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112 notes: 112 misprints. Uncertain readings are in [brackets?]. Original spelling and misprints are kept as printed.

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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”).
- p1 c1–c6 editorial notes are one run signed HENRY GEORGE at the foot of c6 (17 sections; no rules are marked in the transcription, so the section breaks follow the page index). An owner’s stamp (“Dr Walter Mendelson … W 7?th st”) hides part of the dateline and the campaign-subscription notice.
- p2 “Cleveland and Hill” interviews run p2 c4 → p3 (whole page). Amsterdam paper’s name “Labor Stage[?]” (could be “Gauge”).
- p4 Philadelphia letter dated “Sept. 29” (after the issue date). Fund list “Herman Kuhn” / letter “HERMAN KUEHN”; “J Woodhouse” / “HENRY J. WOODHOUSE”. Morrill tariff pamphlet dated 1882 (perhaps 1862).
- p5 Carnegie income table copied as printed; its figures do not add up.
- p7 Godin article: subhead says “Liege” but the text describes the Familistère at Guise.

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THE STANDARD

NO. 88—V[OL. I?]V, NO. 10. [line partly obscured by a later owner's stamp]

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

p. 1, col. 1

THE STANDARD FO[R THE CA?]MPAIGN.

Subscriptions to THE ST[ANDARD fro?]m now to the close of the campaig[n will be r?]eceived at the following rates: [words partly obscured by a later owner's stamp]

Single subscription . . . . 40c Ten or more, each . . . . 36c One hundred or more, each . . . 32c

"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:

The Australian Ballot. Governor Hill and the Democratic Nomination. What Will Elect Cleveland. The Benefits of Free Trade. The Danger to Property. Signs of the Times in Ohio. The *Free Trade* Club of Cleveland. Secretary Litchman and the Grand Master Workman. The Second Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman Meeting. The Golden West. Knights of Labor. Michigan Politics. Cleveland and Hill—More Interviews with Representative Single Tax Men. A New Argument for Protection. Campaign Letters. The Campaign "Standard" Fund. Men and Things. Notes from Correspondence. Looking Backward (poem). Personal. Society Notes. A Story About Bears. Queries and Answers. A Great Co-operative Factory. Current Thought.

The movement in favor of the Australian system of voting is steadily progressing. The democratic convention in Minnesota has adopted a plank pledging the party in that state to it; and the *Pioneer Press* and other Minnesota papers, commenting on it, say that the republican convention, in session as we go to press, is sure to do the same thing. In Rhode Island a ballot reform association has been formed which is circulating a petition, reproduced on another page, giving a succinct statement of the plan and its advantages; and there is a good prospect that at the next session of the legislature of the corrupt little state, bribery and intimidation of electors will, by this simple system, be made impossible. It is now certain that the reform, although it has as yet passed into law only in Massachusetts, has taken such a hold upon public attention that its adoption all over the Union is cnly[sic] a question of a little time.

In New York the republicans have declared for the reform, and the democrats, seem likely by the renomination of Governor Hill to declare against it even more emphatically than they could by resolution. There is yet some little hope that this nomination may not take place; but the men who propose to vote for Cleveland and Thurman because they stand *for economic reform*, might as well be in readiness to vote against the head of the local democratic ticket for the same reason.

A public meeting of citizens who propose to vote for Cleveland and Thurman is to be held in Cooper Union on Friday evening, September 7, to protest against the nomination of Mr. Hill, and to give public expression to their determination to vote against him. Did the state election stand alone, it would not be worth while to make any such protest. But in the concurrence of the national election with the state election, opposition to Hill, if he is the democratic candidate, will in some sort weaken Cleveland; and the men who, while determined to do their utmost to elect Cleveland, are also determined to do their utmost to defeat Hill, ought to give the best notice they can of their intention.

Nothing more incongruous than the running of Cleveland and Hill by the same party at the same election can well be imagined. The one stands for the democracy of Jefferson; the other for the democracy of Tweed. The one by his courage, and his faith in the people, has compelled the machine politicians of his party to yield a reluctant assent, or rather submission, to the placing it, in the national campaign, as the representative of vital reform. The other, the chosen of the machines, must stand in the state campaign for all that blocks the way of reform. The bitterest opponent of Mr. Cleveland's election in New York state to-day is Charles A. Dana of the *Sun*. He is also the warmest supporter of Mr. Hill's nomination.

If any of Mr. Cleveland's friends are consenting to the nomination of Mr. Hill because they imagine that the failure to nominate him would injure Mr. Cleveland through the resentment of Mr. Hill's friends, their calculation seems to me a superficial one. Mr. Hill is an astute and active politician in a small way, and no one, probably, knows better than he how to make a "keen sense of favors to come" bring him supporters. But without the

p. 1, col. 2

nomination he would be powerless to hurt Mr. Cleveland, while with it he would possess immense capacity for mischief. The elements that are clamoring for his nomination would cease their clamor if he should be defeated in the convention; while should he be renominated, they would unhesitatingly "knife" Cleveland for his sake, if opportunity offers, by adopting the usual trading methods at the polls.

This, however, is a matter for the politicians to consider. As for the men who propose to vote for Mr. Cleveland, not because he is the democratic nominee, but because he represents a great principle and stands for vital reform, they, if the democratic politicians persist in nominating Hill, will have no option but to vote for the democratic electoral candidates and the republican gubernatorial candidate. If there are enough of us to carry the state for Cleveland and Thurman, and at the same time to defeat Hill, it will be the greatest of victories.

Sic in the original; probably "only".

The number of men who will vote because of principle and irrespective of previous party affiliations will be greater this year than has been the case for a generation. The disintegration of parties, to which Mr. Cleveland gave so powerful an impulse when he wrote his tariff message, is going on faster and faster as the contest becomes warm. He will unquestionably lose many votes that he received in 1884. But his gain will be more than his loss.

The interviews and letters showing the previous affiliations and present political feelings of single tax men, which THE STANDARD has been publishing, and of which we give a considerable installment in this issue, are extremely interesting and suggestive reading. They show incidentally how deep is the opposition to Governor Hill among a large body of men who will cast their votes for Cleveland and Thurman, and they show how largely the single tax strength is drawn from republicans. I am satisfied that further west a still larger proportion of our single tax men are drawn from the ranks of those who voted against Mr. Cleveland four years ago. This is a force that the political calculators who are figuring on the election take little note of. But it is none the less real. And many times exceeding in number those who as yet avow themselves single tax men, are those who silently hold the doctrine or are strongly influenced by it. The strength we will bring to Cleveland and Thurman is not a fixed quantity; it is steadily and rapidly increasing. Not merely is the single tax idea spreading now more rapidly than ever before, but in the hand to hand discussion that is going on, our single tax free traders are shattering the superstition of protection in thousands of minds that they do not at *once* win to the beauties of complete freedom.

This is true of the whole discussion. It is telling quietly but steadily, and day by day free trade ceases to be a bugaboo, and Mr. Cleveland grows stronger. He is going to be elected, *because*, as William Lloyd Garrison expressed it, his tariff message has turned the whole country into a debating club. It is an essential quality of truth that it always makes head against error whenever issue is fairly joined. Falsehood and superstition can retain whatever mastery they have gained only so long as the appeal to reason is not made. When that appeal is made, they are doomed.

Mr. Randall, Mr. Dana, and "democrats" of that sort have been the strongest bulwarks of protection in the United States. By preventing the question of the tariff being brought into political issue, they have prevented discussion. Mr. Cleveland has done the greatest thing for his party and the greatest thing for the country that any one man could do, by bringing on discussion. The protectionists would have been wise if they had declined it, even by surrendering at discretion to whatever the democrats of the committee of ways and means could be brought to ask. But they were "between the devil and the deep sea." There is no such thing as a coherent theory of protection. Protection is not a theory, it is a swindle. Its primary strength lies in the combination of utterly selfish interests, to take the subsidy from any one of which would be to turn it into an enemy of subsidies to the rest—a policy as dangerous as for a gang of thieves to refuse a share of the spoil to any of their number.

This suggests something that Mr. Mills is probably thinking about when he takes such pains to protest that he is not a free trader and that his bill is not a wicked free trade bill. There is not one of the protected interests that would not gladly wel-

p. 1, col. 3

come free trade in everything else if it could only keep its own protection. The spirit of all the "infant industries[sic]" was expressed by Mr. Gratz of St. Louis, when the other day he remarked to the house committee on trusts, "I am a free trader in everything but cotton bagging." The Mills bill is framed on the policy of divide and conquer, and it puts the temptation of cutting off the protection which lowers their profits, while retaining the protection which enhances their profits, before the most powerful protected interests. This will increase Mr. Cleveland's strength, or rather weaken the opposition to him, in a way that is not much talked about, and probably accounts for the alleged difficulty the republican campaign committees are experiencing in the process of "frying the fat" out of the men who get all the benefit of "protection to American labor."

Sic in the original; probably "indus-tries".

One of my correspondents writing from Weatherford, Texas, says that quite a number of single tax men in that vicinity will vote the prohibition ticket, though if they were at the north they would vote for Cleveland. But they say that Texas is sure for Cleveland anyhow, and they think that votes cast for the prohibition ticket will have a general reform tendency and help to stir up thought on new issues. My correspondent incidently[sic] mentions that there are four or five hundred single tax voters there. This is good indeed for Weatherford, which is credited with a population of not five thousand, and it furnishes strong evidence of the work that the single tax memorial is doing in Texas.

I hope, however, that *our* friends in Texas will do as [we?] of the north are going to do, and cast their votes for Cleveland. Even though he is sure to get the electoral vote of the state anyhow, he ought to have also the biggest popular vote we can help to roll up. And above all things, our friends in Mr. Mills's district ought to do their utmost to send him back to congress with an increased majority. He has made a reputation and done a work in congress which make it an honor for any constituency to be represented by him.

The Ohio legislature at its last session appointed a joint committee to prepare and report amendments to the constitution. It also appointed a joint committee to consider the system of taxation, with the view of suggesting some remedy for the gross injustices and inequalities shown by the discussion of the subject last winter to attach, all over the state, to the attempt to tax personal property. It would seem that this committee on taxation, though they have not yet reported, have come to the conclusion, which must be reached by any one who fairly investigates the subject, that it is utterly impossible to tax personal property with anything like fairness, and that such taxes inevitably fall with great weight on the poorer classes, while the rich, and especially the very rich, "walk out from under them." They wish, therefore, to get the constitutional amendment committee to propose an amendment abrogating that clause in the Ohio constitution which requires the equal taxation of all property. This would be the first step toward the single tax on land values. Whether the committee will report directly in favor of the single tax is not yet known, but here is a most significant paragraph from the Columbus dispatch to the Cincinnati *Times-Star*, a paper whose sympathies may be seen from its motto: "Patriotism, Protection, Progress."

> The legislative committee appointed to inquire into the operation of the present tax system will have a conference with the constitutional amendment committee. The implied duties of the former committee are to draft, if found necessary, a bill making such changes in the mode of taxation as may be advisable. It finds, as an obstacle to the changes it would propose, the constitutional requirement, that all property shall be taxed uniformly. The two committees will tell each other what constitutional changes are needed, and the constitutional amendment committee will doubtless take proper action. Senator Massie of the tax revision committee states that *the committee invited the views of a number of prominent gentlemen in various parts of the state as to the best methods of providing revenue for the state government, and EVERYONE with a single exception, expressed a preference for the Henry George theory of land taxation*. That is a straw in the wind.

A straw! rather a haystack!

One little incident that makes for the probability of Senator Massie's statement, and indicates how rapidly single tax ideas are spreading below the surface, occurred at the formation of the free trade club of Cleveland. At the preliminary meeting which resulted in the formation of this most vigorous club, twelve gentlemen met together. They had not talked long upon the subject of the tariff before they discovered, to the astonishment of each, that every one of the twelve was a single tax man, although among the twelve there were but two who had ever openly avowed that faith.

p. 1, col. 4

Sic in the original; probably "incidentally".

This free trade club of Cleveland, started by single tax men, is doing good work in this campaign, and work that looks beyond. It is saying nothing about the single tax, but it is avowing and promulgating uncompromising free trade principles which have but to be carried to their logical conclusion to lead to the single tax. Here is its platform:

> 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 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 tax payers.
>
> 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, 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[sic] unequal and unjust distribution 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.

Sic in the original; probably “effected”.

> 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.

The officers of the club are: President, W. S. Kerruish; first vice-president, Samuel D. Dodge; second vice-president, H. C. Bunts; secretary, Frederick Green; treasurer, Manly Tello. Executive committe[sic]—E. J. Blandin, Frack N. Wilcox,[6], Edmund Walton.

> CHICAGO, Aug. 19.—In a recent private conversation had with Mr. Cowdrey considering the relative importance of "free trade" and the advantages that would accrue to laborers by the abolition of any part or the total suspension of all tariffs, I held that what the protective tariff did do was to shield the "protects" from naturally higher wages in the United States. The argument whereby I claimed that the laborer would gain precisely in purchasing power the difference between the present inflated price of certain commodities and the free trade or natural price of the same articles, and this increase of purchasing power would so increase the demand for commodities, and consequently the demand for labor to make them, calling into activity the unwillingly idle, that wages would also advance in dollars and cents—was that wages tend to equal the amount that a man can produce on free land, while Mr. Cowdrey thought that this would be met by an increase of rent as the ability of the laborer to pay rent advanced. This statement, I hold, is not in harmony with the law of rent. > On the hypothesis that all advantages that cannot be localized and are universal in character, operating with equal force in all localities, both inside and beyond the line that bounds rent bearing land, conferring equal benefits to the laborers on both sides of the rent line, such advantages could not become an element of rent. And as the basic level to which competition forces wages is the amount that the laborer can produce for himself beyond the rent line, so every possible advantage (such as goods with the artificial value squeezed out of them), that extends its benefits to the *laborer* beyond the rent line will have an ultimately equal beneficent effect on all laborers in all occupations, and extend to the laborer even in the tenth story of a New England factory, and the tendency would remain the same if all Europe came over. Mr. Cowdrey finally said: "If *you can maintain* your hypothesis that all advantages that cannot be localized, and apply with equal force on both sides of the rent line never can be taken by a landlord, but go the laborer[sic], I shall be disposed to materially change my views on the wisdom of making a free trade fight." Thereupon I hastened to get Mr. Cowdrey's consent to lay the whole matter before you.

> CLARENCE MOELLER.

To go no deeper, Mr. Moeller, in contending that the advantages of free trade would go to labor, leaves out of consideration the influence of speculation. When land at the *margin of production* could be had free, then any improvement which was not localized would only increase economic rent in so far as it, by increasing the demand for land, it pushed downward the margin of production. But in a country where *all* the the land[sic] was held by an individual or combination determined to get for its use all that the active factors of production could pay, it is manifest that any general improvement in productive power could be taken by the owners of the indispensable natural element of production. No one individual owns the land of the United States, and its owners are so many that anything like effective combination between them is practically impossible. But in the confident expectation of the increase of land values by the general growth and im-

p. 1, col. 5

Sic in the original; probably "committee—".
Sic in the original; probably "Frank N. Wilcox".
Sic in the original; probably "but go to the laborer".
Sic in the original; probably "all the land".

provement of the community there is something that has the same effect. Value does not attach merely to land which will yield more than the ordinary return to labor and capital as it would were the value developed by the growth and progress of the community taken for the use of the community. But beyond this actual value extends a speculative value, based on expectation of future demand. Wherever there is a town lot or an acre of agricultural land likely ere long to be needed there the speculator has planted himself in the hopes of appropriating the earnings of labor by compelling the user to pay him a price. And the increased prosperity which free trade would bring would increase these speculative prices. Land being treated as we now treat it, the ultimate benefits of free trade, like the ultimate benefits of all general improvements, would accrue to land owners, except, of course, in so far as they may be appropriated by intermediate monopolies, such, for instance, as railroads.

Mr. Cowdrey is right if he says that free trade (in its narrow meaning and by itself) would *ultimately* not improve the economic condition of men who live by selling their labor. But he is not right if he leaves out the word *ultimately*. For the effect of abolishing the tariff restrictions upon trade would be to give a stimulus to production, and to bring about a prosperity in which all classes would at first share, and which it would take some time for the advance in land values to make over entirely to land owners.

During this time the masses of our people would have something like pause and breathing space—an interval in which to gather courage and press on to new reforms. For it cannot be too often repeated, that it is not by making things worse that they can be made better, but that improvement leads to improvement. The very poor are even a greater obstacle to social reform than are the very rich.

But the great benefit that would come by free trade, or even by any advance toward it, would be the clearing away of the fallacies, the destruction of the superstitions, which now prevent so many of the men who suffer by restrictions upon natural freedom from seeing what hurts them. In short, in the practical politics of the present national campaign the idea that social improvement is only to be gained by freedom meets squarely the idea that social improvement is to be gained by restrictions upon freedom. Mr. Cowdrey must know all this. He is a free trader, and must understand all that is involved in the struggle for free trade, else he would not have wasted time in writing free trade articles. He has allowed himself to be betrayed into a false position in accepting a ridiculous nomination for the presidency, which, if he is apprised of the temper of those who support him in New York—the only place where he can have hope of any votes—he must by this time understand can have no other purpose than that of making him a petty stalking horse for protection.

Charles H. Litchman, general secretary of the Knights of Labor, has written an open letter to Senator Quay, chairman of the national republican committee, in which, condensing all the stupid nonsense with which protectionists appeal to workingmen, he declares that he cannot remain inactive in the conflict now going on, and offers his services in any position in which they may be deemed useful to "the success of Harrison and Morton, the representatives in this campaign of the American idea of protection to American labor."

After the publication of this letter, Mr. Litchman resigned.

Mr. Litchfield[sic] should rise in public esteem because of this action. It is much more manly that he should take part in the discussion, than that he should sit still in his office, and try to head it off. It is perfectly true, as he says, that "in the gigantic political struggle now begun side issues count as nothing, except to aid or hinder one of the principal combatants in the political arena," and that a man who has definite convictions as to which side represents the true interests of labor, has "no right to remain silent." If Mr. Litchman really believes that "protection" is to the interest of the men who have trusted him and honored him, then he would be false to the highest duty if he did not come to the front and say so.

Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Litchman".

Mr. Litchman's example is to be commended to Mr. Powderly. Let the general master workman of the Knights of Labor take the part either of man or mouse. It is unworthy the dignity of one who is at the head of such an order to be indirectly preaching protection,

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while refusing to take part in the active struggle now going on. Nor can anything be gained by such a course. The question now before the American people is one that is fundamental to any organization for the improvement of the condition of labor that goes beyond the narrowest trades unionism. It is a question of direction on which there can be no compromise—the question whether the emancipation of labor is to be sought by improving restrictions or by destroying restrictions and securing freedom. The divergence has commenced and it is too wide to be straddled. The Knights of Labor can continue to exist as Knights of Freedom or as Knights of Restriction; but not as both or neither.

The enrolment blank is still printed in THE STANDARD, and though signatures to it are coming in well, it seems from various letters that many of our friends imagine that all the committee desire is the names of our friends in this section of the country. This is a mistake. We want the names of those who are in sympathy with its purpose, no matter where they may be.

If even our friends in Great Britain and the continent of Europe, in South America, in Australia, in China, Japan, Siam—for we have friends now in all parts of the world, will send us their names on these blanks, it will conveniently serve the purpose of registering them, though of course, they will not be counted as voters.

A London special to the *Evening Post* says:

> An anonymous correspondent of the *Times*, endeavoring to show that property is no longer safe in these democratic days, says that Charles Crocker of California told him he had trained his sons to earn their living, adding that he would not give twenty years' purchase for any piece of property in the civilized world. The correspondent who quotes this private conversation does not feel at liberty to publish Mr. Crocker's reasons for his opinion.

Mr. Crocker's reasons may, however, be readily imagined. They undoubtedly sprang from a consciousness of the injustice of the methods by which fortunes like his own had been accumulated, and a vague feeling that in an age where everything is tending to foster the idea of the essential equality of men, the gulf between rich and poor would not long go on widening without bringing catastrophe.

When I first saw Charles Crocker he was behind the counter of a little dry goods store measuring out some goods. In a few years he was one of a triumvirate who controlled a railroad empire, and died rich, as it would have appeared to his earlier imaginings, "beyond the dream of avarice." He did not grow rich by virtue of superior energy, in duty[sic] and thrift. Many men his equals, if not his superiors, in all these qualities, have died poor, or are yet struggling in their old age for a mere existence.

He grew rich by acts which, on a petty scale, would have been called crimes. His millions, in far greater part at least, were not earned—they were appropriated. This is not to say that Mr. Crocker was—still less felt himself to be—a bad man. On the contrary, he was a pillar of the Episcopal church; and, according to the code of morals prevailing among his associates in his day and generation, as eminently respectable as he was rich. But looking back on his own career, noting the change that had come in his own time, and seeing the sweep of the accelerating tendencies to the concentration of wealth, it is no wonder that he sometimes thought, "After me, the deluge."

But there is one thing of which Mr. Crocker probably never thought that may prevent this—the recognition of the true nature and rights of property. When it is recognized that there can be no private property in monopolies—in

the power of levying a tribute on others—then will the "sacred rights of property" in the things produced by labor be secured, modern civilization be saved, and the cause of monstrous fortunes and of still more monstrous poverty cease to act. If Charles Crocker's sons have to work for their living in that state of things instead of being able to live on the work of others, as he was in this, they will be far happier, and, in the command of all that conduces to the fulness and freedom of life, far richer than was their father.

The second single tax Cleveland and Thurman meeting in New York will be held in Cooper Union on next Tuesday evening, September 11, when Louis F. Post and Hugh O. Pentecost will speak. This meeting will be followed by others. I shall speak in Jersey City, Brooklyn and Philadelphia on dates to be fixed as soon as our friends in these places can make arrangements, and about the close of this month or the beginning of next shall make a trip as far west as Iowa, speaking in as many of the larger cities as I conveniently can along the route.

HENRY GEORGE.

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THE GOLDEN WEST.

The Great Estates of California—What a Single Land Owner Can Do—The State of Politics—The Strength of Single Tax Men Will Go to Cleveland.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Aug. 21—THE STANDARD is looked for eagerly in this state, and is doing solid work in paving the way for a radical reform. The single tax movement is making a steady, if not rapid, progress in California, but the wonder is that the new gospel of taxation does not gather into the fold the great body of landless voters. In no state, unless it be Texas, are there such great estates held by men who will neither cultivate, sell nor improve. The Mexican grants eatailed[sic] on southern and central California a burden, which, more perhaps than anything else, has kept back our development. Mexican improvidence has given them partial relief, and the forced sale of portions of these[,12] tracts from time to time to raise interest money and stave off foreclosure has been a blessing. But too often estates of five to thirty square leagues passed from the hands of the improvident grantee into the hands of a worse class, the close fisted American land grabber, who is content with the small present profits of a cattle or sheep ranch, or at best, leases small portions at a rack rent, on conditions that effectually discourage the commonest improvements. Time and a few first class funerals in California may gradually remedy this evil, but the single tax would in two or three years accomplish as much as we can hope for without such a reform in as many generations.

A striking instance of what evil a single obstinate and selfish land owner can do in thwarting public opinion and retarding improvements that would give work and homes to thousands has just come under my notice.

The voters of the city of Oakland and most of the property owners on a large tract outside of that city desire the municipal limits extended, so as to give them the same advantages, with the increased taxation, enjoyed by the present citizens. One or two selfish holders in the district mentioned are'standing[sic] out with money and influence against the popular will. Foremost is one Edson Adams, who owns a great stretch of 172 acres just outside of the city and all within the district proposed to be incorporated. The county assessor valued this property this year at $116,000. A small point which projects into the city is assessed at $14,000 or for the total estate $130,000. This assessment is an increase of $36,000 over that of 1887, but is yet far below the market value, ridiculously below it. It is believed that Adams would refuse $500,000, and real estate men say that if he would bond the property for even a few days at that figure, they would have no difficulty in forming a syndicate to purchase it for cash, with the view of dividing it into residence lots and successfully putting it on the market at a considerable advance. But Adams will neither sell as a whole nor in divisions, nor will he improve. A well known Oaklander went to Adams once and asked the price per acre of a portion of this land. The price asked was $1,200 an acre. Harens agreed to give it; Adams raised the price to $1,500; Harens agreed to pay. Adams immediately raised his price to $1,800; Harens raised his figure to meet Adams's. Adams again and again advanced his price, until he reached $3,000 an

Sic in the original; probably "entailed".
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acre and when that sum was offered him'[14] withdrew the land altogether, refusing to sell at any price. Yet a few short years ago, before railroads gridironed western Alameda and the ferry facilities built up a city only second in the state to San Francisco, this land would have been dear at $20 an acre. The readers of THE STANDARD may ask how much this son of Adam did toward building up the city whose wealth and population have made him a millionaire? Not a dollar. The only buildings on this tract are one or two broken, rotten shanties unfit for pigstys, near the water front, on which the assessor placed no value. But Adams owns also largely within the city limits and these lots have an aggregate value in the city assessor's books of $183,000. But not one cent of this large sum is for improvements. Not one brick, not one stick of timber has Edson Adams laid on another on his half million dollars' worth of land in Oakland city anymore than he has outside it.

Mr. Adams, however, resides near Oakland on another property, and there the assessor did find something to tax besides land. Adams's assessment on his home place is $30,000 for land, $6,500 for improvements and $5,000 for personal property. As the improvements consist of an old clap board frame house, which would not sell for $300 to move, a small servants' cottage and a fine stable; the assessor appears to have done his whole duty when he succeeded in finding something to assess besides land. Mr. Adams's conscience does not trouble him; on the contrary, he and many of his fellow citizens who have obtained wealth by similar means, considers that he did his whole duty to society, his county, state and country when he sat down and watched others work and toil while he made the profit.

About politics here it is too early to say much. Both the great political parties claim that they will carry the state by large majorities, but more cautious lookers on say such prophets let their wishes run ahead of their expectations. Whatever strength the earnest single tax men have will go to Cleveland without regard to previous party affinities. Pixley promises that the American party will throw away their votes as "bread cast upon the waters." The majority of laboring men in California undoubtedly favor protection, but as a set off the *Examiner*, besides its daily diatribes against Harrison for his pro-Chinese roles[sic] and speeches, devoted the other day an eight page supplement to a full history from the *Congressional Globe* of the discussions, amendments offered and votes cast on every occasion when the Chinese question was before congress[sic]. The indictment of Harrison and the majority of the republican leaders, with its many counts, was a tremendous document, and was published at length in German and English. With the republicans weakened by protection and American tickets, the democrats strengthened by the support of the single tax men, and the workingmen on the horns of a dilemma, their favorite protection doctrines drawing them, too, and their anti-Chinese prejudices, to speak mildly, driving them from Harrison, even allowing that under ordinary circumstances this is a republican state, who can say to-day what the result will be?

NEMO.

THE KNIGHTS OF LABOR.

The Editor of the Amsterdam "Labor Stage[?]" on the Cause of Their Decay.

AMSTERDAM, N. Y., Aug. 29.—I want to thank you for giving a little attention to the wearisome stuff periodically sent out by the general master workman of the Knights of Labor. It is about time that we realized that the misfortunes of the order are due to the incompetency of its chief officers. Mr. Powderly has made a disastrous failure of his attempt at leadership for the reason that he hasn't the capacity to formulate correct or consistent plans of action or the judgment to distinguish between a practical beneficial system and a glittering meaningless absurdity. Yet the order is paying him $5,000 for writing

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letters that are misleading, instead of instructing, and has lately contributed thousands of dollars to have men that he and the other ambitious chaps connected with him shall select sent through the order to educate the people.

There is not on the board a man capable of educating the rank and file on industrial or economical subjects, and unless the lecturers selected are brainier and better informed they will do more harm than good. If half the amount had been spent for copies of "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade" and "Social Problems" and the best counter arguments to be found, and the books had been furnished to every local assembly with recommendations to read both sides of such burning questions, the money would have been much better expended.

Our knit goods lockout and the decline of our local organizations from over 3,000 to less than 300 gave me a chance to see the ability of the K. of L. leadership and convinced me that there was nothing of it.

Mr. Barry is right in saying that the board has no methods and that new blood is necessary; but Mr. Barry, though a very pleasant fellow—and that may be said of most of the other members—has proved himself no more capable than the rest.

Mrs. Barry, the Amsterdam mill girl, is the smartest of the lot and and[sic] it would be easy to find seven other girls among our intelligent mill hands that would be a great improvement on the present executive board and would have clearer ideas on labor questions and labor's needs.

It is to be hoped that at the coming general assembly at Indianapolis so much packing will not have been done that the old board will be resaddled on the order. A new live board, with a living policy, that would include intelligent organized use of the consuming power of the workers through some definite arrangement for an exchange of patronage between the different branches of labor represented, could yet save the order, and would be greatly assisted by the establishment of a political branch entirely separate in operation and formed solely for the purpose of carrying forward the principles and purposes of the order through political action.

I am glad to hear that the Michigan delegation is instructed to vote for the incorporation of the single land tax principle in the new constitution in the regular way.

JAMES BARTLEY.

Humor for Protectionists.

The Paterson *Republican* (protection) publishes a communication from "that stanch labor advocate, E. W. Nellis," which it says he must have intended as a humorous article. The *Republican* is undoubtedly right, as may be seen from this specimen:

> Pauper labor is labor that is compelled to beg for the privilege of laboring. The United States is full of it and the collection of taxes is so arranged as to throw nearly the entire burden upon labor, whereas labor rejoices and pays the taxes and wishes it were more, because, you see, the tax protects American labor, and the greater the tax the greater the protection; while on the other band[sic] the less the tax the less the protection. And if there were no tax labor would be entirely unprotected and must starve, because without the payment of the tax labor has no place nor material whereon to exert itself.

Sic in the original; probably "and".
Sic in the original; probably "hand".

> Were it not for the tariff the earth would cease to yield its fruits, the minerals would evaporate into thin air, quarries would disappear, forests would fade and all the materials from which labor produces wealth pass away into the unseen and unknown, leaving labor suspended like Mahomet's coffin, supported by nothing in nothing.

> It required genius of the highest type to convince the working people that their only hope of enjoying the privilege of work rested upon the payment of taxes; but the genius was of the highest type and it has succeeded.

> With what envy the potentates of the old world must regard the favored rulers of a people who, instead of grumbling at a moderate tax, insist on piling it higher, is shown in the fact that Bismarck is going to try the protective scheme on Germany; but shades of liberty! that he should be quoted as an authority upon taxation by the organs of an American party! It simply is an evidence of "what a fall is there, my countrymen," and prepares us to hear the khedive quoted next; and no one will dispute the statement that as a surplus manipulator the khedive stands preeminent.

> "Bismarck on Taxation;" "The Khedive on Dissipating a Surplus." These text books should be in the hands of every American high tariff advocate.

What Texas People are Doing.

