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83 notes: 83 misprints. Uncertain readings are in [brackets?]. Original spelling and misprints are kept as printed.

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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 c1–c3 editorial notes: one run signed HENRY GEORGE at the end. Owner’s stamp over “AR” of the masthead.
- p2: end of the single-tax meeting report, George introducing Shearman, Shearman’s address and his answers to questions. A blot in c1 hides a few words (the darker duplicate scan may help).
- p4 c4: blotted figures [$103,498?] / [$34,502?] chosen so the paper’s sum totals $138,000.
- p5: “Schreckner, 455” (c3) vs “Schreckler, [445?]” (c6); E. B./F. B. Swinney, A. O./O. A. Pitcher, R. Feeny/Richard Feeney between letters and the fund list.
- p6 “Jefferson and Hamilton” by Chauncey F. Black runs p6 → p7 c1; a blank spot in c4 loses ~4 letters (“ins[illegible]ed”).
- p7 running head reads “1883”. Headline “How the Tariff Injures the Tariff Trade” (printed twice) is probably meant for the woolen trade.

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THE STANDARD

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p. 1, col. 1

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 h[undred?] or more, each . . . . . 1[6?]c

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"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:

Chauncey F. Black on Jeffersonian Democracy. An English View of the Situation. Governor Hill and Ballot Reform. The Chicago Corner. Cheers for Free Trade—The Fourth Big Meeting of New York Single Tax Men. An English Paper for Cleveland. A Protection Catechism. Notes from Correspondence. Pushing Campaign Work. [Commerce?] (a poem). A Whine from New Hampshire. An Illustration and What It Illustrates. An Unfortunate Discovery. A Significant Admission. Men and Things. The Campaign "Standard" Fund. Society Notes. Jefferson and Hamilton—An address to the democratic clubs of the United States by Chauncey F. Black. Bob White's Theory. Queries and Answers. The Beating of the Drums.

The paper on "Jefferson and Hamilton" from the pen of Chauncey F. Black, which will be found on the sixth page of this issue of THE STANDARD, is a most timely addition to higher political literature. Without a trace of the spirit of mere partisanship, Governor Black has reviewed the most important period of American political history, and, in the opposing systems of the two great statesmen who yet stand as the best representatives of the normal

division of American parties, shown the underlying principles which, beneath the eddies and froth of the surface, struggle for the mastery in our politics to-day.

In this the President of the Democratic Society of Pennsylvania has rendered a great public service, and done more than in any other way he possibly could do to promote the great work of bringing the democratic party back to democratic principles. With that clearness and vigor of style which made his father famous, he has put into little more than a page of THE STANDARD an amount of information as to the formative period of our political history, and the origin and principles of Jeffersonian democracy, such as is nowhere else to be found in the same space. Now that the democratic party, under the leadership of Grover Cleveland, is taking issue with the system of public robbery miscalled "protection," and is making a first, though as yet a timid step toward fundamental democratic principle—now that the spirit of Thomas Jefferson is again beginning to breathe new life through its ranks, this clear exposition of the Jeffersonian philosophy is most timely and will prove most useful. All that is included in that far-reaching philosophy Governor Black may not perhaps as yet see. That the equal and unalienable rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness with which men are endowed by their Creator must of necessity include the equal and unalienable right to the natural elements indispensable to human existence, Jefferson himself only vaguely saw. But Governor Black does see. and has[sic] in this paper admirably shown, how the Jeffersonian principles do condemn anything in the nature of special privilege, and how they set themselves inflexibly and unrelentingly against all use of the powers of government to further the interests of favored individuals and classes—against the spirit of protectionism in all its forms.

On the third page of THE STANDARD will be found the leading article from a recent number of the London *Weekly Dispatch.* It expresses the joy with which a large portion of the English people look upon the position of President Cleveland, and the ardor with which they hope for his election. But the protectionist sheets that parade "faked" extracts from such papers as the London *Times,* and tell the American people that British hope for Cleveland's election is a sufficient reason why Americans should vote against him, will not reprint this article. The *Weekly Dispatch* is not a representative of the governing class in England, but of the working class. It is a radical paper of enormous circulation. What it sees of hope in the re-election of President Cleveland is, not merely such a reduction of the tariff as will permit of greater trade between the two countries, not even the ultimate abolition of that tariff, but the triumph, in the great republic of the west, of that principle of equal

p. 1, col. 2

rights to land in which the masses of all countries have the deepest interest.

It may seem to the cursory reader that the *Weekly Dispatch* has only a vague and exaggerated notion of the political issues that are presenting themselves in the United States in this campaign, and of the attitude of the leaders of both parties. But this is not so. When it speaks of "imperial" taxation and the "imperial" surplus, it is of course translating into terms in common use by its readers what in the United States are called federal taxation and the federal surplus—terms which there would not be so commonly understood. And so when it attributes to Mr. Blaine the motto "Keep up the customs and keep down the land tax," it may seem as if it were attributing to that gentleman phrases he never used. What it really alludes to is Mr. Blaine's proposition to keep up customs duties, even if it becomes necessary to divide the surplus among the states, which would of course tend to the reduction of those state taxes which now in part fall upon land values. And it expressly disclaims attributing to President Cleveland any more radical ideas than those he has expressed. It sees clearly that the present position of the democratic party is merely that of some reduction of the protective tariff, and that its ultimate, so far as yet expressed, is merely to free from duty the imported raw materials used in home manufactures. But it also sees what people at a distance are often likely more clearly to see than those engaged in the conflict, that the nominal

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Sic in the original; probably "does see, and has".

issues are not the true issues, and that in attacking protection President Cleveland and his party have indeed entered upon a road which ends *only* with *the imposition* of all taxes upon land values and the restoration to all citizens of their equal natural rights to the bounty of nature. It sees, as we single tax men do, that in supporting the democratic party in this election we are really lending our aid to the first practical step toward our ultimate goal.

And in this it sees that Cleveland and Thurman do in this campaign represent not merely a step toward that freedom of commerce which would be the most powerful of agencies in linking the peoples of all countries together in bonds of amity and peace, but that they do, even though they themselves may not realize it, represent the American phase of that world-wide struggle against industrial slavery in which the "laboring classes" of every land have a common interest.

Governor Hill made a speech to the workingmen of New York in Cooper union on Monday night, in which he said some good things about the inability of protection to raise wages, recounted the "labor bills" he had signed, and endeavored to justify his veto of the Saxton electoral bill.

