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About this text (7 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 Norton letter: a clause appears to be missing (“…Alabama. of which committee I was chairman”).
- p2 c3: crease or tear wipes out line-ends in the top half (~65 bracketed guesses in the Marsh/Jackson/Doy/Paul/Quinn/Johnston/Mosena letters).
- p4 c1: blackened left margin hides first letters of the masthead box and platform (~50 guesses).
- p5 fund list: the week’s total $113.42 only reconciles if W. S. Brown’s figure is $3 (it looks like 8 or 3).
- p6–p7 “The Source of Wages” is a reprint from *Progress and Poverty*, Book I, chs. III–IV (★). p6 c2: blank strip removes the middle of ~12 lines.

- Names differing between pages: James J. Maloney (p2) / Mahoney (p3); Rosbirt/Roshirt; St. Louis secretary [H. E. Bloom?] (p7) / Benj E Bloom (p3); “Sir E. J. Reid” (probably Reed); “McCullough” throughout p8 for Hugh McCulloch.

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THE STANDARD

NO. 92—VOL. IV, NO. 14.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1888.

PRICE FIVE CENTS

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THE STANDARD FOR THE CAMPAIGN.

Subscriptions to THE STANDARD from now to the close of the campaign will be received at the following rates:

Single subscription . . . . . 24c Ten or more, each . . . . . 20c One hundred or more, each . . . 16c

"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.

Subscribers of the "Chicago Enquirer" will receive "The Standard" until the expiration of their terms of subscription to that paper.

CONTENTS:

Some Democratic Congressional Nominations. Tom L. Johnson. Thomas G. Shearman's Return and Plans. Protectionists Who Practice Free Trade on the Sly. A Protection Catechism. From E. Q. Norton of Alabama. Notes from Correspondence. Campaign Work. The Song of the G. O. P. (a poem.) Tom L. Johnson—an account of his nomination. Single Tax Men of Albany. It Would Have Hurt the Boom. A Catechism—The purposes and essential principles of the Knights of Labor simplified and arranged. Prohibitory Law and Personal Liberty—Notes by an[sic] English Reader. Straws Which Show the Wind. Free Trade, Free Land, Free Men (a poem). To Help Single Tax Strangers. The Bedell and Forster Forgeries[1,2]. Prohibitory Law and Personal Liberty. Mr. Ketcham's Goose. Men and Things. The Campaign "Standard" Fund. Society Notes. The Source of Wages. New Ideas, Methods and Inventions. Current Thought. The Beating of the Drums.

The democrats of the Fifth Pennsylvania district, which embraces the northern part of Philadelphia, have had the good sense to nominate for congress Mr. F. A. Herwig—an absolute free trader, who for years has been doing good work in battling with the protectionist superstition. The vote in the district in which Mr. Herwig is running is

Sic in the original; probably "Prohibition Law and Personal Liberty—Notes by an English Reader".
Sic in the original; probably "The Bedell and Foster Forgeries".

composed in large part of workmen in the highly protected textile industries. But the long strikes and lockouts that have occurred there during the last few years, ought to have convinced these men that whatever protection may do for the employer, it is to the employed but an adding of insult to injury. The election of an out-and-out free trader from a Philadelphia district seems as yet almost too good to be hoped for; but even the nomination of such a man by the Philadelphia democratic convention is a most cheering sign of the political regeneration that is surely going on in Pennsylvania.

Congressman Henry Smith of the Milwaukee district of Wisconsin, who had previously been renominated by the union labor party convention, was last week renominated by the democrats by a unanimous rising vote. Mr. Smith gave a stanch support to the Mills bill, and though he can hardly be called a free trader, is, like Mr. Mills and President Cleveland, he[sic] is enough of a free trader for all practical purposes at the present time.

But it is in the Twenty-first district of Ohio[sic]—the Cleveland district, now represented by Martin A. Foran, a Randall democrat who voted against the Mills bill—that the democrats have done best. There they have nominated, and that unanimously and by acclamation, the first free trader in the full, true and complete meaning of the words ever knowingly nominated by the democracy in the United States; a man who, instead of having any fear of being "branded" as a free trader, openly professes his faith in freedom; a man who if he could have his way, would not only abolish all protection, but abolish all tariffs; and not merely all tariffs, but all taxes of whatever kind upon labor or the products of labor; and raise all public revenues by taking for public purposes, through taxation, those values that attach to land with the growth and improvement of society—in short an avowed and thoroughgoing single tax man—Tom L. Johnson.

And strangely enough—as it will seem to those who think that men are governed only by their selfish interests—this avowed and thoroughgoing free trader, who would sweep away all protection and abolish all tariffs, is himself a Pennsylvania manufacturer of steel rails; this believer in the principle that all citizens should stand on an equal level of opportunity and that necessary monopolies should belong to the state, who would make the steel highway, like the street or road, the property of the community, is the owner of large railroad interests; this democrat of democrats, whose political creed is that of Jefferson, the natural equality and equal rights of all men, and who recognizes the complete emancipation of labor, the utter abolition of industrial slavery, as the true mission of

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democracy, the real goal of the struggle that in this presidential campaign has boen[sic] begun, is himself a large employer of labor, the descendant of men who in Virginia and Kentucky have for generations counted their chattel slaves.

Tom L. Johnson is the son of Colonel A. W. Johnson, now of Indianapolis, who at the beginning of the war was a Kentucky planter, and fought through the struggle on the southern side, while Tom, then a child, followed with his mother the slowly retreating line of the confederate armies. Utterly ruined by the war, Col. Johnson settled in Louisville at its conclusion, and Tom, as soon as he was able to earn a dollar, had to go to work. Developing rare abilities, he quickly made his way from one rung to another in the ladder of promotion, and ere he had reached legal age was a successful railroad man.

A man of the purest and highest character, and with those frank and engaging qualities that make him friends wherever he goes and bind men closer to him the better they know him, Tom L. Johnson possesses rare intellectual and executive abilities. Without any mechanical education or training except what he has been able to pick up for himself, he has been a most prolific and successful inventor; without ever having seen the inside of a

Sic in the original; probably "is, like Mr. Mills and President Cleveland, enough".
Sic in the original; probably "Ohio,".
Sic in the original; probably "been".

college, or hardly even of a common school, he is a man of wide and varied information, and a clear and logical thinker; beginning life at the age of thirteen as a boy in the office of a Louisville street railroad, he has at the age of thirty-four, by the sheer force of inventive genius and business ability, made himself and all who have been connected with him comfortably rich, and is now engaged in large enterprises which bid fair to make him as rich as any man can become without deliberately robbing others. He has probably as yet never made a speech in his life, for he never took any personal interest in politics until I was nominated for mayor of New York, when, believing the principle for which I stood to be a matter of national interest, he supported me quietly but most efficiently. But he has in him all the qualities that go to make a speaker of the most effective kind; and if he goes to congress, even if he never rises in his seat to make a speech (but he surely will), he will prove, by force of personal qualities and his wonderful power of putting his views in personal conversation, one of the most influential members of the house.

It would be unfair to pretend that Mr. Johnson has been nominated because he is a single tax man. He has been nominated because the democracy were hard pressed for a candidate who could win the fight, and because the high position which he holds in the estimation of the people of Cleveland makes him the strongest cabdidate[sic]. But he was nominated with the full knowledge that he was a single tax man.

Some account of Mr. Johnson's nomination will be found in another column. Never has a nomination more clearly sought the man. Few men have sacrificed for principle more than Mr. Johnson, with his large business interests requiring close attention, will have to sacrifice if elected. But he has accepted from the same motives of public duty which he urged upon me when advising me accept[sic] the nomination for mayor of this city two years ago.

He has never disguised his opinions, but on the contrary, has been for years one of the most active and successful propagators of single tax ideas, and in his frank and manly letter of acceptance clearly states his principles. His nomination, made by enthusiastic acclamation, shows at least how rapidly democrats are ceasing to be afraid of the essential principles of democracy. And how readily the masses of the democratic party respond to true democratic principle was strikingly shown by the ratification meeting held on the night after his nomination and before he had even accepted. So far from striving to apologize for their free trade candidate, the speakers denounced the very idea of protection, and laughed and jeered at it as an exploded superstition, an insult to the dignity of labor. In the Cleveland congressional district this year there will be no disguise or evasion. The struggle will be a fair, open, stand-up fight between protection and free trade. And I believe that fight means victory. There is every probability that to the Cleveland democrats, represented now by a protectionist, will belong the honor of sending to the national house of representatives the first avowed and thoroughgoing free trader who in this generation has taken his seat there.

Thomas G. Shearman returned from a two months' vacation in Europe on Monday last, and during the remainder of the

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campaign will devote himself to the effort to swell the majority for Cleveland and Thurman. Mr. Shearman will be a notable addition to the list of single tax speakers who are taking part in this contest. To a firm grasp of general principles, and a most lucid way of stating them, he unites an extraordinary knowledge of the details of tariff history and legislation. If protectionists want "facts and figures," his marvelous memory for such matters can supply all they desire, and that of a quality that, unlike their own "facts and figures," will bear the test of examination.

But there is no need of saying anything of Mr. Shearman's ability to the readers of THE STANDARD. His "Single Tax," his "Distribution of Wealth," his "Objections to the Single Tax," his "Short Tariff History," and his other

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Sic in the original; probably "candidate".

articles and speeches, which have been printed in THE STANDARD and circulated by the hundreds of thousands in tract form, have made them familiar with the force and clearness of his presentation of principles; and with his power of marshaling facts and figures. Those of them who may have the good fortune to hear him from the platform will find him no less interesting and convincing as a speaker than as a writer. Mr. Shearman will make his first speech since his return, at the Single tax Cleveland and Thurman meeting which is to be held in Cooper union on Friday night of this week. At this, and other meetings at which he may speak during the campaign, he will answer any questions that the audience may ask.

By the way, since the protectionists will not debate the issue before the people, can they not at least be induced to follow the example set by single tax speakers and answer questions from their audiences?

I some time ago printed in this column an extract from the Grand Rapids (Mich.) *Workman*, commenting very unfavorably upon the nomination for governor by the democrats of Michigan of W. R. Burt, president of the Salt association, or trust. I have since received several letters from friends in the west speaking of him in high terms, and from the reports of his speeches printed in the Michigan papers it is clear that he is in entire sympathy with the president's tariff policy and is making a vigorous fight against the protectionist robbery and superstition. It is also only fair to Mr. Burt to say that the *Workman* has entirely reversed its position, and is now heartily supporting him. If Mr. Burt has been making money out of the tariff, the credit to him for now opposing it is all the greater.

Two United States special treasury agents (probably they were democrats, and possibly they were free traders) seized in Philadelphia last week a shipment of wool from Canada consigned to Thomas Lee & Co., wool merchants and high protectionists, the shipment being found to contain not only wool on which there is a duty of ten cents a pound, but some fine English blankets, on which there is a duty of twenty-four cents a pound and thirty-five per cent ad valorem. Mr. Thomas Lee, the head of the firm, is a protectionist of the highest kind (for the sake of American labor, of course), and has made himself extremely active in the agitation against the Mills bill, because it puts wool on the free list. He was a prominent figure in the wool growers' convention held in Washington to protest against the bill, and made there a speech an hour in length, expatiating upon the beauties of protection and the danger to the American workingman if it should be abolished, or even reduced.

The seizing of bales of wool containing blankets, imported by this protectionist firm, indicates what is the real interest in keeping up many protective duties. I have been told, for instance, that one of the largest carpet manufacturing firms in this country, who are very active in their opposition to the Mills bill, although it abolishes the duty on wool without reducing the protective duty on carpets, really find a large part of their profits in the importation of the higher grades of wools and woolen yarns as low grade carpet wools. Managing to get on the blind side of a few customs inspectors, this is made very easy; and their profit is the difference between the duty levied by the tariff on the higher grade of wools that are really imported and the lower duty imposed on the cheaper wools that are entered at the custom house. Protection is in reality protection to smuggling, and to the fraud, perjury and corruption which under our system accompany smuggling.

If there were nothing else against tariffs than the demoralization inseparable from them, that alone would be sufficient to condemn them.

The *Sun*, whose dearest hope is to defeat Cleveland and elect Hill, is frantically calling on the president to write a letter

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[in]dorsing the candidate who stands for [a]ll that is corrupt and degrading in our [po]litics, while petitions to the same effect [a]re being freely circulated. Threats of [”]knifing” Cleveland are openly made by [th]e partisans of

Hill, and in the western [p]art of the state banners bearing the in[s]cription "Harrison and Hill" are being [hung?] out.

The president did a weak and foolish [th]ing in writing a letter indorsing Colonel [F]ellows in the last election. He is not [li]kely to make the same mistake again, [ev]en if the impudent demand did not come [fr]om men who are bent on his defeat. [T]o say nothing of the obvious impropriety [of] the president indorsing any candi[da]te, Cleveland and Hill belong to [th]e same party only in name. Cleveland [re]presents in this election all that is [g]ood in democracy; Hill represents [al]l that is bad and corrupt. The [ca]ndidate of the democratic machines, [w]ho owes his nomination to his veto of a [bi]ll that would have purified our politics [a]nd ended the rule of bosses and halls, [w]ill receive the support of all the worst ele[m]ents of the republican party, and of all [t]he protectionist democrats who will vote [fo]r Harrison. Hill not merely ought to be [def]eated for the same reason that Cleveland [ou]ght to be elected, but those who vote [fo]r Cleveland for principle and not because [h]e is merely a democratic nominee, ought [to] vote against Hill in order to defeat the [co]nspiracy to secure for him a larger vote [th]an that cast for Cleveland and thus des[tr]oy the significance of the result.

A copy of THE STANDARD of this week [i]s sent to every name on the enrolled list o[f] single tax Cleveland and Thurman [vo]ters, with the hope that they will place it where it may do good.

HENRY GEORGE.

A PROTECTION CATECHISM.

[I]s demand for goods demand for labor? If not, why not?

[W]hen we buy foreign goods do we set fo[re]igners at work? If not, why not?

[W]hen foreigners buy our goods do they se[t] us at work? If not, why not?

[W]ill foreigners send their goods into th[i]s country unless we send our goods [o]ut? If not, why not?

[D]oes the importation of goods reduce wa[g]es here? If so, how?

Listen to the *Mail and Express*:

> If the British free trade system were adopted in this country the British system of direct taxation would be taken with it, and we should find the government compelling every one to pay an annual tax for the privilege of doing business and adding to the prosperity of the country. In England, a man who is an auctioneer is fined $50 a year; a banker is fined [$10?]; house agents are fined $10; peddlers are fined $1.25; refiners of gold or silver are fined $27.75. We call these taxes fines, because they are penalties for being enterprising. We would not like the system in this country.

We are delighted to hear the good Shepard thus proclaiming that he thinks it is *not*right to compel "every one to pay an annual tax for the privilege of doing business and adding to the prosperity of the country." But we fear he will have some difficulty in persuading the orators of his party to express these ideas *in extenso* from the stump. The good Shepard, however, can do much in that direction through his paper. He can point out to the American people how foolish it is, when aman[sic] builds a house, to fine him for doing it, or when he exchanges a bushel of grain for a few tin plates, to fine him for doing that. He can call these taxes fines because they are penalties for

Sic in the original; probably "advising me to accept".
Sic in the original; probably "a man".

being enterprising. And if any inferior person presumes to dispute with him, and to say that taxes must be laid on something, he can explain to that ignoramus that a tax upon land values would provide in superabundance for all public needs, and would quicken industry and secure it its full reward, instead of checking and robbing it.

We print this week a catechism of "the purposes and essential principles of the Knights of Labor," issued by District assembly 46 of Buffalo, N. Y. It is a document that everybody ought to read, and from which few can fail to derive both pleasure and profit. Knights of Labor who understand the true principles of their order will rejoice to see them stated so temperately and with such convincing clearness. And those whose acquaintance with the order has gone no farther than hearsay gossip and newspaper paragraphs, may be pleased to learn that it has purposes more noble than the breaking of ginger beer bottles and the shutting out of immigration—that it is in truth an educational order, teaching its members the true principles of freedom and the surest and safest methods of their advancement. It is to be hoped that the *Journal of United Labor* will follow our example in reprinting District assembly 46's catechism, and that it may be officially adopted by the next general assembly of the order.

How would people who have armorial designs on their carriages ike[sic] to pay an annual tax of $10.50 for the privilege? That is the

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kind of tax that would take the place of a protective tariff.—[Mail and Express.

We might comment on this, but we refrain. Such a lily is best left unpainted.

The issue of the *Christian Union* for September 27 contains an interesting letter from Bronson C. Keeler on the subject of "The pulpit for to-day." Mr. Keeler frankly criticises the attitude of the clergy with regard to the social questions now pressing for solution, and points out that it is largely the cause of the apathy with which young men are learning to regard Christian organizations. The letter and the *Christian Union's* editorial answer are both worth reading.

Leland Stanford has been talking political economy. It is a good thing to study political economy before talking it; but no protectionist regards that as necessary, and Mr. Stanford is a protectionist. Mr. Stanford is much worried lest workingmen's wages in the United States may decline, and he is sure they will decline if the tariff is lowered, because "a manufacturer will not continue to pay his men $2 a day, when, by moving his factory across the ocean he can get laborers for sixty cents." It does not occur to Mr. Stanford—why should it, since such things were never done?—that the manufacturer might find it more profitable to import the sixty cent laborers than to export his factory!

But the danger of a general exportation of factories is not all, nor the worst, that the patriotic Mr. Stanford predicts. He finds that the same principle "applies as well to wheat growing as to manufactures," from which we are to infer, apparently, that a wheat grower will not continue to pay his men $2 a day when by moving his wheat fields across the ocean he can get laborers for sixty cents. If our wheat fields and our factories were all exported to places of cheaper labor, it might pull hard at our heart strings, this swerving of old associations, but we should have the satisfaction of knowing that our exports exceeded our imports. Mr. Stanford has overlooked that phase of this dreadful migration. Truly, the darkest cloud has a silver lining!

But then Mr. Stanford goes on to say that "the element of wages has comparatively little to do with fixing the price of the products." This was a very thoughtless remark for Mr. Stanford to make. If wages have but little to do with fixing the price of the product, higher or lower wages cannot be a serious factor in competition. Indeed, Mr. Stanford says as much. "Paying high wages," he says, "does not in any way interfere with our competing with

Sic in the original; probably "like".

foreign producers in the markets of Europe." But if we, while paying higher wages, are able to undersell foreign producers who pay low wages, how can our tariff keep our wages up?

The republican managers are not well up in their new role of "workingman's friend." Ludicrous as have been the efforts of the New York *Tribune* and the Philadelphia *Press* to make "protection to American industry" in the editorial columns dovetail with "scab" labor in the composing room, they sink into funereal solemnity compared with the blunder at the Polo ground mass meeting at which Mr. Blaine spoke. All the evening a torrent of protection eloquence flowed from the lips of Blaine and Foraker and Finnerty and Tenney, and its burden was the necessity of "protecting" the workingman. In rhetoric sweet as honey, and with logic slippery as quicksilver, the horny handed sons of toil were warned against the wiles of the free trader and urged to vote for protection against pauper labor. But lo! and behold! it has since transpired that the very platform on which the speakers stood was built by pauper labor. The republican club, instead of employing union carpenters to do the work, employed a notorious anti-unien[sic] shop, and when the walking delegate of the carpenters went to the grounds to investigate, he was ordered away. The republican party wants "protection" for labor, but it wants the "protection" to pass through the hands of some monopolist. The trouble with that kind of "protection" is that it all sticks to the hands through which it is supposed to pass.

In connection with Hill's candidacy for governor, organized workingmen will find it worth their while to consider another candidate on the Hill ticket—John Clinton Gray, the candidate for judge of the court of appeals. Mr. Gray was appointed by Governor Hill to the vacancy on the court of appeals bench caused by the death of Judge Rapallo. While occupying that place the case of John E. Gill of the shoemakers' district of the Knights of Labor came before the court. It will be remembered that the court of appeals decided that case against Gill, holding in effect that an agreement of two or more workingmen to refuse to work in the same shop with an objectionable character is a conspiracy. Whether the decision itself was right or wrong, the manner in which it was rendered was in a marked degree suspicious, and altogether offensive and indefensible. The question involved was one that had never before come before the highest court; it affected the rights

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of every member of a labor organization; and it required for the first time a construction of the conspiracy statute in its relations to labor organizations. An offhand decision, unaccompanied by the reasons on which it was based, was in such a case an insult to workingmen, and indicative of the contempt in which the judges held the class of citizens whose interests were at stake before it. Yet that is precisely the manner in which the decision was rendered and Judge Gray—Hill's appointee and his associate on the state ticket—who sat in the case and united in the decision against Gill, is as much responsible for the offensive way in which the decision was rendered as any other judge who sat. It was not the duty of any particular judge to write an opinion; but it was the duty of all the judges to see to it that an opinion was written. Judge Gray is the only one of them whom workingmen can this year hold to his responsibility at the polls.

FROM E. Q. NORTON OF ALABAMA.

Two Straws That Show the Wind—Things Have Taken a Start Down South.

CINCINNATI, Ohio., Sept. 25.—Here is a letter I received a few days ago from Mr. O. M. Mastin of Clanton, Ala.:

> I send one dollar, for which please let me have as much "labor literature" as you can. I would like to have as many of Ring's tracts among the people as possible. They contain a plain proposition—so plain that even the most stupid can understand it. I am fully persuaded that the condition of the laborers will never be bettered

Sic in the original; probably "anti-union".

> to any great extent until we have the single tax, for I am confident that most, if not all, of our poverty comes from indirect taxation.

Here is another letter which I received the following day from Mr. A. G. Dake:

> Inclosed please find $1. Send me literature on the leading questions of the day, such as national banking, tariff, land question, Australian voting system, and other kind of subjects that we should inform ourselves upon. I wish to distribute this literature at our county alliance meeting on Oct. [3?]. We elected our senator in the Fifteenth district by 116 votes (he was a candidate only ten day[sic]), but they threw out two boxes and counted him out by [35?] votes.

These letters are significant of a rapid change coming over public sentiment in Alabama. of which committee I was chairman[sic], and Mr. Dake was a member of the convention, and both men fought shy of me at first because I was a "George crank." I have, from time to time, mailed them single tax literature, and now you see the result. I am very much encouraged, because hitherto my greatest opposition has come from men who were most interested in the labor movement, but who looked to co-operation, eight-hour laws, ownership of the machinery by the laborers, more money (greenbacks) in circulation, etc., etc. All these ideas have had to be exploded before they would even examine the single tax, and my influence has been greatly curtailed by prejudice of those who should have [aided?] me. Now the tide has turned, and before two years the labor party will be the dominant party in Alabama. Both of these men are of high standing and wide influence in their districts.

E. Q. NORTON of Mobile, Ala.

NOTES FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

W. T. Baden jr., Springfield, Mass.—I wish to do something (if only a little) for the cause of freedom. In the last presidential election I cast my vote for "Trusty Jim" and "protection." It was an honest vote, though an ignorant one. But now I have come to see the light. I am a West Virginian, from that historic town of Harper's Ferry, where one John Brown made an attempt to free another class of men. I want another blow to be given for freedom in my old home. So as a small step toward that end I inclose payment for some STANDARDS and tracts, which I wish to send to the accompanying addresses.

Phil. T. South, Chicago, Ill.—A trip, such as I recently made by wagon, from Dayton, Ohio, to Chicago, via Richmond and Lafayette, Ind., could set any one to thinking. We passed through mile after mile of rich lands without seeing a house or a human being, the lands being entirely uncultivated or used even for pasturage. An occasional inquiry from a lone tenant or farm hand brought out the fact that these lands were held at an average price of [$30?] an acre, and that the owners lived in other parts of the country. I learned, too, that these lands are taxed at a valuation only a little higher than the price of government lands. In this city I have driven to South park over the Grand boulevard, and of the lots I passed, not one in fifty is built upon, while all are held at exorbitant prices. It is extraordinary that people permit such a condition of things to exist.

J. F. Townes, Huntingdon, Tenn.—I wish to protest against what J. B. Carroll of Chicago says in a recent number of THE STANDARD, who says he is not willing to see this country ruled by the "solid south." Because the south casts most of the democratic vote, and that party is at last on top after twenty-four years, are we southerners to be looked at as a lot of villainous usurpers? Furthermore, the country is not ruled by a solid south, and everybody knows it is not. Mr. Carroll says, too, that in the south the dominant class have no respect for labor, but despise it,

Sic in the original; probably "ten days".
Sic in the original; probably "a clause appears to be missing before"of which committee"".

and do all in their power to retard the education of the “poor white and colored trash.” To which I will say that nearly all men in the south labor in some capacity, and such uncalled for misrepresentations are only calculated to do harm.

Unity Congregation, Brooklyn.

At a meeting of the subscribers of this congregation, held last Sunday after the services, it was unanimously decided to leave the Criterion and move downtown to the Athenæum, corner of Atlantic avenue and Clinton street, where the more central location will insure a larger attendance. The downtown and Eastern District members can reach the Athenæum more easily than they could the Criterion, and the means of communication for those living uptown are ample and convenient. The Brooklyn readers of THE STANDARD are requested to notify their friends of the change.

Organized in Newburgh.

NEWBURGH, N. Y., Sept. 25.—The single tax men of this city met last evening and organized a single tax club, with president and secretary as below. We are all in earnest, and have enlisted for the war.

A. [I.?] BARTON, President. D. J. MCKAY, Secretary.

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CAMPAIGN WORK.

GETTING DOWN TO THE REAL BUSINESS OF THE CANVASS.

Perfecting Organization and Holding Meetings—A Review of the Week's Work—Announcements for Future Meetings—Extracts from Campaign Correspondence.

The work of the Single tax Cleveland and Thurman campaign committee has made good progress during the week ending Tuesday, October 2. The enrollment is steadily increasing, and the organization of districts in New York is beginning to have an excellent effect.

On Saturday, September 29, Henry George and others addressed a large meeting in Albany, and the work there has begun to make rapid progress, the enrollment having largely increased within the last week.

On Friday, September 28, the Tenth congressional district in New York was organized, and on Monday, October 1, the Twelfth congressional district had a business meeting to perfect its organization.

On Tuesday, October 2, Mr. Louis F. Post and W. B. Estell addressed a meeting at Port Jervis, where great interest has already been displayed. Mr. Estell has just returned from a trip through the southern tier, and he finds single tax men eager for meetings at Binghamton, Port Jervis, Owego and Elmira, and efforts will be made to satisfy these demands.

On Wednesday, October 3, the Seventh congressional district in New York met for organization at [194?] Third avenue, while the Tenth congressional district held its first public meeting at Grocers' hall, Twenty-third street and Third avenue. Speeches were made by J. R. Abarbanelle and W. J. Gorsuch.

The following extracts will give an idea of[sic] the tone of the letters which are pouring in upon the committee:

Announcements for meetings in the future are as follows:

In the Eighth congressional district, on Thursday, Oct. 4, in New Windser hall[sic], 412 Grand street. Speeches will be made by W. O. Eastlake, J. R. Abarbanelle, and others.

At Cooper union, New York, Friday, Oct. 5, speeches by Thomas G Shearman and W. J. Gorsuch; Henry George to preside.

On Saturday, Oct. 6, Temperance hall, Kent avenue, Brooklyn, speeches by Louis F. Post and W. O. Eastlake. Rev. S. W. Laidler will preside.

Sic in the original; probably "lead-in placed before the announcements rather than before the letters".
Sic in the original; probably "New Windsor hall".

On the same evening, the Ninth congressional district branch of the New York free trade club will open headquarters at 105 Second avenue, and addresses will be made by W. J. Gorsuch, William McCabe and Michael J. Murray.

The Eighth congressional district will hold a meeting on the same evening at Goodfellows' hall, 104 Essex street, between Broome and Delancey, which will be addressed by John H. Dougherty, Everett Glackin and J. R. Abarbanelle.

Monday, Oct. 8, Henry George will speak at Patterson, N. J[sic].

Tuesday, Oct. 9, Louis F. Post will speak at Elizabethport, N. J.

On the same night there will be held in the eastern district of Brooklyn a large meeting at Palace hall, Nos. 81 and 83 Grand street, and addresses will be delivered by Henry George and Thomas G. Shearman.

On Wednesday, October 10, a large meeting will be held in Wendell's hall, on Forty-fourth street, between Eighth and Ninth avenues, New York, in the Eleventh congressional district, at which addresses will be delivered by Louis F. Post and W. J. Gorsuch.

On the same evening there will be held in Brooklyn, at New Turn hall, Sixteenth street and Fifth avenue, a meeting to be addressed by John J. Dougherty[sic] and W. O. Eastlake.

James Begg, [154?] Seventh avenue, Brooklyn, is preaching single tax among the musicians, and is preparing to organize a single tax band.

John G. Hopkins, Middletown, Conn.—I have read "Progress and Poverty" and have become a single tax man, and will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. Hitherto I have always been a republican.

James Fitzgerald, Jeddo, N. Y.—I vote for Cleveland because I think it is for the interests of the farmers and laborer that he shall win. I am also a Hill man. Hill is very popular in Orleans and Niagara counties.

W. F. Bien, Cleveland, Ohio.—I am one of those favored individuals, a protected manufacturer. To secure a forty to fifty per cent duty on my manufactures (confectionery) I have to pay a seventy-two per cent duty on my material (sugar), or an equivalent in the shape of increased prices to the sugar trust. This year count me for Cleveland. I was for Blaine in 1884, but have since became[sic] a land tax advocate and a free trader.

Isaac Broome, South Amboy, N. J.—I have always been a free trader, but since the first Lincoln campaign have not voted for milk and water democracy, and could not conscientiously vote for a tariff party. This year, however, Cleveland gets my vote.

A. Vinette, Los Angeles, Cal.—I inclosed a list of seventy-four single tax men who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. They are all wage workers and badly in need of protection against imported Chinese labor, monopolies and landlordism, but they know that trade restrictions are a curse instead of a blessing. It looks as if Harrison would not carry the Pacific slope. In two days' rustling I did not find one single tax man who is going to vote for protection.

Robert Richardson, Mahanoy City, Pa.—Five out of the eight men whose names I send were Blaine republicans. "Protection or Free Trade?" converted them.

Sic in the original; probably "Paterson, N. J.".
Sic in the original; probably "John H. Dougherty (?)".
Sic in the original; probably "have since become".

Robert Scott, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Inclosed are nine names. All of us will vote against Hill. I was inclined at first to vote the state prohibition ticket, but to defeat Hill I shall vote for Miller.

William H. Ryan, Monroe, N. C.—Inclosed are some more names for enrollment. I hope our New York friends will down Hill and elect Cleveland. If we get ballot reform we will hold the balance of power.

Charles S. Prizer, Reading, Pa.—I have just returned from the west, where free trade is booming. Will send you a list of names shortly.

Frank Draine, Wilmington, Del.—Put me down as a former republican who will vote for Cleveland and the single tax.

W. L. M. Perkins, South Gaston, N. C.—Here are eight names of single tax Cleveland voters. We hope to form a club soon.

John Bennett, Philadelphia, Pa.—Here are the names of nine men working in the highly protected woolen industry who know by bitter experience whether this fetich of protection adds to their happiness or not. There is a great change among the workers here. They talk of little else than the tariff—in the very factory itself they get into hot discussions. And when any one says that the tariff regulates or enhances the wages of the workers he is met by such questions as: Why is it that a loom fixer in North Carolina receives only eighty cents for work for which in Pennsylvania he gets [$1.60?]? How is it that

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wool sorters in New Jersey are paid eighty cents a day and in Pennsylvania $1.51 for the same work? How is it that in the great tile manufacturing state[sic] of Massachusetts the average weekly earnings of weavers for last year was only [$5.64?]. How is it that the highly protected carpet weavers cf Philadelphia[19] average weekly $7 in wages? Is it not true that supply and demand of labor have something to do with the rate of wages? This is the kind of questions workingmen in this vicinity are asking the tariff mongers.

Louis Meyer, Albany.—Four years ago I voted for Cleveland, but was then a high protectionist. This year I vote for Cleveland for the radical stand he has taken on the tariff question, for I am no longer a protectionist.

B. Sims, Brooklyn.—Inclosed are the signatures of six single tax men in New York and Brooklyn who will support Cleveland and Thurman in the coming election. It is not much that I can do in this way, but I hope to send more.

Agnes C. Sims, Brooklyn.—Although I am a young girl, and not allowed to vote, I can preach single tax, and I take as much interest in it as my father. What encourages me is that, although we have the great barriers of ignorance and prejudice in the way, yet you cannot arouse a person's interest enough to hunt for "the cat" without his going further and further in the search until he has found it. And such is "the cat's" influence, that once having seen it himself, he has no peace until he has made somebody else see it.

William Hornung, Chicago, Ill.—I received my first copy of THE STANDARD this week, and I fully indorse the principles it advocates. I have always been a tariff reformer, and I shall cast my vote for Cleveland and Thurman.

Alfred Gould, Oakland, Cal.—Find inclosed single tax blank, signed by me. Tariff discussion is becoming rampant here. Judge Maguire is fighting a good and steady fight.

John H. Quinlan of Glens Falls, N. Y., formerly state committeeman Twenty-first congressional district, united labor party.—My efforts to convince workingmen here that the tariff does not raise wages are very successful. For

Sic in the original; probably "great textile manufacturing state".
Sic in the original; probably "of Philadelphia".

the present I content myself with advocating absolute free trade, saying little about the land tax, but everybody I touch knows I am a single tax man. I find that one iron in the fire is enough. Cleveland would receive a much larger vote if a single tax free trader could be put in each assembly district to talk free trade; it would lessen any opposition to a reduction.

D. Munro, New Auburn, Sibley Co., Minn.—In signing the blank for single tax Cleveland voters I would remark that though late you must not think that I have been in any doubt as to what I should do. I have voted the republican ticket for the last twenty-four years previous to last presidential election, when their attitude on the tariff question drove me to vote for Cleveland. I am one of those who think that Mr. Cleveland to the best of his ability did his duty to the country, and therefore I have made up my mind to use what little influence I possess in his favor. I have been a reader of THE STANDARD from the first copy, and to say I like it but feebly expresses my admiration and approbation of the sentiments it promulgates. I am a farmer. I own 200 acres here, but can plainly see my way to bettering my condition by the single tax system and lose no opportunity of impressing upon the minds of those I come in contact with the advantage it would be to all but land speculators. Have read all of Henry George's works and think, of all the criticisms I have seen upon your works in newspapers and books, not one of your arguments have been successfully refuted.

E. Stillman Doubleday, Brooklyn.—I was in my boyhood an unconditional abolitionist, and after [1859?]-61 a republican, because that party took "one step" in the direction of freedom, which began the irresistible, the inevitable conflict. I battled for liberty with tongue and pen, and in the field, with all the little strength I could command, following the republican party faithfully, devotedly, sometimes perhaps blindly, until it turned its back on freedom and closed its ears to the cry of the oppressed. I appealed to my old party in February 13, 1887, in a letter to a republican leader—Governor Foraker of Ohio—(published in THE STANDARD of February [26?], 1887) urging him to direct the attention of his party to the sad and threatening condition of the masses; to beg his party to again begin battle for the oppressed; to again come close to the hearts and sympathies of the people; to take anew the inspiration of liberty, and so, leading on in the fight for equal justice, save itself from ignominy and death. My hopes and pleadings were all in vain. Governer Foraker's[sic] lengthy reply to my letter was but a string of platitudes and a rehash of the subterfuges and evasions which so commonly make up the argument of the practical politician, and he avoided committal to any practical principle. Now, again, I may have the pleasure of voting with a party and for a man as president who has taken a step toward freedom and again brought on the inevitable conflict which I believe can have but one finale. The same purpose and the same principle that led me to cast my first vote for Abraham Lincoln in [1863?] requires me to vote for Grover Cleveland in 1888. Please to enroll my name. I have never before voted for a democratic national ticket. This vote Mr. Cleveland may credit to the account of his one "first step"—please to step ahead, Grover, they're crowding behind. I may add that as Governor Hill has chosen to take his one step backward I shall not vote for him.

M. C. Monroe, Atlantic, Iowa.—I feel very much encouraged by the success which I have met in getting signatures to the single tax Cleveland and Thurman guarantee. Here are sixteen names to put down on your list.

C. M. Wyth, Cedar Falls, Iowa.—My first vote goes for Cleveland and Thurman. I'm a single tax man.

Arthur P. Davis, Santa Fe, N. M.—Inclosed find my enrollment as a single tax Cleveland voter. I was formerly a greenbacker, and afterward a union labor man. I cannot express how thankful I am for the circumstances that have saved the single tax cause from burying itself alive in a third party movement and has brought it into practical politics, where it can advocate the cause of freedom.

Sic in the original; probably "Governor Foraker's".

Edmund R. Otis, Superior, Wis.—I am a democrat, but will leave the party whenever it is not headed for free trade and the single tax.

C. E. Marks, Plymouth, Mass.—We have rooms here, where campaign literature is kept on hand for inquirers. We hope to win a good many converts.

E. Lacmann, Philadelphia, Pa.—You will find on the list accompanying twelve names, besides my own, to be put down as favoring the single tax Cleveland movement. I am one of those who have never voted anything else for the last twenty-four years than the straight republican ticket, and nothing else could ever change my political ideas but the Henry George doctrine.

J. W. Marsh, Parkersburg, W. Va.—I enclose the signatures of ten single tax men who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. Eight years ago this month I read "Progress and Poverty," and at once became a convert. It is often remarked that an old man never changes in his lines of thought. That I deny.

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I am nearly sixty years of age and [until a?] few years ago I was a republican. [While I?] became a convert to the philosophy of [single?] tax I never expected to see another [convert?] in this town during my life time; [now we?] have fifty-three members and are getting [recruits?] every week. So let the good [work go?] on until labor is entirely freed from all [restrictions?], until the commerce of the [world is?] as free as the winds that blow over the [face?] of the earth.

W. E. Jackson, Auburn, Me.—About [two?] weeks ago I obtained fifteen or twenty [names?] and gave them to the secretary of our [club?], F. W. Beals, who obtained some more, [and?] forwarded them all, amounting to [thirty-?] [illegible], for enrollment. They were credited to [Auburn?], N. Y., instead of Auburn, Me. I [send?] two more signatures with this.

W. S. Doy, Ithaca, Mich.—I have [always?] been a republican, the [son?] of an old abolitionist, Dr. John Doy, who went to Kansas [from?] Rochester, N. Y., with the first colony [from?] Boston in 1854, and was captured and [imprisoned?] for aiding some negro slaves to [escape?]. I am doing what little I can for the single [tax?], and shall continue until the end.

Ernest J. Paul, Geneseo, Ill.—Instead [of?] looking at what all can see and [comprehend?], the natural relations that exist between [the?] states, we are discussing the tariff of [our?] grandfathers—whether it will injure or [help?] England. A mass of statistics are [hurled at?] the people to prove pro or con, when a [half?] hour's intelligent study or explanation [to an?] unlearned person will prove the natural [law?], free trade.

J. J. Quinn, Donaldson, Pa.—With this [I?] send you some addresses, to which you [may?] send literature with good effect. I live in [a?] locality where the majority of the [inhabitants?] are coal miners. I am a miner myself. I [am?] only too anxious to do anything for the [single?] tax cause. It grieves me that I cannot [do?] more, but it is very hard to collect any [money?]. We have not yet got over the effect of [the?] last strike.

Thomas Williamson, Lynchburg, Va.—I [send?] my name for enrollment. I shall "[Nicodemus?]" no more.

Chas. P. Johnston, Cramer Hill, N. J.—I was formerly a republican and voted [for?] Baine in 1884[sic]. Was converted to the [single?] tax theory about two years ago and [have?] since been advocating it in and out of [season?], and, I think, to some purpose. I have [made?] several converts in this place. I intend [to?] vote for Cleveland and Thurman, and will [use?] my best endeavors to gain votes for them [in?] this locality.

Sic in the original; probably "Blaine in 1884".

G. V. Hely, Cœur, Cal.—I was an old [line?] republican but am now a single tax [free?] trader, and I will vote for Cleveland.

Wilbur Mosena, Burlington, Iowa.—I [send?] you my name and address as one who [will?] support Cleveland and Thurman and [the?] democratic candidate for congress in my [district?], not because they are free traders, [but?] because they are going that way. Until [two?] years ago I had been a radical [republican?]. At that time I read "Progress and [Poverty?]," and have since enlisted in the new cause [and?] am now ready to support any movement [tending?] toward free trade and free [production?].

The Song of the G. O. P.

We are friends of the toiler, down troden[sic], oppressed, In the finest of raiment we'd fain see [him?] dressed; We'll rescue him surely from Poverty's [brink?], And yet, *entre nous*, we, with Harrison, [think?] That a dollar a day Is very good pay For any poor laboring man.

His knives, forks and spoons, his sugar, shall be, Well taxed, but, remember, his whisky is free; We'll keep up the price of his clothes and his coal, While with untaxed tobacco his wife he'll console; For a dollar a day Is excellent pay For any poor laboring man.

Messrs. Blaine and Carnegie have [seen?] from their coach How cheap foreign goods on our fac'ries encroach; Pauper products we'll keep from American shelves, While slyly importing the paupers themselves, Since a dollar a day Is munificent pay For any poor laboring man.

From Wall street and coal trusts ve draw[sic] our resources, Yet sympathize deeply (between our rich courses) With the poor and the wretched of every section, And wish to afford them the fullest "protection;" Yet a dollar a day Is very good pay For any poor laboring man.

As for trusts and monopolies we lave no care[sic], They are "private" and something the people must bear; So to Cleveland, good workmen, your votes never pledge, For he wars upon "trusts," and has dared to allege That a dollar a day Is beggarly pay For any brave laboring man.

CHARLES W. PHILLIPS.

Chicago, Ill., Sept. 19.

Single Tax Men on the Democratic Stump in Indiana.

In a private letter one of our good friends in St. Louis says:

H. Martin Williams leaves to-morrow for Indiana; with him goes W. H. Blake of St. Joseph, Mo., who presided over the deliberations of the united labor party convention at Sedalia. The boodle tendencies of some of the members of the executive committee appointed by that convention have proved too much for the honest bricklayer, and he has shaken himself loose and starts with Williams to preach the gospel of what the democrats are pleased to call tariff reform. We single tax men have another name for it, of course, but if the democrats want us to call it tariff reform what's the difference? Williams hopes to get a crack at John Jarrett, and Blake's handy tongue is eager to bandy words with ex-Secretary Litchman. You may advise our friends in Indiana of the coming of these men. Williams is by all odds the best stump speaker in Missouri, and Blake is, as I said before, awful handy with his tongue. I think that they have each a three weeks' list of appointments. They are both loaded for bear, and John

Sic in the original; probably "down trodden".
Sic in the original; probably "we draw".
Sic in the original; probably "we have no care".

Jarrett will find in our Missouri jawsmith—H. Martin Williams—a foeman worthy of his steel, or perhaps it would be more appropriate to say, of his tin plate. Williams can hold an audience half a day, and his voice improves as the hours slide by. Blake will keep the flies off of Litchman if he gets a chance at him, and as he has kept posted on K. of L. affairs and has been himself a prominent Missouri knight, will be able to ask that gentleman some interesting questions. Of course these gentlemen are both for Cleveland because they are for the single tax.

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TOM L. JOHNSON.

HE IS NOMINATED TO SUCCEED FORAN IN CONGRESS.

His Name Received in the Democratic Convention with a Whirlwind of Applause—Nominated by Acclamation on a Genuine Democratic Platform.

The democratic convention of the Twenty-first congressional district of Ohio assembled in Cleveland Sept. 29 and nominated Tom L. Johnson to succeed Martin A. Foran in congress. No other name was presented to the convention, and the nomination was made by acclamation amid a tumult of applause.

The convention was called to order by Mr. Charles Missar, chairman of the district committee, and Mr. August Zetwing[sic] was chosen permanent chairman. The usual officers and committees were selected and appointed, and the organization of the convention completed. Nominations being then in order, Dr. R. A Vance secured the floor.

HE NAMES A WINNER.

"I want," said Dr. Vance, "to name a winner—a man who is favorably known to every man here and throughout the district, a man who will firmly stand by tpe president[sic] and will well represent the district in congress. I nominate Tom L. Johnson."

Then the cheers went up and drowned the speaker's voice. Every delegate was on his feet, cheering, waving his hat and shouting for Tom Johnson. It was evident that Dr. Vance had realized his wish. He had "named a winner," indeed.

SECONDED, "THIRDED" AND "FOURTHED."

As soon as order was somewhat restored, City Clerk Salen rose to second the nomination. He spoke of Tom Johnson's life in Cleveland, of what he had done for the city, of his strong common sense and good old-fashioned democratic ways. "Tom Johnson," he said, "belongs to no class. He has the confidence of the business men and the love and esteem of every wage worker. I move that nominations close."

"As Mr. Salen has seconded the nomination, I want to 'third it,'" said Colonel Van Tassell[sic]. "If the convention makes this nomination, the convention will make no mistake. If nominated, Tom Johnson (cheers) will go to congress a whooping. He'll run the Brooklyn street railroad right into Washington."

Mr. R. A. Jones, colored delegate, desired to "fourth" the nomination. He was proud of the choice the convention was about to make. No man, he said, would be stronger than Mr. Johnson, and he will go to congress sure and stand by Grover Cleveland when he gets there.

Sic in the original; probably "Augustus Zehring".
Sic in the original; probably "stand by the president".
Sic in the original; probably "Van Tassel".

NOMINATED BY ACCLAMATION.

The question was then put, and the nomination was made by acclamation, the delegates rising to their feet and cheering again and again. The chairman's announcement of the vote provoked another demonstration, after which a committee was appointed to wait on Mr. Johnson, and the convention proceeded to consider the report of the committee on resolutions.

A THOROUGHGOING PLATFORM.

The following resolutions were adopted:

Resolved, That the democracy of the Twenty-first congressional district of Ohio approves and indorses the administration of Grover Cleveland as the most courageous and truly democrat[sic] the country has been blessed with since Andrew Jackson.

Resolved, That in principle we are in hearty accord with the president's message and the national platform adopted at St. Louis.

Resolved, That we intend the Twenty-first district shall be first in Ohio in support of genuine tariff reform by reducing taxes on the necessaries and comforts of life.

The chair was then empowered to appoint a congressional committee of nine, after consultation with Mr. Johnson, and the convention adjourned.

Mr. Johnson was from home when the committee called to announce his nomination, and when finally informed of the honor done him declared it impossible for him to give an answer till he should have taken time to consider the matter and consult with those interested with him in business.

ENTHUSIASTICALLY RATIFIED.

A grand ratification meeting was held the same evening in the public square of Cleveland. The various democratic organizations marched in torchlight procession to the square, where a large crowd was assembled to greet them, notwithstanding a cold, drizzling rain that would have checked any less ardent enthusiasm. The speeches made indicated no wish to dodge the issue of the campaign, and every mention of Tom L. Johnson's name was received with cheers that showed how warm a place he held in the hearts of his fellow townsmen.

"I believe," said Chairman John F. Web[sic], "in protecting our workingmen against the unjust demands and extortions of the tax collector, demands that require them to pay two prices for a great part of their food and clothing. I believe in protecting them against the unjust distribution of the profits of labor. I believe in protecting them against the limited markets of our country, which causes overproduction, or underconsumption, and thereby produces stagnation in business, a stoppage of our mills and factories, and enforced idleness and want on the part of our workingmen. I believe in protecting our farmers against high priced farming implements, against high priced articles of wear and consumption, and against a high cost of transportation for their products, and, on the other hand, of encouraging friendly relations with the nations of the world, to whom we are compelled to sell our immense export farm products, amounting annually to over $500,000,000."

Messrs. Albert H. Weed, David Rankin, R. A. Jones and David Athey also spoke, announcing their principles in equally plain language, and eliciting frequent bursts of applause. Speaking of Mr. Johnson, Mr. Rankin said:

Sic in the original; probably "truly democratic".
Sic in the original; probably "John F. Webb (?)".

> It is a cold night to be out talking, but it is colder for the republicans. I'll bet that when they heard Tom Johnson had been nominated a cold chill ran up and down the backs of every republican nominee in this county and district, because they know he is a man who will command a united democratic support and the support of respectable republicans. For all the decent republicans are coming over to our side, disgusted with a party so corrupt that it charges from $10,000 to $12,000 for a nomination.

A STRAIGHTFORWARD LETTER OF ACCEPTANCE.

On Tuesday, October 2, Mr. Johnson forwarded the following letter of acceptance to the committee:

CLEVELAND, O., Oct. 2, 1888.

Augustus Zehring, chairman; Colonel A. T. Van Tassel, C. P. Salen, L. A. Russell, committee, and delegates of the congressional convention of the Twenty-first district of Ohio—Gentlemen: The first member to reach me of your committee appointed to notify me of your nomination, found me a few minutes after I had heard of the action taken, and more than an hour after the convention had adjourned.

Before I left the city, about a week ago, my nomination had been suggested to me as possible by several gentlemen, and to each I emphatically declined to be a candidate, and

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felt absolutely sure that if my name should be mentioned that some of these gentlemen, speaking for me, would convey to the convention my determination.

You can, therefore, imagine my surprise at hearing the result of the action of the convention, and especially at the unanimity of feeling expressed.

I am deeply sensible of the high honor conferred.

Every business interest I have urges me to decline any political office.

My relations with others, interested with me here and elsewhere, whom I felt in honor bound to consult before taking such a step, was the cause of the delay in deciding this question.

I have given this subject every consideration in my power.

Believing that if by accepting this nomination I can help the cause of the reduction of taxes on the necessities and comforts of life, which is the sole question now at issue, I am called upon to make whatever personal sacrifice shall be involved in it.

Standing as I do in the line of indorsing the St. Louis platform as interpreted by the president's message, and as expressed in the resolutions adopted by your convention, and believing that unnecoessary taxation[sic] is unjust taxation, and that this reduction is the first step in the direction of tax reform that must be taken before the ultimate objects of real freedom can be reached, I can heartily approve and support the administration.

I am, as you all know, in personal belief, a free trader, and advocate making as soon as it can lawfully be done, a radical change in the present system of taxation, by which change the burden shall be shifted from the products of labor, where it now bears heaviest, on to the monopoly of the natural opportunities to labor.

This, I am well aware, is for the future, and not yet in present issue.

Sic in the original; probably "unnecessary taxation".

However reluctant and personally diffident I have been, and am, to enter this campaign of principle as a candidate, I will do everything in my power to bring about a discussion that will demonstrate to the people that in freedom and not in restriction rests the true solution of the great problem of equal justice to all in bearing common burdens, and of special privilege to none at the expense of any others. I accept the nomination. I am, gentlemen, with sincere respect, truly yours,

TOM L. JOHNSON.

WHAT THE LEADING CLEVELAND PAPER SAYS.

The Cleveland *Plaindealer*, speaking of Mr. Johnson's nomination, says:

> Mr. Johnson was the first man in the city in his line of business who made short hours for his employes and has labored incessantly for the adoption of shorter hours for all men engaged in the same or other kinds of employment. There are thousands of poor who have realized by substantial gifts Mr. Johnson's largeness of heart. There is not a man in his employ that wants to go out of it, or one that was ever in it but that wants to get back again. Mr. Johnson's nomination will be immensely popular with all classes of citizens and the workingmen will see that his election is made certain.

SINGLE TAX MEN OF ALBANY.

Henry George's Speech—Plans for the Future.

ALBANY, N. Y., Oct. 1—The single tax men of this city opened the campaign with a meeting at the Academy of Music Saturday evening, Sept. 29, when about 1,500 people, among whom were a fair sprinkling of ladies, listened to an address from Henry George. Mr. George's declaration that he believed in the democracy of Jefferson called forth hearty applause, and every point made against the doctrine of protection immediately elicited a sympathetic cheer. After speaking for an hour and showing that no benefit could possibly result to the wage earner and wealth producer by restriction, and that only in the fullest freedom could labor reap its just reward, Mr. George announced himself ready to answer questions.

For three quarters of an hour he was kept busy doing so, the audience apparently being willing to continue to listen to the questions and answers indefinitely.

The audience was a very intelligent one, composed of men of all shades of political opinion.

The meeting was held under the auspices of the Single tax Cleveland and Thurman club. The committee of arrangements were Messrs. Maloney, Stevens, Zeilman, Noyes, Rose, Barrett, Rosbirt, Campbell, Norwalk, French, Andrews and Meyer. The club has at present a membership of nearly one hundred, but its sphere of usefulness can be considerably extended if all single tax men in and about Albany who intend to vote for Cleveland will join the club and send their names to the secretary, James J. Maloney, 25 Myrtle avenue. We desire to make the club permanent, dropping, of course, the names of Cleveland and Thurman after the election. Active work can be done during the winter if the single tax men will only put their shoulders to the wheel. We intend holding another meeting in a week or two, and hope to have Thomas G. Shearman to address it.

ROBT. BAKER.

The Tariff and Hat Manufacturers.

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y.—In his speech in Cooper union a short time since, Mr. Pentecost made an unfortunate selection in his allusion to hat manufacturers, from the fact that of all manufacturers they are the most unhappy. During the past ten years a majority have either gone into bankruptcy or have been involved in debt. In this case it should be argued that protection narrows the market for the manufacturer of goods, confines his products to a capricious market, which keeps the factories closed a very large part of the time. It is true that under free trade hats would be cheaper than they now are, but it would not be so because of no duty on hats, but because of a reduction in the cost of many articles used in the manufacture of hats. The hat manufacturers do not need protection. What they really need is free trade.

There is but one wealthy hat manufacturer in this country, and he has come out for free trade. He made his money during the war.

C. H. FULLER.

Now Then, Nat McKay, Step Up.

BROCKWAYVILLE, Pa., Oct. 1.—If the repnblican[sic] high tariff apostles are averse to a debate on the tariff with Henry George, I would suggest that Nat McKay debate poverty with Helen Campbell, who wrote "Prisoners of Poverty" in a series of papers for the New York *Tribune*.

BION H. BUTLER.

No English Goods, but All the English Landlords You Please.

New York Press.

Two English syndicates own 7,500,000 acres of land in Texas. Another owns [1,800,000?]. Sir E. J. Reid, the famous English naval[sic] constructor, has 2,000,000 acres in Florida. Two London firms own 3,050,000 acres. An English company has 700,000 acres in Mississippi, and another company has 750,000 acres.

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IT WOULD HAVE HURT THE "BOOM."

So the News About the Outbreak of Small pox in East Buffalo Was Suppressed and the City Now Enjoys a Small [Sized?] Epidemic.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Sept. 30.—We have in this city a characteristic instance of the utter heartlessness into which men may be led by their greed for gain. Some three months ago a case of smallpox was developed in a crowded district, and before effective measures were taken for its suppression the disease was communicated to others. For a time it seemed as though the trouble would soon be under control, and the papers lent full assistance in reporting all cases which came to their notice. But the fear arising that Buffalo's "boom" would be injured, and the incoming flow of people checked, the Buffalo business men's association, alias Buffalo real estate speculators, took action as recorded in the following clipping from the Buffalo *Courier* of July 17:

> The managers of the Business men's association appeared last evening in a new role—as censors of the Buffalo press, and as such manifested a disposition to mark out a line of policy to be pursued by the

Sic in the original; probably "republican".

> newspapers with regard to news that shall or shall not be published. It was the regular monthly meeting, and about all that could be thought of as worthy of consideration was the attitude of the press in regard to the outbreak of smallpox at East Buffalo. In the discussion that took place the sentiment expressed was that it was unwise and detrimental to the best interests of the city to make any extended reference to the matter. It was thought that the promulgation of the news would act disastrously upon the present boom, especially as the time for the opening of the international exposition is only a few weeks distant. A committee was appointed to visit the newspapers this morning and request them in the interest of Buffalo to suppress the news.

The action of the committee was effectual, but little being heard of the trouble, and no vigorous measure taken to suppress it until after the exposition, which, by the way, acted as a medium to pass the plague into some surrounding towns.

On September 22, '88, the authorities were surprised(?) to find an epidemic of smallpox raging in the city, thirteen cases being reported on that day, eleven in one house in the Polish district. The excuse given was that the trouble had been concealed, as men of families did not wish to lose work through quarantine.

On the 24th, nearly three months after the first case, the health officer secured permission to make a house to house search, and a few days later established free vaccination headquarters, which has reached a capacity of 4,500 operations in twelve hours.

Sixty-nine cases in all have been reported, of which seventeen have died, and the health physician expresses the opinion that he "fully believes that there have been fifty cases which the board has not heard of and never will."

These facts furnish their own comments—the hole in the levee has assumed a dangerous size, and it will require heroic exertion to prevent the flood.

Better the failure of a dozen expositions and the setting back of Buffalo's speculative prospects for ten years than the sacrifice of one innocent life in an effort for more than a natural increase in population and so-called prosperity.

AN INDIGNANT CITIZEN.

What They are Doing in Milwaukee.

MILWAUKEE, Wis.—This city has the distinction of having sent the only labor party candidate to congress, and Henry Smith, having voted for the Mills bill, will be supported by the democrats as well as the labor party, and by this united strength will doubtless be re-elected. But fusion does not extend to state or presidential electors; so Wisconsin will not help Mr. Cleveland.

The single tax men have no organization, but are quietly biding their time and hope when election matters quiet down to do some educational work. A reform like ours, involving a return to principles of justice and needing a higher moral feeling than is common to the ordinary citizen cannot be carried on with a shout and a hurrah, but must be slow to be sure.

At the Workingmen's club rooms last Saturday evening Mr. Peter McGill, by invitation, read a paper on "Land reform and the single tax." This was the first public exposition of the land reform doctrine since Mr. George's address of two years ago and Dr. McGlynn's two addresses last summer. It was listened to with attention and at its

Sic in the original; probably "Sir E. J. Reed (Sir Edward J. Reed)".

close, when opportunity was given to objectors, it was surprising that those who spoke avowed themselves believers, even when asking for more light.

Much money has been made in Milwaukee and vicinity the last few years by the advance in real estate, and it is not surprising [if?] the suggestion of a method to stop this way of making money should meet with opposition, just as the image makers claimed that their craft would be destroyed if Paul continued to preach a god not made with hands. But the few faithful George men will keep quietly at work nevertheless. Heartfelt conviction will force the communication of ideas to others. In the absence of great orators or men of note the work will be done noiselessly, but done it will be and our numbers will increase.

JAMES LEEDOM.

The Eighteenth Ward in Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN, Sept. 28.—A conference of single tax men was held at 253 Evergreen avenue, Brooklyn, last evening. Adolph Pettenkofer was elected chairman pro tem, and James Connell, secretary. After some discussion it was decided to organize a Cleveland and Thurman single tax club. The secretary was ordered to notify all the members of the disbanded Eighteenth ward united labor party association when and where the next meeting will be held. The following men were appointed as a committee on organization: A. Schalkenback, Geo. Turner, J. Connell, Mr. Falkner and A. Pettenkofer. After the conference adjourned the committee engaged Amity hall, 118 Myrtle street, between Evergreen and Central avenues. Meetings will be held every Thursday evening at 8 o'clock. Everybody cordially invited.

ADOLPH PETTENKOFER, chairman. JAMES CONNELL, secretary.

Personal.

Dr. Irving W. Smith of Charles City, Iowa, has opened the single tax crusade in Floyd county of that state, by introducing a discussion of our principles in the leading republican and democratic papers of that county. The comments on Mr. Smith's articles by those papers show that they are opposed, not to the single tax, but to fiscal changes with which the taxation of land values has no relation. The editors should inform themselves as to what the economic effect of the single tax would be.