The Texas tax reform association, David Russell chairman, and E. P. Alsbury secretary, with headquarters at Houston, have issued the first number of a monthly paper called the *Texas Tax Reformer*. The paper is devoted mainly to reports of the meetings, explanations of the work being done throughout the state and a record of expenditures made by the executive committee. There are now two traveling agents, J. E. McCormick and M. V. McMahan, under salary, who are going through the state starting the legislative petition work and organizing branch clubs. Here is an extract from an article entitled "The Work," which shows how the ball is kept rolling in the Lone Star state:

> Mr. David Russell of Tyler county, who three months ago wrote us that he feared we were premature in attempting to circulate the tax reform petition, has completely captured that county. He found one man in nearly every sub-alliance in the county to take charge of the petition, and over half the farmers in the county have already signed it. The reports from all portions of the state are equally gratifying so far as they evince the the[sic] willingness of the great masses of the people to accept the single tax doctrine.

In Houston the Harris county tax reform club holds public meetings the first and third Wednesday of each month, where objections to the single tax theory are answered. They advertise a challenge to debate with anybody who chooses to oppose the single tax idea.

MICHIGAN POLITICS.

A Single Tax Man Has a Good Word for the Democratic Nominee for Governor.

MANISTEE, Aug. 30.–In THE STANDARD of Aug. 25, you copy an article from the Grand Rapids, Mich., *Workman*, in which Mr. Burt, the democratic candidate for governor, is severely criticised. Now the truth is that Mr. Yaple was the first choice of free trade[sic] men; for he is a thinker, a man of the people, and a real leader, and, as

Sic in the original; probably "the".

I understand it, the hope is that he may go into congress (just where he is needed) in the place of Mr. Burrows, who is a man of words, absolutely devoid of ideas. Mr. Yaple refused to allow his name to be presented as that of a candidate for governor. The next choice was Mr. Burt—by no means an ideal candidate—but we in Michigan are in a muddle in politics. The union labor party is evidently the tool of the republican party—at least it is so with us in this region beyond all dispute—and to vote the union labor ticket is to vote for Governor Luce. Now Mr. Burt may not know much about the tariff question, but Governor Luce knows nothing about it, and is a thorough Bourbon. Mr. Burt may not go as far as we free traders, as Mr. Mills, or even as far as Mr. Cleveland goes, but he is on the road, and before this campaign is over he will be pushed

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a good deal further in the right direction than some of the machine men dream of.

He was driven out of the republican party by the monkeyism of a man named Hoar, of whom you may possibly have heard, and he is in a fold that is much more in sympathy with free trade than he at first thought for. And no matter what he says or does, this election, national and state, is going to be pushed forward and carried on this free trade issue. The drift is away from the obscure ground of tariff tinkering into the open lighted plain of free trade.. We are not afraid of the words, and it is becoming so that others find that the words free trade don't burn their lips. We cannot, therefore, divide our forces here—we must, in Michigan, pull together for our national and state ticket. Perhaps I ought not to say Michigan, but rather this Manistee part of Michigan. And of this section I speak with confidence. We free trade men will work and vote for Mr. Cleveland, and will do the same for Mr. Burt. But this thing, mark you, is only the beginning of a great work. And our sign is that THE STANDARD in our section is working its way into a large and permanent place. Seed is being sown that will in time bring forth an hundred fold harvest.

ALBERT WALKLEY.

Europe and America.

NEW YORK, Aug. 29.

HENRY GEORGE—Dear Sir: I am a merchant, and in the habit of taking little part in politics, but I wish to congratulate your speech in the Cooper building, which I heard. I admired your reasoning two years ago when, in Vienna, I read your campaign speeches, reproduced by European papers, and I am glad to see that you are again in the field for freeing your fellow citizens from the commercial slavery.

According to my observation, there are several motives for the immigration into this country.

First, the compulsory military service on the other side is driving away a great many people. To this fact may be ascribed a very great portion of our immigration from the continent of Europe.

Next, is the difficulty of securing a piece of land. The smallest available spot of soil costs a great deal. In Austria and Germany there are still many estates belonging to aristocrats, whose ownership is sanctified by laws, and which connot[sic] be sold, or attached, or divided. Prince Schwarzenberg owns about one-third of the whole territory of Bohemia, and the laborers working on his estates can never hope to secure a particle of that land for themselves. The absence of political freedom has also great influence in driving people out of Europe when they are told that within a few days' sail is a land where every man is as good as any other. This, however, is merely an

Sic in the original; probably "free trade.".
Sic in the original; probably "cannot".

illusion. Rich men are here more greedy and more powerful than on the other side, the authority of the government there checking them.

These things ought to be made known here, and everybody should feel that the less taxes the happier the country and her people. In Europe they are studying the possibilities of reducing the taxes in order to prevent a final crash. But here there are many who don't want to see that with no taxes on their shoulders they will be mach[sic] better off than any other people in the world. Full free trade here means the downfall of monarchical Europe with its absolute governments and the beginning of a new era in human history.

F. FISCHER.

As Bad as Our Shoddy Clothing.

Dr. George Hay of St. Louis recently analyzed some of the ordinary tin cans in use and found that the coating which covered the iron plate was composed of one-fifth tin and four-fifths lead. The material which should have been used ought to be almost pure tin, say, 99 per cent. And this, says the *Age of Steel*, furnishes an explanation of "the numerous cases of poisoning which have resulted from using canned fruits, fish and meats."

THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

Two months of the educational process will produce a bountiful supply of knowledge and the habits of thought that it will inspire will result in a revolution of opinion among the laboring people of the country that will bring about a beneficial change in our fiscal policy.—[Wichita Daily Beacon.

One of the principal points Congressman McKinley made in his Georgia speech in opposition to placing raw materials on the free list was that there was no need of it, because the present tariff law offers a rebate of at least nine-tenths of the duty on material manufactured into goods for export. Why should goods manufactured for sale to foreigners be taxed lightly and those manufactured for the home market be taxed heavily, and in this way be made more costly? The tax is plainly for the sole benefit of the manufacturers and the inherent favoritism and injustice of the present tariff laws become manifest at every turn.—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

The highest indorsement that can be given to the democratic policy of tariff reform is the assertion of its opponents that it "will make this country a free trade land within twenty years." The necessity of raising an enormous revenue will render this impossible. But the prediction that a little reduction will work so well that the people will vote for more at every congressional election for the next twenty years is a confession of the soundness of the policy which was unlooked for in its enemies.—[New York World.

We do not care the snap of our finger for either of the old parties, and we would not turn our hand over for the difference between them any further than that the democratic party by the Mills bill and the St. Louis platform, favor such a reduction in our present tariff system as we believe will benefit our working people, and for that reason, and that alone, we favor the democratic party that far, but no further. We are absolute, out and out free traders and the democratic party are only tariff reformers to the extent of reducing the tariff duties.—[Dayton, Ohio, Workman.

The result of this campaign will enable us to compare the effect of Burchard's rum, Romanism and rebellion with Blaine's tariff taffy, trustism and trunks.—[St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Sic in the original; probably "much".

What the people of this country want, and what they will have, is freedom—freedom in everything. Free commodities, whether imported or home made. We want to throw off the burden of tariff, open the flood gates of commerce and give the poor man a chance.—[Fannin County, Tex., Farmers' Review

There are two far reaching evils resulting from protection. (1) It compels the people to pay under color of national taxation at least four times as much as the treasury ever receives in actual tariff taxes; (2) the absolute loss of foreign markets to home producers to the same extent that the home market is refused to foreign producers.—[Memphis Appeal.

The protective tariff is only one link in the system of robbery built up by the republican party, and it is to the manufacturing interest what the national banking law is to the money power. To the people, however, it is death.—[Lauderdale County, Tenn., Enterprise.

Absolute freedom of trade and of the whole economic life, unrestricted exchange of goods, are the conditions which will lead almost inevitably to every other advance, and bring about a condition of universal peace and welfare.—[Staten Island Post (German).

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CLEVELAND AND HILL.

STILL MORE INTERVIEWS WITH SINGLE TAX MEN.

Opinions from All Parts of the State—A Universal Cry for Cleveland and Free Trade—Some Disagreement About Hill, but the Great Mass of Opinion Bitterly Against Him.

Following is a third installment of interviews with men earnest in the single tax movement. While most of them express the opinions of men residing in New York and Brooklyn, there are a sufficient number from other parts of the state to give an idea of the situation elsewhere:

FIRST A REPUBLICAN, THEN A MUGWUMP, NOW A SINGLE TAX MAN.

Herman G. Loew, 190 Monroe street.—"Previous to 1884 I was a republican. In that year I voted with the mugwumps for Grover Cleveland. This year I shall vote for him again because of the ability and courage he has displayed during his adminstration[sic], and because he has committed his party to the discussion and adoption of a principle the logical outcome of which, in my opinion, will be the adoption of the single tax theory. I am an absolute free trader and single tax man, and as such will do my utmost to secure the election of Mr. Cleveland. When Henry George first announced in his paper that he would support the democratic nominee for the presidency, there was, of course, great excitement among the rank and file of the united labor party, and had a vote been taken then I feel sure that three-fourths of the party would have voted against Cleveland or any other nominee; but as the campaign progresses, and especially since the single tax men of this city have taken such a determined stand for Cleveland, I feel confident that fully one-half of that three-fourths will be won over. If electoral reform is made an issue in the state campaign I believe it will defeat Hill or any other candidate who opposes it. I will not vote for him if he is renominated."

CLEVELAND REPRESENTS PROGRESS.

A. J. Steers, 39 Nassau street.—"I have always been a democrat in belief, and voted the democratic ticket in 1884. This year I shall vote for Cleveland because he represents reform in the tariff, and, to my mind, progress and

Sic in the original; probably "administration".

better conditions in the country. Unless my reason deceives me, the majority of George's 73,000 secretary of state vote will this year vote with the democrats, and not over 40 per cent can be counted for Harrison, if indeed so many. Common sense is gaining ground, and protection, so-called, is losing fast, but I think but few of the tariff reform democrats understand or fully realize the effect of the abolition of tariff and the consequent imposition of direct taxation for the support of government. Electoral reform, except among republican mugwumps, is at present quiet and little spoken of, but a deep feeling against Hill on this score exists, and if he is renominated will elect his opponent. I will vote against him,"

VOTED FOR BLAINE IN 1884, BUT KNOWS BETTER NOW.

William J. McGrane, 337 East Fourteenth street.—"I voted in 1884 for James G. Blaine. This year I will vote for Grover Cleveland. His message, though he may not know or intend it, is the bugle blast of our single tax battle. In talking with men in my trade and in others I find protection takes hold at first, but as discussion goes on their faith weakens. It was a significant sight on the evening of the republican parade and on the evening after Blaine's speech, to see the groups of men, young and old, discussing the question of taxation. With the exception of the most corrupt politicians and their heelers, the feeling is in favor of electoral reform. As to union workingmen, they are beginning to see the difference between a true reform and demagogism. Hill's veto of this bill will certainly defeat him. I will not vote for him."

ANOTHER BLAINE MAN FOR FREE TRADE.

James Cassidy, 395 Lexington avenue.—"In 1884 I voted for James G. Blaine, but shall vote for Grover Cleveland this year. In my judgment three-quarters of the men who voted for Henry George in 1887 will this year vote for Cleveland. I am sure free trade is gaining instead of this sham protection."

FREE TRADE THE HANDMAID OF THE SINGLE TAX.

William C. Herald, corner Worth street and Park row.—"I did not vote in 1884. I will vote for Grover Cleveland this year. His stand in relation to tariff reform tends toward absolute free trade, and free trade is the handmaid to the single tax. All whom I have interviewed favor Cleveland. I will not vote for Hill."

HAS LEARNT WISDOM THROUGH "THE STANDARD."

Otto W. Baker, 80 Washington square.—"I voted for B. Butler believing then that he stood for the masses. I will vote this fall for Cleveland and Thurman, for the reason that I see as Henry George has taught me through THE STANDARD. I think free trade is gaining, and with it the single tax. I will not vote for Hill."

A GREENBACKER'S GOOD REASONS.

M. Battle, 1,791 Lexington avenue.—"In 1884 I cast my first vote for Benjamin F. Butler because of my sympathy with the greenback-labor movement; because he represented the reform element in our politics, and because, at that time, I had not been educated to the fallacy of voting for a third party candidate as the best means to bring about a great reform. I believed in the old fiction, that a vote for principle was not lost, even though it was cast for an electoral ticket that would not be elected. This year I shall vote for Grover Cleveland for other and more substantial reasons. I am convinced that a reform such as ours can be brought about only in the usual American way, by the enlightenment of voters by gradual steps. It cannot be done all at once. Voting for third party candidates will not, at the present, advance our movement. The democratic party is now committed to a policy that will eventually lead it to the abolition of all tariffs and leave it no other alternative than the adoption of the tax on land values. It is traveling the only road by which it is customary for Americans to reach their highest political aspirations. I should not go off on some bypath, but should adopt the wiser course of keeping up with the

procession and urge it on further, should it be disposed to stop on the road to absolute freedom. I do not care so much for the election of Grover Cleveland, although he has made a good president, as I do for the good results that will come from a discussion of the reduction of the tariff, and that this country shall not go before the world as an upholder of so-called protection. It was said the George vote in the '86 election was composed of two-thirds democratic and one-third republican. The '87 election lessened the democratic proportion, but did not materially the republican[sic], so that it stood about fifty per cent democratic, forty per cent republican and ten per cent of these who will vote for a reform party no matter what it is. Now, I believe that Cleveland will get seventy-five per cent of the 1887 George vote, ten per cent will go with Belva or the gentleman from Chicago, and the other fifteen per cent to Harrison and protection. At present it appears

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as if neither free trade nor protection is gaining—but we are silencing the protectionists' batteries. If the democratic party will only keep up a quick succession of 'no apology' blows, just before the 6th of November, when the protectionists will have to come to their senses, there will take place a stampede that will carry Cleveland in on a tidal wave. Many of the stampeders will pass the tariff reduction camp and will find themselves in the single tax and free trade camp. Electoral reform has the approval of all honest citizens, and only the opposition of those dyed-in-the-wool democrats who would not approve of anything that their political masters do not want. It will affect Hill's vote to the extent of 55,000 votes—that is if all the George democrats will vote against him. Will I vote for Hill if he is renominated? You can print my answer, No! in the largest type you have."

WILL CAST HIS FIRST VOTE FOR FREE TRADE.

Samuel Cohen, 94 East Broadway.—"I shall this year cast my first presidential vote. It will go for Grover Cleveland because his party's platform proposes a reduction of taxes on products, thereby leading to the final abolition of all taxes on the products of labor and the placing of them on land values. All of those that I know who voted for George in 1887 will vote for Cleveland this year. Free trade is gaining, and the discussion now going on is tending to enlighten people on the single tax question. I will do all in my power to defeat Hill if he is renominated."

WINNING VOTES FOR CLEVELAND.

G. W. Everett, 11 East Tenth street.—"I cast my first democratic vote for president in 1884. This year I will vote for Cleveland because of his tariff reform ideas. I do not know of any George men who will cast their votes for Harrison. I am in with a crowd of protectionists and they will not listen to any of the George theories, but I have got some of them to admit that freedom is what labor wants, and they will vote for Cleveland. Will vote for the candidate for governor whose policy is the best for the majority. He need not necessarily be a politician."

A PROHIBITIONIST FALLS INTO LINE.

C. B. Cooper, 510 East Twentieth street.—"I voted for St. John and prohibition in 1884. This year I can vote for Cleveland, for I believe freer trade will eventually lead to absolute free trade, and that to a tax on land values. All with whom I am personally acquainted save one, who voted for George and the Syracuse platform last year, vote for Cleveland this year. From my standpoint I cannot see that free trade is growing except in connection with the single tax idea; the cry protection[sic] and free whisky has a powerful hold on some of the cranks I know. Among the intelligent classes the electoral reform bill is considered a wise measure and by far the largest number of expressions I have heard have been in its favor. I will vote for no man who opposes such a bill. I consider it of the greatest importance to the success of the free trade and single tax party; we cannot win without it. I consider it even of more importance than a victory in favor of freer trade."

Sic in the original; probably "did not materially [lessen/affect] the republican".
Sic in the original; probably "the cry [of] protection".

WILL VOTE FOR CLEVELAND AND AGAINST HILL.

Daniel Day, 2,375 Eighth avenue.—"In 1884 I was not of age and unable to vote. In the meantime I picked up"Progress and Poverty," and becoming imbued with its principles, I cast my first vote in 1886 for Henry George, because his election tended to bring the single tax idea into discussion. I am still fighting on that line and therefore will vote for Cleveland and Thurman, as tariff reform will lead to free trade and free trade to the single tax on land values. The free trade side is gaining in the discussion going on in small assemblages, where each man has something to say. Tariff reformers do not now look upon George men as cranks and will listen to their idea of putting taxes where they belong—on land values. I will vote against Hill."

ONE OF THE FOLD, AND CAN'T BE TALKED OUT OF IT.

M. J. Dowd, 152 West 124th street.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884. Since the united labor party started I have been one of the fold and cannot be talked out of it. I will support Cleveland and Thurman in the coming election, but as regards the candidates for other offices I will vote with the party to which I belong. Judging from the expressions of my acquaintances, Cleveland will get by far the most of the 1887 George vote. I find a great many men in both the old parties who are in favor of the Australian system of voting, or some system that would prevent bribery and corruption at elections. Among my acquaintances I do not know of any who are in favor of Hill. I for one will not vote for him."

HIS FIRST PRESIDENTIAL VOTE GOES FOR FREE TRADE.

Michael Carroll, 203 First avenue.—"This year I shall cast my first presidential vote, which shall go for Cleveland and Thurman, on the ground that any step toward tariff reduction tends toward the abolition of all taxes on the product of labor, and the final transfer of such taxes to land values. But my main object in doing so is that I believe that the re-election of Cleveland would forever dispel the degrading superstition in the minds of workingmen that they are benefited by a protective tariff, and would thereby clear the ground for a more thorough discussion of our principles. He who really desires to advance our cause, and is wedded to it rather than to party, will not miss the opportunity presented in this campaign. It is a chance worth the waiting of a lifetime. For I find in every discussion that when a man has been convinced of the fallacies of protection, he is immediately inclined to the single tax idea. I have never yet found one who would fall into that illogical attitude of stopping short after taking off some of the tariff. But I find it absolutely necessary to argue on radical grounds in order to convince him. Timid democrats may do well to bear that in mind. I was in favor of protection up to within a few weeks ago, but I was not convinced of its fallacies by the arguments of the democratic speakers, still less of the public press. Free trade is gaining, but it has the disadvantage of having more ground to cover, and the time is fast flying. As a working man I know the sentiment of my fellows, which on every hand is dread superstition. As for the George vote of last year, I know of sixteen men who will vote for Cleveland and single tax, and right around me in all twenty-one men who will vote against Harrison. It is plain that Hill cannot be re-elected; every man of my acquaintance is against him. If the republican nominee stands for electoral reform he will carry this state."

IS A FREE TRADER, AND THEREFORE SUPPORTS CLEVELAND.

Sol. Levy, 321[?] East Eighty-sixth street.—"This is my first vote and it will be cast for Grover Cleveland. Why? Because I am a free trader, and I am a free trader because I believe that freedom is stronger than oppression; because I believe in equal rights. Though I cannot vote for free trade and equal rights, yet I can vote against protection and special privileges. As but few people understand the full meaning of free trade it is difficult to say whether it is gaining among the people or not. There can, however, be no doubt that protection, such as is advocated by the republican party, is losing its hold on the masses. Were the democratic politicians as honest in their purpose as their leader, as fearless in the advocacy of reform as he, I am convinced that the free trade

principle would score a great victory in the coming election. As a means of spreading the light of the single tax doctrine, this fight is of incalculable advantage. I have found

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that such people as regarded the electoral reform bill as a step in the direction of enabling the people to manage their own affairs independent of the politician and ward heeler, are open in their denunciation of Hill in vetoing it, and will certainly not vote for him. The man is simply a disgrace to the state of New York and not fit to hold the office of doorkeeper in the Albany legislature. No, I shall not vote for him, not if the republicans take a man out of Ludlow street jail to run against him."

ALWAYS A DEMOCRAT, AND NOW A SINGLE TAX MAN.

James L. Browne, 1,267 Broadway.—"Having always been a democrat I voted for Cleveland in 1884. I shall vote for Cleveland this year, not because he is a democrat, but because I am now a single tax man, and believe that the success of the democratic party upon the tariff issue in this canvass will ultimately produce free trade, and that the same sentiment which declares for free trade will declare for free land or for the single tax idea. So far I have not met with any one who voted for Mr. George last year, who will not vote for Cleveland, and have only heard of two such persons who intend voting for Harrison. I think that at least 70 per cent of that vote will go to Cleveland. It is quite surprising to see the amount of interest manifested in the tariff question. The almost invariable tendency is toward tariff reform. While many of these persons decry free trade they use very good free trade arguments. Wherever the discussion of the tariff question is intelligently waged the man who sits quietly by will hear many arguments by the friends of tariff reform which are directly in line with the single tax philosophy, and in many instances those who a year ago denounced the free land doctrine now begin to see and even admit that Henry George is right. I shall not vote for Hill upon the ground of his veto of the electoral reform measure."

A COLLECTOR AT ANTI-POVERTY MEETINGS TESTIFIES.

A. E. Schmidt, 224 East Twelfth street.—"I do not see how single tax men can do anything better this fall than support Cleveland; and that seems to be the feeling of the majority of my friends who voted for Henry George in 1887. Having been collector at the anti-poverty meetings I made the acquaintance of a good many, and I can with safety say that about seventy-five per cent of them will vote for Cleveland. Only three will vote for Harrison, the rest go to the united labor party. In the present tariff discussion free trade seems to be gaining. I know men who three months ago didn't care to mention the words 'free trade,' but now admit that free trade wouldn't hurt the country. The free trade bugaboo seems to have lost its horrors. I come in contact with workingmen continuously, as I am one myself, and can only say that protection has lost its strength and is regarded as a humbug. Electoral reform is well spoken of by democrats and republicans alike. Hill will lose all the votes of the single tax men I know, if he should run again."

FROM THE EX-SECRETARY, FOURTH ASSEMBLY DISTRICT, UNITED LABOR PARTY.

Morris Van Veen, 467 Grand street.—"My first vote was cast for Henry George in the mayoralty contest of 1886. This year I will cast my vote for Grover Cleveland because I believe in the total abolition of all taxes on the products of labor and the transfer of the same to those values which are created by increase of population, otherwise known as land values; and though Mr. Cleveland does not go far I am content to go with him to his journey's end, and then to push on further alone. Having numerous democratic friends and having advocated for the past two years the abolition of all taxation on the products of labor, I would be placed in a very awkward position were I to vote any other ticket after showing them that protective tariffs in any form were restrictive measures in the production of wealth. I was for some time secretary of the Fourth assembly district, united labor party, and I recently made an examination as to how the seventy heretofore active members stood. Ten will vote

for Harrison, twenty to twenty-five for Cowdrey, the nominee of the united labor party, and the remainder will vote for Grover Cleveland. In the discussion of the tariff question the free trade issue is rapidly pushing itself to the front, and the stigma which attached itself to anyone who in former years had the hardihood to proclaim himself as such is rapidly losing itself in the great conversion which is going on. In my talks with individuals I have yet to find one who, after having the question of electoral reform intelligently and plainly stated, was opposed to said measure. Eight members of our family would have undoubtedly voted for Hill had he signed the electoral reform bill. They will now vote for a republican governor. Will I vote for him[sic]. Yes!—to stay at home."

BLAINE IN '84; CLEVELAND IN '88.

John P. Young, 24 Manhattan street.—"I voted for Blaine in '84, but will vote for Cleveland in the coming election. Among my acquaintances who voted for George fully 80 per cent will support Cleveland; none are for Harrison. The discussion of tariff reform seems to make free traders every time, and from the educational result the single tax is more easily approached. So it will be after the election and in the winter months. I hope Hill will get the nomination, and if he is not defeated the election to me will be a farce."

WILL VOTE FOR CLEVELAND, BUT CAN'T STAND HILL.

John Hatton, 318 East Seventy-second street.—"I shall vote for Cleveland, as will, I believe, the very large majority of those who voted for George in '87. Free trade is undoubtedly gaining the upper hand in tariff discussion. It is a logical result. I am in favor of electoral reform, and do not know any one who is not. I shall not vote for Hill. The enrollment of single tax men has come none too soon. It is a ground work upon which much good may be done."

WILL WORK HARD TO DEFEAT HILL.

Charles Moser, 347 East Sixth street.—"Grover Cleveland got my vote four years ago and will get it this year because he has brought up a discussion of free trade throughout the United States. All the George voters I have come in contact with will vote for Cleveland. Free trade is winning converts, and it brings the single tax into discussion whenever I am around. Electoral reform has many friends. Governor Hill will be sadly left if renominated. I will work hard to defeat him."

DEMOCRATS WHO WILL NOT VOTE FOR HILL.

R. T. Malone, 304 East Broadway.—"I voted for Cleveland in '84, and shall do so again this year because he has taken a step on the road to freedom which if followed to the end will lead to the goal that single tax men desire to reach. Most of the men whom I come in contact with have given the tariff question very little thought and can give no good reasons for belonging to either party, but are so prejudiced that they will not break away from their party. Many of them, however, give way to free trade arguments. I find in most discussions on the tariff the single tax idea commands considerable attention. The feeling for electoral reform is very general. I know several democrats who will not vote for Hill."

HILL? NOT BY A JUGFULL[sic].

James Warren, 298 Henry street.—"I voted for Grover Cleveland in 1884. I will do the same thing this year because Cleveland cares not whose toes he treads on if they are in the way of what he considers right, and because he is going my way, and I think will continued on p. 3 →

[continued on page 3]

Sic in the original; probably "Will I vote for him?".
Sic in the original; probably "JUGFUL".

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

← continued from p. 2 go farther than he first intended. Will I vote for Hill! Not by a jugful."

WILL VOTE FOR CLEVELAND AND WORK AGAINST HILL.

S. S. Dorrance, 17 West Forty-second street.–"I voted last year for Cleveland, although before that I generally voted the republican ticket. I will vote for him again because I firmly believe it is for the interests of the entire country that he be re elected, as he promises to carry out a thorough reform policy. I believe that the"protective" policy of the republicans is a great curse to the prosperity of this country. I believe that ninety per cent of those who voted for George in 1887 will vote for Cleveland, and for Harrison about five per cent. Free trade is working along very favorably. There is a growing desire for electoral reform, and much dissatisfaction was caused by Hill's veto of the bill passed for that reform by the last legislature. If he is renominated he will be cut by a large majority of the laboring class, and by many of the better class of democrats who voted for him before. Will I vote for him! Indeed I will not; but will work all I can to turn others against him."

THANKS TO "THE STANDARD," HE HAS SEEN THE LIGHT.

William C. Spahr, 163 Essex street.–"I voted for Blaine in 1884, but will vote for Grover Cleveland this year because I am a free trader. I was born and brought up as a republican and protectionist, but, thanks to THE STANDARD, I have seen the light and intend to spread it as best I can. I find that about seven-eighths of my acquaintances will vote for Cleveland and the other eighth is divided between Harrison and Cowdrey. Free trade is gaining, and the single tax is also, as the best argument is made from the latter standpoint. You cannot argue for free trade unless you bring in the single tax doctrine. Electoral reform is favored by almost every voter that I meet, except the political heelers. The former will vote against Hill and the latter for him. No, I will not vote for Hill, but will, on the contrary, do all I can to defeat him."

WILL SUPPORT NEITHER HILL NOR WARNER MILLER.

Jesse A. Healy, 275 Ninth avenue.–"I voted for Grover Cleveland in 1884. I shall cast my vote for him again this year, because I believe that his policy of tax reduction, as embodied in his message to congress, is a sincere expression of his desire to relieve the people of an unjust and burdensome taxation, which will ultimately be the means of bringing forward the single tax. As far as I can ascertain at least two-thirds of the George voters of 1887 will vote for Cleveland. By vetoing the electoral reform bill I think Governor Hill has lost a great many votes. Notwithstanding this, I believe he will be renominated and re-elected. I could not consistently vote for a man who opposed a measure to reform the present corrupt system of voting. Nor shall I vote for his opponent, Warner Miller, whose only qualification, from a party standpoint. is his immense wealth[sic]."

A PARTISAN IN 1884, BUT NOW A SINGLE TAX MAN.

James W. Healy, 309 West 27th street.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884. I intend voting for him again this year, but for entirely different reasons. In 1884 I voted as a democratic partisan. Since then I have learned to care very little for either politicians or parties, except as means to an end. Believing in the single tax and free trade, I shall support Cleveland and tariff reform this year, as a step in the direction of their ultimate adoption. And I think that the main portion of those who voted for Henry George in 1887 will also support the democratic nominees. The question of free trade is slowly but surely gaining ground. This I know from the fact that plenty of those who at first were loud in their advocacy of a protective tariff, have lately signified their intention of voting against it. The majority of voters with whom I have conversed, are loud in their condemnation of Governor Hill's action in vetoing the electoral reform bill, and in my humble opinion it will cost him many thousands of votes. I would not vote for him under any consideration as I regard him as a 'professional politician' and a man of very little principle."

DEMOCRATIC VOTERS WILL SCRATCH HILL.

Frederick C. Leubuscher, 35 West 131st street.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884, and I will vote for him this November because thus only can I give practical concrete expression to the truth that is within me, and for which I voted in 1886 and 1887. I should judge that of the George vote of 1887 the large majority will go for Cleveland. Free trade without a doubt is gaining, and the new converts, with the enthusiasm of their kind, are more likely to go to the bottom of the question than old time free traders. To my own knowledge the number of bona fide single tax men has largely increased since Cleveland's renomination. The feeling in favor of electoral reform is more widespread than the politicians believe it to be; and I think the democratic voters cast against Hill on this state issue will more than offset the additional votes he will receive from the liquor dealers. I will not vote for him."

HILL'S BLUNDER WILL HURT HIM.

Jose Sirvent, 80 Eighth avenue.—"I was not a citizen in 1884, but I now have a vote, and will cast it for Cleveland on account of his tariff reduction policy. I think he will receive over sixty per cent of the votes cast for Henry George in 1887, and Harrison possibly ten per cent. The blunder of Hill in vetoing the electoral reform bill will not only hurt him, if renominated, but will tell strongly against the democratic party of this state. An active, intelligent movement should be started to tear Hill to smithereens."

"THE STANDARD" CONVERTS THEM.

John P. Davis, 424 East 122d street.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884. I shall vote for him this year because of his sterling political honesty and courage, especially exemplified in forcing upon his party the issue of tariff reform. I observe a weakening of protectionism all along the line. By presenting THE STANDARD or any of Henry George's writings I do not find it hard to make converts to the single tax idea among people who are in the habit of thinking. I am heartily in favor of electoral reform, and would not vote for Hill under any circumstances. I have always voted the republican ticket, from Fremont's nomination for president in 1856 down to Cleveland's election for governor. Now I rejoice in being an independent in favor of the single tax, electoral reform and workingmen's rights."

Sic in the original; probably "standpoint, is".

From Brooklyn.

ANOTHER BLAINE MAN FOR CLEVELAND AND AGAINST HILL.