This latter—the most important part of the governor's speech—was gratifying, in that it showed a recognition of the strong popular demand for this most important of all political reforms, and an anxiety to explain away his position of opposition; but it was disingenuous and demagogic to the last degree. It is plain from the governor's present apologies, as it was from his memorandum of objections filed with the bill. that his[sic] real objection to it is that the taking of the printing and distribution of tickets from the hands of party organizations, and the security against bribery and intimidation which the Australian system gives, would utterly destroy the power of the political machines.

All other considerations aside, men who believe that social reform is only to be gained through political action have one clear duty in this state election. Experience has amply shown that under the present system of voting successful independent political action is utterly impossible. Voters have practically no choice but between the candidates which the organized political machines may give them the privilege of voting for. And the ability to spend large sums of money is indispensably necessary to the success of a political movement or even to the presentation of a candidate. When a district judge must pay an assessment of $20,000; when a candidate for the assembly, whose salary is but $1,500, must pay $3,500; when to run for more important offices requires the expenditure of what to the ordinary citizen is a large fortune, the mass of our people are subjected to the worst of all property qualifications—a qualification that bars out all but the rich or the unscrupulous. So long as this system continues, "machines" and "bosses" will virtually rule under democratic forms, the power of money in elections will be well nigh omnipotent, and any revolt against the professional politicians will be doomed to defeat. The machines themselves

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will never voluntarily consent to its change. Reform cannot come until the voters show that they are determined to make it a test question, and to vote against any man who opposes it. Therefore it is that at this election a vote against Governor Hill is a vote for ballot reform and a vote for him is a vote against it.

In response to the numerous letters I have received, inviting me to make speeches in the west, I would say that I have found myself unable to get away as early as I hoped, and will now have to abandon the idea of making any speeches west of New York state.

Sic in the original; probably "with the bill, that his".

HENRY GEORGE.

THE CHICAGO CORNER.

A certain Mr. Hutchinson is reported to have cleared a million dollars or more by gambling in the wheat pit of the Chicago exchange. Believing that the wheat crop was considerably smaller than most people thought it, Mr. Hutchinson contracted with various Chicago brokers to take all the wheat they could deliver him up to and including September 30, at prices ranging from 85 cents up to $1 a bushel. The brokers, on the other hand, believing that the crop was not extraordinarily short, and that before September 30 they could buy plenty of wheat to deliver to Mr. Hutchinson at less than he was willing to promise to pay for it, accepted his offers freely. The event proved that Mr. Hutchinson was right. The wheat crop *was* short. When the brokers tried to buy wheat to deliver in fulfilment of their contracts they found they could not get it. The result was a sharp competition to get what there was, and a sudden rise in price. When the last day of delivery arrived the contracting brokers who had not succeeded in buying wheat to deliver were at Mr. Hutchinson's mercy. He could put the price of wheat, *as between him and them,* at any figure he pleased, and they must pay him the difference between that figure and the price he had agreed to pay them. He might have named $10 a bushel had he chosen. He was prudently merciful, and named two dollars only. At that very moment, wheat to be delivered within two or three days was selling at $1.10 a bushel.

What Mr. Hutchinson did, in effect, was to make bets with certain other men that his estimate of the wheat crop was better than theirs. That this gambling is demoralizing, goes without saying. It is a bad thing for all concerned in it; and it is a doubly bad thing for those who, seeing it, are tempted to try if they also cannot make a living by gambling instead of by honest work. It is a bad thing, in the same sense that the sale of pools at horse races is bad.

But a great many people seem to think that Mr. Hutchinson's successful corner is going to make wheat cost the people who use it *more* than otherwise would have been the case. It will do nothing of the sort. The law of supply and demand is operating as freely and as surely as if Mr. Hutchinson had never been born. There is no less wheat in the country than there would have been, there has been no abnormal increase of population, there has been no diminution of wealth with which to purchase wheat. The factors that determine prices are all operating with full effect. What has happened is simply the discovery of the fact that the supply of wheat is short. The rise in price is a legitimate result of that discovery. Men will have to pay higher prices for bread this winter, not because Mr. Hutchinson won his bets, but because there is less of the material to make bread in the world than usual.

And in so far as the Chicago corner established the fact that the wheat crop is short, it was distinctly a good thing. To establish such facts is, in the intricate scheme of our civilization, the chief function of mercantile exchanges. It is by the friction of buyers and sellers upon their floors, by the bringing of divergent opinions to the test of actual facts, that the world's supply of food and necessaries is distributed and brought to hand as it is needed. What the German socialists would accomplish by means of an army of statisticians, and with frightful risk of mistakes, our exchanges do at trifling cost and with unfailing accuracy. Men are probably sowing wheat in Australia and Chili to-day because Mr. Hutchinson's deal has warned them that the United States will furnish less than her share of wheat this year for the world's consumption. We shall have bread to eat in February without paying famine prices for it for the same reason. All the civilized world over, wherever men gather to exchange productions, the clash of buyer and seller, for present and for future use, goes on unceasingly; and whether it be tea from China, or coffee from Brazil, or wheat from Dakota's prairies that is dealt in, the result is the measuring of supply against demand, and the checking or increasing of consumption, so that famine and surfeit may be alike avoided. It is a pity that

men like Mr. Hutchinson should gamble. It is a pity that other men should bet upon the passages of rival steamers. But it is as foolish to reprehend the Chicago exchange
p. 1, col. 4
because of Mr. Hutchinson's gambling as it would be to burn a steamship because men wagered upon her speed.

A specimen of the Governor Hill style of statesmanship appears in his organ, the *Sun,* of last Sunday. "No democrat worthy of the name," it says, "will ever consent to subject the ballot of any voter to the scrutiny of government spies before it can be deposited in the ballot box." This is an allusion to the Saxton ballot bill. As the statement of a democratic principle it is indisputably sound; but as an inuendo[sic] against the Saxton bill it is what Horace Greeley would have justly called a lie.

The Saxton bill is drawn to prevent the scrutiny of ballots before they are deposited, not only by government spies but by everybody else. By employers who intimidate, and by henchmen who bribe, as well as by politicians who fare sumptuously by dealing in votes. And it is this that hurts.

In preparing such a measure, it became necessary to protect blind voters and voters who cannot read against interference, deceit, intimidation and bribery on the one hand, and the possibility of their disfranchisement through their infirmity or illiteracy on the other. It is the policy of the measure to absolutely prohibit the exhibition of a ballot to any one prior to its use, but *blind and illiterate* voters must be allowed to show their ballots to some one, and it became necessary to determine whether they should be permitted to show them to irresponsible persons or to officials sworn to secrecy. The latter plan was wisely adopted. But the ballots even of these voters are not subjected by the bill to the scrutiny of anyone. Such voters are simply permitted to confer with one of two sworn officials representing respectively the principal parties, according to their own choice. If the officer so selected violates the trust it is easy to detect and punish him. To say that such a law subjects the ballot of anyone "to the scrutiny of government spies" is as false in fact as the governor's constitutional objections are flimsy in law; but to say that it is not democratic, as the *Sun* does, exhibits the kind of appreciation of democracy that might be expected of a paper that advocates taxation of the masses for the benefit of trusts.

Here is what Mr. James G. Blaine, ad[dress?]ing a republican meeting, said at Adrian, Mich., October 4:

> Well, now, speaking of free trade, there are advantages in free trade, and I will tell you one of them. We are 65,000,000 of people; we have thirty-eight states and eight territories. We have 3,500,000 square miles of territory. We have 17,000 miles of ocean front, and over that vast area—nearly as large as the whole continent of Europe, with a much greater water front on the ocean—we Americans, among ourselves, around the hearthstone and by the fireside, have absolute free trade. (Cheers and cries of "That's it. That's the doctrine.") There is not nor has there ever been as great a number of millions of people in the world who have had the greatest and highest blessings that free trade can give them as the people of the United States. (Applause.) But when you come to the question whether the foreign peoples, who pay no taxes, who are not of our family, who live alien to us, who live far beyond the ocean, shall enter into this great home market, that opens up another question. There comes in the great doctrine of protection.

If the free trade among 65,000,000 of people results in securing to them "the greatest and highest blessings," wouldn't free trade among 130,000,000 secure more blessings?

Sic in the original; probably "innuendo".

If Canadians are forbidden to trade with Americans because they pay no taxes in this country, ought not Jerseymen, who pay no taxes in New York, to be forbidden to trade with New Yorkers?

Of course we don't expect Mr. Blaine to answer these questions. He isn't answering questions. But they are pertinent questions, for all that.

Trying to Find an Opponent for Judge Maguire.

The San Francisco tariff reform club recently sent a communication to the chairman of the republican state central committee of California, challenging "any accredited representative of the republican party to a friendly debate on the question of tariff reform, as embodied in the Mills bill, with Judge James G. Maguire, of our club." Most recent advices from San Francisco show no evidence that the republicans have yet taken up the challenge.

In a letter just received Judge Maguire says: "We are not idle out here. Nearly all of our people agree with Judge Reid that 'freer trade leads to free trade, and free trade to the single tax,' and that it is the duty of all land reformers to give hearty support to this great practical step in our direction. The Tariff reform club is composed almost exclusively of single tax men."

To Be Translated Into Turkish.

Henry George's "Protection or Free Trade?" and "The Land Question" are to be translated into Turkish by Mr. R. F. Routh, and published in Constantinople early in the coming year.

To Help On Ballot Reform.

On Monday, October 15, a mass meeting will be held at Cooper union to advocate ballot reform and protest against the re-election of Governor Hill. William M. Ivins and Henry George will speak.

No Time to Buy Now.

New York Sun.

Wife—My dear, Bobby wants you to buy him a Noah's ark.

Husband—A Noah's ark! Heavens, my dear wife, don't you know that there is a war tariff on Noah's arks of 135 per cent? Wait until after election

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CHEERS FOR FREE TRADE.

FOURTH GREAT MEETING OF THE NEW YORK SINGLE TAX MEN.

Cooper Union Thronged With [Enthusiastic?] Men and Women—Splendid Speeches by William J. Gorsuch and Thom[as G.?] Shearman—Meeting Questions With Facts and Figures—A Single Tax Brass Band.

Cooper union was packed on Friday evening, October 5, and the fourth big free trade mass meeting under charge of the single tax Cleveland and Thurman campaign committee was a great success. Every seat was filled and large numbers of men thronged the passages and door ways. A more attentive audience could not have beem found[sic] and every point made by the speakers was caught up and soundly applauded.

When the time for questioning came the vast audience became hushed [with?] expectancy, and as Mr. Sherman[sic] met one after another of his questioners with facts and figures, the enthusiasm flamed up again, and kept up until, at a few minutes past 10 o'clock, the proceedings were brought to a close amid prolonged cheering.

A novel feature in the meeting was the appearance of a single tax brass band, made up of nineteen ardent volunteers—Director James Beggs, Thomas Murray, John K[illegible]hauser, Carl Daurmeyer, Emil Specht, Daniel Walsh, George Merz, John Beggs, Carl [Niehoff?], Carl Knutzen, F. V. Beggs, Jos. [Battaland?], Daniel Kenn, W. H. Anstead, Theo. [Dammeyer?], George Hennessy, Robert Bock, John Gabriel and Thomas Usher—who played several inspiring airs.

At 8 o'clock Henry George, acting as chairman, called the meeting to order and introduced the Single tax bruss band[sic], which was greeted with hearty applause, and played "Cleveland's March." Mr. George then announced several single tax meetings, and after referring to the fruitless efforts which had been made to get protectionists to meet single tax free traders in debate, read the following advertisement from the *Press* amid great laughter and applause:

> WANTED—A protectionist to make an address before the Tenth congressional single tax Cleveland club, explaining how tariffs increase wages, and to answer questions put by the audience. Address BENJAMIN DOBLIN, 12 Union square.

Saying that he had done too much good work in this city during the past two years to need any introduction, Mr. George then presented the first speaker—William J. Gorsuch.

Mr. Gorsuch's Address.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I read this week in a comic paper a line which said: "Mr. Cleveland has challenged the protected industries of the country to a fight of extermination—the fight is to the death." Above this was a picture of American Industry, seated upon the back of the Br[itish?] lion, attempting to fight off the pauper labor vultures of various countries. The intention of the cartoonist undoubtedly was to show that in the contest which Mr. Cleveland is bringing on, American industry must do all the suffering while the foreign pauper labor vultures are to have all the fun.

But is this true? If free trade in its fullness were in force, if our Chinese wall were broken down, if materials of every kind could be brought across the ocean free of duty, enabling us to produce more cheaply better things than

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Sic in the original; probably "been found".
Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Shearman".
Sic in the original; probably "brass band".

we can to-day, would not most of the pauper laborers who now swarm to our shores find so much employment at home in producing things to be given in exchange for our products, that they would not have to leave their native land? (Applause.)

WHOM PROTECTION PROTECTS.

We are told that a high tariff protects labor. So it does—some kinds of labor. It protects the work of monopoly, of the trust, of the combine. But it does not protect the American industrial worker. (Applause.)

James G. Blaine has told us that trusts are largely private affairs (laughter), with which neither President Cleveland, nor any other citizen, has a right to bother. Across the river, in the city of Brooklyn, we have a beautiful exemplification of the truth uttered by Mr. Blaine. There to-day, when the bleak winds of winter are beginning to blow, are 700 men shut out from the opportunity of making a living for themselves and their families. And why? Because, under the protection afforded to monopoly by our high tariff there has grown up a sugar trust, which shuts down refineries whenever it sees fit, arbitrarily throws men out of employment and arbitrarily puts up the price of a necessity of human life. (Applause.) Seven hundred men thrown out of employment! And sugar jumping from seven to nine cents per pound! As one of those workmen very aptly asked, "If sugar is rising in price, the close down can not be due to a surplus of sugar." (Applause.)

Now, the men who organize these trusts and monopolies are not necessarily uncharitable. Mr. Hutchinson of Chicago, when entering the board of trade elevator the other day, heard the elevator man remark that he had no overcoat, and promptly took him to his office and presented him with a new coat. And so, I have no doubt, if the men who compose the sugar trust were appealed to by some of their suffering employes who have been locked out, they would very possibly open their hearts and their pocket books. But I tell you, ladies and gentlemen, that if this republic, after one hundred years of existence, has not reached a position which places its working people beyond the need of having to appeal to charity, then there is something wrong with the republic. (Applause.)

WHO NEED PROTECTION.

We who stand on the single tax platform (applause) believe that only imbeciles, incompetent individuals, babes and children need protection. We believe that Americans need liberty, but not protection. (Applause.) We believe that the spirit that inspired the Declaration of Independence is a spirit that asks, not for coddling, but for freedom. (Applause.) We believe that the genius and skill of this American people need only equal access to the raw materials of nature to enable them to compete with any nation in any market on earth. (Applause.) We want less restriction, less slavery and more liberty! (Applause.)

THE PRINCIPAL AT STAKE[sic].

Now, for the first time in many a political campaign, there is a principle at stake. For the first time in well nigh a generation there is a question of something more than turning rascals out and putting rascals in. (Applause.) The issue of this campaign is: Is it better to protect ourselves by shutting out the

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good things that other people want to send us, or shall we claim for all the inhabitants of the earth the right to apply their labor to the best advantage, and thus gain more leisure, *more chance to grow?* (Applause.)

Our position is that no man has a right to demand that another man shall give him something for nothing. Every man is entitled to get as much as he can for his labor. Every man seeks to gratify his desires with the least exertion. And if our tariff wall were broken down, no man really believes that England would send us clothes, or food, or machinery, or anything else, for nothing. (Applause.)

Sic in the original; probably "THE PRINCIPLE AT STAKE.".

THE GOLD BUGABOO.

But we are told that under free trade England would send us these things for gold—that all the gold would flow out of our country, leaving us in a pitiable condition indeed. Now, assuming that this were true, what would be our condition if all the gold should be taken out of the country? Should we have less to eat, or to wear, or to cover ourselves with at night, or to build houses with? Gold is no part of these things. The wheat grown from the soil, the fruit plucked from the tree, the wool sheared from the sheep's back, the clay molded into bricks, the wood grown in the forest—these are material needs of civilization. Should we have any less of them? We might have fewer gold ornaments. But we should have as much of real wealth—of food, and clothing, and shelter—as we have now. (Applause.) But as a matter of fact, gold seldom or never leaves a country, except as bullion. And then it is a commodity—a representative of labor. (Applause.)

THE RELIGION OF THE MOVEMENT.

Are we not the children of an Intelligence which said: "I will make man my child, and be to him a father?" Is not God the equal father of all men—of the people across the ocean, as well as *on this side of it?* If this be so, how can we worship God the Father, and still indorse protection? (Applause.) We single tax men hold that the abolition of the tariff would not injure us, while it would—and we glory in the fact—benefit other people. (Applause.)

WHAT FREE WOOL WILL DO.

The tariff compels all the people of this country to pay increased prices for the articles produced in protected industries, and we are told that free trade would work the ruin of these industries. Now, I do not believe that it is any part of the duty of our government to enable certain men to operate certain factories, or to produce certain lines of goods. But as a matter of fact, would the industries suffer? They tell us that if wool is admitted free, the wool growers will be driven out of business. That seems hardly possible. Suppose wool comes in free, as I believe it soon will? (Great applause.) We use 600,000,000 pounds of wool every year, of which we produce only 35[0?], 000,000. Without the importation of the finer grades our wool manufacturing industries would be driven out of business. Now if these higher grades of wool are brought in free of duty, what an impetus will be given to our woolen industries! How many mills will be set to work? How many more men and women will be employed! (Applause.) What an increased demand there will be for American wools [to?] mix with those higher grades of foreign wools, and what an impetus will be thus given to the raising of American sheep, and to the production by our farmers of better grades of wool. Looking at it in this way—which seems to me the intelligent, American way—our woolen industries would not only not be driven out, but would actually be largely increased. And since this increase would necessitate the employment of more labor, manufacturers might be compelled by competition to pay their employes a nearer approach to living wages. (Applause.)

PROFITS AND WAGES.

No man to-day—except he refuses to answer questions or to debate, as our protectionist friends have so far done in this campaign—dare say that the profits of an employer, of a manufacturer, have anything to do with the wages of his employes. (Applause.) The man out in Pittsburg who made as his share of the profits of the steel industry a million and a half a year—he did not consider what those profits were when he cut down the wages of his employes ten per cent. When he took across with him to England and to Scotland this ten per cent reduction of their meager wages to entertain Mr. Blaine while he instructed him in the true principles of American labor, he did not consider what his profits were as compared with the earnings of the wage workers in his employ. (Applause.) Man is not an angel. The employer and employes are equally trying to get as much as they can with the least possible exertion. I do not blame Mr. Carnegie or any other employer of labor. But I do blame the ignorance and lack of thought of the American workingmen who who will not think[sic] before they vote (great applause), who will not reason before they follow the torchlight procession, dressed in parti-colored clothes, as clowns and fools should dress.

Yet I believe in the intelligence of these my countrymen. I am proud to call myself an American. (Applause.) I believe that the spirit which has enabled this republic to exist for a century against the wiles of monarchy and aristocracy from abroad, is abroad among the people to-day, and will not only save this republic, but leap to greater heights of freedom. (Applause.)

THE GREATEST NATION ON EARTH.

We to-day are a composite people. We are the greatest nation on earth, because we are composed of the best representatives of all nations. (Applause.) He who stays at home contented with his lot, with a narrow, starveling condition, remains a slave. It is the man who is not satisfied with the condition in which he finds himself born and educated, not satisfied with his narrow bounds, who breaks away and goes hunting for broader fields, for greater chance to grow himself a better man. (Applause.)

Discontent is the great lever of progress. Discontent made all our inventions, all our improvements. And the people here to-day, coming from all shores, coming from all nations and all races of men, are the best types, the best representatives of all nations. (Applause.) Not the people who were simply born here, not the people whose ancestors fled from oppression a hundred or more years ago, but the people whose fathers in late years fled from oppression to seek liberty here. (Applause.) Aye, and the people who are fleeing to-day from oppression abroad, hunting for liberty here (applause)—these are our best people.

This country, we have been told, is the refuge of the oppressed of all nations. I say let us keep that fact shining before the people. Let us keep it clear in our minds Here[sic] in this land, unoccupied, "barely scratched," as Mr. George has told us (applause), where we could in one state, the state of Texas, put the whole 1,400 million people of the earth, give continued on p. 2 →

Sic in the original; probably "who will not think".
Sic in the original; probably "clear in our minds. Here".

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[continued from page 1]

← continued from p. 1 each family a half an acre, and have 200,000 acres left in that one little state—shall we close our doors to our suffering and fleeing brothers? I say no! Open them up, break down this infernal Chinese wall which enables a few to protect themselves and rob the many. (Tumultuous applause.)

Mr. Gorsuch took his seat amid great and continued applause, and the usual collection was taken up, Mr. George making a few remarks meanwhile. Speaking of the advance which the democratic party is making, he said: "With every day as it passes the democratic masses are becoming more radical. In one place, in the Twenty-first district of Ohio (applause), they have nominated for congress a man who avows himself a free trader absolutely (great applause), a man who avows himself for the single tax (great applause), a man who from the first has been one of our best and stanchest friends—Tom L. Johnson of Ohio." (Applause and cheers.) Mr. George continued: "And now I have the pleasure to introduce for the first time to a single tax audience one of the best and ablest friends of the single tax, a man who by pen and speech and with his means has aided our cause most efficiently; a man who, beginning as a free trader, came to the single tax position as the logical result of his examination of facts. I said the other night when I stood up here to answer questions that I would only answer questions as to principles, because in the first place I was not an encyclopedia. (Laughter.) Now the man whom I am about to introduce to you comes as near as any one can get to being an encyclopedia. (Laughter and applause.) And after his speech if any of our protectionist friends in this audience want to get up and ask hard questions he is ready to answer them.

"Ladies and gentlemen, I have the pleasure to introduce Thomas G. Shearman." (Great applause.)

Mr. Shearman's Address.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentleman[sic]: The very flattering introduction which has been given me, and especially the statement that I will answer all questions, reminds me of a capital story related by my friend Mr. Evarts, who is a very much better story teller than he is an economist (laughter)—what he does not know about story telling is hardly worth knowing, and unfortunately what he knows about economics is exactly the same thing. (Laughter.)

His story was that a boy was sent away from a high school with a very black mark as incorrigibly stupid. When he came home, his father was very indignant and said: "What is the matter, that after all the pains bestowed on your education you cannot pass?" "Well," said the boy, "I went through an examination, and when I got through with the examination they said I had failed, and would not pass me." "How is that?" "I really don't know. They put a lot of questions to me and I answered them all correctly the first time." "What was the first question they put to you?" "They asked me how far the earth was from the sun." "What did you say to that?" "Why, I said I didn't know." (Laughter and ap plause.) I won't answer every question in that way; but you see that I am safe in promising to answer every question correctly.

Sic in the original; probably "Ladies and Gentlemen".

NO APOLOGY FOR FREE TRADE.

It is an immense pleasure to me to speak upon this platform, to this audience and surrounded by these friends, and with this banner behind me, inscribed, "Free Trade! Free Land! Free Men!" (Great applause.) We make no excuses. We make no pretenses. We are not apologizing for our principles nor running away from them. (Applause and laughter.) We don't tell anybody that free trade is a local issue. We don't tell anybody that the thing is impracticable. We come out plainly and tell every one just what we think, just what we mean, just what we intend to do. (Applause.)

I am a revenue reformer; but I have a large idea as to what revenue reform means. It means a great deal more than free trade. Revenue reform means the reform of every evil that ever was, is, or will be found in the collection of the public revenue. (Applause.)

All the same, I am very proud of being called a free trader. (Applause.) I am proud of the name and the cause of free trade. Among those objects which can at present be attained, among those truths of the future which are practicable, which come within our immediate range, which are duties of to-day, for which men can fight now and fight with the confidence that they have effective weapons in their hands with which to make the foe flee before them—among such practical causes of the day and hour in which we live, there is absolutely none that is higher and nobler and broader or more far-reaching than free trade. (Applause.)

HOW TO REACH THE SINGLE TAX.

Some of my friends will say: "Are you not underrating the single tax?" You will see, when I get there. Some of our friends say: "We believe that the single tax is the one remedy and the only practicable remedy for those evils in society which can be remedied by any kind of legislation; what is the use of this mere tariff tinkering? Why disturb us with this little Mills bill, its five per cent here and its ten per cent there? When we have this great, noble object in view we do not care for these minor issues and cannot talk of anything else."

Suppose there was one brick in a pile which you wanted to get out, and there were something over forty-one hundred bricks on the top of that one (applause and laughter); and you are going might and main for that brick. Suppose a friend who stands by you says: "Yes, my whole heart is set on getting at that brick, but I cannot spend any time in pulling away at those other four thousand. I will never waste my time or weary my hands by meddling with other bricks in which I am not interested." (Laughter.) Another man says: "I do not agree to that; I see there are forty-one hundred bricks on the top of that one brick which we want to get at; I see we must lift forty-one hundred before we can get at number forty-one hundred and one; but I will only touch the one hundred lying close to it." (Applause.) Another man comes up, equally devoted to this one brick, and says: "What a parcel of fools you are; of course [you?] must take the whole forty-one [hundred?] off; but I will be hanged if I touch [any until?] I can lift them all off at once." [(Laughter.)?]

I am talking just now only to those men who think that the best remedy that can be found for the evils that afflict society is to establish the system of the single tax. How can they do it? You must remember that you do not have to invent the single tax; you do not have to bring it into existence. It is in existence now. (Applause.) There is not a state in this Union that does not have the single tax. The trouble is that there are forty-one hundred taxes on top of it. You have nothing to do except to kill those forty one hundred taxes. (Applause.) Some say: "We won't kill any until we can kill them all at once." I say, Kill any that you can get hold of. (Applause.) Some say that the tariff is not the one to begin at. Where should you begin, then? Of the forty-one hundred piled on top of your single tax, four thousand are in the tariff. (Applause.) What is more, if you kill one hundred which are not in the tariff, you immensely increase the strength of the four thousand in the tariff.

The secret of the strength of the rising free trade sentiment at the present time is that we

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have divided the forces of taxation, have divided the enemy, have got the whisky men on one side and the protected manufacturers on the other. (Applause.) If you kill off the other taxes before you kill the tariff, you will have to wait more than fifty years for the single tax. The best thing to do is to strike down the tariff; and we must begin by taking a piece off it wherever we can.

The first thing is the Mills bill. That goes to the tender spot of the whole system. The tariff on wool is the keystone of the whole tariff. Pull that out and the whole arch will tumble down. That is why the woolen manufacturers who pay that tax, who would thank the Lord if they could only get rid of it, don't dare to abolish it now.

We are in favor of the Mills bill because it cuts down the tariff a little. The more it cuts it down the better we are pleased. We are in favor of it because it is a beginning. We are in favor of it because it opens the tariff discussion. We are in favor of it because it pulls the keystone out of the protection arch. When the tariff is gone, there will not be enough strength in any other kind of taxation to stand for five minutes. Just think of it. When you get rid of the tariff, how can the internal revenue taxes be kept up? You will never get the American people to impose internal revenue taxes on home manufactures while foreign manufactures come in free (applause); and you never ought to. Therefore, within twenty-four hours, yes, within twenty-four minutes after the total repeal of the tariff, you will repeal the internal revenue system. What will the government have to resort to then for taxes? Why, to direct taxation. Where will direct taxation land? It would not take five years of exclusively direct taxation to bring the whole community to the conclusion at which we have arrived long ago, that there is but one just tax, and its name is the single tax. (Applause.)

TARIFFS AND WAGES.

But there are some people who say, "We must keep the tariff up because we must keep up American wages," or as the democratic platform of 1884 expressed it, The American workingman needs to be heavily taxed in order to compensate him for getting high wages. For he got wages much higher than in Europe, before there was any tariff at all. Then the protective feature was invented—for what? In those olden times they said candidly, "to compensate the capitalist for the high wages which he is forced to pay to the grasping workingman." That was before all the workingmen had votes. When they got votes the employers said: "We want protection only for the sake of the dear workingmen." (Laughter.)

TARIFF TAXES FALL UPON THE POOR.

Who pays these tariff taxes? Nine-tenths of them are paid by people whose incomes average less than $400 a year. That fact is not seriously disputed. I could quote one protectionist after another to show its truth—Senator Sherman, of Ohio; Mr. Milliken, from Blaine's own state, and at present a member of congress, and others. They admit unequivocally that nine-tenths of all indirect taxes fall upon the poorest classes of the community; and worse than that, they bear on those who earn less than $500 a year with ten times the severity that they do on the rich. (Applause.) There is not a hod carrier in New York who does not pay one hundred times as much tax, in proportion to his ability, as Jay Gould or William H. Vanderbilt pays. There is not a poor sewing girl in the city of New York who does not pay two hundred times as much, in proportion to her means and ability to pay, as the wife of either of these men. So, if I may name a famous lady—and I do it with no disrespect to her—Mrs. Hetty Green, I entertain no doubt, from my knowledge of that lady's economical habits, that she does not pay to the federal government one three-hundredth part, as much in proportion to her means, as the average sewing girl in the city of New York. (Applause.)

WAGES NOT INCREASED.

You create this inequality, for what purpose? To enable your employers to pay you wages? What wages do they pay? Do they pay any larger wages than they would if there were no tariff? Mr. Blaine says so; but where is the proof of it? You never heard any, and there never can be any. (Applause.)

Not one-twentieth of the working people of the United States are in any way concerned in industries which can be said to be protected by the tariff. Not 850,000 people, all told, out of the 17,000,000 who were engaged in industries in 1880, were engaged in protected industries. Those were the only persons whose wages could be raised by the tariff. But if their wages were raised above the average of others, those 17,000,000 would all pour into their occupations and thus cut their wages down again. (Applause.)

TARIFFS MURDER INDUSTRIES.

What does the tariff do toward raising wages? You are told that it diversifies industry and develops new industries. There never was a greater falsehood. (Applause.) All that a protective tariff does is to murder some industries. That is all that any protective tariff ever did or ever can do.

Just see what it does. Take pig iron. Does a protective tariff say that anybody shall be rewarded for making pig iron? Does it place any bounty on pig iron? Not at all. What it does say is, that if any man imports pig iron without paying $6.72 a ton tax he shall be sent to prison. Do you know that the mere bringing in of a pound of iron is punishable, at the discretion of the judge, by several years' imprisonment? (Hisses.) More than that, revenue cutters are lying around our coast ready to pour shot into any one who dares to bring in goods from abroad, and any vessel which dared to enter into any of our ports, with the exception of less than 200, would be instantly blown into atoms.

That is the way in which you develop pig iron. Where does the development come in? Where does the encouragement come in? (Laughter.) Only in this: If you shoot the man who brings pig iron from abroad, he is forced to turn to some other industry. He must make a living somehow; and, perhaps, since he is not allowed to buy pig iron, he may conclude to make it.

Now, I will tell you how you might develop Brooklyn after the manner of the tariff. Don't offer men land or houses free. No, there is something simpler than that—take the protective tariff method. Set fire to every house in New York city. Have an army of soldiers to shoot anybody who dares to look on the ruins; and you will impose a protective tariff in favor of Brooklyn. The citizens of New York will flee to Brooklyn, and the future development of Brooklyn passes my powers of description. (Applause and laughter.)

PROTECTION DRIVING WOMEN OUT OF WORK.

There is a little illustration of this which took place right here in New York. Some cotton manufacturers, who were able to gain the ear of the committee that framed the tariff in [1883?], got a tariff imposed on fine cot tons, which are used for making ruches—ladies know what they are; I don't. (Laughter.) Within a few weeks after that tariff came into effect, three thousand women, engaged in making ruches, were thrown out of employment because the material had been made too costly for further use. That was all for the sake of protecting American industry. (Laughter.)

PROTECTION DRIVING MEN OUT OF WORK.

I have spoken of the duty on pig iron.

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What has been the result of that? You have had, until very recently, a large manufacture of stoves in this state. About three years ago the largest manufacturer issued a private circular announcing that he could not carry on his business here any longer at a fair profit, but would transfer his works to Alabama. Why? Because he could get pig iron $6 a ton cheaper there than here. But the tariff amounts to $6.72; and if he could have got rid of that tariff, he could have continued his manufacture here in New York, since iron would have been fully as cheap here as in Alabama. You don't make a pound of pig iron in New York city. The tariff is killing the iron manufacture on the whole Atlantic shore, but especially in New England; because what we want in the east is to make the superior kinds of iron, and the west is beating us because it has cheaper pig iron. The tariff only kills an industry and never creates one, except in the same sense in which you might create a larger city in Brooklyn by destroying the city of New York.

WAGES LOWERED UNDER HIGH TARIFFS.

How on earth can this tariff raise wages? Did it ever raise wages? I have read a statement, made on Oct. 2, 1819, by the protectionists of Philadelphia, who met in council and demanded a higher tariff. One of the reasons which they assigned for wanting the tariff raised was that there was a tremendous depression in business, manifested by a great fall in wages. Mechanics' wages had fallen from $6.19 a week to $6, or one dollar a day; and they wanted a high tariff to enable them to raise wages. They got a tremendous tariff in 1824, and a "tremendouser" one still in 1828, which they maintained for a long time. Then came the tariff of 1842—the ideal protective tariff. What became of wages? Did mechanics' wages rise in those years? The official figures, obtained from protectionist manufacturers themselves, show that in 1845 the average rate of mechanics' wages for full grown men in iron works was eighty-seven cents a day, and $1 was a high price. (Applause.) They had fallen off thirteen cents a day in twenty-five years, instead of having risen, as protectionists claim that they always do rise, under protection. Wages did not rise in the least under the tariff of 1842.

WAGES INCREASED UNDER LOW TARIFFS.

I was a boy then, and I remember distinctly how we got rid of that protective tariff in 1846. I was somewhat of a protectionist then, and I expected to see wages to go down; but they didn't. I remember distinctly how boys in New York city, by the hundred, applied for work under that protective tariff at fifty cents a week. In 1847, when the high tariff was abolished, wages increased and steadily advanced, until in 1856, the men who used to get one dollar a day under a high tariff were getting a dollar and a half under the low tariff. The wages of carpenters went up from $1.25 to $2 and $2.25. And though they have since grown higher, they have not risen as rapidly under twenty-five years of protection as they did in ten years under a low tariff. (Applause.)

Neither as a matter of fact, nor as a matter of theory or possibility, does or can a protective tariff raise wages. On the contrary, it lowers wages; it cuts them down. That is why I am in favor of absolute free trade (applause); because under absolute free trade we should have the most rapid rise in wages which this country has ever known.

THE POOR CAPITALIST MUST BE PROTECTED.

It is said that the manufacturers must have protection or they cannot pay the high wages they pay to workmen. What is the truth as to that? The American workingman produces more than double the amount in value of the product of the English working[man?]. (Applause.) They do not get double the wages. They seldom get fifty per cent more than Englishmen. Whenever they get fifty per cent more wages, they produce over one hundred per cent more by their work. To-day the wages in the cotton and woolen factories of this country are so near to the wages in England that the difference can hardly be discerned. In Pennsylvania, in the woolen and worsted factories, the average rate of wages amounted in 1885 to $6.40 per week. At the same time the statistics of Halifax, in England, in the same class of industries, showed that men were making $7.13 per week.

I do not mean to say that, as a general thing, English workingmen receive as high wages as you do. As a general rule wages in America are very much higher than they are in England; but the only exceptions to the rule are in the protected industries. (Applause.) You take the carpenters, the masons, the plumbers, men who are engaged in industries which cannot be benefited by a protective tariff—in all those industries wages are very much higher in America than they are in England. (Applause.) But when you go into the iron manufacture, the wool manufacture and the cotton manufacture—the three great manufactures which maintain this tariff—you can find hundreds, yes, thousands, of men receiving lower wages here than men engaged in precisely the same employments in England, not working so many hours or producing as much. (Applause.)

AMERICANS EARNING EIGHTY CENTS A DAY.

I was in Washington two years ago; and I heard a manufacturer of iron and an owner of iron mines—a most estimable gentleman—appealing to the ways and means committee to increase the tariff, in order that he might be enabled to pay higher wages. And Mr. Breckinridge (applause) cornered him with the question how much wages he paid. He did not like to answer; he turned rather red, and then said he paid his men eighty to ninety cents a day. (Laughter.)

ENGLISHMEN NINETY-SEVEN CENTS A DAY.

I have in my possession a republican card (holding it up) issued to persuade democratic workingmen to vote the republican ticket, in which they compare English and American wages. What do you suppose this hand bill says are the wages of English workingmen engaged in precisely the same industries? Ninety-seven cents a day. That is republican testimony, and it is true. (Applause.)

A coal mine owner from Maryland came before the committee; and he begged them to have compassion on his poor workingmen; for if the committee took off any part of the duty of seventy-five cents on coal, the wages of these men would be reduced. They asked him what their wages were. He didn't like to answer. Finally he said they were forty cents a ton. He needed seventy-five cents protection in order to enable him to pay forty cents in wages. (Applause and laughter.) That is like Mr. Carnegie, who, in order that he may generously pay his workingmen $4.25 a ton for labor, needs and cannot live without an adequate protection of $17 a ton; and the hard hearted republican senators are actually going to cut him down to $15.68. (Laughter.) He will take every cent of that $1.32 out of the wages of his workingmen—if he can!

They asked the coal miner how much the average wages came to. He said, about 80 cents a day. In this very same industry, this card in my possession, issued by the republicans and distributed by the hundred thousand in Brooklyn and New York, shows that the wages in England were over 90 cents a day. (Applause.) So you see that there are some industries in this country where the rate of wages is much below the standard of England.

AMERICAN MINERS AT SIXTY CENTS A DAY.

Look at this (showing the card). There is

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the British flag, and it is headed with "60 cents a day." This is issued by the league of republican clubs, which is engaged in frying the fat out of the protected manufacturers; of which the president is Mr. Foster, to whom we are indebted for some of the best things in this campaign. (Laughter.) When you look at the text, you find that the 60 cents were paid in Belgium and not in Great Britain; and Belgium has a tariff on iron, while Great Britain, where wages are much higher, has none. (Great laughter.) Then we turn around the card and there (showing it) is the American flag. Everything is blooming in America. You wouldn't believe that in America such a thing existed as workingmen living on 60 cents a day. Yet it was stated in the presence of the ways and means committee that in Berks county, Pennsylvania, the iron miners were only receiving 60 cents a day. Some doubted the statement,

whereupon Mr. Hewitt spoke up (applause) and said: "Yes, the condition of the miners in that region is miserable in the extreme. They often work for less than 60 cents a day." That is not under the British flag. (Applause.) Mr. Foster cannot find any place in England where the miners work for 60 cents; but in Pennsylvania he can find them by shoals.

AMERICAN LABOR TWICE AS PRODUCTIVE.

I have talked longer than I meant to (cries of "go on"). but[sic] I will stay to answer questions as long as they don't turn the gas out. (Laughter and cries of "that's right.") The *Press* is the best paper for free trade that I know of in the hands of any man who thinks for himself. In its issue last Wednesday it had a "Tariff Talk" with Colonel A. L. Conger of Ohio, who is eager for protection. And what does he say in regard to wages? I quote his words: "We pay twice as much for labor in this country as abroad, and therefore we get twice as good results from that labor. (Laughter and applause.) Labor which receives poor pay brings poor results." (Applause.) True as gospel! But then, how can pauper labor interfere with intelligent labor? Just look at the figures a little in this country. No matter where you go in any part of the world you find this thing true. If you go to India, where men work for ten cents a day, you find that it takes twenty household servants to accomplish what two good Irish girls will do here, and sing over it. (Laughter.) One man is brought up to make the beds and sweep the rooms, and another to cook the vegetables, and another to cook the meat, and another to wave the punkah to keep off the flies, and another to mind the baby (laughter): and no one of them will ever touch the work of another. So, you see, labor is not very productive there. In Crefeld, Germany, where poor men work very hard, fourteen and sixteen hours a day, and where they earn only sixty cents a day as the result of that labor, the statistics furnished annually by their employers show that more than sixty per cent of the cost of production is spent in wages. In Paterson, New Jersey, where wages are quite up to one dollar a day—the rate which used to be so much despised by our American workingmen, but which they are forced to accept under our high tariff—less than thirty per cent of the cost of production consists in the cost of labor. (Applause.) The higher up you go in the scale of wages the cheaper is the cost of labor.

HIGH WAGES MEAN CHEAP LABOR AND LOW WAGES MEAN DEAR LABOR.

This fact is proved conclusively by the census of 1880, which our protectionist admin istration took themselves. Those returns show conclusively that where wages are high profits are large. Do you know that the cities of New York and Brooklyn pay the highest wages of any part of the country? Brooklyn stands at the head. The average wages paid in all the manufacturing industries in Brooklyn are $470 a year. The average wages in Philadelphia, that fountain head of protection, are only $346 a year. Why did not Philadelphia drive Brooklyn out of existence? Why is it that manufactures have increased so much more rapidly in Brooklyn than anywhere else in the United States? Because Brooklyn, paying higher wages, gets a higher production for those wages; and Philadelphia gets only a smaller production, in consequence her lower rate[sic] of wages. In Brooklyn the wages are $124 higher than in Philadelphia, while the net production was $337 higher. The difference between Brooklyn and Baltimore in wages was $220 a year; the difference in production was $436. That principle runs all through the varying wages of the thousands of towns and counties in the United States.

I am not going to weary you with tables of statistics. I have compared these figures in all branches of industry. It is so with carpenters, weavers, spinners, iron makers, hat makers, wool workers and cotton workers, and so with all industries added together. From beginning to end, from north to south, from east to west, wherever high wages are paid, the manufacturer makes a larger profit than where low wages prevail. That proves that the manufacturers who pay high wages do not need protection, and the workmen suffer by it, because protection, by limiting the

Sic in the original; probably "(cries of"go on"), but".
Sic in the original; probably "in consequence of her lower rate".

market of the manufacturer, limits the production of the workman, and in every way tends to cut wages down instead of raising them up.

THE IRISH QUESTION.

I am only skimming this subject; but I wish to add one thing, and thus kill two birds with one stone—the Irish question and imports and exports. Two assertions are made by protectionists—first that Ireland is ruined by free trade, and secondly, that our exports must exceed our imports, or we will be ruined; or, as Mr. Evarts puts it, the state into which we want to come is one in which we will sell to all the world, and all the world will sell nothing to us. (Great laughter.)

There is one country which attains to that; she exports almost everything and imports almost nothing—Egypt. And another country has been for a century past doing much the same thing. Ireland ought to be a paradise by this time, on Mr. Evarts's theory, for she has been exporting all the time more than she has imported. During the terrible famine of 1846 she exported more provisions than she imported. While England was subscribing most liberally, it must be said in justice to her, pouring in millions of pounds' worth of provisions to keep them from starving, and all the world was helping Ireland, those benevolent landlords were all the time taking out more provisions from Ireland than England and all the world could pour in. What a prosperous country Ireland ought to be! (Laughter and applause.)

That sort of thing has been going on for all these years. You have heard of the absentee landlord. What a blessing he must be to any community. He causes his tenants to export everything to him; and he never insists that they shall import anything in return. So the country is blessed by a perpetual favorable balance of trade. Every Irishman knows that what Ireland needs is not a protective tariff, but a tariff that would just cut off all the landlords. (Great applause.) It is not free trade; it is the landlords that are the curse of Ireland. (Applause.)

IRISH MANUFATURES[sic] INCREASING UNDER FREE TRADE.

And next you hear stories about the immense number of workingmen that were thrown out of employment in Ireland by the introduction of free trade. Do you know that the number of persons engaged in manu
p. 2, col. 5
facturing industries in Ireland has increased more than 100 per cent since the introduction of free trade? (Applause.) Governor Beaver, a very good man from Pennsylvania, was preaching on this subject in Brooklyn; and he told a large audience that the linen industries of Ireland had been destroyed under free trade and transferred to England. I do not suppose he meant to misrepresent the truth; but it is the fact that these industries are being destroyed in England and transferred to Ireland. (Applause.) When Mr. Porter gets up his clever statistics about the linen industry, in which he states that the linen manufacture has fallen off in England and increased in Germany, he is always careful to say nothing about Ireland. Why? Because, under the influence of free trade, the linen manufacture of Ireland has increased more than one hundred per cent and amounts to more than that of all the rest of Europe. More than 60,000 people are now engaged in the manufacture of linen in Ireland; whereas, before the introduction of free trade, no more than 25,000 were so engaged. (Applause.) More persons are now engaged in the Irish linen factories than were ever before engaged in all other factories in Ireland.

THE COBDEN CLUB.

You hear a good deal of the Cobden club. (Applause.) Where are the friends of Ireland in England to-day? They are all in the Cobden club. (Applause.) What is the Cobden club? It is mainly Mr. