on the problem. Your remedy is an intelligent, honest ballot. Strive to bring about the Australian system of voting, which prevents corruption at elections. Then break the heavy links of all monopolies by cleaving off the ball which holds them all in place—the monopoly which is the root of all—monopoly of land.

The adoption of the single tax on land according to its value, and irrespective of improvements, would make it unprofitable to hold land out of use. It would therefore have the effect to free unimproved land to those who would use it by cultivating or building on it.

Such a system of taxation would thus encourage agriculture, mining, manufacturing and the development of all our natural resources, and the investment of capital in productive enterprises, giving employment to labor, and all kinds of improvements. It would largely increase the general wealth. It would increase the purchasing power of the community at large, and thus benefit the merchant by giving him more customers, and the people by giving them more goods.

All could be free and all have a home.

We would not all of us be working for the landlord and slaves to the man who monopolizes the natural opportunities and the raw materials which were the free and munificent gift of nature to all, and which all must have access to or be slaves. The adoption of this system of taxation would give us a boom, but a different kind of a boom from the one we have now. It would be a healthier and more substantial boom. It would be a boom in buildings and improvements, instead of a boom in vacant lots.

Labor can never raise its wages by strikes so long as the supply in the labor market exceeds the demand. But open up natural opportunities so that labor can employ itself, and you will thus, at one stroke, emancipate labor, relieve the glut in the labor market, and thus, and thus only, will the man who has only his labor to sell be able to dictate the price of that labor, instead of the employer making the price, as now.

And when I ask the support of the workingmen for this change in taxation, I simply ask each man to support and assist the most important movement that has ever been started for his own direct and personal interest, as well as for the general prosperity of the community at large.

And when I ask the support of the professional and business men of the state to this reform, I simply ask them to consider whether it is not a matter of the greatest importance to them that the people of moderate means—who we all know are the class that circulate the money, and so benefit the community at large—should not be placed in a position where they will have more money with which to engage professional services when needed, and to swell the number of customers for the manufacturer and merchant.

How the Booming is Done.

Providence Indicator.

A Lincoln man who had just returned from an extended tour of the country recently struck a small town in Missouri, where the shanties composing the metropolis were surrounded by numerous acres of land staked off into lots. Before one of the magnificent trade emporiums sat an old man smoking a corn cob pipe and apparently plunged in meditation. The Lincoln man assumed an air of profound innocence and accosted him, when this dialogue ensued:

“What are these stakes here for?”

“Town lots, stranger? This hyar town is just er goin’ to have a boom. An opery house will be built thar, ef nothin’ happens.”

“Who owns this property?”

“A syndicut. Ye won’t see ary flies on this town.”

“What is a syndicate?”

“Why, ye see, a syndicut is er lot of fellers in ther city what has money, and they sorter get together and buy up a farm, and they stake it off, ye see, an’ start a boom. That thar land was ther Widow Maguire farm, but ther syndicut bought it, and staked it off.”

“And how does the syndicate do its booming?”

“Wal, one feller in ther syndicut gets control of it all, ye see, and he sells a lot to another feller, an’ it goes round an’ round, an’ every time it goes round the price is riz.”

“But then it would never be sold out of that body.”

“It wouldn’t, eh? Stranger, yer wrong. Finally, er lot is sold to some outside feller, and then it’s deddycated, ye see, an’ don’t go round no more.”

“Thanks; now I know all about it.”

Only the Rich are Growing Richer.

San Francisco Examiner.

That there is a good deal of dissatisfaction in the United States with the way the annual industrial product of the country is distributed is not to be denied. The amount of this product as marketed is put by Joseph Nimmo, jr., chief of the bureau of statistics, at $9,900,000,000; by Edward Atkinson, including products unmarketed, at $10,000,000,000. Both add for items omitted $100,000,000. The working force—that is, the wage earners and small farmers of the country—number 16,200,000; the workers of a higher grade, managers, directors, superintendents, and so on, paid by salaries and fees, number 1,600,000. Mr. Atkinson and other economists

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agree on $432 as the average annual earnings of wage receivers as above defined. This will include what they consume of their own unmarketed product. Next, the services rendered by persons engaged otherwise than in production (physicians, domestic servants in cities, and so on), reach an annual value of $1,200,000,000. Rents, which stand for the service rendered by fixed capital, reach $800,000,000.

Thus the total annual value of the product of all the labor of every kind in the United States, including *the profit on all* jobs andschemes[sic] and pools andtrusts[17], is fully $12,000,000,000. Of this amount the wage and salary earning classes together (numbering [17,300,000?]) receive $8,100,000,000; leaving as the annual profit of mere capitalists, "operators," and so on, the sum of $3,900,000,000. Thus the owners and controllers of wealth receive at least 32½ per cent of the total product of the country. Other estimates make the proportion 37½ per cent. Wage receivers save a sum which, while it looks important in saving bank returns, it is a mere nothing—a vanishing quantity—in the enormous figures of actual annual production. An annual saving, an annual addition to existing wealth, is in fact made which averages $900,000,000, and it is made almost exclusively out of the share of total product captured by pre-existing wealth. Thus, while it is not true that the poor are growing poorer as a class, it is strictly and demonstrably true that only the rich are growing richer.

"DEHOOFING" IN FRANCE.

The Agonies that Fashionable Women Endure for the Sake of High Heels and Pointed Toes.

Paris Letter to London Truth.

Since the high heel and pointed toe have had time to do their work the chiropodist is rising to as money making a position as the American dentist. The women who operate in the public baths for ladies have more work than they can attend to, and are raising their fees according to the state of the pairs of feet which they are asked to attend to. The ordinary old fashioned treatment, requiring only the sharp knife and the pumice stone, is still a franc and a half. But for the operation known as "dehoofing" the foot, you may, with extras, get up from 10f. to 30f. There are women who are able when the fine world is in Paris to make from £3 to £5 a day. The seaside season is even more lucrative, because feet are so much in view on the sands of marine bathing places, where it is permissible to paddle about in salt water long after the teens have been cleared.

Be it remembered that the high heeled boot or shoe, by throwing the whole weight of the body on the tightened-up toes, deadens them and the rest of the foot, and brings the whole member, so far as the distribution of muscular force and nervous vitality go, into much the same state as a horse's hoof. The dehoofing process begins with a warm bran or potato-starch foot bath, followed by a quick plunge in cold water, after which there is shampooing with eau de Cologne, or something else, to help a reaction. Then there is a gymnastic pulling out and moving up and down and from side to side of individual toes, which reminds one of the piggy-wiggy game which nurses play with the pedal extremities of babies The nurse, beginning with the great toe and going on with the

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Sic in the original; probably "and schemes".
Sic in the original; probably "and trusts".

four others, says: “This pig went to the market, and this pig stayed at home, and this pig ate bread and butter, and this pig ate none, and this little pig cried, take me to mammy at home.” The toes are manipulated and exercised separately, until each is limber and lively. The sole of the foot is also enlivened thus: The patient leans with both hands on a pair of props, and places the foot on a broad horse hair band which works from side to side; then comes more hand rubbing, this time with glycerine, followed by friction with small brushes and instruments like drawing stumps. The nails are carefully attended to. All dead and hard skin is carefully removed, and finally the ankle and insteps are put into gymnastic training. At the end of, say an hour, a pair of feet which have been martyrized with high heels and pointed toes feel equal to dancing, jumping, or taking a long walk. They also look shapely and quite young. One wonders why they should be hidden with shoes and stockings, and whether skilled chiropody will not lead to a revival of sandals.

The Irish Church Disestablishment.

Reynolds’s Weekly.

Regarding the question of Irish church disestablishment, the grand old man characteristically started with an emphatic “never.” In 1865 this “never” became a “not yet,” which, in 1866, took the form of the “previous question,” unsupported by the venerable strategist’s vote. In 1868 Mr. Gladstone declared that “in order to the settlement of the question of the Irish church, that church, as a state church, must cease to exist.” In March, 1869, he introduced a disestablishment bill for that purpose, and, on the 26th of July, 1869, it received the royal assent.

A greater monstrosity than this same Irish church establishment it would be impossible to conceive. “There is nothing like it,” said Sydney Smith, “in Europe, in Asia, in the discovered part of Africa, or in all we have heard of Timbuctoo.” Lord Macaulay pronounced it “the most utterly absurd and indefensible of all the institutions in the civilized world.” “The foulest practical abuse,” echoed Lord Brougham, “that ever existed, opposed alike to justice, to policy, and to religious principles.”

In 1860 here were 189 parishes[sic] without a single Anglican. “I myself,” said Mr. George Henry Moore, “pay tithes in ten parishes. In the whole of these parishes there is not one church, one glebe, or one single resident *clergyman*. I am not aware that there is one single Protestant in the whole eight parishes[,?] and I do not believe that divine service, according to the Protestant ritual, has been celebrated in them since the reformation.”

With this extraordinary civil service church fell also the Presbyterian *regium donum* (£45,000 per annum) and the Maynooth annual grant of £26,000.

But though the Irish church was thus disestablished it was not disendowed. It was only the sentimental grievance that was removed. It is characteristic of Mr. Gladstone’s statesmanship that he never abolishes one abuse without creating another or others in its place. His notion of reform is to give temporary ease to the victim of galling injustice by taking the load off one shoulder and placing it on the other. The Irish people have been “compensated” out of almost any pretense of real benefit.

The capitalized value of the church property was estimated at £16,000,000; and in 1880 the church commissioners reported the following payments under the compensation clauses of the act:

Gratuities..... £240,02[?] Annuities to 31st December, 1874..... 645,25[0?] Commutation of clerical incomes..... 7,546,00[5?] Commutation of lay incomes..... 454,69[9?] Compensation for regium donum..... 749,79[9?] Compensation for Maynooth..... [372,331?] Compensation for loss of

Sic in the original; probably “there were”.

private endowments.... 500,000 Compensation to owners of advowsons..... [778,388?] Building charges..... 232,991 Compensation for loss of right of succession... 23,71[?] £11,343,70[?]

Of the paltry "ultimate surplus" set apart for "the relief of unavoidable calamity and suffering, yet not so as to cancel or impair the obligations now attached to property under the acts for the relief of the poor," the Irish landlords have already, by grace of parliament, pocketed no inconsiderable share!

Just as Paris Was Protected in 1870.

Toronto Grip.

There is great rejoicing in the palace of Chumpland. Topsy-turvy, the lord high chamberlain, comes before his royal master, King Zany, and announces that he has received formal notification from the hostile King Bugaboo of the latter's hostile intention to blockade the ports of Chumpland forthwith. "Ha! ha! ha!" laughs King Zany, "thus will he save us the trouble and expense of passing that protective tariff you proposed!" "True, sire," responds the lord chamberlain, "a blockade will have precisely the same effect. Bugaboo deserves our thanks!"

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Hard Times and Machinery.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—As the consideration of "hard times" interests the laborer, mechanic, merchant, manufacturer, and capitalist, I wish to give you a few thoughts upon the subject.

The question is often asked, "What is the cause of our dull times?" This has various answers. One says "it is the result of the contraction of the currency." This cannot be, since all industries suffer from dull times when there has been neither expansion nor contraction of the currency, in England, France, and Germany, in fact, all over the civilized world; besides there is more money now in the country per capita than there was during flush times. Another answer is, "we are too extravagant, we must economize." A long editorial was published in one of our city dailies a few weeks ago urging upon its readers the duty of every one to economize. Will this bear analyzing?

Suppose we have been in the habit of wearing two silk hats and one Panama each year, but now we have concluded to economize and wear one of a cheaper kind; you see at once we hurt the hat trade. Suppose instead of buying two pairs of boots one year we make one pair do us two years, and, again, we make one suit of clothes last as long as three did in good times. Do we not injure the shoe and clothing manufacturers and dealers? Economy if persistently practised would break up half the merchants of the country. If we would economize we must stop buying books, music, paintings, and every thing that makes our homes beautiful, we must sell our pianos and carriages, and then we hurt the dealers in all of these luxuries. No, the demand is not for greater economy; it would bankrupt the country.

In my opinion we are using too much "labor saving machinery." We make a combination of wood and iron—and that is what a machine is—do the work of brain and muscle. Brain and muscle must suffer.

It is all very nice to grow eloquent over the wonderful achievements of the human intellect; to enlarge on the splendid mechanical inventions of man; but what is the result? That man is out of work; he is a tramp. Not the dogs, but the machines, are after him. He is driven from one occupation to another by the little machines. Perhaps when he was a young man he spent the necessary number of years to learn shoe making. After a while along comes a genius, a fellow who lives by his wits, who has invented a machine that will make as many shoes in one hour as he can make in a week—well, what can Mr. Shoemaker do? He has to learn some other trade; perhaps cabinet making; he masters that after a few years (as it does not take a Yankee long to learn a trade); so he goes to work at cabinet making; soon another genius comes along and sells the boss a machine that will do his work many times cheaper. Mr. Cabinet Maker is discharged, and the machine takes his place. He would not permit a Chinaman to do this without a protest, but being a machine, it is all right; he packs up his 'kit" and goes[sic]. He is driven from one city of refuge to another, and finally takes to the road and becomes a tramp.

Sic in the original; probably "his"kit" and goes".

If 200,000 Chinamen were to land here to-morrow and were to go to work for fifty cents a day, how long do you suppose it would take to raise an army of laborers, mechanics, and merchants, too, sufficient to drive the Chinamen into the river? Now, we allow these machines to work every day for less than fifty cents and we never open our mouths about it. Again, Chinamen would consume something. Society would make them dress and nature would make them eat; machines do neither. They never buy a hat, coat or pair of boots, never want meat, potatoes or anything else that man must have, and yet one machine often does the work of twenty and perhaps fifty men.

Now, if we could discard enough machinery to absorb the surplus labor we could give the mechanic a chance for his life. If the argu- ment that to cheapen the things we must have to administer to our wants is a blessing, then the Chinaman must be a blessing. They will work for twenty-five cents a day and they are almost as handy as a mechanic. If we had plenty of Chinamen laborers employed the mercantile trade would be good, and as the manufacturer depends upon the merchant, of course his business would be good also.

It benefits no one to be able to manufacture goods cheaply. We are all in the same boat. If I am a manufacturer of shoes and can get my shoes made cheaper than any one else, of course I have an advantage, but that is not the case. If I can get my shoes made for six cents a pair it does me no good; other manufacturers can do the same. I have no market for them after they are made. I had better pay twenty-five cents or even a dollar a pair, make fewer and find a market for all I can make and at a profit.

We must have our railroad, steamboat and other improvements of a kindred nature. They are not labor saving to a great extent, except they save the labor of horses, and men will not raise horses unless it pays. But men do have families and they must have something to do, for the fiat has gone forth: “In the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread.” We can’t get around it. We have been trying and our country is in a sorry state—not only our country, but all other civilized countries are in the same condition. In the hope of solving this problem, many say “we must open new markets.” Our merchants and manufacturers are considerably exercised about the Brazilian trade. What would the Brazilians be likely to buy of us? For about fifty miles back from the coast, they will want some jewelry and a few crucifixes; in the interior, a shot gun nad of a jug of[sic] whisky. These are the luxuries and necessities desired by North American Indians. Others say, we must ship our goods to England, France and Germany. If we do that, will we not injure our brother laborers there? We wouldn’t like them to treat us in that way, and the golden rule, “All things whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you do ye even so unto them,” like the other, must be obeyed.

The prosperity of this nation does not depend upon the millionaires, because they are in the minority, but upon the millions, and the millions are idle; men and women buy when they have money; they have no money because they have no work. They have no work because all over the land we hear the rattle of machinery. The skillful combinations of iron and wood are doing their work for them. Do they eat and drink, or dress? They consume no bread, but their rattle drowns the cry of hungry children, the rush of shuttles stifles the wail of their shivering mother, and the thud of their hearts of steam is louder than the complainings of afflicted humanity.

There must be a revolution. I hope it may be a peaceable one, but if we persist in the use of “labor saving machinery” as we have for the last twenty-five years the whirlwind must come, and “woe unto him by whom the offense cometh.”

W. C. STRICKLER.

If you are not a protectionist, you have all the symptoms, except figures.

Sic in the original; probably “a shot gun and a jug of whisky (or”and of”)”.

Your reference to the interests of the "laborer, merchant, mechanic manufacturer and capitalist" is paralleled by the advertisement of the quack doctor who cured "sickness, consumption, smallpox, measles and [diseases?]." Are not mer-

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chants, mechanics and manufacturers laborers? And how many merchants or manufacturers do you know who are not capitalists? Before attempting an inquiry into the causes of "hard times," it would be well for you to get a rational idea of the *factors* and the distinguishing characteristics of the factors, the relations of which you must consider.

You are quite right in questioning the miser theory of hard times. Hard times are not to be cured by economizing. If one man economizes when others do not, he may relieve *his* hard times; but when all economize, all must experience harder and harder times. Last summer a young man, while traveling in the interior of this state, fell into discussion with a commercial traveler on the subject of abolishing poverty.

"Well," said the commercial traveler, "I believe that the way to abolish poverty is to save—to be economical; the more economical men are the more certainly will poverty be abolished."

"You are a drummer, are you not?" inquired the young man.

"Yes," said the commercial traveler, "I am a drummer for a dry goods house."

"Well now," the young man again inquired, "if everybody should be as economical as possible, how long would you be on the road?"

The commercial traveler hesitated, combed his hair with his fingers, stared at the floor, and with a "give-it-up" grin responded: "Sure enough! I wouldn't be on the road a week!"

The economical doctrine had lost an advocate.

Of course economy is not a remedy for hard times. Trading is essential to prosperity, and the more active the trading the greater the prosperity. If men did not buy they could not sell. That is the reason that protection is a bad thing. It forces people to economize more than they want to. The farmer buys one hat when he wants two, or a poor hat when he wants a good one; and that helps to make hard times for hatters. Hatters in their turn suffering from hard times buy a pound of flour when they want two; and that makes hard times for the farmer. And so it goes, until every one complains of hard times, and denies himself to relieve them, when what is really needed is that every one shall be free to buy whatever he wants in exchange for whatever he can make.

But after giving your common sense full swing in showing the absurdity of this theory, you fall a victim to the fallacy of fallacies that underlies the doctrine of protection. We make a machine do the work of brain and muscle, you say, and therefore brain and muscle must suffer. How could you write such stuff and not see its absurdity[sic]. You might as well have said that electricity carries our messages, and therefore our legs must suffer. If brain and muscle suffer because their drudgery is done by machinery, brain might find relief in libraries and muscle in ball matches. We are not compelled to do without exercise because machines work for us. You may ride in a drawing room car to Albany, but if your legs are shriveled for want of exercise there is nothing to prevent your walking to Albany. What you have in mind when you say that brain and muscle must suffer because machinery does their work, is that a great many people are able to live only as a few others give them opportunity to work for a living, and that these few give less work to men when machines will do the same work cheaper. There is a truth in this, the pith of which you ignore. The evil is not in machinery which relieves us of labor, but in the use of machinery

Sic in the original; probably "absurdity?".

under a system that makes some men dependent upon others for the right to work; and the true remedy is not to restrict the use of machinery, but to remove restrictions from opportunities to work.

That the tramp is a result of the introduction of machinery is true; but machinery is only a secondary and innocent cause. So long as any man wants anything which labor can produce, there is work to do; and so long as standing room on the earth remains there is natural opportunity for work. If, therefore, machinery causes idleness, it is not because it does all the work that is needed, but all that the forestallers of mother earth will permit.

You are wrong in supposing that men cannot readily shift from one employment to another. Between one extreme and another of diversified employment there is, indeed, a gulf which few workmen can cross and which none can cross without great effort and expenditure of time; but between one employment and a great number of employments nearly related to it, there is so little difference that any intelligent man can readily adapt himself to a change. Hence, to introduce machinery into any of these employments, even though the machine does all the work, is not naturally to deprive workmen in that employment of work; it is to invite them into other fields of industry to which they are quite as well adapted, and where in consequence of the machinery that has relieved them of the work they once did, they can get with less labor more of the comforts of life than they got before. This is the natural result. But since greater power of production consequent on the in- troduction of machinery makes greater demands for land which is privately owned, the value of land rises, so that on the one hand the machine does not produce as cheaply as it otherwise would, and on the other the workman finds it more difficult to get access to land, without which he cannot work at all. Machinery is to a mechanic what a vacation is to the man who works by the day; in itself desirable, but dreaded because it closes the only source of income open to him.

A machine that will make as many shoes in an hour as a shoemaker can make in a week should be a good thing for the shoemaker, just as a washing machine is a good thing for the farmer's wife; the reason it not is because[sic] when the shoemaker turns to the vast fields of employment that invite his labor, he finds the fields fenced off into narrow lanes with a toll gate at the head of each lane and a new and higher schedule of tolls at every gate.

If machines were the evil things you

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think them, why discard only enough to absorb surplus labor? If surplus labor were absorbed merely, that would only keep wages where they were for a time; increase of population would soon make a new surplus of labor. Why not discard all machinery at once and prohibit its introduction again?

You are mistaken in saying that it benefits no one to manufacture goods cheaply. It benefits every one. You are thinking of money when you speak of cheapness. Cheapness in money really makes no difference in the long run to any one; but cheapness in labor expenditure does. To get the most with the least labor is the natural and legitimate desire of all; and when production and exchange are unfettered every device by which anything can be produced with less labor than before is a good thing for everybody. It tends to diminish the labor of everybody, and if it does not do so in fact, the fault is not with the improvement, but with laws that operate to make laborers pay for the right to produce and idlers to live in luxury on the labor of their fellows. One of these laws is the protective tariff, which taxes the multitude for the special benefit of a few; another, and the chief devil of its kind, is the institution of private property in land, under which planet owners levy tribute on planet users for the right to work here, to breathe here, to be here.

The fiat, "in the sweat of thy face shalt thou eat bread," has indeed gone forth. But never, save from mortal lips, has yet gone forth the fiat, "in the sweat of thy face shalt thy brother eat bread!" Yet it is under this human gospel of plunder, and not the decree you quote, that we are living. The man who sets out to obey the command of his

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Sic in the original; probably "the reason it is not is because (or"the reason it is not")".

maker to eat bread in the sweat of his face finds all the avenues to work which his maker provided, closed by force of human law. If he would eat bread in the sweat of his face he must agree to share it with a loafer, not only before eating it, but before he will be permitted to make it. And naturally enough. when the loafer[sic] discovers a machine that will make bread without sweating or eating, he has no use for the man who is willing to sweat provided he may eat.

Mr. Shearman's Speech.

BOSTON.–(1) Is the Standard oil monopoly due to the tariff?

1. In Thomas Shearman's article in THE STANDARD of the 19th on the tariff, it is stated that the surplus in the treasury induced excessive speculation in land which brought about the panic of 1857. In what manner does a surplus in the treasury operate to do this?

2. In another part of the same article he states that the average production of each English workmen[sic] in the metal and textile industries for the year 1880 was [$789?], and that of the American workman in the same industries was $1,684. Were *these* values English or American? Ought they not to have been calculated either in American or English values to make a fair comparison, as the same amount of production in England would have a great deal higher value in the United States owing to the tariff?

E. LUCAS.

(1) The Standard oil monopoly is due mainly to *private control* and manipulation of transportation facilities—to interference with freedom of trade. Public highways are essential to trade, and if they are obstructed in the interest of individuals or corporations, monopolies result. In a similar way, when free intercourse between nations is obstructed by a tariff, monopolies result. The same principle operates in each case, though one monopoly may be due to one form of protection and another to another form.

1. The manner in which excessive speculation in land operates to cause a panic is explained in Chapter I, Book V, of "Progress and Poverty." Mr. Shearman explains the way in which a national treasury surplus induces excessive speculation, as follows: The panic of 1837 was brought about by excessive speculation in land, which was largely induced by the surplus in the treasury at that time. The panic of 1857 was also brought about by speculation in land; but the treasury surplus was not by any means so important an element at that time as it was in 1837. In 1835 the last of the United States debt was paid off, and, in consequence of the maintenance of an exorbitant tariff, a surplus which was greater relatively for that period in our national history than the present surplus rapidly accumulated. This money was distributed by the government among the state banks, with urgent directions to lend it out freely and make money easy and business active. But as our natural development of industry was choked by the obstruction of the tariff, and as this money was forced out of natural channels in order to be lent to those men who had most influence with banks, it inevitably followed that the banks fell into the hands of speculators, who borrowed the money for speculative purposes. In this manner the amount of money which the banks would have to lend for such purposes was suddenly doubled. As a matter of course, there being in those days very few railways, and speculation in railway stocks being insignificant and confined to three or four eastern cities, there were, practically, only two channels for speculation, land and cotton. The cotton speculation naturally ran into and encouraged the land speculation. The banks, being under political management, lent their money under political influence, and pressed loans upon politicians all over the United States. There are fifty men who are disposed to speculate in land for one who will speculate in anything else on a large scale.

Sic in the original; probably "And naturally enough, when the loafer".
Sic in the original; probably "each English workman".

When this amount of money, which was vast, considering the smallness of our population and the limited experience which our people had had in the use of money, was forced upon speculators in every part of the country, nine-tenths of the borrowers naturally began to buy land. Land rose rapidly in price; and, the more it rose the greater was the number and enthusiasm of the speculators. This brought about the crash of 1837. But notwithstanding that disaster, the government still had a large surplus; and congress forced it among the people by distributing it among the states, most of which wasted it, scattering it either in loans upon land or in digging canals which never paid for a quarter of their cost. The result of this was a revival of speculation in 1838 and 1839, ending with

p. 3, col. 4

another crash in December, 1839. Both of these panics were directly traceable to the treasury surplus.

So, at the present time, the enormous treasury surplus must either be locked up in government vaults or be loaned out to the banks. Some time ago it was locked up; and then we were driven to the verge of a financial crash, because it was evident that within a few weeks the government would lock up nearly all the floating gold of the country, unless its policy was changed. Accordingly, financiers implored the government to save them from ruin; and in order to do this, the govern- ment deposited its surplus freely with the banks, requiring them, however, to repay it on call. The banks have therefore many millions of government money, which, since they must repay it on call, they can only lend on call. But loans on call are invariably made to speculators, as no one else will borrow money in that way. The consequence is that the treasury surplus is now lent out to speculators, in order to enable them to keep up prices. The result of this process must inevitably be further speculation, ending in a crash, the losses of which the common people must pay. If the surplus were not thus lent to speculators, it would have to be locked up; and then, the country being deprived of its floating gold, not merely all speculation, but all enterprise, would feel the effect as one of strangulation, and the crash would come at once. Meanwhile, any one who reads the daily papers, especially the western papers, can see that a wild land speculation has been going on in the west; and this happens now, as it happened in 1836, 1856 and 1872, simultaneously with the piling up of a surplus in the treasury.

In 1857 the government locked up its surplus and only let out that which it spent in the gradual increase of extravagance. But as it became more extravagant it excited speculation, which, of course, ran into land, as it always does when it becomes general, and then, when the first sign of trouble among speculators occurred, the government locked its money tightly up, and so the panic came almost like lightning, just as it would do now, if the government should do the same thing. Before the middle of 1858 the government surplus had all been paid out, but not paid to speculators, while the tariff, being reduced, no further surplus accrued; in fact, the government complained of being poor, but that meant that the people were growing rich. The consequence was that business revived very rapidly, and 1859 was the most prosperous year which had ever, up to that time, been known in American history.

1. Mr. Shearman, of course, calculated values in England and America respectively, according to the value of the articles produced in the country of production; and this is the only fair method of comparison. Seven hundred and eighty dollars was the value of the English workman's product to the English employers; while[sic] $1,684 was the value of the American workman's product to the American employer; showing that, although the American employer got 120 per cent more value from his workman than the English employer, he paid less than 45 per cent more wages to get it. Mr. Lucas must remember that, according to the unanimous testimony of the protectionist advocates in congress, metals and textiles cost no more to the consumer in this country than they do in England. Of course, there is not a word of truth in this; but then that is what the protectionists all say. If it is true, then the American employer makes an enormous profit

Sic in the original; probably "employer".

> off the American workman in excess of that which the English employer makes. But if it is not true, still this is the only fair basis of comparison; because the same Americans who produce metals and textiles have to use them; and if the articles which they have to buy cost them 120 per cent more than the same goods cost the English workman, it is very clear that they gain no advantage by getting only 45 per cent higher wages than the Englishman. But even if we were to allow for the utmost difference in price which any one will claim, this will not be more than 40 per cent, and therefore, adding 40 per cent to the price of the English product would bring it up to $1,092 against the American workman's $1,684. This shows that the production of American workmen averages more than 50 per cent in excess of the production of English workmen, quite irrespective of the price; that is to say, for each yard of cloth or ton of metals which the English workman produces, the American workman produces in the same time more than a yard and a half, or a ton and a half.

But we repeat that the fictitious value added to the American product by the tariff ought not to be noticed for the purpose of comparison, since that fictitious value goes into the pockets of the employer and is paid out of the pockets of the workman. It would, indeed, be a fine plea for protection to boast that workmen were paid fifty per cent more wages and then compelled to pay one hundred per cent more for everything in which they spend their wages.

LOUIS F. POST.

AUGUSTA, Ga., June 4, 1888.

MR. HENRY GEORGE.—Dear Sir: In a recent discussion upon you and your books, A contended that you were: First and foremost a free trader; second, for a single tax; third, in favor of making it a tax on land. B on the contrary contended that your convictions followed a reverse order. First, that you thought justice, expediency and morality demanded that land should sustain the burden of taxation; second, that you favored this single tax; third, that you were for free trade as a means to the above end.

HENRY B. KING.

In point of time I was a free trader before I saw the necessity of appropriating land values in order to secure natural rights and the economic beauty of thus securing public revenues. But I never have been in favor of a tax on land, and did not come to the idea of taxing land values through the idea of imposing but one tax.

Neither A nor B have stated my present views as I would state them; but of the two B more clearly represents the relative importance the propositions have in my mind,

HENRY GEORGE.

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THE BOULANGER BOOM AND ITS CAUSES.

Emile de Lavelaye[sic] in Pall Mall Gazette.

The sudden and violent movement in favor of General Boulanger seems at first sight wholly inexplicable. He whom they desire to place at the head of the republic has done nothing worthy of so high an honor. He has gained no victories; he has not shone in parliament as war minister; he is not a distinguished general; he represents no

Sic in the original; probably "Emile de Laveleye".

special principle. As has been often said, he is a concert hall hero and a circus general. His popularity is the result of a stupid ditty and his black horse. He has against him all true friends of the republic and of liberty, all socialists and enlightened people—in fact, all true patriots who would blush to see France delivered into the hands of a dictator created by street singers. And yet this is not quite impossible. The danger is a real one, for the head of the government himself signaled it.

Let us examine what are the causes which render possible, if not probable, what appears monstrous to a degree. The primary cause of all is the manner in which the parliamentary system works in France. The chamber of deputies has become an arena in which rival parties quarrel and fight, sacrificing only too often the interests of their country to their own spite or ambition, different groups modifying their schemes, joining with others and separating again at a moment's notice; two of these groups, the radicals and the monarchists, uniting to overthrow successively every cabinet formed, and these of course powerless to satisfy two parties hostile to each other and in reality demanding impossibilities; hence a ceaselessly unstable government and twenty cabinets in eighteen years. It is a complete chaos, or, to use a vulgar but very appropriate term, "a thorough mess." Such a sight disgusts the nation with the whole parliamentary system. In this General Boulanger is right. If he should sweep off the chamber of deputies the people would not complain of it. It is a noticeable fact that as soon as the session closes and the deputies disperse, there is a general sentiment of deliverance. During the vacations the nation is quiet; men can attend peacefully to their business; but no sooner does the house meet than the discussions, questionings and upsets of all kinds recommence. Parliamentarianism in France has become a nuisance of which all are wearied. Hence the desire for change.

The situation is very similar to that which preceded the 18th Brumaire. Napoleon himself admirably describes this situation as follows: "When deplorable weakness and ceaseless versatility become manifest in the governing body of any state, when, yielding in turn to the influence of rival parties, and going on from day to day with no fixed programme, no definite aim in view, it has given proof of its insufficiency, so that even the most moderate citizens must fain admit that the state is no longer governed; when, also, the administration joins to its nothingness within, that greatest of all evils in the eyes of a self-respecting people, degradation without, a vague feeling of uneasiness seems to permeate all classes of society; the instinct of self-preservation is awakened in its midst, and men look around and among themselves in search of a man who can save them from what they are in fear of." There is, however, this great difference between the present state of things and that above referred to; that France is not in a humiliating position as regards foreign countries, and that, as deliverers, Boulanger and Bonaparte can not well be compared.

The second reason of the movement is that the people believed that the fall of the empire and the establishment of republican and free institutions would bring about an era of prosperity; and this was so during the first few years after 1870; industry and commerce developed very considerably for a time, but then came the universal economic crisis, and the general fall in prices, which, in France, as elsewhere, occasioned real suffering and want. This evil is not attributed to monetary contraction, which the majority of French economists deny, but to a lack of some kind in existing institutions; hence the wish to modify them and try something fresh.

The third cause is that the French, as a nation, have a strong tendency to attach themselves rather to an individual than *to* a principle. They want the hero to stir up their imagination, and the power of the idol becomes irresistible if he wears a sword and has gained some battles. The founders of the third republic forsaw this[sic] danger and provided against it when they enacted that the president of the republic should not be elected by universal suffrage, but by the two chambers.

Sic in the original; probably "foresaw".

In an article published in the *Fortnightly Review* in December, 1870, entitled, "The Future of France," I wrote as follows:

> By universal suffrage France has placed the decision of her destinies in the hands of masses who are completely incapable of discerning their true interest, and still less what is demanded for the safety and prosperity of the country, carried away by the Napoleonic legend, the worst malady that can taint a nation. Universal suffrage has thrice, with genuine enthusiasm, placed absolute power in the hands of the hero of Boulogne, and, obeying the prefects, has invariably elected men who were profoundly mediocre but wholly devoted to personal power. Everywhere and always despotism has been the natural fruit of ignorance. Now that the blind multitudes will no longer be able to vote for the man of Sedan, we have to fear that they will choose the most extreme representatives of the opposite opinions—socialists, legitimists, ultramontanes, phrenetic conservatives—who by the desperate violence of their struggles will make men long for order, even at the price of liberty.

Universal education must precede universal suffrage. The great danger of the Boulanger movement is that it is supported, not only by all that is most ignorant among the masses of the people, but also by the aristocracy, the reactionists, Bonapartists, legitimists, Orleanists, and also by the clergy. The latter wish the monarchy, even at the cost of civil war and the most fearful upsets. They consider that the Red sea must be passed to reach the promised land. This is very perilous policy, for it must not be forgotten that the slums of Paris are peopled by a dangerous populace of over one hundred thousand, comprising on the one hand anarchists and nihilists, and on the other vagabonds and brigands, who, if once the civil authority wavered for only a few days, would unscrupulously set fire to the city far more systematically and completely than in 1870.

What means can then be employed to prevent France falling under the dictatorship of an adventurer far more discredited than Louis Napoleon? In the first place, the *scrutin uninominal* should be established instead of the *scrutin de liste*, by which all the deputies in a department are elected by the same vote; otherwise, by placing Boulanger at the head of the lists, a great many partisans of the dictatorship might pass, being supported by the mass and the reactionists. Secondly, the radicals in the house must cease their alliance with the monarchists for the purpose of upsetting each succeeding ministry; and, finally, it would be well to adopt the American system of ministers who have no seat in parliament and are not dependent on a vote. This stipulation is a further proof, if such were needed, of the admirable foresight of the

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American constitution. It does away with all the miseries of the parliamentary system.

Is it probable that the republic will after all become definitely established in France? It must at all events be hoped so, for a monarchy would not long be maintained. It would be perforce despotic, and as such would provoke vehement resistance; the new king, like Napoleon, would find his only safety in foreign warfare. Still it cannot be denied that the strengthening of republican institutions presents great difficulties in a Roman Catholic country, where three irreconcilable parties battle for power at the risk of compromising the most serious interests of the state.

How is it that Catholicism is here an obstacle of freedom? First, the pope, henceforth infallible, condemns as a heresy and a plague freedom of worship, freedom of the press, and the whole existing organization of society. Those who defend the system of 1789 are thus led to wage against the clergy a war defensive but unrelenting. As it is impossible to attack the clergy without touching religion, the religious sentiment is violently shocked. As this sentiment is still the only basis of morality, that in turn is lowered and relaxed. Relaxation of morals has invariably led to enfeeblement of character. Now, without morals and without character liberty is impossible. "A state

divided against itself cannot stand," say the scriptures; how specially true that is when the division concerns the very foundation of moral life.

Secondly, consider that the clergy, having in their hands the women, the children, and the peasants, thus dispose of a force that is enormous, incalculable. It must, therefore, be extremely difficult to found on a solid base any regime which the Roman church attacks with all the forces at its command. If the republic in France lasts we shall see renewed with more violence than ever that ancient struggle between the principles of the revolution and those of the Catholic church, which has already been the cause of so many disasters and cost so much blood. This struggle seems to be henceforth without an issue, now that the pope has declared "that the two principles are as irreconcilable as good and evil, darkness and light." France being no more prepared to renounce Catholicism than the modern principles, it is impossible to foresee all the difficulties which will grow out of this conflict. I will mention only one. Nearly all republicans in France are anxious for the separation of church and state, as in the United States, and this is even an article of the programme of the present ministry; but if this separation were decreed it would raise such strong opposition that the republic would in all probability succumb. How escape from this syllogistic circle, where the danger on all sides is equally great?

It is thus quite certain that there are many obstacles in the way of the strengthening of the republic, but still, with prudence and wisdom, these may be overcome or avoided. Probably the Boulanger movement will be but of short duration, but the parliamentary system requires modification.

PEN, PASTE AND SCISSORS.

A well known London firm of refreshment contractors recently advertised for 4,000 additional waiters, and 10,000 applications were received in response, the whole of the candidates claiming to have had experience.

According to the *Electrical Review*, medicine may be introduced into the human system by electricity. The electrodes of a battery are saturated with medicine and applied locally to the skin. Experiments show that there is an actual absorption of the medicine into the system.

A new telephone line nearly eight hundred miles long from Marseilles to Paris is now in course of construction, and will soon be finished. At first, it was feared that the human voice could not be transmitted such a distance; but experiments have shown that, with a thick bronze wire, the sound can be sent eight hundred miles as easily as ten.

One of the most noticeable characteristics of the Mohammedans is the fact of their temperance. They abhor a drunkard, and it is only about once in a year that a drunken man is seen upon the streets of Alexandria; and though the peculiar facilities for travel in Egypt have brought many saloons, over ninety-five per cent are kept by Europeans.

The authorities of Vienna, the most musical city of Europe, have shut down upon the organ grinders. A decree has just been issued by the imperial government banishing all grinders of organs, with their instruments, from the streets. In the future the hale and strong organ grinders will be treated as vagrants, while those who are crippled or otherwise afflicted will be relegated to the alms house.

The largest umbrella in the world has been made in Glasgow for the king of East Africa. It can be opened and shut in the usual way, and when open is twenty-one feet in diameter, and the staff is also twenty-one feet long. It is lined with cardinal red and white, has a lot of straw tassels, and a border of crimson satin. The canopy itself is made of Italian straw, and the top terminates in a gilded cone.

The vanilla bean is the costliest bean on earth. It flourishes in Mexico, chiefly in Papantla and Misantla. It grows wild, and is gathered and marketed by the natives. Just as they come from the forest the beans sell at $10 or $12 per thousand. After the beans are dried and cured they are worth from $7 to $12 per pound, according to quality. Last year the vicinity of Papantla alone exported sixty million beans. They are used by druggists and confectioners, and are an important article of commerce.

A few days ago a small sealed package came to the Hiram, Ohio, postoffice addressed to a young lady and stamped at the New York custom house, where all foreign mail must be examined, "supposed liable to custom duties." This made it necessary for the postmaster to notify a custom house officer to come from Cleveland in order that the package might be opened in his presence and examined by him and the proper duty assessed, which possibly might have amounted to half of his traveling expenses; but it did not, for it contained simply a letter and a small slice of wedding cake, the value of which could not well be assessed.

Russia has so much petroleum that she does not know what to do with it. Our exports to that country have declined in ten years 100,000,000 gallons. What we do send is the re- fined not the crude oil. Russia is ahead of any country in inventions and devices for using the oil. Over [120,000,000?] gallons of oil refuse are burned as fuel on the railways and steamships there every year. Oil lamps are brought to a high state of perfection, and in parts of St. Petersburg oil is employed for street lighting instead of gas. Despite this heavy consumption and the exports, however, millions of gallons are burnt in the Baku district each winter merely to get rid of it.

A Mr. Groezinger will shortly proceed to Europe for the purpose of endeavoring to establish factories there for making wine from material forwarded from California. He proposes to press the juice from the grapes here and dry the solid part in a large dryer. The juice will be condensed and forwarded with the dried solid part, which is called the pomace, and on arrival at its destination, water can be added and fermentation proceeded with. He believes that he can find a market for all the pomace that can be supplied from his section of the Napa valley, and that a good marketable wine can be made at low cost. If successful this will provide another outlet for the vineyard products of California, besides supplying in France the deficiency of European vineyards.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at

[illegible] UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.

One year, $2.50; six months, $1.25; single copies, 5 cents.

Entered at the postoffice, New York, as second class matter.

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

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

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

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

Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, JUNE 16, 1888.

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

THE LAW OF LABOR STRIKES.

There is now pending before the court of appeals of this state and soon to be decided, a case which will settle the law of labor strikes. It is a habeas corpus proceeding in behalf of John E. Gill against Police Justice Smith and Warden Walsh.

In September, 1886, Gardner & Estes, a shoe manufacturing firm, employed a new foreman—one Hart. Hart, it appears, had the reputation in the trade of a “scab” foreman, that is, a foreman who is expert in breaking up shop

organizations. As Gardner & Estes's shop was a union shop, considerable anxiety was felt by the employes over the employment of Hart, and they remonstrated with the firm. The head of the firm assured them of his good intentions, and begged them to give Hart a fair trial. At the firm's request the employes laid the question of Hart's employment on the table for a month, to see whether or not he would try to interfere with the organization, and at the end of that time, the foreman having done nothing inimical to the organization, the matter was laid over two months longer.

Before the expiration of the latter period, and in the absence of the firm, Hart discharged one of the most active union men in the shop, one who had been employed there for four years, and was recognized as an excellent workman. When asked why he had discharged this man, Hart replied that it was because he had detected him in stealing. The employes then demanded of Hart that he either reinstate the discharged workman or prosecute him for stealing. The workman was reinstated.

A few weeks later, on the return of Mr. Gardner, the same man was again discharged on the same accusation. The employes sent a committee to Mr. Gardner to know the reason, and on receiving his reply, proposed an arbitration between a committee of the Knights of Labor and a committee of the employers' union. To this Mr. Gardner acceded.

Before the Knights of Labor committee, of which Mr. Gill was chairman, arrived, Hart, the foreman, discharged every one in the shop; and when the committee came they were informed by the employes of this "lockout" and instructed that under no circumstances would the employes now return to work unless Hart was discharged.

At the meeting between the Knights of Labor committee and the employer's committee Mr. Gill and his associates stated as a condition of settlement that the foreman must be discharged, and when asked whether in case of his discharge the foreman could get work elsewhere, replied that no union man within fifty miles of New York could work with him on pain of expulsion. Accordingly Hart was discharged and Gardner & Estes took back their former employes.

Thereupon Hart preferred a complaint against Mr. Gill and the other members of the committee and they were arrested. Police Justice Smith held them, after a hearing, on the charge of conspiring to injure trade, and by means of threats and intimidation to prevent Hart from working. On habeas corpus proceedings before Judge Barrett the police magistrate was sustained, Judge Barrett writing an opinion, in which he held that such combinations of workingmen were criminal. On appeal to the general term of the supreme court Judge Barrett's decision was affirmed, and from the general term the case has now gone to the court of appeals.

This is the first time that the question of labor strikes has come before our highest court. In 1812 it was held in the mayor's court of this city that a combination of workmen to refuse to work with men who worked for less than schedule wages were indictable; a similar decision was rendered in the general sessions in 1823; and in 1835 the old supreme court decided to the same effect. These are the only cases of the kind in this state, except very recent ones, none of which have been appealed.

In the present case all elements of violence and of any form of coercion except the negative form involved in an agreement not to work are eliminated, and the court of appeals must broadly determine whether that form of coercion is unlawful. If it decides that it is, labor strikes will be outlawed. It is true that the penal code expressly permits peaceable strikes to raise or maintain wages; but this permission, should the court of appeals decide against Gill, will inure only to the benefit

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of strikes having that object directly in view. Thus, if a shoe manufacturer reduces or refuses to raise the wages of his employes, they may strike; but if the employes in other shops or in other trades strike to assist them, the latter

strikers may be indicted. So, if an employer refuses to employ or discharge union men, and his men strike on that account, they may be indicted. It will be readily seen, therefore, that the decision of this case involves substantially the lawfulness of all labor strikes.

The case is one of the most important that has ever come before the court of appeals, and the decision will be awaited with interest. Should it be adverse to Gill, trades unions in this state will find themselves almost powerless until the legislature modifies the present statute.

THE TARIFF DEBATE.

The five minutes debate begins to drag, owing to the fact that the dilatory tactics of the republicans cause much irrelevant discussion. It took two more days to dispose of the paragraph putting lumber on the free list, and the debate took a wide range. During its continuance the democrats pinned several of the republican members down to the admission that protection did not secure any higher wages to men engaged in the lumber industries than are paid to men in the same region engaged in unprotected industries. Mr. Anderson, a republican from Iowa, took strong ground in favor of free lumber, and declared his purpose to support the Mills bill, since the republicans had failed to bring in any bill reducing the revenue, as they were bound to do by their platform.

One of the amusing incidents of the discussion was the persistence of Mr. Funston (republican) of Kansas in avoiding a direct answer to the question whether or not he was in favor of maintaining a duty on lumber. The republican legislature of Kansas has requested the members of the house from that state to vote for free lumber, and Mr. Funston's colleagues have in consequence voted with the democrats on that clause in the pending bill. Mr. Funston, however, managed in the course of a speech to declare that he was in favor of protecting every industry caried[sic] on in this country, and that he would therefore vote against putting lumber on the free list. The persistence with which he was questioned on the subject indicates an expectation that he will be called to a sharp account by his constituents for thus voting to continue an onerous tax on the people of the prairie states for the benefit of the millionaire owners of lumber lands in the northwest. The incident also afforded a new evidence of the growing restiveness of the western republicans under the burdens imposed upon them by a policy forced upon their party by its eastern members.

The debate on lumber was finally brought to an end, however, and the clauses reported by the committee on ways and means were adopted without amendment. Then came the clause putting salt on the free list, which gave another occasion for a whole day's debate. In the course of the discussion Mr. Cox made one of his usual witty speeches, and he was rudely interrupted by the notorious Mr. Belden, who represents the salt interests of Onondaga. Mr. Cox made fun of the salt representative and laughingly tried to make him apologize for a misstatement, but Belden was surly and neglected the opportunity to show[sic] himself capable of decency in debate.

The interesting incident in the salt discussion was a speech by Mr. Whiting of Michigan, a salt manufacturer representing a salt district, who made a sound argument for free salt, and declared his entire readiness to compete with England and all the world in the business. He declared that he made better salt than that imported, but admitted that there were in Michigan many dairymen who preferred the imported salt and used it, and such being the case he disclaimed any desire that the government of the United States should undertake to compel them to use his salt. Such a speech, coming from a salt manufacturer, produced something of a sensation in the house. The

Sic in the original; probably "carried".
Sic in the original; probably "share".

amendments of the republicans to the free salt clause were lost by a vote of 46 ayes to 86 noes, and the clause was accepted.

All of Saturday's session was devoted to the clauses putting flax and tow on the free list, and the same arguments about the effect of the tariff on wages were repeated. In fact, the relation of protection to labor has been the main subject of dispute, the democrats insisting that labor derives no benefit from it and the republicans exaggerating the differences in wages between this country and England, and claiming that to the tariff alone must we look for an explanation of the alleged high wages in this country. Both sides manifestly see that this must be the line of debate when the question comes before the country, and this clear perception of the real issue is likely to defeat the efforts of time serving trimmers to prevent any discussion of the merits of protection by democratic speakers on the stump.

LIMITATION OF FORTUNES.

The Boston *Globe* sensibly says in discussing overgrown fortunes and propositions to arbitrarily limit them by law, that "when our laws are made to say that a man cannot make just as much money as he possibly can, provided he makes it honestly." and "when affairs have come to such a crisis that the government takes the liberty of inspecting a private citizen's account books and reducing his business within certain prescribed limits, then democracy will have passed beyond the experimental era and will have demonstrated

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itself a flat failure." To all of which THE STANDARD says, "Amen!"

But it must not be forgotten that there is, or at least ought to be, vast significance in that adverb "honestly." A man should be allowed "to make just as much money as he possibly can, provided he can make it *honestly*." If that means anything, it means that laws must not be made—if made, must not be permitted to stand—which enable any one to make money by getting what other people earn.

When protective tariffs compel consumers to pay more for what they use than it is worth in open market, the beneficiaries of such tariffs do not make their money honestly. When railway franchises enable their owners to charge producers "all the traffic will bear" for transporting products, the beneficiaries of those franchises do not make their money honestly. When slave laws protect masters in appropriating the earnings of their slaves, the masters do not make their money honestly. When land laws force wages down by putting premiums on the natural opportunities of labor, the beneficiaries of cheapened labor do not make their money honestly. When landlords grow rich by taking part of the produce of labor as a price for permitting labor to be done, the landlords do not make their money honestly.

This is no indictment of individuals; it is an indictment of laws. Individuals who profit by such laws are simply doing what society invites them to do, and society has no right to complain. But such laws should be abolished, and every man left to make, in the language of the *Globe*, "just as much money as he possibly can, provided he makes it honestly."

The *Press* institutes a comparison between Belgium and Ireland, and therefrom deduces a moral. Belgium, it tells us, "is a shining example of national and industrial independence," while Ireland is "the Cinderella of the nations:"

> Belgium has her native government; her brave and chivalrous militia; her glorious universities; her manfacturing[sic] districts teeming with population; her well fed, comfortable, intelligent peasantry; her granaries fairly bursting with the weight and wealth of agriculture.
>
> Ireland, on the other hand, sits weeping in the widowhood of provincialism, the eternal shame of England. Her patient peasants labor on her fertile soil and reap the grain and tend the flocks, garnering and shearing for the stranger, and crawling into their cabins to live in a condition of permanent want.

And the reason of it all, according to the *Press*, is that Ireland is cursed with British free trade, while Belgium sits under the vine and fig tree of protection.

Evidently the *Press* writer has never been to Belgium, and doesn't know that next to England Belgium comes nearer to free trade than any country in Europe. But let that pass. There is one distinctive feature about the Belgian political system that the *Press* ignores. Out of 6,000,000 of inhabitants, only 117,000 have votes. According to the *post hoc ergo propter hoc* style of argument of the *Press*, the example of Belgium teaches that the way to secure the prosperity of a nation is to disfranchise its people.

The New York *Economist* seems to be very much muddled about the question of free wool, no unusual thing by the way for an economist of the protection persuasion. With a horrified air it warns the country that "the city is full of foreign wool dealers to-day watching the operations of congress and the passage of the Mills bill, and in such an event they are prepared to fill all orders and supply the American mills with a twelve months' stock at ten cents a pound less on unwashed wools, twenty cents on washed, and thirty cents on scoured wools, and fifty cents a pound on worsted combed tops." This is supposed to be disheartening news. But why, it is difficult to see. If American mills can get their raw material so much cheaper, they can and must sell their products cheaper; selling cheaper they will sell more; selling more they will need more workmen; and needing more workmen they will promote a tendency to higher wages. There is no necessity for shedding bitter tears over such a state of affairs.

The *Economist* appears to have suspected that its cheap foreign wool scare was not exactly adapted to the labor department of the protection school of political economy; so it treats one Mr. E. S. Higgins as a man who "stands ready to close the largest mill in America the remainder of the year if wool is admitted free." Mr. Higgins must contemplate an engagement with Barnum, as a mercantile "freak," if he seriously proposes to close his mill because he can get cheaper raw material. It would be intensely painful to have Mr. Higgins carry out his threat, but if he really "won't play," somebody else will, and we take pleasure in assuring these "foreign wool dealers" who are "watching the operations of congress and the passage of the Mills bill," that the American wool market will not close when Mr. Higgius[sic] takes his vacation.

Having thus tried to alarm mill owners by predicting lower prices of their raw material, and held np[sic] Mr. Higgins as the awful example who will not work up wool unless he has to pay from ten to fifty cents a pound more than it is worth, the *Economist* gravely assures its readers as "the fact of the matter" that "we have free wool now," and "have had it for two years." If that is true, what are those idiotic "foreign wool dealers" filling the city for, and why

Sic in the original; probably "manufacturing".
Sic in the original; probably "Higgins".
Sic in the original; probably "up".

are they "watching the operations of congress and the passage of the Mills bill?" Why do they not cable for the wool which they want to sell so

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cheap? And what is Mr. Higgins waiting for? Why does he merely stand "ready to close the largest mill in America the remainder of the year if wool is admitted free?" Why does he not close it now, since "we have free wool?" Barnum's season has already begun; he need not wait on that account.

This is a sample of the kind of argument that is served by protection advocates. In one brief paragraph we are asked to infer that cheap raw material will prevent its use in manufacturing; told that the largest manufacturer will close his mill if his raw material is made free of duty, and reminded that that very raw material is already free and has been for two years. Mark Twain used to tell of a unique character who made himself invincible in argument by the simple process of inventing his facts. Twain's character must have been the original protectionist.

Speaking of the democratic platform, the *Press* says: "We now have a free trade platform. If the people want free trade they will elect Cleveland and Thurman next November. If not, they will elect the republican candidates." This is not exactly true. We are sorry to say that the platform is not a free trade platform. It is an anti protective platform, and that is about as near to free trade as can be expected of a political platform in these early days of the great struggle upon which we are entering. It is a step, and a long and decisive one, in the direction of free trade. If that is what our *Sun*-eclipsing contemporary means there is no reason to find fault with its statement. The platform is in truth a challenge to the republicans to fight the protection issue; and any democrat who pretends to be a protectionist might as well pack up his traps and go over to his friends now as later in the contest. The latter part of the *Press's* observation is quite true. If the people—that is, a majority of the people—want free trade they will elect Cleveland and Thurman, and if not they will elect the republican candidates; and whether the democratic or the republican ticket be elected, this is certain, that the popular vote for Cleveland and Thurman will be the free trade vote of the country.

A Card from Father Huntington.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD:—Your editorial article last week assumes that the Rev. Dr. De Costa is expressing the opinion of "an association composed largely of clergymen" in his manifesto anent the Charity organization society. Will you allow me to state that I do not know of any other member of the church association for the advancement of the interests of labor who is with him in that attack, however we may agree with him in some of the main principles he lays down. I should like also to assure you, though the assurance seems hardly necessary, that several of the clergy associated with Dr. De Costa in that society are by no means blind to the fact that the monopolization of land is the cause of a large amount of poverty, and its consequent evil "class charity." However rapid may be the progress of our cause in the opening up to all of the natural sources of wealth, there will be, for one or two generations at least, a residuum of poverty, ignorance, imbecility and vice, in dealing with which some agency similar to that of the Charity organization society will be a constant necessity.

May I tax your patience a little farther to enter a protest against the occasional unfair attack upon the "Episcopal" church which finds place in your columns. The last slur cast upon us is for praying for our friends who cross the ocean that they may be "guarded from the dangers of the sea, from sickness, from the violence of enemies, and from every evil to which they may be exposed." We had thought that this was at least as "harmless a prayer as could be offered," and certainly did not suppose that we were impairing the efficiency of the transatlantic

steamship lines by repeating it. But your writer neglects to note that we do consider it necessary to pray for railroad travelers, and while the prayer from which he quotes is an occasional prayer which need never be said, we are required three times a week to repeat the petition, "That it may please Thee to preserve all who travel by land or by water," in which the one service is regarded as quite as much in need of God's care as the other. Perhaps if we said our prayers with more faith they might be as effectual in leading officials to a deeper sense of responsibility as are caustic articles in newspapers. Always sincerely yours,

JAMES O. S. HUNTINGTON, Sup. O. H. C.

The Way the Truth is Marching On.

LAND AND LABOR CLUB NO. 9, CLEVELAND, Ohio.—For a sample of missionary work would state that two weeks ago we had a very warm discussion with a prominent socialist on the question "whether or not the same system of competition would not prevail under the single tax; and if so, what right have George men to claim they have solved the labor problem." This same socialist at our last meeting handed in his name for membership in our club, stating that he agreed with us on the land question, and the only reason he opposed us before was that he knew nothing about it. This is a fair sample of the way in which the "truth is marching on."

L. E. SIEMON.

Shall We Drown Them?

Electric Age.

> We learn from western correspondents that the "tramp" element of the craft is making life a burden to many of the managers of the larger telegraph offices, who hire them, perhaps, in ignorance of their previous record, or because they need the assistance of even a "tramp" telegrapher for the time being. The "tramp" has managed to eke out a living in the beginning under the fostering care of penurious managements, because he would work cheap, and after he has become unmanageable he has been furnished with a pass and transported to another locality, where he is provided with work as an act of charity. This is the man the reliable, steady element of the craft has to compete with in some offices. What to do with the army of telegraphic tramps is a burning question to some managers. For the welfare and future of the profession, the tramps should be ignored altogether.

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ST. LOUIS SIDEWALKS.

St. Louis Landlords Assert an Ownership of Them and Collect Rent for Their Uso[sic] in Defiance of Law.

ST. LOUIS, June 4.—The often heard cry is: "Oh, the people are not being imposed on very much; if they were they wouldn't tolerate it." This is a stock argument of the conservatives. Let them consider the way St. Louis people are robbed of sidewalk privileges if they want to change their minds.

If there is anything about which people are thought to be jealous, it is the sidewalk: and yet to-day there are land owners who are deriving a snug sum every year for the use of the public sidewalks. In St. Louis, as in every large city, there are hundreds of fruit stands, book stalls, etc., occupying portions of the sidewalk, and I have yet to hear

Sic in the original; probably "Use".

of a single one paying a cent to the city. I inquired about this and was told that the house owner had the right to the use of a certain number of inches of the sidewalk. I then went to City Comptroller Campbell, who said: "These stalls have no right to occupy the public sidewalk." But I ventured to suggest that the people could not have tolerated this imposition all these years, especially since the sidewalks are only narrow at the best. Possibly the land owners or store owners had a right to the sidewalk? To this Mr. Campbell replied: "The building owners have no right to use the sidewalk for the purpose of exacting rent. That was not the intent or purpose of the law, giving them the use of so many inches. The practice has simply grown up in St. Louis unopposed, and that is all the basis there is to it. I do not think another large city in the country allows such renting."

I investigated still further and found that one fruit stall man on Broadway, near Pine street, pays an annual rental equal to $600. Another, near Sixth and Olive streets, pays $25 a month for his privilege. He showed the receipt for his last payment. It was signed by a well known firm of real estate dealers. The last mentioned stall is on one of the busiest corners in St. Louis, and where the travel is the thickest and the sidewalk the narrowest. Figuring at a rough guess, there are a thousand of these sidewalk selling places; and a policeman told me that that number was not too large; and placing the annual rent of each at $50, we have $50,000 a year that goes into the pockets of private persons for the use of public ground.

Yea, verily, it is hard to impose on the great American public!

As I stood thinking of this, I said to a police officer: "It's a shame, isn't it?"

"Oh, I don't know," he replied, "it don't affect me."

"It doesn't? Why, all you have been asking for is $50,000 to give the needed increase in the police force. How about this $50,000 that is going to waste?"

And then he scratched his head and admitted it seriously affected him.

CITIZEN.

The Modern Miracle Worker.

PATERSON, N. J.—The most peculiar feature of the movement for industrial freedom by breaking down the artificial barriers between work and workers, is the crop of single tax men who want the tariff taxes retained. How they can reconcile tariff taxes on almost all the products of labor with a single tax upon land values only is one of those conundrums which—like the Lady or the Tiger, the Man in the Iron Mask and who struck Billy Patterson—must go without any satisfactory reply. It must be that, ignoring all natural laws, they have come to believe that two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time, and therefore that there can be a single tax only and at the same time taxes on some 4,000 labor products.

Yet when one considers that the blessed tariff has converted this country from a howling wilderness into a smiling garden, it is asking a great deal to require people to forget what they owe to it. The difference between then and now—the fact that in the howling wilderness there was a chance for every one to dig out a living, and that the smiling garden is pretty well fenced in and protected by high walls of tariff laws, with broken bottles on top, and Pinkerton game marching around—don't matter much. We who stand outside the wall can enjoy the garden by reading the society column in the newspaper.

Since the wilderness has become a garden, and the garden is fenced in, when the owners want to allow a few men in to work in it, and there are more men waiting at the gates than the owners have use for, the wages of those who

do get in can be kept up by adding a few inches to the height of the fence or breaking a few more bottles; but that could not be done without having the fence to begin with.

Of course the fact that when three men want work and there is but work enough for two, wages will be low, don't operate in this garden; the fence changes all that. Were it not for the fence, the only way that wages could be kept up would be to have the owners of the garden need more men than were waiting for a job.

In fact, the fence is even more powerful to work miracles than any saint's relics ever were; like charity, it "blesses him who gives and him who receives," and if he who gives is satisfied to give, why, let him give and presently call the watch together and thank God for the modern miracle worker—the tariff.

E. W. NELLIS.

The Question of Taxing Mortgages.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—I have read your answers to the letter in which I sought to point out the inexpediency and injustice of treating the mortgagee as a joint owner and of taxing him accordingly, and they do not appear to be very satisfactory and by no means to go to the bottom of the matter.

You say that "the man who lends money on the security of vacant land, standing timber, or a mining privilege, stands on precisely the same equitable footing as the man who buys vacant land, standing timber, or a mining privilege;" but you make no effort to show this to be so. If you mean to say that the people, being the real owners of the thing pledged, may deprive the mortgagee of his security at any time, you are right, but that is quite a different matter. You will observe that there must be a debt before there can be a mortgage, and that to tax the debt because it is secured by a mortgage is to tax it merely because of one of its incidents discriminating against it and in favor of all nonsecured debts. If this is done under the supposition that all money loaned on unimproved properties is really purchase money it is wide of the mark, and if it were not it still would be unjust. If I have sold land and taken a mortgage for the purchase money I am certainly entitled to full payment, principal and interest (if the land after the single tax has begun is still worth so much), before the purchaser receives anything. If your tax on existing mortgages means anything it means that this purchaser and myself are to show the depreciation incident to the adoption of the single tax. Is this right? I have searched the works of Mr. Henry George in vain for any justification for such a proceeding.

When the slaves were freed, those holding liens on them, whether for purchase money

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or otherwise, lost their chattel security, but retained their debt as before, to be enforced against other property of the debtor; and it would seem that this should be the plan to be followed whenever the single tax is adopted. I cannot see that the "equitable footing," as you call it, of a creditor, is altered because he has landed security in addition to personal. Exactly what end you have in mind in advocating this tax on existing land mortgages, I do not know, but I am unable to see any good result that can come from it. If the debt is due, or nearly due, such a tax will either hasten its foreclosure or its renewal at an advanced rate that will pay the tax and net the mortgagee the same interest as before. If the debt is not due, the tax will constitute a pure confiscation of a portion of the interest for the sole benefit of the debtor! A proposal to admit evidence as to the use the money loaned had been put to would be unworthy of any lawyer or statesman, for it would put a premium on fraud and perjury on the debtor's part; while the taxing of all existing land mortgages without regard to what use was made of the money loaned would be even more unjust, if possible.

When Mr. Post gets off on his pet schemes of exempting homesteads and taxing mortgages, I can hardly recognize the clear and forceful exponent of the single tax in its unclouded brilliancy, and I hope he will abandon these strange idols or give us some reason for the faith that is within him.

Very respectfully,

BOLTON SMITH.

PLAIN FREE TRADE TALK.

Hot Shot Against Protection at a Democratic Mass Meeting in Brooklyn.

An illustration of the way in which free trade doctrine comes to the front whenever a few men engage in tariff talk, was to be seen at a mass meeting held last Monday evening by the Seventeenth ward Cleveland club of Brooklyn, to ratify the nominations made at St. Louis. The meeting was a very large one, all the representative men of the party in the district being present. The first speaker, United States Marshal Stafford, declared that the democratic party did not advocate free trade, and that it was dishonest in any one to say to the contrary. The party had for its its[sic] aim democratic protection—protection against trusts and monopolies.

Martin D. Wilbur, however, who was the next speaker, thought differently. He started out with the declaration that he himself was a free trader, and he talked along in this fashion:

The tariff question is the real issue of the campaign. The campaign is to be a campaign of reason and facts against old prejudices. He could not understand how Irishmen, driven out of their country by the tyranny of landlordism, could in this country cast their ballots in the interest of great monopolies and a landlord class just as tyrannous and grinding as those in the old country.

Senator Frye had stated before a New England audience that were the tariff on hatchets removed that industry would be destroyed. How, then, was it that these New England hatchets were being sold in London markets? How could the abolition of the tariff hurt this industry? The same condition of things was to be found all through the protected industries.

American workmen have nothing to fear from the extinction of the tariff. They, with their superior intelligence, coupled with their skill and superior inventive genius, could, were the barriers to free exchange thrown down, command the markets of the world. As it is, for one man benefited by the tariff sixteen men have to suffer. He said that the labor required to manufacture a five-pound blanket costs thirty-three cents, but that the tariff on blankets amounted to $1.98. He asserted that, taking all things into consideration, in the industries most highly protected by the tariff the lowest wages prevailed, and he instanced the iron, steel, glass and coal industries. Reversely, he said, wages are highest in unprotected industries.

The speech, bristling throughout with facts and terse arguments, told on the audience, who cheered enthusiastically, and when the speaker sat down he was roundly applauded.

[Progress and Poverty Class.

After a recess of several months the Progress and Poverty class met last Monday evening at No. 392 Bowery. Arrangements have been made to hold regular meetings on the first Monday of each month at this place. On July

Sic in the original; probably “its”.

2, at 8 p. m., W. J. Gorsuch will deliver an address on the subject “Is the tariff a side issue?” Members of the class and friends are urged to be present and may look for a lively debate.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Three little waifs were picked up on Friday night and were taken yesterday to Randall’s island.—[New York Sun.

Competition for employment has now driven women to make walking advertisements of themselves. They have not fallen quite to the level of the sandwich men, but let time alone for that. At present young, comely and shapely women are fitted out by leading milliners and dressmaking establishments in the newest and most pronounced costumes and sent out to promenade in Broadway and Fifth avenue. It is said that the girls selected are those who have been for several years used in their employers’ stores as models on which to show off goods, and thus have become so well known to wealthy customers that on being seen in the streets, they are instantly recognized. Thus the freshest wares offered for sale are announced under the most favorable circumstances.

It might almost be said that there has been an epidemic of suicides of late. The causes leading to them have been of a varied character, and while in some cases prolonged dissipation led up to the tragedies, in others the motive appears to have been a fear on the part of the suicide that he could not support either himself or his family.—[Philadelphia Record.

William Link of Brooklyn applied to the charities department a few days ago to have the county physicians inquire into the sanity of his wife, who lives in an old hotel building on the old Johnson road beyond Bushwick avenue. The physicians investigated the case and found that Mrs. Link was sane, but that the treatment she had been receiving from her husband was such as to warrant the belief that her head might be turned at any moment. The family was found in abject poverty, without proper food or clothing. The condition of the children was such as to warrant an investigation by the Society for the prevention of cruelty to children.

A report reached a church at Georgetown, Ind., during services, that gold had been discovered in the neighborhood, and that nuggets worth $4 or $5 apiece were being found on the surface, whereupon every person left the church in the midst of the sacred exercises and began to search for worldly wealth, leaving the minister utterly alone with his God.

Chicago contains a class of houses and people that represent the lowest condition that can exist in a civilized country. It is a condition scarcely above the brute creation. In fact, it is worse than beast life, inasmuch as it has none of the natural advantages the brutes possess—pure air, pure water, and sun- shine—that are free to them, but impossible to the humans who inhabit a certain class of tenements.—[Milwaukee Review.

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MEN AND THINGS.

A sudden, though unfortunately a very brief glare of light has been thrown upon the public school system of New York, by the recent investigation into Superintendent Jasper's character and fitness for his position. The illumination has been brief, because Mr. Jasper's "vindication" has been prompt, and with the official indorsement of his methods by the board of education, the curtain naturally descends.

Enough has been revealed, however, to furnish very serious food for thought. Two things have been made evident: that the public school system of New York is grievously inadequate to the needs of the city's population, and that the methods of instruction are such as to tend to store the children's memories with a blind knowledge of accepted facts, without giving them any training worth speaking of in the art of using their minds and increasing their stock of knowledge by observation and reasoning. In the higher schools and classes there appears to be ample room for all who seek instruction; but the lower grades are over crowded to a degree that renders anything like efficient teaching an impossibility. And the method of determining the merit of teachers and scholars by the number of book questions that the pupils can be brought to answer by rote is necessarily prejudicial to education in the true sense of the word.

Why does the state educate her children? Not out of charity or kindness. Were such the reason, it would be difficult to say why public clothing stores and public kitchens, where all who would might be freely clothed and fed, should not be established alongside the public schools. It is in order that they may become good citizens, that the state may escape the awful danger of breeding up a generation of ignorant, irresponsible voters, in whose hands the ballot might prove a frightful weapon of destruction.

Now the first and most essential quality of good citizenship is the ability to think—to sift and weigh evidence and argument—to foresee consequences, to detect fallacies, to know the right thing from the wrong thing, the just from the unjust. In a democracy founded on equal suffrage each man is, to the extent of his own vote, a sovereign, and a sovereign whose power is despotic. And just as an infinitude of separate fibers, each one so feeble that an infant's strength can break it, can be twisted into a giant hawser that shall suffice to pull down a steeple, just so may a sufficient number of individual votes be combined into one gigantic power that shall outdo in sheer despotism the czardom of all the Russias.

And this is true, in these times of ours, as in the history of the world it never was before. There are men now living, who within the limits of their recollection have seen greater changes in the factors of civilization—in the methods of wealth production and exchange—than occurred in any five hundred years, of which we have any record, before the opening of the nineteenth century. Compare the slow discovery and settlement of the new world with the rushing development of the force of steam—the tardy, cautious growth of old time commerce with the rapid exchanges and organizations made possible by electricity—the building up of territorial kingdoms with the mushroom-like up-springing of commercial monopolies. With the tremendous mastery mankind has so suddenly obtained over the forces of nature social problems are presenting themselves which, rightly or wrongly,

must be solved at once. For good or evil, the men of to-day must decide in what way they will use the genii they have summoned. That the genii will prove profitable servants, or untamed destructive influences, according as we decide to use them, none will deny. Only, how *are* we going to use them? That is the question fronting us, and which must be answered by the men and women trained and training in our public schools.

Now, in the mere memorizing of rules of arithmetic, and of facts in geography and history, what is there to fit a human being for the study of the great problem of the day—the question of securing to labor its full opportunity and its full reward? What to our school children is the source of knowledge? Not examination and discovery—not weighing of evidence and careful judgment—but blind acceptance of authority. The book says so, or the teacher says so, or somebody says so who is supposed to know. It is not by methods such as this that men are taught to claim their rights as freemen, and to maintain them unimpaired.

And the pity of it is that we pursue this system, not in ignorance, but out of mere indolence. We know better. The science of education is no mystery. We could train our children to use their minds if we only would. But it is less trouble to find out what book questions a pupil can answer than what he really knows. And so we grade our teachers efficient or incapable according as they turn out a greater or less number of pupils who can give set answers to set questions, and send out into the world year after year fresh thousands of young men and women who are made to believe that they have received "a good common school education," when in reality we have given them nothing that can properly be defined as an education of any kind.

The *Star*, alone among the London dailies, recognizes the true cause of the evil, and points out that it is of little use to try to check the growth of poverty in London while land values are left to be appropriated by private individuals. Meantime the people who live by other people's labor are busily urging, and to some extent applying, their pet panaceas. Technical education is the latest of these. If only the poor wretches in the slums of London can be transformed into skilled work people there will be no more trouble. And actually they have had a meeting at the lord mayor's residence to take steps for raising £150,000 to found a great school of technology. It never seems to occur to these good people that the demand for skilled labor is vastly more limited than

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that for unskilled. If every wretched sewing woman in London were a skilled telegrapher or typewriter, what could they possibly do save to drag down the wages of telegraphers and typewriters without raising those of sewing women?

The English house of lords committee continues its investigation into the ways and methods of the "sweaters." Not a little indignation has been aroused over evidence showing that such aristocratic labor employers as Poole and Redfern have been on the whole as willing to avail themselves of the services of sweaters as the more humble dealers in slop clothing. The two great tailoring houses will be made to bear a certain amount of odium which they ought justly to escape, since it is no tyranny of theirs, but the great social crime of land monopoly that has wrought the evil. But the introduction of their names has had one distinctly good result. It has effectually disposed of the claim that the sweating system flourishes because employers can't afford to pay high wages. No protective tariff that ever was devised could maintain prices at an abnormal level half so effectually as is done by the decrees of fashion that certain things shall be bought at certain places and nowhere else. If employers paid high wages simply because they realized large profits, the people who work for Poole and Redfern would have little cause of complaint.

As might be expected, the evils of the sweating system are as rampant in Paris as in London. Indeed, it is probable that they are greater in the French capital; the trained economy of the people enabling the standard of subsistence to sink to a far lower point of cost, and thus distributing misery among a greater number of people.

The Parisian municipality has taken up the question, and adopted a series of ordinances which they think will diminish the evil. Hereafter, whoever contracts to perform any work for the municipality must do so subject to the following regulations:

> The employment of sub-contractors, taskmasters, or sweaters (marchandeurs) is formally forbidden.

> The workmen employed for the works of the town must be working directly for the concessionists or contractors, and not for any intermediary.

> The normal duration of a day's work shall not exceed nine hours of effective work, and there shall be one day's rest per week.

Another regulation provides that the wages paid by contractors shall never fall below a certain minimum, which is a little above the rate paid by ordinary private employers. Where overtime is unavoidable there is stipulated an increase of twenty-five per cent for day work and double pay for night work.

All this is only doing, in a different way, and to a less degree, what the Bourbon kings did when they artificially cheapened the price of bread in Paris—selling it there for less than cost. The roads swarmed with people from other towns, making their way toward the favored city, where bread was cheap. The new ordinances recognize the possibility of an effect of this kind, for one clause provides that no contractor shall be permitted to employ more than one foreigner for every ten persons in his service.

The United States maintains an expensive academy at Annapolis, in Maryland, besides a small fleet of training ships and a force of officers and seamen, all for the purpose of giving a number of young gentlemen a costly and very complete education, not only free of charge, but absolutely free of all expenses whatever. It would be an exaggeration, perhaps, to say that the United States navy is maintained at a terrific cost for the sole purpose of providing for these young gentlemen after graduation from the naval academy; but it is unquestionable that that is at least one, and by no means the least important, of the functions of the navy. Every graduate is entitled to enter the service if there is a vacancy for him; and if no vacancy exists, he gets a year's pay and an honorable discharge, and is left to make his own way in the world, with the advantage of an education such as few young men can command.

Surely all this is liberal enough. So liberal, indeed, that it is hard to find grounds on which it can be defended. The best that can be said for it is that it secures to the government, though at a terrible expense, the services of a specially expert set of men, who have given evidence of their fitness by passing a searching examination before graduation.

But now comes the news from Washington that at the examinations held this month at Annapolis, thirteen out of a graduating class of twenty-three were found deficient in their knowledge of steam engineering and therefore could not pass. Upon which, by instruction from somebody in authority, the requirements were modified, a new examination held, and the thirteen, passing triumphantly, were gratified with a year's pay each and honorably discharged. Between jobbery of this kind and dispensing with the examination altogether is only a difference of degree.

There is a prospect of a fresh set of fishery complications—this time with the government of Denmark. A thoughtless providence has made the coast of Greenland a great resort for halibut, and the fishermen of Gloucester have found it out and are going there to catch them. This displeases the Danish owners of Greenland, who look upon the halibut as their property, and they have consequently issued a circular of warning, notifying their intention to seize and confiscate any fishing vessel found in those parts.

The Rev. Lyman Abbott, in his new pulpit at Plymouth church last Sunday, took up his testimony against the present industrial system, which he looks upon as the fruitful parent of social ills, and which apparently he expects to see swept away, or at all events seriously modified, by some special act of providence. "In the name of Christ," said Dr. Abbott, "I demand of the social system that it shall not be perfected by the accomplishments of competition, but that every man who wants work

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shall be able to get it, and that he shall be permitted to earn his bread by the sweat of his brow."

Yes; but how? There are just two things needed to secure a man work—first, a place to work in or on, and, second, material to work with. Given those, and no man need be idle. Deny either one of them, or let private individuals monopolize the supply of either one, so that they can either charge blackmail for the use of it, or forbid its use on any terms, and straightway it becomes inevitable that the man who wants work should *not* be able to get it save by virtue of that very competition that Dr. Abbott wishes to see swept away.

It is a pity that men like Dr. Abbott should strain their eyes with gazing toward the distant mountain peaks, looking for a special deliverance to come from the mysterious beyond, when right before their very feet lies the path that leads to safety if they would but see it and take it.

The speeches and reports made at the annual congress of British and Irish co-operative societies show that the advocates of this form of industrial organization are beginning to appreciate the difficulties of their system, if not to understand its fatal imperfections. The principal discussion was on the subject of co-operative production; and the question to which no satisfactory answer could be found was, how can co-operative production be carried on so as to avoid making of it an engine of oppression greater than any of the non-co-operative systems now in vogue. Is there any difference, so far as the outside world is concerned, between a thousand men banded together in a co-operative association for the making of shoes, and a shoe making corporation employing a thousand laborers, save that the former, by superior efficiency, may possibly force down the price of shoes, and thus diminish the wages of non-co-operative shoemakers? The speaker at the congress sought to find a solution of this difficulty in universal organized co-operation, and with more or less indefiniteness pronounced in favor of state socialism. One speaker, indeed, Mr. G. E. Quirk, boldly faced the question, and declared that every co-operative society must be run in the interest of its members without regard to the interests of other people. "The primary purpose of all trade, commerce or manufacture," said Mr. Quirk, "is to make a profit, to benefit and enrich in the first instance those immediately concerned, and the men who profess to be actuated by any other motives, to be disinterested, and to sell their merchandise and manufacture their wares from pure philanthropy and from a desire to benefit their fellow men, are guilty of the most transparent hypocrisy and cant, and will have to tell their story to other than hard headed Britishers to be believed." Mr. Quirk's common sense utterance, however, met with no favor, and was condemned by nearly every delegate who spoke.

One peculiarity of the representatives of the co-operative idea who assembled in this congress was their curious confusion of thought about the meaning of the terms production and distribution. Production, according to their definition, ends with the process of manufacturing; the warehouse, the retail store, and other machinery for continuing the process of production until the goods reach consumers, are regarded by them as factors of distribution. Thus, they speak of a co-operative store as distributive co-operation; but of a co-operative factory as productive co-operation.

This confusion of thought renders them singularly unable to make any correct estimate of the merits of such co-operative schemes as have already been brought into successful operation. It is in evidence, for example, that the great co-operative stores, especially in London, have had considerable to do with the development of the sweating system, not only by their own efforts to obtain goods at constantly lower prices, but by forcing their competitors in business to cut wages down to the last possible penny. But the members of the congress regard this condition of

affairs with perfect equanimity. For, they say, these stores are solving the problem of distribution, and can safely afford to leave the productive system to take care of itself. From men so disastrously ignorant of economic terminology little can be hoped in the way of clear thought and correct reasoning.

The evil possibilities of our system of jury trials were well illustrated in a case tried in Baltimore last week before Judge Duffy. The question was as to the validity of a will by which the testator, a wealthy Baltimore builder, absolutely disinherited his five children by a first wife, and left his entire property to the second wife and her children. The jury reported several times that there was no prospect of their agreeing, but Judge Duffy flatly refused to discharge them, declaring that he would keep them locked up for a month or more, if necessary, until they should find a verdict. As a result of this threat, the jury brought in a verdict sustaining the will.

It is hardly necessary to say that a verdict so obtained cannot by any possibility represent the honest, unbiased opinion of the entire jury. The effect of Judge Duffy's threat was that some members of the jury deliberately violated their oaths, and assented to a finding which in their hearts they believed to be unjust. If the plaintiffs in the case had sought to influence the jury by bribes or threats of violence, they would have done, in defiance of the law, precisely what Judge Duffy did as an administrator of the law.

Single Tax League Notes.

The clerk of the league reports the membership slowly but steadily increasing.

W. and M. W. M. say: "Have had a group working, which was organized before the foundation of the league. It has frequent meetings, with lively discussions and much interest manifested."

T. P. B. of Brooklyn thinks the group idea one of the best for propagating the faith, and has no doubt that it will be to many what he hopes it will be to him, a return to social pleasures that have been put aside to advance the single tax principles.

C. W. D. of Sailors' Suug[sic] Harbor, N. Y.,
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writes to join the league and express his hearty approval of it. He says: "It would pain me to miss one word that Mr. George has written. I have read all of his published works and distributed six complete sets of them, together with five hundred tracts, among my acquaintances. I regard it an honor to help this cause, which is the cause of all humanity, by every means in my power."

ELECTRICITY IN PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE.

The electric railway has begun to displace the horse car line and the more modern cable road in America. According to the *Electric Age* there are already one hundred and thirty miles of road in operation on this continent. Of this number twenty-one miles are in operation in Pennsylvania, sixteen miles in New York, ten in Ohio and eighty-three miles in New Jersey, Maryland, Colorado, Michigan, California, Alabama, Virginia, Kansas, Delaware, Rhode Island and Ontario combined. There are in course of construction, or contracted for, one hundred and fifty additional miles. These roads, constructed and in course of construction, are located in sixty-five towns and cities.

The various systems employ for the most part an overhead wire, which is tapped by the car as it moves along the track. The current used in one of these systems is of very low tension, so that there is no danger of fatal accidents

Sic in the original; probably "Snug (turned n)".

from contact with the wires. In the storage battery system the car carries its own motive power along with it in the shape of electrical energy boxed up in storage batteries. This plan has been successfully tried in St. Louis and on the Fourth avenue line in New York city.

Another application of electricity to railroading has been made by the Cumberland valley railroad. The company has a car for the purpose of furnishing electric lights for picnics, camp meetings, removing wrecks after dark, and various other purposes. It is a common box car, strongly built, and in which is an 8½ horse power boiler and engine, which runs a fifteen arc lamp dynamo. Each lamp is 2,000 candle power. There is a reel containing three miles of insulated wire, and all the appliances necessary to supply lights at any reasonable distance from the track. It is said that it paid for itself in one year by the increased sale of tickets to picnics and camp meetings. The Pennsylvania railroad also hired it to light up the removal of a bad wreck at Duncannon. It is now proposed, too, to apply a method of welding metals by electricity to steel rails. A Baltimore electrician has invented a process by which the ends of the rails are firmly welded after they are laid on the track, and the joint is afterward made as hard as the rest of the rail. It is claimed that the joint can be made in half a minute. The proposal is to thus make rails a quarter of a mile long, and the consequent smooth travel would[,?] it is said effect a great saving of wear and tear to rails, wheels and cars.

How simple is the operation of even the more intricate electrical appliances is shown by what has recently been done by some farmers in Michigan. There has grown up in a county in that state a telegraph system which might be generally extended throughout the rural districts everywhere. The system began by two farmers connecting their houses with a wire for their own convenience and operating their line with the ordinary Morse instruments. Gradually other farmers extended the line to their houses, and after a time the wire was run into the neighboring village. Seven years ago the combined farmers and a few village merchants organized themselves into a company, and it has since been extended until now it has sixty-five miles of wire and ninety offices, two-thirds of the latter being in farm houses, and nearly all the rest in stores where these farmers do their trading.

The use of electric lights by steamships has shortened the passage through the Suez canal very materially. In 1887 the average time of passage was only thirty-four hours. The fastest passage made by a steamer using the electric light was a trifle over fifteen hours. The American yacht Namouna, being permitted to steam faster than a large steamer, went through in thirteen hours and fifty-three minutes.

In other branches of industry the new force is being used more and more every day. Electric motors can now be classed as a new shop tools[sic]. Any one can run them with one-half hour's previous instruction. Blowers, elevators for foundries, scrap shears and trip hammers for smith shops; flexible shafts, punches and drills in tank and boiler shops; paint mills, grind stones, transfer tables, cranes and hydraulic lifts everywhere, are some of the appliances which can be easily and economically operated by electric power. When wanted this power is instantly ready, and when shut off the expense ceases.

The Ways of the Puget Sound Lumber Ring.

WISTON, Wash. Ter.—Here is a clipping from the Seattle *Post-Intelligencer*, describing the methods of the Puget sound loggers in keeping up the price of lumber:

> At the regular monthly meeting of the Puget sound loggers' association last evening, it was unanimously decided to curtail one-third the output of logs for the balance of the year, commencing June 1. The matter was fully discussed, but there was no opposition to the measure, as it was the general opinion that too many

Sic in the original; probably "classed as new shop tools (or"a new shop tool")".

> logs were being put into the water to keep prices at living rates. The opinion was generally expressed that if the heavy reduction made was not sufficient, a still further reduction would be made or the camps shut down entirely October 1, or before. The logger's association[sic] represents three-fifths of the logging interest on the sound. The association has assurances from several loggers who are not members that they will also curtail their output. The action will make a difference of 80,000,000 feet in the output of the members of the association alone for the balance of the year.

This same combination of loggers have lately been circulating a petition praying congress not to abolish the lumber duty.

H. C. CROCKETT.

Commending Congressman Fitch.

HARLEM SINGLE TAX CLUB, Room 3, 247 West 125th street, NEW YORK, June 5.—The following resolutions were adopted at a regular meeting of the above named club, held this day:

Whereas, The Hon. Ashbel P. Fitch, representative from the Thirteenth congressional district, in which the club is situated, has displayed conspicuous boldness in taking a step in the right direction toward the removal of taxes from industry, in defiance of party dictation;

Resolved, That the Harlem single tax club warmly commends Mr. Fitch for his independence of thought and action; and on behalf of this club and in common with the 6,500 voters whose resolution to condemn his predecessor's refusal to consider any reduction of the tariff, which made possible the election of Mr. Fitch, we urge upon him a continued support of the Mills bill and hope that he may proceed from this to a more radical opposition to that colossal humbug, the protective tariff.

CHARLES H. MITCHELL, Rec. Sec.

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THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

The platform suits me perfectly. The issue is made plain enough.—[Ex-Governor Foster of Ohio (republican).

A protective tariff does not, and in the nature of the case cannot, fix the wages of labor.—[Fulton, Ill., Journal.

Even the prohibitionists are in line with the rapidly growing sentiment of the country in favor of tariff reform.—[St. Paul Globe.

The people of Philadelphia are building more houses every year than the people of any other city on this continent; but their dunderhead congressmen all want lumber taxed.—[Philadelphia Record.

The democratic hosts who were looking for an unequivocal declaration against the excessive taxation which robs both labor and commerce in order to build up monopolies, will not be disappointed.—[Boston Globe.

Sic in the original; probably "loggers' association (as earlier in the same extract)".

It is confessed on all sides that the one vital issue of the contest just opened by the nomination of the democratic candidates is tariff revision and revenue reduction. They constitute one issue and they are paramount.—[Philadelphia Times.

This time, thanks to the southern brigadiers. The country owes a debt of gratitude, probably to them exclusively, and not to the president in this instance, for the explicit commitment of the democratic party to the cause of free trade.—[New York Tribune.

The democratic platform, then, indorses Cleveland's clear and ringing message sent to congress on December 6, 1887, a message so courageous and original that it fell like a thunderbolt upon the opposition and alarmed the most nervous of his own following.—[New York Star.

To reaffirm the tariff plank of 1884 and approve it, together with Cleveland's message, and declare that it was correctly interpreted by the president, can mean only that the worse half is thrown away and the democracy is now back to the position of 1880 and demands a tariff for revenue only.—[Chicago Tribune (Rep.)

It would have been a stupendous stultification for the national convention to nominate Mr. Cleveland upon a platform facing both ways on this vital issue, while the president and the democratic party in congress are moving together in one direction for tax reduction through tariff reform.—[New York World.

The unanimous cry of the democratic party is formally recorded that the country must recognize its utterance as the positive demand for the immediate passage of the Mills free trade bill, and as equally positive indorsement of President Cleveland's free trade message.—[Philadelphia North American (Rep.)

By its action on the closing day of its session the convention at St. Louis not only rounded out the work which it began so well with the nomination of Mr. Cleveland, but raised the democratic party clearly to the level of its candidate and established tariff reform as an unmistakable issue of the campaign.—[Boston Post.

The democratic platform says that its terms do not mean free trade. That was to satisfy the protection sentiment of the country. It then indorses free trade. That was to satisfy President Cleveland and Chairman Mills. The voters will understand it as a free trade document, and they will make no mistake.—[Chicago Evening Journal (Rep.)

The platform, with the Mills bill attachment, is free trade. Through the verbiage, verbosity and irrelevancies which it contains, the president's free trade message and the free trade bill of which Chairman Mills is the putative author, are plainly apparent as the issue of the campaign. The democrats want to make free trade the sole issue, and it will be the leading issue.—[Chicago Evening Journal (Rep.)

The high tariff men argue that all the nations that have adopted high tariffs are getting rich. Why not all the nations adopt high tariff, and all get rich? Do you see the point? They could undoubtedly all fill up the treasuries, but where would the money come from? It would come from the people; it would be a slick way of robbing the people. Our plan is absolute free trade, and let governments be supported by direct taxation.—[Boise City, Idaho, Republican.

The principal features of the platform adopted at St. Louis were the indorsement of the free trade views as expressed in the message by President Cleveland, and also the indorsement of the Mills bill now pending in congress. The effect of this action will be to make the issue clear and distinct. After years of trimming we have the vital issue, free trade or protection, before the American people, for them to decide.—[New York Press.

It was inevitable that there should be a clash and a stubborn conflict over the tariff question at St. Louis. It does not follow from this fact that there is any serious division in the democratic party on that question. It was merely

a last and desperate attempt of a small number of delegates, acting in the interest of a group of wealthy and influential monopolists, to bedevil the convention and the party.—[New York Commercial Advertiser (Rep.).

Such early and apparently hearty unanimity upon a ticket and a definite policy of tariff revision and surplus reduction will give the democrats advantage at the start. They will enter upon the contest with strong candidates, with an aim and a purpose, and with the immense power of the federal patronage at their backs. It would seem that nothing but the leadership of such a candidate as Judge Gresham and a liberal and progressive tariff and tax reduction policy could save the republicans.—[Springfield Republican (Rep.).

The cut and dried programme of the St. Louis convention, so far as Mr. Cleveland is concerned, has been carried out. He has been renominated without a sign of opposition. His renomination settles the issue of the campaign, which will be the tariff question. Mr. Cleveland and his party are committed to a free trade programme by his message, by the Mills bill, by their repeated declarations. The republican party with all its leaders is the party of protection, the party of the tariff. There can be no mistaking the issue of the presidential campaign in 1888.—[Philadelphia News.

The republicans are much frightened about the tariff agitation leading in time to absolute free trade. That is just where tariff reform will lead to, and is the reason why we are supporting the position of the democratic party. Tariff reform will lead to the adoption of the single tax on land values and the abolition of all taxation on the products of labor. Then, and not till then, will monopoly be throttled and a man willing to work have an opportunity to do so without paying tribute to monopoly for the privilege.—[Grand Rapids (Mich.) Workman.

American workingmen are coming in competition with the pauper labor of Europe very fast. Nearly a million immigrants arrive in this country every year, and nine out of ten are poor, while all at once enter into competition with the American. While our immigration laws remain as they are, the manufacturer will obtain his labor in the cheapest market. Then why should he be "protected" by tariff laws which compel the American consumer to purchase many of the necessities of life in the dearest market of the world—the home market? Our high tariff laws are not only cruelly burdensome, but are impudently inconsistent.—[Salt Lake Herald.

The great struggle at St. Louis has been over the platform, and over a single one of its component parts. This struggle began when the president's message was delivered, and it has culminated in an indorsement of the principles of the message. The result could hardly have been otherwise, because if Mr. Cleveland is to be renominated, he must be taken as he is. The democrats have taken their stand, not without some contest, but yet manfully and openly. What will the re

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publicans do when their turn comes? We need not anticipate what particular form of words they will employ in their platform. It is not what they may say at Chicago, but what they will do in Washington, that will be decisive.—[New York Evening Post.

Republicans will rejoice with the free traders that they have at last thrown off the mask and determined to make an open fight. If the sentiment of the country is in favor of a revenue tariff and against protection, then Messrs. Cleveland and Thurman will be elected. If not, the republicans will achieve a victory in November that will settle the vexed question for a generation and start the country upon a new era of prosperity.—[Pittsburg Commercial-Gazette (Rep.)

After all, the democracy have advanced on the tariff reform road in spite of themselves. The logic of events has proven stronger than their disinclination to show their hands, and during this canvass, at least, it will be next to impossible for their orators to refer to their party as anything but one that is on the road to tariff reduction, if not free trade. Now let the republican party lock horns on this great issue, and next fall the electors of the republic will have the satisfaction of knowing whether a majority of the American people believe in taxation for revenue only,

or taxation for the purpose of giving one portion of the people an advantage over all the others.—[Detroit Evening News.

LOUISIANA FARMERS.

Denouncing the Tariff and Working Along Toward the Single Tax.

VILLE PLATTE, La., June 2—The following resolutions, passed at a meeting of the Farmers' union here, will show how we stand on the tariff issue, and how we are edging toward direct taxation—the single tax.

Whereas, one of the avowed objects of the organization is to demand equal rights for all, special privileges for none. For years we have been heavily taxed for the benefit of the favored few till it has come to pass that we are on the verge of ruin. Under the guise which this imposition on the people has assumed, we enumerate,

1. The protective tariff by which we are made to pay from twenty-five to seventy-five per cent more than the natural market price of nearly every article of the merchandise which we buy.

2. The national banking system by which we are forced to furnish money to corporations to do business on, free of interest, while we are obliged to pay as high as forty per cent for the money we borrow of these banks.

3. Millions of acres of the public domain have been donated to railroad companies without consideration, while these corporations have been empowered to tax at their pleasure the people in the sections traversed by these roads, given to the Pacific railroad, for instance, and a hundred million dollars in money; therefore, be it

Resolved by the Ville Plate[sic] farmers' union, That we are opposed to a protective tariff, because a restricted market reduces the price of what we sell and increases the price of what we buy; and, second, because it can by no possibility increase the wages of American workmen, as claimed, because it does not restrict the importation of underpaid European laborers, the only importation which affects the wages of American workmen.

Resolved, That we are opposed to the duties on imports for revenue purposes, because it is an insidious mode of taxation under which the average buyer cannot tell how much of the price of merchandise is a tax and how much is the market price of the goods; because, second, it is a system which gives rise to fraudulent importations, false swearing and the kindred evils; and because, third, the necessity of guarding many thousand miles of sea coast and frontier gives rise to the employment of an army of officers by land and a navy of revenue cutters by sea.

Resolved, That banking forms no part of the real functions of government and that we demand the early cancellation of all outstanding bonds, the retirement of bank notes passed thereon, and the issuing of non-interest bearing notes in amounts to suit the legitimate demands of trade and no more.

Resolved, That the public domain belongs of right to the American people, and the granting any portion thereof to corporations in preference to the working farmer, thereby enabling the non-worker to rack rent the worker, who has at least as good a claim on his country, is contrary to natural right and justice, and to the spirit of American institutions.

Resolved, That according to majority and minority reports of the senate, the people's money paid for the building of the Pacific railroad[,?] and the power to tax at pleasure the people of the section traversed by the roads,

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Sic in the original; probably "Ville Platte (as in the dateline)".

ruthlessly exercised for years, amply compensate the incorporators for any possible services rendered, they can well afford to forego further exactions on an indulgent public by surrendering the roads and franchises to the proper owners.

As illustrating the way in which tariff discussion leads toward the single tax, it is worth mentioning that when these resolutions had been debated and the conclusion reached that taxation of imports was the most objectionable method of raising revenue, the question, "Upon what shall taxes be levied?" arose, and I was invited to address the meeting on the subject of "direct taxation."

When men get this far along the road it is an easy matter to show them the way to the logical end.

D. C. DAVID, Secretary V. P. Farmers' Union.

Why Not Lay Mains at Public Expense and Pay for Them Out of the Enhanced Land Values?

Toronto Globe.

The village of York sets an example to Toronto in compelling the owners of the property benefited to pay for the water mains laid opposite their property. Toronto has been plundered of some hundreds of thousands of dollars in the past to pay for water mains that were laid in advance of the public needs, and that would not have been laid till some years afterward if there had not been speculative land grabbers to conciliate. Many miles of pipe have been laid through unproductive property to benefit somebody's "addition." If the intervening property had been assessed for the water mains the owners could not have afforded to keep it back from the market. Our present system plays into the hands of the vacant lot owner and should be abandoned. Twenty years ago, when there was difficulty in getting people to take the city water, there was something to be said in favor of charging the cost of the mains on the general taxes. Now that excuse is gone, for everybody is anxious to get the water. Chairman Boustead should signalize his year of office by introducing a system by which the whole cost of all mains below a certain diameter and a fair proportion of the cost of the larger mains should be charged on the property benefited. To be perfectly fair the assessments should be changed all round so that from this time forth the whole of the city should be assessed for water mains on the frontage plan.

How Charity Works.

W. Alexander Johnson in the Open Court.

When the Chicago home for self supporting women (which itself is not self supporting) was organized a few mouths[sic] ago, a prominent employer of girl labor who was asked for a subscription said: "If you will board my girls for $2 a week I will give you $500;" and he could well afford to do so, for he could at once have reduced the pay of some hundred girls by enough to make up the amount of his subscription in a few weeks. The need of the poor and the rich is not charity in the sense of alms, it is justice—justice carried to the utmost limit of our dealings and including in its scope our obligations not only to the individuals but to the race. This justice done there would still be room for a very noble kind of helpfulness, but it would hardly take the form of soup tickets or the pauper dole at the office of the county agent.

Sic in the original; probably "months (turned or worn n)".

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Turned Off.

Cornhill Magazine.

There, 'ang up the bill 'ook, missus, and give us pipe and a light:

"Ain't I ready for supper?" No, thank'e, I wants no supper to-night;

'Twill be time enough when I'm 'ungry to turn to the victuals and drink,

To-night all I wants is the baccy, and to sit by the fire and think.

What about? Wor it that ye wer axin? Lor bless 'er, poor soul, I forgot.

I'asn't as yet bin and told 'er—and yet I'd as lief be shot,

Like our lad as went out for a soger last year in the Injin fight,

As tell 'er, the poor old missus, why I can't eat uo[sic] supper to-night!

Yet, tell 'er I maun, same as Joey was forced to stand there stock still,

And face them davils of Iujins[sic] as they swarm'd on 'im down the 'ill,

And the longer yer waits for to do it, why the wusser it be, I 'spose,

So, I'll just get my pipe well started—that's it—and then orf I goes!

Well, missus, I'se got news for yer, but yer maun't, now, take it amiss,

When we lost our Joey yer bore up, and so yer maun do ower this,

Not as this 'ere time, lor bless yer, it's onything like as black—

It's only my lord's goin' a tourin', and I—well I'se got the sack!

There, don't say no 'ard things, missus, it ain't my lord's fault, mebbe;

'E's allers bin fair enough spoken, and her leddyship, so 'as she;

But as the folks says at the orfice ('tis them in course 'as to speak),

Sic in the original; probably "no".
Sic in the original; probably "Injins".

They must begin savin' somewhere, and I corsts 'em twelve shillin' a week.

There's them fellers, yer says, in powder, and her leddyship's pair o' cobs,

As she spanks with to church in the summer, or a goin' to 'ave tea with the nobs,

And the chap as they calls 'er "tiger" (tho' why puzzles my old crown!)

And them deer we gets never a taste on—why, yer says, don't they put *them* down?

Or them horchids my lord's so crazed with, each blossom, as Ise 'eard said,

If yer reckons one year wi' another, corsting ower a guinea a 'ead!

And the pheyzants as stands in a pot, too, by the time they'se ready for killin'—

Why doan't they, yer says, put *them* down, afore they docks my twelve shillin'?

There, I can't tell yer, missus; says passon, some things 'ere on earth below,

It's no sort o' use to inquire on; yer isn't supposed to know;

And this 'ere be one on 'em, mebbe; and passon, 'e's no bad chap,

And things ain't a goin' so easy as they used to wi' 'im, mayhap!

Still, my feyther, 'e served my lord's feyther, as afore him 'is feyther, 'e

Werked, too, for my lord's grandfeyther, as I 'ave for this 'un, yer see,

Ever since just a lad from Collidge'e[sic] took to the title and 'states,

And it's 'ard when ye're nigh agen sixty, to be turned like a tramp from the gates!

But there, I'se too old for them meetins they talks on, the younger chaps,

And flags, and brass bands, and what not, and spoutin' from four 'orse traps;

Says passon, the lord 'as willed it, so I 'ad best, too, be willin';

And the werk'us, mebbe, at sixty, is as good, arter all, as twelve shillin'!

A MORMON'S STORY.

It was in 1873. The bishops, and elders, and the leaders of the Mormon church had been summoned from all the stakes of Zion to decide, in a general conference, what the saints should do if the general government carried out its threats. The discussion was long and serious and ended in the reference of the whole matter to the Council of Seventy, who immediately went into secret session. What was the actual decision of that council no man knows to this day; but when they adjourned the rumor spread like wildfire that it had been determined to burn all the towns, depart from Utah forever and drive the stakes of the church anew in Mexico.

Sic in the original; probably "Collidge 'e".

My friend John Paine, in whose house I was a guest at the time, spoke of the matter when he came home that evening—not discontentedly, or with any air of bravado, but in a sober matter of fact way, and as quietly as if the question under discussion was simply one of removal from one house to another. I do not mean to say that there was no indignation in John's speech. On the contrary, he felt a keen sense of injustice, and made no effort to conceal it. But his indignation was on behalf of the community, not of himself. He spoke of the suffering the church would have to endure, of the cruelty with which she was being treated by the government; but of any loss to himself personally he had never a word to say. The prospect of applying the torch to his own house—of having to destroy with his own hands his pleasant, well furnished home—seemed to have no special terrors for him.

This seemed to me very extraordinary. I could not believe that it was possible for a man to really sink his own identity so completely. It seemed to me that at the bottom of John Paine's heart there must be a certain amount of unwillingness to obey the mandate which would make him a homeless wanderer.

"Look here, John," I said. "You're not absolutely compelled to go, even if the church should so decide. Any one who wants to stay behind can do so, can't he?"

"Oh, yes. Any one who wants to stay, can stay. But I'll go with the church wherever she goes."

I said, "Would you burn down your home at the orders of the council, and tramp with them to Mexico—burn the beautiful place you and your family have—leave it, not knowing whether you will ever get another?"

"If," said Paine unhesitatingly, "the church should order me to rise up at twelve o'clock to-night, burn my house and all my property, and follow her on foot, I would do it unhesitatingly."

I began to see my friend, John Paine, in a new light. I had lived in his house with him, eaten at his table, had many a long talk with him over our after supper pipes; and through it all he had impressed me simply as a pleasant, good natured, harmless sort of man, just in his dealings, and moving contentedly along in a somewhat narrow groove, without enthusiasm to urge him on to greater things, or ability to perform them. Now he stood revealed to me as a man who for the sake of his

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religion was ready to make the greatest sacrifices. And around him was a whole community—a small nation—of men equally fanatical and self sacrificing.

What could be the secret of this strange power of the Mormon church? What was there in its doctrines to inspire such devotion? John's wife and aged mother were sitting in the room with us. They knew the doom that was impending over them. They could not but be thinking that within a few days, or even hours, they might be wandering forth houseless and homeless, struck down into poverty at one blow. Yet they made no loud complaints —indulged in no spoken forebodings. They seemed tranquilly content that all would be for the best. What could be the secret of it?

I sat and smoked in silence, and I suppose my face betrayed my perplexity, for at last Paine said:

"It seems to astonish you that I should have faith enough in my church to be willing to obey her orders?"

"Yes," I said, "it does." Among us gentiles the man who should deliberately fling away all his property because his church told him to would be looked on as a lunatic. And the church that should make such a demand of its disciples would find its membership waste away like hoar frost before the sun."

"And yet," said John, "your ministers preach to you about the goodness of God, don't they? They tell you how Christ bids you take no thought for the morrow, and lay up no treasure on earth? They teach you that the Lord will provide for you just as He does for the fowls of the air—eh?"

"Oh, yes. They tell us all that. But they explain that such things are not to be understood literally. In fact, as I understand it, those promises don't refer to the present time at all; but to some future age of the world when all men shall be converted to the principles of Christianity."

"Just so," said John. "But, you see, what your church teaches as an abstract idea, having no application in the present, our church teaches as a living truth. We really believe that the Lord will provide, and we're not the least afraid to trust to Him to do it. Would you like to hear my experience of Mormonism?"

"Indeed I should," I answered.

"All right," said John. "We're none of us inclined for sleep to-night, and I'll tell it to you now."

This is John Paine's story as he told it me that night in 1873 to while away the time while he waited for the order to burn his house:

"I was born in a little Scotch hamlet, on an estate belonging to the duke of Buccleugh. My parents were hard working, sober, frugal, honest people. I need not say they were poor. My father was a stone cutter by trade, but did laboring work of any kind that he could get to do. My mother kept the cottage. made[sic] the family's clothes, and was thankful to go out for a day's work whenever opportunity offered. We just did manage to get along, and that was all. Our food was chiefly oatmeal porridge, and as for clothing—well, I can't say that father and mother never had any new clothes; but I know we children never had any. My father's coats and trousers came down to me by way of my two elder brothers; and by the time they reached me it would have been hard to tell what the original material had been, so covered were they with patches.

I don't know that I was a particularly enterprising boy; but as I grew toward manhood I made up my mind that I must leave home. There didn't seem to be work enough in our village to go round. Perhaps some newspaper stories I remember reading had something to do with my decision, but at all events I was fixed to go. My father talked against it at first, but came round when he saw how set I was. And so, soon after my seventeenth birthday, I left the village one morning, with less than five shillings in my pocket and the world before me.

"Edinburgh was forty miles away, and I got there in two days. Heavens! what a distance it seemed! I felt as though I had traveled to the uttermost parts of the earth. I didn't find work much easier to get in Auld Reekie than it had been at home; but after a day or two of steady tramping and inquiry from house to house I got a job as porter in a warehouse at wages which enabled me to pay for a garret room and food enough to keep body and soul together. 'Never mind,' thought I, 'everything must have a beginning. I shall do better when I've shown how hard I can work and how faithful I can be.'

"But when, at the end of six months, I asked my master—they call them masters over there, you know—for a raise of wages, his answer was an immediate and peremptory dismissal. And he said some pretty sharp things at the same time about beggars and ingratitude, and so on. So there I was, out of a job and no prospect of another one.

That was the beginning of an experience which, if I should live a century, I think I never could forget. For three years I tramped about looking for steady work. Sometimes I got a job—oftener I had nothing to do do[sic]. I paid my

Sic in the original; probably "cottage, made".

way when I could, begged when I was forced to it, and went hungry when I had to. Wherever I went, it seemed as though there was just one man too many in the place, and I was that man. If I got a job as a laborer, some native-born fellow was sure to come along and take it from me. If I asked for help, the response was, nine times out of ten, 'Why don't you go back to your parish?' When I look back on those years I wonder that I didn't become an habitual criminal. I suppose the only reason was because nobody offered me employment in that capacity. Certainly, whatever moral sense I had was completely blunted. Right meant getting bread and butter and wrong meant going without it. I don't like to think of that time.

"Well, one Sunday evening, in a little English village, there was a crowd gathered on the common, and I joined it without thinking why. A man was talking—a sort of itinerant preacher I took him to be—and I stood there with the rest, looking at him talk, but paying no attention to what he said. I knew he was preaching religion of some kind, but I had lost

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all faith in that sort of thing, and wouldn't have listened if John the Baptist had been preaching. But at last a single sentence forced itself upon my ear, and struck into my soul like a bolt of lightning. 'Nowhere,' shouted the speaker, 'nowhere in or near any of the stakes of Zion can a saint be found who is not sure of supper, bed and breakfast! To all who come we guarantee the means of honest livelihood! The church of the latter day saints permits no such thing as poverty.'

"After the missionary had finished his address, I lingered with the crowd that pressed around him. All were asking questions eagerly, and to first one, then another, he gave answers. I waited to the last. The missionary talked with me awhile, then took me by the arm as if I had been indeed the brother that he called me, and led me away. That night I shared his lodging, and until near morning we sat together, he expounding and I eagerly listening to the mysteries of the faith that promised happiness in this world as well as in the world to come.

"Well, there's no use telling how I got to Zion. It was a hard struggle, but through it all I was buoyed up by a great hope. A year and a half from the day of that village meeting I crossed the Wasatch mountains, hungry, ragged, footsore, with no wealth in the world save a letter from my friend the missionary. But when I looked down from that mountain top upon the plains below, and saw, dim in the distance, the temples of Zion, I fell upon my knees and uttered a prayer of thanksgiving from the very bottom of a grateful heart.

"And I found it true, as that good missionary had told me. Here was rest. Here were no rich and no poor. It seemed to me like paradise. The church gave me a home, and furnished me subsistence till I could earn it for myself. The brethren helped me build a little house, and plow and fence my ground. They showed me how to tend and harvest my crop. And almost before I knew it I was master of a little place, with all the ordinary wants of life supplied, and a feeling of independence in my heart such as I had never known before.

"Did they do all these things for me for nothing? Well, yes and no. They let me have from the tithing yard what I most needed, and as I was able I paid for it, for what had been done for me would have to be done for others yet to come. Surely no one could object to that. Then one-tenth of the increase of my possessions were, when I was able, to be turned into the tithing yard, to be used for the same purpose.

"As the years passed, my circumstances improved. Relieved of anxiety for the wants of the body, I developed an appetite of the mind. I read and studied; and while I make no claims to scholarship I may say that I am fairly well educated. And then I met a lassie from the Hielan's——"

John Paine stopped here, and stroked his good wife's head, as she sat beside him, with a touch that was full of love and quiet cheer. And the wife looked up and smiled upon him till John bent down and kissed her on the forehead.

It was a pretty picture, in which it seemed to me I could read the story of their tranquil, happy life. Then John went on:

"We had been married little more than a year when the order came to me to go forth as a missionary to my native country. I went gladly, for, though it was hard to leave my Jeanie here, I longed to tell others of the happiness I had found, and most of all my heart yearned to see again the father and the mother whom I had left so many years before.

"Well, sir, I made my way to Scotland and entered on my mission. It was not long before I found an opportunity to visit the hamlet where I was born. Sir, the little village had been wiped out of existence to make way for some improvements of the duke's. My father was dead; my brothers and sisters were scattered, heaven only knew where, and the mother that bore me was an inmate of the poorhouse! Guess if I lacked a text and an illustration for my preaching to the peasantry!

"Ah, well; my mission ended long ago, and my life since then has been as you see it now. Here I am to-night, with the mother, and wife, and the bairns around me, and nothing worse likely to happen us than that we may be called to follow the church that has done so much for us. and[sic] that we love so well, to some new location. I can assure you, my friend, that prospect doesn't worry us much!"

We sat awhile in silence. There was a question I wanted to ask, but I hesitated about putting it. At last I spoke:

"Look here, Paine," I said, "I can understand that gratitude and religious enthusiasm will support you under a heavier trial than that which seems impending over you. But, honestly now, don't you look forward with dread to the years of poverty before you?"

"Poverty?" said John. "I don't understand. What poverty?"

"Why," I said, "if you destroy all you've got here, and move away, it will take you a generation to accumulate as much wealth again."

John looked puzzled for a minute, and then he laughed. He really did.

"Ah, Mac," he said, "do you really think we'll have to *save* for years to make ourselves as wealthy as we are now? Man alive, can't you see that all we have was made out of earth and air by the labor of our own hands? When we move, our hands go with us, and wherever we may drive our stakes, you may be sure there'll be plenty of earth and air for the hands to work on. A year hence we shall be as wealthy as we are now, while these plains will be going back into arid alkali wastes. That's the secret of the church, my boy. She brings hand and land together. That's why there's no poverty in Zion.

Well, the storm passed over, how or why I never knew, and the threatened exodus never took place. But ever since my talk that night with John Paine I have felt that I knew the secret of the Mormon church's growth and power.

WILLIAM McCABE.

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Sic in the original; probably "do".
Sic in the original; probably "us, and".

A SCRAP OF RAILWAY TALK.

"Do you see that man at the wash bowl?" asked the commercial traveler, as he buttoned his collar and beckoned with his head toward the open door opposite the smoking room sofa on which he sat.

Yes, I saw the man. He had washed, and was now brushing his hair while standing by the bowl so that no one could approach it though a line of disheveled passengers awaited their turn behind him.

"That man is a clergyman."

Indeed; but how did the commercial traveler know?

"How do I know? Easy enough. He has taken possession and is going to stay until he has brushed every hair into its particular place. He might just as well stand aside to to finish his toilet, and let the others have a chance to wash, but he won't. There are only three kinds of men who do that. One is the hog kind, the other is the kind that don't travel enough to know how, and the other is the preacher kind. That man is a traveler and not a hog; therefore he must be a clergyman. Why do clergymen act that way? All of them don't, but those that do are simply indifferent to the comfort of others.

Sure enough, the offender proved to be a clergyman returning with half a dozen other clergymen from the New York conference. Having at last primped himself as if he were about to preach a trial sermon from a fashionable pulpit, he retired, and when next seen was making a bee line for the breakfast car. He was just in time to get the only vacant seat. Others followed him who were compelled to wait their turn in the vestibule, where they peered anxiously and no doubt prayerfully through the plate glass that barred their way.

"Now mark my words," said the commercial traveler who was with the waiting crowd in the vestibule, "that pulpit pounder won't hurry a bit, although he sees us waiting, and ten to one he and the bishop alongside of him will keep people waiting after they are through. How do I know that's a bishop? I don't know it. But if he isn't he ought to be. He looks like a bishop—tall and broad, with massive head, and ponderous chops, solemn and self satisfied. There are only two places in the world for such a man. He couldn't be anything but a high toned politician who does his tricks by proxy, or a bishop; and as he has adopted theological instead of political politics for a living, he must be a bishop."

After the commercial traveler had returned from breakfast, and, seated comfortably in the smoking room, was lighting his cigar, he resumed: "Didn't I tell you so? Those two men would have kept their seats till dinner time if the caterer hadn't politely reminded them that others were waiting for their places. But, after all, it was a satisfaction to see one white sheep in that clerical flock. Did you notice the kindly old Methodist with the gray hair, who had his daughter with him? He's just the right kind of a man for a pastor. I'll bet ten dollars he makes more Christians in a week than those other fellows have turned out all their lives. He's made one Christian more than they have anyhow, and that's himself. But he's no bishop, and never will be."

"Speaking of ministers," said the land speculator, who sat opposite the commercial traveler, and with great effort tried not to talk shop, "did you see that joke in a western paper the other day about a minister in a town where there was a land boom, who announced his text from the gospel according to St. Matthew, lot 6, block 10?"

A joke which the commercial traveler had not seen must have been very young, but he was too good natured (preachers aside) to say so, and laughed as heartily over the land speculator's contribution as if he had not heard the story every trip since he first read it.

Thus encouraged, the land speculator undertook to make the joke plain to the others. "You would be surprised," he said, "to know the way land is booming in the west. Last February I bought a piece in Minnesota for $400, and sold it in April for $15,000."

A smile spread over the speculator's face as he noticed the incredulous looks of his audience.

"You see," he went on, after a pause, "it belonged to an eastern man who didn't know that the place was on the boom, and when I offered him four hundred he was mighty glad to get it."

"It wouldn't have been so very extraordinary though," said the doctor, "if the man you bought from had known of the boom. The way land jumps out there sounds like a fairy story. A year ago I was at a town in Minnesota—that is, it was a town on paper; for there wasn't a house or a hut there—just an open field; and the owner wanted to sell me a lot for $10 in the center of the town if I would build on it. He said a railroad was coming that way. I asked how far off the railroad was; he said thirty miles, and I told him I guessed I would wait till the railroad got nearer. He seemed so disappointed that I felt sorry for him and six months after offered him the $10. Why he just laughed at me. You couldn't buy the meanest lot in the place for $150. The railroad had got there!"

"That," the commercial traveler remarked, "is something like a friend of mine who prospected between St. Paul and Minneapolis. He found a beautiful place that just suited him. The owner wanted $1,000 an acre; but my friend thought that was too much. The owner wouldn't come down, and my friend made up his mind to wait. So leaving word with an acquaintance to telegraph him if necessary, he took a train for the east. He had hardly got home when a message from St. Paul informed him that the price of land around there was $5,000 an acre and rising, and if he wanted any he had better come on pretty lively, Why[sic] farming land about St. Paul is worth $1,500 an acre. Taxes! They are only nominal. No matter how high your land goes you don't have to pay higher taxes until you build."

"They must have that system in Cleveland, too," said the doctor. "Right in the best parts of the city, alongside of splendid buildings, there are vacant lots."

"I wonder why they do that?" the commercial traveler asked.

"Oh," replied the land speculator, "you see buildings yield an income while vacant land does not. The owner of a building can afford to pay taxes while the owner of vacant lots can't. Getting no income from his property, the owner of vacant land would have to let it go if it were taxed heavily."

"Well, it's a good way to kill a town," was the doctor's comment.

"You are just right, it is," said the commercial traveler.

At this point a voice that had not yet spoken came from the opposite corner of the smoking room, asking the doctor if he was a Henry George man.

"Oh, no!" the doctor answered, and the commercial traveler added with emphasis, "I should say not!"

The voice from the corner then, in apologetic tone, asked how these western booms originated.

To this the land speculator replied. He said: "The commonest plan is for a syndicate to send out an agent to select an available town for a boom. When the town is agreed upon, a lot of land in and about it is bought up and the members of the syndicate, acting as strangers to each other, go to the

Sic in the original; probably "pretty lively. Why".

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place. A gentleman registers from New York and begins to make inquiries about land and talks about buying; in a day or two another gentleman registers from Philadelphia and conducts himself in a similar way; his example is followed by a capitalist from Baltimore; and so on till the whole syndicate gets there. Meantime the invasion of eastern capitalists becomes the talk of the town, real estate values stiffen, and the sharpers are introduced to one another and discuss the favorable opportunities the town offers for manufacturing. Perhaps they make a few land purchases; they may begin the erection of a factory—may even finish it. The news spreads. A fever sets in. Bidding for land becomes active. The capitalist take a hand[sic] in the bidding. After a while values are fabulous, and the syndicate quietly unloads its land. When the operation is over the eastern capitalists retire and pretty soon the real estate market slumps. I tell you those eastern capitalists are brainy fellows."

"But after all," said the doctor, "there is foundation for these booms. They run ahead of themselves for a time, but after the reaction a healthy growth sets in. That's the difference between western booms and California booms. In California they haven't anything to sell but climate, while in the west there is iron and coal and lumber and business opportunity till you can't rest."

"Sell climate!" exclaimed the man in the corner.

"Yes, that's what they sell in California, and it's the most absurd thing I ever heard of; the idea of putting climate up at auction! Why, you might as well sell sunlight or air!"

"But you sell iron, lumber and coal mines in the west?" said the man in the corner interrogatively.

"Certainly; but they are real wealth. The idea of selling climate, though!"

"Ah, yes," said the man in the corner, as with a grimace he bit off the end of a fresh cigar.

"Never got down among the greasers, did you?" asked a brawny traveler from Idaho.

No one had ever been there, but all were curious.

"Well," the Idahoan went on, "I've had a considerable experience among them. You've often heard perhaps that they are treacherous—that they watch a chance to stick a knife in your back. They are treacherous and their knives are mighty dangerous. But they don't stick them in your back. They fire them at your back and sometimes at your face. It's no good to get the drop on a greaser at close range if he has a knife. Before you can think to pull trigger that knife will come sailing through the air—click, clug—and you're a goner.

"The first experience I ever had with greasers was several years ago. Then I learned how to manage them and it's the only way. I was with a man who knew how. We had ten thousand dollars with us and were on horseback. Toward night we came plumb into a greaser camp. I wanted to turn back and run, but my companion wouldn't have it. He said if we run they'll murder us; if we go past the camp they will head us off in some ravine after dark; if we try to get away in the night they'll do the same thing. What we've got to do is to stay all night in their camp.

"So we rode right up to where they had a fire and without paying any attention to them unsaddled our horses and cooked our supper. When a greaser got in our way my companion would push him off as if he had been a dog. At bed time my companion told me to watch the greasers while he slept. It was the worst job I ever undertook, but my companion was sound asleep in five minutes. When it came my turn to sleep, I lay down with my head on the saddle, but bless your soul [the Idahoan didn't say "bless"] I couldn't sleep. How we got through that night I don't know, but we did; and although greasers were all about us, they were afraid to do anything, and the next morning

Sic in the original; probably "The capitalists take a hand".

we rode safely away. A greaser is like an animal; if you can make him feel that you are his master and ain't afraid of him, he is as harmless as a dove."

Here the Idahoan gave out. He had wanted to join in the conversation, but this effort exhausted his conversational powers, and with folded arms and the brim of his hat pulled over his eyes he lay back on the sofa. But the young man in the corner was interested in the wild westerner, and tried to start him again with an easy question.

"What laws have you in Idaho?" he asked.

The westerner made no change of position, but simply replied:

"We don't have much law out there. About the only law we've got is the golden rule, and if a man don't mind that, why, damn him, we hang him!"

Reorganizing for Active Work in Memphis.

MEMPHIS, Tenn., June 1.—Our land and labor club No. 2 is about to surrender its charter and disband, as our pledge of membership does not allow us to affiliate and work with either of the old parties. The majority of the club are free traders, and some of us, recognizing that the political feature was a stumbling block in the way of many who would like to study the question of the single tax, on Monday, May 27[sic], organized a "single tax league," with a membership of fifteen, four of whom are ladies. Our platform is contained in the following resolution:

> We, the undersigned, do hereby declare that we favor the abolition of all taxes now resting upon personal property and improvements made upon real estate, and the raising of the revenue requisite for national, state, county and municipal purposes by a tax placed upon land values alone.
>
> We favor the formation of a league for the dissemination of this doctrine, and we hereby associate ourselves into a league for this purpose.

M. H. McDOWELL,	R. G. BROWN,
MRS. E. M. SELDEN,	BOLTON SMITH,
R. DELANEY,	ALEX. COHN,
T. A. ELLIOTT,	JOHN JOHNSTONE,
W. A. HARRIS,	J. L. HABERLING,
H. R. WAITE,	K. S. GUTHRIE,
MISS MAUD A. STOWE,	MRS. L. H. CARLILE.
GRACE CARLILE,	

The meeting was called to order in the hall of the St. Mary's cathedral gymnasium, by M. H. McDowell, president of the gymnasium, who was elected president of the league. Short speeches were also made by Messrs. McDowell, Johnstone, Cohn, Delaney and Brown. The subject of free trade afforded a topic for discussion between Mr. Isador Katzenberger and Mr. Brown, which the audience followed with close attention.

It was resolved to hold meetings in Gymnasium hall, which has been kindly tendered by the president every second and fourth Monday in the month. All those interested in the political questions of the day, tariff and free

Sic in the original; probably "May 27, 1888 fell on a Sunday; either"Sunday, May 27" or "Monday, May 28"".

trade, as well as those seeking information about the single tax, are cordially invited to attend. The hall is at No. 265 Alabama street.

R. G. BROWN, Sec.

The Outgrowth of a System of Legalized Robbery on a Grand Scale.

Philadelphia Star.

The tramp nuisance is under full head once more. The country is full of them, and naturally thefts and outrages of various kinds are frequent. They have now, in many places, formed camps, from which they forage for provender upon the neighboring hencoops and spring houses, not unfrequently going still further, by plundering houses and loaded railway cars.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

[Advertisement] The Land and Labor Library

THE LAND AND LABOR LIBRARY.—We are now publishing under the title of "The Land and Labor Library" a series of short tracts on various phases of the social problem. These pamphlets contain facts, figures and arguments expressed in concise, vigorous language easily understood. As a means of propaganda we recommend them to all who desire to help on the movement for social reform. Those who wish to have these tracts placed where they will do good but who are unable personally to attend to their distribution, can remit the price to us, as we have every facility for sending them where they are needed and will be read.

The following have already appeared:

No. 1. "First Principles." By Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 2. "Land and Taxation." A conversation between David Dudley Field and Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 3. "The Right to the Use of the Earth." By Herbert Spencer. 4 pages.

No. 4. "A Christian Minister on the Remedy for Poverty." A sermon by the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost of Newark, N. J. 2 pages.

No. 5. "A Sum in Proportion." By T. L. McCready. 2 pages.

No. 6. "The Settler's Nightmare." By Louis F. Post. 4 pages.

No. 7. "New York's Docks: The True Mode of Raising Revenue." By. J. W. Sullivan[sic]. 4 pages.

No. 8. "Unemployed Labor." By Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 9. "Voices for Reform." 2 pages.

No. 10. "A Mysterious Disappearance." By Lewis Freeland. 6 pages.

Sic in the original; probably "By J. W. Sullivan".

No. 11. “How to Increase Profits.” By A. J. Steers. 2 pages.

No. 12. “The American Farmer.” By Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 13. “Sailors’ Snug Harbor and the Randall Farm.” By W. T. Croasdale. 12 pages.

No. 14. “The Collegiate Church and the Shoemaker’s Field.” By W. T. Croasdale. 12 pages.

No. 15. “Only a Dream.” By Abner C. Thomas. 4 pages.

No. 16. “The Anti-Poverty Society.” Dr. McGlynn’s address at the first meeting. 8 pages.

No. 17. “The Cross of the New Crusade.” A poem. By David Rorty. 2 pages.

No. 18. “It is the Law of Christ.” By Rev. S. H. Spencer of Henry, Ill. 4 pages.

No. 19. “My Landlord. By John Jones[sic]. 4 pages.

No. 20. “Thou Shalt Not Steal.” An address by Henry George before the Anti-Poverty Society. 8 pages.

No. 21. “Christianity and Poverty.” An address by Father Huntington before the Anti-poverty society. 4 pages.

No. 22. “Poverty and Christianity.” An address by Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost before the Anti-poverty society. 8 pages.

No. 23. “The Single Tax.” By Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.

No. 24. “Hymns of the New Crusade”—No. 1. 4 pages.

No. 25. “Hymns of the New Crusade”—No. 2. 4 pages.

No. 26. “Religion vs. Robbery.” Address by Rev. Dr McGlynn[sic] before the New York Anti-poverty society June 12, 1887. 8 pages.

No. 27. “Back to the Land.” Bishop Nulty’s letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese. 16 pages. Price, 5 cents.

No. 28. “Anti-Slavery and Anti-Poverty.” An address by the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost before the New York Anti-Poverty Society, June 19. 8 pages.

No. 29. “Tenement House Morality.” Rev. J. O. S. Huntington in the Forum. 4 pages.

No. 30. “The Case Plainly Stated.” A speech by H. F. Ring before the Knights of Labor at Houston, Texas. 8 pages.

No. 31. “Questions and Answers.” Questions by Rev. Howard Henderson of the Sixty-first street M. E. church of New York; with answers by Henry George. 2 pages.

No. 32. “Objections to the Land Tax.” By Thomas G. Shearman. 4 pages.

No. 33. “Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error.” Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 34. “Horse Sense.” W. C. Woods. 2 pages.

No. 35. The Syracuse Platform. 2 pages.

Sic in the original; probably ““My Landlord.” By John Jones.”.
Sic in the original; probably “Rev. Dr. McGlynn”.

No. 36. “Citycus and Rusticus.” Tudor S. Jenks. [illegible] pages.

No. 37. “Taxing Land Values.” Henry George. 8 pp.

No. 38. “God Wills It.” Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 39. “What We Want.” Everett Glackin, president Typographical Union No. 6. 2 pages.

No. 40. “Protection or Free Trade.” Henry George. Price, 25 cents.

No. 41. The Syracuse Platform. (German.) 2 pages.

No. 42. “First Principles.” (German.) Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 43. “Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error. (German[sic].) Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 44. “How John’s Father Saw the Light.” W. C. Woods, M. D. 2 pages.

1. Platform of the United Labor Party[sic]. 2 pages.

No. 46. “Taxing Land Values.” (German.) Henry George. 8 pages.

No. 47. “It is the Law of Christ.” (German.) Rev. S. H. Spencer. 4 pages.

No. 48. “The Case Plainly Stated.” (German). H. F. Ring. 8 pages.

No. 49. “The Distribution of Wealth.” Thomas G. Shearman. 16 pages.

No. 50. “Progress and Poverty.” (German.) Henry George.

No. 51. “Ten Thoughts for Christian Thinkers.” Rev. John W. Kramer. 4 pages.

No. 52. “The Case Plainly Stated.” (Swedish). H. F. Ring. 8 pages.

No. 53. “Sailors’ Snug Harbor.” (German.) Wm. T. Croasdale. 12 pages.

No. 54. “What the United Labor Party Want.” Henry George. 2 pages.

No. 55. “Stories for Farmers.” 4 pages.

No. 56. “Electoral Reform.” A. T. Rice. 4 pages.

No. 57. “Protection as a Universal Need.” Henr George[sic]. 4 pages.

No. 58. “To a College Professor.” Bartholomew Appleby. 4 pages.

No. 59. “Before a Royal Commission.” W. A. Douglass. 4 pages.

No. 60. “The Tariff Question.” Henry George. [4?] pages.

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Song of the High Protectionist.

S. W. Foss in Puck.

Oh, yes, we'll build our commerce up by legalized starvation And benefit our workingmen by general taxation. We'll help the millionaire grow rich without especial struggling; And, though we put the brakes on trade, we boom the art of smuggling.

We've put a penalty on food; for each protection meeting Would adequately stigmatize the heinous vice of eating. Against this fine no man should raise a cavil or a question, But pay a daily license for the privilege of digestion.

We must protect the workingman from European labor, Teach him to venerate himself and execrate his neighbor. Protect him while he earns enough to grind the government axes And gets enough each Saturday to pay his weekly taxes.

We would reform the workingman, and view with special loathing His vicious predilection for, and tendency to, clothing. And we feel sure no patriot will ever grudge the giving The government a daily tax for privilege of living.

TO WORKINGMEN.

Belford's Magazine for June.

I am one of those who believe that it is possible for workingmen to raise wages by an intelligent use of their votes; that this is the only way in which wages can be generally and permanently raised—the only way labor can obtain that share of wealth which is justly its due. And I am one of those who believe that this is the supreme object that workingmen should seek in politics. In seeking to raise wages, to improve the conditions cf[sic] labor, we are seeking, not the good of a class, but the good of the whole. The number of those who can live on the labor of others is and can be but small as compared with the number who must labor to live. And where labor yields the largest results *to the laborer*, where the production of wealth is largest and its distribution most equitable, where the man who has nothing but his labor is surest of making the most comfortable living and best providing for those whom nature has made dependent upon him, there, I believe, will be the best conditions of life for all—there will the general standard of intelligence and virtue be highest, and there will all that makes a nation truly great and strong and glorious most abound.

Believing this, I am glad that the presidential campaign this year is to turn, not upon sectional issues or matters of party or personal character, *but upon* a great question of national policy—the question of protection or free trade; and that this is to be discussed, as it is most important that it should be discussed, in its relation to wages. What is thus entering our politics is more than a question of higher or lower duties, or no duties at all—it is the most

Sic in the original; probably "of".

important of all questions, the great labor question. And what is really involved in the decision that will be asked of you as to whether protection or free trade is best for the interests of labor, is whether the emancipation of labor is to be sought by imposing restrictions or by securing freedom. Until the men who would raise wages and emancipate labor settle that for themselves, they cannot unite to carry out any large measure.

In the coming campaign the most frantic appeals will be made to workingmen to vote for protection. You will be told that "protection" means "protection to American labor;" that that is what it was instituted for, and that is why it is maintained; that it is protection that makes this country so prosperous and your wages so high, and that if it is abolished, or even interfered with, mills must close, mines shut down, and poor labor stand idle and starve until American workmen are forced to work for the lowest wages that are paid in Europe.

Don't accept what any one tells you—least of all what is told you by and on behalf cf those who have an enormous pecuniary interest in maintaining what is styled "protection." Hear what they say, and make up your minds for yourselves. There is nothing in the tariff question that cannot readily be mastered by any one of ordinary intelligence, and the great question whether what is called "protection" does or does not benefit the laborer can be settled for himself by any one who will ask himself what protection really is, and *how* it benefits labor.

WHAT IS PROTECTION?

Now what is "protection?" It is a system of taxes levied on imports for the purpose of increasing the price of certain commodities in our own country so that the home producers of such commodities can get higher prices for what they sell to their own fellow countrymen.

This is all there is to "protection." Protection can't enable any American producer to get higher prices for what he sells to people of other countries, and no duty is protective unless it so increases prices as to enable some one to get more from his fellow citizens *than* he could without protection. How "protection" may thus benefit some people is perfectly clear. But how can it benefit the whole people? That it may increase the profits of the manufacturer, or the income of the owner of timber or mineral land, is plain. But *how* can it increase wages? "Protection" raises the price of commodities. That may be to the advantage of those who buy labor and sell commodities. But *how* can it be to the advantage of those who sell labor and buy commodities?

Never mind the confused and confusing claims that are put forth for protection until you can see *how* it can do what is claimed for it.

Ask yourselves what protection is and how it operates, and you will see that the only way it can benefit any one, or by "encouraging" him [giving?] him power to encourage or benefit any one else, is by enabling him to get from [his?] fellow citizens more than he could otherwise get. This is the essence of protection; and if it has any stimulating or beneficial effect it must be through this. The protective effect of any protective duty is precisely that of a subsidy paid by the government to some people out of taxes levied on the whole people. The only difference is that in what is called the subsidy system the government tax gatherers would collect the tax from the whole people and pay it over to some people, and in what is called the protective system the government tax gatherers only collect a tax on foreign goods so as to "protect" the favored people, while they for themselves collect taxes on their fellow citizens in increased prices.

WHAT PROTECTION DOES FOR WORKINGMEN.

Now if workmen get any benefit from what is thus called protection, it can only be through the protected employers and by their favor. The protective system gives nothing whatever to labor. It gives only to the employers of labor, and only to some of them. And these some are necessarily comparatively few. It is utterly impossible that

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any protective tariff can "protect" the largest industries of any country, for a duty can only have a protective effect when levied upon goods some of which are produced in the country and some of which are imported or would be imported if it were not for the duty. Import duties cannot be levied upon things of which we produce enough for ourselves and consequently do not import, or of which we produce more than enough for ourselves and consequently export; and if levied upon things we do not produce and must import or go without, they can have no protective effect. In every country, therefore, the protected industries can only be those in which but a small part of the labor of that country is employed. In this country, out of over twenty millions of laborers of one sort or another, those employed in the protected industries do not amount to more than 1,500,000, and these industries, it is to be observed, are those in which large capital is required and it is impossible for the mere laborer to employ himself.

Now, would it be possible by levying a general tax (especially a tax which, like all protective taxes, bears on the poor far more heavily than on the rich, on the laborer far more heavily than on the capitalist) and paying out the proceeds directly to the laborers engaged in certain industries, to raise wages, or even to raise wages in those industries? Every one who thinks a moment will say no! If we were to levy such a tax and pay out the proceeds directly to glass workers or iron ore miners or the hands in cotton or woolen factories, in addition to what they get from their employers, the consequence would simply be that labor would be attracted from the unsubsidized to the subsidized employments, and wages would go down to a point that would give the subsidized laborers no more than they got without the subsidy!

But if such a plan of raising wages is utterly hopeless, what should we say of a plan to raise wages by levying a tax upon all laborers and giving the proceeds, not to all laborers, or even to some laborers, but only to *some employers?* This is the plan of protection. If protection can increase or maintain wages, it must be in this way. What protective duties actually do is to increase the profits of certain employers—to allow them to collect a tax from their fellow citizens without any stipulation as to how they shall spend it. To suppose that wages can be increased in this way is to suppose, in the first place, that these protected employers voluntarily give up their increased profits to their workmen, and to suppose, in the second place, that the increase of wages which the benevolence of the protected employers thus causes in industries which at the best employ not more than 1,500,000 people can raise wages in occupations that employ 20,000,000 people!

PRODUCTION REDUCES WAGES[sic].

Observe also that the first step in this precious scheme of plunder which is called protection to American labor is really to reduce wages. Wages do not really consist of money. Money is the mere flux and counter of exchanges. What the man who works for wages really works for are commodities and services for which he pays with the money he receives in wages. Necessarily, therefore, to increase the price of the commodities he must buy with his money wages is to decrease his real wages. For instance, a good many of the highly protected American laborers in the state of Pennsylvania (as in some other states) are compelled by their benevolent protectionist employers to make their purchases in what the highly protected American laborers call "pluck-me stores." In fact, it is through these pluck-me stores that these highly protected and prosperous American workingmen get their wages, as the pluck-me bill is deducted from what is coming to them as wages before any money is turned over to them on pay days; and many of them being kept constantly in debt, hardly see a dollar from one year's end to another. Now, it is evident that if one of these employers adds a dollar to the prices his men have to pay for the goods they must buy in his "pluck-me," he just effectually cuts down[sic] their real earnings as though he reduced their wages by a dollar. And so it is evident that the protective taxes which we impose for the purpose of increasing the prices of

Sic in the original; probably "PROTECTION REDUCES WAGES.".
Sic in the original; probably "he just as effectually cuts down".

commodities must in the same way operate to reduce the real wages of labor. Therefore the protective scheme for raising wages fully stated is simply this: Wages generally are in the first place reduced by taxes which increase the price of certain commodities, in order that a comparatively few employers who profit by this increase in the price of what they have to sell may benevolently increase the wages of their employes, and that this benevolent raising of wages in some occupations may cause the raising of wages in all occupations!

Is it *not* time that American workingmen were done with such a preposterous scheme as this? There is one sense, and one sense alone, in which protection may raise wages. When real wages are low enough, it may to some extent raise nominal wages. If the protected Pennsylvania employer were to keep on raising the prices in his workmen's "protected home market," the pluck-me store, he would come to a point where their nominal wages would not enable them to get enough food and clothing to support life, and where, consequently, he would be forced to increase their nominal wages in order to prevent their removal or starvation. In this way protection, like a depreciation of currency, may sometimes increase nominal wages. But it can never increase real wages. Whomsoever protection may benefit—an analysis will show, that it cannot even benefit the employing capitalists whom it assumes to benefit, unless they are also protected from home competition by some sort of a monopoly—it cannot benefit the laborer. It is to the laborer a delusion and a fraud—a scheme of barefaced plunder that adds insult to injury; that first robs him, and then tells him to get down on his knees and thank his robber!

AN UN-AMERICAN SYSTEM.

The impudent pretense that what is called protection is protection to labor is peculiar to the United States, and an afterthought here. When this utterly un-American system of robbing the many for the benefit of the few was introduced into this country, it was not pretended that it was to protect labor or to compensate for high wages. It was asked for the protection of capital—to give capitalists a bonus—so that here, where interest was high, they could engage in the same sort of manufacturing businesses as in Europe, where interest was low. It was asked for the "protection of infant industries"—to give them artificial support for a few years, when, it was then claimed, they could stand alone without any more protection.

But men who once secure the enactment of laws to enable them to take the earnings of others never want an excuse for demanding the continuance of the privilege. Now that United States three per cent bonds are at a premium, and the great protected industries have become very industrial giants, it would be only ridiculous to talk of protecting "infant industries." So we are now told that protection is "protection for labor," and is made necessary by our higher wages. In fact, we are now told that it is *because* of protection that wages are *so* high and the country *so* prosperous.

LABOR NEEDS NO PROTECTION.

The pretense is as hollow and insulting as

p. 7, col. 3

the pretense of the slave owners that slavery was for the protection of the slave. Special privilege needs protection, and monopoly needs protection, and all legalized systems of robbery that enable men who do no labor to grow rich by appropriating the earnings of those who do labor need protection. But what is labor, that *it* should need protection? What is labor, that votes should have to be bought and coerced, and lobbyists maintained, and congressmen interested, and newspapers subsidized, and our coasts and borders lined with seizers and searchers and spies and informers and tax gatherers, to keep *it* from falling to pauperism? Is not labor the producer of all wealth? Is it not labor that feeds all, clothes all, shelters all, and pays for all? Is not labor the one thing that can take care of itself; that requires but access to the raw materials of nature to bring forth all that man's needs require? What benevolent capitalist drew a tariff wall around Adam to enable him to get a living and bring up a

family? Whatever else may need protection, labor needs no protection. What labor needs is freedom! Not the keeping up of restrictions and the perpetuation of monopolies, but the tearing of them down.

Who are these benevolent individuals, so anxious to protect the poor, helpless workingman, so fearful lest American labor may fall to the level of "the pauper labor of Europe?" The coal barons and the factory lords, the iron and steel combinations, the lumber ring, and the thousand trusts that, having secured the imposition of duties to keep out foreign productions, band themselves together to limit home production and to screw down the wages of their workmen. And are not these men who are so anxious, as they say, to protect you from the competition of "foreign pauper labor" the very men who are most ready to avail themselves of foreign labor?

Do you know of any protected employer, no matter how many millions he may have made out of the tariff, who pays any higher wages to labor than he has to? Is it not true that in all the protected industries wages are, *if* anything, *lower than in the unprotected* industries? Is it not true that in all the protected industries workmen have been compelled to band themselves together to protect themselves; and that these protected industries are the industries notable above all others for their strikes, their lock outs, the bitter and ofttimes disastrous industrial wars that labor is compelled to wage to prevent being crowded to starvation rates? Are these the men whose protection you need?

It is impossible for me in a brief article like this to go over all the claims and expose all the fallacies of protection. That I have already done, in anticipation of the coming before the people of this question, in a little book entitled "Protection or Free Trade?" in which I have shown the full relations of the tariff question to the labor question. All I want here to do is to urge every American workingman to think over the matter for himself, and to decide whether what is called "protection" is or is not in the interests of the men who earn their daily bread by their daily labor.

IF PROTECTION IS GOOD, WE SHOULD HAVE MORE OF IT.

For if, as protectionists tell us, our country is *so* prosperous and wages are *so* high because of the protection we already have, then we certainly ought to bend all our efforts to get more protection. However prosperous this country may be when viewed through the rose colored spectacles ot[sic,60,61] the millionaire, and however high wages may be from the standpoint of those who think that the natural wages of labor are only enough to keep soul and body together, there will be no dispute among workingmen that this country is not prosperous enough and wages not high enough. Whoever may be satisfied with things as they are, the great mass of American citizens who work for a living are not satisfied and ought not to be satisfied. Monstrous fortunes are rolling up here faster than they ever did in the world before; but the great body of the American people get but a poor hand-to-mouth living, and find year after year passing without anything laid by for a rainy day. Our rich men astonish the rich men of Europe by their lavish expenditure, and the daughters of our millionaires are sought in marriage by European aristocrats of the bluest blood; but the tramp is known from the Atlantic to the Pacific; the proportion of our people who are maintained by charity, the proportion who are confined in prisons and lunatic asylumns, the proportion ot our women and children who must go to work, is steadily increasing. And the proportion of men who, starting with nothing but their ability to labor, can become their own employers, or can hope out of the earnings of their labor to maintain a family and put by a competence for old age, is steadily diminishing. "Statisticians" may pile up figures to prove to the American workingman how much better off he is than he used to be, and the editors of protection papers may picture the poverty of European workingmen in the darkest colors to show him how proud and happy and contented he ought to be. But the labor organizations, the strikes, the bitter unrest with which the whole industrial mass is seething, show that he is not contented. If protection gives prosperity, if *protection* raises

Sic in the original; probably "of".
Sic in the original; probably "of".
Sic in the original; probably "of".

wages, then in heaven's name let us demand more protection, even though we utterly destroy all foreign commerce and put a line of custom houses between every state, and shut in our rich men so that they cannot go to Europe and spend their money on foreign paupers as Mr. Blaine is doing. But if it does not—then let us sweep away what protection we have. Let us raise the banner of equal rights, and try the way of freedom!

WHY WAGES ARE HIGHER IN AMERICA.

It is not protection that has made wages higher here than in Europe. If protection could make wages high, why has it not made wages high in Germany and Italy and Spain and Mexico? Why did it not make wages high in England when it was in full force there? Wages were higher in the United States than in Europe before we had any protection; and if they have on the whole remained higher, it is in spite of protection. Our higher wages are because of our cheaper land—because labor can more readily obtain access to the natural materials and opportunities of labor. The secret of our prosperity, our rapid growth, our better conditions of labor, is simply that we have had the temperate zone of a vast and virgin continent to overrun, and that it has taken a long while for monopoly to fence it in. As it is gradually fenced in, as the tribute that labor must pay to monopoly for the use of land becomes higher and higher, so must our social conditions, tariff or no tariff, approximate to the social conditions of Europe.

WHAT LABOR NEEDS.

To give labor full freedom; to make wages what they ought to be, the full earnings of labor; to secure work for all, and leisure for all, and abundance for all; to enable all to enjoy the advantages and blessings of an advancing civilization—we must break down all monopolies and destroy all special privileges.

The rejection of protection and the abolition of the tariff will not of itself accomplish this, but it will be a long step toward it—a step that must necessarily be taken if labor is to be emancipated and industrial slavery

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abolished. Until the workingmen of the United States get over the degrading superstition of protection they must be divided and helpless. But when they once realize the true dignity of labor, once see that the good of all can only be gained by securing the equal rights of each, then they can unite, and then they will be irresistible.

And this is the question that you will be asked this year to answer by your votes. Are you for restriction or are you for freedom? Are you in favor of taxing the whole people for the benefit of a few capitalists, in the hope that they will give to their workmen some of the crumbs? or are you against all special privileges and in favor of equal rights to all?

To the man who thinks the matter over there can be no question as to what answer best accords with the interests of workingmen. It is possible for the few to become rich by taxing the many. But it is not possible for the many to become rich by taxing themselves to put the proceeds in the hands of the few.

Labor cannot be hurt by freedom. The only thing that can be hurt by freedom is monopoly. And monopoly means the robbery of labor. What labor needs is freedom, not protection; justice, not charity; equal rights for all, not special privileges for some.

HENRY GEORGE.

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CURRENT THOUGHT.

In August last Dr. Howard Crosby published in the *Forum* an article under the title, "The Forgotten Cause of Poverty," in which he asserted "that the tap root of poverty among us is improvidence," and stated, after careful calculation, that a citizen of New York ought to be able to pay house rent and support a wife and family on a total expenditure of $350 a year.

Apparently Dr. Crosby has of late seen a new light on the poverty question, since he now announces that a man with a capital of $100,000 "needs all his income to live with the ordinary comforts of life." He makes this statement in an article entitled "The Haste to be Rich," which appears in the June issue of the *Forum*.

The object of Dr. Crosby's earlier essay, referred to above, was to inculcate the duty of accumulating wealth by the practice of the strictest abstinence—an abstinence which should involve the repression of all impulses. however natural and praiseworthy, whose gratification might entail the spending of money. The American citizen beginning life with no other heritage than the equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, was advised for the first thirty years of his manhood to subordinate everything else to the saving of money, in order that by the time he reached the threshold of old age, he might be able, out of his savings, to purchase that which, in ruder and less wealthy communities, is considered the first essential of existence—a decent dwelling place for himself and family. The present essay, on the contrary, sets forth the evils of too keen seeking after wealth, and warns the reader of the inevitable moral degradation which results from making money getting the chief object of existence.

Dr. Crosby begins his article with an eloquent definition of happiness:

> Happiness is contentment with surroundings, not the creature of surroundings. Its root is in the mind, not without. So all that my neighbor and half the world, who began by differentiating palace happiness from cottage happiness, and then stepped down to making the palace rather than the cottage the creator of happiness, now can say is that contentment has a better soil to flourish in when in a palace than when in a cottage. They have to grant that cottage happiness is as good as palace happiness, and that in each case there is contentment with surroundings; but they affirm that this contentment is better nurtured in a palace, and is more stable there. But are kings and dukes the happiest of men? History seems rather to make their woes conspicuous. Responsibilities produce risks. The higher you mount, a slip brings the greater fall. Moreover, where cares multiply anxieties intrude. We must not ignore all this because we see the prince pass by with a crown on his head and a retinue at his heels. It is an ignorant proletariat that looks up to royalty, and fails to see the human soul with its weakness under the velvet robes.

Punch printed a picture a year or so ago which was thought very funny. A prosperous looking rector of the church of England, taking his walks abroad, encounters a blear eyed, palsied, half naked wretch of a parishioner, who

pours into his ears a dismal tale of poverty and suffering. "Yes, my poor fellow," says the rector, sympathizingly; "you have a great deal to bear. But remember, the rich have their troubles, too. Now, I daresay you have no idea of the difficulty of finding an investment which combines adequate security with a decent rate of interest."
Dr. Crosby reminds us somewhat of that rector. All that he says about the misery that riches entail on their possessor is perfectly true—so is what he says about the virtue of contentment. But to the vast majority of American citizens his words convey no more meaning than would the statement of a proposition in the higher mathematics. Men whose lives are passed. as are the lives of most Americans, in a constant struggle with actual or possible poverty, are of necessity deaf to arguments of this description. They listen, and they simply don't believe. They cannot believe. As soon expect a boat load of starving sailors to have a realizing sense of the evil results of over eating.

> Another evil in the gold hunt is that which is produced on the community. We have seen how it shrivels the man who hunts. Now let us see how it harms the public. The healthiest form of human society is where the many are equally independent in their management of their affairs, where professions and trades are represented by individual thinking minds, and where those engaged in any one branch of industry stand on a level with one another. This condition of things promotes invention, activity, interest, manliness, and good citizenship. Now, the gold hunt system is directly antagonistic to all this. It seeks to destroy the many independent tradesmen, and to make them servants in a gigantic monopoly. The happy homes of freemen become the pinched quarters of serfs. The lords of trade have their hundreds and thousands of humble subordinates, over whom they rule, often with a rod of iron. They may be turned away from work and wages at any moment, from any whim of the selfish employer. Hence, through fear of this they lose their manhood, and dare not assert even a decision of their conscience. There is no more melancholy sight to my eyes than that which I so often see nowadays, the former happy possessor of a shop or store, who has lived comfortably and with the true nobility of a citizen, and whose family has felt the dignity of the home, now made a clerk and drudge in a huge establishment, that by its relentless use of millions has undermined and overthrown all the independent stores of a large district, while his family are thrust into the unsavory communism of a tenement house, and lose all the delicate refinements of a quiet home. It is easy to say that this is but the natural law of trade. So to devour men is the natural law of tigers. But this truth will not reconcile us to the process. If we are to stop men from stealing directly, we can stop them from stealing indirectly. If natural law works evil to the community, we are to make statute law, which will act as supernatural law, and control the offensive principle.

What amazing proposition is this? If natural law—that is, the law of God—works evil we poor finite creatures must improve on the work of the All Wise and make laws which shall counteract His evil ordinances! Truly the Rev. Howard Crosby doesn't lack confidence in his own wisdom, small as is his faith in the deity whose altar he serves! Does Dr. Crosby believe that God *meant* men to live in tenement houses—that He *meant* "the happy homes of freemen" to become "the pinched quarters of serfs?"—that He *meant* men to "lose their manhood" and become so cowed that they "dare not assert even a decision of their consciences?" Surely not. If he will but think a moment he will acknowledge that all the misery he so deplores must spring from disobedience to natural law, and cannot possibly have formed part of the scheme of creation. And once seeing this he will see that what we have to do is, not to try to frame better laws than

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God's, but to discover wherein we have already contravened them. And once started on that line of investigation Dr. Crosby will not have far to go.

Indeed, how close to his vision lies the truth, if he would but raise his eyes and look toward it, is evident when Dr. Crosby tells us what remedy he proposes:

> Unless we wish our old social equality destroyed and a system of practical serfdom to take its place, we must put a limit to the acts of greed, and so preserve the independence of our citizens. If the liberties of the multitude are to be guarded, the liberty of one man to buy up all the land or all the dry goods in the market must be checked. Capital must be circumscribed, except under special circumstances, when special conditions should be made for the protection of the community.

Is there no difference between buying up all the land and buying up all the dry goods?—no difference between owning all the wheat and owning all the farms!—no difference between owning all the fish in the market and owning all the seas and rivers from which alone fish can be produced? Dr. Crosby does not see any. But that is only because he will not look.

Such homilies as Dr. Crosby's are as old as history. How long is it since Solomon exclaimed: 'Give me neither poverty nor riches; feed me with food convenient for me; lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor and steal?" It is the poverty that causes the stealing—the dread of remaining poor, or becoming poor, that induces "the haste to be rich" which Dr. Crosby objurgates. If poverty be, as we believe, a social disease to be eradicated, the lust for wealth will vanish with it. But if it be, as Dr. Crosby seems to think, a divine ordinance, we must just make the best of it, and submit to see the "gold hunt" go on unintermittently. Dr. Crosby's socialistic remedies can do nothing to help us.

Thomas A. Edison gives in the *North American Review* for June an account of his now perfected phonograph, which is well worth reading. Referring to an article in the *North American* of May-June, 1878, in which the possibilities of the then crude invention were foreshadowed, he says:

> In my article ten years ago, I enumerated among the uses to which the phonograph would be applied: 1. Letter writing and all kinds of dictation without the aid of a stenographer. 2. Phonographic books, which would speak to blind people without effort on their part. 3. The teaching of elocution. 4. Reproduction of music. 5. The "family record"—a registry of sayings, reminiscences, etc., by members of a family, in their own voices, and of the last words of dying persons. 6. Music boxes and toys. 7. Clocks that should announce in articulate speech the time for going home, going to meals, etc. 8. The preservation of languages, by exact reproduction of the manner of pronouncing. 9. Educational purposes; such as preserving the explanations made by a teacher, so that the pupil can refer to them at any moment, and spelling or other lessons placed upon the phonograph for convenience in committing to memory. 10. Connection with the telephone, so as to make that invention an auxiliary in the transmission of permanent and invaluable records, instead of being the recipient of momentary and fleeting communications.
>
> Every one of these uses the perfected phonograph is now ready to carry out. I may add that, through the facility with which it stores up and reproduces music of all sorts, or whistling and recitations, it can be employed to furnish constant amusement to invalids, or to social assemblies, at receptions, dinners, etc. Any one sitting in his room alone may order an assorted supply of wax cylinders inscribed with songs, poems, piano or violin music, short stories, anecdotes, or direct pieces, and, by putting them on his phonograph, he can listen to them as orginally[sic] sung or recited by authors, vocalists and actors, or elocutionists. The variety of entertainment he thus commands, at trifling expense and without moving from his chair, is practically unlimited. Music by a band, in fact whole operas, can be stored up on the cylinders, and the voice of Patti singing in England can thus be heard again on this side the ocean, or preserved for future generations. *On four cylinders* eight inches long, with a diameter of five, I can put the whole of "Nicholas Nickleby" in

Sic in the original; probably "originally".

> phonogram form. In teaching the correct pronunciation of English, and especially of foreign languages, the phonograph as it stands seems to be beyond comparison, for no system of phonetic spelling can convey to the pupil the pronunciation of a good English, French, German or Spanish speaker so well as a machine that reproduces his utterances even more exactly than a human imitator could.
>
> . . Authors can register their fleeting ideas and brief notes on the phonograph at any hour of the day or night, without waiting to find pen, ink, or paper, and in much less time than it would take to write out even the shortest memoranda. They can also publish their novels or essays exclusively in phonogram form, so as to talk to their readers personally; and in this way they can protect their works from being stolen by means of defective copyright laws. Musical composers, in improvising compositions, will be able to have them recorded instantaneously on the phonograph.
>
> . . Two business men, conferring together, can talk into the recorder by means of a double transmitting tube, with perfect privacy and yet obtain upon the cylinder an unimpeachable transcript of their conversation in their own voices, with every break and pause, every hesitation or confident affirmation, every partial suggestion or particular explanation, infallibly set down in the wax. They can then have this conversation written out or typed by a secretary, for future reference; or can, if they prefer, have it multiple copied by our mechanical process. In this way, many misunderstandings may be avoided. Interesting philosophic or literary discussions and dialogues may be recorded in the same way. In fact, the phonograph will do, and does at this moment accomplish, the same thing in respect of conversation which instantaneous photography does for moving objects; that is, it will present whatever it records with a minute accuracy unattained by any other means.
>
> The most skillful observers, listeners and realistic novelists, or even stenographers, cannot reproduce a conversation exactly as it occurred. The account they give is more or less generalized. But the phonograph receives, and then transmits to our ears again, every thing that was said—exactly as it was said—with the faultless fidelity of an instantaneous photograph. We shall now for the first time know what conversation really is; just as we have learned, only within a few years, through the instantaneous photograph, what attitudes are taken by the horse in motion.
>
> Letters of introduction may be spoken on to a phonograph blank, without any of the formality of address and phraseology now customary, or the trouble of folding, enveloping and addressing a written communication. In fact, all correspondence will be greatly simplified and wisely abbreviated by the use of phonograms. A telephone subscriber can place at his telephone a phonogram which will announce to the exchange, whenever he is called up, that he has left the office and will return at a certain time. Similarly, one man calling at the office of another and not finding him, will talk into the phonograph anything he wishes to say. This saves the trouble of writing a note, and obviates the uncertainty of giving to clerk; office boy[sic] or servant an oral message that may be forgotten or incorrectly delivered. Hotels and clubs will, naturally, find this function of the phonograph extremely serviceable; and their guests, or patrons, will avail themselves of phonograms constantly. The accuracy of interviews with newspaper reporters will also be determined, no doubt, by phonographic

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> record. And travelers in vestibule trains will be glad to use phonograph blanks in place of letter paper and telegraph blanks, owing to the difficulty of writing while on a rapidly moving train. > > It must be borne in mind that I am not talking now of things which may be made possible in the future. I did my predicting ten years ago;

Sic in the original; probably “clerk, office boy”.

and the functions above mentioned are those which the present perfected phonograph is able to fulfill at this moment.

So we move along, in this century of the centuries. Year by year the mist that marks and shrouds the limits of our knowledge is rolled farther back, and the impossibility of yesterday becomes the matter of course of to-day. With the marvelous forces of nature working obediently and tirelessly at our command—with a planet whose inexhaustible wealth of raw material we are but beginning to discover—what should hinder mankind from becoming indeed but a little lower than the angels, and banishing poverty and crime, like evil visions of the night? Nothing, save the permitting individuals to assert a right of exclusive control over the forces and materials which providence has so bounteously provided for the use of all our race.

A FRESH AIR DREAM.

Toronto Grip.

Billy Ragtag, a little boy who lives in a stuffy alleyway in one of our crowded districts, was told about the fresh air fund by the Kind Lady who distributes tracts in that vicinity. She explained how all the good people of Toronto are contributing money to send the poor little girls and boys who live in the midst of squalor to the beautiful green fields of the country for some holidays when the hot weather comes on. Need it be said little Billy was delighted—enraptured? He couldn't think of anything else all that day, and when at night he crept into his miserable and dirty bed he kept thinking of it, and when he fell asleep he had a queer dream about it. He dreamed that, along with a great crowd of little pale faced children like himself, he was carried off in the grand railway train to a wonderful place, the like of which he had never seen. He thought it must be a fairy land, with its trees, and flowers, and green field, and bright blue sky.

"This," said the Kind Lady who was in charge of the party, "is where you are to spend your holiday. Now, my little dears, take your fill of the delicious fresh air—it is free, free!" But just then a terrible voice bellowed out, "Not much it ain't!" and a great big Demon came forth and stood in their path. "Where did you pick up such a cranky notion as that?" he went on, glaring fiercely at the Kind Lady. "The air *free!* ho, ho, ho!" and he laughed horribly. "Why," said the Kind Lady, "do you mean to say it *isn't* free? I never heard of such a thing before." "Didn't, hey? Where did you come from—the earth I'll bet." "Why, isn't this the earth?" asked the Kind Lady, still more astonished. "I thought so," mused the Demon. "No, ma'am, this is Saturn. The earth is off there," and he pointed up at the sky. "I see how it is, and I'll excuse you under the circumstances," he proceeded, "but the sooner you go back the better it will be for you, as at present you are trespassing." "But we're on the public road, aren't we?" the Kind Lady asked with alarm. "Yes, but you're breathing air that belongs to Bungaloo Bugaloop, Esq. He owns thirty-six acres of it just here. Got it in a straight deed from the king, and I'm his overseer. Take my advice, now, and get on." "But—but, I don't understand it at all!" sighed the Kind Lady, looking very much puzzled, while all the frightened little boys and girls put their hands over their mouths, so that they shouldn't steal the air. "No; coming from the earth, you wouldn't," said the Demon; "they're a little slow on this planet, I believe. But what is there strange about it?" "Why, it seems such a queer place that anybody should claim to *own* the air, which the creator made for all," said the Kind Lady. "But why not air as well as water?" queried the Demon. "Or water either," she replied. "I never heard of anybody claiming to own water." "Didn't, hey?" said he, "why Mr. Bugaloop owns 2,380 acres of that ocean there," and he pointed to the sea. "Dear, dear! I never heard of such a thing!" said the Kind Lady. "Air and water *we* regard as two elements of divine creation which are essential to human life, and *not for a moment* to be looked upon as private property. It is simply monstrous, sir!" and the Kind Lady looked indignant. "Well, what do you say about *land*; do you permit private property in *that*, which is just as much an essential element as air or water?" "Oh, land is different," said the Kind Lady with some hesitation. "Not at all," said the Demon. "Your landlords, what do they do? Simply charge you rent for using land. Here, our air lords charge us for the use of air, and our water lords for

the use of water. Where's the difference? But *my* time is precious. Air in this vicinity is at present bringing $25 per foot. If you like to buy enough for your picnic, you can go ahead; or I'll rent you enough for the day at fifty cents per breath, counting sixty breaths to the minute."

Just then little Billy woke up in a cold sweat, and began thinking out his dream. We hope some bigger people will think it out, too.

All You Have to Do is to Hold On and Let the Growing Population Make Your Fortune.

The following is from the pen of Benjamin I. Cohen, secretary of the Portland trust company of Oregon. He is also assistant secretary of the board of trade: "Investments in real estate also present many attractive features. There is nothing of the bogus character about Portland. Values are fixed, lots and blocks are staple as sugar or flour; but the charm of real estate purchases consists in the fact that the rise in city property from year to year is so regular and steady that, knowing the purchase price of a piece of property in 1888, one can predict with almost mathematical certainty the price for which it will sell in 1889. Property within the city limits, but near the boundary or in sparsely built up portions, is now increasing in value at an average rate of about twenty-five per cent per annum. Such property can still be bought for moderate prices as compared with other cities. For example, lots which in the summer of 1887 could be bought at $1,350 to $1,500 now readily sell for $1,800 to $2,000. A lot in Portland is 50x100 feet. Acre property near at hand and easily accessible has increased in value more rapidly. Unimproved business lots in the central portions of the city increase more slowly, the great demand for such property having stiffened prices some time ago to something like their real value. About twelve per cent per annum would be a conservative estimate of the present rate of increase of business lots. Of course there are many opportunities for speculative purchases which yield much larger returns. This article is confined to such investments as cautious, or even timid, capitalists would feel safe in handling."

The Railroads Hold Them in the Hollow of Their Hands Despite the Tariff.

A prominent iron manufacturer recently wrote to the Philadelphia *Ledger* a communication on "The decline of the iron industry in the Lehigh valley." He talks dolefully about southern competition and the inability of Pennsylvania to cope with it, and then sums up by saying:

> The problem, therefore, which the iron masters have to solve is, "How to make their iron cost less," and in this they meet with difficulties at once. Various items of cost are very difficult to reduce, especially that of labor, as the workingmen think their wages are low enough now. Fuel, the cost of which is a large component of the cost of a ton of pig iron (nearly two-thirds of it), is about as low as it can be gotten. Ore can be cheapened by mine owners taking less royalty and the railroads carrying it for less money. As a matter of fact, the railroads hold the iron makers in the hollow of their hands, and appeals to them for assistance are generally in vain,

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FREE TRADE AND THE SINGLE TAX.

A Single Tax Man Gives His Reasons for Supporting Cleveland.

Chicago Labor Enquirer.

I am a single tax man. I believe in abolishing all taxes save a tax on land values. Thus, and thus only, can the labor problem be solved. But I know that the accomplishment of this great reform—the only reform which is worth a moment's consideration as regards its ultimate effects, without which all other reforms are useless save as leading in that direction—can only be accomplished by slow and gradual measures.

There are single tax men who know the truth, but who ignore the process of its accomplishment. They are consequently betrayed into a hundred inconsistencies. Before we can get this tax put where we want it, we must get other taxes removed. Now the tariff tax is one of the worst taxes, and is of the same nature as the private tax levied by landlords. It is a tax whose ultimate effect is to add to rents. In its removal lies the first step in the process of getting taxes put where we want them.

If this were all it would be a good thing in itself. But it isn't all. In the debate that must proceed in congress and throughout the nation from every stump, and in every debating society and household, thousands and hundreds of thousands must soon come to perceive the impossibility of protecting labor by tariffs. Then will come the inquiry whether there be no other tariffs that obstruct the freedom of labor. That there should ever have arisen a feeling that labor needs protection is a sure proof that it needs protection from something.

It must soon be recognized that the operation of those causes which everywhere reduce wages to a level remain uninfluenced for good by any system of tariffs, but that tariffs on the contrary intensify the evil, though they do not create it. Absolute free trade by increasing the volume of production would for a time increase the averages of rewards; but it could not operate to secure the full earnings as long as workingmen are forced into an unnatural competition for the privilege of work. Under free trade the aggregate wealth of the community would increase, and continue to increase; but what hitherto to the mere laborer has been the result of an increase of protective power? It has not decreased the cost of living; it has not done away with the ever present workingman at his shoulder bidding for his work. As fast as these powers are increased and exchange facilitated, and discoveries and inventions made, men are crowded together in over populated centers, forced to pay high rents, while ever on the outer circle the land is withdrawn from use at speculative rents, or at actual rents, which leave no margin after railroad fares are paid, and rise as fast as transportation is facilitated.

This is the real weakness of mere commercial free trade. All increase in productive power goes to enrich those who monopolize the natural opportunities. Free traders themselves must come finally to perceive it. They must continue to advance far beyond the goal they contemplate. The arguments which oppose the levying of taxes upon industry or its fruits, or upon the process of exchange, will suffice to show to men now unacquainted with our doctrines the justice and expediency of a tax upon the value of land. This must be the ultimate of the free trade agitation. It makes very little difference whether these free traders disown all sympathy with the absolute free trade we advocate; they will go right on preaching our doctrines. They will "build better than they knew;" and in their pleas for partial freedom will sound every now and then a clarion note for full freedom.

In the coming campaign thousands will receive their first lesson in political economy. In this campaign the labor question will have been brought for the first time into national politics. For free traders and protectionists—that is, those of the latter who are sincere—are striving each in their own way to solve the problem of poverty. There is only one solution; and in one way or another this solution will be indicated in the hundreds of thousands of political speeches made in every city, town and village in the states. What then is our duty, we the believers in the single tax? Clearly, to aid the party that is going our way. We who hope for a greater freedom should not neglect to strike for the bringing in of a partial freedom.

Why, then, are we as single tax men acting with the democratic party? Because we love Cleveland or his party? No! But because of the fact that the direction that party is going is toward freedom. To men ignorant of mechanical powers the moving of a stone of even a few tons weight would seem impossible; but to men aware of the

advantage of a lever the thing is seen to be easily practicable. I see, as Mr. George sees, that the stone may be rolled away if we will use these six million democrats as a lever.

Jersey City. JOSEPH DANA MILLER.

Easy to Answer.

Toronto Grip.

The Montreal *Gazette*, commenting on the cartoon in our issue of May 19, says:

> *Grip* presents its views on the question this week in a cartoon in which a laborer is joyfully shouting, "With the land free from the clutch of monopoly, I defy poverty." This is very fine for *Grip's* laborer. What it is for the man whose industry and thrift has enabled him to become possessed of a home or a farm, we are not told.

Well, dear *Gazette*, we'll tell you now. For "the man whose industry and thrift has enabled him to become possessed of a home or a farm," it just means that he would be required to pay annually a single tax representing the fair rental value of the land he holds. If the land happened to be situated in the center of a large city the tax would be pretty high, but the land needed by the average thrifty citizen for a home, and the land used by the average farmer for purposes of cultivation, is not usually so situated, and has a comparatively low rental value, and the tax would accordingly be light in proportion. Meantime, the man whose "industry and thrift" is now retarded and discouraged by taxation on buildings, stock, fences and improvements of all kinds, food, clothing, income, and everything else would be relieved of all these imposts. He would simply render to the public till each year the land value created, not by the sweat of his brow, but by the natural growth of the community instead, as he does now, a portion of the result of his labor and toil. In short, Mr. *Gazette*, the thrifty and deserving person for whom we are glad to see you so solicitous, would only have his taxes lowered under the system which *Grip* favors. Do you think he would object to that?

Romance of the Cotton Seed.

Atlanta Constitution.

Was there ever a history, this side of Cinderella, of the uprising of humanity, like that of the cotton seed? For seventy years despised as a nuisance, and burned or dumped as garbage; then discovered to be the very food for which the soil was hungering, and reluctantly admitted to the rank of ugly utilities. Shortly afterward found to be nutritious for beast as well as soil, and thereupon treated with something like respect. Once admitted to the circle of farm husbandries, found to hold thirty-five gallons of pure oil to the ton, worth, in its crude state, fourteen dollars to the ton, or forty million dollars for the whole crop of seed. But then a system was devised for refining this oil up to a value of $1 a gallon, and the frugal Italians placed a cask of it at the root of every olive tree, and then defied the Borean breath of the Alps[sic]. And then experience shows that the ton of cotton seed was a better fertilizer and a better stock when robbed of its thirty-five gallons of oil than before. And that the hulls of the seed made the best of fuel for feeding the oil mill engine. And that the ashes of the hulls scooped from the engine's drift had the highest commercial value as potash. And that the "refuse" of the whole made the best and purest soap stock to carry to the toilet the perfumes of Lubin and Colgate. About this time we began to spell cotton seed

Sic in the original; probably "Boreal (or"Borean" as printed in source)".

with capital letters. And how it traveled abroad in its various dresses! As meal cakes it whitened the meadows of England with woolly fleeces, and fattened the British

p. 8, col. 5

cattle under its oaks; it sputtered on the stoves of the Dutch in lieu of lard; it glistened in the cafes of Paris as olive oils, under seals and signatures it could not even pronounce to save its life, and from under the dikes in Holland it went forth to parade in all the bravery of butter and butterine. In our own country it renewed the wasting strength of southern fields, and clad them with whiteness that would shame the fleeces of England, or yellow that would pale the fleeces of Argonauts. It knocked the western hog into spots, and poured the western lard out of the frying pan into the fire. And about this time congress jumped on to cotton seed with both feet, and proposed to check its further career by a prohibitory tax.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

No free franchises to anybody.—[Indianapolis News.

The Standard oil company is now making only $10.400,000[sic] a year. The question then naturally arises, how much are the men who produce the oil making?—[Pittsburg Commercial-Gazette (protectionist).

Nothing that the last legislature has done will redound more certainly to its credit than will the passage of the Australian ballot bill, says the Lowell *Citizen*. It may have its weak spots, its deficiencies and its drawbacks, but it is infinitely superior to the plan it succeeds. The present plan is anything but satisfactory, and we hail the innovation as a change in the right direction.—[Lynn, Mass., Bee.

Our country, with unequaled natural opportunities and millions of willing toilers, during the last twenty years has produced an aggregate amount of wealth that is without a parallel in the history of mankind. If an equitable proportion of that wealth had remained in the possession of those who created it, our land would now hold the happiest and most prosperous commonalty the world ever saw.—[Farmers' Voice, Chicago.

If the council acts wisely Indianapolis can secure a good round revenue and have greatly improved street car service at the same time. Three several companies are asking franchises. The people should impress the fact upon their agents in council that the franchises of the city belong to the citizens thereof, and are not to be given to any one, but only to be leased or rented on a good business basis for a right and reasonable return.—[Indianapolis News.

The single land tax of Henry George may never be accepted in this country as the correct system of taxation, but there is one thing certain, that when the people come to understand the land tax question better the speculator and land monopolist will have to let go. No man should be allowed to hold more land than he can use, and when all land now held for speculative purposes is taxed to its full value land syndicates will find it more profitable to invest their money in something else.—[Dayton, Ohio, Workman.

The workingmen of Detroit are beginning to take an interest in the street car franchises that a number of enterprising gentlemen are soliciting the board of aldermen for. This is a good sign. They are the ones most immediately interested, for not only will their money sustain the roads, but it is their privileges that the board of aldermen must grant. Now, what are the workingmen most interested in? Is it not cheap fares? Then why not give

---

Sic in the original; probably "$10,400,000".

these franchises to those companies furnishing the best accommodations at the lowest rates?—[Detroit Evening News.

Agitators for ballot reform have scored another victory in the passage by the Massachusetts legislature of a bill embodying the Australian system of voting. This, it is hoped, will react so favorably to the advantage of the honest electors of Michigan that the next legislature will hasten to engraft in our laws the features of those bills to purify elections that have been before them the past two sessions. Michigan has been the pioneer in this movement, and it will be a pity for her not to have the benefit of her own efforts to abolish bribery, intimidation and corruption at the polls.—[Detroit Evening News.

We Thought the Tariff Kept Wages Up.

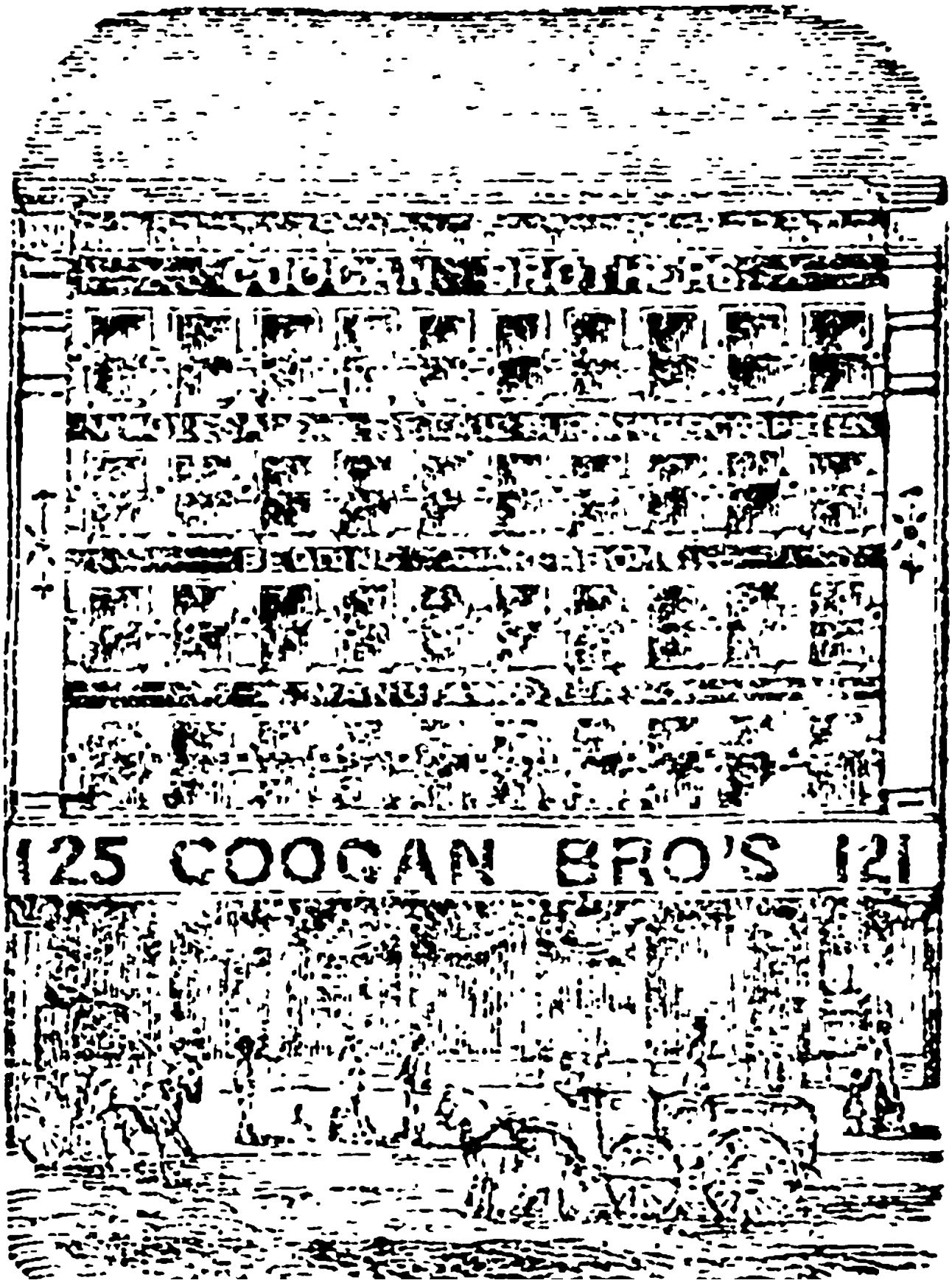
Philadelphia Times.

The iron manufacturers of Pittsburg and vicinity have presented their scale of wages for the ensuing year. It proposes an average reduction of something more than ten per cent from last year's schedule. The Amalgamated association of iron and steel workers ask for the adoption of the old schedule.

[Advertisement] Mrs. Agatha Munier Atkins

MRS. AGATHA MUNIER[?] ATKINS WILL continue to receive pupils in solo singing and vocal sight reading at her residence. 223 E. [33d?] street, New York.

[Advertisement] Coogan Bros.



p8_fig1

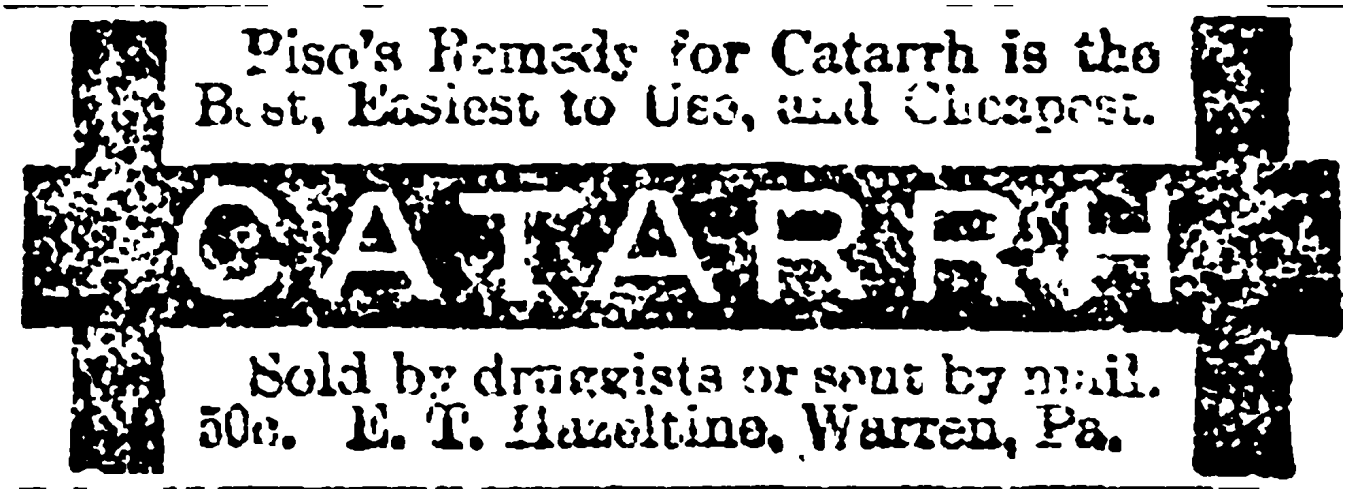
[Illustration: engraving of the multi-storey Coogan Bros. store building, with horse-drawn wagons and pedestrians in the street in front. Signs on the building: “COOGAN BROTHERS” across the upper floor; further lettered bands on the facade [illegible]; shop-front sign: “125 COOGAN BRO’S 121”]

COOGAN BROS.,

CARPET AND FURNITURE DEALERS,

COR. BOWERY AND GRAND STS.

[Advertisement] Piso’s Remedy for Catarrh



p8_fig2

[Display advertisement: the word CATARRH in large white letters on a black cross-shaped panel]

Piso’s Remedy for Catarrh is the Best, Easiest to Use, and Cheapest.

CATARRH

Sold by druggists or sent by mail. 50c. E. T. Hazeltine, Warren, Pa.

[Advertisement] Holland’s

HOLLAND’S COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS,

[135?] Fourth avenue,

Bet. 13th and 14th sts.

[Advertisement] James Rogan

JAMES ROGAN, PRINCIPAL AGENT for James Means’ $3 and $4 shoes. 226 BOWERY, near Prince street.

[Advertisement] The Single Tax (Union Printing Co.)

THE SINGLE TAX. Special editions of ready-printed newspapers containing current Single Tax reading matter. All sizes; low prices. UNION PRINTING CO., 15 Vandewater street, New York.

[Advertisement] Printing. Concord Co-operative Printing Company

PRINTING.

CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY (Ld.)

104 Elm street, cor. Canal, N. Y.

BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.

p. 8, col. 6

[Advertisement] Unity Congregation

UNITY CONGREGATION.—MASONIC TEMPLE, Sixth avenue and Twenty-third street.

HUGH O. PENTOCOST[sic],

MINISTER.

SERVICES:

Sunday Morning, 11 o'clock.

Sermons published weekly in the Twentieth Century. 3c. a number. $1.00 a year. "What I Believe." By Hugh O. Pentecost. 200 pages. Elegantly printed. Large type. Wide margin. Price 25c. Address, 56 Oriental st., Newark, N. J.

[Advertisement] George Wilson, Merchant Tailor

"THE APPAREL OFT PROCLAIMS THE MAN."—*Shakespeare.*

Spoken three hundred years ago, is no less a fact to-day!

GEORGE WILSON,

MERCHANT TAILOR,

Formerly with Henry Poole, London,

Importer of Leading Novelties,

ENGLISH AND FRENCH CASSIMERES,

206 East Fourteenth street, New York.

Sic in the original; probably "HUGH O. PENTECOST,".

P. S.–Send postal card and you will be waited on with samples at office or residence.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[Advertisement] The Keystone Watch Club Co.

A Gold Watch

For $38. That tells the TRUTH.

Fully equal for Accuracy, Durability, Appearance and Service, to any $75. Watch.

Philadelphia's building associations have done much toward building it up and making it the city of homes. The same system of co-operation carefully and economically managed, has built up The Keystone Watch Club Co., until they are now selling more Watches to consumers than all others combined. They handle only the

Keystone Dust-proof Watch

which is deservedly regarded as the crown and climax of Pennsylvania's manufactures. This Watch contains every essential to an accurate timekeeper, and many important improvements patented by the Company. They are Dust and Damp Proof, a quality possessed by no other movement in the world Jewel-



ed throughout with genuine rubies. Patent Stem Wind and Set, strongest and simplest. Sold

p8_fig3

[Illustrated advertisement in an ornamental border of ribbons bearing city names and agency addresses (top band: “NEW YORK ... PHILADELPHIA ...”; the rest [illegible]); engraving of an open-face pocket watch, the dial lettered “KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO. ... NEW YORK PHILADA.” around a keystone emblem]

A Gold Watch For $38. That tells the TRUTH.

Fully equal for Accuracy, Durability, Appearance and Service, to any $75. Watch.

Philadelphia’s building associations have done much toward building it up and making it the city of homes. The same system of co-operation carefully and economically managed, has built up The Keystone Watch Club Co., until they are now selling more Watches to consumers than all others combined. They handle only the

Keystone Dust-proof Watch

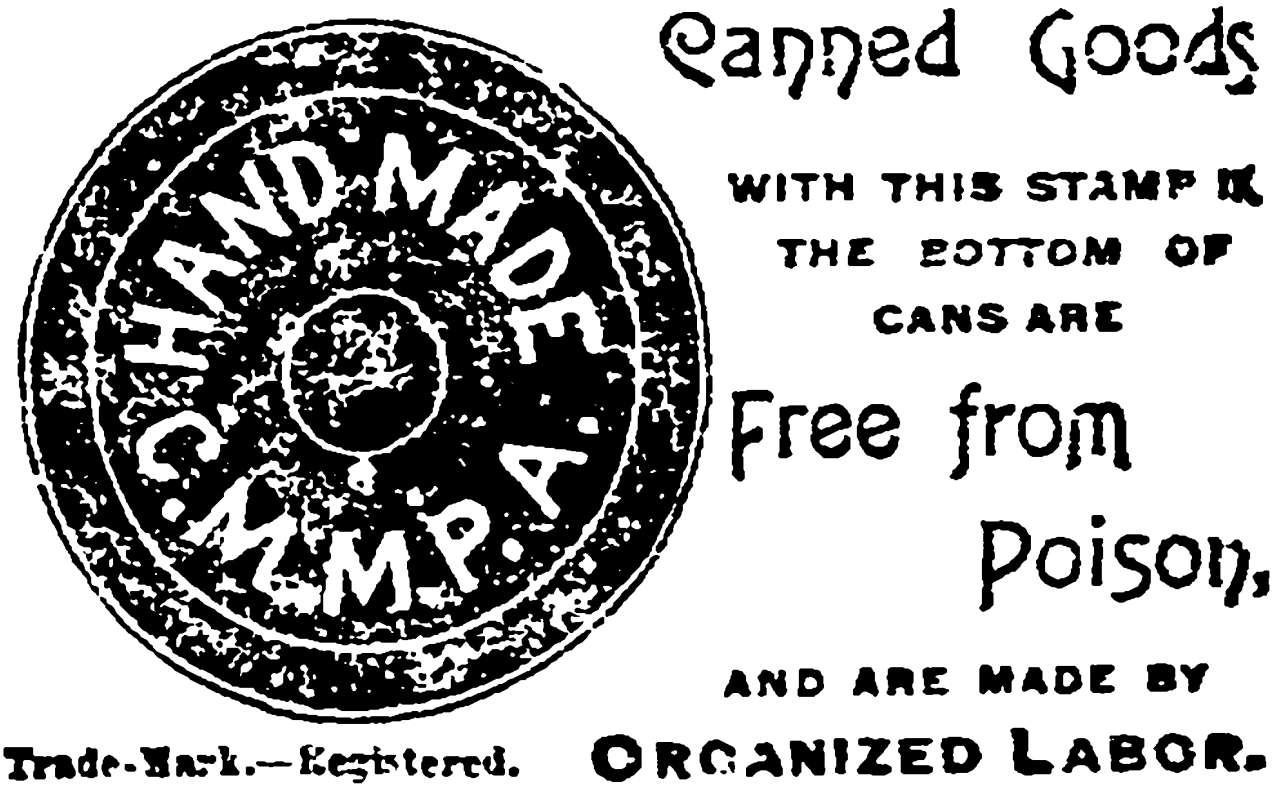
which is deservedly regarded as the crown and climax of Pennsylvania’s manufactures. This Watch contains every essential to an accurate timekeeper, and many important improvements patented by the Company. They are Dust and Damp Proof, a quality possessed by no other movement in the world. Jeweled throughout with genuine rubies. Patent Stem Wind and Set, strongest and simplest. Sold through authorized agents at $38.00. Either all cash down or $1.00 per week. There can be no disappointment in this system. An active, reliable Agent Wanted to represent us in every city and town. Write for full particulars.

The Keystone Watch Club Co

926 Chestnut St., PHILADA., PA.

REFERENCES—Any Commercial Agency.

[Advertisement] Canned Goods (C. M. M. P. A.)



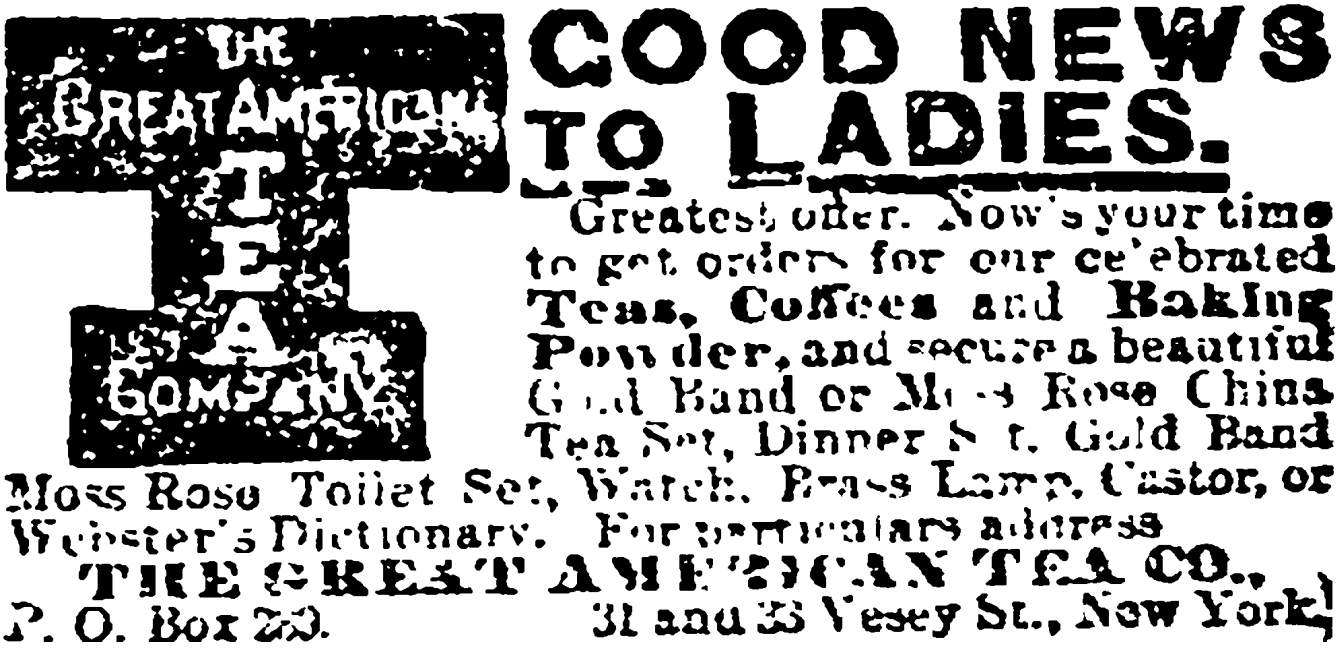
p8_fig4

[Display advertisement: round stamp/trade-mark lettered “HAND MADE” and “C. M. M. P. A.”, beside display lettering]

Canned Goods WITH THIS STAMP [ON?] THE BOTTOM OF CANS ARE Free from Poison, AND ARE MADE BY ORGANIZED LABOR.

Trade-Mark.—Registered.

[Advertisement] The Great American Tea Company



p8_fig5

[Display advertisement: T-shaped black panel lettered “THE GREAT AMERICAN T E A COMPANY”]

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] Charles B. Schaidner, Photographer

CHARLES B. SCHAIDNER,

PHOTOGRAPHER.

2280 Third avenue, cor. 124th street, New York.

Children’s Photographs by instantaneous process a specialty

[Notice] Harlem Single Tax Club

HARLEM SINGLE TAX CLUB.—The Harlem Single Tax Club has a vigorous organization, and holds weekly meetings at 347 West 125th street, on Tuesday evening, at 8:30 p. m.

[Notice] Chicago, Ill., April 6, 1888.—To Single Tax Advocates, Greeting

CHICAGO, ILL.. APRIL 6[sic], 1888.—To Single Tax Advocates, Greeting—By virtue of the authority invested in me by letters on file in my office from the several states and territories, a call is hereby issued for a national conference of the single tax advocates of the several states and territories and the district of Columbia of the United States, to convene in the city of CHICAGO, Ill., at ten o'clock a. m., on WEDNESDAY, JULY 4, 1888.

All persons who believe that the public revenues should be raised by a single and direct tax upon relative land values are invited to attend and take part in the deliberations.

The following is the general committee on arrangements:

Chairman, Warren Worth Bailey, No. 281 South Hoyne avenue, Chicago.

Secretary, M. K. LaShelle, Times building, Chicago.

Treasurer, Robert H. Cowdrey, 160 Quincy street, Chicago.

Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco, Cal.

H. F. Ring, Houston, Tex.

H. Martin Williams, St. Louis, Mo.

L. P. Custer, Indianapolis, Ind.

Benjamin Adams, Charleston, S. C.

Freeman Knowles, Ceresco, Neb.

C. A. S. Higley, Minneapolis, Minn.

Thomas A. McCann, Detroit, Mich.

Richard L. Atkinson, Philadelphia, Pa.

E. Q. Norton, Mobile, Ala.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY,

Chairman Provisional Committee.

Chicago, April 8.—All those who contemplete[sic] attending the national conference of single tax advocates, to be held in this city July 4 will confer a great favor on the committee by notifying the secretary of their intentions as soon as possible. The work of the committee will be made much easier if it may know about how many visitors to expect. Where a number of persons will come from any club or organization let the names be given. Where there is no [concerted?] action it is requested that each person will write, saying that he will come. This will enable the committee to proceed in its arrangements intelligently, and also be a great aid in bringing the conference prominently before the local public.

Sic in the original; probably "CHICAGO, ILL., APRIL 6".
Sic in the original; probably "contemplate".

Address all letters to M. K. LA SHELLE,

Secretary Provisional Committee, Times Building, Chicago, Ill.

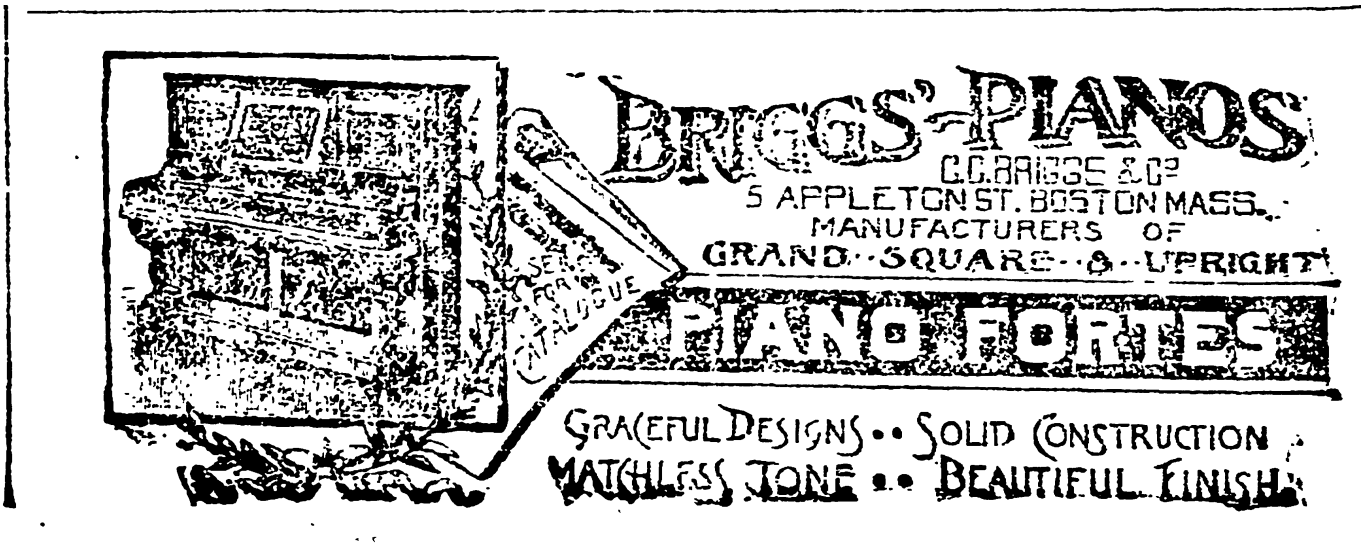
[Notice] Kansas State Lecturer

KANSAS STATE LECTURER.–THE undersigned state lecturer and member of the state central committee is now ready to respond to calls for work anywhere in the state of Kansas. Address Rev. W. M. GOODNER, box 353, Larned, Kan.

[Notice] Cleveland Land and Labor Club

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

[Advertisement] Briggs' Pianos



p8_fig6

[Illustrated advertisement: engraving of an upright piano with a leaf spray beneath it; a ribbon/arrow lettered "SEND FOR CATALOGUE" pointing to the display lettering]

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	[Notice of copies sent at friends' expense]	se bave; sour wecks (heavy gothic type, overinked/broken throughout)	to have; four weeks
1	[Ballot reformers must vote for the reform]	intimidation. and give	intimidation, and give
1	[Postponement of the single tax conference at Chicago]	pe[..]nt (letters broken/ missing)	independent
1	[The Chicago club's repudiation of the Cincinnati action]	au[..]ority (letters broken)	authority
1	[Four questions from R. Frank Sylvester, with answers]	de[..]ratic (letters faint/broken)	democratic
1	[Four questions from R. Frank Sylvester, with answers]	[..]xation (first letters faint/ broken)	taxation
1	[Four questions from R. Frank Sylvester, with answers]	cou[ı]age (r broken)	courage
1	[Platform of the Cleveland free trade club]	ta[..]iff (letters broken)	tariff
1	[The situation the democratic party must face]	diffi-/difficulty (syllable repeated across line break; joined as "diffidifficulty")	difficulty
1	[The courageous road to democratic success]	tear (twice; f faintly struck, reads as t)	fear
1	[The courageous road to democratic success]	sku[i]kers (l faint/broken, reads as i)	skulkers
2	CHANCELLOR BIRD'S DECISION. A New Jersey Lawyer on Some of t	CHANCELLO[R] BIRD'S DECISI[O]N	CHANCELLOR BIRD'S DECISION
2	CHANCELLOR BIRD'S DECISION. A New Jersey Lawyer on Some of t	Heary	Henry
2	CHANCELLOR BIRD'S DECISION. A New Jersey Lawyer on Some of t	s lemnity (letter missing/ broken)	solemnity
2	A Card and Affidavit from Mr. Michael Clarke.	sep[blot]rate	separate

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
2	A Card and Affidavit from Mr. Michael Clarke.	GAR[blot]NER	GARDNER
2	The Tariff Question in Minnesota.	Dacks (b with broken ascender)	backs
2	Girls' Gymnastics at the People's Palace.	gym / nasium (no hyphen at line break)	gym-/nasium
2	The Cause and Cure of "Sweating" in London.	manufactu[ ]ng (letters missing)	manufacturing
2	The Cause and Cure of "Sweating" in London.	labor / ers (no hyphen at line break)	labor-/ers
2	Selling a Birthright for a Mess of Pottage a Good Bargain Be	Barg[?]i[?] (headline letters badly struck, reads like "Barguia")	Bargain
2	Selling a Birthright for a Mess of Pottage a Good Bargain Be	the same· (single raised dot)	the same:
2	HOME LIFE DISAPPEARING. Marriage and the Bringing Up of a Fa	element[s damaged]	elements
2	HOME LIFE DISAPPEARING. Marriage and the Bringing Up of a Fa	Stri[v damaged]e, o[f damaged] voting, [e damaged]ffect	Strive, of, effect
2	"DEHOOFING" IN FRANCE. The Agonies that Fashionable Women En	pro[c damaged]ess	process
2	Just as Paris Was Protected in 1870.	Chumpla[n]d (reads "Chumplaad"; n poorly struck)	Chumpland
3	QUERIES AND ANSWERS. Hard Times and Machinery.	re[damaged]lt	result
3	QUERIES AND ANSWERS. Hard Times and Machinery.	t[damaged] country / [damaged]ush times	the country / flush times
3	QUERIES AND ANSWERS. Hard Times and Machinery.	habit [damaged] wearing … eac[damaged]	habit of wearing … each year
3	QUERIES AND ANSWERS. Hard Times and Machinery.	econo[damaged]e	economize
3	QUERIES AND ANSWERS. Hard Times and Machinery.	city of re[damaged]uge … takes [damaged]	city of refuge … takes to
3	QUERIES AND ANSWERS. Hard Times and Machinery.	[damaged]he manufacturer … [damaged]is business … [damaged]heaply … for [damaged]x cents	the / his / cheaply / six

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
3	[Reply to W. C. Strickler on machinery and hard times]	consu[damaged]ption	consumption
3	[Reply to W. C. Strickler on machinery and hard times]	I b[damaged]ve … pov[damaged]ty … d[damaged]ummer	believe / poverty / drummer
3	[Reply to W. C. Strickler on machinery and hard times]	everybod[damaged] and / instit[damaged]ion	everybody, and / institution
3	Mr. Shearman's Speech.	for [damaged]he year	the
3	[Reply to E. Lucas on Standard Oil, the surplus and Shearman	distr[damaged]buted by the governm[damaged]nt / very fe[damaged]	distributed by the government / very few
3	[Reply to E. Lucas on Standard Oil, the surplus and Shearman	simul[damaged]aneously	simultaneously
3	THE BOULANGER BOOM AND ITS CAUSES.	December, 187[damaged],	1870
3	[Pen, Paste and Scissors: Russian petroleum]	crude oil[faint/missing stop] Russi[damaged]	crude oil. Russia
3	[Pen, Paste and Scissors: Russian petroleum]	12[damaged],000,000 gallons	120,000,000 (third digit unreadable)
3	[Pen, Paste and Scissors: Mr. Groezinger's wine export schem	mater[damaged]al … p[damaged]mace … s[damaged]lid	material / pomace / solid
4	THE STANDARD. [editorial masthead and terms]	heavy ink blot / overinking along left margin of column 1 (first words of many lines filled in solid)	words as transcribed
4	THE LAW OF LABOR STRIKES.	several commas print as periods ("that time. the foreman", "the shop. one who")	commas
4	THE TARIFF DEBATE.	ho.vever (w damaged)	however
4	THE TARIFF DEBATE.	Mills bill. since", "the revenue. as" (commas print as periods)	commas
4	LIMITATION OF FORTUNES.	compei	compel
4	LIMITATION OF FORTUNES.	ought to be. vast", "if made. must" (commas print as periods)	commas
4	[The Economist and free wool]	to-nay (d damaged)	to-day

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
4	[The Economist says we have free wool now]	for followed by a damaged mark (blotted "?")	for?
4	A Card from Father Huntington.	c mposed (o missing/unstruck)	composed
4	The Modern Miracle Worker.	Pinkerton game	Pinkerton gangs (uncertain; may be as intended)
4	[Society Notes: Chicago tenement life]	impossiblo (overinked e)	impossible
5	MEN AND THINGS. [Superintendent Jasper and the public school	revealcd (broken type; transcribed "revealed")	revealed
5	[Men and Things: Paris municipal ordinances against sweating	uo (broken type; transcribed "up")	up
5	[Men and Things: The Annapolis examinations]	req'.irements (broken type; transcribed "requirements")	requirements
5	Single Tax League Notes.	Sing.e (broken type; transcribed "Single")	Single
5	ELECTRICITY IN PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE.	cur / rent at line break with no hyphen (joined as "current")	cur-/rent
5	ELECTRICITY IN PRODUCTION AND EXCHANGE.	would + blot/mark + it is said effect (transcribed "would[,?] it is said effect")	would, it is said, effect
5	THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.	Philadel,hia (broken type; transcribed "Philadelphia")	Philadelphia
5	THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.	seeu (broken type; transcribed "seem")	seem
5	THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.	abso / lute at line break with no hyphen (joined as "absolute")	abso-/lute
6	A MORMON'S STORY.	th[e] (e barely inked)	the
6	A MORMON'S STORY.	cali	call
6	A MORMON'S STORY.	ce?tury, h?d (letters missing in impression)	century, had
6	A SCRAP OF RAILWAY TALK.	to to	to
6	A SCRAP OF RAILWAY TALK.	when [a] message (letter shows only as a dot)	when a message
6	A SCRAP OF RAILWAY TALK.	S[o] (o shows only as a dot)	So
6	Reorganizing for Active Work in Memphis.	C-RLILE (a missing)	CARLILE

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
6	NEW PUBLICATIONS. THE LAND AND LABOR LIBRARY.	I[t]s (t badly struck)	Its
6	NEW PUBLICATIONS. THE LAND AND LABOR LIBRARY.	G[E]ORGE (first E blotted)	GEORGE
7	Song of the High Protectionist.	tu (top of the o broken)	to
7	TO WORKINGMEN.	cf	of
7	TO WORKINGMEN.	pr.ce (i missing/broken)	price
7	TO WORKINGMEN.	›r ‘o (o of “or” and t of “to” largely missing)	or to
7	CURRENT LITERATURE. A MAGAZINE OF RECORD AND REVIEW.	faithfu:y (a and two l’s damaged)	faithfully
7	HENRY GEORGE’S WORKS.	HENRI (tail of the Y missing)	HENRY
7	HENRY GEORGE’S WORKS.	Jitroductory (I and n damaged)	Introductory
7	HENRY GEORGE’S WORKS.	universa need (final l missing)	universal need
8	CURRENT THOUGHT. [Dr. Howard Crosby on “The Haste to be Rich	impulses. however	impulses, however
8	CURRENT THOUGHT. [Dr. Howard Crosby on “The Haste to be Rich	passed. as are	passed, as are
8	CURRENT THOUGHT. [Dr. Howard Crosby on “The Haste to be Rich	drudge in [a] huge (article barely printed)	drudge in a huge
8	CURRENT THOUGHT. [Dr. Howard Crosby on “The Haste to be Rich	investigation D[r.] (letters missing/unprinted)	investigation Dr.
8	CURRENT THOUGHT. [Dr. Howard Crosby on “The Haste to be Rich	tr[ut]h (letters missing/ unprinted)	truth
8	CURRENT THOUGHT. [Dr. Howard Crosby on “The Haste to be Rich	farms!—no	farms?—no
8	CURRENT THOUGHT. [Dr. Howard Crosby on “The Haste to be Rich	’Give me … steal?” (single opening quote, double closing)	“Give me … steal?”
8	All You Have to Do is to Hold On and Let the Growing Populat	sum / mer (no hyphen at line break)	sum-/mer
8	FREE TRADE AND THE SINGLE TAX. A Single Tax Man Gives His Re	an increase of protective power?	an increase of productive power? (possible)