Woodford Shannon of Kingman, Kansas, is another single tax man who has been nominated for office by the democrats. He is the regular democratic nominee for district clerk.

Mr. Dana's View of It.

New York Sun, Sept. 28.

A trust is simply a larger partnership, a more extended business organization than the public have been accustomed to. It belongs to a more advanced state of social development, but in itself it is just as legitimate as any other partnership.

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A CATECHISM.

The following series of questions and answers has been issued in book form by D. A. 46, K. of L., Buffalo, N. Y., under the title, "The Purposes and Essential Principles of the Knights of Labor Simplified and Arranged:"

PART I.

For what purpose was the K. of L. formed?

To organize and direct the power of the industrial masses.

In what way can we obtain our objects?

Only through legislation.

What, then, is the duty of all Knights?

To assist in nominating and supporting only those candidates who have pledged themselves to support our measures.

What right has a man to the soil?

He has a right to a share of it, for use.

Can he sell, or can any one purchase from him this right?

No. It is inalienable.

What rights have men to life?

They have equal rights—having been created equal.

If men have a right to life, have they a right to the means of living?

Yes.

If men have *equal* rights to life, have they, also, *equal* rights to the means of living?

Yes.

What is given to men to be their "means of living?"

The soil of the whole earth—that is, the land.

Have all the people in this country equal rights to the soil of this country?

Yes.

Has every person in the United States an equal and inalienable right to a share of the land of this country?

Yes.

Now, what is our first demand?

That the equal right of all men to the soil be legally recognized.

What do we demand shall be done with all lands held for speculative purposes?

That they be taxed to their full value.

By whom do we want our money to be issued?

By the government, direct to the people.

What debts should this money be legal tender for?

For all debts, public and private.

Should banks have the right to issue money?

No.

What should the government do with the railroads and telegraphs?

Purchase them.

Why should the government own and control the railroads?

Because they are public highways.

What right has the government to compel the railroad corporations to sell?

The right secured by every franchise given to railroad corporations.

What does the franchise say?

It says that the government shall have the right to purchase the railroads at any time, at their original cost, or their value at the time of purchase.

Has the government as good a right to purchase the telegraphs?

Yes! Because the statute authorizing their construction expressly declares that the government shall have the right to purchase them at any time.

Do you think that the employment of children under fifteen years of age in workshops, mines or factories is right?

No.

Should the law require that all men employed in mining, manufacturing and building be protected against accidents and injuries to their health?

Yes.

If those men be injured because proper safeguards are not provided, should the law procure for them indemnification?

Yes.

What subjects do our six demands cover?

Land, money, railroads, telegraphs, child labor and protection for employes.

Briefly, what are our six demands?

I. The equal rights of all men to the soil.

1. That lands held for speculative purposes should be taxed to their full value.

2. That money should be issued by the government and not through banks.

3. That the railroads and telegraphs be managed by the government.

V. That children under fifteen yəars[sic] should not be employed in workshops, mines or factories.

1. That all workmen should be properly protected while at work.

What may we do among ourselves that will indirectly help us in securing our objects?

Help one another.

Is the local assembly founded to protect the workingmen in only one or two trades?

No, it should protect all.

What is a local assembly?

It is a school for the education of its members.

Should it teach them to strike?

No. It should teach that strikes should be avoided.

What should members be educated to depend upon?

Organization, co-operation and political action.

Should it teach men's right to the soil?

Yes.

Sic in the original; probably "years".

Since every Knight who has the right to vote is a part of the government, has he a duty to perform in establishing a just government?

Yes.

Should the local assembly teach its members how to vote intelligently, free from corrupting influences?

Yes. It is one of its highest duties.

PART II.

Do you believe that all men are created equal?

Yes.

Have they equal rights to life?

Yes.

Have they equal rights to the soil, the land—in other words, to the means of living?

Yes.

What right have the people to the land of the earth?

The right to the use of it.

Has one generation more right to the earth than another?

No.

What do we mean by the soil, or land?

The term land includes all natural materials in or on the earth.

What is wealth?

Wealth includes all those products of nature that have been made valuable by labor.

What is capital?

Capital is that portion of wealth used to procure more wealth.

What is rent?

Rent is the return received for the use of land.

What is interest?

Interest is the return received for the use of capital.

What is wages?

Wages is the return received for the exertion of labor.

Who are the laborers and producers?

All those who use their brain or muscle to make mankind richer, wiser or happier.

Now, if the land of any country belongs to the people of that country, to whom does the rent belong?

To all the people who have a right to the land.

If the land of the United States belongs to

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all the people of the United States, have they not a right to the rent of it?

Yes.

If all have equal rights to the land, the means of living, have we not equal rights to rent of it?

Yes.

What is the government?

The agent, or representative of the people.

What are the duties of the government?

To secure to everyone his just rights, to protect him in his enjoyment of them, and to promote the general welfare.

Why should the government collect all rent?

Because it rightfully belongs to the people.

Who collect and keep it under the present system?

The monopolists of the gold, silver, iron, copper, coal and other valuable mines, speculators in rich agricultural and timber lands, and the owners of valuable city lots.

How could the government collect its rents?

By collecting from all land holders, as a tax, what their lands would rent for.

Would not such a tax oppress the workingmen and farmers?

No, because the valuable lands are held by the rich while the producers have the land of little value, and unless the workingmen had more than he has[sic] now he would receive back, as his share of the rent, more than he would be compelled to pay as tax.

If a man occupied but his share of the valuable land, would you tax him?

Yes. But since he would receive back as much in rent as he paid in tax he would be paying nothing for his share.

If a man was using more than his share of valuable land, how much tax would he pay?

All that his land would rent for.

Sic in the original; probably “workingman”.

How much rent would he receive back?

No more than anybody else—an equal share.

Who would receive the difference between what he paid as tax and what he received as rent?

The persons whose shares he was using.

If a man was not holding land would he have to pay tax?

No.

Would he receive any rent?

Yes. For since somebody else is using his share, he has a right to the rent of it.

Would anybody be wronged by this system of taxation?

No.

Would there be any land speculators under this system of taxation?

No. For since the government would collect all the land value as tax, there would be no inducement in holding land for a rise in value.

Would valuable land then be held out of use?

No. No one would hold land he was not using.

What effect would it have on the monopolists of the timber and mineral lands?

They would have to employ labor to cut their timber and work their mines, because, if they did not they would not be able to pay as tax what those lands would rent for.

How would it effect capital?

Capital being but the child of labor, helping its parent to produce more wealth, would gain by having its proportionate share of the increase of wealth that would be produced.

What effect would it have on labor?

It would compel capitalists to invest all their capital in productive industries instead of using it to restrict production by cornering the necessaries for labor; it would open to labor all the agricultural timber and mineral lands now held out of use; it would make the workingman his own landlord; and if the government supplied the means of exchange, transportation and travel at cost, thereby increasing enormously the facilities for production, it would compel every man to work in order to earn an honest living; and it would secure to the producer the whole product of labor.

After the rent was collected as tax, in what form could it most advantageously be distributed?

In the form of public benefits in which all would share alike.

What benefits should be first supplied?

It should be used to pay the legitimate expenses of government, thus relieving the people of all taxation; and to establish free schools, colleges, and institutions for the blind, the sick and feeble, to furnish light, heat, streets, parks, telegraphs and railroads.

Why is it to the advantage of each individual to have his rent returned to him in the shape of public benefits?

Because he would receive a greater benefit from his share of the rent in that form than he would if he received his rent in money and had to pay for those things as he does now.

With all agricultural, timber and mineral lands thrown open for use, would we be crowding each other out of work in a country that is large enough and rich enough to supply the population of the whole world?

No. There could be no want of employment where there were so many opportunities for labor.

With all monopolies managed by the government, and all men sharing alike the benefits arising from the ownership of land, would the workingmen's condition be improved?

Yes. He would find himself in a paradise, where it would be a pleasure to labor.

Why is it that now men have to work in dangerous places, and have to depend upon the assistance of their children in order to get but a bare living?

It is because they get only a small portion of what they produce, and in addition are taxed heavily on everything they eat, drink and wear.

In what way can we secure justice to all?

By procuring the passage of just laws.

In the nomination and election of government officials, for whom will you vote?

Only such candidates as will pledge themselves to support our measures.

Do you solemnly promise to perform this duty on all occasions?

I do.

Paid Their Compliments to Benjamin Butterworth.

YOUNGSTOWN, Ohio, Sept. 28.—We are still stirring things up in Youngstown. The Hon. Ben Butterworth spoke here last night, and gave us protection in all its glory. We propose to knock the glory all out of it if the weather permits an open air meeting Saturday night.

We chilled the atmosphere for Ben by holding an out door meeting the night before he came, and giving out copies of his speech before the Canadian club, which I told them was to give them a chance to find out "What's butter worth."

The Butterworth meeting was the first grand republican rally, and they had the small towns all around here come in to help swell the crowd. Cleveland and Pittsburg papers report 2,000 men in line, but we could not make it count 400. The people here look at it as a grand fizzle for a city of 30,000 inhabitants in a red hot protection district, and we can see that our single tax meetings are doing a great deal of good.

I inclose you $2 for the campaign fund from Thomas Taylor.

Also a list of single tax men who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. There are plenty more here, but they don't care to sign in a crowd: they may send in their own names.

BILLY RADCLIFFE.

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PROHIBITION LAW[sic] AND PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Notes by an English Reader.

After a calm reading of the article in Mr. George's STANDARD, headed as above (date of New York, Sept. 1, '88), I desire to make the following observations:

1. All social law is a command, or prohibition, addressed to intelligence and sustained by power, more or less complete or adequate. Personal liberty, therefore, cannot object to intelligent or wise law, and to put them in opposition is a mere trick of words addressed to passion, prejudice or purse. The only questions are. Whether the fruits of any institution or practice is good or evil on the whole, and whether it ought to or can be suppressed or regulated?

2. Even when the form of social law is positive, its reason is negative, and hence its limit in government. Law cannot say you shall "love," or not "hate;" but it can and does say you shall not do evil or neglect obligations either to family or neighbor. If society cannot enforce this principle the more's the pity; but that only proves that Schopenhauer is right in logic, and that the devil is the strongest power. It does not prove, however, that we ought not to fight the devil of appetite and interest as Mr. George is fighting the landlords. Success is no proof of right, failure no evidence of wrong.

3. The writers in the *North American Review* criticised may or may not have dealt with the gist of the question, or they may have simply contributed auxiliary illustrations of the subject; it is hardly worth while to inquire into the logical weaknesses of reviewers, whether they be those of Gladstone, Ingersoll or George. Clearly, to me, however, some of the objections are very questionable and very "queer." Take as specimens the following:

1. "The end in view is, indisputably, a righteous one." "That certain things must be true because they make for righteousness—is reckless [assumption?]." What have we here but intellectual pessimism and moral anarchy? If the moral imperative—the ought of thought—be an assumption, the basis of sociology itself vanishes; "right" and "reason" and "duty," and faith and truth, become unmeaning terms. The moral world has no tortoise to stand upon. Even Matthew Arnold's god—"the power that tends to righteousness"—disappears, and nothing is left but the evil will of Schopenhauer. We cannot reason without faith in some first principle of either good or evil. We are left in the grasp of the devil of Blind Power! The Irish Clauricarde[sic], the English Balfour, are on the same level of right as the oppressed peasant or the helpless artisan.

2. "We are men who want to build the edifice from the foundations up, not from the roof tree down." This is inconsistent with the previous objection, which rejects right as a foundation. To reject either logical or

Sic in the original; probably "PROHIBITORY LAW".
Sic in the original; probably "Clanricarde".

moral rightness as a basis is to build on sand. If you build on the rock the edifice may stand, and if the world is based on truth—or in other words, if God rules—the "success" is finally sure. Indeed, how can we prove the right from the success that is not yet in existence? Success follows trial, not precedes it. The moral theory is like the mathematical—it must go before the practice.

3. It is surely strange, in this age of evolution, to find any intelligent person denying that laws which produce either good or evil have no educative power; for it is a denial of the influence of circumstances, by which, of necessity, all morals are taught, both for the young and old. The only difference between the seer and the thinker is, that the latter person is confirmed in his impressions by thinking. He adds the philosophy to the fact. If brothels and gambling houses were not prohibited, does anyone think that they would be less numerous? Or really believe that their prohibition makes no difference? Or that the pressure of opportunity or multiplication of temptation is not followed by proportionate failure to the same people? In the case of Ireland, the teaching of bad laws does all the more make the people contend for good laws; but in truth it is the want of law in Ireland that is the evil, and the people seek for protective laws against the unchecked power of circumstance. They naturally argue, that as law, after all, does protect most men in most things, it should be made to protect all round—especially against the "personal liberty" of rack renting landlords.

4. When laws like the old serf laws of Britain, or the late slave laws of America, or the present land laws of Ireland, inflict palpable wrong on large classes, they cannot but see the wrong; but we cannot shut our eyes to the equally certain fact that just law does secure respect, and does educate, also. If not, let us be consistent and give up all force. Then the question of land laws will be speedily settled.

5. Slave breeding and slave selling were very wicked transactions—crimes against man and God, even when legal; nevertheless I have known kind and pious slaveholders. All the same the business, as Lord Brougham said, was infernal. So is saloon keeping, and I fail to see any "fanaticism" or "exaggeration" in the statement of fact.

1. "Will prohibition prohibit?" asks the writer. The question is ridiculous. It should be, "Can the people, or a large majority of them, prohibit whatever they find injurious to their progress or civilization? If they can't, let us abandon our absurd and vain agitations, since mobility, in that case, is no better than nobility. What society can do always depends on what society is. If the people are so dull as to be led by interested political bosses in America or by patronizing and pillaging nobles in England, or by mouthing, empty headed socialists, or by cunning brewers and pious distillers anywhere, they cannot prohibit; and even if they did, the administrators of the law would not enforce prohibition. It would only be the name, destitute of the power. What then? This does not even touch the fringe of the true problem,"Ought they to prohibit?"

2. That depends on the peoples knowing[sic] the facts that make the philosophy. If they are wise, and when they are wise in their own interest, they will prohibit—and a wise society must certainly be able to make its laws respected by the minority of fools and rogues. Until hereditary evils are worn out under better social arrangements, that is all we can expect, but it is much.

3. The writer is plainly ignorant of the prime and necessary causes of intemperance, which are the moderate and general use of intoxicants, and the temptations to their use. Doubtless, the miserable and weak drink to drown their misery, but it is also true that much misery comes from drinking. When men and women here become abstainers they become industrious, richer, seek better food, better clothing, better homes, and thus increase wonderfully the demand for labor and for goods of all kinds. The law of narcotics, whether as

Sic in the original; probably "people's knowing".

to opium, alcohol, hasheesh or tobacco, is the explanation of the causation of drinking: the little begets the liking for more—and no society can have the one permanently without the other. Not seeing this, the reviewer misunderstands Professor Bascom's remark concerning appetite, which is an effect of the use, not the primary cause.

4. The political economy of the reviewer is of the strangest kind! He says: (*a*) "The men who live by the traffic could not

p. 3, col. 4

turn miners, artisans," etc. Certainly not, without learning; but in the increased commerce of the country consequent on producing wealth instead of destroying food and wasting time, they could do work of a like kind, but innocent. Waiters, carters, servants would be all in greater demand, not less; and surely, if backs are clothed, cupboards filled, and better houses taken and furnished, there must be more demand for work. (*b*) The discharged men "simply yield their places to others in the work army who must otherwise have stood idle." The writer can hardly have understood himself or worked out this problem. A man who produces goods consequent on greater demand, shares in the production as wages, and in the more plentiful supply as buyer. He does not displace some one else. The iron horses did not do as predicted, displace the animated; they increased the demand for them by increasing the general wealth of the community. Nobody is benefited by idleness; all are benefited by industry and sobriety, because the resources of society are increased. And protest as the reviewer may, it remains true that the retail rum and beer trades are demoralizing to all concerned—remotely, even, to the souls of the opulent makers quite as much as slave holding or landlordism.

1. When Mr. Blair said that "science has proven alcohol to be a poison as indisputably as strychnine is one," he said what was true, but he probably did not say it as an argument for prohibition, but as an answer to those who claim alcohol as food, and put it on the same level in law. Why should it be called "a queer argument?" We in England have long prohibited the common sale of strychnine. It is sold only to medical men, or under their authority, and the seller has to register the buyer; and if a fiftieth part of the accidents followed its limited and guarded sale which follow the common sale of rum and beer we should still further prohibit and guard. But the difference in properties between the two things makes all the difference as to absolute prohibition, and all the difference as to the reasons. The alcohol originates an appetite which "grows with what it feeds upon" without killing the drinker quickly, and this appetite is the fountain of that train of personal, social and mental sequences which absolutely defeat all our efforts to realize anything like tolerable civilization.

2. The reviewer strays widely from the fact and history when he calls the proposal to deal with the liquor traffic "a sumptuary law." It has no one of the characteristics of such a law any more than a license law. It is advocated for no reasons of luxury or class distinction. It lays a specific charge against a specific traffic—viz: That the ends of society are frustrated by its existence, as the source of demoralization, poverty, wrong to wives and children, of disease, lunacy, crime and heavy costs and consequences thrown upon the rest of society. If this be true, it is worse than pestilence, war, slavery or famine, and ought to be destroyed. That is all. This and more was seen by Dr. Channing, one of the most eminent thinkers and most graceful writers the United States has ever produced, from whose noble address "On the Elevation of the Working Classes," written forty-eight years ago, I reproduce the following: "First, how much of the depression of laborers is to be traced to intemperance? What a great amount of time and strength and money might multitudes gain for self improvement by strict sobriety? That cheap remedy, pure water, would cure the chief evils in very many families of the ignorant and poor. Were the money still lavished on ardent spirits appropriated wisely to the elevation of the people, what a new world we should live in! Intemperance not only wastes the earnings, but the health and the minds of men. How many, were they to exchange what they call moderate drinking for water, would be surprised to learn that they had been living under a cloud, in half stupefaction,

> and would become conscious of an intellectual energy of which they had not before dreamed; their labors would exhaust them less, and less labor would be needed for their support: and that their inability to cultivate their higher nature would be in a great measure removed. The working classes, above all men, have an interest in the cause of temperance, and they ought to look on the individual who lives by scattering the means and excitements of drunkenness not only as the general enemy of his race, but as their own worst foe."

How important this question is to the social reformer, fifty years of public life has deeply impressed me. We have to appeal to clear brains and the unclouded moral feelings of humanity, which alone can give a quick and perfect response. A sober people only can have the true perception of the wrong and the remedy, and the destruction of the traffic in drink would hasten, beyond all other conditions, the triumph of reform.

The growing power of the traffic, on the other hand, is the great danger which is looming in the future, both here and in the States, because in darkening and dulling the brain strong drink intensifies the corrupt passions of human nature, to which all vile interests of the world appeal.

F. R. LEES.

[We print Mr. Lees's communication because we think that courtesy and justice alike entitle him to present his side of the question. The reply of the author of the article Mr. Lees attacks will be found elsewhere.—ED. STANDARD.]

A Very Good Idea.

ST. LOUIS, Mo., Sept. 26—I have a cranky idea that I could help the cause more than by word of mouth if I could make THE STANDARD talk while I am sitting cobbling on old shoes, for when it comes to talking single tax THE STANDARD leaves me in the shade. I could do it if one of our many single tax men with interest enough in it will have a bulletin board made, something supported by a post that I could drive down between the curb and the cobble stones in the street. The board should be large enough to hold an open file of THE STANDARD in such a shape as we see papers arranged in the public librarys[sic]. There should be a shelf on the back to hold some tracts, of which I hope you will send me a supply.

With this standing outside I could sit and watch the good work to my heart's content and could sing with the grave digger:

"I gather them in."

Now, then, who is going to make me this STANDARD holder? I am too poor to supply it myself. The time is getting short. Things are booming here.

ALEX. VEITCH,

1925 North Ninth street.

Wages Rise!—Just Ask a Lehigh Valley Miner.

LONDON, England, Sept. 21.—Here is an item from the *Pall Mall Gazette* of September 9:

Sic in the original; probably "libraries".

> In sympathy with a general movement on the part of the colliery proprietors of England, notices have been posted at the collieries in Dean forest stating that the colliers would have an advance of five per cent in wages from Monday next. There will be an immediate rise of one shilling per ton on all classes of coal.

Do the "protected" colliers (miners) in America have an experience like that when the price of coal is put up?

T. P. WOOD.

p. 3, col. 5

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

Labor has a natural right of access in some form to the land, and whatever deprives it of its right is a public injury.—[Providence, R. I., Journal.

The prime merit of the Australian system is that it weakens the power of money in elections by abolishing the legitimate expenses and rendering the illegitimate in a measure useless.—[Syracuse Standard.

Men leave Europe and settle in America for the same reason that they leave Massachusetts and settle in Iowa, and that reason is, that there is more room in Iowa than there is in Massachusetts.—[Louisville Times.

As long as natural resources are monopolized and special legislation places a premium on employing capital and a discount on labor the workers will be dependent, abused and degraded.—[Denver Rocky Mountain Celt.

Every dollar of tax placed upon the products of industry enables a few to make a profit on that tax, and every dollar of tax so levied is just that much of the burden taken off the land of the speculators and the monopolies.—[Clinton, Ind., Argus.

The price of anthracite coal, regulated by the combination of the few who own all the coal lands where this variety of fuel is produced, together with the silk stocking managers of the transportation companies who carry the coal, goes steadily up.—Marinette, Wis., Eagle.

All the bounties of nature belong in common to all. Land is the greatest of all, and whoever exercises an exclusive right of possession of any portion of it is morally and ought to be legally bound, to pay annually to the state the value of the use of it.—[Pearsall, Tex., Sun.

No sooner do prices on meat and breadstuffs go up than the railroads begin to pile on freight rates. It looks very much as if the profits would be divided between the middlemen and the railroads, leaving the farmer to pay for carrying his wheat to market "all the traffic will bear."—[Louisville Labor Record.

Governor Hill, by his veto of the electoral reform bill last winter, put himself on record as against reform in the greatest of all reforms. And what are these men who are looking to the ballot for deliverance from the growing evils in the social, industrial and political system going to do about it?—[Cohoes, N. Y., Journal.

The movement in favor of the Australian system of voting is steadily progressing. 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 only a question of a little time.—[Williamsport, Pa., Labor Record.

It is the opinion of Mr. H. O. McDowell that "the one thing above all others in importance in this political campaign is to commit both parties to the adoption by our state legislature of the Australian system of voting." We

are in perfect accord with Mr. McDowell in the belief that it is of the highest importance that our legislative candidates should be pledged to this system.—[New Jersey Unionist.

The council has decided to exempt the plant, machinery, personal property and income of a new dessicated cocoanut[sic] and grocers' sundries factory from municipal taxes for seven years. We would like to see the plant, machinery, personal property and income of every man in the city exempted from taxation. Keep it up, aldermen, you cannot too soon get rid of all taxes on incomes and personalty.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.

The great majority of working people, though of many shades of opinion on the other subjects, are a unit on the question of electoral reform. They know that the rights of which they are deprived by law are to be recognized by the ballot, and that to make their votes count the machinery of election must be taken out of the hands of rings, and intimidation and bribery must be made impossible.—[Rochester, N. Y., Evening Times.

Give us freedom; freedom to produce, freedom to exchange, and we will lead the world in prosperity. All taxes on labor's products enslave the workers and degrade society. Remove them and give industry a chance to develop without robbing it of one-half it produces, for the purpose of feeding the drones in society. Give us a tax on land values and let the land sharks go to work for a living, as all decent people do.—[Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.

All realize that the (advance in coal) fault does not rest with the local dealers. They are only getting their usual margin of profit. There is a popular impression, and a just one it is, too, that the coal barons are the real robbers. Every person knows that the miners get no benefit from the advance in price of coal. It would make no difference in their wages if coal jumped up to $20 a ton—they would still have to work away at starvation prices.—[St. Paul Globe.

Mayor Hewitt's suggestion that the tax on personal property be abolished is meeting with favorable consideration in the Empire state. Taxes upon personal property have always been the most difficult to collect because they cannot be assessed with fairness. They open the gate to fraud, deception and lying. They drive wealth away from centers of production and thus hinder enterprise and impede business. Perhaps Mayor Hewett's[sic] ideas will be adopted with success.—[Cincinnati Enquirer.

The last democratic state convention of Minnesota declared for the adoption of the Australian system of voting, and republican county conventions now being held echo that sentiment. Without question the next legislature will be asked to improve upon the present clumsy Whiteman law by adopting the Australian system. This is what an enlightened public sentiment is now asking for in Minnesota, and the next legislature will do well to heed it.—[St. Paul, Minn., Globe (Dem).

The growth of the Henry George idea is something remarkable, considering the opposition it has met with from the press. Single tax clubs are organized in every part of the country, and in foreign countries the idea is spreading with equal rapidity. "Progress and Poverty" is published in many languages, and the truth is coming to be recognized every where that the cause of the universal poverty and wretchedness of humanity lies in the deprivation of the masses from access to the natural opportunities of the earth.—[Milwaukee Daily Review.

A Shout Went up for the Free Trader.

ALBANY, N. Y., Sept. 28.—I was at Kingston the other night and had some fun. The republicans had a big meeting the night before I got there and some politicians were around the hotel. I was waiting for my train, when a certain

Sic in the original; probably "desiccated cocoanut".
Sic in the original; probably "Hewitt's".

Mr. Dean, a speaker from Albany, I believe, explained the beauties of protection to an innocent but strong democratic farmer, who could not be made to believe that tariff reform would ruin his industry, for he was lucky and had no sheep outside of his own immediate family. Well, our protectionist friend made some statements which certainly did not fit every fact in the universe. It did not take very long for me to get interested and soon the protectionist heard some talk which must have sounded to him like blasphemy.

At first he wanted to convince me that the democratic party was really a free trade party, but he soon found out that didn't scare me much; and I at once put him on the defensive. Encouraged by the applause of the crowd that had quickly formed about us, I went on to show the fraud and swindle of protection and the fallacies of protectionist arguments, and for ten minutes Mr. Dean cut a very sad figure. He made skillful attempts

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to trap me with statistics and general branches of industry but I stuck right to the principle, and when he finally made a blunder, as all protectionists are bound to do, by insisting that things are made as cheap and sold as cheap here as abroad, I called upon him to explain what the tariff was good for; he gave up and left in disgust. A shout went up for the "free trader" and an old enthusiastic democrat almost carried me to the bar, where the whole crowd insisted on treating me to poor whisky. Of course I missed my train, but I didn't feel sorry.

SOL LEVY.

Free Trade. Free Land, Free Men[sic].

By F. J. [Deverall?].

(Air "America.")

My country, 'tis to thee, A song of liberty, This night I sing. Long may our land be bright With freedom's cheering light, Still o'er the world for right Thy standard fling.

For equal rights in life, Our fathers in the strife, Stood in their day. Still thus must truth endure, The rights of all secure; Then freedom's torch burns sure, To light the way.

Let freemen now arise To guard the glorious prize Our fathers won. Think not their noble sway Tyrants can still dismay. Truth's fight is day by day, From sire to son.

Free trade, free land, free men. A noble cause, for then Greed's reign shall close. Nor man by want appalled, With justice then installed, And only drones be called, A nation's foes.

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:

Albany, N Y—Robert Baker, [178?] Madison avenue; J C Roshirt[sic], 22 Third avenue, or James J Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and[43] Thurman club, 25 Myrtle avenue.

Sic in the original; probably "Free Trade, Free Land, Free Men.".
Sic in the original; probably "Rosbirt? (p2 prints"Rosbirt")".
Sic in the original; probably "James J. Maloney (as on p2)".

Altoona, Pa—Albert C Ronzee, [921?] First avenue, member Single tax club.

Amsterdam, N Y—Harvey Book.

Anacostia, D C—Carroll W Smith, office Anacostia tea company, Harrison and Monroe streets.

Arkansas City, Kas—James B Hassett.

Auburn, Me—F W Beals, secretary Single tax club.

Avon, N Y—Homer Sabin.

Baltimore, Md—John W Jones, sec Single tax league of Maryland, 125 N Bond street; John Salmon, Pres Henry George club, 415 N Eutaw street; Dr Wm N Hill, [1438?] E Baltimore street.

Bayside, Long Island, N Y—Antonio M Molina.

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

Bradford, Pa—J C De Forest, secretary Land and labor club, 26 Newell place.

Binghampton, N Y[sic]—L S Hinman, 42 Prospect ave.

Boston, Mass—Edwin M White, 45 Elliot street; J R Roche, president Anti-poverty society, 15 Bowdoin street.

Brooklyn, N Y—J Hickling, [41?] Sidney place, president Single tax club.

Burlington, Vt—Charles N Monahan, cigar manufacturer.

Canisteo, N Y—H W Johnson, P O box [265?].

Chamberlain, Dak—James Brown.

Charles City, Iowa.—Irving W Smith, M D, office opposite Union house.

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

Cincinnati, O—Charles H Fitch, care Henry George club.

Clanton, Ala—O M Mastin or Alex G Dake.

Cleveland, O—Frank L Carter, 132 Chestnut street.

Columbus, O—[S?] J Brackens, president Single tax club 596 North High street.

Cornwall, Cal—Jeff A [Bailey?].

Cramer Hill, Camden county, N J—Chas P Johnston.

Dayton, O—W W Kile, 33 E Fifth street; J G Galloway, 263 Samuel street.

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

Sic in the original; probably “Binghamton”.

Detroit, Mich—J K [Finehart?], 45 Waterloo street; J F Duncan, secretary Tax reform association.

Diamond Springs, Eldorado county, Cal—J V Lanston.

Dunkirk, N Y—Francis Lake.

East Cambridge, Mass—J F Harrington, St John's Literary Institute.

Eastport, Long island, N Y—J K Rudyard.

Elizabeth, N J—Benjamin Urner.

Elmira, N Y—William Bergman, 712 East Market street.

Farmington, Iowa—[E?]. W. Rockwell.

Gardner, Ill—T S Cumming.

Glen Cove, Long Island, N Y—Herbert Doromer.

Glens Falls, N Y—John H Quinlan.

Gloversville, N Y—Wm C Wood, M D.

Grand View-on-the-Hudson, N Y—Henry L Hinton.

Harrison, Tex—[illegible] J McCollum.

Haverhill, Mass—Arthur F Brock.

Hornellsville, N Y—George H Van Winkle.

Hot Springs, Ark—W Albert Chapman.

Hoosick Falls, N Y—F S Hammond.

Houston, Tex—H F [Ring?], corporation attorney.

Hutchinson, Kas—J G Malcolm, M D.

Ilion, N Y—George Smith, P O box [502?].

Indianapolis, Ind—Herman Kuehn, 13 Talbot block; or L P Custer, member of Single tax club.

Jersey City, N J—Joseph Dana Miller, secretary Hudson county Single tax league, 86 Ege avenue.

Kingston, N Y—Theodore M Romeyn.

Lonsdale, R I—Dr Garvin.

Los Angeles, Cal—W H Dodge, 30 North Alameda street; W A Cole, [139?] South Hill; or A Vinette, P O box [482?].

Lynchburg, Va—Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets.

Manistee, Mich—Albert Walkley or W R Hall.

[Manor?], Tex–J L [Caldwell?], chairman Ninth congressional district organizer.

Massillon, O–Samuel T Wright, 55 West Main street.

Memphis, Tenn–R G Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, Cotton exchange.

Middletown, Conn–John G Hopkins, P O box [580?].

Middletown, N Y–Chas H Fuller, P O box 115

Minneapolis, Minn.–C J Buell, president Anti-poverty society, [402?] W Franklin avenue.

Murrayville, Ill–William Camm, president Democratic club.

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

Neponset, Mass–Q A Lothrop, member Henry George club, 43 Walnut street.

Newark, N J–Rev Hugh O Pentecost, 56 Oriental street.

Newburg, N Y[sic]–D J McKay, secretary Single tax club, 28 Broadway.

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

Nickel Plate, Lorain Co, O–Edw B Haskell.

Ordway, Dak–R H Garland, member Tax reform association.

Passaic, N J–J J Barnard, P O box 181.

Paterson, N J–E W Nellis, Chairman Passaic county Single tax Cleveland campaign committee, 59 North Main street.

Parkersburg, W Va–W I Boreman, member of Single tax league.

Pawtucket, R I–Edward Barker, 23 Gooding street.

Peoria, Ill–J W Avery.

Philadelphia, Pa–Wm J Atkinson, [306?] Chestnut street; or A. H. Stephenson, [214?] Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club.

Piermont, N Y–Charles R Hood, P O box 13.

Plymouth, Mass–C E Marks, box 51.

Portland, Ore–S B Riggen, [48?] Stark street, or James P Kohler, [134?] Grand street.

Poughkeepsie, N Y–William C Albro.

Pulaski, N Y–C V Harbottle.

Ravenswood, Ill–W H Van Ornum.

Sic in the original; probably “Newburgh”.

Reading, Pa—Chas S Prizer, [1013?] Penn street.

River Falls, Wis—George H Bates.

Rochester, N Y—Charles Avril, 7 Morrill street.

Roselle, N J—Read Gordon.

Rutland, Vt—T H Brown, 11 Cherry street.

San Francisco, Cal—Judge James G Maguire, Superior court.

San Luis Obispo, Cal—Mrs Frances M Milne.

Seneca Falls, N Y—Wm H Atkinson, P O box [56?].

South [Gaston?], N C—W L M [Perkins?].

Sparrow Bush, Orange county, N Y—C L Dedrick, president Progressive association; John Sheehan, secretary.

Spirit Lake, Iowa—J W Schrimpf, secretary Tariff reform club.

Springfield, Mo—H A W Juneman, [605?] Nichols street.

St. Louis, Mo—Benj E Bloom, Single tax league, [3923?] Lucky street.

Stockton, Cal—D A Leonard.

Syracuse, N Y—Charles S Hopkins, 9 Seymour street; A B Perry, [119?] South Clinton street; or F A Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 39 Greene street.

Thomaston, Conn—Andrew [Lears?], sec Land and labor club, P O box [29?]

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

Troy, N Y—[illegible] [Martin?].

Tuckahoe, N Y—Albert O Young.

Unionville, Conn—John McAuliffe.

Utica, N Y—Thomas Sweeney, [illegible] Elizabeth street, or Daniel M Buckley, grocer, southwest corner First and Catharine.

Vincennes, Ind—Hon Samuel W Williams, rooms 2 and 3 Opera block.

Waco, Tex—Frank Grady.

Washington, D C—Dr. William Geddes, [1221?] E street, N W, secretary anti-poverty society.

Weatherford, Tex—William M [Buell?]

West New Brighton, Staten Island, N Y—A B Stoddard.

Whitestone, Long Island, N Y—George Harnwell.

Wilmington, Del—Geo W Kreer, [717?] West Ninth street.

Woodstock, Ill—A W [Currins?].

Worcester, Mass.—E K Page, Lake View.

Yonkers, N Y—Joseph Sutherland.

Youngstown, O—Billy Radcliffe, Radcliffe house.

Zanesville, Ohio—W H [Longhead?], [27?] Van Buren street.

Head and Tail.

Evening News.

Caller—I wish to see the lady of the house.

Bridget—Yis, sor; Oi'm her.

"Are you the head of the house?"

"Yis, sor."

"Um—er— You are a servant here, are you not?"

"Yis, sor: but Oi'm the boss all the same, sor. Yez see, it's this way. The master nominates his wife fur the leddy of the house, but she puts me in the kitchen ter run the house. It's loik polytics, sor. She's Harrison, but Oi'm Blaine."

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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1888.

p. 4, col. 1

THE STANDARD.

[HE?]NRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at

[12?] UNION SQUARE, NEW YORK CITY.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.

[On?]e year, $2.50; six months, $1.25; single copies, 5 cents. [E?]ntered at the postoffice, New York, as second class [ma?]tter.

[Co?]mmunications and contributions are invited, and [wi?]ll be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found [su?]itable for publication will be returned if sufficient [st?]amps are sent for return postage. No notice will be [tak?]en of anonymous communications.

[Co?]ntributions and letters on editorial matters should [be?] addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, [an?]d all communications on business to the PUBLISHER [OF?] THE STANDARD.

[TH?]E STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscrib[er?]s at every postoffice in the United States, to whom [lib?]eral terms will be given.

[TH?]E STANDARD is for sale by newsdealers through[out?] the United States. Persons who may be unable to [obt?]ain it will confer a favor on the publisher by notify[in?]g him promptly.

[Sa?]mple copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 6, 1888.

THE STANDARD is forwarded to sub[sc?]ribers by the early morning mails each [Th?]ursday. Subscribers who do not receive [th?]e paper promptly will confer a favor [by?] communicating with the publisher.

THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of [a?]ll taxes upon industry and the products of [in?]dustry, and the taking, by taxation upon [la?]nd values irrespective of improvements, of [th?]e annual rental value of all those various [fo?]rms of natural opportunities embraced un[de?]r the general term, Land.

[W?]e hold that to tax labor or its products is [to?] discourage industry.

[W?]e hold that to tax land values to their [fu?]ll amount will render it impossible for any [m?]an to exact from others a price for the [p?]rivilege of using those bounties of nature in [w?]hich all living men have an equal

[ri?]ght of use; that it will compel every [in?]dividual controlling natural opportunities [to?] either utilize them by the employ[me?]nt of labor, or abandon them to others; [th?]at it will thus provide opportunities of [w?]ork for all men and secure to each the full [re?]ward of his labor; and that as a result in[v?]oluntary poverty will be abolished, and the [g?]reed, intemperance and vice that spring [fr?]om poverty and the dread of poverty will [be?] swept away.

[TH?]E BEDELL AND FOSTER FORGERIES.

Within the past fortnight New York has been amazed and confounded by a new phase of crime. Two men, honored and trusted, are suddenly discovered to have been using their honor as a stalking horse, and the trust reposed in them as so much opportunity for theft. The in[v?]esting community are fairly frightened. Men of means are verifying their paper evidences of investment to see if every signature and seal be genuine. An un[e?]asy feeling of insecurity is abroad. Men scarcely know whom to trust. Years of faithful service and unblemished private life are no longer absolute guarantees of honesty. For the faithful service and the fair seeming life may be but the artful cover for unscrupulous dishonesty.

Against the everyday criminal society has learned to guard itself. The burglar is fenced out by massive doors and curious electrical contrivances. The actuary has applied himself to the study of embezzlements, and insurance companies guarantee against loss by breach of trust as freely as against loss by flood or fire. Even charity has organized itself against imposture, and reduced alms giving to a science. But against criminals of the type of Foster and Bedell what security can be taken? To demand it is like asking for insurance on an insurance company. Man can not live distrustful and suspicious of *all* his fellow men. He *must* trust somebody, or social life becomes impossible.

This is, at bottom, the reason why the community has been so profoundly moved at the discovery of Bedell's and Foster's forgeries. Men have a sudden sense of constriction. They feel the circle narrowing within which safety lies. The cares [of?] wealth have suddenly become greater, the dread of loss more keen. Men hesitate to trust even those of whose personal integrity they have no shadow of a doubt. For must not they in turn trust others, and they still others? Who shall say where in the chain of interdependence the faulty link may be?

And this is no blind fear, begotten of panic and to be dissipated by returning [common?] sense. The circle *is* narrowing. The crimes of Foster and Bedell are evidence of evolution. They bear testimony to the fact that men are gradually ceasing to dread and abhor crime, and are learning to fear detection only. The greed of wealth is gradually overcoming the impulse toward uprightness. Men are growing careless of the scourgings of their own consciences so only they can escape the scourgings of the law. Who can say that the day is not coming soon when they will weigh the gain against the penalty, and be willing to suffer what the law may do to them for the sake of the plunder gained by defying it? Already many men fear nothing *but* the law. Already men occupying positions of trust have robbed when they knew detection was inevitable, have made no effort to escape, have "worked out" their penalty, and have come back to the world to enjoy the wealth they never could have gained in any other way. "I am willing to work five years for $250,000!" said B. T. Babbitt's bookkeeper, as he started for Sing Sing. How wide will the circle of safety be when that sort of thing becomes common? The law itself is powerless in the [face?] of such philosophy, just as the

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sanctity of an oath is valueless in the presence of a custom house officer.

Our civilization, at bottom, rests upon the golden rule. In so far only as men really do unto others as they would others should do to them is it possible for them to enjoy the blessings that come from co-operation in industry, from beneficent exchanges of wealth, from mutual aid and mutual forbearance. We lock our doors against the

burglar; and we lock out civilization in doing so. We turn a deaf ear to the story of distress, and we check civilization when we do it. We strive to get ahead of our fellow men in business, to take advantage of their ignorance, to induce them to believe things true that are not true and things false that are not false. We build tariff walls about us, preventing other men from bringing us things that we want, and ourselves from furnishing them with things that they want. We try to climb upon one another's shoulders, and we trample upon civilization as we tread our fellows down. The world would be better[,?] happier, wiser, richer—a thousand times pleasanter to live in, if there were no burglars for us to fear, no professional paupers to trade on our charity, no shrewd operators and smart business men to profit by our simplicity, no tariff walls to fence us out from our brothers. Because these things check the production of the wealth we all need for our comfort; because they increase the physical pains and mental disquietudes from which all of us, more or less, are forced to suffer; because they stunt and distort our moral growth, making us suspicious, selfish, careless of the misery and pain of others. We become accustomed to evil things. We are shocked, indeed, when we hear that three hundred people have died of yellow fever in a southern city; but we watch with equanimity the weekly stifling of three hundred babies in the tenement houses of New York. We cry out with alarm when a Ward, or a Bedell, or a Foster, develops some new form of thievery; but we are good humoredly content to endure the confidence man, the burglar and the petty defaulter. We exclaim against "Old Hutch" cornering wheat in Chicago; but we rather admire the ordinary successful speculator on the stock or produce exchange. We have a virtuous spasm when one set of men try to prevent other men from earning wages; but we submit to the protective tariff. As each new form of robbery or falsehood becomes established, society adjusts itself to it. But the adjustment is at the expense of civilization. And in the long run the robbery and falsehood are bound to get the best of it. Civilization weakens as they become aggressive.

But not for that need we despair of the republic! For the crimes of individuals against society are but the recoil of the giant crime of society itself. Men neglect the golden rule because they *must* neglect it. They cheat, and [lie?], and steal because society, by robbing them of their heritage of the right to use the planet on which they live has made cheating, and lying, and stealing more profitable than honest labor. Men become greedy of wealth because in wealth alone lies any security against the awful doom of poverty; and the greed of wealth is a sure breeder of the crimes by which wealth is to be won. It is not natural for men to rob one another, to deceive one another, to view one another's sufferings with unsympathizing eye. "Humanity," as Bishop Huntington says, "is not so bad." Men are by nature fitted to dwell together, to work together, to bear one another's burdens. They only lack the chance to do it.

PROHIBITORY LAW AND PERSONAL LIBERTY.

Elsewhere in this issue of THE STANDARD will be found a communication from an English reader, Mr. F. R. Lees, criticising a recent review in these columns of a prohibition symposium which appeared in the *North American Review*. On this communication I have a few remarks to make.

Mr. Lees has strangely misread the article he criticises if he thinks it was in any way intended as a defense of intemperance; and I submit that there was nothing in it to justify such an interpretation. While I do not believe that intemperance is the sole, or even the chief, "source of demoralization, poverty, wrong to wives and children disease, lunacy and crime," any more than I believe the existence of tenement houses to be the cause of the misery and death within them, I yet do believe it to be one of the causes of some of those evils and the concomitant of most of them. More than this, I believe it to be a bad thing in itself—a sin of man against his own nature, or, if the expression be preferred, against his God. I think I hate it as heartily as Mr. Lees, and am quite as anxious to see it abolished. But I do not think it can ever be abolished by prohibition; and the chief reason I have for thinking thus is that I believe prohibition itself to be a wrong thing—an unjustifiable infringement of personal liberty.

Mr. Lees may think that in saying this I am asserting the right of men to be intemperate; but, as a matter of fact, I am asserting the contrary. Many men enjoy the temperate use of alcohol, and I have yet to hear, from any scientific authority, that such use is perceptibly harmful to them. I hold that society has no right to infringe the liberty of such men, on the ground that by so doing it hopes to prevent other men from being intemperate. Reformers may rightfully appeal to

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temperate men to practice individual self-denial for the sake of weaker brethren; but they have no right to insist that they shall be compelled to such denial against their own wish or judgment. If meat causeth my brother to offend, I may be quite willing to eat no meat while the world standeth. But my brother mustn't go round shutting up the butcher shops and saying that I *shall* eat no meat.

Mr. Lees evidently *does* not think this way. He believes that everything that "makes for righteousness"—*i. e.*, as I understand the phrase, that tends to the accomplishment of an object in itself righteous—is justifiable; and he accuses me of pessimism and moral anarchy because I laugh at the idea. I think he has hardly weighed his words. Just consider.

Total abstinence, Mr. Lees thinks, is a right thing—is righteousness. Therefore, he argues, whatever makes for this particular form of righteousness must itself be righteous. Now I can tell him how to make every man in England a total abstainer within one day—leaving not a single drunkard, tippler or temperance man in the whole country. Let him poison all the alcoholic beverages. The men who *persist in drinking* will die. Only total abstainers will survive. Will Mr. Lees advocate the adoption of this simple solution of the prohibition problem? If not, why not? It would unquestionably make for what he considers righteousness.

Mr. Lees says "it is surely strange to find any intelligent person denying that laws which produce either good or evil have no educative power." He certainly has found no such "intelligent person" in me. On the contrary, I maintain—and asserted, by implication if not in terms, in the review he criticises—that laws have immense "educative power." The law against smuggling has educated men to smuggle—and to lie about it. The law against usury has educated men to practice usury—and to lie about it. The prohibition law in Maine has educated men to corrupt legislation to such an extent that General Dow states that it is, *for that reason*, impossible to obtain in Maine such further legislation as the prohibition cause requires. The truth is, as Mr. Lees half unconsciously admits, that just laws educate toward justice, and unjust laws toward iniquity. The canon by which to judge a law, therefore, is, not the justice or injustice of the end which those who enact it have in view, but the justice or injustice of the law itself. A protective tariff law, for instance, even if by some monstrous contradiction it could accomplish all that protectionists claim for it, would be a wicked law, all the same, because it infringes the natural right of man to dispose of the product of his labor as he pleases; and in some way or other it would of necessity educate men to wickedness.

Mr. Lees tells me that I am "plainly ignorant of the prime and necessary causes of intemperance, which are the moderate and general use of intoxicants and the temptations to their use." This is taking a good deal for granted. I have lived among men in various parts of the world, in Asia, in Europe and in America, and I have nowhere been a recluse. And I have observed three things: First, that where the moderate and general use of intoxicants prevails—where parents and children drink wine and water with their meals—there is less intemperance than elsewhere; second, that men of leisure and culture very seldom become intemperate; third, that young men who have been brought up to believe the temperate use of wine, beer, or other alcoholic beverages a *sin*, are the ones who yield most easily to real *temptation* and run the greatest risk of becoming habitual drunkards. Mr. Lees's observations may have been different; but these have been mine, and I have learned a lesson from them.

Mr. Lees finds my political economy of a strange kind, because I said that "the men who now make a living by the liquor traffic couldn't get work in mines and factories, and in a thousand productive arts, if they wanted to." But I

wasn't talking political economy. I was stating facts. Political economy teaches us that men *ought* to be able to get the work, and *can't* get it, simply because they are robbed of the opportunities that properly belong to them. That is a very good argument against the necessity of prohibition, as showing that the *social crime* of private land ownership is one of the chief causes of the liquor traffic; but I really cannot see how it in any way controverts my statement of *fact*.

Are there no miners out of work in England? No artisans seeking employment? No unskilled laborers hunting jobs, and starving because they cannot find them? If not, then the assertion I made will not apply to England, and let England thank God for it! But in this country there are men out of work, and with no prospect of getting work save by taking it away from other men, and making them join the workless army for a spell. Will there be more work if Dr. Deems's "army of about 400,000 men engaged in the manufacture, transportation and sale of intoxicants" lose *their* jobs? Hardly. But there will be a good many more tramps, and another million or so of starving women and children. When once a bucket is full, pouring water into it will only make a bigger puddle on the ground below.

The end which Mr. Lees and his fellow prohibitionists have in view is, it seems to me, in every way a good one. It is only with their methods that I quarrel. The world will be better, wiser, richer, when men shall have ceased to degrade themselves by the abuse of alcohol. So far as the prohibitionist agitation brings men to see

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this, and to act upon their seeing in their lives—and it is doing much in that direction—it seems to me a good thing. So far as it brings men to realize that there are for humanity deeper problems than the winning of a game of "beggar my neighbor," it seems to me a good thing. But so far as it succeeds in persuading men to infringe the law of equal freedom, it seems to me an influence for evil, an offshoot of that vile protective system that I hate with all my heart and soul. The prohibitionists will find their final triumph in their own complete defeat. The restraining chain and scourging whip are good enough for dogs. But man is fit for freedom!

T. L. M'CREADY.

MR. KETCHAM'S GOOSE.

The Central stamping company, which has a large warehouse in this city and factories in Newark and elsewhere, is in reality a consolidation of three or more manufacturing establishments, once rivals in tin ware production. The company does a large and, presumably, a profitable business. It has the advantage of machinery that both wonderfully increases the efficiency of labor and makes its product better and more durable. While ordinary tinsmiths, when they want to make a saucepan or a bowl, must laboriously solder sides and bottom, the Central stamping company simply feeds a sheet of tin to a machine. Presto! the saucepan or the bowl is punched out in a single piece; and the delighted housekeeper is supplied with an utensil that can be exposed to a considerable degree of heat without danger of falling apart in the old fashioned exasperating way.

So great an advantage does the Central stamping company derive from the efficiency (and consequent cheapness) of its labor and the marked superiority of its product that it not only well nigh controls the market of the Atlantic states, but also sends a great deal of its product abroad to foreigners. When the stamping company sells to foreigners it has one set of prices; when it sells to American citizens it has another. The difference is that the American citizen has to pay a duty of a cent a pound—multiplied to two or three cents by the time it gets to the consumer's hands—on every pound of tinware *he* consumes, while the foreigner is allowed to escape this infliction. This is one of the disadvantages of being an American citizen.

Well, congress is proposing to relieve American citizens of this burden of nominally one cent, and actually two or three cents a pound, on their dippers, saucepans, tomato cans, etc., by allowing tin plates to be brought into the

country free of duty. This would enable the Central stamping company to get the raw material of its manufacture twenty-five per cent cheaper than at present, and thus to sell its saucepans to Americans as cheaply as to Canadians. Naturally, one would think, the Central stamping company people would be delighted at the prospect. To say nothing of their patriotic delight at seeing their countrymen placed on the same footing as foreigners, they must know that cheaper raw material, by enabling them to sell their tin ware cheaper, will increase the demand and widen their market. The removal of the duty on tin plates would be of vastly more advantage to them than a heavy reduction in wages. Because reduced wages means less purchasing power, and that means fewer sauce pans used. Nobody doubts that they would welcome a reduction of wages—manufacturers always do. How much more then should they rejoice at the prospect of the removal of the duty.

But they don't. Here is what Mr. George W. Ketcham, one of the head men of the company, said to a *Tribune* reporter on the subject:

> I am heartily in favor of increasing the duty from one to two cents per pound, and I unqualifiedly condemn the Mills bill for placing this important article on the free list. You might say that as the Mills bill would give us our raw material cheaper, we ought to favor it. I don't look at the matter from that narrow standpoint. An ordinary box of tin plate weighs 108 pounds. At the present duty of one cent per pound, or $1.08 per box, the difference in the cost of Welsh and home labor is not covered. Make the duty two cents per pound and the result will be this: Every sheet of this tin plate can then be manufactured in this country, for we have now the finest sheet iron—now protected by a duty of 1 5-10 cents a pound, equal to 46 per cent—and we also have pig tin duty free. With the duty 40 per cent, we should see in a few months 24,000 men set to work on tin plates alone, and provided with employment for twelve months in the year at good wages. Fifteen million dollars that now go to England would be paid to American labor to be spent with American tradesmen, and $9,000,000 would be paid to our sheet iron mills for their portion of the product.

> But that is not all. Mills, houses and machinery would be needed for this new industry, and thousands of artisans would have work to supply them. This increase of property would be added to the taxable valuation and help to lighten the tax burden. Why, think of it! With a protective duty on tin plates we could start a city as big as Newark and keep its chimney fires ablaze the year round. It would be a market for the farmer, which doesn't exist to-day.

Self-denying man, Mr. Ketcham, isn't he? The abolition of the duty would save a hundred thousand or two hundred thousand dollars a year to his company, but he doesn't "look at the matter from that narrow standpoint." Not much! He waves the American flag—Freedom's banner they called it in the days when Porter sailed out of New York in the Essex with the Stars and Stripes at the peak and "Free Trade and Sailors' Rights" flying from the fore—he waves the flag, and yells for a higher duty on the material of his manufacture. Disinterested being! Or can it be that, like the straw goods manufacturers whose secret Mr. August

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Lewis revealed a week or two ago, he knows that the tariff fosters monopoly, and fears that if it be made easier to buy tin plates an opposition tin ware company may arise? The old sailor refused to partake of the roast goose which the captain's kindly wife sent into the forecastle, on the ground that "there must be something wrong with that bird, or they'd never sent him here." Mr. Ketcham's benevolent interest in the working classes affects us in much that way.

Besides, Mr. Ketcham doesn't tell the truth. He says that "$15,000,000 that now go to England [yearly] would be paid to American labor." It wouldn't. Why not? Because it couldn't. There isn't any such $15,000,000. We don't send $15,000,000 a year to England for tin plates or anything else. During the year ending June 30, 1887, we sent to England exactly $33,633, namely, $33,410 in gold, $213 in silver, and ten trade dollars which she probably wanted for her museums.

What we do do is to take $15,000,000 worth of tin plates from England and give her a lot of things in exchange that cost us considerably less than $15,000,000. The tin dippers and saucepans that Mr. Ketcham sends abroad help pay for the tin plates that he imports. So do the wheat, and flour, and pork, and cheese that load the English built ships to which our protective system has kindly turned over the foreign trade of this country. Every tin plate that comes here sets an American citizen to work producing something with which to pay for it. The same thing is done by every yard of cloth, every chest of tea, every bag of coffee, every package of goods of any kind that lands here from abroad. If no goods were brought into this country no tin ware could possibly go out, and the Central stamping company would lose their foreign trade in a hurry. Mr. Ketcham knows this just as well as any other business man.

What Mr. Ketcham really proposes is that the men who are now producing the things that go to pay for the yearly $15,000,000 worth of tin plates should be thrown out of work and compelled to seek employment at making tin plates. This, as he knows very well, would tend to reduce the general scale of wages, because it would shift men from more productive work to less productive work. The amount of labor that will produce goods enough to pay for a box of tin plates will not produce the plates themselves. If it would, the tin plates would be made here now. We don't buy tin plates from Englishmen because we love Englishmen, or because Englishmen make us buy them. We do it because it costs us less labor to get them that way than to make them for ourselves.

Mr. Ketcham is enthusiastic about "the mills, houses and machinery" that "would be needed for this new industry," and the thousands of artisans it would set to work. He invites us to "think of it!" We have thought of it, accordingly. We admire Mr. Ketcham's generous, though mistaken, philanthropy. But we venture to suggest that he doesn't carry it quite far enough.

If Mr. Ketcham really wants to provide work for the artisans he loves, and is really willing to sacrifice a few hundred thousand dollars a year—as he says he is— let him break up his stamping machinery and go back to the old fashioned method of making tin dippers by hand. That will make quite a lot of work. If more work is needed, he can make tin dippers and kettles of inferior quality, such as will rust out and burn out with sufficient frequency. Or if he can get a law enacted that every tomato can and wash basin shall be decorated with repousse work, done by hand, *that* will make more work and cultivate a taste for art as well. His active mind will suggest plenty of other ways of this kind to keep men's fingers busy. But Mr. Ketcham will not adopt any of these simple methods. Because what he really wants is not by any means to provide more work for his fellow citizens. He would thank heaven for a machine that should enable him to make saucepans and teakettles without employing any men at all. What he wants is to make his monopoly of the saucepan business more secure by making it harder for any rival to begin business. The goose he is sending into the forecastle has a decidedly ancient odor. It—well, to put it delicately, it doesn't smell good. Faugh! Take the grewsome bird away!

SENATOR BLAIR ON TRUSTS.

Senator Blair of New Hampshire has favored the *Mail and Express* with a lengthy article on trusts, in which he reaches the somewhat surprising conclusion that "protection either by tariffs or in some still more stringent form is ultimately the only defense against trusts, monopolies and all vicious industrial combinations against the public good."

The senator's account of the genesis of the trust is worth noting:

> Powerful combinations of great business ability and preponderating masses of capital are formed for the purpose of purchasing or destroying all other capital and of controlling the labor which are being used in any given industry, with a view to securing the ownership of the natural elements and forces, as well as the

> forces of man which co-operate in that industry, the production of which is supposed to be necessary to the use of the people, and thus to monopolize—that is, to place in the hands of the combination the whole of that commodity, and enable that combination subsequently to destroy competition and plunder the people by extortionate prices.

> Where the small producers are not absorbed, they are destroyed by being undersold in the market; and this being accomplished, the losses of the syndicate, if it has suffered any,
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> are recouped, and further greedy gains are accumulated by extortion from consumers, whose only protection has disappeared with the healthy competition which is the great regulator of prices in the present business organization of mankind.

> I am not now referring to the large combinations of labor and capital, like railroad and manufacturing corporations, when confined to the fair and legitimate work of their several forms of production, but to the abuse of their powers in killing off competition by the manipulation of prices and the absorption in themselves and by still larger combinations of the legal titles to the elements and resources of nature, which are a process of stealing the common heritage of all by prostituting the laws to the destruction of the people, for whose benefit laws were made.

We congratulate the senator from New Hampshire. He has done some clear thinking. It is only to be regretted that he didn't do more.

He sees quite clearly that it is only necessary that a combination should control the labor employed in any industry, together with the natural elements and forces (which he rightly calls "the common heritage of all") to enable it "to destroy competition and plunder the people by extortionate prices."

Had he kept on thinking before rushing into print, Mr. Blair would have seen that it is not necessary for the combination to control the labor *and* the natural elements and forces. The control of the elements and forces alone is quite sufficient. Whoever controls them, by that very fact controls the labor that subsists by working upon or in them. The mine owner need not be disquieted because he doesn't own the miner. It is sufficient for him to own the mine.

Had he still kept on thinking, Mr. Blair would have seen that the effect of a protective tariff is to make it easier for the combinations he speaks of to maintain control of natural elements and forces by lessening the area within which they need to acquire that control. The effect of a protective tariff is to build a wall around the "protected" country whose height varies as the tariff approaches the point of absolute prohibition. Suppose, for example, that New Hampshire could and did impose a duty of $10 a thousand on all lumber brought from other states. The effect would be to facilitate the formation of a combination among the owners of New Hampshire timber lands, and New Hampshire men would be paying more for their lumber than the people of Vermont, Maine or Massachusetts.

Still keeping on thinking, Mr. Blair would come to see that another effect of the protective tariff is to enable large capitalists and corporations, whose business does not rest directly upon monopoly of natural opportunities, to kill off competition by lessening the area within which competition is possible. The great sugar refiners of this country have successfully combined to form a trust and tax the people at their will. But they can only do this because the tariff wall confines competition with them to the territory of the United States. Abolish the sugar duties—admit the competition of the world—and the sugar trusts could not survive a day.

But Mr. Blair, unfortunately doesn't[sic] keep on thinking in the direction in which he started. He goes on to speak in these terms of horror of the operations of the great international copper trust:

> The copper markets of the world are everywhere. The production is chiefly in the United States. Now what has this French copper syndicate done?

> Why, it has bought all the production of American mines for three years to come, and *it is said to be making* a contract for its purchase for twelve years longer. Already the syndicate has made many millions out of the consumers of the world, and, if unrestrained, will lock up the bowels of the earth against the pick of the miner, just as the great petroleum syndicate puts its stopper into the mouth of every oil fountain which it does not care to operate, not only at home, but abroad, and gauges the flow of all the rest until this great liquid light and heat, which ought to be almost as cheap as that of the sun, shines chiefly to illuminate the pactolian streams which pour into the vaults of this supreme monopoly.

And then Senator Blair goes on to argue, that because the foreign syndicate is beyond the legislative control of the United States, therefore the only way out of the difficulty is to put an end to trade with foreigners. The protective tariff is our only shield:

> If we fail and that principle be eradicated from our legislation, or enfeebled and discredited therein, our only defense against the abuses of these gigantic national and international trusts and monopolies and wicked combines is broken down and utterly destroyed.

What a pity the senator did not keep on thinking when he was so magnificently started. Cannot he see—can he really help seeing—that the international copper trust and the Standard oil trust are strong only because they rest directly upon "legal titles to the elements and resources of nature, which are a process of stealing the common heritage of all," and that the way to put an end to them is to stop the "process of stealing?" Suppose our copper mine owners were taxed for the value of their mines? How long could they hold any of them unworked, or limit their production at the behest of a French syndicate? Suppose the Standard combination were taxed upon the value of its oil lands, wells and franchises? How long could it continue to rule the market? A week? Perhaps so. But not much longer.

Let Senator Blair cease to be afraid of freedom. The way to defeat tyranny is by abolishing restrictions, not by increasing them. The American people are not the helpless race of serfs he seems to think them. Untie their hands, strike the fetters from their feet, give them freedom to live, to work and to trade, as God meant they should, and they will make short work of trusts and combinations.

Sic in the original; probably "But Mr. Blair, unfortunately, doesn't".

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MEN AND THINGS.

During President Carnot's recent visit to the French provinces the farmers have been besieging him with entreaties for more protection against the pauper labor of the United States. American wheat, they piteously cry, is ruining them. And M. Carnot, good, easy man, has been assuring them of the anxious desire of the government to satisfy the needs of the farmers, and otherwise deluding them with words and phrases. Meantime, the authorities in Paris fix the price of bread, and have recently decreed a reduction.

What absurd nonsense it all is! The French protect themselves against the wheat and corn they want to buy from us, and we protect ourselves against the silks and wines we want to buy from them. They have less bread in consequence, and we have less silk and wine. But it is funny to observe that each side shrieks "pauper labor" against the other. Meantime the real "pauper labor" in both countries is in a fair way to starve.

The governments of Germany and England, having, as Washington Irving said of the pope, equal rights over all things that do not belong to them, have solemnly bestowed on incorporated associations of their respective subjects a couple of very considerable slices of East African territory, including the dominions of the sultan of Zanzibar. The Germans have been hard at work improving their concession for some time past, having already had two or three successful battles with the natives, and the English company have just dispatched an expedition to take possession of their share. Philanthropy is at the bottom of it all, of course—philanthropy, with incidental dollars. The slave trade is to be completely done away with, which will be a good thing for the East Africans. And a large trade is expected of British calicoes and rum for African ivory and gums, which in the end will be apt to be rather unprofitable for the natives.

To do away with the slave trade is unquestionably a good thing. But why not do away with it, and stop at that? Why must our civilization be inflicted on these poor East Africans, who have done nothing to deserve it? What right have Englishmen or Germans to insist on making laws for and levying taxes on a lot of men whose only faults are that their skins are black and they are ignorant of civilization? Out of evil good cannot come. The British East Africa company may delude itself with the idea of Christianizing and civilizing the heathen; but in reality it will either extirpate or pauperize them.

Leasehold enfranchisement is getting to be a fashionable cry among the upper middle classes of English society. What "leasehold enfranchisement" means is that the tenants of the great owners of urban lands are to be excused from paying the whole cost of public improvements and allowed to throw a part of it upon the landlords, and that they shall be permitted to buy the land they now pay rent for. As an instance of the way the present system works to the disadvantage of the tenants, the London *Star* cites the case of the duke of Norfolk's property, lying between the Strand and the Thames. Under government direction a magnificent embankment was built along the river in front of the duke's lands. The leaseholders were assessed for the expense, the duke of Norfolk paying nothing. And then, when the leases fell in, the rents were multiplied by five because the embankment had improved the value of the property! The *Star*, commenting on the enfranchisement movement, observes that it proposes a rather

inadequate remedy for a great evil. And then it dryly suggests that it will be just as easy to tax a "ground landlord" out as to buy him out! N. B.—The *Star's* latest quoted circula- is 261,000[sic].

The English board of trade returns for August show the importation from Russia of over 2,000,000 hundred weight of wheat, or double the quantity received from the United States. Of other cereals Russia furnished 8,000,000 hundred weight. Thus the protective tariff does its work. We decline to let England "deluge" us with the goods we want, and which she is anxious to part with. The consequence is that she "deluges" Russia, and gets "deluged" with Russian grain in exchange. The protective tariff is certainly a boon to the farmers—that is, to the Russian farmers, of course. As for what it does for the American farmers, the less said the better.

The British association, lately in session at Bath, indulged, among other diversions, in a discussion of the good old question of over population. A Mr. Harris gave it as his judgment that wars were beneficent ordainments of providence, divinely ordered for disposing of the surplus mouths. Against him uprose another gentleman, pointing out that this could not be so, as war swept away the strongest and most efficient members of the community. Industrial competition, this second gentleman asserted, is the true providential population regulator. In industrial wars, he explained, the weakest go to the wall, and thus the great principles of evolution are carried out. The British association sat and listened to this stuff, and the newspapers printed it, and only a few people laughed.

The Ray State sugar refinery[sic] of Boston has received orders from the sugar trust headquarters to shut down, and it has shut down accordingly. This means that the owners of the refinery will be paid, for allowing their refining plant to lie idle, very nearly if not quite as much as they could earn by working it to its full capacity. It does not mean, however, that the "hands" who have been working in the refinery will be paid anything for remaining idle. Not at all. Idleness would be bad for them and must not be encouraged. Satan finds some mischief still for idle hands to do. Machinery and machinery owners may be kept profitably idle, but the idle hand must hunt a job or starve. Sometimes the discipline of civilization requires him to do both.

The reason given for the closing of the
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Boston refinery is that there is more refined sugar produced than the market demands; and in a semi-official hinting kind of way the trust gives the public to understand that it intends soon to shut down another refinery in Boston, and two or three in New York and its vicinity, all for the same reason—because too much sugar is being produced. How much truth there is in this assertion every housekeeper in the United States can judge for herself. It isn't because they have all the sugar they want that people don't buy more sugar. It is because the price of sugar is too high.

What makes the price of sugar so high? The tariff, and the trust that has been developed by the tariff. There is absolutely no question about that. Sugar can be bought in England for little more than half what it costs here, and freight across the Atlantic is cheap. If it were not for the tariff our housekeepers could put up twice the quantity of preserves they do, could use nearly twice as much sugar for all purposes as they do now.

Observe the anomaly. The avowed object of the protective duty on sugar is to encourage the production of sugar in the United States. How does it encourage it? By shutting up refineries in Boston, in New York, in Philadelphia, in every city where refineries exist. What the tariff really does is to discourage the use of sugar. Isn't that a queer way of encouraging its production?

Who is going to pay that Boston refinery for standing idle? It produces nothing, but on the contrary has to spend money to keep its machinery from rusting out. Yet its owners will get their dividends right along, just as if the

Sic in the original; probably "latest quoted circulation is 261,000".

refinery were working to its full capacity. Who pays these dividends? They come out of somebody's pocket. Let the housekeeper ask herself this question as she looks at her empty preserving kettle.

Again, why don't those Boston refinery workmen get any wages while they are standing idle? They are asked to vote for the tariff on the ground that the tariff secures them their wages. Why doesn't the tariff do its duty? The sugar refining employers, whom the tariff doesn't pretend to benefit, somehow manage to get paid for their idleness. Why shouldn't the workmen, whom the tariff *does* pretend to benefit, get paid for theirs? The refinery workmen will do well to ask themselves this question. They will have time enough, while they are hunting jobs.

The Fisher's island sportmen's club[sic] has been incorporated "to secure the exclusive right to shoot and fish over Fisher's island, in the state of New York, and adjacent waters; to provide such implements as may be necessary for its members' use for bay shooting and for the stocking and feeding of game upon any tract of country upon the island leased by the club."

All right. There's no great harm done by the sportsmen's club turning Fisher's island into a game preserve for their own exclusive benefit. Fisher's island is not like one of the Scottish islands, where men have to be banished and houses pulled down to make room for deer. But if it were that kind of an island, would it make any difference to the sportsmen's club? Precious little, we imagine, unless the island were so rich in natural resources that the islanders could afford to pay heavy rents for using them. In that case, indeed, the sportsmen's club might have to hunt an island elsewhere. Otherwise the "peasantry" would do the island hunting.

The American manufacturers' association, more generally known as the steel rail trust, is said to be making arrangements to extend its sphere of operations to the other side of the Atlantic. The English papers announce that the steel rail manufacturers of Great Britain and the continent, in conjunction with Mr. Andrew Carnegie, have formed a syndicate "for the regulation of orders and prices" and "to prevent the continuance of the unnaturally low prices which have so long prevailed." The Pittsburg correspondent of the *Evening Post*, calling upon Carnegie, Phillips & Co., for information, was told that they had heard nothing about the matter, but that "it would be a benefit to American manufacturers to have prices advanced abroad, as competition would be less bitter, and the market would stiffen in this country."

And the market would stiffen in this country. If such a combination really has been formed, we have in these words the secret of Mr. Carnegie's adherence to it. He is not anxious to sell rails in Europe. The American market is good enough for him. But he would like to see that market "stiffen a little," and if it should "stiffen a little," there might be danger of the foreign railmaker competing with him here. On the other hand the foreign railmaker can readily see that if *their* market should "stiffen a little," there might be danger of Mr. Carnegie competing with *them*. So they quietly came to an agreement that each shall keep on his own side of the great American tariff wall and do each his best to "stiffen" things within his own territory.

Now notice, how all this grows out of the protective tariff. Were there no protective duty on steel rails Mr. Carnegie could no more induce the foreign rail maker to combine with him than he could induce the Englishmen who own the land his steel works stand on to reduce his rent. He would either have to sell his rails at a reasonable price, or go out of business. He would probably not go out of business. He might grumble a little, and write an article or two for the *North American Review;* but in the end he would off coat and go at it, with a firm determination to show the world that an American can produce more steel rails by a day's work than an Englishman. And the man who produces most is the man that gets the highest wages.

Sic in the original; probably "The Bay State sugar refinery".
Sic in the original; probably "sportsmen's club".

But suppose Mr. Carnegie did shut up his steel rail mills, what then? He would be out of pocket himself, no doubt. But are the American people going to tax themselves indefinitely for Mr. Carnegie's sake? Is he a pauper, for whom a coach and four and a castle in Scotland must be

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forever kept up at the public expense? As for the men in his employ, there need be no want of work for them. For every steel rail brought to this country would have to be paid for with something produced here; aud if they didn't get work[sic] producing that something, they would take the places of other men who did.

Mr. Chauncey M. Depew delivered one of his genial speeches in Poughkeepsie the other day, in which he sung the praises of things as they are at a great rate. This was one of the things he said:

> When I was a boy down in Peekskill, the measure of wealth was a man worth $100,000. That $100,000 peg[sic] was stuck in a hole on every street corner of Peekskill, and every fellow was climbing for it (laughter), and there wasn't a man in town that had it but one. At that time $100,000 could be so invested as to get 7 per cent on first class farm mortgages in Westchester county, and, as Mr. Kasson has just told you, 10 or 15 per cent in the west. But to-day the $100,000 limit, if a man wants to live as he did a generation ago, has gone up to two or three hundred thousand, because the profits of capital have been so reduced while labor has been advanced. (Applause.)

Mr. Depew didn't tell his audience—probably because the audience didn't ask—anything about the class of men who didn't reach that $100.000 peg when he was a boy, and are less likely to reach the $300,000 peg now. It would be interesting to know how he thinks *they* are getting along. Did Mr. Depew ever see a tramp in Peekskill, in those old days when he was climbing for that $100,000 peg?

But it was when he commenced to talk about the tariff that Mr. Depew was at his best. Listen to his description of the thing:

> I tell you what the tariff does. It don't tax; it distributes. There are 7,000,000 of the inhabitants of this country who live in other states than those in which they were born. Why? Because they are turning their attention to other places; they are developing new industries there, they make a better living there, and the new industries call for more labor, and that keeps the price of labor up and raises it above the prices at which it started. The Bessemer rail industry produces 1,000 tons[sic]. What is the result? Directly it employs 100,000 men, which is 100,000 men taken from other pursuits; taking them from other pursuits keeps the laborers in those old pursuits from being crowded and having their wages reduced, and these men in the new pursuits—in the mine, in the factory, in the Bessemer steel mill, have added new wealth to the country and new employment for the people. (Applause.)

Mr. Depew, of course, intended all this for a joke, and must have been mightily astonished that his Poughkeepsie audience didn't see it. He knows, better than most men, that the sole and only cause of the development he speaks of has been the freedom of trade between the states, that the only tariffs that have had any connection with it have been the tariffs of the New York Central and other railroads, and that the development has progressed as the tariffs have been reduced. It is a pity somebody didn't ask him whether the issuing of through bills of lading from Liverpool to Chicago, via his railroad, is a hindrance to the development or not; and if it is, how he can reconcile it to his fine sense of duty to keep on issuing them?

Sic in the original; probably "and if they didn't get work".
Sic in the original; probably "$100,000 peg".
Sic in the original; probably "possibly a larger figure (e.g. 1,000,000 tons)".

A Democratic Circular With the True Democratic Ring.

The following circular, issued by the democratic society of Pennsylvania, is so different in tone from the brass band and torch light mode of conducting campaigns that it is worth reprinting. In conformity to it, and to the call of the state committee, some 2,000 democratic meetings were held in Pennsylvania on the night of September 27:

> PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 13, 1888.–The democratic appeal in this campaign is made to the intelligence and integrity of the mass of men, as against the special interests sustained by the republican party and which in turn sustain it. We ask the people to pause, to hear, to read, to reflect, upon the questions involved, and then to decide between the party of the people on the one hand, and the party of the monopolies on the other. Do the voters desire release from taxes worse than useless? Do they wish to maintain a dangerous surplus in the treasury? Will they decree the perpetuity of trusts? Are they willing to pay forever a bonus of $1,000,000,000 annually to the monopolists, under the operation of a tariff tax which conveys but an insignificant sum comparatively to the treasury? Must wage earners be condemned to the continued slavery of the trusts, at once selling their labor and buying their necessaries in a restricted and monopolized market? Shall the United States be made a strong centralized government, maintained by the few and for the few, or shall it be what it was intended to be, a limited federal agency, dispensing its blessings, like the dews of heaven, unseen and unfelt, save in the freshness and verdure they produce, affording protection to all, with bounties to none? These are questions to be gravely pondered, and solemnly discussed; and the democratic societies of Pennsylvania should take them into careful consideration. The democratic state committee, Elliott P. Kisner chairman, having called upon the democratic people in every part of the commonwealth, to meet in their several neighborhoods to discuss in a neighborly way the grave matters at issue in this campaign, on the afternoon or evening of Thursday the 27th of the current month, we hereby urgently request that every democratic society and democratic club in Pennsylvania shall obey the injunction of the committee, and that the officers and members shall not only see that a meeting is held by the society, or under its auspices, but that every possible aid is extended to the county chairman, or the local committeeman, in raising and conducting a meeting or meetings, as may be deemed advisable.
>
> It is respectfully suggested that these meetings be inexpensive; that music shall not be deemed essential or even important; that no special dependence be placed upon foreign speakers; but that the people come together in the democratic societies, or in the local meetings under the management of the familiar party authority, to take neighborly counsel together for the best interests of our state and country–which are to be served only by the election of Cleveland and Thurman, and the choice of a congress devoted to the reformation of the existing unequal and oppressive system of federal taxation.
>
> We further earnestly enjoin upon the democratic societies of Pennsylvania the duty of holding regular weekly meetings, at the accustomed places, until after the polls are closed in November and they have heard of the triumphant election of our illustrious candidates for president and vice-president.
>
> The secretaries will be good enough to transmit to these headquarters brief accounts of the meetings which shall be held on the 27th inst.
>
> CHAUNCEY F. BLACK, President.
>
> JOHN D. [WORMAN?], Secretary,
>
> [100?] South Broad street.

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THE CAMPAIGN "STANDARD" FUND.

Here is a letter that may be worth reading and thinking about:

> NEWARK, N. J.—It is respectfully suggested that you organize a "single tax sowing society" for the purpose of raising funds to sow the seed of single tax through the medium of THE STANDARD'S circulation. You invite contributions from all, but many single tax men do not give anything because they can not give a dollar or more, and would not give less. But if a sowing society were organized whose members were required to give only twenty-five cents a month a good sum would be realized monthly to carry on the work. One hundred men at one dollar each, $100; one thousand men at twenty-five cents monthly, $250. You see, the hundred men are occasional givers, while the thousand are regular. And if every single tax man belonged to this society, how the word would go forth! Now is the time to sow, therefore let us not sleep as do others, but work while it is day. I would propose the following blank be printed in THE STANDARD: > > SINGLE TAX SOWING SOCIETY. > > I hereby pledge myself to contribute twenty-five cents monthly to the "single tax sowing society" for the purpose of disseminating the single tax doctrine through the medium of THE STANDARD. > > Name > > Address > > It would not be necessary to hold any meetings, of course, the object being merely to raise money. *Fiat Lux.* CREDO.

Well, STANDARD readers, what do you say to Credo's idea? It is for you to speak. If his proposed "sowing society" strikes you favorably, it is a simple matter to fill in the blank and send it to this office. To us it seems as though such a society might have a great field of usefulness if taken hold of with sufficient vigor. Let us hear from you.

Below we give some of the letters that have come to the Campaign STANDARD fund from all over the country. In many cases the accompanying money has been already acknowledged; but the letters are none the less interesting for all that:

> WAKEFIELD, R. I.—I inclose check for $10.40, of which $10 is for the Campaign STANDARD fund, while for the 40 cents I want tracts, as per inclosed list. Please enroll me among those who will vote for Cleveland, believing he has opened a battle that will ultimately result in a grander victory than either he or his party proposes or ever dreams of—the triumph of the single tax principle, and the complete freedom of labor. > > DAVID HARROWER.

> BROOKLYN, N. Y.—I send $1 to be used in spreading the single tax doctrine. My presidential vote will be cast for Cleveland and Thurman. I leave Hill out, and everybody else whose record proves him to be an enemy of ballot reform. JOHN LOCKWOOD.

> BOSTON, Mass.—Inclosed find a dollar for spreading the light. I have always bought THE STANDARD at the news stands, as I thought that helped to advertise it. For ten years I have been an absolute free trader. I was a greenbacker originally, and always a land reformer. I voted for Blaine last time, but am now for Cleveland. R. POWERS.

> CINCINNATI, O.—Inclosed find $5 for the campaign fund. > > We were told a year ago by the orthodox political ecclesiastical press that the "George theory" was utterly annihilated. But it seems that, like Aunt Jemima's plaster, "the more they try to break it down the more it holds the faster." > > The remark of Congressman Sowden of Pennsylvania, that "things had come to a pretty pass if his democracy was to be judged by his opinion on economics," deserves to be embalmed as one of the rich humors of the campaign. The late Captain Kidd held somewhat similar opinions. CINCINNATUS.

> NEW YORK CITY.—Kindly enroll me among those single tax men who are satisfied to take one step at a time toward the abolition of all taxes upon the products of industry. To vote for Mr. Cleveland is, to my mind, the duty of every one of us who calls himself a single tax man. To vote in the air, at this time, would be treason to humanity's cause. > > This is a "gilt edged" district. Within the shadow of the magnificent Dakota apartment house

are object lessons enough to awaken the most obtuse to a sense of the incongruities incident to our present system of taxation. There are few chances to make converts, but these have been attended to, and with fair success. The inclosed $1 is to be used as seems best to you; but do not publish my name in connection with it. Am truly sorry it is not more, but will try to give something again in a week or so. ——— ———

> KANSAS CITY, Mo.—Inclosed find $1 for the campaign fund. Also a few names of shopmates who are all working for free trade. The tariff is the burning question here as elsewhere. R. A SHEARER[sic].

> ESCAMBIA, Mich.—Inclosed find $5, for which please send me the leading speeches on the Mills bill, THE STANDARD for another half year, and put the balance in the campaign fund. C. A. ——.

> ST. JOHNS, Mich.—I inclose draft for $2 for the campaign fund. Please send to my address below a set of tariff tracts. > > FRANK CONN.

> WEST NEW BRIGHTON, Staten Island—I inclose[sic] a check for $10, the money to be used for the Campaign STANDARD fund, as you say that it will do the most good now. I will not wait till next week or the week after. > > HELEN WESTON.

> SNOWY RANGE, Col.—Inclosed please find $1.10 and list of names. One dollar is for the STANDARD fund and the balance for one of your campaign buttons. The woods are full of men in these Rockies who are beginning to see the cat's claws. You have got one worker out here who deserves praise. His name is George Champion. I have never met the gentleman, but judging from the single tax seed which he has scattered broad cast in this land of pure air, he must be a worker. > > DULL KNIFE.

> NEW YORK.—Inclosed find five dollars, my contribution to THE STANDARD fund. I gladly forward it, regretting only that I can't spare more. C. F. GOELLER.

> BOSTON, Sept. 30.—Inclosed find two dollars, the first money I ever subscribed to a campaign fund. I believe it is investing at good interest. Though I will not see the money again I will receive my reward in the consciousness of having done my duty, which is more precious than gold. > > HUBBARD C. PACKARD.

> CHARLESTON, S. C.—Inclosed you will find $10, my subscription to the campaign fund for September and October, accompanied by my sincere regrets that I cannot add several ciphers to help on the good work. > > BENJ. ADAMS.

> IDAHO SPRINGS, Col.—I herewith inclose my contribution to THE STANDARD campaign fund, also signed enrollment blank. The cause is slowly gaining in respect if not in active advocates. In regard to past party affiliations, the majority of those in sympathy have been democrats, or at any rate they supported Cleveland four years ago. I should

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> like to write more, but haven't time at present, and in fact with ten hours in the mine, THE STANDARD and other papers to read, it seems I never have time. JAMES LONG.

> STONEHAM, Mass.—I inclose a small sum for THE STANDARD campaign fund. I am surprised that the friends of the good cause do not seem to see the importance of sending THE STANDARD to more doubting Thomases. The Massachusetts tariff reform league and William Lloyd Garrison are working here like beavers at building time. > > W. SYMINGTON BROWN, M. D.

Sic in the original; probably "R. A. SHEARER.".
Sic in the original; probably "Staten Island.—I inclose".

> PUEBLO, Col.—Inclosed find $1, to be used as you think best for the advancement of the single tax theory. One of our newsdealers formerly received four copies of your STANDARD. I asked him to take ten copies, with the understanding that I would take what he could not sell off his hands. He did so, but sells every copy. Workingmen here have to pay from $12 to $20 a month for three and four-room houses, and very poor ones at that. The cost of living here is twenty per cent more than it was two years ago, but wages are no higher—they are if anything lower. > > WILLIAM BRADFIELD.

> GRAND RAPIDS, Mich.—Inclosed find $1 for campaign fund of THE STANDARD contributed by John H. Hensen, a subscriber and great admirer of your paper. Also a list of names of single tax voters. T. S. DYGERT.

> NEW YORK.—I inclose $2 toward the fund. Would make it a good deal more but have not earned or received a dollar for over a month. I am heart and soul interested in the single tax movement. To John Filmer I am indebted for getting on the right track. > > KIPP BARTH.

And here is a letter from a stanch friend of the single tax cause across the Atlantic:

> BIRMINGHAM, England, Sept. 18.—I cannot resist the desire to express my gratification at the straightforward and independent spirit which you are introducing into politics. It is high time that a body of men should arise who take their stand on principle; and I am pleased to see that you have seized the opportunity of your present political complication, in which the democrats have a "forward voice" and a "backward voice," to emphasize the duty of the electors to support "measures, not men." > > Of the two points at issue it is doubtful whether the freedom of the voter is not more important than the freedom of the consumer, the value for progress of an honest ballot system being incalculable. The improvement in our English elections since the adoption of the system is patent to all, and the influence of the people's innermost will is increasing daily. The drunkenness, corruption, intimidation and trickery which befouled the atmosphere at election times in bygone days have disappeared and the dignity and self respect of the workingmen voters, which is the very foundation of healthy social development, is growing more evident at every fresh election. > > On the free trade question I cannot help having mixed feelings. As a lover of progress and an advocate of unlimited freedom I delight in the signs that America is about to doff its swaddling clothes, but as an English manufacturer I am fully alive to the truth that England's position in the world's market is mainly due to the fettered condition of the one competitor whom she has reason to fear. and to me[sic] the abolition of your tariff means the ultimate abolition of England's manufacturing supremacy. > > I can't say but that there is a grim, sardonic humor and something gratifying to English pride in the fact that America with its boundless natural resources and self asserting vigor, should show such a dread of the poor, worn-out, effete, aristocracy-ridden old mother country as to shrink from an industrial competition on equal terms. One thing, however, is certain, and gives me unqualified hope for the success of the movement, namely, that with free trade in the United States, England will be compelled, for existence's sake, to sweep away private ownership of land, and then indeed humanity will be on the way to its goal. > > Before concluding I should like to record the delight with which I read in your issue of Sept. 1, the speech of William Lloyd Garrison, so perfect in taste, tone and temper. Looking, as I do, on America as the future home of the Anglo-Saxon race, I was overjoyed to find that you are already able to produce such a type of upright, clear headed and open minded manhood. To be convincible against one's prejudices is much, but to frankly own to the conversion is a still higher level; and I congratulate you upon your recruit and him on the opportunity of utilizing his powers in so noble a cause as the one for which you are striving. As a slight thank offering for the addition to your ranks I inclose $50 for THE STANDARD campaign fund. > > THOS. F. WALKER.

Well, when you come to think of it, there must be something flattering to English pride in the idea that Americans are so afraid of the old country that they dare not even sell her things or buy from her. But what is particularly

Sic in the original; probably "has reason to fear, and to me".

worth noting in Mr. Walker's letter is his prophecy that free trade in this country will force the adoption of the single tax system in Great Britain. A great part of England's foreign trade is trade that she does only because our protective system forbids us to compete with her. Let her once lose that, and her means of purchasing her food supplies abroad will be so largely crippled that her landlords must let go their grip on her agricultural lands or starve. And from that to the full adoption of the single tax the distance will be but short.

These letters show what *some* of THE STANDARD'S readers are doing for the cause; now, what are the rest of them going to do? There must be at least 50,000 who have as yet made no sign—there may be twice that number; but there are at least that. A dollar each from these men and women would broadcast THE STANDARD all over the United States from now till election day. Fifty cents, twenty-five cents, ten cents, even five cents, would enable us to do work that sadly needs doing, and that can be done now better than hereafter. We want to hear from those 50,000. And that means, friend, if you are one of them, that we want to hear from *you*. The time is shortening. The work is urgent. What you are going to do, do now!

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

John L. Righter, Wash. Ter. ..... $1 00 Mrs. Frank Dunlevy ..... 1 00 Victor Burnett, Massillon, O. ..... 75 J. Long, Idaho Springs, Col. ..... 5 00 W. H. M ..... 1 00 L. M. Brisban, Brooklyn ..... 1 00 W. Huggins, Mansfield, O. ..... 1 00 W. S. Brown, M. D., Stoneham, Mass. ..... [8?] 00 Billy [Radcliffe?], Youngstown, O. ..... 2 00 Thomas F. Walker, Birmingham, Eng. ..... 50 00 J. H. Hensen, Grand Rapids, Mich. ..... [1?] 00 W. Bradfield, Pueblo, Col. ..... 1 00 G. W. Wood, Poplar Creek, Col. ..... 1 20 Miss Fanny [Mendelson?], city 15 00
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Benjamin Adams, Charleston, S. C. ..... 10 00 Thomas Reed, England ..... 1 22 C. P. Cooper, Brooklyn ..... 2 00 C. T. Goeller, city[sic] ..... 5 00 H. C. Packard, Boston, Mass. ..... 2 00 Dull Knife, Denver, Col. ..... 1 00 Richard Spencer, Burlington, Iowa ..... 6 25 Kipp Barth, city 2 00

Total for the week ..... $113 42 Previously acknowledged ..... 3,2[03?] [02?]

Total to date ..... $3,316 4[4?]

SOCIETY NOTES.

In honor of the queen's jubilee Mr. Assheton Smith has just finished the magnificent work of planting the side of a mountain on his estate at Llanddeinolen, Wales, with forest trees so arranged as to display the magic words, "Jubilee, 1887," in letters two hundred yards long by twenty-five feet wide, to all the surrounding country. The letters are worked in trees of light colored foliage planted amid others forming a dark background, and 650,000 have been used in the undertaking.

A one-year-and-six-months-old daughter of a women named Keeping[sic], who lived in London, England, died of starvation on the 10th of September. Mrs. Keeping went out "tub washing" in the Vauxhall road, earning forty-four cents a day for thirteen hours' work. The child had lived mostly on bread. When it died it weighed 7¾ pounds, the normal weight at that age being 24 pounds. There was a small quantity of blood in the veins. The coroner's jury returned a verdict of starvation. The coroner remarked that Mrs. Keeping was a hard-working woman, and no blame attached to her.

Sic in the original; probably "C. F. Goeller".
Sic in the original; probably "a woman named Keeping".

The residence of the deceased bonanza king, James C. Flood, on Nob Hill, San Francisco, cost $3,000,000. The stone was brought from Connecticut. The fence itself, with its bronze gates, cost $60,000. Stanford's house, nearby, cost $2,000,000 without furnishing, and it now contains paintings said to be worth $500,000.

Albert Naef, 34 years old, of 17 Boyd street, Newark, committed suicide last night by shooting himself in the head. Naef was a German weaver, but had been out of employment for some time. He brooded constantly over his misfortunes, and all day yesterday was unusually despondent. In the afternoon he sent his young wife out on an errand, and on her return a few hours later his dead body was discovered on the floor with blood oozing from a bullet wound behind the right ear. A revolver, with one barrel emptied, lay by his side.—[New York Evening News.

Mrs. Sarah W. Coates of Kansas City has a fortune estimated at $10,000,000, which all came from a successful venture in real estate, a bit of land which cost her husband $2,000. It was then a farm, but it is now twenty acres in the heart of Kansas City.—[Demorest's Monthly.

Mrs. Julia Murphy committed suicide last night at Elmwood cemetery. The dead woman was found by her ten year old son, Rodney, at ten o'clock last night, and the empty bottle, labled[sic] "chloroform," by her side told the story of her death. Mrs. Murphy's husband left her little money at his death, and for a time she was a clerk at Bullene's and afterward at M. B. Abell's, the broker. Her last situation was at the real estate office of J. H. Bauerlein & Co. This place she lost at the beginning of the year, when it became necessary to cut down the force, though Mrs. Murphy and her son, Rodney, have been living with the family of Mr. Bauerlein ever since. Her failure to secure employment and the thought of her helpless condition, owing to ill health, led to the taking of the fatal drug.

The fan which the Bonapartist ladies of Paris sent Princess Lætitia as a wedding gift cost $5,600.

An inquiry recently instituted into the condition of the Vienna poor attending the elementary schools resulted in appalling disclosures. Upward of 4,000 children were suffering from the pangs of hunger, some of them being on the verge of starvation. The children cross-examined by a relief committee corroborated the evidence already taken. It transpired that their principal food consisted of dry bread and occasionally a little weak soup or coffee. It is quite true that some of them affirmed that they were habitually given a glass of spirits to settle the cravings of their appetites and to keep out the cold. One boy positively stated that his father was a good man, and that when he could not give him anything to eat he let him drink as much gin as he liked. "Ja, ja," exclaimed his school fellows, "and that is why you often come drunk to school." The parents of the starving children are for the most part day laborers, though some undoubtedly belong to a less respectable class.

One Point in Mr. Malcolm's Letter.

BUFFALO, N. Y., Sept. 25.—i have just read[sic] J. G. Malcolm's letter in THE STANDARD of September 22. It is a good one and correct in every point, I think, but one. My impression is that the constitution of the "Confederate states of America" explicitly prohibited the congress of the "C. S. of A." from placing any taxes whatever upon either imports or exports. If so, there could not possibly have been more than one "line of custom houses south of us," and it is easy to judge who would have built them. Even with their "infant industries" they did not seem to fear to face the world with an absolutely free trade constitution as far as commerce is concerned. The sooner we amend our constitution by the same action the better for us. T. A. B. NORRIS, 470 Swan street.

Sic in the original; probably "labeled".
Sic in the original; probably "I have just read".

Action of the Chicago United Labor Party.

At a meeting of the general committee of the united labor party of Cook county, Ill., held at its headquarters, 167 East Washington street, Chicago, Sept. 24, resolutions were adopted to the effect: That because of the sincere and outspoken sympathy of General John M. Palmer (democratic candidate for governor) with workingmen, and particularly because he stands squarely on the plank of the united labor platform demanding the immediate disbandment and future prohibition of all such private soldiery as the Pinkerton detective force or the coal and iron police, his name be placed at the head of their state ticket and all liberty-loving citizens be invited to join in the formation of organizations for the promotion of his election.

[Advertisement] Mass Meeting

MASS MEETING,

Under the Auspices of

THE SINGLE TAX

CLEVELAND & THURMAN

COMMITTEE

in

COOPER UNION

on

FRIDAY, OCTOBER 5.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN

and

WILLIAM J. GORSUCH

WILL ADDRESS THE MEETING.

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THE SOURCE OF WAGES.

A right understanding of the source from which wages are provided is absolutely essential to the comprehension and discussion of the economic questions which the pending presidential campaign has brought into prominence. The following exposition of the subject is taken from Chapters III and IV of the first book of "Progress and Poverty." To many readers of THE STANDARD it is already familiar. But for those who have not studied "Progress and Poverty" it will shed light on a question which, in itself simple, has been complicated by its surroundings as well as by the sophisms of many who have undertaken to discuss it.

It is at first glance evident that the economic meaning of the term wages is lost sight of, and attention is concentrated upon the common and narrow meaning of the word, when it is affirmed that wages are drawn from capital. For, in all those cases in which the laborer is his own employer and takes directly the produce of his own labor as its reward, it is plain enough that wages are not drawn from capital, but result directly as the product of the labor. If, for instance, I devote my labor to gathering birds' eggs or picking wild berries, the eggs or berries I thus get are my wages. Surely no one will contend that in such a case wages are drawn from capital. There is no capital in the case. An absolutely naked man, thrown on an island where no human being has before trod, may gather birds' eggs or pick berries.

Or if I take a piece of leather and work it up into a pair of shoes, the shoes are my wages—the reward of my exertion. Surely they are not drawn from capital—either my capital or any one else's capital—but are brought into existence by the labor of which they become the wages; and in obtaining this pair of shoes as the wages of my labor, capital is not even momentarily lessened one iota. For, if we call in the idea of capital, my capital at the beginning consists of the piece of leather, the thread, etc. As my labor goes on, value is steadily added, until, when my labor results in the finished shoes, I have my capital plus the difference in value between the material and the shoes. In obtaining this additional value—my wages—how is capital at any time drawn upon?

ADAM SMITH'S MISTAKE.

Adam Smith, who gave the direction to economic thought that has resulted in the current elaborate theories of the relation between wages and capital, recognized the fact that in such simple cases as I have instanced, wages as the produce of labor, and thus begins his chapter upon the wages of labor (Chapter VIII):

> *The produce of labor constitutes the natural recompense or wages of labor.* In that original state of things which precedes both the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock, the whole produce of labor belongs to the laborer. He has neither landlord nor master to share with him.

Had the great Scotchmen[sic] taken this as the initial point of his reasoning, and continued to regard the produce of labor as the natural wages of labor, and the landlord and master but as sharers, his conclusions would have been

Sic in the original; probably "Scotchman".

very different and political economy to-day would not embrace such a mass of contradictions and absurdities; but instead of following the truth obvious in the simple modes of production as a clue through the perplexities of the more complicated forms, he momentarily recognizes it, only to immediately abandon it, and stating that, "in every part of Europe twenty workmen serve under a master for one that is independent," he recommences the inquiry from a point of view in which the master is considered as providing from his capital the wages of his workmen.

It is evident that in thus placing the proportion of self employing workmen as but one in twenty, Adam Smith had in mind but the mechanic arts, and that, including all laborers, the proportion who take their earnings directly without the intervention of an employer, must, even in Europe a hundred years ago, have been much greater than this. For, besides the independent laborers who in every community exist in considerable numbers, the agriculture of large districts of Europe has, since the time of the Roman empire, been carried on by the metayer system, under which the capitalist receives his return from the laborer instead of the laborer from the capitalist. At any rate, in the United States, where any general law of wages must apply as fully as in Europe, and where in spite of the advance of manufactures, a very large part of the people are yet self-employing farmers, the proportion of laborers who get their wages through an employer must be comparatively small.

But it is not necessary to discuss the ratio in which self-employing laborers anywhere stand to hired laborers, nor is it necessary to multiply illustrations of the truism that where the laborer takes directly his wages they are the product of his labor, for as soon as it is realized that the term wages includes all the earnings of labor, as well when taken directly by the laborer in the results of his labor as when received from an employer, it is evident that the assumption that wages are drawn from capital, on which as a universal truth such a vast superstructure is in standard politico-economic treatises so unhesitatingly built, is at least in large part untrue, and the utmost that can with any plausibility be affirmed, is that some wages (i. e., wages received by the laborer from the employer) are drawn from capital. This restriction of the major premiss at once invalidates all the deductions that are made from it; but without resting here, let us see whether even in this restricted sense it accords with the facts. Let us pick up the clue where Adam Smith dropped it, and advancing step by step, see whether the relation of facts which is obvious in the simplest forms of production does not run through the most complex.

THE CASE OF WAGES PAID IN KIND.

Next in simplicity to "that original state of things," of which many examples may be found, where the whole produce of labor belongs to the laborer. is the arrangement[sic] in which the laborer, though working for another person, or with the capital of another person, receives his wages in kind—that is to say, in the things his labor produces. In this case it is as clear as in the case of the self-employing laborer that the wages are really drawn from the produce of the labor, and not at all from capital. If I hire a man to gather eggs, to pick berries, or to make shoes, paying him from the eggs, the berries, or the shoes, that his labor secures, there can be no question that the source of the wages is the labor for which they are paid. Of this form of hiring is the saer and daer stock tenancy, treated of with such perspicuity by Sir Henry Maine in his "Early History of Institutions," and which so clearly involved the relation of employer and employed as to render the accepter of cattle the man or vassel,[62] of the capitalist who thus employed him. It was on such terms as these that Jacob worked for Laban, and to this day, even in civilized countries, it is not an infrequent mode of employing labor. The farming of land on shares, which prevails to a considerable extent in the southern states of the Union and in California, the metayer system

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of Europe, as well as the many cases in which superintendents, salesmen, etc., are paid by a percentage of profits, what are they but the employment of labor for wages which consist of part of its produce?

Sic in the original; probably "belongs to the laborer, is the arrangement".
Sic in the original; probably "vassal".

WAGES ESTIMATED IN KIND, BUT PAID IN MONEY.

The next step in the advance from simplicity to complexity is where the wages, though estimated in kind, are paid in an equivalent of something else. For instance, on American whaling ships the custom is not to pay fixed wages, but a "lay," or proportion of the catch, which varies from a sixteenth to a twelfth to the captain down to a three-hundredth to tne cabin boy[sic]. Thus, when a whaleship comes into New Bedford or San Francisco after a successful cruise, she carries in her hold the wages of her crew, as well as the profits of her owners, and an equivalent which will reimburse them for all the stores used up during the voyage. Can anything be clearer than that these wages—this oil and bone which the crew of the whaler have taken—have not been drawn from capital, but are really a part of the produce of their labor? Nor is this fact changed or obscured in the slightest degree where, as a matter of convenience, instead of dividing up between the crew their proportion of the oil and bone, the value of each man's share is estimated at the market price, and he is paid for it in money. The money is but the equivalent of the real wages, the oil and bone. In no way is there any advance of capital in this payment. The obligation to pay wages does not accrue until the value from which they are to be paid is brought into port. At the moment when the owner takes from his capital money to pay the crew he adds to his capital oil and bone.

WAGES PROVIDED BY THE SALE OF PRODUCT.

So far there can be no dispute. Let us now take another step, which will bring us to the usual method of employing labor and paying wages.

The Farallone islands, off the bay of San Francisco, are a hatching ground of sea fowl, and a company who claim these islands employ men in the proper season to collect the eggs. They might employ these men for a proportion of the eggs they gather, as is done in the whale fishery, and probably would do so if there were much uncertainty attending the business: but as the fowl are plentiful and tame, and about so many eggs can be gathered by so much labor, they find it more convenient to pay their men fixed wages. The men go out and remain on the islands, gathering the eggs and bringing them to a landing, whence, at intervals of a few days, they are taken in a small vessel to San Francisco and sold. When the season is over the men return and are paid their stipulated wages in coin. Does not this transaction amount to the same thing as if, instead of being paid in coin, the stipulated wages were paid in an equivalent of the eggs gathered? Does not the coin represent the eggs, by the sale of which it was obtained, and are not these wages as much the product of the labor for which they are paid as the eggs would be in the possession of a man who gathered them for himself without the interven- tion of any employer?

To take another [example?], which shows by reversion the ide[ntity?] of wages in money with wages in kind. In [San?] Buenaven[tu?]ra lives a man who makes a[n e?]xcellent living by shooting for their oil an[d?] skins the common hair seals which freque[nt?] the islands forming the Santa Barbara cha[nnel?]. When on these sealing expeditions [he t?]akes two or three Chinamen along to hel[p h?]im, whom at first he paid wholly in coin. [B?]u[t i?]t seems that the Chinese highly value some [of?] the organs of the seal, which they dry and pulverize for medicine, as well as the long hairs in the whiskers of the male seal, which, over a certain length, they greatly esteem for some purpose that to outside barbarians is not very clear. And this man soon found that the Chinamen were very willing to take instead of money these parts of the seal killed, so that now, in large part, he thus pays them their wages.

PRODUCTION ALWAYS THE MOTHER OF WAGES.

Now, is not what may be seen in all these cases—the identity of wages in money with wages in kind, true of all cases in which wages are paid for productive labor? Is not the fund created by the labor really the fund from which the wages are paid?

Sic in the original; probably "the cabin boy".

It may, perhaps, be said: "There is this difference—where a man works for himself, or where, when working for an employer, he takes his wages in kind, his wages depend upon the result of his labor. Should that, from any misadventure, prove futile, he gets nothing. When he works for an employer. however[sic], he gets his wages anyhow —they depend upon the performance of the labor, not upon the result of the labor." But this is evidently not a real distinction. For on the average, the labor that is rendered for fixed wages not only yields the amount of the wages, but more; else employers could make no profit. When wages are fixed, the employer takes the whole risk, and is compensated for this assurance, for wages when fixed are always somewhat less than wages contingent. But though when fixed wages are stipulated, the laborer who has performed his part of the contract has usually a legal claim upon the employer, it is frequently, if not generally, the case that the disaster which prevents the employer from reaping benefit from the labor prevents him from paying the wages. And in one important department of industry the employer is legal- ly exempt in case of disaster, although the contract be for wages certain and not contingent. For the maxim of admiralty law is, that "freight is the mother of wages," and though the seaman may have performed his pert·[65], the disaster which prevents the ship from earning freight deprives him of claim for his wages.

In this legal maxim is embodied the truth for which I am contending. Production is always the mother of wages. Without production, wages would not and could not be. It is from the produce of labor, not from the advances of capital that wages come.

Whenever we analyze the facts this will be found to be true. For labor always precedes wages. This is as universally true of wages received by the laborer from an employer as it is of wages taken directly by the laborer who is his own employer. In the one class of cases, as in the other, reward is conditioned upon exertion. Paid sometimes by the day, oftener by the week or month, occasionally by the year, and in many branches of production by the piece, the payment of wages by an employer to an employe always implies the previous rendering of labor by an em- ploye for the benefit of the employer, for the few cases in which advance payments are made for personal services are evidently referable either to charity or to guarantee and purchase. The name "retainer," given to advance payments to lawyers, shows the true character of the transaction, as does the name "blood money" given in 'longshore vernacular to a payment which is nominally wages advanced to sailors, but which in reality is purchase money—both English and American law considering a sailor as much a chattel as a pig.

THE SOURCE OF CURRENT FALLACIES.

I dwell on this obvious fact that labor always precedes wages, because it is all important to an understanding of the more complicated phenomena of wages that it should be kept in mind. And obvious as it is, as I

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have put it, the plausibility of the proposition that wages are drawn frem capital[sic]—a proposition that is made the basis for such important and far reaching deductions—comes in the first instance from a statement that ignores and leads the attention away from this truth. The statement is that labor cannot exert its productive power unless supplied by capital with maintenance.(1) The unwary reader at once recognizes the fact that the laborer must have food, clothing, etc., in order to enable him to perform the work, and having been told that the food, clothing, etc., used by productive laborers are capital, he assents to the conclusion that the consumption of capital is necessary to the application of labor, and from this it is but an obvious deduction that industry is limited by capital—that the demand for labor depends upon the supply of capital, and hence that wages depend upon the ratio between the number of laborers looking for employment and the amount of capital devoted to hiring them.

Sic in the original; probably "employer, however,".
Sic in the original; probably "performed his part".
Sic in the original; probably "from capital".

But I think the discussion in the provious chapter[sic] will enable any one to see wherein lies the fallacy of this reasoning—a fallacy which has entangled some of the most acute minds in a web of their own spinning. It is in the use of the term capital in two senses. In the primary proposition that capital is necessary to the exertion of productive labor, the term "capital" is understood as including all food, clothing, shelter, etc.; whereas, in the deductions finally drawn from it, the term is used in its common and legitimate meaning of wealth devoted, not to the immediate gratification of desire, but to the procurement of more wealth—of wealth in the hands of employers as distinguished from laborers. The conclusion is no more valid than it would be from the acceptance of the proposition that a laborer cannot go to work without his breakfast and some clothes, to infer that no more laborers can go to work than employers first furnish with breakfasts and clothes. Now, the fact is, that the laborers generally furnish their own breakfasts and the clothes in which they go to work; and the further fact is, that capital (in the sense in which the word is used in distinction to labor) in exceptional cases sometimes may, but is never compelled to make advances to labor before the work begins. Of all the vast number of unemployed laborers in the civilized world to-day, there is probably not a single one willing to work who could not be employed without any advance of wages. A great proportion would doubtless gladly go to work on terms which did not require the payment of wages before the end of the month; it is doubtful if there are enough to be called a class who would not go to work and wait for their wages until the end of the week, as most laborers habitually do; while there are certainly none who would not wait for their wages until the end of the day, or if you please, until the next meal hour. The precise time of the payment of wages is immaterial; the essential point—the point I lay stress on—is that it is *after* the performance of work.

The payment of wages, therefore, always implies the previous rendering of labor. Now, what does the rendering of labor in produc- tion imply? Evidently the production of wealth, which, if it is to be exchanged or used in production, is capital. Therefore, the payment of capital in wages presupposes a production of capital by the labor for which the wages are paid. And as the employer generally makes a profit, the payment of wages is, so far as he is concerned, but the return to the laborer of a portion of the capital he has received from the labor. So far as the employe is concerned, it is but the receipt of a portion of the capital his labor has previously produced. As the value paid in the wages is thus exchanged for a value brought into being by the labor, how can it be said that wages are drawn from capital or advanced by capital? As in the exchange of labor for wages the employer always gets the capital created by the labor before he pays out capital in the wages, at what point is his capital lessened, even temporarily?(2)

THE TEST OF FACTS.

Bring the question to the test of facts. Take, for instance, an employing manufacturer who is engaged in turning raw material into finished products—cotton into cloth, iron into hardware, leather into boots, or so on, as may be, and who pays his hands, as is generally the case, once a week. Make an exact inventory of his capital on Monday morning before the beginning of the work, and it will consist of his buildings, machinery, raw materials, money on hand and finished product in stock. Suppose, for the sake of simplicity, that he neither buys nor sells during the week, and after work has stopped and he has paid his hands on Saturday night, take a new inventory of his capital. The item of money will be less, for it has been paid out in wages; there will be less raw material, less coal, etc., and a proper deduction must be made from the value of buildings and machinery for the week's wear and tear. But if he is doing a remunerative business, which must on the average be the case, the item of finished products will be so much greater as to compensate for all these deficiencies and show in the summing up an increase of capital. Manifestly, then, the value he paid his hands in wages was not drawn from his capital, or from any one else's capital. It came, not from capital, but from the value created by the labor itself. There was no more advance of capital than if he had hired his hands to dig clams and paid them with a part of the clams they dug. Their wages

Sic in the original; probably "previous chapter".

were as truly the produce of their labor as were the wages of the primitive man, when, long "before the appropriation of land and the accumulation of stock," he obtained an oyster by knocking it with a stone from the rocks.

As the laborer who works for an employer does not get his wages until he has performed the work, his case is similar to that of the depositor in a bank who cannot draw money out until he has put money in. And as by draw-

[Footnotes, small type, at foot of column 3:]

1. Industry is limited by capital. . . There can be no more industry than is supplied with materials to work up and food to eat. Self-evident as the thing is, it is often forgotten that the people of a country are maintained and have their wants supplied not by the produce of present labor, but of past. They consume what has been produced, not what is about to be produced. Now, of what has been produced a part only is allotted to the support of productive labor, and there will not and cannot be more of that labor than the portion so allotted (which is the capital of the country) can feed and provide with the materials and instruments of production.—[John Stuart Mill, "Principles of Political Economy," Book I., Chap. V., Sec. I.

1. I speak of labor producing capital for the sake of greater clearness. What labor always procures is either wealth (which may or may not be capital) or services, the cases in which nothing is obtained being merely exceptional cases of misadventure. Where the object of the labor is simply the gratification of the employer, as where I hire a man to black my boots, I do not pay the wages from capital, but from the wealth which I have devoted, not to reproductive uses, but to consumption for my own satisfaction. Even if wages thus paid be considered as drawn from capital, then by that act they pass from the category of capital to that of wealth devoted to the gratification of the possessor, as when a cigar dealer takes a dozen cigars from the stock he has for sale and puts them in his pocket for his own use.

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ing out what he has previously put in, the bank depositor does not lessen the capital of the bank, neither can laborers by receiving wages lessen even temporarily either the capital of the employer or the aggregate capital of the community. Their wages no more come from capital than the checks of depositors are drawn against bank capital. It is true that laborers in receiving wages do not generally receive back wealth in the same form in which they have rendered it, any more than bank depositors receive back the identical coins or bank notes they have deposited. but they receive it[sic] in equivalent form; and as we are justified in saying that the depositor receives from the bank the money he paid in, so we are justified in saying that the laborer receives in wages the wealth he has rendered in labor.

A FRUITFUL SOURCE OF ERROR.

That this universal truth is so often obscured, is largely due to that fruitful source of economic obscurities, the confounding of wealth with money; and it is remarkable to see so many of those who, since Dr. Adam Smith made the egg stand on its end, have copiously demonstrated the fallacies of the mercantile system, fall into delusions of the very same kind in treating of the relations of capital and labor. Money being the general medium of exchanges, the common flux through which all transmutations of wealth from one form to another take place, whatever difficulties may exist to an exchange will generally show themselves on the side of reduction to money, and thus it is sometimes easier to exchange money for any other form of wealth than it is to exchange wealth in a particular form into money, for the reason that there are more holders of wealth who desire to make some

Sic in the original; probably "deposited, but they receive it".

exchange than there are who desire to make any particular exchange. And so a producing employer who has paid out his money in wages may sometimes find it difficult to turn quickly back into money the increased value for which his money has really been exchanged, and is spoken of as having exhausted or advanced his capital in the payment of wages. Yet, unless the new value created by the labor is less than the wages paid (which can be only an exceptional case), the capital which he had before in money he now has in goods—it has been changed in form. but not lessened[sic].

THE WAGES OF THE GOLD MINER.

There is one branch of production in regard to which the confusions of thought which arise from the habit of estimating capital in money are least likely to occur, inasmuch as its product is the general material and standard of money. And it so happens that this business furnishes us, almost side by side, with illustrations of production passing from the simplest to most complex forms.

In the early days of California, as afterward in Australia, the placer miner, who found in river bed or surface deposit the glittering particles which the slow processes of nature had been for ages accumulating, picked up or washed out his "wages" (so, too, he called them) in actual money, for coin being scarce, gold dust passed as currency by weight, and at the end of the day had his wages in money in a buckskin bag in his pocket. There can be no dispute as to whether these wages came from capital or not. They were manifestly the produce of his labor. Nor could there be any dispute when the holder of a specially rich claim hired men to work for him, and paid them off in the identical money which their labor had taken from gulch or bar. As coin became more abundant, its greater convenience in saving the trouble and loss of weighing, assigned gold dust to the place of a commodity, and with coin obtained the sale of the dust[sic] their labor had procured, the employing miner paid off his hands. Where he had coin enough to do so, instead of selling his gold dust at the nearest store and paying a dealer's profit, he retained it until he got enough to take a trip, or send by express to San Francisco, where at the mint he could have it turned into coin without charge. While thus accumulating gold dust he was lessening his stock of coin; just as the manufacturer, while accumulating a stock of goods, lessens his stock of money. Yet no one would be obtuse enough to imagine that, in thus taking in gold dust and paying out coin, the miner was lessening his capital.

COMPLICATIONS CONSIDERED.

But the deposits that could be worked without preliminary labor were soon exhausted, and gold mining rapidly took a more elaborate character. Before claims could be opened so as to yield any return deep shafts had to be sunk, great dams constructed, long tunnels cut through the hardest rock, water brought for miles over mountain ridges and across deep valleys, and expensive machinery put up. These works could not be constructed without capital. Sometimes their construction required years, during which no return could be hoped for, while the men employed had to be paid their wages every week or every month. Surely, it will be said, in such cases, even if in no others, wages do actually come from capital, are actually advanced by capital, and must necessarily lessen capital in their payment. Surely here, at least, industry is limited by capital, for without capital such works could not be carried on. Let us see:

It is cases of this class that are always instanced as showing that wages are advanced from capital. For where wages are paid before the object of the labor is obtained, or is finished—as in agriculture, where plowing and sowing must precede by several months the harvesting of the crop; as in the erection of buildings, the construction of ships, railroads, canals, etc.—it is clear that the owners of the capital paid in wages cannot expect an immediate return, but, as the phrase is, must "outlay it," or "lie out of it" for a time, which sometimes amounts to many years. And

Sic in the original; probably "changed in form, but not lessened.".
Sic in the original; probably "with coin obtained by the sale of the dust".

hence, if first principles are not kept in mind, it is easy to jump to the conclusion that wages are advanced by capital.

But such cases will not embarrass the reader to whom in what has preceded I have made myself clearly understood. An easy analysis will show that these instances where wages are paid before the product is finished or even produced, do not afford any exception to the rule apparent where the product is finished before wages are paid.

If I go to a broker to exchange silver for gold, I lay down my silver, which he counts and puts away, and then hands me the equivalent in gold, minus his commission. Does the broker advance me any capital? Manifestly not. What he had before in gold he now has in silver, plus his profit. And as he got the silver before he paid out the gold there is on his part not even momentarily an advance of capital.

Now, this operation of the broker is precisely analogous to what the capitalist does when, in such cases as we are now considering, he pays out capital in wages. As the rendering of labor precedes the payment of wages, and as the rendering of labor in production implies the creation of value, the employer receives value before he pays out value—he but exchanges capital of one form for capital of another form. For the creation of value does not depend upon the finishing of the product; it takes place at every stage of the process of production, as the immediate result of the application of labor, and hence, no matter how long the process in which it is engaged, labor always adds to capital by its exertion before it takes from capital in its wages.

Here is a blacksmith at his forge making

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picks. Clearly he is making capital—adding picks to his employer's capital before he draws money from it in wages. Here is a machinist or boilermaker working on the keel plates of a Great Eastern. Is not he also just as clearly creating value—making capital? The giant steamship, as the pick, is an article of wealth, an instrument of production; and though the one may not be completed for years, while the other is completed in a few minutes, each day's work, in the one case as in the other, is as clearly a production of wealth—an addition to capital. In the case of the steamship, as in the case of the pick, it is not the last blow, any more than the first blow, that creates the value of the finished product—the creation of value is continuous, it immediately results from the exertion of labor.

PRODUCTION TO WHICH DIFFERENT SETS OF PRODUCERS CONTRIBUTE.

We see this very clearly wherever the division of labor has made it customary for different parts of the full process of production to be carried on by different sets of producers—that is to say, wherever we are in the habit of estimating the amount of value which the labor expended in any preparatory stage of production has created. And a moment's reflection will show that this is the case as to the vast majority of products. Take a ship, a building, a jack knife, a book, a lady's thimble, or a loaf of bread. They [are?] finished products. But they were not produced at one operation or by one set of producers. And this being the case, we readily distinguish different points or stages in the creation of the value which as completed articles they represent. When we do not distinguish different parts in the final process of production we do distinguish the value of the materials. The value of these materials may often be again decomposed many times, exhibiting as many clearly defined steps in the creation of the final value. At each of these steps we habitually estimate a creation of value, an addition to capital. The batch of bread which the baker is taking from the oven has a certain value. But this is composed in part of the value of the flour from which the dough was made. And this again is composed of the value of the wheat, the value given by milling, etc. Iron in the form of pigs is very far from being a completed product. It must yet pass through several, or, perhaps, through many, stages of production before it results in the finished articles that were the ultimate objects for which the iron ore was extracted from the mine. Yet, is not pig iron capital? And so the process of production is

not really completed when a crop of cotton is gathered, nor yet when it is ginned and pressed; nor yet when it arrives at Lowell or Manchester; nor yet when it is converted into yarn; nor yet when it becomes cloth; but only when it is finally placed in the hands of the consumer. Yet at each step in this progress there is clearly enough a creation of value—an addition to capital. Why, therefore, although we do not so habitually distinguish and estimate it, is there not a creation of value—an addition to capital—when the ground is plowed for the crop? Is it because it may possibly be a bad season and the crop may fail? Evidently not; for a like possibility of misadventure attends every one of the many steps in the production of the finished article. On the average a crop is sure to come up, and so much plowing and sowing will on the average result in so much cotton in the boll, as surely as so much spinning of cotton yarn will result in so much cloth.

PAYMENT OF WAGES NEVER LESSENS CAPITAL.

In short, as the payment of wages is always conditioned upon the rendering of labor, the payment of wages in production, no matter how long the process, never involves any advance of capital, or even temporarily lessens capital. It may take a year, or even years, to build a ship, but the creation of value of which the finished ship will be the sum, goes on day by day, and hour by hour, from the time the keel is laid or even the ground is cleared. Nor by the payment of wages before the ship is completed does the master builder lessen either his capital or the capital of the community, for the value of the partially completed ship stands in place of the value paid out in wages. There is no advance of capital in this payment of wages, for the labor of the workmen during the week or month creates and renders to the builder more capital than is paid back to them at the end of the week or month, as is shown by the fact that if the builder were at any stage of the construction asked to sell a partially completed ship he would expect a profit.

And so, when a Sutro or a St. Gothard tunnel or a Suez canal is cut, there is no advance of capital. The tunnel or canal, as it is cut, becomes capital as much as the money spent in cutting it—or, if you please, the powder, drills, etc., used in the work, and the food, clothes, etc., used by the workmen—as is shown by the fact that the value of the capital stock of the company is not lessened, as capital in these forms is gradually changed into capital in the form of tunnel or canal. On the contrary, it probably, and on the average, increases as the work progresses, just as the capital invested in a speedier mode of production would on the average increase.

And this is obvious in agriculture also. That the creation of value does not take place all at once when the crop is gathered, but step by step during the whole process which the gathering of the crop includes, and that no payment of wages in the interim lessens the farmer's capital, is tangible enough when land is sold or rented during the process of production, as a plowed field will bring more than an unplowed field, or a field that has been sown more than one merely plowed. It is tangible enough when growing crops are sold, as is sometimes done, or where the farmer does not himself harvest, but lets a contract to the owner of harvesting machinery. It is tangible in the case of orchards and vineyards which, though not yet in bearing, brings[sic] prices proportionate to their age. It is tangible in the case of horses, cattle and sheep, which increase in value as they grow toward maturity. And if not always tangible between what may be called the usual exchange points in production, this increase of value as surely takes place with every exertion of labor. Hence, where labor is rendered before wages are paid, the advance of capital is really made by labor, and is from the employed to the employer, not from the employer to the employed.

Sic in the original; probably "bring prices".

THE TRUE FUNCTIONS OF CAPITAL.

"Yet," it may be said, "in such cases as we have been considering capital is required?" Certainly; I do not dispute that. But it is not required in order to make advances to labor. It is required for quite another purpose. What that purpose is we may readily see.

When wages are paid in kind—that is to say, in wealth of the same species as the labor produces; as, for instance, if I hire men to cut wood, agreeing to give them as wages a portion of the wood they cut (a method sometimes adopted by the owners or lessees of woodland), it is evident that no capital is required for the payment of wages. Nor yet when, for the sake of mutual convenience, arising from the fact that a large quantity of wood can be more readily and more advantageously exchanged than a number of small quantities, I agree to pay wages in money, instead of wood, shall I need any capital, provided I can make the exchange of the

p. 6, col. 6

wood for money before the wages are due. It is only when I cannot make such an exchange, or such an advantageous exchange as I desire, until I accumulate a large quantity of wood, that I shall need capital. Nor even then shall I need capital if I can make a partial or tentative exchange by borrowing on my wood. If I cannot, or do not choose, either to sell the wood or to borrow upon it, and yet wish to go ahead accumulating a large stock of wood, I shall need capital. But manifestly, I need this capital, not for the payment of wages, but for the accumulation of a stock of wood. Likewise in cutting a tunnel. If the workmen were paid in tunnel (which, if convenient, might easily be done by paying them in stock of the company), no capital for the payment of wages would be required. It is only when the undertakers wish to accumulate capital in the shape of a tunnel that they will need capital. To recur to our first illustration: The broker to whom I sell my silver cannot carry on his business without capital. But he does not need this capital because he makes any advance of capital to me when he receives my silver and hands me gold. He needs it because the nature of the business requires the keeping of a certain amount of capital on hand, in order that when a customer comes he may be prepared to make the exchange the customer desires.

And so we shall find it in every branch of production. Capital has never to be set aside for the payment of wages when the produce of the labor for which the wages are paid is exchanged as soon as produced; it is only required when this produce is stored up, or what is to the individual the same thing, placed in the general current of exchanges without being at once drawn against—that is, sold on credit. But the capital thus required is not required for the payment of wages, nor for advances to labor, as it is always represented in the produce of the labor. It is never as an employer of labor that any producer needs capital; when he does need capital it is because he is not only an employer of labor, but a merchant or speculator in, or an accumulator of, the products of labor. This is generally the case with employers.

A RECAPITULATION.

To recapitulate: The man who works for himself gets his wages in the things he produces, as he produces them, and exchanges this value into another form whenever he sells the produce. The man who works for another for stipulated wages in money, works under a contract of exchange. He also creates his wages as he renders his labor, but he does not get them except at stated times, in stated amounts and in a different form. In performing the labor he is advancing in exchange; when he gets his wages the exchange is completed. During the time he is earning the wages he is advancing capital to his employer, but at no time, unless wages are paid before work is done, is the employer advancing capital to him. Whether the employer who receives this produce in exchange for the wages, immediately re-exchanges it, or keeps it for awhile, no more alters the character of the transaction than does the final disposition of the product made by the ultimate receiver, who may, perhaps, be in another quarter of the globe and at the end of a series of exchanges numbering hundreds.

CHAPTER IV.

WAGES NOT DRAWN FROM CAPITAL, BUT PRODUCED BY LABOR.

But a stumbling block may yet remain, or may recur, in the mind of the reader.

As the plowman cannot eat the furrow, nor a partially completed steam engine aid in any way in producing the clothes the machinist wears, have I not, in the words of John Stuart Mill, "forgotten that the people of a country are maintained and have their wants supplied, not by the produce of present labor but of past?" Or, to use the language of a popular elementary work—that of Mrs. Fawcett—have I not "forgotten that many months must elapse between the sowing of the seed and the time when the produce of that seed is converted into a loaf of bread," and that "it is, therefore, evident that laborers cannot live upon that which their labor is assisting to produce, but are maintained by that wealth which their labor, or the labor of others, has previously produced, which wealth is cap- ital?" (1)

The assumption made in these passages—the assumption that it is so self-evident that labor must be subsisted from capital that the proposition has but to be stated to compel recognition—runs through the whole fabric of current political economy. And so confidently is it held that the maintenance of labor is drawn from capital that the proposition that "population regulates itself by the funds which are to employ it, and therefore always increases or diminishes with the increase or diminution of capital," (2) is regarded as equally axiomatic, and in its turn made the basis of important reasoning.

THE ABSURDITY OF THE ASSUMPTION—WHAT IT SPRINGS FROM.

Yet being resolved, these propositions are seen to be, not self-evident, but absurd, for they involve the idea that labor cannot be exerted until the products of labor are saved—thus putting the product before the producer.

And being examined, they will be seen to derive their apparent plausibility from a confusion of thought.

I have already pointed out the fallacy, concealed by an erroneous definition, which un- derlies the proposition, that because food, raiment and shelter are necessary to productive labor, therefore industry is limited by capital. To say that a man must have his breakfast before going to work is not to say that he cannot go to work unless a capitalist furnishes him with a breakfast, for this breakfast may, and in point of fact in any country where there is not actual famine will come, not from wealth set apart for the assistance of production, but from wealth set apart for subsistence. And, as has been previously shown, food, clothing, etc.—in short, all articles of wealth—are only capital so long as they remain in the possession of those who propose, not to consume, but to exchange them for other commodities, or for productive services, and cease to be capital when they pass into the possession of those who will consume them; for in that transaction they pass from the stock of wealth held for the purpose of procuring other wealth, and pass into the stock of wealth held for purposes of gratification, irrespective of whether their consumption will aid in the production of wealth or not. Unless this distinction is preserved it is impossible to draw the line between the wealth that is capital and the wealth that is not capital, even by remitting the distinction to the "mind of the possessor," as does John Stuart Mill. For men do not eat or abstain, wear clothes or go naked, as they propose to engage in productive labor or not. They eat because they are hungry, and wear clothes because they would be uncomfortable without them. Take the food on the breakfast table of a laborer who will work or not that day, as he gets the opportunity. If the distinction between capital and non-capital be the support of productive labor, is this food capital or not? It is as impossible for the continued on p. 7 →

[continued on page 7]

[Footnotes, small type, at foot of column 6:]

> 1. Political Economy for Beginners, by Millicent Garrett Fawcett, Chap. III. p. 25.

> 1. The words quoted are Ricardo's (Chap. II), but the idea is common in standard work[sic].

Sic in the original; probably "common in standard works.".

p. 7, col. 1
[continued from page 6]

← continued from p. 6 laborer himself as for any philosopher of the Ricardo-Mill school to tell. Nor yet can it be told when it gets into his stomach; nor, supposing that he does not get work at first, but continues the search, can it be told until it has passed into the blood and tissues. Yet the man will eat his breakfast all the same.

But though it would be logically sufficient, it is hardly safe to rest here and leave the argument to turn on the distinction between wealth and capital. Nor is it necessary. It seems to me that the proposition that present labor must be maintained by the produce of past labor will, upon analysis, prove to be only true in the sense that the afternoon's labor must be performed by the aid of the noonday meal, or that before you eat the hare he must be caught and cooked. And this, manifestly, is not the sense in which the proposition is used to support the important reasoning that is made to hinge upon it. That sense is, that before a work which will not immediately result in wealth available for subsistence can be carried on, there must exist such a stock of subsistence as will support the laborers during the process. Let us see if this be true:

THE CONCURRENCE OF LABOR.

The canoe which Robinson Crusoe made with such infinite toil and pains was a production in which his labor could not yield an immediate return. But was it necessary that, before he commenced, he should accumulate a stock of food sufficient to maintain him while he felled the tree, hewed out the canoe, and finally launched her into the sea? Not at all. It was only necessary that he should devote part of his time to the procurement of food while he was devoting part of his time to the building and launching of the canoe. Or supposing a hundred men to be landed, without any stock of provisions, in a new country. Will it be necessary for them to accumulate a season's stock of provisions before they can begin to cultivate the soil? Not at all. It will only be necessary that fish, game, berries, etc., shall be so abundant that the labor of a part of the hundred may suffice to furnish daily enough of these for the maintenance of all, and that there shall be such a sense of mutual interest, or such correlation of desires, as shall lead those who in the present get the food, to divide (exchange) with those whose efforts are directed to future recompense. What is true in these cases is true in all cases. It is not necessary to the production of things that cannot be used as subsistence, or cannot be immediately utilized, that there should have been a previous production of the wealth required for the maintenance of the laborers while the production is going on. It is only necessary that there should be, somewhere within the circle of exchange, a contemporaneous production of sufficient subsistence for the laborers, and a willingness to exchange this subsistence for the thing on which the labor is being bestowed.

And as a matter of fact, is it not true, in any normal condition of things, that consumption is supported by contemporaneous production?

WHO SUPPLIES THE SUBSISTENCE OF THE IDLER?

Here is a luxurious idler, who does no productive work either with head or hand, but lives, we say, upon wealth which his father left him securely invested in government bonds. Does his subsistence, as a matter of fact, come from wealth accumulated in the past or from the productive labor that is going on around him? On this table are new laid eggs, butter churned but a few days before, milk which the cow gave this morning, fish which twenty-four hours ago were swimming in the sea, meat which the butcher boy has just brought in time to be cooked, vegetables

fresh from the garden and fruit from the orchard—in short, hardly anything that has not recently left the hand of the productive laborer (for in this category must be included transporters and distributors as well as those who are engaged in the first stages of production), and nothing that has been produced for any considerable length of time, unless it may be some bottles of old wine. What this man inherited from his father, and on which we say he lives, is not actually wealth at all, but only the power of commanding wealth as others produce it. And it is from this contemporaneous production that this subsistence is drawn.

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN IF LABOR WERE TO CEASE.

The fifty square miles of London undoubtedly contain wore wealth[sic] than within the same space anywhere else exists. Yet were productive labor in London to absolutely cease, within a few hours people would begin to die like rotten sheep, and within a few weeks, or at most a few months, hardly one would be left alive. For an entire suspension of productive labor would be a disaster more dreadful than ever yet befel a beleaguered city. It would not be a mere external wall of circumvallation, such as Titus drew around Jerusalem, which would prevent the constant incoming of the supplies on which a great city lives, but it would be the drawing of a similar wall around each household. Imagine such a suspension of labor in any community, and you will see how true it is that mankind really live from hand to mouth; that it is the daily labor of the community that supplies the community with its daily bread.

Just as the subsistence of the laborers who built the pyramids was drawn not from a previously hoarded stock, but from the constantly recurring crops of the Nile valley; just as a modern government when it under takes a great work of years does not appropriate to it wealth already produced, but wealth yet to be produced, which is taken from producers in taxes as the work progresses; so it is that the subsistence of the laborers engaged in production which does not directly yield subsistence comes from the production of subsistence in which others are simultaneously engaged.

EXCHANGE OF PRODUCTS REALLY AN EXCHANGE OF LABOR.

If we trace the circle of exchange by which work done in the production of a great steam engine secures to the worker bread, meat, clothes and shelter, we shall find that though between the laborer on the engine and the producers of the bread, meat, etc., there may be a thousand intermediate exchanges, the transaction when reduced to its lowest terms, really amounts to an exchange of labor between him and them. Now the cause which induces the expenditure of the labor on the engine is evidently that some one who has power to give what is desired by the laborer on the engine wants in exchange an engine—that is to say, there exists a demand for an engine on the part of those who are producing what the producers of the bread, meat, etc., desire. It is this demand which directs the labor of the machinist to the production of the engine, and hence, reversely, the demand of the machinist for bread, etc., really directs an equivalent amount of labor to the production of these things, and thus his labor, actually exerted in the production of the engine, virtually produces the things in which he expends his wages.

Or, to formularise this principle:

The demand for consumption [determines?] the direction in which labor will be [expended?] in production.

This principle is so [simple?] and obvious that it needs no further [illustration?], yet in its light all the [complexities?] of our [subject?] dis

p. 7, col. 2

appear, and we thus reach the same view of the real objects and rewards of labor in the intricacies of modern production, that we gained by observing in the first beginnings of society the simpler forms of production and

Sic in the original; probably “more wealth”.

exchange. We see that now, as then, each laborer is endeavoring to obtain by his exertions the satisfaction of his own desires; we see that although the minute division of labor assigns to each producer the production of but a small part, or perhaps nothing at all, of the particular things he labors to get, yet, in aiding in the production of what other producers want, he is directing other labor to the production of the things he wants—in effect, producing them himself. And thus, if he makes jack knives and eats wheat, the wheat is really as much the produce of his labor as if he had grown it for himself and left wheat growers to make their own jack knives.

CAPITAL ADVANCES NOTHING TO LABORERS.

We thus see how thoroughly and completely true it is, that in whatever is taken and consumed by laborers in return for labor rendered, there is no advance of capital to the laborers. If I have made jack knives, and with the wages received have bought wheat, I have simply exchanged jack knives for wheat—added jack knives to the existing stock of wealth and taken wheat from it. And as the demand for consumption determines the direction in which labor will be expended in production, it canot[sic] even be said, so long as the limit of wheat production has not been reached, that I have lessened the stock of wheat, for, by placing jack knives in the exchangeable stock of wealth and taking wheat out, I have determined labor at the other end of a series of exchanges to the production of wheat, just as the wheat grower, by putting in wheat and demanding jack knives determined labor to the production of jack knives, as the easiest way by which wheat could be obtained.

And so the man who is following the plow—though the crop for which he is opening the ground is not yet sown, and after being sown will take months to arrive at maturity—he is yet, by the exertion of his labor in plowing, virtually producing the food he eats and the wages he receives. For, though plowing is but a part of the operation of producing a crop, it is a part, and as necessary a part as harvesting. The doing of it is a step toward procuring a crop, which by the assurance which it gives of the future crop, sets free from the stock constantly held the subsistence and wages of the plowman. This is not merely theoretically true, it is practically and literally true. At the proper time for plowing, let plowing cease. Would not the symptoms of scarcity at once manifest themselves without waiting for the time of the harvest? Let plowing cease, and would not the effect at once be felt in counting room, and machine shops, and factory? Would not loom and spindle soon stand as idle as the plow? That this would be so, we see in the effect which immediately follows a bad season. And if this would be so, is not the man who plows really producing his subsistence and wages as much as though during the day or week his labor actually resulted in the things for which his labor is exchanged?

LABOR MAY BE EMPLOYED WITHOUT CAPITAL.

As a matter of fact, where there is labor looking for employment, the want of capital does not prevent the owner of land which promises a crop for which there is a demand, from hiring it, Either he makes[sic] an agreement to cultivate on shares, a common method in some parts of the United States, in which case the laborers, if they are without means of subsistence, will, on the strength of the work they are doing, obtain credit at the nearest store; or, if he prefers to pay wages, the farmer will himself obtain credit, and thus the work done in cultivation is immediately utilized or exchanged as it is done. If anything more will be used up than would be used up if the laborers were forced to beg instead of to work (for in any civilized country during a normal condition of things the laborers must be supported anyhow), it will be the reserve capital drawn out by the prospect of replacement, and which is in fact replaced by the work as it is done. For instance, in the purely agricultural districts of southern California there was in 1877 a total failure of the crop, and of millions of sheep nothing remained but their bones. In the great San Joaquin valley were many farmers without food enough to support their families until the next harvest time, let alone to support any laborers. But the rains came again in propor season,[76], and these very

Sic in the original; probably “cannot”.
Sic in the original; probably “from hiring it. Either he makes”.
Sic in the original; probably “proper season”.

farmers proceeded to hire hands to plow and sow. For every here and there was a farmer who had been holding back part of his crop. As soon as the rains came he was anxious to sell before the next harvest brought lower prices, and the grain thus held in reserve, through the machinery of exchanges and advances, passed to the use of the cultivators—set free, in effect produced, by the work done for the next crop.

AN ILLUSTRATION.

The series of exchanges which unite production and consumption may be likened to a curved pipe filled with water. If a quantity of water is poured in at one end, a like quantity is released at the other. It is not identically the same water, but is its equivalent. And so they who do the work of production put in as they take out—they receive in subsistence and wages but the produce of their labor.

NEW IDEAS, METHODS AND INVENTIONS.

It is proposed to build an international rail way some two thousand miles long in South America. The road, if built, will traverse the principal states, and will open up a large territory to trade.

A French press maker, M. Charles Barre, recently invented a very useful little rotary two-color printing machine, with which fine work in either one or two colors can be executed at the rate of [1,200?] impressions an hour.

A new substitute for the jute bagging, the price of which has been raised by the jute trust, is a chocolate colored material made of the needles of southern pine trees. It is claimed that this does not take fire easily, and is very tough.

A rudderless steamship with the propulsion accomplished by means of screws placed at the sides of the vessel in grooves, has just been patented. The inventor claims that it will go faster and can be turned more easily than vessels of the present style.

Thomas M. Morton of Pittsburg has invented a car heater that he thinks will meet all the requirements. The difficulty in heating a train with steam from the locomotive is that cutting a car out of a train cuts off its heat supply at the same time. To obviate this Mr. Morton connects the steam with a system of heaters lined with gypsum, terra cotta, steatite and other heat retaining substances, which continue to diffuse warmth after the steam is cut off. He claims that a train of cars could be heated in ten minutes to a temperature of 70 degrees, and would not lose 10 degrees in three hours.

According to the *Medical Press* a useful suggestion is being carried out by the Netherland government, by which provision will be made for supplying each soldier, during the time of war, with a cartridge containing some antiseptic dressings. Each cartridge will be made of convenient size, namely, about three inches in length by two in width, and will be [secured?] at one end with a safety pin. The dressing contained in each will consist of a [bandage?] about three yards long, and two

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pieces of gauze, all of which have been rendered antiseptic by a sublimate solution. Hence, in the event of wounds being received, a ready means would be at hand for the immediate application of antiseptic dressings. In the wars in which England has been engaged in tropical climates, the early application of antiseptice[sic] to the wounds received was admitted to be a matter of the utmost importance.

Sic in the original; probably “antiseptics”.

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p. 7, col. 4

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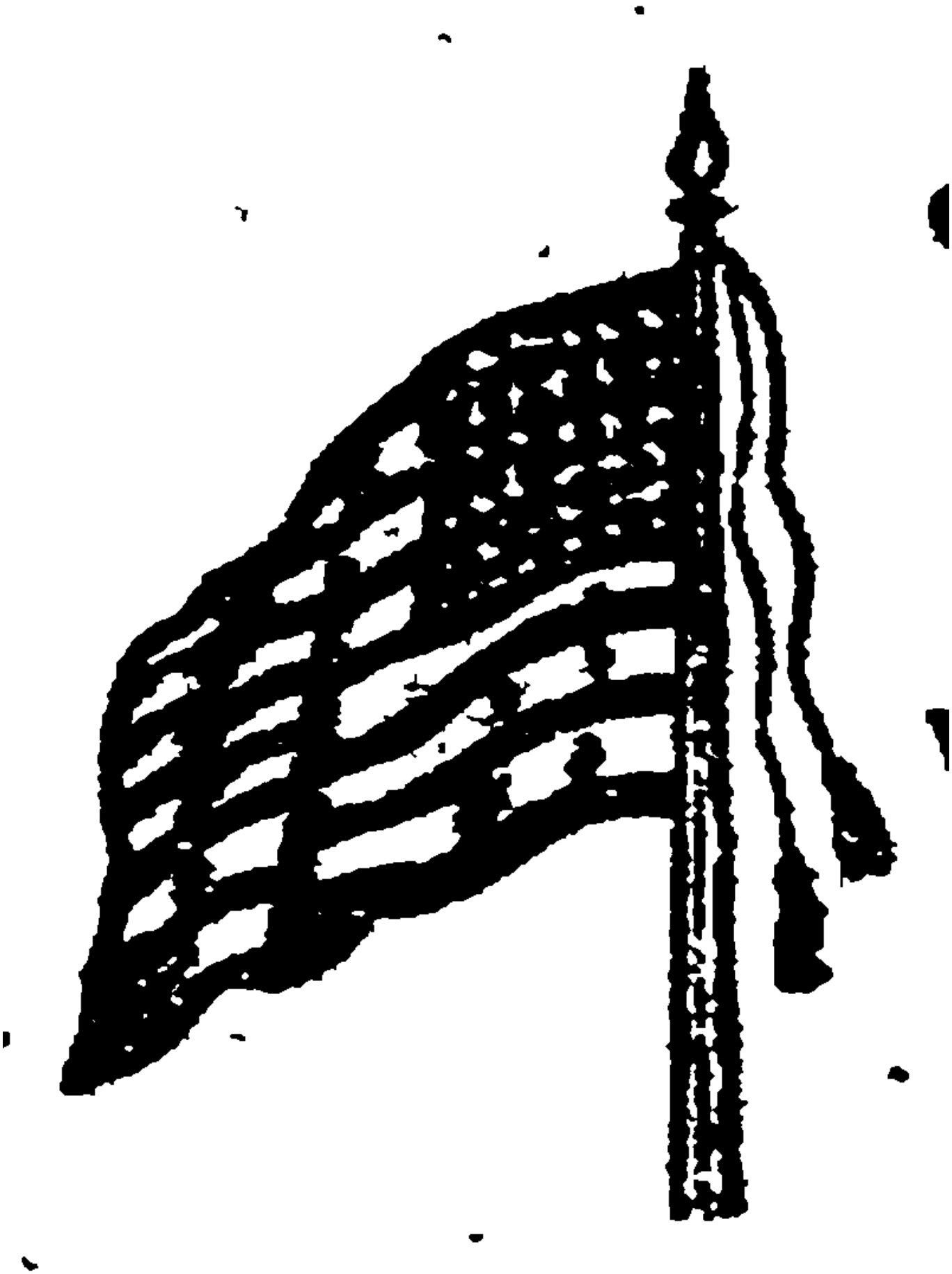
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p. 8, col. 1

CURRENT THOUGHT.

Problems in American Politics.

In *Scribner's Magazine* for October ex-Secretary of the Treasury McCullough[sic] discourses of the social and political problems which seem to him to be most urgently pressing for solution. He considers in succession the questions of our mercantile marine, of the tariff, of private land ownership, of trusts and similar monopolies, viewing each in the light of the experience of a long life, and speaking honestly what he thinks—or at all events what he thinks he thinks.

Mr. McCullough's views as to the tariff and American shipping are best expressed in his own language:

MR. M'CULLOUGH ON THE TARIFF.

> I am proud of my country, but I cannot help being humiliated by the consideration that our merchants must establish credits in London, in order to pay for their purchases abroad; and that our government is compelled to maintain an agency in that city for the payment of its representatives in foreign lands, and the expenses of its ships of war in foreign ports.

> What has made Great Britain the nation she is—the nation upon whose domain the sun never sets? Why is her flag seen upon every sea? By what means has her supremacy as a commercial and maritime power been secured and maintained? Is it not mainly because her statesmen have understood the simple fact that trade is barter, and have freed it from all restrictions?

> What is now needed in the United States, and needed more than anything else, to promote general prosperity, is such a modification of our tariff as will facilitate exchanges with other countries. The protective policy must be abandoned. A revenue tariff we must have. Absolute free trade will be among the things hoped for, but not to be gained until the people are prepared to support the government by excise duties, or by direct taxation.

MR. M'CULLOUGH ON AMERICAN SHIP BUILDING.

> The decline in its shipping is the great humiliation of the United States. Less than half a century ago it was second only to Great Britain, with strong indications that it would soon be her superior as a maritime power. The best ships in the world were then built in the United States, chiefly in New England, and our ship yards not only supplied the home demand, which was very large, but to a considerable extent the foreign demand also. Now, except for the home trade, the building of ships has substantially ceased.

Sic in the original; probably "McCulloch".

> The decline of American shipping commenced with the substitution of iron for wooden ships, and the finishing blow was given to it by a tariff which, by taxing the materials that are used in the construction of ships, made them too costly to invite capital in that direction and forced it into manufactures.

> On one point there should be accord between men of all political parties; if by reason of the tariff, or any other cause, we cannot profitably build ships, we should not be prohibited from buying and putting them under our own flag. In no other country of the world, except this great, free country of ours, does such a barbarous prohibition exist. It is urged, I know, that the building of ships could not be a profitable industry in the United States, even if the duty on all articles which are used in their construction and outfit were taken off, by reason of the cheaper labor on the other side of the Atlantic. If this were a fact, which I do not believe, what justification can there be for keeping on the statute book the law that prohibits citizens of the United States from buying foreign built ships and putting them under our own flag?

> All efforts to induce investments of capital in ships will be unavailing unless foreign markets are secured for what we have to sell. Trade is essentially barter, and there can be no barter so long as trade is fettered with unequal duties on articles to be exchanged.

Mr. McCullough has managed to reach sufficiently sound conclusions as regards the protective tariff and the mercantile marine. But to those who will take the trouble to read his article in *Scribner's*, some of the stages of his reasoning will be sufficiently amusing. He reminds us of a drunken man going home, who gets safely to his destination at last, but only after frequent staggerings and stumblings. Thus he tells us in one place that Great Britain had more capital than continental European nations, more skill in the use of machinery, more ships and greater natural advantages; and that "to make the most of these advantages she adopted the principle of free trade." Elsewhere he informs us, in one paragraph, that "in all natural advantages the United States are greatly superior to Great Britain;" in another, that "greater progress has been made in labor saving machinery on this side than on the other side of the Atlantic;" and in a third, that before the protective system was fastened on the country less than a generation ago, our mercantile marine was second only to Great Britain. Yet, after thus giving the best of all possible reasons, on his own showing, why the United States should have adopted free trade, he goes on to tell us that "without government protection against the competition of British manufacturers, capitalists in the United States would not have engaged in manufacturing." In another place he advances the curious notion that protection to everybody would be about as good a thing as free trade:

> The party of the future will be that party which, comprehending the interests of the whole country, fosters all alike, or relieves the people altogether from the burdens which a partial policy now imposes. If protection is to be the continued policy of the government, ship building should be encouraged and maritime interests protected, as well as manufactures.

Here we have, indistinctly expressed, the queer idea that to take from every man alike half the earnings of his labor, would be a rather commendable plan, provided only a quarter of each man's earnings were returned to him. For that is

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precisely what "equal protection to all" would amount to. However, since the ex-secretary reaches a sound conclusion at last, it would be uncharitable to say too much about the deviousness of his mental processes.

But when he gets upon the subject of private ownership of land, Mr. McCullough makes a pitiable exhibition of himself indeed. He seems somehow to have imbibed the idea that there is a set of men somewhere who want to confiscate everybody's land, to turn farmers into the highways, to seize every mine and city lot, and generally put everybody out of doors. What he thinks this extraordinary set of fanatics are going do with the land[sic] after

everybody, themselves included, has been deprived of the privilege of using it, he does not say, but he declaims against their doctrine with a vigor, which, considering that nobody but he has ever heard of them, is a little superfluous. Even here, however, he cannot help wobbling in his argument. He states some things as facts which are not facts; he observes facts without in the least seeing the obvious conclusion to which they point. He wanders round, in a sort of mental haze, until at last, seeing no way out of the logical labyrinth in which he has involved himself, he summons common sense to his aid, and fairly breaks his way through the flimsy walls of his own making:

> That in some countries land is held in too large quantities by a comparitively[sic] few people, whose ownership is perpetuated by legislative or sovereign power, is undoubted true.[90] In such countries there is little trade in land, and the ownership of a house, no matter how humble, is beyond the reach of the great mass of the people. Nothing of this kind exists in the United States.

> In most of the European states, especially in Great Britain, lands are heavily taxed—so heavily that they can be held only by the rich.

> For them [those who are able and willing to work] there is rarely lack of employment at remunerative wages, and the way to rise in the world is open before them.

> Nine-tenths of the rich and prominent people of the United States have made their upward way in the world without help from others. Of the wealthy men, or the men of large social or political influence, whom I have known personally, or with whose history I am familiar, I call to mind very few who have not made themselves what they are by their own exertions.

Mr. McCullough gravely states these things as facts. We would like to see some specimens of his fancies. They would be fairy tales indeed.

Turn next to the actual facts that he observes, and see how far he is from learning the lessons they convey.

> No one who has known anything about the hardships endured by the first settlers in the timbered lands of the United States—their unceasing toil, their actual want—not of the comforts, but of the necessaries of life when in health, to say nothing of what they needed, and could not be supplied with, in sickness, during the long and wearisome years which came and went before they had cleared enough of their lands [to?] enable them to begin to enjoy the fruits of their sacrifices and labors—no one who has known anything about all this will be found among those who speak of land as being God's gift, and therefore property of which there should not be absolute ownership. In traveling from Fort Wayne to Indianapolis, in the early days of the west, over or rather through roads that for a good part of the year could only be traveled by men on foot or well mounted horsemen, and in noticing the slow progress which was being made in the opening up of the country, the question naturally presented itself, Would men who could support themselves in any other way, or in any other place, make their homes in this wilderness and undergo the privations they are subject to, and labor as they must for a good part of their lives, before they can make a comfortable living? These settlers were invariably poor men; two or three hundred dollars would cover the entire outfit of a majority of them—their lands, their teams, their cows, their farming implements, their axes and rifles. It was chiefly by such men that the timbered lands of Ohio and Indiana were settled. I have seen hundreds of such beginnings, and have admired the endurance, the patience, the persevering industry, by which forest lands

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Sic in the original; probably "are going to do with the land".
Sic in the original; probably "comparatively".
Sic in the original; probably "is undoubtedly true".

> have been converted into productive farms; I do not say profitable farms, because few farms are profitable. Men who, like the late Dr. [Gwinn?] of California, have bought at low prices extensive tracts of land which were ready for the plow, and which for a time needed no fertilization, and cultivated them by machinery for wheat, have undoubtedly made money out of them; but as the wheat producing qualities of the soil becomes exhausted, and restoratives become necessary, profits will decline, and may soon disappear altogether. Lands naturally adapted to grazing may yield indefinitely good returns, because they do not become exhausted by being grazed, but they are exceptions. The alluvial lands on the lower Mississippi, and on some of its tributaries, might also be excepted, for so deep is the soil that they may be regarded as being practically inexhaustible; but they are subject to overflows and droughts, and good crops on even these lands are by no means certain.

> On the whole, farming is not a profitable business in the United States. It is a healthful employment, productive of strong and vigorous men, but it is not attractive, and it is not attractive because it is not profitable. Seldom do the sons of well-to-do farmers become farmers. As soon as they are old enough to strike out for themselves they will be found in the towns, not upon the farms. Nor are lands in the old states, which are not near enough to populous cities to be profitably used for market gardens, increasing in value. So far is this from being the case that very few farms in those states could be sold to-day for prices which they readily commanded twenty years ago. Investments in lands which are valuable for agriculture only are not now regarded with favor by capitalists. Better use for their money is found elsewhere.

And all Mr. McCullough can see in these unquestionable facts is an argument against confiscation! These men, he thinks, ought not to be forced to pay any more taxes than they do now! We should

TO SINGLE TAX CLEVELAND VOTERS.

The conference of single tax men held at Cooper union, New York, on Monday, August 6, decided to make an enrollment of all single tax men who propose to support Cleveland and Thurman. All who desire to have their names added to this roll can do so by signing the blank given below and forwarding it to this office. One blank can be made to serve for a number of signatures by clipping it out and pasting it on a sheet of paper.

I authorize the enrollment of my name on the list of voters who propose to support Cleveland and Thurman in the coming election, on the ground that any step toward tariff reduction tends toward the abolition of all taxes on the products of labor, and the final transfer of such taxes to land values.

NAME,.....

ADDRESS,.....

[Mail?] this blank when signed to THE STANDARD office, 12 Union square, New York.

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think not, indeed! It was hardly worth while adducing so much testimony to support so obvious a truth.

It is wonderful, indeed. Here is a man who has posed as a statesman, an economist and a patriot, who has held distinguished position, who has been forced by the logic of his own career to the study of social problems. He sees the men he tells about plunging into the wilderness, depriving themselves of the necessaries of life, and enduring years of toil. He asks himself if men who could support themselves in any other way, or in any other place, would make their homes in such a wilderness. And he really thinks that “no one who has known anything about all this will be found among those who speak of land as being God’s gift.” It is simply amazing:

Did it never occur to Mr. McCullough "in traveling from Fort Wayne to Indianapolis," to ask why these men could not support themselves in any other way, or in any other place? Why did they flee into the wilderness? What drove them there? There was room enough for them at home. The entire population of the United States in [1833?], which was the date of Mr. McCullough's journey, might have come to live in the single state of New York without peopling it anything like as densely as Belgium. Why didn't these men, if they must leave home, come to New York, instead of rushing off into the wilderness? Simply because private land ownership had cast its blight over New York, as over their own homes, and neither here nor there could they apply their labor to the raw material of nature without first buying permission from some individual. They fled into the wilderness because there land was free.

In this fashion it is that Mr. McCullough fails to read the lesson of his own observations. What makes it doubly strange that he should do so is that at bottom he really is a believer in the equality of human rights. His democratic common sense breaks its way through all entangling sophisms. He doesn't really think that men ought to be driven from their homes into the wilderness, or out of the world:

> The permanency of our free institutions depends more than anything else upon our homes, our independent homes. Of all property the homestead should be subject to the lightest taxation. In some states humble homes are protected against the claims of creditors; they ought everywhere to be protected against the tax collector. Great differences in the condition of men have existed and will exist under all forms of government, and these differences will be most marked under the freest, where natural gifts have full play. All that can be done by the best government is to provide for the protection of life and property—the enforcement of just and equal laws—anything more than this would be tyranny. Without perfect liberty to acquire, and without protection to whatever may be lawfully acquired, no matter what might be the character of the property, enterprise would cease and government would be a mockery.

Mr. McCullough has a very clear perception of the evils of some monopolies; and he sees, too, that the way to curb them is not by more restrictive legislation, but by less—by simply opening the gates of personal freedom and leaving the monopolies to die a natural death:

> The government is stronger than it was a half century ago, but has not this increase of strength been at the expense of republicanism? We claim that the United States is the freest country in the world—the only country except Switzerland in which the people have equal rights. Equal rights before the law are indeed possessed by everybody here, but are there not combinations of interests which prevent the full play of natural rights, which hold in check, if they do not destroy, individual enterprise? In what other country can be found such companies as have been organized in the United States for the purpose of controlling the manufacture, the transportation and the price of goods? Where can be found an organization like the Standard oil company, which absolutely controls the market of an article for which there is an immense and constant demand, and stamps out competition; or even such companies as have been formed to regulate the production of iron and steel and coal? In what other country do manufacturers who are protected by tariffs against foreign competition combine, by trusts and other agencies, to advance or sustain prices and prevent domestic competition? There is no country of which I have any knowledge in which business of all descriptions is so steadily falling into fewer and fewer hands, in which combinations are so powerful and individuals so powerless, as the United States—[no?] country in which the solution of the labor question may be more difficult. We have yet to learn that there may be as little personal freedom under republican institutions as under monarchies, and that the best efforts of all good citizens should be to prevent the great republic from being a free country in name only. That these efforts will not be wanting, I have an abiding faith. Congress has the power, by opening the way for freer trade with other nations, to destroy most of the existing monopolies, and this power will ere long be exerted.

And yet, curiously enough, he thinks that in equality of freedom lies the greatest danger to the republic. He sees with dread to what an extent the few oppress the many; and he calmly proposes to deprive the many of their one weapon of defense, other than physical force, against their oppressors. He would take away from men the right to vote. In municipal elections "no one should be a voter who is not the owner of property." And he would deprive foreign born citizens of the suffrage altogether:

> If our nationalization laws[sic] should be so changed that none should vote but those who, when the change is made, have the right to vote, and that hereafter none but the native born should be voters, the danger would not be entirely removed, but it would be greatly lessened. If this should not be done—if revolutionists who are rapidly increasing in numbers in Europe should continue to be invited to come and participate in the government of the republic—how long will not capitalists only, but industrious, frugal, liberty loving men be able to contemplate the future without misgivings? If the republic is to be short lived like those which have heretofore existed, unrestricted manhood suffrage will be the cause. It is the only really grave danger that threatens the life of the republic.

Mr. McCullough is a fair representative of the majority of American citizens—the men and women by whose common sense and patriotism the republic will be saved. He and they hate oppression, see the evils of monopoly, and have an instinctive belief in freedom. It is sad to see them groping in the dark for a way out of their perplexities. Yet it is a great thing that they are groping. Dissatisfaction is the parent of thought, and thought is the guide to truth. One by one the men of whom Mr. McCullough is a type are struggling out of the darkness into the light.

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They are learning that at the root of all monopolies and restrictions lies the one great monopoly that restrains men from applying their labor to the natural opportunities—the raw material of wealth—which are God's all sufficient gift to our race. They are learning that the social evils that afflict us spring, without exception, from the denial of justice, and that the only way to cure them is to cease to do injustice, and restore to men their birthright and their freedom.

Regarding That Report of Secretary Blaine's—[Donn?] Piatt Lets Some Daylight in on the Ways of Mr. Facing-Both-Ways.

New York Herald.

Some time, not a long while after the Hon. Jas. G. Blaine ended his eminent services as secretary of state, I met him in New York at the Fifth avenue hotel. I was weather bound, for an unusually severe winter had blocked with snow the western roads. The personal relations between Mr. Blaine and myself had always been pleasant, and meeting at the same table we had some entertaining talk on politics. It is not my purpose to recall, even if I could, any of the conversation, and I refer to the fact merely to note a circumstance that to-day has a strange significance. It was during one of these talks that Mr. Blaine informed me that he had issued from the state department a document "that ought to be in the hands of every free trader in the United States." I asked, knowing that he was a protectionist, if this document would prove so fatal to us, why he wished it circulated. "It is a powerful array of facts," he replied, "in your favor, and I abide by facts."

I asked him to please mail it me, and some days after I reached home I received this valuable contribution to our free trade literature. It proved to be a report made up at the state department from reports of our consuls in Europe. I did not place much value on the document, for it is devoted to a showing of wages abroad and the value of the work, and proving beyond question that our so-called protective tariff is a burden instead of a benefit to us,

Sic in the original; probably "naturalization laws".

and that all the supposed prosperity it is claimed we enjoy has been won in spite of the tariff, that has, in fact, been an obstacle instead of an aid to our progress.

I have taken little stock in this view of the question. I care nothing about results after being satisfied that the origin and base of the whole system is iniquitous. It is admitted on all hands that this is a process of taxation through which the government is to be sustained by one class and so taxed as to benefit another class. Were this done directly and uniform taxes levied on the entire country, out of which bounties were paid to certain interests, it would not be so bad. But the way in which the thing is done is actually for the government to farm out its fiscal agency to certain favored classes and leave them to fix the amount to be collected. This is the meaning of the so-called protection as recognized in Europe and practiced here. Now, without stopping to discuss the results, good or bad, of the measure, it is enough to know that no such power exists in our government, and if it did we would cease to be a republic. It may suit a monarchical form of government, when the sovereignty rests in a family and all property gets its title from the sovereign. But with us the sovereignty is in the people, and the government is only the process through which it finds expression. To retain this in all its purity the constitution provides that the burden of its maintenance shall be equally distributed.

Our representatives have, therefore, no right—no power under the constitution—to favor any class or any interest, let the pretext be what it may. To assert otherwise is to claim the right to destroy the very fabric the taxing power was called in to sustain and that through legislation created solely to protect.

Getting at this conclusion, it is no waste of time to discuss the results. Be the system good or bad, there is no place for it in a self government such as the fathers erected. To illustrate what I mean, let us suppose a party were organized for the sole purpose of knocking millionaires in the head and distributing their wealth. It could be shown that great good would come of this, that wages would augment, money be abundant and a great prosperity follow. I hardly think the thugs of this organization would have other time to orate on the beautiful results of their system save under the gallows with ropes about their protective necks.

This is protection in my eyes. It is theft under color of the law; and although we have constitutionally a good deal of legalized fraud, this process through which one dollar is paid the government and three, four or five given to the pockets of certain favored persons, has as little right to exist here as would the party of thugs organized to kill millionaires for the public good.

Under this state of mind I paid little heed to Mr. Blaine's report in favor of free trade. Nor do I turn to it now with any thought of use in that direction. But this public document gets a strange significance from the stand lately taken in this canvass by its author. From a report of his speech made at Boston, and published in the New York *Tribune*, we learn:

> If we have free trade the factories will not be closed, but if kept open they will be run at half the present wages. That is the issue which should be pressed home on the democratic party. They should be arraigned, as I arraign them, as conspirators against the welfare of the laboring man. Let that be the issue and the watchword of the republicans, and defeat is impossible.

Now I quote from the free trade document "that ought to be in the hands of every free trader in the United States" (to use the author's words) the following from pages 98 and 99:

> Owing to the different arrangements of the English and American tables of wages, it is difficult to give comparative analysis thereof which would show at a glance the difference in the wages of the operatives of both countries.

> The wages of spinners and weavers in Lancashire and in Massachusetts, according to the foregoing statements, were as follows, per week: Spinners—Eng [lab.?], $7.20 to [$8.40?] (master spinners ranging as high as $12); American, $7.07 to [$10.80?].

> Weavers—English, [$3.84?] to [$8.64?], subject at the date on which those rates were given to a reduction of ten per cent; American, [$4.53?] to [$8.73?].

> The average wages of employes in the Massachusetts mills are as follows, according to the official returns: Men, [$8.88?]; women, [$6.62?]; male children, [$3.11?]; female children, [$3.08?]. According to Consul [Shaw's?] report the average wages of the men employed in the Lancashire mills on the first of January, [1883?], were about [$8?] per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent; women from [$3.41?] to [$4.80?] subject to a reduction of 10 per cent.

> The hours of labor in the Lancashire mills are fifty-six, in the Massachusetts sixty per week. The hours of labor in the mills in the other New England states, where the wages are generally less than in Massachusetts, are usually sixty-six to sixty-nine per week. Undoubtedly the inequalities in the wages of English and American operatives are more than equalized by the greater efficiency of the latter and their longer hours of labor. If this should prove to be a fact in practice, as it seems to be proven from official statistics, it would be a very important element in the establishment of our ability to compete with England for our share of the cotton goods trade of the world.

> In the two prime factors which may be said to form the basis of the cotton manufacturing industry—namely, raw material and labor—we hold the advantage over England in the first and stand upon an equality with her in the second.

> Having the raw material at our doors, it follows that we should be able to convert it into manufactures, all things being equal, with more economy and facility than can be done by England, which imports our cotton and then manufactures it in in her mills[sic]. The expense of handling, transportation and commission must be an important item in this regard, as compared with our turning in the fiber from the cotton fields to our mills and shipping it in the advanced form of manufactured goods. Add to this the secondary fact that it costs us no more to handle and manufacture the same than it costs in England, and we stand on an undoubted equality thus far in the race of competition.

Not only this, but by the same state paper that has Mr. Blaine's signature at the end, we learn that all laborers of the United States favored by higher wages than those given in Europe are unprotected laborers, while the class getting the same, or less than the same "pauper labor" in Europe, are our protected workmen.

I know since this paper was prepared and published by Mr. Blaine, then secretary of state, he has visited Europe and given the industries there a personal inspection. He may have learned from such that the facts promulgated by himself as secretary of state were erroneous, but he owes it to himself to say this and give us the details of such conversion on his part. I recognize the difficulty of this. The able state paper referred to was

[Advertisement] Pears' Soap

Pears' Soap

Sic in the original; probably "manufactures it in her mills".

Fair white hands

Brightclear complexion

Soft healthful skin.

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compiled by that most eminent and eloquent republican, Mr. Blaine himself, while secretary of state, from reports made by republican consuls in Europe, with all their prejudice and party predilections in favor of a high tariff. These cannot be swept aside by a few sentences from the stump, and this eloquent gentleman, who now holds the individual attention of his party to the exclusion of their nominee for the presidency, I say, owes it to himself to give us some explanation of this extraordinary contradiction.

DONN PIATT.

Andrew Carnegie's Single Tax Sentiments.

CINCINNATI, Ohio, Sept. 29.—Is Andrew Carnegie generally recognized as a "single tax" man? In his "Triumphant Democracy," in the chapter [entitled?] "Trade and Commerce," I find the following:

> The second course would be to raise revenue by direct taxation; this is the ideal standard, and the republic in its march may some day work up to it, and give another advanced political lesson to others. . . . Far be it from me to retard the march of the world toward the free and unrestricted interchange of commodities. When the democracy obtains sway throughout the earth, the nations will become friends and brothers, instead of being, as now, the prey of the monarchical and aristocratic ruling classes, and always warring with each other; standing armies and war ships will be of the past, and men will then begin to destroy custom houses as relics of a barbarous, monarchical age, not altogether from the low plane of economic gain or loss, but strongly impelled thereto from the higher standpoint of the brotherhood of man; all restriction upon the products of other lands will then seem unworthy of any member of the race, and the dawn of that day will have come when

> Man to man the world o'er Shall brothers be, and a' that.

Perhaps Mr. Carnegie could be induced to repeat those sentiments at one of the single tax free trade mass meetings in Cooper union.

E. P. FOSTER.

THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

Down with monopoly taxes.—[Indianapolis Sentinel.

Give American industry and ingenuity free play, and they will compete with the world.—[St. Paul Globe.

This is the battle of the wage earners against trusts and thieving combinations.—[Philadelphia Record.

The Maine election shows that high tariff has fallen a little short of holding its own.—[Indianapolis News (rep).

Fifteen hundred meetings in favor of one step toward free trade were held in Pennsylvania on one night of last week.

The [$8,000,000?] which Minnesota pays in tariff taxes every year would soon clear off the farm mortgages.—[St. Paul Globe.

Senator Vest says that the tariff question involves "a fight to the death against protection."—[Chicago Evening Journal.

The people have begun to assert their rights, and the "trusts" must go, and with them the "twin relic" of high protection.—[Kansas City Star.

Cheap labor may make cheap men, but cheap clothes, cheap food and low rents never made a cheap man yet, and never will.—[Boston Globe.

Ethan Allen having become convinced that the tariff does not nor can not benefit labor, has quit the G. O. P. and announced his intention to vote for Cleveland and justice.

No matter how the election goes in November, the gain to the American people from the controversy now raging over the tariff will be great and permanent.—[New York Evening Post.

Two things determine a man's success—his natural abilities and his opportunities. We demand equal opportunities, and then results will vary as natural abilities vary.—[McPherson, Kan., Our Opinion.

If the only provision of the Mills bill were that which puts wool on the free list it would be a free trade bill, because it recognizes the principle which underlies free trade.—[New York Mail and Express.

Henry George hit straight from the shoulder in this sentence: "Give American ingenuity—American industry—free play, and it can compete with all the world; but when you try to 'protect' it you strangle it."—[St. Paul Globe.

By the way, why is it we have so few conversions to the "protection" theory among disinterested public men (we do not mean politicians and men who are benefitted but prominent journalists and authors). Henry George himself was a protectionist before he examined the evidence.—[Rockville, Ind., Tribune.

If the tax imposed upon the people of the United States, on the pretext that it is necessary to maintain the rate of wages, should be actually paid to workingmen employed in the protected industries, their earnings would be doubled and trebled. But that is not the way the scheme is intended to work.—[Philadelphia Record.

If a tax is a burden, if a tax lessens the money in the pockets of the man who pays it, if a tax is something taken away, not something given, it is plainly an insult to common sense to contend that the more American labor is taxed the better able it is to compete with the labor of other countries.—[Brooklyn Citizen.

The Old Roman doesn't bother himself or his hearers with dry statistics in talking about the tariff. There are some great facts which are known to all, which are graven on every honest man's heart, and which you don't have to go to a cyclopedia or to a census report to get. They are the great facts of universal morality. Thurman doesn't have to exhibit a table of figures when he says it's a sin to steal, and that it is just as big and bigger a sin for the government to steal from the people as for the people to steal from each other, and to that complexion he reduces the so-called protective tariff by a process of logic as powerful as a rock crusher.—[Detroit Evening News.

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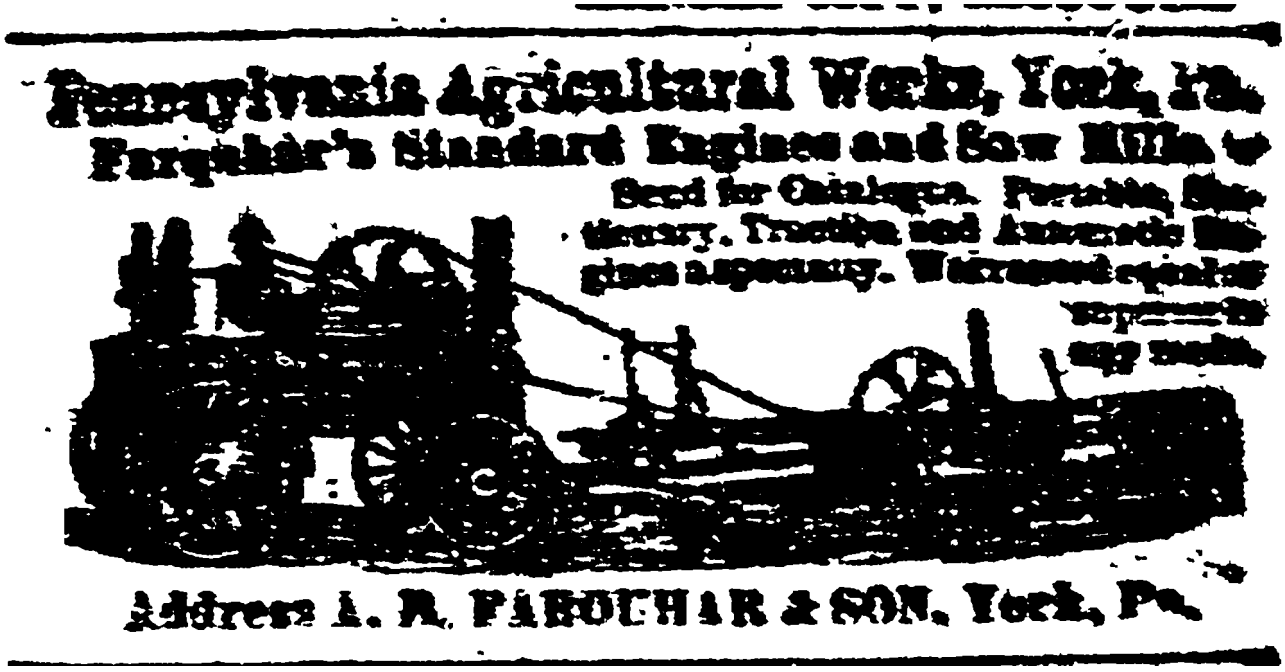
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[Advertisement] Pennsylvania Agricultural Works (Farquhar)



p8_fig1

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

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[Advertisement] Ingersoll & Bro. — The Nutshell Printing Outfit



p8_fig2

[Illustration: boxed printing outfit, lid open]

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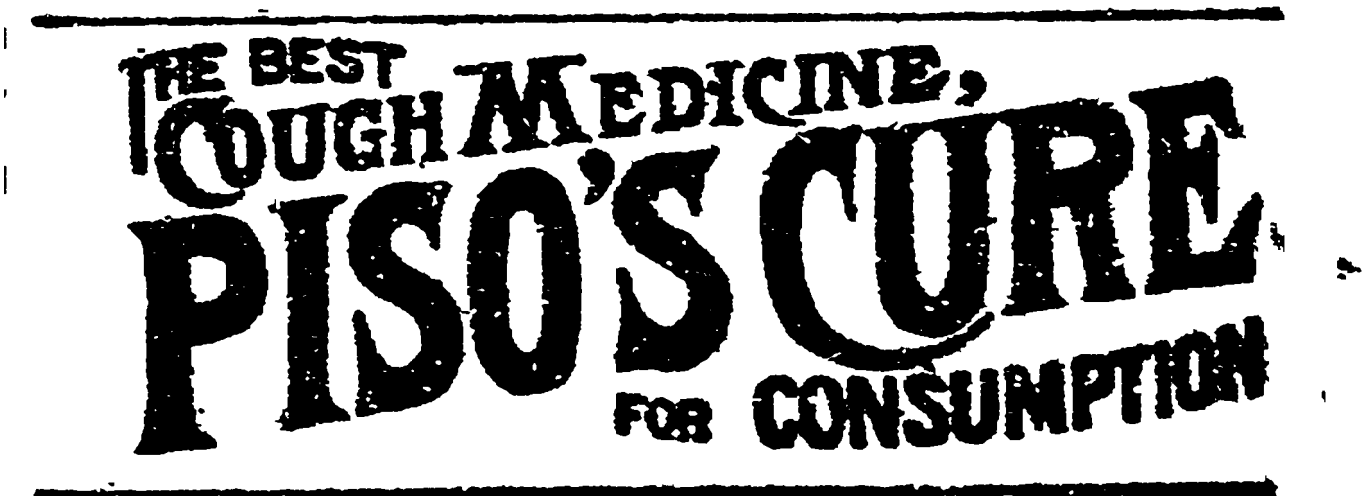
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[Advertisement] Piso's Cure



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[Display lettering, ornamental cut:] THE BEST COUGH MEDICINE, PISO'S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION

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$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 and service to any $75 Watch. Our co-operative Club System brings them within the reach of every one.

The Keystone Watch Club Co

p8_fig4

[Illustration: ornamental border; pocket watch with keystone emblem, lettered around the case “PHILA. OFFICE 904 WALNUT STREET” and on the dial “KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB ... PHILA.” (partly illegible); vertical lettering in the side borders illegible]

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 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

[Advertisement] Coogan Bros.



p8_fig5

[Illustration: five-story store front with horse-drawn wagons in the street. Signs on the building: “COOGAN BROTHERS”; on the floor bands, “[WHOLESALE AND RETAIL?] ...” (illegible), “BEDDING WAREROOMS”, “MANUFACTURERS”; across the ground floor “125 COOGAN BRO’S 121”]

COOGAN BROS.,

CARPET AND FURNITURE DEALERS,
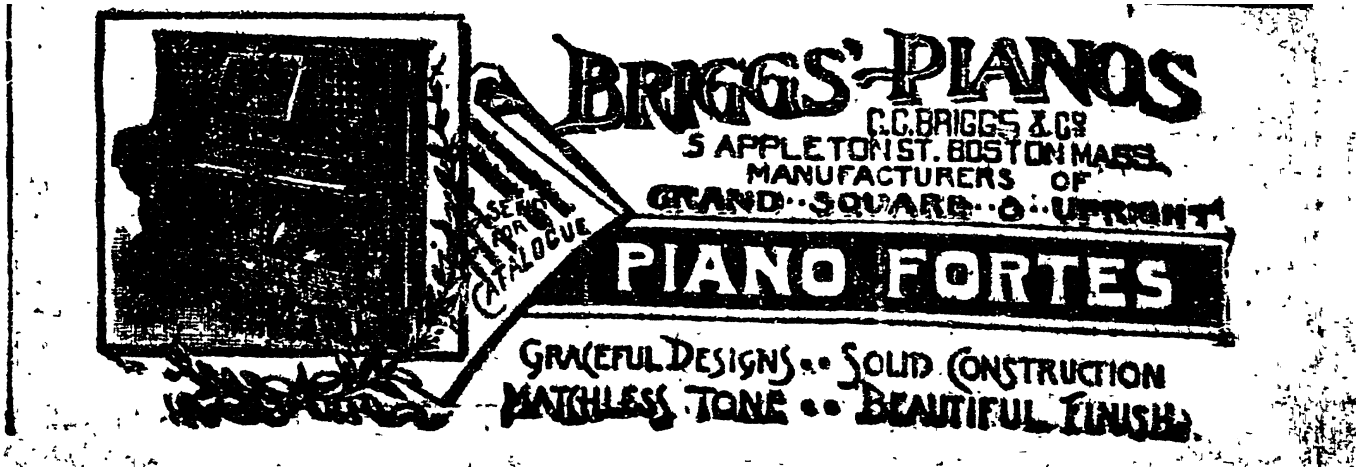
COR. BOWERY AND GRAND STS.

[Advertisement] Single Tax Doctrines in a Nutshell.

SINGLE TAX DOCTRINES IN A NUTSHELL.

Thirty pamphlets on various phases of the social problem. The question of the hour. All should understand it. Will be sent post paid on receipt of [fifteen?] cents in stamps, or will be sent free to any one sending twenty-five cents for six months’ subscription to the *Tax Reformer*, a sixteen page journal. Address SINGLE TAX PRESS, 1791 Lexington ave., N. Y.

[Advertisement] Briggs’ Pianos



p8_fig6

[Illustration: upright piano in a frame with laurel sprays; pointing banner lettered “SEND FOR CATALOGUE”]

BRIGGS’ PIANOS C. C. BRIGGS & CO. 5 APPLETON ST. BOSTON MASS. MANUFACTURERS OF GRAND · SQUARE · & · UPRIGHT PIANO FORTES GRACEFUL DESIGNS · · SOLID CONSTRUCTION MATCHLESS TONE · · BEAUTIFUL FINISH.

Damaged type restored

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

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
1	[Tom L. Johnson]	nationa erest (letters lost)	national interest
1	[The Sun, Hill and Cleveland]	de-/sioy	destroy
2	CAMPAIGN WORK. Getting Down to the Real Business of the Canv	Abraham Lincoln in [1863?]	1860
3	A CATECHISM.	How would it effect capital?	affect
3	PROHIBITION LAW AND PERSONAL LIBERTY. Notes by an English Re	Can the people … civilization? (no closing quote)	closing quotation mark after civilization?
5	MEN AND THINGS. [Carnot and the French farmers]	cf (damaged o)	of
5	THE CAMPAIGN “STANDARD” FUND. [Letter from New York City]	less‹ us (damaged)	lessons
5	[Record of the Campaign Standard fund for the week]	W. S. Brown … [8?] 00	3 00 (if Hensen’s [1?] is $1, the column totals $113.42 only with $3)
7	SINGLE TAX CLUB MEETINGS.	Secretary, [H. E. Bloom?], [2825?] Lucky street	compare p3 directory: Benj E Bloom, Single tax league, [3923?] Lucky street