Aug. Wolff, 417 Fourteenth street, South Brooklyn.—"James G. Blaine received my vote in 1884. I shall vote for Grover Cleveland this election for, as a single tax man, I am in favor of the abolition of all taxes save the one on land values, and now that the democratic party is going in our direction I shall give it all the support I can. When we have got a tariff for revenue only it will be an easy matter for us to tear the last of the Chinese wall down. Half the vote cast for George last year will go to Cleveland, the other half to Harrison. The majority of voters of both parties in my neighborhood are in favor of electoral reform, and I think the candidate for governor who favors it will gain many votes. I will not trust Hill a second time, no matter what he may promise."

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FOR FREE TRADE AND ELECTORAL REFORM.

Charles M. Skinner, journalist.—"I voted in 1884 for Blaine. This year I will vote for Cleveland because I want to see free—or at least freer—trade. I imagine that a decided majority of the last year George voters will vote for Cleveland, not because of any loyalty to the man, but because in this campaign a principle is involved. There is an unquestioned demand for electoral reform, and if only the best class of people could be compelled or induced to do their duty we should be rid in a day of thieves, rings, bosses and barnacles. I can not vote for a man like Hill for any office. It is a public calamity to have a creature like that in power."

A BUTLER MAN FOR CLEVELAND AND AGAINST HILL.

John F. Lutterell, 483 Park avenue.—"I voted for Benjamin F. Butler in 1884. I shall take great pleasure this fall in voting for Grover Cleveland, as every consistent believer in the single tax should. Among the members of our ward association (Seventh ward united labor party of Kings county) I find that over four-fifths will support Cleveland. Among my shopmates protection has slightly the best of it at present, owing chiefly to the false position taken by some of the so-called democratic organs. But wherever a man has been led into a study of the question from a single tax standpoint we get him. It appears to me that democrats and republicans alike are anxious for electoral reform. I will not vote for Hill."

FREE TRADE GAINING—HILL WILL BE CUT.

Antonio Bastida, 82 Livingston street.—"Did not vote in 1884. I shall vote for Cleveland this year for the reason that I don't believe in protection The free trade[sic] side in the contest is gaining, where free traders are making any fight. High protectionists become absolute free traders and don't go back again. There is a strong feeling in favor of electoral reform. Hill, if renominated, will probably be scratched largely. No; I won't vote for Hill. It looks to me at present as if the democratic party intended to let the election go by default. Their cowardly policy, if persisted in, will give the protectionist party a victory."

AN ABSOLUTE FREE TRADER, WITH NO USE FOR HILL.

A. Van Dyke, 228 DeGraw street.—"I voted in 1884 for Cleveland. I shall vote for Cleveland this November because I am an absolute free trader, and Cleveland has taken the first step in the right direction. I have not less than eight personal friends who voted for Blaine in 1884 who this year will vote for Cleveland. They have not become democrats, but absolute single tax free traders. They are, with two exceptions, mechanics and wage workers. They report further gains. I push the single tax idea on every occasion. Cleveland is gaining steadily among those I

Sic in the original; probably "protection. The".

meet. Practically all whom I know will vote against Hill. The demand for electoral reform is general. I shall vote against Hill if he is nominated."

CLEVELAND, BUT NOT HILL.

John Paul Nordgren, 162 Twelfth street.—"I would have voted for Blaine in 1884 had I not moved prior to election day. This year Cleveland will get my vote because he is taking a step toward the abolition of taxes on labor and its products. About two-thirds of the votes cast for George last year will be cast for Cleveland this year. Free trade is pushing ahead, and the single tax is having a very potent influence in this discussion. Hill's chances of election in case he is renominated are very slim. I shall not vote for Hill or anyone else who is opposed to electoral reform."

THINKS HILL WILL BE DEFEATED.

Michael J. Hurley, 235 Fifteenth street.—"I had no vote in 1884, but I have this year, and it will be cast for Cleveland on account of his free trade ideas. One-half of the voters for George last year will vote for Cleveland this year; one-fourth for protectionist Harrison and one-fourth for Cowdrey. The one-fourth for Cowdrey will count for Cleveland, for if the united labor party did not nominate Cowdrey, they would vote for Harrison. Protection ideas are growing on account of the cowardice of the democratic party. I think Hill will be defeated if nominated. I will not vote for him."

FOR CLEVELAND AND FREE TRADE.

William McKenna, 60 Lewis street.—"Cleveland received my vote in 1884, and he will receive it this year because I am a free trader. Free trade is gaining without question. I never knew a free trader who became a protectionist, but I have known many protectionists who have become free traders. Even if Cleveland is defeated I think the result of the campaign will be to advance the cause of free trade, though the question I have heard discussed is simply whether the protective tariff has accomplished its pretended object to raise wages. I think the majority of voters not already free traders will get little beyond the solution of this particular question in this campaign. Electoral reform has been regarded with favor by every one whom I know to whom it has been explained. Hill's record in this regard will hurt him, but I do not think there is sufficient independence of party ties as yet to insure his defeat should he be renominated. I know half a dozen people who voted for him last time who will not this year. I voted for him last term, but I will not vote for him again."

OF COURSE HE WON'T VOTE FOR HILL.

Peter J. Constant, 724 Prospect place.—"I voted for Cleveland as a mugwump in 1884, and shall vote for him this year. It seems to me as a single tax man that there is no other way to vote, as the democratic party is going our way, and I think it the duty of every single tax man to make this victory as complete as possible. The greater that victory the easier it will be to complete our work and show them that any tax on the product of labor is wrong. There is no doubt in my mind that free trade is gaining ground every day, and I find that once you get a man to admit that free trade is right, it is easy work to make a single tax man of him. I think his veto of the electoral reform bill will defeat Hill. Of course I won't vote for him."

"PROGRESS AND POVERTY" BROUGHT HIM OVER FROM BLAINE.

Andrew Valentine, 171 Norman avenue, Greenpoint.—"I voted the Blaine ticket in 1884, and would probably be shouting for the same party now if I had never read"Progress and Poverty" and Henry George's other works. My intention now is to vote for Cleveland, unless he should follow the cowardly course of the democratic leaders since his nomination and endeavor in his letter of acceptance to show to the country that he does not want free trade, but is just as good a protectionist as his opponent. In this ward about one-half who voted for Henry George last

year, or nearly every man that really believes in the single tax, will vote for Cleveland. Free trade and the single tax idea are both certainly gaining, though slowly. There is not much interest manifested at present in regard to electoral reform. I will not vote for Hill if he is renominated."

THE PATH THAT ENDS IN THE MAIN ROAD TO FREEDOM.

Herman R. Simpson, 1,005 Lafayette avenue.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884, and as I am a true George and single tax man, and an absolute free trader, I shall vote for Cleveland this year; not because he is Mr. Cleveland, now at the head of the democratic party (or rather at the head of a party of cowards), but because he is Grover Cleveland, a man with pluck, able to stand erect and show his

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party and all the world the narrow path which ends at the main road to freedom. As for David, if renominated, I and my friends are against him. About four-fifths of the George voters of last year will vote for Cleveland this year."

STUMBLED ON "THE STANDARD" AND BECAME A SINGLE TAX MAN.

William Rogers, 117 Sumner avenue.—"I came here eighteen months ago from Indiana, where I had lived and voted the republican ticket for thirty years. In 1884 I voted for James G. Blaine. Accidentally stumbling on a STANDARD I became interested, read up on the questions it deals with, and am now a single tax Cleveland man. I am decidedly against Hill in case he is renominated."

THE STANDARD BEARER OF DEMOCRACY AGAINST PLUTOCRACY.

Henry H. Moore, 360 DeKalb avenue.—"I grew up strongly prejudiced in favor of 'the party of moral ideas,' but its 'immoral practices' induced me to cast my first presidential vote for Cleveland. I shall vote for him again this year, not only because he has shown himself to be a strong and safe man, faithful and efficient in discharging difficult duties during years when good sense and firmness of purpose have been needed rather than brilliance and dash, but because he is now the standardbearer of democracy against plutocracy, of the people against the monopolists, of the great majority of consumers against the small minority of producers, of low taxation and governmental economy against high taxation and wasteful expenditures. In opposing any reduction of the tariff the republicans have at once stultified their promises and shown themselves to be political tricksters, willing to sacrifice true statesmanship for the sake of a demagogic slogan and the chances of getting office thereby. They are now the real bourbons of the country, appealing as they do to prejudice, selfishness, ignorance and dead issues. I think a majority of those who voted for George will vote for Cleveland, but what's the use of trying to disguise the fact that many of those who voted for George both in 1886 and in 1887 were ignorant men who only half understood what they were voting for, and who will be likely to swallow the 'protection to workingmen' bait of the republicans this year. Free trade is gaining among people who think as well as discuss. So far as I see, the tariff discussion is generally conducted without any reference whatever to the single tax idea and in innocuous ignorance of it; one thing at a time is enough for most people. I shall not vote for Hill unless the republicans nominate a greater demagogue—and that they can't do, for he doesn't exist in this state."

From Other Parts of the State.

SINGLE TAX MEN SHOULD WORK FOR CLEVELAND.

Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue, Albany.—"I did not have a vote in 1884. This year I shall vote for Cleveland because, as a thorough single tax man, I think it is our duty to do all in our power to elect the man who has had the courage to attack that brazen system of fraud, misnamed"protection." The discussion as to whether protection

does or does not protect is becoming warmer every day, and must inevitably lead some who doubt its efficacy to look elsewhere for government revenues. I think that seventy-five per cent of the George vote of last year will go to Cleveland, and this number may be considerably increased if the democrats assume a more radical position."

PROTECTION IS LOSING GROUND—SO IS HILL.

James Bohan, 36 Frazer street, Auburn.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884 and believed in protection; but my views have since undergone a change, for, while I shall vote for Cleveland this year, it will be because he favors a reduction in the tariff. I believe Cleveland will receive sixty-five per cent of the vote cast for George in 1887. In the discussion of the tariff question protection is losing its strength among workingmen, a great many of whom are studying the single tax. I will not vote for Hill if he is renominated, because he is not in favor of electoral reform."

ALBANY SINGLE TAX MEN ORGANIZING.

M. W. Norwalk, 199 Central avenue, Albany.—"Inclosed please find single tax Cleveland enrollment blank with signatures of myself and friends. We single tax men in Albany will shortly organize for active work. I was one of the advocates in the local press last year of electoral reform, and this year does not find me any the less ardent. If Hill is renominated I will surely dig under him unless he stands on an electoral reform platform or comes out openly for that principle."

ALL HIS FRIENDS WILL VOTE FOR CLEVELAND.

V. D. M. Anson, Albany.—"I voted in 1884 for Cleveland. This year I will again vote for him because I believe a reduction of the tariff is a step in the direction of free trade. I know of no one among my friends who will not vote for him. The free trade idea is steadily spreading and it is strengthening the single tax idea."

ANOTHER PROHIBITIONIST ENLISTS.

Albert A. Ultchlit, Mount Vernon, Westchester county.—"I cast my first vote for John P. St. John in 1884. I will vote for Cleveland this fall, for in this way I can help to forward the single tax idea. Protection is losing its strength. For instance, out of forty-eight journeymen masons here, thirty-five are for free trade. Two years ago only ten of them favored free trade. This change is due to 'Progess and Poverty'[sic] and 'Protection or Free Trade?' Governor Hill made a mistake in vetoing the electoral reform bill. I voted for him in 1886, but I shall not vote for him again."

CLEVELAND A DEMOCRAT IN FACT.

Richard Welton, Mount Vernon, Westchester county.—"I voted for Cleveland in '84 because he was a democrat in name. This year I vote for him because he is proving to be a true democrat in fact. Of twelve men I have spoken to, all resolute single tax men, ten will vote for Cleveland, one will vote for Harrison, and the remaining man feels such strong objections to the names of the parties he has been fighting for so many years, that he cannot bring himself to vote with either. He thinks he will vote for Fisk. Protection is gaining ground on account of the vigorous fight the republicans are making; and so half hearted is the fight of those who form the greater part of the opposing army that, unless the real free traders come to the front, Cleveland will be defeated. I hear it said on every side that the veto of the Saxton bill will hurt Hill if he runs again. I shall vote against him."

Sic in the original; probably "'Progress and Poverty'".

DON'T LIKE THE PARTY, BUT WILL VOTE TOWARD FREE TRADE.

Harry D. Gawn, 17 Magnolia street, Rochester.—"I cast my vote in 1884 for Cleveland. Will do so this year, not because I like Cleveland or theparty[sic], but because Cleveland is on the track that leads to free trade. I have always voted for Hill, but will not again, and will use what little influence I have in defeating him if nominated this fall[,32].

FREE TRADE GAINING, SLOWLY BUT SURELY.

Frank C. Stevens, 192 Hudson avenue, Albany.—"I voted for James G. Blaine in 1884. Politics were merely a Fourth of July patriotism at that time with me. I voted the republican ticket only because I thought, 'of two evils choose the least,' and I believed that to be the least. I will vote for Grover Cleveland because he has taken a step in advance. I have always voted the republican ticket until last fall, when I voted for Mr. George. I never took kindly to protection, though I had the delusive idea that it was a necessary evil. But I see now that it is founded on selfishness,

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and is nothing more or less than a popular prejudice. It seems to be so deeply seated, however, that it takes two good points for free trade to knock down one weak point for protection. Men get scared when you say anything of free trade. It takes more thinking than the single tax question, as it is more complicated. I think about three-fourths of those who voted for Mr. George last fall will vote for Cleveland. I know of some of our men who will vote for Cowdrey because they think the democratic party don't even mean as much as the Mills bill implies, and they think Mr. Cleveland will also straddle when he writes his letter of acceptance. Democratic cowardice is our worst stumbling block. Nevertheless, I think free trade is gaining, slowly but surely. The single tax seems to take better than free trade, as there are not so many fairy tales of pauper European labor to tell against it. Electoral reform seems to be universally desired, but some democrats (who are democrats because their fathers were before them) try to say something against it because Hill vetoed the bill. These men think a democrat can do nothing wrong. I am neither a knave nor a fool, and therefore I will do all in my power to defeat Hill. If he should be renominated and elected it would be a big disgrace to New York state."

WAS A PROTECTIONIST UNTIL HE TOOK TO THINKING.

J. C. Roshirt, 22 Third avenu, Albany[sic].—"I voted for Blaine last presidential election. I was a protectionist until I studied political economy. I am now a free trader and will remain one until they protect me. I have a barber shop and I want a law passed compelling every one in my ward to get shaved at my shop, and if they don't pass that law and protect my infant industry, I won't vote to protect anybody else's infant industry. Most of the men who voted for George last year wil vote for Cleveland[,34] and Thurman this year. But they won't vote for David B. Hill. In my shop I am wearing my tongue out discussing free trade, but I don't mind that, as my words are telling. I think most of the men of my craft will vote for Cleveland."

HIS FRIENDS WILL VOTE AGAINST HILL.

Alexander Campbell, Lafayette street, Albany.—"B. F. Butler was my choice for president in 1884. Grover Cleveland is my choice this time because he is on the road to the single tax. All of my acquaintances who are single tax men will vote likewise. I think free trade is pushing ahead. It gives us a chance to bring in the single tax ideas. Almost all my friends, regardless of politics, will vote against Hill for his anti-electoral reform record. Will I vote for Hill? I will not."

Sic in the original; probably "the party".
Sic in the original; probably ""this fall."".
Sic in the original; probably "avenue".
Sic in the original; probably "will".

STILL ANOTHER CONVERT FROM BLAINEISM.

John Dixon, Waterloo street, Albany.—"Blaine was my candidate in 1884, but this year Cleveland will get my vote. I think he will get seventy-five per cent of the men who were for George in 1887. Free trade is gaining in this fight and is helping the single tax movement. I don't know how Hill's veto of the Australian ballot bill will affect his support, but as for myself I will not vote for him under any circumstances."

FREE TRADE THE ENTERING WEDGE.

D. C. T., Albany.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884. I will vote for him in the coming election because I think free trade is an entering wedge to the single tax principle. I have seen very few among my acquaintances who will not vote for Cleveland and tariff reform. Free trade seems to me to be gaining very fast, and it is preparing men's minds for the single tax idea. All of the single tax men here are against Hill. For my own part I will vote for the republican candidate as against Hill."

FOR CLEVELAND AND AGAINST HILL FOR GOOD REASONS.

P. J. Henzel, 294 South Pearl street, Albany.—"I voted at the last presidential contest for Grover Cleveland. I will vote again this year for him, because he advocates tariff reform, which is an approach to free trade. The free trade side is gaining decidedly. It is but a question of time when a large majority of the people will favor it. I believe that a majority of the people want electoral reform, but the 'machines' which govern the action of the parties are opposed to it. Therefore, the party out of power will favor it during that time, and reject it when in power. I will vote against Hill on account of his refusal to make the Saxton election bill a law."

OPPOSED TO HILL AND BOODLE.

Jacob Jordan, 78 Congress street, Troy.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884 as a republican who favored progress and reform. Again I shall vote for Cleveland because he is the representative of free trade, to which I am a firm adherent. While it is true that he has not declared himself in favor of absolute free trade, I nevertheless believe that such will be the final result of his action. You cannot direct public attention to a system of fraud without making the fraud apparent. And if people once can see that protection protects a few to the injury of many—down it goes without delay. There can be no doubt that free trade is gaining favor with the masses and that the single tax is coming prominently to the front. The discussion of tariff and free trade almost invariably lead to the question, Where shall we obtain the revenue with which to defray the expense of government? and the single tax free trader never wants an answer. I find that people can be made to see the justice of the single tax more readily than the benefits of free trade. The fact must not be lost sight of that Troy is one of the highly protected centers, and that for many years past people here have been trained to believe that high tariff is their only salvation. Out of four daily papers published here only one, the *Daily Press*, is fighting the battle of tariff reduction. Another daily paper, the *Evening Standard*, avowedly championing the cause of labor, has thus far hid its brilliant thoughts in silence. The remaining two are stanch protection papers. Taking into account these circumstances and the inactivity heretofore displayed by the democratic party, I am surprised to see the free trade idea making any advance at all. The sentiment in favor of electoral reform is most pronounced among the republicans. Democrats seem to ignore the question entirely, and I do not believe that Governor Hill, if renominated, will lose many votes in this county on account of his vetoing the electoral reform bill. In fact, he is very popular and if renominated would add strength to the democratic national ticket in this part of the state. Personally I am strongly opposed to him because I think an election should be decided—not through boodle, but conviction; not through intimidation, but the free use of the ballot by independent citizens."

ELECTORAL REFORM GAINING GROUND.

Albert O. Young, Tuckahoe.—"I will vote for Cleveland and Thurman because I believe that a reduction in the tariff, however small, is a step in the direction of absolute free trade. Articles added to the free list involve so large a moneyed interest that the impulse in favor of the abolition of all other duties will be strengthened. If the duty is removed from lumber, for instance, the lumber interest will fight for free trade in other products on the principle of self interest. Free trade is gaining I believe. The feeling in favor of electoral reform is spreading, and will affect Hill's chances unfavorably; but, considering the large support he has in the liquor interest, this feeling will not be strong enough to prevent his re-election. I will not vote for Hill."

p. 3, col. 5

VOTE FOR HILL!—THE QUESTION IS AN INSULT.

J. B. Luttbeg, Mount Vernon.—"I will vote for Cleveland because of his free trade tendencies. Protection is gaining and rather hurts the single tax cause, for it is lopping off those who are not thoroughgoing single tax men. The feeling is very bitter among the more educated and honest voters against Governor Hill for his vetoing of the ballot reform bill. Will I vote for him if nominated? Your question is an insult to an honest man. I shall vote for his opponent."

FOUR VOTES FOR BLAINE IN '84, FIVE FOR CLEVELAND IN '88.

Joseph Sutherland, Yonkers.—"In 1884 myself and three sons voted for Blaine; this year myself and four sons will vote for Cleveland—not because we love the democratic party, but because Cleveland has had manhood enough to make a slight move in the direction of the single tax reform. From 90 to 95 per cent of those that voted for Henry George in 1887 will vote for Cleveland this fall. About one half the remainder will vote for Harrison and the balance will probably not vote or else vote the prohibition ticket. All our discussions are on free trade vs. protection and we invariably come out best and in favor of the single tax. As to Governor Hill I think he would be the worst candidate the democracy could put in the field. A certain element here is already offering to trade off Cleveland for Hill votes. I will certainly not vote for Hill. Neither will any of the single tax men here vote for him or any other person for governor or assembly who will not pledge themselves to support the electoral reform bill."

WORKINGMEN WANT ELECTORAL REFORM.

George Harnwell, Whitestone, L. I.—"My first vote was cast in 1886 and I voted for the republicans. This year I intend to vote for Cleveland and Thurman because, as Mr. Pentecost would say, I think that is best. I know a great many who will do the same. I believe free trade is gaining rapidly. There seems to be a general feeling among workingmen who think for themselves that electoral reform is much needed, and Hill, had he done nothing else, would, if he ran, lose many votes for vetoing the electoral reform bill; but he also vetoed the Saturday half holiday repeal bill, and that is an offset. Some say he means well and should have another chance. If renominated I shall not vote for him."

FREE TRADE GAINING IN ULSTER.

Theodore M. Romeyn, Kingston, Ulster county.—"I voted for Cleveland in 1884. I will vote for him this year for the reason that I am a believer in absolute free trade and in Henry George's theory of taxation, and I can see nothing better for me to do under the circumstances. I think four-fifths of those who voted for George in 1887 in this county will this year vote for Cleveland. In the discussion of the tariff question, free trade is gaining. I don't think the vote for Hill will be materially decreased on account of his position on the electoral bill. But I will not vote for him."

ELECTORAL REFORM MUST BE PUSHED.

James Willis, Cornwall.—"Cleveland was my choice in 1884, and I will vote for him this year because he comes nearest to my views. I think nearly all of the men who cast their votes for Henry George last year will cast them for Cleveland this year. Free trade is gaining. The single tax idea is progressing slowly, but both will do better as the fight warms up. Electoral reform must be pushed, and I do not think it will affect the vote for Hill so far as to defeat him if he is renominated. I will vote for him. I have no sympathy with the republicans. They are false piratical[sic]. My desire is free trade, pure and simple; purity of the ballot box and the legislative hall free from lobbyism."

SINGLE TAX MEN OF '87 WILL SUPPORT CLEVELAND.

William Chadeayne, Cornwall, Orange county.—"In 1884 I voted for Grover Cleveland. I shall vote for him again in the coming election because I consider that his election will be a victory for the policy of tariff reduction and a movement toward raising government revenues by the single tax. If I thought his election would mean an opposite result I should vote against him. I think nearly all who voted for George in 1887 will vote for Cleveland this year. I cannot find any democrats who are afraid of free trade, and those republicans who lose faith in the protective system as a universal panacea seem to run to the other extreme and become free traders pure and simple. Several of the leading men of this place, formerly republicans, are this year Cleveland men, and some of them free traders. The single tax idea is growing. I believe Hill's veto of the electoral reform bill will cost him dear. I shall not vote for him should he be renominated."

TARIFF REDUCTION A STEP TOWARD FREE TRADE.

Isaac Denniston, Cornwall Landing.—"I voted for Grover Cleveland in 1884 and shall do so again this fall, principally because he advocates a reduction of the existing tariff which is a step toward free trade. Most of the votes cast for Henry George last fall in this election district will be cast for Cleveland this fall. Free trade is gaining decidedly. Naturally tariff reform which leads to free trade, must also lead to some other method of levying taxes, which must eventually be the single tax on land values. Hill's veto of the electoral reform bill, so far as I can ascertain, will not cost him a single vote in this election district. While a reformation in the manner of conducting elections is desirable, the changes wrought in the bill passed by the legislature last winter were too sweeping and could not have been tolerated by the people in the country districts. I will vote for Hill if he is renominated."

STATESMEN, NOT WIRE PULLERS.

B. T. Henley, 11 Thompson street, Port Jervis, Orange county.—"I voted in 1884 for Benj. F. Butler. This year I shall vote for Cleveland and Thurman. They have proved themselves statesmen, not wire pullers. The George vote of last fall was cast almost to a unit in the light of reason. Practically, it is solid for Cleveland. A single sheet of paper would serve to list the names of all the single tax men who will vote for the monopoly candidate. Will they nominate that discredited wire puller Hill? Are the gods so far bent on destroying them? Will I vote for Hill if he is renominated? Not unless the gods make me stark mad."

REPUBLICANS GETTING THEIR EYES OPENED.

Horace R. Perry, South Clinton place, Syracuse.—"I voted for John C. Fremont for president and remained a republican until last November, when I voted for Henry George for secretary of state. I am fully converted to Henry George's idea of a single tax on land values, and I shall cheerfully follow the advice of THE STANDARD and vote for Cleveland and Thurman as a step to the single tax. In my opinion nearly all in this city who voted for

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Sic in the original; probably ""false, piratical" or "false and piratical"".

Mr. George last fall will vote for Cleveland in November. Many republicans are getting their eyes opened to the fact that a tariff does not protect labor, but only gives manufacturers a monopoly of the American market. It seems to me that Governor Hill made a great political blunder when he vetoed the electoral reform bill. It was popular here with all parties, and I think he will lose many votes on account of his action. I will not vote for him."

THE SINGLE TAX ARGUMENT WINS VOTES.

C. S. H, care of postmaster[sic], Syracuse.—"I will lose my vote this year on account of change of residence. All the George

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men with whom I have talked, with one exception, will support Cleveland. The exception will vote for Cowdrey. Tariff reform is gaining strength rapidly. It is surprising to learn of the large number of absolute free traders there are. The most of them are or have been republicans. I find that when I meet an honest opponent, one who is open to conviction, that I can win him over to the support of Cleveland by a presentation of the beauties of the single tax when all other arguments fail. I can do this all the more forcibly, as my experience in Pennsylvania has furnished me with a fund of practical illustrations of the manner in which the tariff upon coal and iron has enormously increased the value of coal and iron deposits, while decreasing wages and the returns to legitimate capital. I think the tariff discussion will sink all other issues. I consider Cleveland a stronger candidate in the state than Hill. If I had a vote this fall I would support the prohibition candidate for governor in preference to either Hill or 'Wood Pulp' Miller."

READY FOR WORK.

Charles C. Whittemore, 360 Seneca street, Buffalo.—"I have read the report of the speeches at Cooper union and am ready for work. The majority of the active George men of last year are on our side and it is not too much to say that of the eight hundred votes polled here for Henry George seven hundred will go to Cleveland and against Hill. Lead on; let there be no halting."

STANCH PROTECTIONISTS COMING OVER.

F. G. Anderson, Jamestown.—"In 1884 I voted for Mr. Blaine. This year I will vote for Cleveland because, though at one time a rabid protectionist, I am now a free trader, and I believe President Cleveland's course is in the direction of the abolition of all taxes on commerce, which is a large step toward the abolition of all taxes on production. Half of those who voted for Henry George last fall will vote for Cleveland this fall, the remainder dividing equally between the candidates of the republican and union labor parties. The free trade cause is advancing. I know of some stanch protectionists being converted to free trade, but I have not yet heard of a single reversal of this order of conversion. The tariff discussion is making a clearing for the single tax idea. The feeling here is favorable to electoral reform, and will prove an obstacle to Governor Hill's re-election. I will not vote for him if he is renominated, although I used to be a strong Hill man."

OUR TARIFF LAWS ARE VICIOUS.

Robert White, 472 Pearl street, Buffalo.—"My first vote for president was cast for Grant. I voted for Blaine in 1884. I will vote for Cleveland this election, because he believes with me that our tariff laws are vicious. Count me one to help defeat Hill if he should be nominated[sic].

Sic in the original; probably "C. S. H.,".
Sic in the original; probably ""nominated."".

SINGLE TAX MEN KNOW WHY.

Henry J. Wingardner, Harlem.—"I voted for Blaine in 1884. I admired him even afterward; but I have now become somewhat sceptical. Men who are so intimate with the Carnegies and others of that ilk may well be suspected, especially by workingmen who have their wits about them. Cleveland will get my vote this year for reasons best known to every single tax man. As for Hill, I will vote for him—to stay at home. Nine-tenths of the voters in this vicinity who voted for George last year will do likewise."

A Single Tax Man at a Democratic Rally.

HACKETTSTOWN, N. J.—Louis F. Post was invited by the democrats of this town to open the campaign for Cleveland here last week. Hackettstown is an extremely conservative place of about 3,000 inhabitants, in northern New Jersey. It is an agricultural center and the labor question comes like an echo from a distance. Though it is strongly democratic free trade has been to it like a ghost story to a boy. The courage of the democratic managers in presenting a radical speaker to their constituents, therefore, was not inconsiderable. When the meeting opened the hall was crowded. For a time, as Cleveland's bold policy was commended and Thurman's campaigning praised, the applause was enthusiastic. But when the speaker took up the tariff question, and without mincing words, discussed the issue of protection or free trade, an ominous silence fell on the crowd. But every one staid and every one listened. The local managers were frightened. They had been denying to the republicans that they were free traders, and here they had put an absolute free trader on their platform and made no provision for another speaker to discount any bad effect he might have. And notwithstanding that at the close the speaker was enthusiastically applauded, it was an unhappy evening and a sleepless night for the managers.

The next day they made a little canvas however, and were encouraged. Some of the old hardshells were mad—very mad. But the general sentiment among democrats was strongly favorable to the style of campaign that had been adopted. One of the leading merchants of the town, a democrat who takes no part in "practical politics," was asked by a manager what he thought, and replied that the speech just suited him.

"Do you mean that?" asked the manager. "Do you really think that speech was the kind that the democrats want in this town?"

"Well," said the merchant, "if it hadn't been for that land I wouldn't have stayed."

And now the people of Hackettstown are discussing the tariff on more radical grounds than ever before, and the republicans who are as badly chilled as the democratic managers were, find that calling their adversaries "free traders" doesn't hurt.

M. G.

Single Tax Meeting in St. Louis.

ST. LOUIS, Aug. 29.—The single tax men held a fine meeting here last night. Hamlin Russell was the first speaker and was followed by Prof. Will Schuyler of the high school, son of Rev. Dr. Schuyler of Christ church, and a thorough believer in the single tax idea. Messrs. Bloom, Bonnell, Bohannon, Dr. Bartlett and Dr. Chase were also present.

A. J.

[Advertisement] Cooper Union mass meeting

COOPER UNION,

FRIDAY EVENING, SEPTEMBER 7TH.

MASS MEETING

OF SUPPORTERS OF

CLEVELAND & THURMAN

TO PROTEST

AGAINST THE NOMINATION OF

DAVID B. HILL.

THE MEETING WILL BE ADDESSED BY[sic]

HENRY GEORGE

AND OTHERS.

Sic in the original; probably “ADDRESSED”.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 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.

A NEW ARGUMENT FOR PROTECTION.

Mr. Edward H. Ammidown, a philanthropist who benefits his fellow men by allowing them to work for him in his manufacturing establishment over in New Jersey, and charitably fills his mills with foreigners when he feels that American labor is in danger of a surfeit of employment—Mr. Edward H. Ammidown has been writing an essay for the *Independent* on what he terms "the American policy of protection," in which he takes up an entirely new

position. Manufacturing pays better than agriculture, anyhow, Mr. Ammidown tells us; therefore, true statesmanship requires that our government should do everything in its power to encourage American citizens to engage in manufacturing. Here it is, in Mr. Ammidown's own words:

> But another still more fruitful advantage of this policy may be found in the fact shown by the census, that labor when applied to manufactures is many fold more productive than in agriculture, due to the larger utilization in manufactures of steam and water power as productive forces. The seven millions of farmers of this country, in 1879, produced at high prices about three billions of dollars in value; while about three millions of manufacturers at the same time produced more than five billions of dollars in value. . . . Hence the importance of promoting the growth of manufactures by laws restricting competition from nations producing under inferior conditions, as to wages, or superior conditions as to other elements of cost of production.

Now if 7,000,000 farmers produced $3,000,000,000, each farmer must have produced $428.57; and by a similar operation in the rule of three it is easy to calculate that each manufacturer produced $1,666.66. According to these figures, manufacturers could afford to sacrifice three-quarters of their products, and still be no worse off than farmers. But such is the stupidity of Americans that they would never think of leaving a business where they could earn $1 for one that would return them $4, unless they were fairly driven into it by the tax gatherer. At least, so Mr. Ammidown pretends to think.

Of course, Mr. Ammidown's figures are absurd. Most protectionist statistics are. But they nevertheless involve a true statement of the protectionist idea—that the many ought to be taxed for the benefit of the few.

The seven million agriculturists, whose industry Mr. Ammidown so naively avows his desire to discourage, have a ready market awaiting their breadstuffs and provisions on the other side of the Atlantic. Great Britain would gladly take all the wheat and corn they could send her, and not Great Britain alone, but France and Germany as well are eager for their hog products. But two parties are necessary to a trade. If a storekeeper won't take his customer's money, the customer must go elsewhere to buy; and if the American farmer will not, or may not, take what Europeans offer in exchange for his products, why Europeans must go elsewhere—to Russia, to India, to Australia, to New Zealand, to Chili—for their food supplies. And the cardinal principle of the Ammidown system is to forbid the American farmer taking anything that his customers offer to pay him with. Steel rails, tin plates, silks, calicoes, velvets, bibles—it makes no difference what it may be, the moment the customer offers it, and the farmer shows a disposition to accept it, Mr. Ammidown and the rest of the gang step forward, shrieking, "You mustn't take that; we can make it for you (at twice or three times the price) and the sacred home market must be preserved." And so, if the poor farmer takes steel rails for his wheat, the Ammidown system fines him nine-tenths of a cent on every pound; if he takes shoes, it fines him 30 per cent of their value; if he takes a sewing machine, it fines him 45 per cent; shingles, 35 cents on every thousand; horse shoes, 2 cents a pound; stockings, 40 per cent—why extend the list; it is enough for him to show a willingness to accept anything, for the Ammidowns to say he mustn't have it. And the climax of the whole absurd system is reached when we find the transatlantic purchaser paying for his wheat and bacon with cabbages and potatoes, and even these subjected to a custom house fine. No wonder that manufacturing pays better than farming. So does robbery pay better than honest work.

Help us build up our industries, say the Ammidowns—pay us half as much again, twice, three times as much as other people would sell the same goods for, and *we'll* buy your wheat, and your flour, and your bacon, and your lard. And they do buy

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them, what they need of them, at their own prices. And when the farmers' boys and girls grow sick of the hopeless struggle of the farm, Mr. Ammidown and his fellows open their mill doors and tell them, "Come right in here and we will give you work! You'll have to compete in wages with the Hungarians and Italians who come to us from

Castle garden, but that's a natural law of trade. You'll have to work hard (except in the intervals when we lay you off), and live in close, unwholesome rooms, but that's because of overpopulation. Come right in, and thank the protective tariff first, us next, and God last of all, that you're allowed to exist on any terms whatever."

Mr. Ammidown remarks in another part of his *Independent* essay that "the protective system has the advantage of encouraging the healthy growth of agriculture." If Mr. Ammidown's personal growth had been encouraged on the same system he would long ago have found a fitting place in Barnum's show as the smallest specimen of adult humanity on the planet.

At the grangers' picnic at Williams's grove, Pa., last week, the *World* interviewed a large number of farmers on the tariff question with satisfactory results. Some of them were protectionists, some were for revenue tariff with incidental protection, a great many were revenue reformers, and several were outright free traders, and didn't care who knew it. Harvey W. Hames of York county showed that he was not a horny minded thinker if he was a horny handed farmer when he said that "agriculture is the basis of wages, and as a high tariff depresses agriculture it must depress wages in general." W. W. Wonderlich of Cumberland county started by saying he thought the tariff should be reduced, and closed by confessing himself "something of a free trader." D. F. Dietrich of Lycoming had no fault to find with the Mills bill except that it didn't reduce the tariff enough. J. A. J. Smith of the same county favored the Mills bill, but would make it stronger; and Joseph Heilman, also of Lycoming, wants things to come here free of all tariff. Robert Lesher of Northumberland looks upon the Mills bill merely as a long step in the right direction. Caleb Brinton of Chester thought that "any legislation which favors one class at the expense of another is unjust and ought to be wiped out;" while J. B. Davis of the same county looks upon the tariff laws as calculated to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. Peter Pentz goes in for free trade and thinks the Mills bill tends in the right direction; and J. A. Grundy of Union, "when he argues the thing out in his mind, comes pretty close to free trade." George W. King of Washington didn't know much about the question, but his wife did, and when he said he thought he would vote for reduction she emphatically remarked, "Well, I should think you would." These interviews among the farmers of Pennsylvania give an idea of the drift of sentiment in that monopoly straddled state. A radical free trade campaign among the farmers, miners and mechanics of the land of Pennsylvania would secure its electoral vote for Cleveland.

Lord Clanricarde is said to be one of the most unpopular men in London. He is detested by the liberal unionists, and even the coercionists shudder at the mention of his name. By virtue of British law, which does not differ in this respect materially from American law, Lord Clanicarde owns[sic] part of Ireland. If any one is to own part of Ireland there is no particular reason why it should not be Lord Clanricarde. It is no harder for Irishmen to pay him for the privilege of living and working in Ireland than it would be to pay somebody else. But because Lord Clanricarde insists on having his tenants pay or quit he has made himself unpopular. Why should he be unpopular for insisting on his rights—if they are his rights? If Irishmen don't like to pay rent to Lord Clanricarde let them get off his land. No one compels them to stay on Lord Clanricarde's land. It is a matter of free contract. He offers them land for so much. If they are willing to pay, well and good. If they are not willing to pay no one forces them to. There is other land in Ireland besides Lord Clanricarde's. True, other people own it and these other people want rent for it, precisely as Clanricarde does, but then if they don't like the terms of these other people, they needn't agree to those terms. Let them come to this splendid country. Here we have land in plenty, ripe for the plowman. They would have to buy or rent here too; but again there is no law to compel them to pay more than they want to, and if they cannot or will not pay what it is worth let them—but what right has any man on this earth who has no land of his own, and isn't willing to pay for other people's land what it is worth?

Sic in the original; probably "Lord Clanricarde owns".

Lord Clanricarde should be honored instead of despised. He is doing a good work in teaching landless people that if they want to stay in this world they must pay the owners of the world what the privilege is worth. If it were not for courageous men like Clanricarde, the whole landlord class might be impoverished by pestiferous people who insist on using the earth without paying for it. Chauncey Depew gives an instance of what might be a general condition. He dined with an Irish landlord, who frankly admitted that he was pinched for money, and said: "This is the first time in nearly a year that I have been able to have champagne at my table for dinner." See
p. 4, col. 3
that, now! What if all landlords were reduced to such a pass, not able to have champagne for dinner more than once a year! And that in spite of the fact that they own big slices of the earth which other people use and won't pay for. Such things must not be. Let Lord Clanricarde go on with his pious eviction crusade. If he does not succeed in preserving the dinner champagne of landlords, he may set people to asking why landlords, *as* landlords, should have any champagne at all, or, indeed, any dinners, and that would be something gained.

It is impossible not to admire the simple candor of the *Press*, which so often furnishes in its news columns the refutation of its editorial "facts." Reading its editorial articles on protectionism, in which the magnificent wages of this protected country are compared with the pauper wages of England, one might well doubt some of its news stories. Stories like that of last Sunday, for example, in which the wrongs of working women who apply to the protective union for redress are told. Here is a seamstress employed for seventy-five cents a day who asks the help of this charity to collect $1.70 of her wages; and another who made flannel and cheviot shirts at fifty cents a dozen, working from four in the morning until ten at night to support herself and four little children. No doubt "free trade" London can show hard cases of poverty among the workers, but not much worse than these examples of "protected" New York.

But such instances of candor in its news columns barely exceed the occasional candor of the *Press's* editorial department. In its answers to "tariff queries" it recently encountered a conundrum from a correspondent who asked, "If protection makes high wages, how about the Russian prices for labor?" to which it replied, "We are not dealing with the difference in rate of wages between countries centuries behind the United States in development, enterprise and government, but between all of these countries and the United States. A tariff protects the products of American labor against the products of all Europe, not of a part of Europe." Why a tariff is necessary to protect us against the products of *all* countries that are behind us in development, enterprise and government, any more than against one such country, is not explained. Neither is the correspondent informed why it is that wages are lower to protected Russia[sic] than in free trade England. The fact is that when a protectionist is nailed down to the point he is compelled to admit that it is not protection, but something else that makes differences in wages.

The legislature of New Jersey last winter passed a local option liquor law, which permits the different counties to vote for or against the sale of intoxicating liquors, the result of the vote to be the law of the county for three years. The effect of a negative vote is not to wholly prohibit the liquor trade, but to abolish bar rooms and saloons. Some of the counties have recently had pretty warm campaigns on the subject. In behalf of the liquor interest a variety of considerations have been urged, chief among which is the assertion that prohibition would reduce the value of

Sic in the original; probably "lower in protected Russia".

land. This is supposed to be a strong point with the farmers, and the temperance people urgently combat it with assurances that instead of diminishing land values prohibition would increase them.

The temperance people are probably right. It is not necessary to be a teetotaller to see that the bar room and the saloon, as usually conducted, are blights upon the prosperity of any community; and while they may give a good will value to their particular locations, their effect on land values in the neighborhood must generally be depressing. To prohibit them, therefore, is apt to increase those values. But are those temperance people who advocate prohibition on the ground that it will increase land values quite sure that their argument is effective of their purpose? In this section of the country there is a large and increasing class to whom increase of land values is a positive injury. These are the farm tenants, farm hands, mechanics and clerks. Suppose temperance advocates should say to them, in plain English, vote for prohibition because it will increase your rents. As to those who act from the higher motives of philanthrophy[sic], the appeal might not repulse them; but this appeal is not addressed to higher motives. It is confessedly addressed to self interest, and with voters who are actuated in such questions by self interest, the appeal has but to be understood to become a boomerang. It can be effective as an appeal to self interest, only with men who own land and want to make money by leasing or selling it; but never with men who, owning no land, want to rent or to buy.

The *Mail and Express* disposes of the outcry against the protective system which has enabled Andrew Carnegie and a few others to acquire millions at the cost of other men's labor, by announcing that "if the man who complains of Andrew Carnegie's wealth will go to work with the same intelligent comprehension of the demands and needs of the country as governed Carnegie, he also may rent Cluny castle, or even a cottage at Lenox."

If by "the man who complains of Carnegie's wealth," the *Mail and Express* means the man who complains of the system which made Carnegie's wealth possble[sic], we fear its statement of possibilities will not hold water. Not to mention other weaknesses, it may suffice to point out

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that if fifteen or twenty millions of men should want each a Cluny castle or a Lenox cottage, the result would be such an advance in land values in Scotland and Lenox as would compel the imitation Carnegies to either give up their castle and cottage aspirations, or reduce themselves to poverty again.

C. H. Kenyon & Co. of South Coventry, Conn., who have shut down their woolen mill, pretend that they were compelled to do it on account of "the uncertain situation due to the Mills bill." Translated into every day English this means that if the Mills bill becomes a law woolen goods will be cheaper, and customers do not want to give orders at present prices while that measure is in abeyance. It is the delay in enacting the Mills bill, not the Mills bill itself, that makes the situation uncertain. And who is causing the delay? Not the house of representatives, which has passed the bill, nor the president, who is ready to sign it; but the protection senate which, in the interest of monopoly, would like to defeat it, but in fear of public opinion dare not.

> The moment that Mr. Cleveland's pen wrote to congress that the internal revenue system should stand, and that future reductions in revenue should be made by reducing the tariff, the democracy, in so far as it was committed to Mr. Cleveland, became committed to free trade. > > All democrats should vote for Cleveland and Thurman

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Sic in the original; probably "philanthropy".
Sic in the original; probably "possible".

because they are the regular and unanimously nominated candidates of the democracy. > > The *Sun* believes in protection to American industry, as it believes also in the protection of American interests of every sort. > > The *Sun* is for the unanimously nominated democratic candidates. > > If Mr. Cleveland's policy in dealing with the situation is to be followed, the protective tariff must practically be swept away.

These quotations are all from the editorial columns of a single issue of the *Sun*—that of September 1. They carry their own comment with them.

In England they think Blaine is running for president, and General Gresham, who is in London, has said some pretty sharp things about the policy of allowing the uncrowned king the prominence that has given rise to this impression abroad. The same impression prevails here to a considerable extent, and we take this occasion to assure the public that it is not Mr. Blaine but a General Harrison of Indiana whom the protectionists have nominated.

The Reform Club Against Hill.

A special meeting of the Reform club was held on Tuesday evening of this week to consider the nomination of Governor Hill for re-election. Resolutions were offered by Mr. Hinman declaring that the governor is among the most prominent opponents of the state and municipal reforms to which the club is devoted, and especially of electoral reform, urging the democratic party not to nominate him, and resolving that in that event the club would call on all good citizens to join it in voting against him. The resolutions were supported by E. J. Shriver, John Dewitt Warner, George Havens Putnam, R. R. Bowker, George Foster Peabody and W. J. Gibson, and opposed by E. R. Whitney, E. P. Doyle and George Byrne. As it was claimed that the notice of the meeting had been too short to secure a representative attendance, final action was postponed until Saturday, September 8, at eight o'clock, to which time the meeting was subsequently adjourned. Prior to adjournment a motion was adopted, by 54 to 4, recommending the resolutions to the adjourned meeting for adoption.

At the Reform Club Meeting.

W. L. Trenholm, comptroller of the currency, spoke at the regular Friday evening meeting of the Reform club last week. He said he was for neither "absolute protection" nor "absolute free trade," but for what Mr. E. B. Bingham, in a pamphlet in 1882 in support of[sic] the Morrill tariff, defined as "qualified protection." But it was significant that the speaker was only applauded when he gave expression to general principles as much opposed to "qualified protection" as to "absolute protection."

Wiping Up the Floor with Protection in Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 29[sic].—We had a lively meeting at Delanco Saturday night. Mr. Hetzel of our club wiped up the floor with Mr. Torry in the joint debate on Protection vs. Free Trade. The audience took very kindly to single tax doctrines, and all of us agreed that had it been merely a "George" meeting, not one-tenth of the audience

Sic in the original; probably "possibly"1862" (Morrill tariff 1861); printed clearly 1882, may be correct".
Sic in the original; probably "an earlier date (e.g. "Sept. 2" or "Aug. 29"); issue is dated September 8".

would have turned out. We are now satisfied that Mr. George's decision to support Mr. Cleveland was best considered merely for the opportunities it gives to get at men with our doctrines.

W. J. ATKINSON.

The U. L. P. in the Tenth District.

The Tenth assembly district association of the united labor party has disbanded. Its members have resolved that in its stead shall be formed either a single tax Cleveland campaign club or a branch of the Free trade club for that congressional committee.

Campaign Work.

The single tax Cleveland campaign committee has engaged headquarters in THE STANDARD building, 12 Union square, where visitors may obtain signature blanks or any information relative to the movement. Work is being pushed for the big single tax mass meeting in support of Cleveland and Thurman, to be held in Cooper Union on Tuesday evening, at which Henry George will preside, and Hugh O. Pentecost and Louis F. Post speak.

Campaign Work in Brooklyn.

Brooklyn single tax men are busy arranging for an active campaign there. They propose not only to hold big public mass meetings at which the best speakers in the movement shall appear, but also, in co-operation with the Revenue reform club, a number of smaller meetings in the different wards. The work of enrolling Brooklyn single tax men who intend to vote for Cleveland and Thurman is being pushed rapidly ahead.

How the Contract Labor Law Works.

Dispatch to New York Herald.

HALIFAX, N. S., Aug. 29.–The Portuguese brigantine Neptune arrived here ten days ago from Faxal, Azores[sic], bound to Boston, with fifty-six female Portuguese immigrants on board. It was said that she came in to procure water, but it has just been discovered that she put into Halifax to land the women, who were forwarded to their destination by rail to evade the American law. Had the vessel taken the women to Boston they could not have landed there, as they had previously been engaged to enter service in the United States.

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CAMPAIGN LETTERS.

The following are some extracts from the mail pouring in upon the single tax committee. While they show the enthusiasm of our friends, they are significant of the very large percentage of republicans which the single tax cause will this year bring into line for the democratic candidates:

Sic in the original; probably "Fayal, Azores".

George M. Scott, Chicago, Ill.—I am an old time greenbacker, but seeing that the land question is the fundamental question in the industrial pyramid, and also being a stanch free trader, and hearing that your ideas of the government issuing all money, corresponds with mine, I have decided to cut loose from my old moorings so as to stand squarely on fundamental principles and thus be able to build from the ground up.

Adam W. Hoster, Middletown, Pa.—Accompanying this is a list of voters who will support Cleveland and Thurman. I was a dyed-in-the-wool republican in 1884. But now, after reading "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade?" I have become a single tax free trader.

F. S. Arnold, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—I send you with this a list containing seventeen signatures. Many more will come. We single tax men here are working in with the democrats who welcome our aid, but are a little afraid of our extreme views. One of our most prominent members spoke at one of their flag raisings to an audience of three or four thousand people, and another has just been off to address tariff reform farmers at a similar meeting in eastern Dutchess.

Edward Killian, Corning, N. Y.—Find on the inclosed slip my name as a supporter of Cleveland and Thurman on the grounds set forth in THE STANDARD. Four years ago I was a protectionist, and, of course, voted for Blaine, but I have since had my eyes opened.

Phil. T. South, Dayton, O.—Inclosed find five signatures for your roll of single tax Cleveland men. Four of them last presidential campaign were republicans.

Six voters in Portland, Mich., subscribe their signatures to the enrollment blank with the following proviso: "But if the democratic leaders abandon the issue of tariff reform (as some of them now seem disposed to do), so that the election of the democratic candidates will not be a step toward free trade, we, the undersigned citizens of Portland, Mich., will not vote for Cleveland and Thurman at the coming election."

Joseph L. Schraer, Newport, Ky.—I have personally made at least eighty converts for Cleveland out of the republican ranks. I have been an absolute free trader as long as I have been able to think. I went to the united labor party convention at Cincinnati, held May 15 to 17, from the Sixth district of Kentucky, prepared to protest against putting a national ticket in the field, but as I was unable to attend on the third day when the business came up, I lost my opportunity. We are circulating a petition for single tax voters.

Charles Tanner, Elgin, Ill.—Inclosed find blank with my name attached for enrollment as a supporter of Cleveland and Thurman, but not the democratic party. The way they handled the electoral reform bill in New York disgusted me with the democrats.

J. S., Woodstock, N. Y.—The postmaster here tells me that for fifteen days after the president's tariff message was published the democrats thought it was a mistake, but they now see the beauty of it and are working with light hearts. He also tells me that he has not yet heard of a democrat's changing to republicanism, while he has heard of several republicans who have come into the democratic lines. There is good opportunity for effective single tax missionary work. I have done some myself in a small way.

B. D. V. Reeve, Pueblo Col[sic].—I have always been a republican, and voted for Blaine in 1884. It has been hard work for me to pull away from the G. O. P., especially as the democracy have hardly peeped here since the campaign opened. But here is my sign-manual to my political death warrant and the emancipation of my manhood. I'm not occupying a back seat any more. I wish you would send me any other names from Pueblo receiving THE STANDARD.

Sic in the original; probably "Pueblo, Col.—".

A. F. Stauffer, Sterling, Ill.—A protectionist four years ago, I am a free trader now. THE STANDARD did it.

David Henderson, Wolcott, Conn.—I subscribe my name as a single tax man who will vote for Cleveland. I voted for Blaine in 1884.

J. Skelding, Akron, Ohio.—Please add my name to the roll of single tax Cleveland voters. The people here are getting waked up on free trade and single tax. Tuesday night the democrats had a pole raising, and Thursday another one with an audience of several thousand persons. They asked me to address both of these meetings, and I did so, and was never more convinced that the stand Henry George has taken was the right one. The people just drank in our doctrine as a thirsty man will drink water. But the best meeting of all was held on Saturday night, when Billy Radcliffe came down from Youngstown with his banjo. He gave us two or three songs and then a little talk on the Australian system of voting, with illustrations, and then another little talk on the single tax and then one on free trade, after which I took the platform and spoke on the relations of the tariff question to the single tax. We gave half an hour for questions and we got them as fast as we could answer them. We routed the enemy horse and foot, and the audience seemed satisfied. If such open air meetings were taken up by single tax advocates everywhere from now until election time in November we would find the woods are just full of converts.

R. Leslie, South Orange.—The sixty-four votes cast here last fall for our labor candidates for the assembly will be cast this year for Cleveland. Fifteen of these men voted for Blaine in 1884.

B. B. Martis, Troy, N. Y.—I shall have been in this state just long enough to be entitled to vote. I shall vote for Cleveland. Last time I voted for Butler. Before that I was a republican.

H. W. Benedict, Auburn, N. Y.—I inclose herewith a short list of single tax Cleveland men who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman and against Hill, in case of his renomination for governor. Tariff reform sentiments are constantly gaining ground in this section.

Sidney S. Polley, Holyoke, Mass.—I inclose the names of six men who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman and the single tax this fall. All of them voted for Blaine in 1884. Holyoke gave Blaine a small majority four years ago, but it is conceded that Cleveland will carry the city this year, though the democrats have as yet done nothing to deserve success, while on the other hand the local republican club is very active, and the home market club is flooding the state with "protection" literature. We single tax men were there and you may be sure that we will lose no opportunity of spreading the gospel of free trade and the single tax.

James Cassidy, Philadelphia, Pa.—I send you ten signatures for the enrollment list. Seven of these men were formerly republicans.

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John V. Gallup, Ashtabula, O.—Please enroll my name. I have hitherto voted the republican ticket, but have been brought into the light through reading "Progress and Poverty" and THE STANDARD. There are plenty more of us here.

Charles Willeg, Wilmington, Del.—I inclose my own name and that of another for enrollment. I have been a reader of THE STANDARD since it started. I voted for Blaine four years ago, but I believe now that the only road to the promised land is through the door of free trade.

A. A. Mulnix, Dows, Iowa.—Please add my name and the name of my brother to the list. We both admired James G. Blaine four years ago, and have both voted the republican ticket for ten or twelve years respectively. Free trade has turned us for Cleveland, as it has many others in this "banner republican state."

John Fraser, Warren, Ill.—I send my name as a single tax man and a free trader "from away back," being a signer of the petition for the repeal of the corn laws in England. My father was a chartist at a time when it tried men's souls to avow their principles.

P. C. Dandurand, Cohoes, N. Y.—I have at last, through reading THE STANDARD, decided that Henry George was right and will swallow the democratic pill. I was a republican before last fall.

James F. Sweeney, Audenried, Pa.—I have never voted before, having just attained my majority, and I am happy to think that my first ballot shall be cast for principle, not party.

F. W. Beals, Auburn, N. Y.—With this I send you thirty-six names to be added to the list of single tax men who will support Cleveland and Thurman. They are just as I picked them up and I can vouch for them. Many of them are old time republicans.

D. B. Gray, Weir City, Kan.—The union labor party is so well organized here that there is a regular stampede to it from the republican party. If it goes on at this rate all over the state Cleveland will carry Kansas.

Fred. H. Mayhew, Buffalo, N. Y.—Please add my name to the list. My first vote was cast for James G. Blaine in 1884. Before becoming converted to the single tax idea I was among the loudest howlers for protection. Inclosed find two other names which I am authorized to send you. One of these men has always been a republican.

THE CAMPAIGN "STANDARD" FUND.

NORFOLK, Va.—Inclosed find check on bank of New York for $5.80, of which $5 is for fund and the remainder as per inclosed order. I regret Virginia should be so far behind in the movement, and trust it will not be for long. Believe me with you till the end.

EDWARD K. ROBERTSON.

LA PORTE, Ind.—Inclosed please find $5, being another installment of my subscription. I do not sign an "enrollment blank" as I am without a vote this year. I voted for Blaine in '84, believing then that I was voting for "protection" to American industries. I am still for American industries, but have learned that the way to foster them is by unshackling them.

HERMAN KUEHN.

PATERSON, N. J.—Please find inclosed $1 as my contribution to the single tax campaign fund to be used as you see fit. I am sixty-six years old to-day, and cannot celebrate the event in a more befitting manner than by contributing my mite to the grand cause in which we are engaged. I have been a republican ever since the Fremont campaign. I voted for Blaine in 1884, but will vote for Cleveland next election.

JAMES HILL.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—Miss Kate Kennedy sends you $5 with the request that you send THE STANDARD, tracts, etc., to the accompanying addresses.

P. J. KENNEDY.

SANTA BARBARA, Cal.–Inclosed find check for $5 on account of STANDARD distribution fund. Will send more later. Please mail THE STANDARD during the campaign to the inclosed addresses.

J. L. BARKER.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Aug. 30–I[sic] inclose a dollar for the campaign fund. I voted for Benjamin F. Butler in 1884. I was a state socialist until I read THE STANDARD and "Progress and Poverty," with the rest of Mr. George's works, when I came to see that his was a far more practical scheme and one that could be carried out without prejudice to the socialistic idea. I do not think the socialistic scheme an impossibility, but I can now see that it will be mnch,[48] better to let it come about of itself, as it were, by a gradual growth and development and a voluntary organization of the people among themselves, spreading until it embraces the whole nation, or the entire world for that matter.

HENRY J. WOODHOUSE.

PITTSBURG, Sept. 2.–Inclosed find $1 for the campaign STANDARD fund. A year ago I believed in protecrion[sic], but in reading "Protection or Free Trade" and the sledge hammer editorials and arguments in THE STANDARD, I had the wool pulled from my eyes. At the coming election I will cast my first vote for president. It shall be cast for Cleveland and Thurman.

GEORGE DATCH.

These letters, like many of those we print elsewhere, show how efficacious THE STANDARD is as a means of bringing men to see the truth. It needs no labored argument to induce men to follow freedom; it needs only that sufficient light should be thrown upon the path. And it is difficult for any man to read a single issue of THE STANDARD–all but impossible for him to read a few consecutive issues–without seeing clearly in what direction the road to freedom lies. Our advantage in the present conjuncture is that men are interested in economic questions as never before, and that when THE STANDAND[sic], or any other single tax literature reaches them, *they will read it*, when heretofore they would have thrown it carelessly aside.

It rests with you, readers of THE STANDARD, to say how far this opportunity shall be improved. There are thousands upon thousands of men who will listen to us now, who a few months ago would have refused to hear us, and a few months hence may again be equally indifferent. If you swell our campaign fund sufficiently we can reach these men with single tax literature that may convert them. If you withhold your contributions the opportunity may be irretrievably lost.

Here is a statement of the past week's contributions, and the present standing of the fund:

E. W. [Nellis?], Paterson, N. J. ..... $1 00 James Hill, Paterson, N. J. ..... 1 00 Herman Kuhn, Laporte, Ind[sic]. ..... 5 00 Louis Prang, Boston, Mass. ..... 5 00 F. S. C., Burlington, Iowa ..... 20 J. L. Barker, Santa Barbara, Cal. ..... 5 00 P. J. Kennedy, San Francisco, Cal. ..... 5 00 C. P. Myers, Providence, R. I. ..... 1 00 A. H. Stephenson, Philadelphia ..... 10 00 Francis S. Buttell, Rochester, N. Y. ..... 60 J Woodhouse,[52] Philadelphia, Pa. ..... 1 00 Edward K. Robertson, Norfolk, Va. ..... 5 00 George Datch, Pittsburgh, Pa. ..... 1 00 S. and W. Mendelson, New York ..... 10 00 Jose Gros, Morristown, N. J. 5 00

$55 80

Sic in the original; probably "Aug. 30.—I".
Sic in the original; probably "much".
Sic in the original; probably "protection".
Sic in the original; probably "THE STANDARD".
Sic in the original; probably "Herman Kuehn".
Sic in the original; probably "J. Woodhouse".

Previously acknowledged $2,869 52

Total to date ..... $2,925 [32?]

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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1888. *5*

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MEN AND THINGS.

The story of the jute bagging trust is about as clear and pertinent an example as could well be devised of the monopoly fostering effect of the protective tariff.

Jute bagging is a fabric whose principal use is for cotton baling. It is strong, durable. very[sic] moderately inflammable, and can be produced at small cost. Nothing has yet been found to take its place. It is a *sine qua non* of cotton culture. The planters must have it if they want to market their crop.

One would suppose that congress, especially when guided by paternal and protective principles, would have done all in its power to foster and protect the great cotton raising industry, by encouraging the production of jute bagging, and so lightening the expenses of the cotton planter. Jute butts, or stalks, out of which the bagging is made, are grown in India, where the natives are eager to exchange them for drills made in American mills from American cotton. The bagging itself is very largely manufactured in Dundee, Scotland, where the people gladly exchange it for American wheat, corn, pork, beef, and other products. Thus, whether we find it most economical to produce butts from India and manufacture the bagging ourselves, or to produce the bagging ready made from Scotland, there is absolutely no difficulty to be encountered. We have cotton drills in plenty, we have lots of grain and provisions, we even have the ships in which to complete the process of production to our shores—not many of them, it is true, but enough to carry all the butts and bagging we are likely to require. Surely a wise policy would encourage merchants, ship owners and manufacturers in the useful industries of producing jute butts and jute bagging by removing all restrictions to their labors. Such a policy would not only lessen the expenses of cotton production, but increase the demand for cotton drills, or food products, or both, as well as give employment to the American merchant marine. In fact, it would send a moderate but perfectly definite and wholesome thrill of industry through the whole community, which everybody, from shoemakers to market gardeners, would feel in some degree.

But this is by no means the sort of protection and encouragement that our protectionist rulers propose to give to American industries. Encouraging the industry of cotton planting, for example, is something that doesn't enter their minds at all. What they want to encourage is the industry of taking from the cotton planter as much as possible of the money he makes by his planting. So. as the cotton planter[sic] needs plows and hoes to plant and work his crop, they force him to buy them from certain people, or forfeit forty-five per cent of their value. As he needs rope to tie his cotton bales with they clap a thirty-five per cent duty on that; or if he uses hoop iron instead of rope, they mulct him in an extra cent a pound. And finding that he needs something like fifty million yards of jute bagging every year to bale his cotton in, they force him to buy it from a few high priced domestic manufacturers by fining him a cent and a half on every pound of bagging he may buy in Dundee; and with a refinement of torture provide that if bagging goes up in price to more than seven cents a yard, the fine shall be two cents a yard. Altogether they have exploited the cotton grower pretty thoroughly; not as thoroughly as the

Sic in the original; probably "durable, very".
Sic in the original; probably "So, as the cotton planter".

wheat grower, perhaps, but quite thoroughly enough. And then, by way of striking a blow at the American mercantile marine and the cotton drill industry, they clap a duty of five dollars a ton on jute butts; and so thank God for that they have been enabled to establish the industries of jute bagging making and jute culture in the United States.

And now observe how this protection to the industry of robbing the cotton planter works. Men with capital to invest, seeing that they can get an extra cent and a half a pound for jute bagging by manufacturing it in this country instead of producing it from Scotland, invest largely in bagging mills, and make big profits—which the unfortunate cotton planter, and others through his agency, have to pay. Other capitalists, eager to share these profits, put up other mills, and still others. Competition comes into play; the price of bagging begins to fall. Down come the wages in the mills, and still the competition goes on, and the price of bagging fails and falls[sic], and wages with it. At last the smaller mills are forced out of existence, and the surviving mill owners lay their heads together, and the protective tariff gets in its full and perfect work. Protected against foreign competition by the tariff, and with home competition discouraged by the recent ruin of the smaller manufacturers, the few remaining jute bagging makers have but to combine and agree to sell only at fixed prices to have the wretched cotton planter completely at their mercy.

The whole story was told to a committee of congress the other day by Mr. And[er?]son Gratz of St. Louis. Mr. Gratz spoke with engaging, almost playful, frankness. He is a member of the firm of Warren, Jones & Gratz, manufacturers of cotton bagging and cotton ties, and knew precisely what he was talking about. He didn't tell the committee any nonsense about encouraging American industry and furnishing work to American working-men. He said, frankly, that he knew the whole protective system was a humbug and a fraud; but considered that no reason why he shouldn't take advantage of it for his own profit. In short, he was a very extraordinary witness indeed.

The number of firms engaged in the jute bagging business, Mr. Gratz testified. has[sic] been reduced from fifteen in 1887 to eight at the present time. The price of jute bagging had fallen from 11½ cents in 1880 to 7¼ cents in 1887. It now stands at 12½ cents.

Mr. Gratz further testified that the rise in the price of bagging had been brought about solely by combination and agreement between the eight firms and corporations which have united to form the trust. The present price, he said, was higher than the figure at which bagging could be

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imported, even with the duty added; but the East Indian mills were four months away, the Dundee mills were unprepared to meet a sudden abnormal demand, and the cotton planters must have the bagging *now*. And with a confidence in the security of his position which spoke volumes for the true inwardness of the protective system, Mr. Gratz explained to the committee that the trust had the cotton planters in their power, and proposed to squeeze them without mercy.

This is the sort of robber combination that Mr. Blaine first asserts is a purely private affair, not to be legally interfered with, and now declares to be totally unconnected with the protective system. Mr. Blaine will do well to read Mr. Gratz's testimony before he makes another public deliverance on the trust question.

Sic in the original; probably "falls and falls".
Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Gratz testified, has".

How well the men most interested understand the true source of the jute bagging trust's strength, may be judged from the following bill, introduced by Representative Wheeler of Alabama, with the avowed purpose of striking a deadly blow at the monopoly:

> *Be it enacted, etc.*, That from and after the passage of this act bagging for cotton, and all other manufactures suitable to the uses for which cotton bagging is applied, whether composed in whole or in part of hemp, jute, jute butts, flax, gunny bags, gunny cloth or other material, when imported, shall be exempt from duty.
>
> SEC. 2. That all articles mentioned in the first section of this act which are now in bond or in bonded warehouses may be removed free of duty.
>
> SEC. 3. That all laws or parts of laws in conflict with this act are hereby repealed.

It only needs that this bill should be amended so as to permit the free importation of the jute butts of which bagging is made to make its enactment into law the death knell of the bagging trust and the birth peal of a legitimate bagging making industry. American ingenuity and American energy have shown themselves equal to far more difficult tasks than the making of jute bagging in competition with the Scotchmen of Dundee. A fair field and no favor is all they need.

Congressman William H. Sowden of Pennsylvania, whose constituents in the Lehigh valley recently rebuked him so emphatically for his vote against the Mills bill, has been defending his conduct in an interview with the Philadelphia correspondent of the *Tribune*. According to Mr. Sowden's notion, the Mills bill was a mere side issue, in which democratic principles were in no way involved; and the meeting that condemned his conduct was composed of "thieves and drunken men." "It is a pretty state of affairs," says Mr. Sowden, "if my democracy is to be measured by my views on economic questions."

The *Tribune* is quite right to extend a welcoming hand to Mr. Sowden. A man who thinks that political parties ought to have no views upon economic questions will feel at home only in the party whose uncrowned king can see no connection between trusts and the national fiscal system.

While Mr. Blaine is explaining that the much abused trusts really are very harmless affairs after all, and at all events have no connection with protection issue[sic], General Harrison is telling the American people that though doubtless there's a good deal of money pouring into the national treasury, yet so skillfully has the burden of taxation been adjusted by protectionist wisdom that the people of the United States actually don't realize that they are being taxed at all. The taxes are taken, says General Harrison, "so indirectly and so subtly that these, our plain people, don't know that they are paying them at all"—a remark which brings to mind Othello's speech about the blessings of ignorance, and establishes General Harrison's reputation as a Shakespearian scholar, albeit woefully ignorant of political economy and the actualities of life.

The protectionist managers must put an extinguisher over Mr. Blaine, and keep General Harrison at home. What with the plumed knight's flippancy, and the candidate's grandchild like ignorance, there is no telling what harm they may do if allowed to go unmuzzled.

The English law for the regulation of food adulteration is seriously interfering with certain American industries. The law by no means forbids the sale of wholesome adulterations or imitations. The British grocer may sell oleomargarine, and the British consumer buy it, to their hearts' content. But they must sell it and buy it for what it is; if the grocer calls it butter, his stock is confiscated and he himself punished.

Now the lard manufacturers of the United States have got into the habit of making and shipping to Europe what they call "refined lard," which isn't refined lard at all, but lard mixed with cotton seed oil or stearine. This compound the English authorities have begun to seize in the grocers' shops on the ground, not that it is a deleterious mixture—which it really isn't—but that it is sold as a genuine article, when it is really an adulteration. The result will probably be that the English consumer will be able to take his choice between genuine refined lard at a higher price and imitation lard at a lower; just as he already has his choice between dairy butter and oleomargarine.

This is a sort of legislation that would be well worth imitating on this side of the Atlantic. We tax out of existence a perfectly wholesome product like oleomargarine, which could be sold at a much lower price than dairy butter of equal quality; and at the same time we allow to go unchecked adulterations of which the best that can be said is that they are not absolutely poisonous. If dealers were compelled to sell imitations *as* imitations, and people were allowed to buy them without being specially taxed for the privilege, the result would be to raise the standard of quality of both the genuine and imitation articles. Were oleomargarine sold freely for what it is, our dairymen would make better butter and our manufacturers produce better oleomargarine. And the same law, by compelling frankness on the part of dealers, would speedily crowd out of existence a whole host of adulterations,

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which now find a sale only by means of absolute falsehood.

The *Tribune* continues its recital of the horrible results of the passage by the house of the Mills bill, the direful spring of woes unnumbered. Its latest effort in this line is the story of the Rossie iron ore company.

The Rossie iron ore company has its local habitation in the village of Keeneville, in the state of New York. Its business is to operate three small iron mines in the vicinity, in which it benevolently gives employment to about 200 men. It also, we believe, owns the village of Keeneville, and charitably allows its "hands" to live there, on payment of a sufficient portion of their earnings. Up to the fateful moment when the Mills bill was passed, life in Keeneville was like a poet's dream. The happy miners rose with the lark, ate their frugal meals, and departed for the gladsome holes in the ground where the good mining company permitted them to work on condition of surrendering pretty much all they produced. They worked all day and returned at evening to their families, washed themselves, ate supper and went to bed. At intervals they received from the good iron ore company wages, calculated at $2.25 per day, less rent and the amount of their little accounts at the store. In short, they were as happy as so many cart horses, and the Rossie iron ore company rejoiced in dividends.

Then, like a thunderbolt from a clear sky, came the awful Mills bill; and like a second lightning stroke, the nomination of Grover Cleveland followed. The Rossie iron ore company felt that there was altogether too much electricity in the air, and something must be done. So they at once reduced their miners' wages from $2.25 a day to $1.75, announced that not another blast would be fired unless they received orders for ore, and proclaimed that while they had no wish to influence their miners' votes, they felt it only right to say that if Cleveland should be elected their mines must be closed. All this the *Tribune* gives as a good reason why every true patriot should cast his vote in favor of protection.

Sic in the original; probably "with the protection issue".

Well, we suppose all this is good protectionist argument, because if it wasn't the *Tribune* wouldn't use it. Still, one can't help a lingering desire to know something more about that reduction of wages. Whatever the future may have in store, there is no question that the iron ore industry has plenty of protection now. And as the only object of protection is to maintain wages, how did the miners come to submit so tamely to a reduction of twenty odd per cent?

And, incidentally, we would also like to know what the *Tribune* really thinks of working ten hours or so underground for $2.25. Is that really a satisfactory sort of life for an American citizen? Would Mr. Whltelaw[sic] Reid, for example, be willing to illustrate the blessings of protection in his own person by working in an iron mine for $2.25 a day? Or does Mr. Reid consider that there are two kinds or breeds of American citizens, one formed by nature to wear purple and fine linen and [fare?] sumptuously every day, and the other to wear overalls and jumpers and eat dinner out of a tin bucket? Strange, isn't it, that the tin bucket breed of Americans, for whose benefit and protection Mr. Reid and his fellows are for ever thinking and legislating, should get so very very little, while the purple and linen chaps, who are so eager to protect them, get so very very much?

For a generation or more the protective tariff nations of continental Europe have been endeavoring to establish the industry of sugar refining within their respective borders, of course—though they haven't risen high enough in the protectionist school to say so—to the end that they might maintain the standard of French, German, Austrian, Italian, Spanish and Russian wages, and save their working people from sinking to the level of the free trade pauper laborers of England.

The problem that these European protectionists had to solve was rather more complicated than that which confronts the good genii who have evoked the American sugar trust. They wanted not only to protect their home markets, but to get hold of the foreign markets as well. Every nation wanted to sell to all the rest, and felt sure that only in that way could prosperity be secured. Of course they could secure their home markets by the simple process of fining everybody that brought refined sugar into the country, but what about the foreign markets? That was where the great sugar bounties system came in.

This was the way of it: France had a beet root sugar industry and a cane sugar refining industry. Both had to be protected. So she laid a heavy duty on raw cane sugars by way of protecting the beet root sugar men, and clapped a heavier duty still on refined sugars for the benefit of the refiners. That covered the home market. Then to secure the foreign trade she arranged to pay a bounty on every pound of refined sugar exported, equal to the duty collected on an equivalent amount of raw cane sugar. It all looked very pretty—on paper—and Germany, Austria and all the rest followed suit.

But before long it appeared that it was considerably cheaper to make refined sugar from beet root than from raw cane sugar, and the imports of raw sugars fell off accordingly. But the bounty was continued just the same. Refiners made beet root sugar, exported it, got the bounty on it, and were able to sell it in the foreign market for less than the cost of making, the difference being made up by the bounty. Of course it came pretty heavy on the tax payers, having to pay a big sum every year for the sugar that foreigners consumed; but the protectionist orators pointed proudly to the sugar refineries dotting the country all over, and asked if any price could be too great to pay for such a wonderful development of industry. So the free traders shut up and went on paying big prices for their own sugar and paying for a part of the foreigners' sugar besides, as contentedly as might be.

But where did the refiners find their

p. 5, col. 4

Sic in the original; probably "Whitelaw".

foreign market? Germany levied a duty on French sugar which more than balanced the bounty. France returned the compliment. and Austria[sic], Italy, and all the rest of them did likewise. Everyone of them wanted to sell. but *not*[sic] a single one was willing to buy. Where then did the refiners get their foreign market?

Alas! perfidious Albion and the wicked Cobden club are always on the lookout for just such chances. Great Britain bought the sugar, let it in duty free, shut up her own refineries, and with the advantage of cheaper sugar than any other nation could command, developed the industries of jam and preserve making to an extent which drove continental Europe completely out of the field. So great was her advantage that she even forced her way over the thirty-five per cent barrier that guards the sacred American market; and American housewives, who buy Keiller's marmalade for seventeen cents a jar, and wonder how it can be made so cheaply, are far from understanding that they owe their good luck to the bounty of Frenchmen and Germans, and that by buying marmalade at a low price they are actually aiding to build up the industries of continental Europe.

However, Great Britain has seen the folly of her ways at last; and the sugar bounty system, and the cheap marmalade are going to come to an end after September 1, 1891. A good many of the continental nations have been anxious to put a stop to it for some time. Germany felt that she really couldn't stand it any longer—this protectionist prosperity was altogether too expensive. Austria felt the same way. So did Italy and Russia and other countries. The trouble was that unless all the bounty-paying countries would agree to put an end to the system, the countries that kept on paying bounties would control the English trade, which of course was a thing not to be permitted. France and one or two others held out; and the idea that France should keep on selling sugars to England for less than cost, after Germany had stopped, was repugnant to the whole theory of protectionist economics.

But Great Britain has settled the matter. The tory government—whose protectionist principles are ably represented in this country by the New York *Press*—have decided that the British industry of sugar refining must be encouraged even if every Englishman has to pay an extra penny or two a pound for his sugar. So they have signed a convention that after September 1, 1891, they will not admit to their ports any refined sugar, molasses or glucose from any country which has not solemnly agreed to abandon the bounty system. After that date, therefore, the English refiners will do a brisk business, and American housekeepers will cease buying Keiller's marmalade, which will of course be a grand thing for American working people.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

> Wages always were higher in America than in the Old World, and until this country becomes crowded with population as are the countries of Europe, they will remain higher. The opportunities for employment are greater here, and will so remain until the country is populated as the European countries.—[Wichita Daily Beacon.

> Not much is said about freedom nowadays. Some remember the song:
>
> > "Free speech, free press, free soil, free men, Fremont and liberty[sic].
>
> It would not do to-day. Free speech is being questioned by those who have reason to fear the truth. The free press struggles for an existence. Free soil is being monopolized by land sharks, and free men are responsible for it all.—[Providence Independent Citizen.

Sic in the original; probably "compliment, and Austria".
Sic in the original; probably "wanted to sell, but not".
Sic in the original; probably ""Fremont and liberty." with closing quote".

> In the last analysis the benefits of the present tariff will be found to be monopolized by a few owners of the great sources of raw materials—coal mines, iron mines, timber lands and the like—and by such manufacturers as are able to concentrate huge masses of capital, and thereby crush out competition.—[San Francisco Examiner.

> We have now been publishing the *Workman* nearly three years, and during that time we have lost some subscribers by publishing free trade articles; we have lost some by publishing single tax articles, but, we are glad to say, as compensation for the loss of every idiot who is too narrow minded, bigoted and intolerant to listen to free discussion, we have gained at least ten intelligent readers.—[Dayton, Ohio, Workman.

> To tax the result of labor is to tax labor itself. Every interference with labor lessens the demand for it. Our system of taxation is a fine on sobriety, prudence and good morals, and a premium on vice, indolence and drunkenness.—[Easton, Pa., Sunday Call.

> The secret ballot must come. The politicians will oppose it, for it means death to their chances of trickery and fraud. The *Journal* rightly declares that this reform like all others will have to be forced by the people against the opposition of the machine politicians of both parties.—[Providence, R. I., Independent Citizen.

> While there no man in the order[sic] who has ever aspired to the position of general master workman who is so well fitted, all things considered, as Mr. Powderly, yet his practical abandonment of the impregnable position he once took on the land question has unquestionably weakened his influence.—[Marinette, Wis., Eagle.

> The socialists of the Tenth assembly district, where they are most numerous, are apparently the loudest shouters for Harrison and Morton. Republican banners hang before all the saloons where they meet, and the most rabid socialists who formerly were the leaders of the so-called "progressive labor party" now bellow themselves hoarse for Harrison and Morton. Now, then, why should we not for a change have a republican-socialist-monopolistic "side-show?"—[New York Staats-Zeitung.

> The water for irrigation ought to be provided by the state; and natural gas being a free gift of nature ought also to be controlled by the community; but the American people are not prepared to assume responsibilities of this kind, and so rich and enterprising men will get possession of these natural monopolies and tax the community for their own benefit. So among the rich men of the future are to be reckoned not only the railroad magnates, but the principal owners of trusts, of irrigating works and of natural gas wells.—[Real Estate Record and Guide.

> A single tax man said to a republican citizen the other day: "We single tax men propose to abolish all taxes on the wealth producers, tariff taxes and all other taxes as well." "Then how will you support the government?" asked the republican. "By putting all tax on the value of land and as we now have to pay this land tax to the land owners anyway, then the land tax would be all wo would have to pay[sic], which would be just the same as abolishing all our present taxes which are now collected by the government, thus making a saving to the wealth producers of the United States of about $800,000,000 a year."—[Cedar Rapids, Iowa, New Era.

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Sic in the original; probably "While there is no man in the order".
Sic in the original; probably "be all we would have to pay".

Looking Backward.

From the struggle and the heat Of life's conflict where we meet Foot to foot, and hand to hand, Look I backward, many a mile, Where the skies of morning smile On fair childhood's sunny land.

In youth's blest republic there, Happy citizens we were, Owners free of earth and sky; And the more, the merrier made, Work or play, in sun or shade— Comrades generous rivalry.

Oh, the grass was soft and green, And the steps were light, I ween, That the golden daisies pressed; And no birds that sang and flew In the radiant depths of blue, Blither hearts than ours confessed.

What was wealth, and what was rank! Up and down the woodland bank, 'Twas the bravest climber won; And the "barefoot boy" was king Who the ball could farthest fling, Who the race could swiftest run.

Never factory bell rang out Clangor rude, to still the shout, Silver clear, of childhood's joy; All unnumbered sped the hours— One were we with birds and flowers, In sweet nature's glad employ.

Did the ripe nuts clustering fall, It was joy for one and all; (Innocent of manhood's greed.) Here the berries rich and red, Quick the gleeful summons sped— Calling earth to share at need.

Spent and vanquished from the fray, Look I backward here to-day O'er the miles that stretch between, And my spirit thrills anew With a heavenly hope and true— Brighter than the morning sheen.

In our midst—rebuking wild, Selfish strife—a little child; Doth the patient master pet: "If ye would the kingdom see, Such as this ye still must be— Love alone is conqueror yet."

And the silver echo run Round the earth, as round the sun— It doth ceaseless circuit keep; Hark! the music of the spheres, Soft and clear, the spirit hears Thro' the starry spaces sweep.

Somewhere, in the depths of time, Shall be born the day sublime— Making earth and heaven new; And at one with nature's heart, Man shall find the better part— Love shall prove her triumph true.

FRANCES M. MILNE.

San Luis Obispo, California.

[Written after reading T. L. McCready's "What Might Have Been" in THE STANDARD for August 11.]

PERSONAL.

Kasson's Herald of Des Moines, Iowa, is a little folio lately started which advocates free trade and a heavy tax on unused lands.

R. R. Gaskill, chairman of the state central committee of the united labor party of Kansas, has resigned, and as a single tax man has come out for Cleveland and Thurman.

Mr. F. Bentley, a dairy farmer of Potsdam, this state, who has always voted the republican ticket, comes out in the Ogdensburg *Advance* in a three-column article against protection.

H. Martin Williams is stumping Missouri for Cleveland and Thurman. It is needless to say to readers of THE STANDARD that under his ministrations the democrats of Missouri are getting a good deal of free trade and single tax with their "tariff reform."

J. L. Caldwell and W. P. Zuber are having a controversy in the Waco, Tex., *Plaindealer*, the former in favor of and the latter opposed to the single tax. It is very evident that Mr. Zuber is opposed to the great reform because he does not understand it. He should study "Progress and Poverty."

In his paper of the 8th ult., the editor of the Jasper, Texas, *Weekly News Boy*, makes it very plain in a three column article in opposition to the single tax that he thoroughly misapprehends the effects of a tax on land values. He should read "Progress and Poverty" and try again.

Rev. S. H. Spencer. the author[sic] of one of the tracts of the land and labor library, is associate editor of *The New Christianity*, one of the New church papers. Discussions of the single tax and the land question from ethical and political standpoints are frequently admitted to the columns of the paper.

The Mauch Chunk *Democrat* says: "The Hazleton *Sentinel* calls Mr. W. B. Estell of Freeland, 'an ungrateful wretch,' because he has left the G. O. P. and heartily supports Cleveland. This region is full of just such 'ungrateful wretches,' who rise above mere party by supporting the great cause of the people." Mr. Estell is a single tax Knight of Labor who is making good use of his speech and pen in spreading the light.

Rev. Albert Walkley of Manistee, Mich., in stating his reasons for supporting Cleveland and tariff reform, says in the *Democrat* of that place: "This discussion of tariff brings in its train the blessings of a hundred other reforms; and the reason this reform ought to be pushed to the forgetting of all others is because it is the nearest at hand, the one we can most readily and soonest accomplish." Mr. Walkley has written several well directed free trade articles for the *Democrat*, and he ought to continue his good work.

Professor William W. Folwell of the Minnesota state university delivered a speech at a picnic of the K. of L. building association of Minneapolis recently on the single tax doctrine. He could not agree with Mr. George that private ownership of land was wrong, but he thought that a wise public policy would divide among the people the great wealth that is now held by a few individuals, as he did not believe in the seizing by a few capitalists of the coal lands of Montana and Idaho to levy tribute on posterity, and he protested that no veneration for the institution of property should tolerate an eternal monopoly of the coal and petroleum deposits of Pennsylvania or the salt wells of New York and Michigan. But Professor Folwell omitted the very important matter of showing the difference between coal land and iron land, or timber land, or copper land, or wheat land, or city land.

A Single Tax Poet.

BRACEVILLE, Ill.–There are a number of active single tax men here, not the least among them being Robert Cumming. At a recent meeting of the St. Andrew's lodge of the independent order of good templars he read an original poem, the last verse of which reads as follows:

Strike all restrictions from our laws, Let freedom breathe in every clause, Then, wrong shall be redressed. For freedom is our equal friend, And only as her laws extend Untrammel'd, are we blest.

SINGLE TAX.

Sic in the original; probably "Spencer, the author".

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SOCIETY NOTES.

On Sunday of last week the police arrested twelve little boys for selling lozenges in the Central park. One of them, Otto Berger, aged ten years, lives at 160 Attorney street. His father is a tailor and gets $7 a week. There are five children, making seven in the family, and they therefore live on a dollar a week apiece for food, clothes, rent, medical attendance, etc. The boy was trying to earn a little to help support the family. Another of the boys, Henry Landeau, aged ten, lives at 211 East Houston street. His mother is an invalid widow with three children, and her chief support is the wages of her eldest daughter, who gets $4 a week for sewing flannels. Henry sells papers on week days, and thought he would try to sell lozenges the Sunday he was arrested.

Andrew Carnegie's income is computed to be, for

One year . . . . . $1,500,000 00 One month . . . . . 125,000 00 One week . . . . . 28,000 00 One day . . . . . 4,120 85 One hour . . . . . 343 40 One minute . . . . . 5 72 One second 95

Benjamin Herschberg, about thirty years old, jumped from the dock at the foot of Fifth street into the East river last evening and was drowned. His coat was found floating in the water. In the pockets was a German passport, issued in Berlin, and a letter to his wife, addressed to her in Berlin, which said: "I can get no work, though I have tried hard enough. I am sick and tired of life, and if I had money I would return to Germany and to you. This is no country to live in, and it is better to be at home and to live on a crust than to be here and to get a fresh loaf and meat. For at home one can always be sure of one's crust, while here, if one does get a loaf and meat once in a while, it does not come steadily."—[New York World, Aug. 30.

Mr. George Law is president of the Ninth avenue railway company and the owner of a large amount of real estate in this city and on Staten island, and has an estimated income of $200,000 a year. Mr. Law also ranks as "one of the boys." His bosom friend is ex-pugilist Joe Coburn, who accompanies him in his urban and suburban jaunts and sees that no harm comes to him. Millionaire Law is in the habit of startling the community occasionally by some Lucullian entertainment of his friends, involving the expenditure of a good slice of the $200,000 income. The last was at Saratoga. Mr. Law was seated in the bar room of the Grand Union hotel a few days ago, surrounded by his friends, Messrs. Johnny Saunders, John Halleck, Capt. Pike, and Achates Coburn, when Jacob Dreiser, a jeweler, came in and asked him if he did not want to buy some jewelry. He did. He wanted to make his friends some little presents. So Dreiser brought a lot of his costliest gems. While they were being distributed, Mr. Law's other friends, Pat Sheedy, Col. Pat Duffy, Lobbyist McCue, Billy Tracy, Jere Dunn and Dan Murphy came in and were invited to take their pick. Pike got a ring and a pin, the former an emerald surrounded with diamonds, the latter a crescent of diamonds and sapphires, worth together $900. The faithful Coburn got a $750 diamond solitaire ring. Murphy took a $500 ring. Johnny Saunders chose a ring set with rubies, sapphires and diamonds worth $450. Jere Dunn got a $1,000 diamond collar button and a $650 ring, and the other gifts were on the same princely scale. The jeweler's bill was about [$5,000?]. Mr. Law had a fortune left him by his father, which being well invested has grown rapidly of late years.

Last year there were 4,158 burials in this city's potter's field; the year before 3,927. Of these about 1,500 a year were the dead of the poor in tenement houses and the unclaimed bodies of strangers from boarding houses and cheap hotels. The morgue furnishes about 250 drowned people and the rest come from hospitals and public institutions. When there is a death in a family too poor to bury the body notice is given at the nearest police station, or if there has been an attending physician his certificate of death is sent to the superintendent of the outdoor poor department. He notifies Bellevue hospital for the dead wagon, which takes the body to the morgue while the doctor's death certificate goes to the board of health for a burial permit. The last resting place is in

trenches dug in regular rows, forty-five feet long, fourteen feet wide and ten feet deep. Each of these trenches will hold 150 coffins, which are laid three deep in six rows of twenty-five each, and every coffin is plainly marked with a lumber scribe, so that it can be identified as long as the pine boards last.

It is said that Mrs. Hopkins-Searle has bought fully $250,000 worth of paintings in Paris for her mansion at Great Barrington, Mass.

The average price paid the average Iowa "schoolmarm" by the year is said to be $212.45. Presuming that her board and washing costs her about $3 per week and her clothing and incidentals $50 a year more, she will then have a surplus of $6.45 a year to build up a bank account, which in twenty years of hard work would amount to a little more than $120.

To Single Tax Men of Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN, Sept. 3.—A meeting of all single tax free traders in the Eighteenth, Twenty-fifth and Twenty-sixth wards is called to meet on Tuesday evening, Sept. 11, at the
rssidence[sic] of A. L. Voorhees, [1248?] Herkimer street, near Rockaway avenue, for the purpose of forming an organization for practical work in the present campaign. It is necessary that we single tax men should make the best possible use of our position in the political field, to advance our cause, and we have no time to lose. If there are any that cannot be present on that evening, I will be pleased to hear from them by mail.

A. L. VOORHEES.

At the County Democracy Meeting.

New York Star.

The chairman introduced Johnny Newton's quartet, who sang "Columbia, the Gem of the Ocean," and then Johnny Newton himself mounted the platform and sang a bright campaign song brim full of good points, which took the house by storm, and Johnny had to sing again. He was accompanied by two banjoes and a guitar.

Before Newton began singing he made a brief speech, in opening which he said: "I stand here to-night as a devoted follower of Henry George." No sooner had the last word of the sentence escaped from his lips than a perfect whirlwind of hisses arose. Then some two or three began to applaud, there was a sudden pause in the hissing and then the whole audience seemed to join in the tremendous cheer that was given.

How It Works.

There is a duty of 71 per cent on foreign claret, and we drink a mixture of logwood, water and alcohol, flavored with dried grape pulp and some extracts. There is a duty on sardines and on olive oil, and we eat sprats put up in cotton seed or any other oil in boxes labelled "Sardines en huile d'Olives." There is a 50 per cent duty on French kid gloves, and we wear articles that dye our hands black, purple or yellow, whenever we perspire. There is a 50 per

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Sic in the original; probably "residence".

cent duty on silk goods, and we carry American flags and American handkerchiefs and wear American neckties, the silk of which grew on a Louisiana cotton plant. There is a duty on carpet wools and a duty on carpets, and according to recent statements, based on the manufacturers' own figures, American carpets are composed of four and one half parts adulterants to one part clean wool. There is a duty of 400 per cent on "spirits distilled from grain," and heavy internal taxes on the home product, and the result is the horrible vitriolic mixtures sold in our grog shops.

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A STORY ABOUT BEARS.

By Donn Piatt.

Consult any number of boys as to their favorite animal, and nine out of ten will cast their free suffrage in favor of bruin. There is something about the bear that fascinates a boy. The little four-year-old, climbing upon your knee, will call for a story about bears, and after hearing the thrilling recital he will get down behind a chair and act the part, to the mute amazement of his little sister.

This interest in the clumsy creature seems to be as instinctive as our horror of snakes. My earliest adventure, that had consequences of sufficient importance to procure me a paternal thrashing, and leave a life-long remembrance, came of an attempt to play bear. Surreptitiously possessing myself of a hair rug that ordinarily graced the hall, I pulled it over my back and head and hid behind the gate, where a beautiful hawthorn hedge afforded superb concealment, and solemnly determined to "scare some one into fits." That "some one" happened to be old Uncle Shack's horse Gunpowder, so called from the difficulty experienced in getting him to go off.

Now this Uncle Shack was an American citizen of African descent, a sort of commissary attached to our family headquarters. He had become superannuated at the age of forty, and devoted the remainder of his colored existence to a light pursuit of vegetables. At the time I proposed to make his aged horse acquainted with bears, Uncle Shack was about sixty, gray-haired, blear-eyed, and with well-settled convictions, the most prominent of which appeared to be that boys, as a general thing, ought to be killed. On this occasion, having gathered an assortment of vegetables, he stood up in his crazy vehicle, such only as a negro can devise, and drove slowly to his doom. His horse had a tradition attached to him that at one time in his past life he had been a spirited animal. Wild stories were afloat of deeds on the road that were positively incredible to the observer. He was, at the time referred to, a living hat rack, with nothing left of his former activity but an eccentric movement in his right hind leg, that came of the string halt, and, while the animal seemed to be moving with the solemnity of a funeral, this leg continued the famous old trot of the road.

When directly opposite my ambush I moved out, with head covered, on my hands and knees, growling in approved bear fashion. Gunpowder at first seemed lost in amazement. He stopped abruptly, stared, and then, as I approached making hideous noises, he gave a fierce snert[sic], and actually broke into a gallop. Uncle Shack attempted to arrest this by wild orders of "Whoa! whoa!" and drafts upon the reins. These last were old and decayed; in the midst of the effort they snapped, and the aged African came down in a sitting position upon his vegetables.

The fates then took command. From the gate to a bridge below the mill the road was descending. Along this I saw and heard the doomed vehicle roll and rattle. The race was not swift, but it was portentous in its noise and grave in its consequences. The wild horse of the vegetable garden, unguided, missed the wooden structure, and I saw

Sic in the original; probably "snort".

wagon, rider, horse and all disappear down a dreadful abyss of six feet. Then followed a silence fearful in its contrast to the late uproar. The wagon, horse and man, so full of vigorous life and sense, seemed to drop through a hole and vanish from the earth.

With that diplomatic ability that has since distinguished me, I ran into the house, replaced the rug, and was among the first to give the alarm. Indeed, no proof could be adduced that I had been guilty of this outrage on bears and Africans, but I was subsequently thrashed on presumption.

The vehicular convenience for vegetables was fished out. The horse died soon after from over exertion, and Uncle Shack survived the shock only twenty years. He dated from that event his decline and death, and, retiring from business, existed on the charity of the family and a detailed account of the dreadful affair.

Looked at from an intellectual point of view, Bruin can scarcely be considered a success. He lacks the keen instinct of the dog and the ponderous sagacity of the elephant. He has no sense of fun in his composition. He is as serious as an ass, and far more stupid. Numerous stories were told us in early youth touching this lack of common sense, such, for example. as that[sic] of the man in the wilds of the west who was superintending a saw mill. While sitting upon the log that was being sawed, and eating his frugal repast, a huge black bear suddenly bounced in and invited himself to dinner. The proprietor politely withdrew, clambering into the rafters above, while Bruin took his place upon the log and continued the meal. In a few seconds the approaching saw touched the rump of the bear, and he edged forward. It again rasped him, and he resented the indignity with a growl. The third time he turned furiously and hugged the saw. Then a contest ensued that was very lively but exceedingly brief. At the end the modest sawyer descended to find a remnant of his dinner and considerable bear meat.

Again, we were assured that the common way of killing bears in Hardin forests was to suspend a log by a grapevine to a bee tree. Bruin, who is passionately fond of honey, in ascending the tree would knock the log aside with his paw. The log returning would hit and infuriate the bear, and, a contest arising between the two, would bring the poor beast to grief–for the harder he would strike the more severe would be the rebound. Not a bad fable is that to illustrate the evil which comes to the individual who creates strife in his own heart through hate, envy, malice and all uncharitableness.

This fondness for sweets is only equaled by Bruin's taste for infant pig. He cannot resist the squeal of the young porker, and will run his stupid head into all sorts of traps baited with the living animal.

There is a certain lumpish activity about a bear that is extremely diverting. One must not count too positively, however, on his lack of dexterity. The late witty and

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eccentric Judge Tappan once had a realizing sense of this. He, with two or three companions, was boating on Lake Erie, near Sandusky, at an early day, when they observed a bear swimming from the mainland toward an island. The party, armed only with an ax, rowed in pursuit. As they approached their proposed prey, the judge stood with ax in hand, intending to hit Bruin on the skull. But the animal, eyeing his enemy warily, was prepared, and as the ax descended he turned suddenly in the water, and with one swift stroke of his paw sent it flying from the grasp of his foe far into the lake. Then Bruin passed from the defensive to a vigorous attack, and began climbing into the boat. To take such a passenger aboard was exceedingly unpleasant, and, armed with oars, the party used due diligence. It proved impossible to keep him out, but by quick concerted action they succeeded in passing him over into the water again. The bear returned to the charge, and was again tumbled out. In the third assault the boat was so filled with water that it capsized, and the adventurous pioneers found themselves swimming for life. Bruin was

Sic in the original; probably "such, for example, as that".

master of the situation, but stupidly declined the advantage. As the party, clinging to the oars, swam away, they saw the bear seated upon the upturned boat regarding their exertions with philosophical indifference.

The common brown bear of North America is an insignificant creature; and it remained for the grizzly bear of the Rocky mountains to give dignity to the species. What an immense, fearful animal it is! We owe much to the grizzly bear. He aided, in lieu of war, to lift our money-getting people to a higher level of manhood. Nothing but the discovery of gold in California could drag us from our counting rooms, work shops and fields. The hazardous crossing of vast deserts and trackless mountains, the fights with Indians, and, above all, the adventures with the grizzly bear, developed the manhood found, strange to say, in the combative instincts of our nature. I never meet with a Californian now but I am impressed with the presence of a stronger and larger man than the ordinary American.

An encounter with a grizzly bear is fraught with peril. The creature's strength, courage and strange vitality make the deadly contest nearly even between the armed man and the unarmed beast. Heaven help the hunter whose unsteady aim leaves the bear uncrippled. Before he can reload, the enemy will be upon his works. When the contest is narrowed to that pass, Daniel Boone's celebrated prayer, when the famous pioneer found himself face to face with the common brown bear, would be a waste of breath. The petition is well worth putting on record as a specimen of western humor, if not an incident in the life of Boone. "O Lord," piously cried the fighter, in the brief pause given him previous to the deadly combat between a scalping knife and the claws, "here's a-goin' to be one of the biggest b[sic]'ar fights you ever did see. O Lord, ef you can't help me, for God's sake don't help the ba'r."

A friend of mine, a bold hunter from England, told me once of a scrape he found himself in while hunting the grizzly bear of the Rocky mountains. He came upon his prey quite unexpectedly, and man and beast stared at each other in some astonishment, not fifty yards apart. The bear exhibited no disposition of a modest or retiring sort, and my friend made haste to tender him a warm reception. He fired with more quickness than accuracy. The bullet from the heavy rifle tore away a portion of Bruin's ear, and, grazing the skull, stunned the brute for an instant. The hunter hastened to reload, but before he could do so the bear had regained his legs, and although somewhat groggy, came at his enemy. My friend had time only to drop his rifle and spring into a tree, up which he clambered with an activity worthy of earlier youth. Grizzly, one of the largest, made short work of the rifle. Then he sat on his haunches and gazed stupidly at the man in the tree. As the pain of his mutilated ear increased, he grew furious, and, seizing the pine in which his enemy had taken refuge, he fairly shook in his rage. My friend had a revolver in his belt, and, bringing this to bear, he favored Bruin with six shots. He might as well have popped his lead into an iron clad. At every discharge the bear expressed intense disgust and renewed his assault upon the tree.

A seat upon the branches of a tree is not comfortable at any time; but with a bear below on the watch, it may be considered exceedingly unpleasant. Hours wore slowly away, with the bear moving about, at times in full view, and again hidden by the underbrush. At last, about sunset, he took himself off, and our hunter was about to descend, when he again heard reports from his enemy. These were fierce growls of rage that issued from a gorge near by. My friend at first supposed the bear had encountered other hunters, but, as he heard no sound of guns nor other evidences of mortal combat, he resumed his seat and listened. The mysterious uproar continued, and what was strange appeared in the fact that it came from the same spot. Unarmed, and faint from hunger and fatigue, my friend remained all night clinging to his perch; and at intervals he heard the bear growling and tearing furiously. The comical idea seized on the hunter, that Bruin had stupidly mistaken some other pine for the one that sheltered his enemy.

The night wore slowly away. The stars, glittering as stars can glitter only in those mountain regions, passed in their solemn march, while the deep forests of evergreens were full of strange noises to which the bear added through

Sic in the original; probably "(b)".

his eccentric conduct. My friend slept from time to time, and invariably dreamed of falling, to waken with a start, and find himself clinging to the branches of the pine. When a man sleeps in a tree, the muscles necessary to his safety do not relax as in an ordinary sleep; but when through fatigue they are about to lose their tension, the sleeper is awakened by a dream. This is one of the singular little phenomena we overlook while in search of larger ones, Who has not seen[sic] a mother in a railroad car or stage coach, holding her infant when tired

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nature had forced sleep upon her? Her head will drop in sleep upon her breast, but the arms will not sleep; and when, exhausted, the muscles are about to relax and let the child fall, the loving mother will awaken with a start and gather her babe nearer to her heart. Of the same sort is the fact so familiar to us all, that when one is about to start upon a journey early in the morning, and fixes in his mind before going to sleep the hour necessary to awaken, at that hour the sleeper will start into consciousness as if shaken by some friend. And I have often asked what part of us it is that remains awake to guard the infant or arouse the sleeper. The evidences of a spiritual life lie all about us, but, like our Saviour in the manger, seem so humble and insignificant that we magnificent creatures take no notice of them.

But to return to my friend. Day dawned at last, and he crawled down, sore, faint and hungry. He was about to gather up the fragments of his rifle and hurry back to camp, when a fresh burst of rage from the wounded bear, and issuing from the same location as during the night, so excited his curiosity that he determined to investigate, and therefore crept cautiously toward the gorge from whence the noise proceeded. The explanation made him laugh. Old grizzly had fallen into a log trap, such as hunters set when seeking to capture a living specimen. There was the last night's foe well secured, and my friend was mean enough to laugh in his face, while regarding curiously the wound his hastily discharged rifle had made. The left ear was torn away.

Nearly a year after this event, my friend, the assistant hero of the adventure, was passing along East Broadway, in New York, when his attention was attracted by a sickly hand organ that made an orchestra to the show of a grizzly bear, with the usual accompaniment of a fat women[sic], the anacondas, a calf with two heads and an assortment of tails, and a monkey. Wishing to renew his acquaintance with an animal that had so nearly closed his career, my friend paid the necessary dime and entered through a foul odor of decaying sawdust and fried sausages. To his amazement, in a huge iron cage, scarcely large enough to allow him standing room, was the grizzly bear he had marked in the mountains. He had been carried to San Francisco and won great renown in several fights with bulls and dogs. He was now being exhibited on the Atlantic slope to admiring thousands. My friend tried to catch the eye of his old adversary, but in vain. The creature's ill temper seemed to survive his many fights and long confinement; for an awkward fellow, evidently from the interior, turned rather near the cage to gaze at the corpulent woman, then being festooned with anacondas, when old grizzly with a growl threw out his huge paw with such force, rapidity and precision that not only the back of the countryman's coat, but the seat of his stout pantaloons disappeared. My friend left the place in the midst of a fierce altercation between the country fellow and the showman, as to who should pay for "them clothes."

The strange acquaintance did not end with this. Years after, in a visit with some friends to the Zoological gardens of Paris, the Englishman was delighted to recognize again his former foe. Old age added to a better knowledge of the world, had not only subdued his ugly disposition, but life in Paris affected him as it does all native Americans, and rendered the beast positively luxurious. He received a bone kindly from his once deadly opponent, and, as the weather was extremely warm, he rolled into his stone trough to lie on his back, permitting the cool water to trickle over his hairy head, while he lazily gnawed at the bone. This falling from his indolent grasp, he closed his eyes and dropped off into a sleep, to dream such stuff as bears' dreams are made of.

Sic in the original; probably "larger ones. Who has not seen".
Sic in the original; probably "a fat woman".

I was once told how a bear was used to illustrate a fact in science. It was at an early day in the history of galvanism. A negro had been condemned to suffer death on the gallows for murder in Cincinnati, and some learned men announced that, for and in consideration of twenty-five cents admission, to be collected at the door, for the benefit of a hospital, experiments with the galvanic battery would be made upon the body of the miserable man. A circus tent had been procured for the purpose and the medical savans counted largely on the profits to accrue.

The fatal day came and with it thousands of people, men, women and children, to witness the perpetuation of this remnant[sic] of stupid barbarism called hanging. From midnight until morn, from all the hills and valleys of Kentucky, Ohio and Indiana came pouring in the motley crowd of ignorant, curious humanity. The taverns, stores, streets and alleys were crowded with people; and when the sentence hour approached, the procession that accompanied the cart made a sensitive mind sick of the human race.

The better cultivated and more refined gathered in the huge tent to witness the scientific experiments, that promised to restore the wretched convict to life, or, failing in that, to make his dead body struggle and kick in the most exciting manner. The preparations were significant and startling. Near the center of the sawdust ring was a table, and by it the wonderful instrument that was believed to hold the mysterious essence of life. About them were gathered in groups the medicated philosophers conversing in low measured tones, or walking to and fro, calmly indifferent to the gathered crowd, as great men are wont to do on such occasions.

Hours wore away. The noon came and passed. The excitement grew intense. At last a rumor spread and reached the tent that the sentenced man had been reprieved upon the scaffold. This was confirmed by the returning crowd, that pushed in without paying and packed every available space. Hisses and cries of discontent broke out, and were taken up by the motley crew of the non-paying audience, in a high state of wrath at being disappointed in the hanging. In the midst of the tumult Professor D—— mounted the table, and, commanding silence, said: “Ladies and gentlemen, we regret deeply that a mistaken clemency on the part of the governor has robbed the gallows of its own and

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science of a subject. It is impossible to return you your money, for so many have rushed in without paying, and they would be precisely the sort to demand the admission fee. We have determined, however, so that you may not be disappointed in your laudable curiosity to witness an execution and those wonderful exhibitions of modern science, to purchase of Mr. Brown a bear that he has fattened to kill, hang the animal here and then proceed with our experiments. Will this satisfy you?”

An uproarious and unanimous shout in the affirmative was the response. The bear was sent for. But Bruin had not been consulted, and declined the engagement. The audience waited impatiently for hours. At last a great noise of men, boys and dogs on the outside gave welcome note of the coming event. The fat janitor of the medical college, a bald headed enthusiast in the cause of physic, appeared inside the entrance, tugging at a rope that seemed to be held by some reluctant party outside. So reluctant was this party that twice the fat janitor disappeared, pulled back by superior force. The janitor, cheered by the crowd and at length assisted by stout men, pulled the animal into the arena.

To hang a bear without the animal’s consent (and I never heard of one committing suicide) is at any time difficult; but to hang a fat bear is almost impossible. The muscular neck is quite as large as the head, and on this occasion Bruin was pulled up twice, and twice, assisted by his paws, he twisted his neck out of the noose and came down with a sickening thud amid loud cheers from the crowd that was rapidly passing into sympathy with the four footed animal. The third attempt proved the charm. Bruin kicked and struggled at the end of a line as naturally as

Sic in the original; probably “the perpetration of this remnant”.

a man would have done, and at the close of twenty minutes he was pronounced a dead bear by the learned faculty in attendance.

The body was lowered with some haste and placed upon the table.

Professor D., getting on a chair, said: “Ladies and gentlemen, we have at last hanged the bear. To satisfy you, however, that he is dead, we will now proceed to amputate his tail.”

Loud applause followed this announcement. It prolonged the show. Brown, the butcher, performed the surgical operation by one blow of his cleaver. The bear never moved, but the flow of blood that followed demonstrated that hanging a bear causes a congestion in the tail. The battery was applied and at the first shock the struggles were renewed. At the second discharge the efforts were more decided, and growls were added. At the third shock Bruin sat upon his haunches and gazed stupidly at the audience. The audience reciprocated the attention by still louder cheers. While this was going on, the subject of these wonderful experiments happened to get sight of the fat janitor, and, while the fourth shock was being administered, he suddenly, with a terrific growl, jumped from the table and ran after his corpulent foe. The ring that up to this moment had been somewhat crowded, was abruptly cleared. A fair field was given the affrighted official, who fairly astonished himself at the rate with which he carried his adipose over the gronnd[sic]. The entertainment was impromptu, but well regulated, and, to everybody but the janitor, extremely diverting. The two were near enough matched to allow even bets, that were freely offered and as freely taken. The janitor was impelled by fear; the bear by electricity. The janitor was short of wind; the bear short of blood, and it was difficult to say which would prove the victor.

In all such exhibitions, however, certain women are sure to be present who mar the enjoyment by screaming at the wrong moment, and then, fainting, force people to carry them into the open air. This is to be reprehended, and the women should be rebuked. On this occasion, when the popular enjoyment was at the highest and the hated janitor —by the way, a body snatcher—was making his third round, with the bear gaining on him, three or four inconsiderate women began screaming. The people of that day were familiar with bears and had no fear of the animal. But there was something mysteriously alarming about a bear that had been dead and was alive again. And so when the screams were heard a great panic fell upon the crowd. The effort made to escape was fearful. Over the seats, under the seats, out through the thin canvas in every direction, the multitude fled like rats from a falling house, and in the midst of the tumult the canvas came down. Out from under it the audience hurried, climbing on fences and roofs, or disappearing down streets and alleys. Among these was the persecuted janitor. At last the medicated bear, full of galvanism, appeared and set off over the common, followed by all the dogs of the country.

For many years after this strange event in Cincinnati and its vicinity, hanging was regarded with great contempt. The simple folk believed that all the condemned had to do was to sell himself to the doctors. “Then those learned chaps would knock a little lightening into the body, and set it on end as good as ever.”

To Help Single Tax Strangers.

The following list contains the names and addresses of men active in the single tax cause in their respective localities, with whom believers wishing to join in the movement may communicate:

Denver, Col.—Charles G. Buck, chairman State executive committee National tax reform association, new Fritch block.

Washington. D C[sic]—Dr. William Geddes, 221 E street, N. W., Sec. anti-poverty society.

Sic in the original; probably “ground”.

Braceville, Ill.–William Matthews, secretary Tariff reform club.

Chicago, Ill.–Frank Pearson, secretary Land and labor club No. 1, 45 La Salle street.

Peoria, Ill.–J. W. Avery.

Woodstock Ill[sic]–A. W. Currins.

Arkansas City, Kas.–James B. Hassett.

Hutchinson, Kas.–J. G. Malcolm, M. D.

Newport, Ky.–Joseph L. Schraer, secretary Single tax league, 247 Southgate street.

Boston, Mass.–Edwin M. White, 45 Elliott street.

Minneapolis, Minn.–C. J. Buell, Pres. anti-poverty society.

St Louis. Mo[sic].–Benj. E. Bloom, Single tax league, [3925?] Lucky street.

Albany, N. Y.–Robert Baker, 178 Madison avenue; also J. C. Roshert[sic], 22 Third avenue.

Trenton, N. J.–H. R. Mathews, 9 Howell street.

Brooklyn, N. Y.–J. Hickling, 41 Sidney place, Pres. Single tax club.

Cleveland, O.–Frank L. Carter, 182 Chestnut street.

Youngstown, O.–Billy Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.

Philadelphia, Pa.–Wm J. Atkinson, [926?] Chestnut street; or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, Sec. Henry George club.

Memphis, Tenn.–R. G. Brown, Sec. Tariff reform club.

Nashville, Tenn.–P. H. Carroll, 235 N. High street, Sec. American land league.

Houston, Tex.–H. F. Ring.

Weatherford, Tex[sic],–William M. Buell.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

The Land Belongs to the People.

> ELMIRA, N. Y.–In an article in the Elmira *Husbandman* J. E. Shepard refers to the George system of taxation, and says of it: “Until it can be demonstrated that all moneys can be collected from land values without

Sic in the original; probably “Washington, D. C.—”.
Sic in the original; probably “Woodstock, Ill.—”.
Sic in the original; probably “St. Louis, Mo.—”.
Sic in the original; probably “J. C. Roshirt (as on page 3; editor to decide)”.
Sic in the original; probably “Weatherford, Tex.—”.

> confiscating the property of land owners, which is as legitimate and worthy of protection as any other, this system will find little favor with fair minded men." Can't you give us a short answer to this kind of argument?
>
> J. S.

The "fair minded men" to whom Mr. Shepard refers are the kind of "fair minded men" who apologized for or defended slavery—the unthinking or the consciously selfish and unjust.

It is impossible to invent a tax which does not confiscate somebody's property, using the term "confiscate" as Mr. Shepard uses it. The question is, whose property, or, rather, what kind of property shall be confiscated?" Now, the only property capable of general classification that ought to be "confiscated," and that can be "confiscated," not only without injustice to any one, but with a greater measure of justice to all, is the privilege which government secures to its citizens of occupying exclusively the choicer portions of what is by nature common property. To one it says, You may have a spot twice as desirable as the spot of another of your fellow citizens and you shall not be disturbed; to another, You shall have a spot ten times as desirable; and so on. The value of these privileges are not dependent on the labor of the owner and are annual in their return of benefits, and without annual confiscation they are unjust to the public at large. This is an all-sufficient reason for the single tax.

Numerous purely economic considerations can be advanced, but it is enough that land values constitute a fund which of right belongs to the whole people, and of which even the whole people cannot so divest themselves as to disinherit the unborn; and whoever is secured in the enjoyment of this fund is in justice the only person who ought to be taxed, and he *ought* to be taxed until none of the fund is left to him save his equal share.

That the land belongs in usufruct to the living is a proposition which does not admit of successful controversy, and believers in the single tax need to be armed with no stronger weapon to dispute with adversaries like Mr. Shepard.

Socialist Text Books.

> NEW YORK.—Will you kindly inform me through your columns what book is recognized as the standard authority on socialism.
>
> L. L. L.

None. The leading works are Karl Marx's "Capital," Hyndman's "England for All," and Gronlund's "Co-operative Commonwealth."

LOUIS F. POST.

From a New Church Minister.

LEXINGTON, KY., Aug. 30, 1888.

MR. HENRY GEORGE—Dear Sir: Rising from the perusal of your book "Progress and Poverty" I feel constrained to give you my hand and assure you of my hearty sympathy in this, the grandest reform of the nineteenth century. I bless God for the brave words you have uttered. They have sent a thrill of hope and light through my soul. May your arm be made strong by Him "who breaketh the shakles[sic] asunder."

Sic in the original; probably "shackles".

Prohibition of the liquor traffic will be accomplished before the close of the present century, and then this glorious reform which you so ably advocate, when accomplished (as it surely will be) will prepare the way for the coming of Him “whose right it is to reign.”

JAS. ERWIN,

35 Barr street.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[Advertisement] Canned Goods



p6_fig1

[Illustration: circular trade-mark stamp lettered “HAND MADE” around the upper half and “C. M. M. P. A.” around the lower half]

Trade-Mark.—Registered.

Canned Goods

WITH THIS STAMP IN THE BOTTOM OF CANS ARE

Free from Poison,

AND ARE MADE BY

ORGANIZED LABOR.

[Advertisement] GOOD NEWS TO LADIES.



p6_fig2

[Illustration: T-shaped trade-mark of the Great American Tea Company, lettered “THE GREAT AMERICAN” across the top and “TEA” down the stem, with “COMPANY” (lettering largely illegible) at the foot]

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] FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Much effective work in the campaign can be done by the publication of a local paper. Even men who are opposed to our ideas will read a little paper which is published at home. We have made arrangements by which we can furnish [500?] 2-column papers, containing much free trade, single tax matter, for $2.50 per issue. These will be headed and dated at any village or city. At a little extra expense items of local interest, making points against local protectionists, will be inserted. The publisher will have complete control over his own paper; he can insert in it any reading matter or advertisements he pleases, collecting his own pay for subscriptions, sales and advertising. All we have to do with the plan is to furnish the work from a central office and divide the expense among the publishers. These papers can be entered at local post offices as second class matter, and can then be mailed at a cost of four cents per 100 copies for postage. This is a very important item for clubs and groups to consider.

We ask immediate orders, or requests, for sample copies, etc. We can furnish any number of papers at once. We are single tax free traders, and our object is to help the cause. Address

TAX REFORM COMPANY,

52 Concord street, Brooklyn, N. Y.

[Advertisement] HOLLAND’S

HOLLAND’S COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS,

[143?] Fourth avenue,

Bet. 13th and 14th sts.,

[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. 32d street, New York.

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"DEMOCRATS," ATTENTION!

It is proposed to organize an "INTERNATIONAL DEMOCRATIC FEDERATION," through which true "Democrats" the world over, without regard to national lines, may effectively co-operate to promote the reform of government (town, county, state, national and international) in accordance with the following principles:

I. That the one legitimate end of government is to guarantee to every one his just freedom: i. e., the largest liberty compatible with justice.

1. That in order adequately to "guarantee to every one his just freedom," government must, as fully as practicable—

1. Guarantee to every one, by adequate legal sanctions, the following civil rights:

1. The right to share equally with all others in the benefit of all naturally existing materials, liberties and opportunities (by personal use, occupation or control, where such use, occupation or control can be specifically had or enjoyed by all in common; and in all other cases by receiving, or otherwise profiting by, the current rent of all such "materials, liberties or opportunities," the specific use, occupation or control of which cannot properly be had or enjoyed by all in common).

(b). The right to immunity from all aggressions on either person or property—whether direct, by violence, or indirect, by fraud, neglect, extortion, or breach of contract.

1. Guarantee to every sane and non-criminal adult in the community—a really equal participation in the governmental function; directly, where their personal action is practicable and expedient; and indirectly, through really "responsible" and "representative" agencies, wherever the personal action of the citizens themselves is either impracticable or inexpedient.

1. That the reforms involved in, and which would constitute the democratization of society, may be most efficiently, properly, and conveniently advocated, tested and introduced, by the organization of the International *Democracy, itself upon democratic principles,* and therefore under a constitution substantially similar to the political one recommended for society.

As, in some countries for all, and in all countries for some, it might be dangerous to avow membership of this body, the names of all desiring it will be kept secret.

A "Constitutional Convention," representing the entire Federation, is called to meet in Washington, D. C., on the first Monday of May, 1889. It is to consist of the 500 (or fewer) candidates who shall have been named as proxies by more (actual or intending) members of the Federation than any other candidates not included in the number; no member to have more than one acting proxy (though each may name alternates), and each proxy to have in the convention not a single vote only, but precisely as many votes as he has principals to represent.

Every true democrat desiring to be represented is invited to send his or her designation of a proxy (and alternates), and every candidate for appointment as proxy, his name, address and personal policy (for publication, or private communication to inquirers, as he may choose). The results of the voting will be announced from time to time, the polls closing on the 1st of February, 1889.

Address, without delay,

I. D. F., Box 15, Station D, New York City.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[Advertisement] JERSEY CITY, SEPT. 3, 1888.

JERSEY CITY, SEPT. 3, 1888.—JERSEY City and Hudson county single tax men are requested to attend a meeting for the purpose of forming a county league, to be held at the Avenue house, Five corners, Monday evening, Sept. 10, 1888.

[Advertisement] CHARLES B. SCHAIDNER,

CHARLES B. SCHAIDNER,

PHOTOGRAPHER.

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

Children's Photographs by instantaneous process a specialty

[Advertisement] JAMES BOGAN, PRINCIPAL AGENT

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

[Advertisement] A. J. STEERS,

A. J. STEERS,

GENERAL BROKER,

39 NASSAU STREET, NEW YORK.

LOANS ARRANGED ON

Real Estate. On Endowment, Tontine and Life Insurance Policies in Regular Companies; On Undivided Interests in Estates, and on Staple Lines of Merchandise on Storage.

PROMPT ATTENTION. LOWEST RATES.

[Advertisement] Pennsylvania Agricultural Works, York, Pa.

Pennsylvania Agricultural Works, York, Pa.

Farquhar's Standard Engines and Saw Mills.



p6_fig3

[Illustration: a portable steam engine on wheels driving a saw mill by a long belt]

Send for Catalogue. Portable, Stationary, Traction and Automatic Engines a specialty. Warranted equal or superior to any made.

Address A. B. FARQUHAR & SON, York, Pa.

[Advertisement] R. CROWE, TAILOR

R. CROWE, TAILOR, 11 ANN STREET (Third Floor), New York. General Repairing, Altering, Cleaning and Scouring Done. Communication by Postal Card promptly attended to.

[Advertisement] THE NUTSHELL PRINTING OUTFIT



p6_fig4

[Illustration: the boxed printing outfit, open, with type, pad and tweezers (left); display lettering in reversed panels (right)]

ONLY “THE NUTSHELL” PRINTING OUTFIT 50 CTS

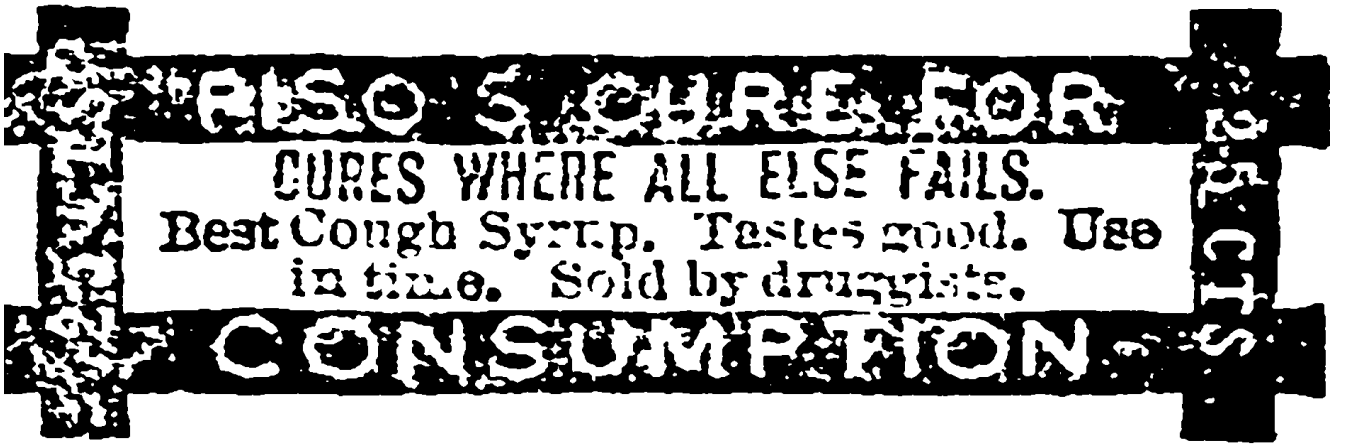
A complete Printing Office.—Linen Marker.—Card Printer. Amusing and Instructive. 4 Alphabets of Type, Indelible Ink, Pads &c. Postpaid 50cts.

AGENTS WANTED for new specialties. CIRCULARS FREE

ALSO BUSINESS OUTFIT $1.00 COMMERCIAL OUTFIT $1.50

Ingersoll & Bro., [45?] Fulton St., N. Y.

[Advertisement] PISO’S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION



p6_fig5

[Illustration: display panel with rustic border; vertical lettering “25 CENTS” (left, partly illegible) and “25 CTS.” (right)]

PISO’S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION

CURES WHERE ALL ELSE FAILS.

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

[Advertisement] The Keystone Watch Club Co.

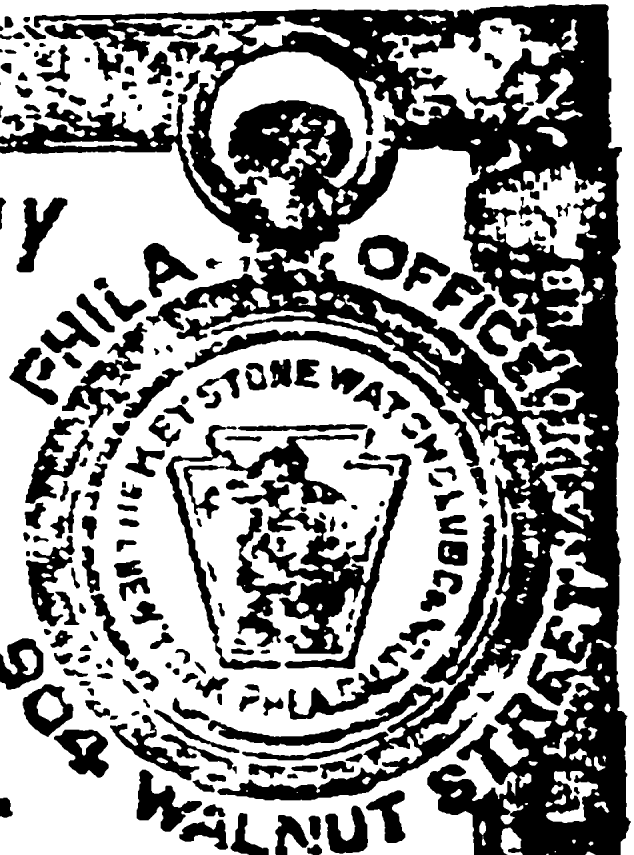
THE BEST WAY

To get a First-Class Watch is in our Co-Operative Clubs.

Fine Watches

at the Lowest Cash Prices, ONLY

$1.00 A WEEK.



Thousands of the best $30.00 Gold Watch ever made are selling in our Co-Operative Clubs. This is the Best, Cheapest, Most Convenient, and only co-operative System of selling watches. The watches are American Lever Stem Winders, containing every essential to accuracy and durability, and have in addition, numerous other improvements found in no other watch. They are absolutely the only Dust and Damp-proof Movements made in the World, and are jeweled with genuine Rubies. The Patent Stem Wind and Set is the strongest and simplest made. They are fully equal for appearance, accuracy durability and service to any $75 Watch. Our co-operative Club

p6_fig6

[Illustration: ornamental framed advertisement; at top right a pocket watch whose face is a seal lettered “THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB” around a keystone, encircled by “PHILA. OFFICE 904 WALNUT STREET”; vertical lettering in the side borders, apparently naming branch offices (including “BALTIMORE”), otherwise [illegible]; ribbon at foot lettered “For Sale by”]

THE BEST WAY To get a First-Class Watch is in our Co-Operative Clubs.

Fine Watches at the Lowest Cash Prices, ONLY $1.00 A WEEK.

Thousands of the best $38.00 Gold Watch ever made are selling in our Co-Operative Clubs. This is the Best, Cheapest, Most Convenient, and only co-operative System of selling watches. The watches are American Lever Stem Winders, containing every essential to accuracy and durability, and have in addition, numerous other improvements found in no other watch. They are absolutely the only Dust and Damp-proof Movements made in the World, and are jeweled with genuine Rubies. The Patent Stem Wind and Set is the strongest and simplest made. They are fully equal for appearance, accuracy durability[sic] and service to any $75 Watch. Our co-operative Club System brings them within the reach of every one.

The Keystone Watch Club Co

904 Walnut St. PHILADELPHIA, PA.

$10 OUR 14-Karat Gold Filled CHAIN is guaranteed to wear 20 Years, and is [33⅓%?] 14-Karat Solid Gold

*Look for the stamps –K. W. C. Co. 14 K. FLD.– and buy the BEST.

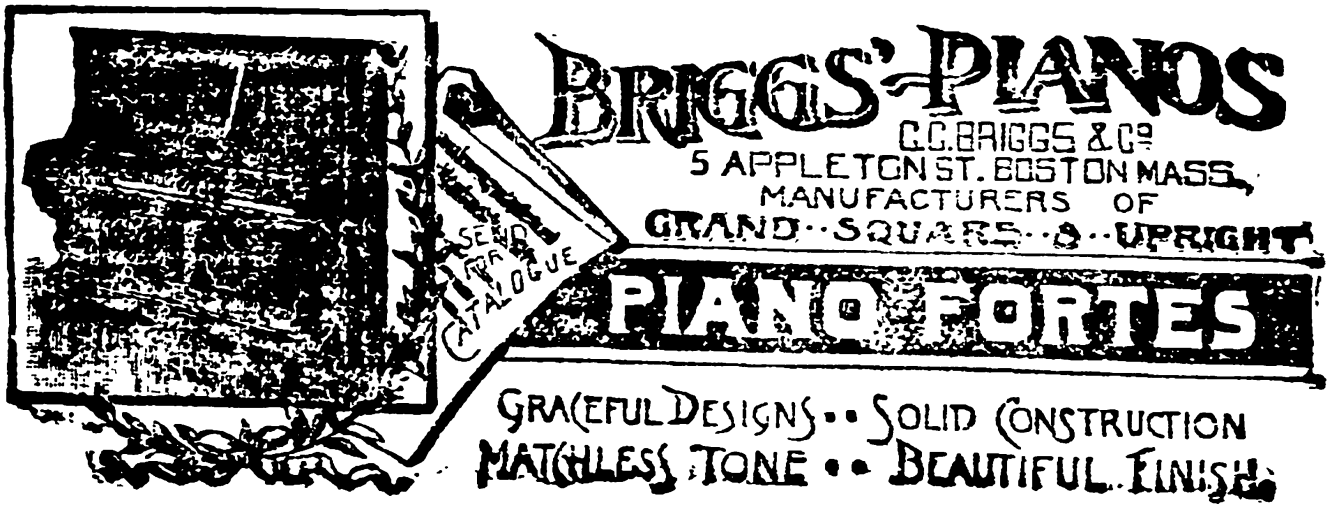
AGENTS WANTED.

We refer to any Commercial Agency.

For Sale by

Sic in the original; probably “accuracy, durability”.

[Advertisement] BRIGGS' PIANOS



p6_fig7

[Illustration: an upright piano in a framed panel with a leafy spray beneath; beside it a folded card lettered "SEND FOR CATALOGUE"; ornamental 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.

Page 7 of 8

THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1888. 7

p. 7, col. 1

A GREAT CO-OPERATIVE FACTORY.

How the Godin Establishment at Liege is Managed.

Good Words.

As with his social palace, so in his scheme of industrial distribution, M. Godin's ideas were colored by Fourierist recollections. Before 1880 M. Godin had merely set apart a certain sum—£8,000 or £10,000—out of the profits of the year to be distributed among his men as a bonus; but in 1880 he converted the business into a *commandite* company, and introduced a complicated system of arrangements for realizing effectively Fourier's principle of a just division of the produce of industry, the division between capital, labor and talent, according to the importance of their several contributions. It is true he thought this principle theoretically defective, because talent was only a particular kind of labor, and because nature, which Fourier wholly ignored, was, in Godin's opinion, as important a contributor to production as any of the other three. Nature's share in the division ought, he thought, to be appropriated by the state, partly by means of the nationalization of land for the purpose of letting it out to all sorts of productive societies, and partly by means of a heavy graduated succession duty; and the funds thus obtained ought to be employed in establishing a system of universal insurance against sickness, accidents, age and vicissitudes generally. But in the meantime, so long as the laws of private inheritance and private property in land remained unmodified, and the state showed no disposition to serve herself heir to nature's share, individual producers must each set aside that share for themselves, and consequently the first part in M. Godin's annual division is 25 per cent of the whole net profits to a reserve fund for purposes of personal insurance. In passing I may say that besides this every workman is obliged to pay to that fund 2 per cent on his wages, that in 1883 the fund amounted to 500,000 francs, and in the three years it had existed at that time more than 90,000 francs had been paid out of it for sick relief and pensions on a comfortable scale.

Next to nature's deal comes the deal of talent or intelligence, and that also is fixed at twenty-five per cent. The director alone (M. Godin during his lifetime) got and gets twelve per cent of the profits, in addition to his salary of 15,000 francs. In 1883 this twelve per cent amounted to more than four times his salary. Half the profits going thus in equal shares to nature and intelligence, the other half remaining to be divided between the factors, capital and labor. Capital had already received five per cent interest, and labor had of course already received its weekly wages, all before there was any calculation of profit at all, and M. Godin concluded that the proper principle now was to give capital a share of the remaining half of the profits in proportion to the amount of interest it received, and labor in proportion to the wages it had received. In most other industrial partnerships the division is made on the amount of capital, and not on the amount of interest, and that makes a great difference. In 1883 the total amount of interest paid was 230,000 francs on 4,600,000 francs of capital, and the total wages paid was 1,888,000 francs, so that of this remaining half of the profits some nine-tenths go to the deal of labor.

M. Godin's scheme, however, by no means ends here; his object was to make the employees in the final result owner of the capital of the business, and with this view he de- cided that the laborers' share of the profits should not be paid immediately into their hands, to be used at their discretion, but should be applied to buy for them

shares in the business. In this way the business is gradually falling into the hands of the laborers engaged in it. In 1883 they already possessed stock amounting to nearly two millions of francs, and though the capital has been raised to [6,000,000?] francs, it will only take a few more years for it to be acquired entirely by the employes. The interest on the shares they possess they receive like their wages, to spend as they will. And when we consider that the wages given at Guise are better than the current rate, that the house rent is lower, that the prices of things at the shops are co-operative prices, and that education, insurance and medical relief are virtually free, we shall not be surprised to find that the general standard of living, as tested by clear proofs, is unusually high. M. Godin states, in his book on government, that the average amount of indirect taxation on articles of consumption paid per head in the familistere of Guise is seventy-five francs, and we turn to books of statistics we find that the average for France generally is only thirty francs. The people of the familistere live, therefore, two and a half times better than the rest of the French. Their working day is ten hours, and they have besides common holidays, two special fete days of their own every year—the Feast of Labor on the first Sunday in May and the Feast of Infancy on the first Sunday in September. Labor is celebrated in the spring, because in the spring all nature returns to its task and summons man to his; and infancy is celebrated in the harvest, because then nature yields the young seed for future crops, and the two feasts are meant to be a public commemoration of labor and education as the two great factors of human progress. On these high days the whole place is bright with flowers and banners, the population of all assemble in the great lecture hall to hear an address from the director, and young and old mingle in merry games in the palace gardens.

One important feature of this establishment remains to be mentioned. There is no idea in the Familistere of Guise of any rigid socialistic ideas of equality. It contains considerable differences both of position and property. The director, who is at the head of the whole place, is an autocrat in all business affairs. He is elected—that is, since 1880—but he is elected for life, and his management is uncontrolled. He chooses the foremen and makes the bargains. Next below him stand the group that elect him, the associes, num- bering sixty-eight in 1883, who must have worked at least five years in the foundry, be men of good education and stainless life, and possess not less than 500 francs of capital in the business. Their privileges are large like their requirements. They elect themselves by co-optation, share in the profits on twice their wages, can only be expelled the association by a vote of two-thirds of their own peers (the other associes), have the first right to work when work is short, and retire on a pension of two-thirds of their wages or salaries. After them come 95 societaires, chosen by the manager and administrative council, sharing the profits on one and one-half times their wages, and getting a pension on one-third of them; 573 participants, similarly chosen, and sharing on their simple wages only; 258 auxiliaires, who as yet get no share in the profits, except through their interest in the insurance fund; and 286 interesses who are allowed to retain stock they have inherited, though they have no further interest in the concern. The stock, which is only being gradually taken up year by year, must, when it is all taken up, be again parted with in the same way, the first shareholders being then obliged to sell out their shares to the new comers. During the interval the shares may apparently be held by widows or other per- sons not in active employment, but at the end of the term they must always return to the possession of actual laborers, and so the way is smoothed for the retirement of the older generation, and the accession of the younger.

The Reform Club's Journal.

The reform club of this city, which is doing such good work at its Friday night meetings, is issuing a semi-monthly journal called *Tariff Reform*. The publication office is 52 William street. Three regular numbers and one "extra" have already appeared. The regular edition consists of 16 8 vo. pages, and is sold for three cents a copy. Each number is full of short articles, extracts from speeches and interviews, tables and brief quotations, all of which are admirably arranged. The "extra" consists of twenty-one letters of J. S. Moore written in 1886, '87 and '88, addressed to

American farmers and others. This number, which is twice the regular size, also sells for three cents. *Tariff Reform* is neatly gotten up, handy and well printed.

p. 7, col. 2

The Single Tax in Washington.

Washington Star.

"This movement is realizing a success far beyond our brightest anticipations," said Mr. C. B. Hemingway when asked by a *Star* reporter what progress was being made with the petition to congress to modify the law taxing real estate so as to relieve improvements from taxation and cause the levy to be made on the actual rental value. "Hundreds of our best citizens, including all classes, professions, businesses and trades, and not a few large hearted speculators in land, are beginning to see the merit of the plan, and are joining in the petition. I could not now give you anything like an estimate of the number who have signed, but I can confidently say that several thousand[sic] would be a fair general statement. Many of the most conservative men are taking time to carefully consider the measure, but the general drift of those who do so is in favor of it. This question is a deep one, and its merit can only be reached by careful consideration of the subject in all its bearings."

Mr. Hemingway explained that while the real estate tax reform movement might appear to many to be merely a fiscal improvement the purpose was far wider and deeper. He contended that poverty exists and increases because the opportunities to work and produce are monopolized; that the rate of wages is fixed by what one can earn by utilizing the best opportunity open to him, and that all opportunities rest ultimately on land.

"If land is monopolized," he said, "opporportunity[sic] is limited by ability to purchase, and just to the extent that the monopoly is carried out will the price of land increase. This monopoly can only be broken by increasing the tax, and just to the extent that the tax is increased will the price be reduced, until, if the whole rental value were taken in taxation, land would cost nothing. The prosperity of the whole people depends on the condition of the lowest grade of labor. If they have an abundance of work at good wages we have good times. When speculation in land breaks and the industrial fabric totters and the wheels of production are chocked[,82], it simply means that a not very large percentage of the lower wage workers have been thrown out of employment, their purchasing power cut off, and by competition among themselves for work the wages of the rest reduced or their purchasing power diminished. Relief comes only when the price of land falls to its natural level, giving easier access to opportunity. Our measure is calculated only to put a check on speculation in land and cause but a slight reduction in its capitalized value. But it will be enough to bring about an era of industrial prosperity in this district that will enable the people to judge truly of the merit of the principle and decide whether they want a larger application of it."

This Cat Wears a Snake Necklace.

New York Sun.

Mrs. Fenton of North Bergen, N. J., is alleged to be the possessor of a white cat with a living necklace. The necklace is a slender black snake, about two feet long, its dark color showing in marked contrast to the cat's white coat. About a month ago the cat went bounding into the breakfast room, hissing and spitting in a paroxysm of

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Sic in the original; probably "thousands".
Sic in the original; probably "opportunity".
Sic in the original; probably "choked".

terror. Her alarm was quickly shared by the Fenton family, who were at the table, when they ascertained that she was half strangled by a snake that had coiled itself around her neck. She seemed unable to help herself either with teeth or claws, and her friends undertook to assist her with sticks and umbrellas. They chased her around the room, whacking away away[sic] vigorously at her, missing the snake, but hitting the cat every time, until pussy, not approving of this mode of deliverance, sprang wildly out of the open window and ran away.

For three days Mrs. Fenton mourned for her cat as for one dead. Then her pet returned, still wearing the reptile necklace. She was tranquil now, however, and seemed to like the situation, resisting every effort to remove the serpent. A saucer of milk was placed before her, and as she lapped it up the snake uncoiled part of its body, lowered its head into the saucer, and the two drank amicably together. This singular friendship has continued. The creatures are almost inseparable. When the snake occasionally uncoils to stretch itself the cat grows very uneasy. They feed together, and when the snake eats too fast the cat pushes its head to one side. The snake signifies its disapproval of unseemly voracity on the part of the cat in the same manner.

Yes, But Where are the Opportunities for the Man Who Hasn't $500?

ROCKFORD, Wright County, Minn., Aug. 25.—Please send a set of tariff tracts. I like THE STANDARD very much. Some of your correspondents seem to have a queer idea of the west. Any man with from $500 to $800 ready money can come out anywhere between this and the Pacific coast and get a home on government land or purchased land. Any respectable man who can't make himself comfortable for a while with an ax, shovel, saw and hammer don't amount to anything. But they won't find these chances in St. Paul or Minneapolis—cities of 400,000—nor in any country village saloon. They can find them by the thousand within sight or sound of a railroad. There is any amount of good land for sale cheap in this state, but it is too cold, especially on the prairie. Eastern people seem to be too high toned to come west and rough it a while.

G. R. PERKINS.

Such Conspiracies Can Only be Reached by Taxing Land Values.

Chicago Northwestern Christian Advocate.

In some matters of monopoly there is a limit to the patience of the people. A few men who have acquired control of extensive coal fields, and who can manipulate the transportation of all the coal that is mined by themselves are in position to dictate prices to all consumers. When the supply of mined coal is good these "coal barons" suspend mining operations and, by thus controlling the said supply, dictate the terms of demand and sale. A vast monopoly is engaged in systematic robbery of those who cannot afford to freeze to death. The old "Molly Maguire" conspiracy to take life by violence was justly strangled by the strong arm of the law. It is difficult to see why this conspiracy to take an undue *proportion of* the people's money is not also strangled by the same strong arm of the law. Coal would be cheaper if it were permitted to increase the supply of coal through competing miners.

Why a Printer Will Vote for Cleveland.

Chicago letter of J. H. Griffes in The Craftsman.

In 1884 I howled for Blaine; in 1888 I shall howl, not for Cleveland, but for the principle he and his party are advocating, in a very half-hearted fashion, it is true, but advocating, nevertheless—that of free trade. With absolute free trade will come tne[sic] single tax, and with the single tax will come the abolition of poverty. And I would like to suggest to those who are so ready to scout the idea of a single tax curing our social disease that they please read up on the subject and do a little hard thinking on the matter before they attempt to controvert it.

Awkward Facts, Mr. Powderly.

Chicago News.

Here, here, Mr. Powderly, this will never do at all. You mustn't tell folks that the men in the Pennsylvania mines wear brass tags on tneir[sic] belts and are known by numbers, that they live on pork and water, and sleep like pigs in a pen. Don't you know that the tariff keeps workingmen's wages up above the level of the pauper labor of Europe! For shame!

Oh Yes, Steel Rails Went Down to $20 in England Without the Aid of the Tariff.

Pittsburg Commercial Gazette.

Does anyone really believe that the price of steel rails would have gone down from $140 a ton to $31.50 if congress had not, at the request of the railroad companies, imposed a duty to stimulate the development of a domestic steel rail industry?

p. 7, col. 3

[Advertisement] HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS.

PROGRESS AND POVERTY.

An Inquiry Into the Cause of Industrial Depression and of Increase of Want With Increase of Wealth—The Remedy.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

250 pages.

CONTENTS:

Introductory.—THE PROBLEM.

Book I.—WAGES AND CAPITAL.

Chap. 1. The current doctrine—its insufficiency. 2. The meaning of the terms. 3. Wages not drawn from capital, but produced by the labor. 4. The maintenance of laborers not drawn from capital. 5. The real functions of capital.

Sic in the original; probably "away".
Sic in the original; probably "the".
Sic in the original; probably "their".

Book II.—POPULATION AND SUBSISTENCE.

Chap. 1. The Malthusian theory—its genesis and support. 2. Inferences from fact. 3. Inferences from analogy. 4. Disproof of the Malthusian theory.

Book III.—THE LAWS OF DISTRIBUTION.

Chap. 1. The inquiry narrowed to the laws of distribution—necessary relation of these laws. 2. Rent and the law of rent. 3. Interest and the cause of interest. 4. Of spurious capital and of profits often mistaken for interest. 5. The law of interest. 6. Wages and the law of wages. 7. Correlation and co-ordination of these laws. 8. The statics of the problem thus explained.

Book IV.—EFFECT OF MATERIAL PROGRESS UPON THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

Chap. 1. The dynamics of the problem yet to seek. 2. Effect of increase of population upon the distribution of wealth. 3. Effect of improvements in the arts upon the distribution of wealth. 4. Effect of the expectation raised by material progress.

Book V.—THE PROBLEM SOLVED.

Chap. 1. The primary cause of recurring paroxysms of industrial depression. 2. The persistence of poverty amid advancing wealth.

Book VI.—THE REMEDY.

Chap. 1. Insufficiency of remedies currently advocated. 2. The true remedy.

Book VII.—JUSTICE OF THE REMEDY.

Chap. 1. Injustice of private property in land. 2. Enslavement of laborers the ultimate result of private property in land. 3. Claim of land owners to compensation. 4. Property in land historically considered. 5. Property in land in the United States.

Book VIII.—APPLICATION OF THE REMEDY.

Chap. 1. Private property in land inconsistent with the best use of land. 2. How equal rights to the land may be asserted and secured. 3. The proposition tried by the canons of taxation. 4. Indorsements and objections.

Book IX.—EFFECTS OF THE REMEDY.

Chap. 1. Of the effect upon the production of wealth. 2. Of the effect upon distribution and thence upon production. 3. Of the effect upon individuals and classes. 4. Of the changes that would be wrought in social organization and social life.

Book X.—THE LAW OF HUMAN PROGRESS.

Chap. 1. The current theory of human progress—its insufficiency. 2. Differences in civilization—to what due. 3. The law of human progress. 4. How modern civilization may decline. 5. The central truth.

Conclusion.—THE PROBLEM OF INDIVIDUAL LIFE.

The new Land and labor library paper edition of "Progress and Poverty" is now ready, price thirty-five cents. This is printed on better paper, in larger type, is better bound and a considerably larger book than the previous twenty cent edition.

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BY HENRY GEORGE.

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8. That we all might be rich.
9. First principles.
10. The rights of man.
11. Dumping garbage.
12. Over-production.
13. Unemployed labor.
14. The effects of machinery.
15. Slavery and slavery.
16. Public debts and indirect taxation.
17. The functions of government.
18. What we must do.
19. The great reform.
20. The American farmer.
21. City and country.
22. Conclusion.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

An Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

CONTENTS:

I. Introductory. II. Clearing ground. III. Of method. IV. Protection as a universal need. V. The protective unit. VI. Trade. VII. Production and producers. VIII. Tariffs for revenue. IX. Tariffs for protection. X. The encouragement of industry. XI. The home market and home trade. XII. Exports and imports. XIII. Confusions arising from the use of money. XIV. Do high wages necessitate protection[sic] XV. Of advantages and disadvantages as reasons for protection. XVI. The Development of manufactures. XVII. Protection and producers. XVIII. Effect of protection

Sic in the original; probably "...protection?".

on American industry. XIX. Protection and wages. XX. The abolition of protection. XXI. Inadequacy of the free trade argument. XXII. The Real Weakness of Free Trade. XXIII. The Real Strength of Protection. XXIV. The Paradox. XXV. The Robber that Takes All that is Left. XXVI. True Free Trade. XXVII. The Lion in the Way. XXVIII. Free Trade and Socialism. XXIX. Practical Politics. XXX. Conclusion.

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For sale by all booksellers, or sent postpaid on receipt of price. Foreign editions of these books imported on rder[sic].

HENRY GEORGE, 12 Union square, New York.

p. 7, col. 4

[Advertisement] NEW PUBLICATIONS. THE GOLDEN WEST.

THE GOLDEN WEST.

SONOMA COUNTY AND RUSSIAN RIVER VALLEY ILLUSTRATED.

COMMENTS OF THE PRESS.

Sic in the original; probably “Duke”.
Sic in the original; probably “FORTSCHRITT UND ARMUTH”.
Sic in the original; probably “$1.00.”.
Sic in the original; probably “Protection or Free Trade?”.
Sic in the original; probably “order.”.

As a work of art nothing so costly, so faithful and so profuse in illustrations has ever been done for any county in California. Of the eighty-four pages of reading matter, historical, topographical, statistical and descriptive, it is sufficient to say it is the work of one of the best known and ablest writers in the state, and one who, from a journalistic experience of nearly a quarter of a century, has the history of the coast almost at his fingers' ends. Altogether the work is one deserving of the highest praise.—San Francisco Examiner, June 20.

A large number of pamphlets describing and pictorially illustrating the beauties of different counties of the state have been issued from time to time. The latest, completest and ablest which has been issued for some time past is that which describes Sonoma county's fertile soil, energetic people and beauteous scenery. The pamphlet, or more properly speaking, the volume, is a perfect encyclopedia in its particular line, treating the county geographically, geologically and historically. The illustrations of the scenes in the Sonoma valley are very faithful and have been prepared with great care and attention to detail. Different sections of the valley have been selected, and their suitability for the production of all classes of fruit is carefully pointed out.—San Francisco Chronicle, June 19[sic],

Bell & Heymans have issued another of their magnificently illustrated descriptions of a central California county. Their work on Marin was acknowledged by the daily press to be the finest of the kind ever pub- lished in California. Yet in their "Sonoma County and Russian River Valley Illustrated" they have outdone themselves and published a work that would do credit to any author or publishing house in the United States. The views, tinted and chromo, and plain lithographs and vignettes, over seventy in number, are worth five times the money. The historical, statistical and descriptive portion of the work is full, correct, and complete, and when the reader lays it down after perusal and examining the views, even though he never was in California, he will be better acquainted with the topography, products and condition of the county and its many towns than many people who have lived in Sonoma for years. It is a model book, for it gives in a concise and complete form the very information that an intelligent home seeker, who is a stranger to California, could wish to have.—San Francisco Herald of Trade, June 21.

For sale by BELL & HEYMANS, 434 California street, San Francisco. Price, 50 cents; or by mail, 60 cents.

[Advertisement] TARIFF TRACTS.

The following Tracts on the Tariff Question are published in the Land and Labor Library:

No. 57. "Protection as a Universal Need." Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 60. "The Tariff Question." Henry George. 4 pages.

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No. 69[sic], "Protection and Wages." Henry George. 8 pages.

No. 70. "The Common Sense of the Tariff Question[sic]." Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.

No. 72. "Protection the Friend of Labor?" Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages.

No. 75. "A Short Tariff History." Thomas G. Shearman. 2 pages.

Sic in the original; probably "June 19.".
Sic in the original; probably "No. 63.".
Sic in the original; probably "No. 69.".
Sic in the original; probably "...Question.".

No. 76. “Plain Talk to Protectionists.” Thomas G. Shearman. 4 pages.

No. 77. “An Address to Workingmen on the Tariff Question[sic].” Henry George. 4 pages.

A set of these Tracts will be sent to any address for ten cents.

Prices in quantities free by mail. Two-page tracts—50 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 15 cents; 1,000 copies, $1; 5,000 copies, $4.25. Four-page tracts—25 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 25 cents; 1,000 copies, $2; 5,000 copies, $8 50[sic]. Eight-page tracts—25 copies, 20 cents; 100 copies, 50 cents,[98]; 1,000 copies, $4; 5,000 copies, $17.

Address PUBLISHER STANDARD, 12 Union Square, New York.

[Advertisement] THE TARIFF QUESTION.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE? by Henry George; paper, 35 cents.

THE EXISTING TARIFF, fully indexed so that the rate on each article can readily be found, 25 cents.

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Sent, postage paid, on receipt of price, or

THE THREE BOOKS FOR ONE DOLLAR.

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8 THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 8, 1888.

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CURRENT THOUGHT.

Abolishing Poverty by Statistics.

When the immortal Lemuel Gulliver visited the island of Laputa, one of the first things he did was to have a suit of clothes made, for which purpose he employed the services of a fashionable tailor. "The operator," says Gulliver, "did his office after a different manner from those of his trade in Europe. He first took my altitude by a quadrant, and then, with rule and compasses, described the dimension and outlines of my whole body, all of which he entered upon paper; and in six days brought my clothes very ill made, and quite out of shape, by happening to mistake a figure in the calculation. But my comfort was that I observed such accidents very frequent and little regarded."

If Mr. Edward Atkinson had been in Mr. Gulliver's place, he would never have passed such a verdict as that upon the Laputan tailor. The ignorant Gulliver undertook to determine the fit of the clothes by trying them on. Mr. Atkinson would have checked the tailor's calculation, and, failing to detect any error in that, would have sworn that the clothes fitted perfectly, because the figures showed they *must* fit. In Mr. Atkinson's[sic] philosophy, what the figures say must be true. When he does a sum, that settles it.

The *Forum* for September contains an essay by Mr. Atkinson, which is a beautiful illustration of the Laputan method. Mr. Atkinson entitles his essay "Progress from Poverty." In it he demonstrates by figures and diagrams, to his own complete satisfaction, that things are, on the whole, in a very satisfactory condition. Poverty is disappearing as fast as could be expected. The working classes are immensely better off, actually and relatively, than[sic] they were a few years ago. "The great economic forces which have so recently come into action are steadily working out a greater equality in the distribution of the abundant product which they have brought into existence;" and "the one thing most needed now is that the rich men shall know how the workmen live, and the workmen shall know how the rich men work." It's all nonsense to point out that the trousers are too short and baggy at the knees, that the waistcoat barely comes below the armpits, and the coat is made to button in the back; the figures say the clothes fit, and fit they must. As for criticising the accuracy of his figures by the absurdity of their result, the idea doesn't enter Mr. Atkinson's head. He knows his figures are right, and if the result doesn't agree with facts, why then the facts have no existence, that's all.

Mr. Atkinson begins his calculations by establishing what he calls a "multiple standard," by which to measure the value of wages. For this purpose he assumes than an adult workman requires for his subsistence a certain quantity of beef, pork, ham, potatoes, calico, boots, coal, etc.; and measures the value of wages at different periods from 1860 to 1886 by the number of these daily portions or rations they would produce; the value of wages, of course, rising or falling as the rations rise or fall in price. It is noteworthy that in constructing his "multiple standard," he takes no account of rent. He explains this omission by saying, first, that he found it impossible to get the data for

Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Atkinson's".
Sic in the original; probably "that".

estimating the yearly unit of rent; and, second, that he is satisfied "that the standard of rent or cost of the dwelling places occupied by working people had varied since 1860 in substantially the same proportion as the cost of the materials for food[sic], for fuel and for clothing." That is to say, when provisions, clothing and fuel have declined in price, rents have gone down proportionately. The utter absurdity of this notion would have become apparent to Mr. Atkinson if he had taken the trouble to examine the tax lists of any city or county from 1860 to 1886.

Having fixed his "multiple standard," Mr. Atkinson goes on to construct the statistics of wages from 1860 to 1886. For this purpose he divides his working people into four classes, as follows:

> Class I. Specially skilled men; foremen, overseers, boss blacksmiths, carpenters, etc., customarily earning $3 to $5 per day at the present time.

> Class II. Average mechanics, engineers, blacksmiths, carpenters, machinists and painters connected with establishments reported in Vol. xx of the census.

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> Class IV. Laborers, computed separately, connected with above establishments.

Then under each head he states the current wages per day in 1860, 1865, etc., and multiplying these by 300, obtains a very handsome showing of yearly wages in each class, the boss blacksmiths earning $1,242 each in 1886 and the common laborers $420 in the same year. It does not seem to have occurred to Mr. Atkinson that during every year of his series there were a few men out of work; nor that the operative or laborer who earns 300 days' wages in a year is rather the exception than the rule.

Mr. Atkinson's next task is to determine the money value of his "multiple standard" ration for each of the years mentioned in his wages table. Having done this to his own satisfaction, he next proceeds to construct a diagram, showing the number of rations that could be purchased with a year's earnings of a wage earner in each of his four classes, in the years 1860, 1865, 1870, 1875, 1880, and 1885-6. It is a very pretty diagram and shows clearly that "the gain in the purchasing power of wages, measured by the 'multiple standard' of food. fuel and cloth, has been from 1860, as compared to 1885 and 1886, as follows:"

Class I . . . . . 70 per cent Class II . . . . . 59 per cent Class III . . . . . 40 per cent Class IV . . . . . 43 per cent

This is a sufficiently encouraging showing; but it is thrown completely into the shade by the comparison between 1865 and 1885-6. Within those twenty years the increase has been:

Class I. . . . . 108 per cent. Class II. . . . . 90 per cent. Class III. . . . . 78 per cent. Class IV. . . . . 67 per cent.

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It is not worth while to point out more than a single absurdity in all this. Mr. Atkinson asserts that rents have risen and fallen with the value of the "multiple standard" ration. If this be true, then the laborer who in 1865 paid $10 a month rent must have had his rent gradually reduced until in 1886 it stood at a trifle less than $6 for the same premises. Across the diagram just referred to, extending from near the top of the perpendicular line which denotes the year 1860 to near the bottom of the line which stands for 1885-6, Mr. Atkinson draws a broad thick mark to

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show the decline in the rate of interest, and therefore in the profits of capital. From this we learn that whereas in 1860 capital earned 8 per cent in the eastern states, and 10 per cent in the west, in 1885-6 it earned only 4 per cent in the east and 5 per cent in the west. Or to express it in terms of the "multiple standard," an investment of $10,000 would produce 2,584 rations in 1860, against only 1333 in 1885-6. And now comes the grand final argument—the stitching together of the Laputan suit of clothes.

> If capital could only secure by its income one-half as many portions of food, fuel and clothing in 1885 and 1886 as in 1860, and if in the meantime the productive power of labor had become one-third more effective, which is a moderate estimate, does it not follow that labor now secures the service of capital on better terms than ever before! I submit this problem in economic mathematics to the officers of the anti-poverty society.

Why, of course! Labor and capital work together to produce wealth, and whatever they produce is divided between them. Working together, their joint productive power has increased one-third within the past twenty years; and during that time the share of labor has increased by forty-three to seventy per cent, while the share of capital has diminished by one-half. What can be clearer than that labor is gaining on capital with giant strides, and that poverty is rapidly being abolished? Talk about the clothes not fitting? They *must* fit; the figures and the diagrams prove it, and no self respecting Laputan will deny it.

But—but—we really hesitate about disputing with a graduate of the Laputan academy—but isn't it just barely possible that the tailor has made some mistake? May there not be some flaw in Mr. Atkinson's mathematics? That little error about the fall in rents, now?—that queer assumption that every wage earner works 300 days every year at full wages; so that a lad when he leaves school has only to enroll himself in class I, class II. class III[sic], or class IV, to receive for life a yearly wage of 1,400 to 4,000 daily rations? Isn't it just possible that the men who work for wages are not increasing their incomes as rapidly as Mr. Atkinson supposes? And even granting, for the sake of argument, that Mr. Atkinson's diagram is correctly constructed, is it quite certain that the conclusions he draws from it are trustworthy? Aren't there some other line that ought to be drawn across the year columns before we definitely conclude that poverty is being swallowed up in progress. Mr. Atkinson's liues[110] show what labor is getting and what capital is getting. Does nobody get anything except the laborer and capitalist?

The city of New York is a great wealth producing center. Labor and capital work together there with an energy and efficiency unsurpassed in the world. Food, clothing, shelter, articles of luxury and necessity of every kind, they produce them to an almost fabulous extent. Do they divide their whole product between themselves, so that nobody gets anything unless he either works or provides capital for other men to use in working? Well, hardly!

To begin with, there is a set of men who own New York, to whom every laborer and every capitalist must pay tribute for the mere privilege of working or employing capital within the city limits. How great this tribute is there are no present means of ascertaining definitely; but careful calculations have shown that it cannot be less than $100,000,000 annually, and it is probably much larger. Mr. Atkinson's diagram might profitably contain a line showing the increasing share of wealth these men have appropriated in successive lustrums.

Again, there is another set of men—some in uniform and some in plain clothes—whose lawful duty it is to lay violent hands on many forms of wealth produced in New York. If New York labor and capital unite to produce cigars, these men take a certain number out of every box; if to produce French silks, they cut certain yards from every piece. Their hands are forever busy appropriating wealth and doing nothing in return, and they are called

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Sic in the original; probably "class II, class III".
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custom house and internal revenue officials. Mr. Atkinson's diagram would be more complete if it had a line devoted to their operations.

Then there are other men who enjoy special taxing privileges by virtue of the laws that forbid Americans to buy in the markets of the world. These men, secured by law against foreign competition, prevent competition among themselves by organizing trusts and pools, and gather to themselves wealth for which they give nothing in exchange. Their trust robberies are in no sense the earnings of capital, and Mr. Atkinson's interest line has no connection with them. Here is another line which might improve the diagram.

And still the list is not complete. There are men who own great natural monopolies outside New York, as coal and iron mines. There are men who own artificial monopolies, as railways and gaspipes. There are men who collect taxes upon industry on behalf of state, city and county—fining a man if he erects a house, fining him if he owns a truck, fining him if he puts up machinery, or builds a ship. The diagram has no lines to represent what all these men take of the joint product of labor and capital. But it ought to have them.

On the whole—taking it by and large, as the sailors say—the Laputan tailor seems to have made a few mistakes in his calculations. Not only do the clothes not fit, but the figures show that they couldn't possibly do so.
Mr. Atkinson's arithmetic and diagram are bosh. His estimate of the comparative values of wages is absurd. His notion that capital and labor divide be

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tween themselves the whole product of their joint application is ridiculous. His diagram, with its perpendiculars and diagonals, has no more application to the problem of poverty than to the problem of the Keely motor.

Mr. Atkinson begins his essay by announcing that the facts which he is about to state "must be disproved by Henry George and other writers of his class before their empirical methods of abolishing poverty can be entitled to any serious consideration." It is not, as we have shown, a difficult matter to disprove most of Mr, Atkinson's "facts," and to expose the absurdity of his logic. We will, in addition, recite certain facts that *he* must disprove before he can win for his blindman's-buff system of economics the serious attention of men who really think, and don't content themselves with groping round among a lot of notions.

He must disprove that wealth of every kind is only a modification of the eternal matter of the universe. Houses, ships, clothing, food, whatever we possess, or use, or enjoy, are merely combinations of natural elements which have existed since time was, and will continue to exist while time endures.

He must disprove that there is no possible way of producing wealth save by the exertion of human labor upon the raw material of the universe.

He must disprove that the possibility of wealth production is limited only by the amount of natural opportunities, and the amount of labor that can be applied to them. To produce a thousand tons of coal for every one now mined, a thousand watches for every one now made, a thousand houses for every one now standing, a thousand bushels of wheat for every one now harvested, there is absolutely nothing needed but to apply sufficient labor to sufficient natural opportunities.

He must disprove that the efficiency of labor increases with the quantity of laborers. A community of a thousand laborers, having access to raw material, can produce far more than a thousand times the wealth produced by a single solitary laborer.

He must disprove that the natural opportunities remaining unutilized are practically illimitable, and that men eager to work are standing idle.

Finally, he must disprove that all men have an equal right to the use of the planet they inhabit. The mere fact of birth carries with it the inalienable right to live on the earth and by the earth.

When Mr. Atkinson shall have disproved these various propositions we shall be happy to give serious consideration to his method of abolishing poverty by mathematics. Up to the present time, however, he has not, to the best of our knowledge, even taken the trouble to deny them.

How Factory Women Live.

While Edward Atkinson is busy with his hocus pocus of lines and figures, and in the seclusion of his study evolves facts out of his inner consciousness, other and more trustworthy students of the great social problem are observing things as they really are. The *Atlantic Monthly* for September contains the latest of Lillie B. Chace Wyman's "Studies of Factory Life," telling the story of how women live who in New England labor at that wealth production of which Mr. Atkinson says the toilers get so magnificent and so rapidly increasing a share. It is a pitiful tale to be read by Christian men and women in a Christian land:

> A long acquaintance with factory village life has brought to my knowledge some incidents and phases of experience among the women, which I propose to relate in order to illustrate their condition. They will not all be found to bear directly on what is called the labor question, but they go to show how the people live and feel, out of whose needs and wishes, whose hopes and ideals, the labor movement has sprung.

> First let us consider briefly the history of a woman who shall be called Hannah. She was of Irish birth, but came to this country when a child. She married a man who was intemperate, and after a while he left her, and died away from home. The oldest of her three children, a girl, developed epilepsy when only five or six years old. Hannah had two unmarried sisters. She kept house, and they lived with her, worked in the mill, and handed over to her their wages as if she had been their mother, or as if the family were constituted like some Russian peasant households, and she were its head. She had a bachelor brother, who, though he sometimes assisted her generously, did not make a common home and common purse with her, as the girls did. "My sisters," said she once, "might have saved hundreds of dollars but for helping me."

> After several years one of the sisters died of consumption. She had been described to me as a fresh young girl, with beautiful hair. She looked like a worn old woman, as she lay on her death bed. The last scene was a touching one. Hannah sat mourning in the kitchen, but in the tiny chamber a number of neighbors gathered about the couch. One woman read prayers aloud. A brown garment lay on the bed, and once some one lifted the gown and touched it to the lips of the dying girl. It was to be her shroud, and it had been blessed by the priest. Why she was expected to kiss her own burial robe I do not know, and can only fancy the significance of the strange, sad rite.

> After her death, Hannah went herself to work in the mill. She and her remaining sister did their housework at night and in the morning. This rendered it difficult for them to be very economical about their food, as they were obliged to cook such viands as could be made ready in a short time, and the sister Ellen had to have meat. She could not work on bread and tea. They used, perforce, beefsteak at sixteen or eighteen cents the pound, in preference to cheaper meats that can be stewed, but which require long half days of preparation.

> Two of the children attended school, but the epileptic child could not be admitted, and it was difficult to know what to do with her. Sometimes her mother left her locked all day in the house. Sometimes she allowed her to wander at will. The village folks all became familiar with the figure of the crazy child. She was very crazy by the time she was ten years old, but she was straight and lithe, and carried herself with unusual

grace. Her motions were quick and silent. Her dark hair was commonly tangled, and she had pathetic, beautifully shaped eyes. Hannah was very anxious about her. She trembled when any one came near her in the mill, lest he had come to tell bad news of the little one. Her forebodings of evil experience naturally increased as the helplessly ignorant girl grew toward womanhood. The mother's health began to fail under the strain of anxiety, hard work and exposure to the weather as she went to and from the mill, and she showed symptoms of consumption. She could not wear very heavy clothing while at work in the factory, and when she came out into the cold winter air her shawl protected only her shoulders, and her thin skirts did not prevent her limbs from being chilled even in the short walk she took to her home. This is, I believe, the way

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many factory women dress and how they injure their health, and the knowledge of this fact may serve as a hint, to philanthropic persons, of a good subject for popular instruction. These women really do not know how to clothe themselves. They do not even know that they need different clothing from what they have. They suffer with that curious submissiveness characteristic of their sex whenever dress is in any way the cause of their pain, and they do not think of altering the shape of a garment in order to insure comfort, any more than their well-to-do, well-laced sisters think of it. The gift of a long, thickly lined cloak, which protected limbs as well as body, actually marked a turning point in Hannah's life. She ceased to have violent coughs and grew stronger.

She was a very honest woman. The epileptic child needed expensive medicine. Sometimes it was given her, but the merest hint was sufficient to let her know if any particular bottle was not intended as a gift. She never failed to save up her money and pay the debt as soon as she could.

At times the Mission Fathers came to a neighboring church, and then Hannah took her afflicted daughter to them, hoping, perhaps believing, that they might cure her. But no such miracle was ever wrought. The terrible malady continued to prey steadily on the young life. One of its effects was to release the child from all consciousness of rank or caste, though she seemed to know something of race prejudices; for she surprised me once by asking wildly "what made the Yankees hate the Irish so." She did not sit, like Mordecai, at the gate, but stole silently and swiftly through the unguarded door of her richest neighbor, and appeared by his side as readily as by the hearth of the poorest man or woman. She came up fearlessly to whomever she would, and stood or walked in such company as she desired, without hesitation. Thus I remember her standing one autumn day in the garden, under the arch of grapevines, while she said, "Do you know what I am wishing all the time? That I was in heaven, where I'd never be sick any more." Two or three days afterward she went on to the railroad just as the cars came along. Some one shouted to her, but she paid him no heed. The engineer saw her and vainly tried to stop the train. She knelt down between the rails—she was only a child eleven years old—and as she knelt, looking at the engine, she put up her hands as if praying and waited quietly till it struck her.

Her mother mourned, but her death was a blessing, and after that Hannah's fortunes mended somewhat. Relieved of her constant anxiety, she grew brighter and younger looking. She began to lay by a little money. Thirty dollars were saved out of her own and her sister's wages in the course of a year or two. Then the tidings came that an uncle had died in a neighboring state, leaving a small property. She and her sister were among the heirs, some of whom lived in Ireland, and had never been in this country. Hannah's lawyer wrote her that the property was mostly real estate, and if divided equally among the relatives would yield her and her sister together a little more than a hundred dollars. But he told her if any of the heirs living in America chose to protest, the proceeds of the real estate might be prevented from going to the Irish heirs. If this was done, the sisters would have a much larger sum, about five hundred dollars. It was more than these women could hope ever to amass or to obtain in any other way that life on this earth, in this century, made possible

to them. Hannah did not hesitate at all. She said at once that she did not think it would be fair to keep her Irish cousins from receiving their portion, and she relinquished for herself, for her sister and her children what must have seemed to her a fortune, and instructed her lawyer to let the property be divided equally. Hannah's two remaining children have grown up to be a comfort to her. The boy, however, has been delicate, and in consequence of his idleness she has had to use some of the money she had laid by. The daughter does not earn very large wages, but she is employed in labeling the cloth made in the mill, and works in a nice room. "It does not seem like working in the mill," the mother said, with pardonable satisfaction. The girl is fond of music. Her father's family contain some persons who are professional musicians in a small way, and Hannah, with the help of the bachelor uncle, has bought for her a second hand piano.

This is the history of a woman who has perhaps done her very best under the conditions in which life has placed her. Let us now consider briefly a factory family who have not done the best they could.

About ten years ago, a kindergartner, in a Rhode Island village, found two little girls in the street, who informed her that their father and mother were both at home sick in bed. Investigation revealed the fact that both parents were drunk, and further acquaintance with them established the additional fact that both were habitual drunkards. The father died in the course of a few years, and after that the family came directly under my own observation.

Mrs. Phelan is a woman of dissolute, haggard appearance; a shattered rather than a depraved looking person. She is not without ability. She usually keeps her floors in a condition approaching neatness, as such people understand neatness. She draws the line of effort, however, at her kitchen door, and her entry and staircase are dirty and foul.

Six or seven years ago one of her sons was ill, and he was carried to a hospital. Learning there that he must submit to an operation, he became frightened, and insisted on being taken immediately home, and he has been ill ever since and practically bedridden. A year or two after this, a grown up daughter, named Mary, died of consumption. During her last days she begged me to talk to her sister Maggie, a young married woman, and urge her never to drink. Soon after Mary's death, Mrs. Phelan's oldest son, a man about twenty years old, a hard drinker, fell a victim to consumption, and died. A little longer period elapsed, and then the youngest child, Katie, a pretty, delicate little creature, twelve years old, gave up her work in the mill, and lay down to wait for death. There was something terrible in the way these young creatures accepted death as their natural portion. They were passive and hopeless from the first. But more fearful was the neglect from which they suffered because of Mrs. Phelan's drinking. When sober she is a home keeping body, but when there is illness in the house she wanders about all the time, drinking and rehearsing her woes, and neglecting to care for her children, sick or well. Yet when some charitable persons thought that Katie would be more comfortable in the almshouse, which was on a pleasant farm, the mother would not let her go, and the child did not want to go. So after lingering some months, never having a room nor a bed to herself during all her weary illness, the little one died at last.

During these years the married daughter, Maggie, stayed at her mother's a good deal of the time, so that she could leave her babies under her care while she was at work in the mill. Her husband seemed to be neither very good nor very bad. His own mother was a rough, drinking termagant, who had a habit of seizing her grown-up daughters by the hair, and striking them with such things as the stove lifter. One of those daughters, by the way, though inefficient, was a most gentle, unselfish girl, whose history would serve to suggest a doubt as to who may be the fittest to survive, under a strict application of the law of evolution.

> I do not know the exact details of Maggie's life, but she bore several children, and endured the frightful double burden which poverty joined to maternity lays on working women. It is quite common for mothers to work in the mill till a very short time before their children are born, and somewhat less common for them to go back very soon afterward. I have been told of one woman that she went to work when her baby was only five days old. I have known of one case where the mother had moved from another town and had worked a day or two by the time that, according to her statements and to appearances, her baby was two weeks old. This woman was a worthless creature, who willfully neglected her children, and it will not do to hold society wholly to blame for all the miseries in individual lives, even when those lives have been brought under heavy pressure from so

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cial and economic institutions. Still, if the noblest men and women are to be called the "products" of our civilization, is it not necessary to admit this wretched mother to a place as also a "product" of that same civilization?

> Maggie's health finally failed and she "quit work," according to the mill phrase and prepared to die. She had had a hard life and she turned dry, sad eyes on her visitor one day, while she was still able to sit up and to sew a little for her children. "There's no cure for me," she said. "It's leaving them four young ones I mind."

> There was money enough coming into the family at this time to make them quite comfortable but for Mrs. Phelan's intemperance. There was a son who would not work and whom the mother would shelter and feed in spite of much advice to turn him out; but Maggie's husband earned good wages and there was another sister, Lizzie, a fifteen-year-old girl, who was industrious. The associated charities also helped, but nothing could bring comfort into this house. After Maggie took to her bed, lying in one room, while her bedridden brother lay in another near by, there would often be no one in the house for hours together, but the little children, to do anything for either sufferer. Mrs. Phelan was drinking worse than ever and roaming about. When she was at home she was idle. Poor Lizzie generally went to the mill without eating any breakfast, and worked till noon on an empty stomach. "It ain't good for her," sighed, helplessly, the sick brother. He feared lest she should break down, too, and his fears will probably be justified in the course of time. It is likely that Mrs. Phelan's cooking was not such as to tempt a delicate appetite, but factory women are often unable to eat before going into the mill; and though they do not usually go till noon without eating, they often work one or two hours before taking breakfast.

> As death drew near, Maggie opened her heart a little to a visitor, and spoke of the suffering her mother's habits caused. "I'm strong enough," she said, "to have my bed changed, but mother does not offer to make it oftener than once a week; and Lizzie's so tired when she comes home, nights, from the mill that I can't bear to ask her to do anything for me." So day and night had she lain there, under conditions which cannot be described, and had refrained from asking service of her tired young sister. Out of the lowest depth of wretchedness that poor creature attained to such unselfishness. But it was all very pitiful, and death, when it finally came, must have been truly a comforter but for the "four young ones" she left behind, to grow up, probably to live, perhaps to die, as the old ones had lived and died.

> Two years ago a ten-hour law was enacted in Rhode Island. Philanthropists and workmen urged the passage of the bill. They were concerned about the health of the workwomen, the undermining of whose strength involved not only suffering, but the weakness of the next generation. The manufacturers, so far as they took any action, opposed the law. Some of them were sure their business would be ruined if it went on to the statute book. Others were merely afraid that financial disasters would be the result. The women themselves were not consulted, and, according to the fashion of the republic, had no part nor lot in deciding their own

destiny. Various sorts of men, workmen, manufactnrers[sic] and legislators deliberated together about woman's flesh and blood, considered her maternal capacities and her muscular strength, and compared them with the exactions of business and of machinery. She stood and waited—or rather she worked and waited—their decision that sixty hours a week in a factory was enough for her and for her little children. The bill passed, and there was no financial collapse.

There is a young girl working in a thread factory in the state who was much pleased to have some more leisure time. She was taking a Chautauqua course of reading with her mother. She lives some distance from the mill, and so does not go home to dinner. Under the new arrangement she had an hour's recess at noon. She carried her book as well as her lunch, and employed the extra moments in reading. She was anxious to obtain a complete copy of the Iliad, having read some portions of it in the prescribed course, which made her desire to know the whole poem. She read translations of some of the Greek plays, and was glad to have the opportunity to borrow a version of the Electra of Sophocles; and when she returned it she said she liked it better than any of the others she had read. This girl is, however, unique in my experience. She is a Protestant of English parentage. From childhood on she has shown an earnest nature. She always tried to do what seemed right to her, or what might help some one else. It was a terrible cross to her to be obliged to leave school when she was about fourteen, and go into the mill, but she did it; and her character shows its fine fibre now, in that she does her duty simply, trying constantly to improve herself, but not trying to get into any place which she is not fitted to fill thoroughly. She is not a sham lady nor a sham worker because she has a desire for something besides spindles and a taste for something other than clothes. She dresses simply, and is very willing to use her Saturday half holidays visiting in behalf of the associated charities.

Homely but pathetic was the rejoicing of a hard worked Irish widow over the ten hour law. She had been the mother of thirteen or fourteen children, but most of them died; and last of all, her husband, a handsome man, whom she seemed to consider a being quite superior to herself, died, after a protracted illness. He did the housework long after he could not do other labor, so that she might be the chief wage earner of the family. After his death, she said: "I fretted a deal for him—I couldn't help it. I know he had been sick a long time, but you miss a person just the same if they have been sick; an' he was such a clean man about the house, an' kept it so neat when he was able to be about."

In a worldly way she manages very well without him. She and a grown girl and two young lads work in the mill. Two younger children profess to guard the house, and sometimes go to school. The daughter takes books occasionally from the village library, and she has read the Scarlet Letter and even the Blithedale Romance. She said she liked these stories about as well as she did Marion Harland's novels. The mother found the ten hour law a great help. "Why," said she, "the extra quarter of an hour at noon gives me time to mix my bread; an' then when I comes home at night at 6 o'clock, it is ready to put in the pans, an' I can do that while Katie sets the table; an' after supper, an' the dishes are washed, I can bake; an' then I am through, an' ready to go to bed, mebbe afore it's 9 o'clock. Oh, it's splendid, the best thing as ever 'appened. I used to be up till 'way into the night, bakin', after my day's work in the mill was done."

She probably was glad of the Saturday half holiday, because it gave her a good chance to do her washing. Holidays, to women like her, mean little but the time to do some

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different kind of work from that by which they earn their living. Her boy rejoiced in healthy fashion. "Saturdays," says he, "when you are let out at 1 o'clock, you don't feel as if you'd been at work at all."

Think of that poor demented child, with just sense enough to kneel before a locomotive and blunder her way out of the cruel world. Think of the mother, working in the mill, with a five-day-old baby at home. Think of the sufferings and self-denial of that poor Maggie as she lay a-dying. Think of the women to whom holidays mean little but the time to do some different kind of work from that by which they earn their living. And then return to Edward Atkinson's wretched mockery of lines and figures, and percentages of increasing wages, and see how the horror of the gospel of things as they are will bite into your very soul.

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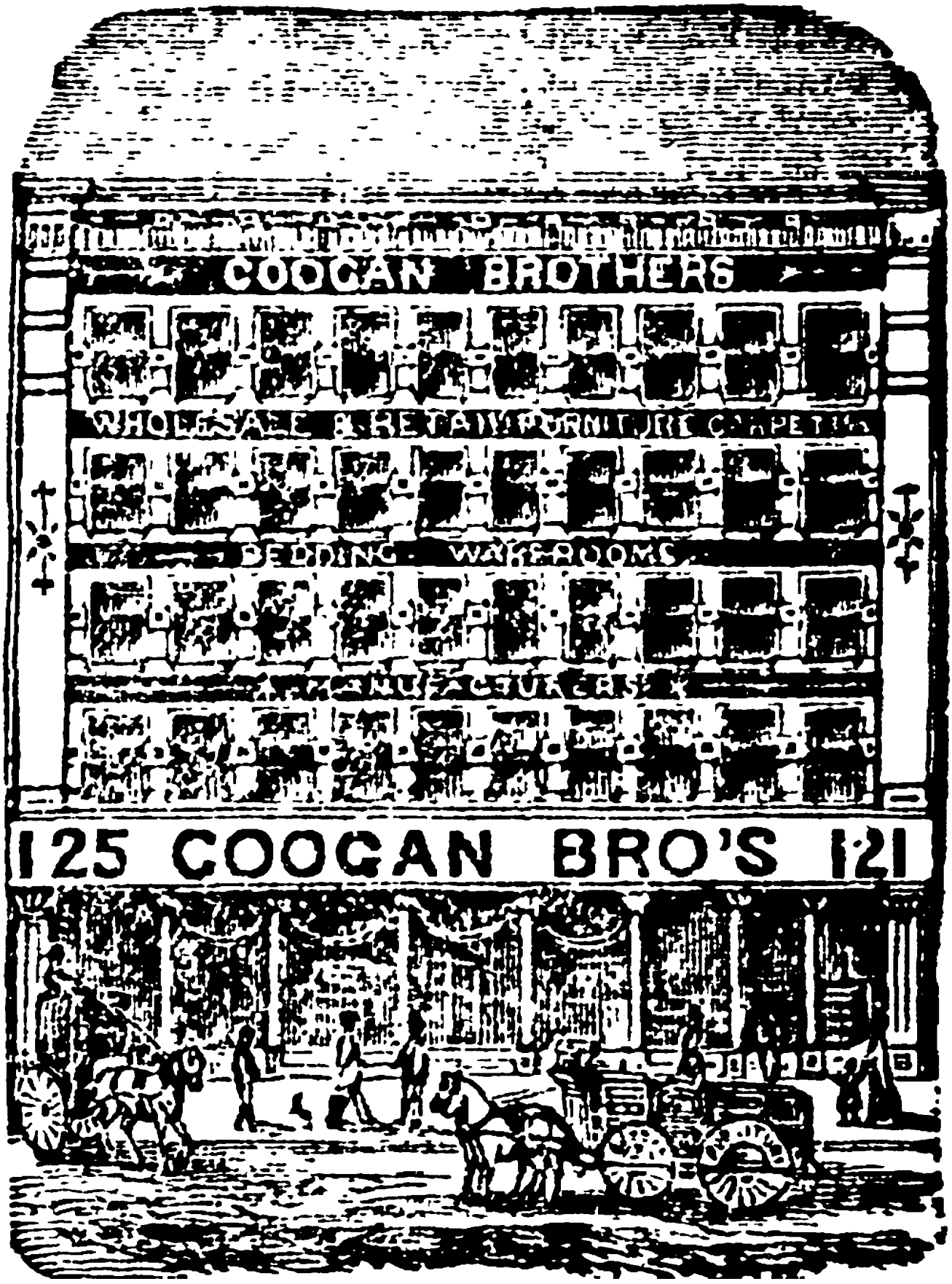
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p8_fig1

[Illustration: engraving of the Coogan Brothers' five-story store front, with horse-drawn wagons and pedestrians in the street. Signs on the building: "COOGAN BROTHERS"; "WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE CARPETS" [partly illegible]; "BEDDING WAREROOMS"; "MANUFACTURERS"; "125 COOGAN BRO'S 121[?]"]

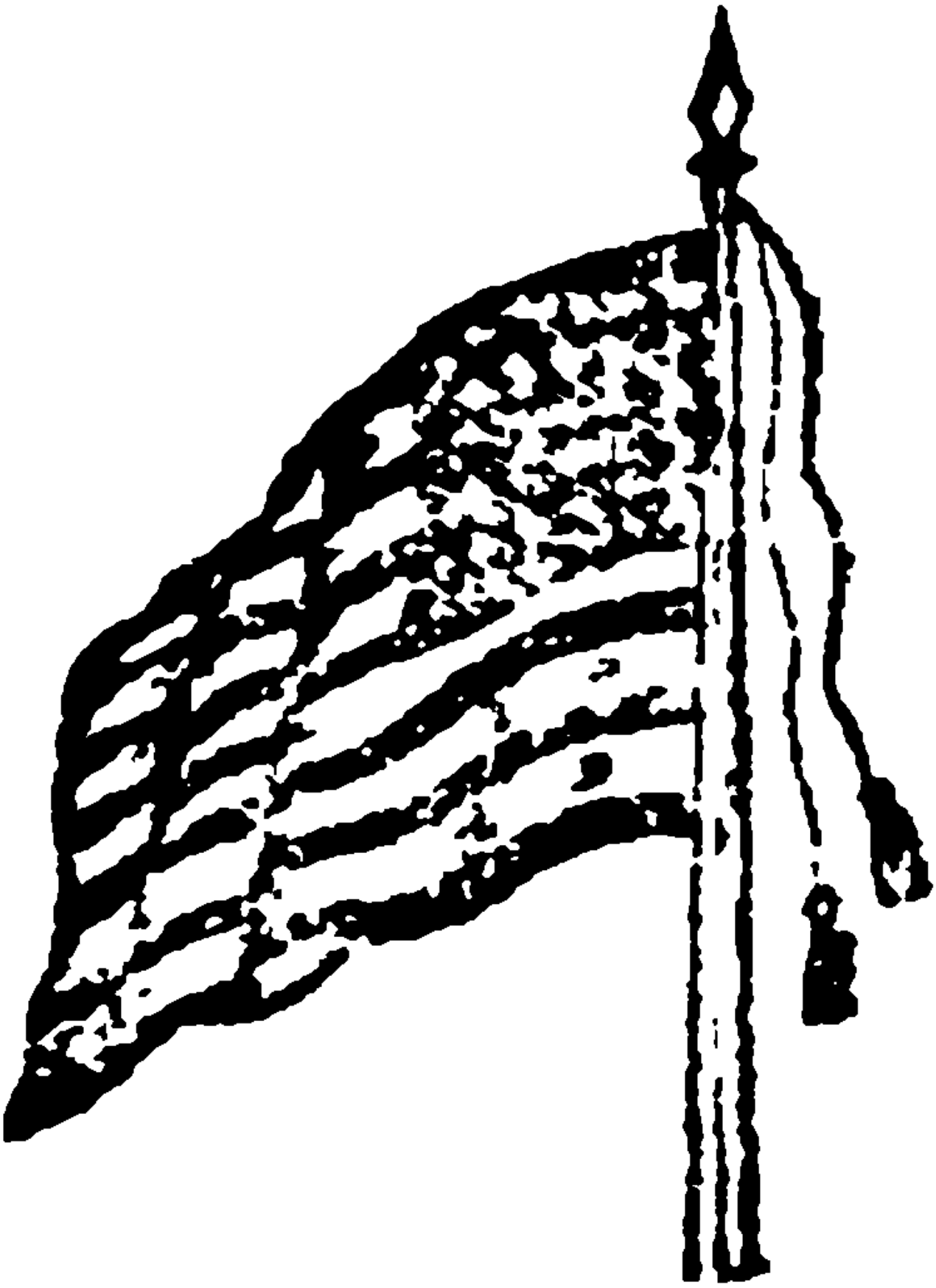
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[Illustration: an American flag on a pole with tasselled cords]

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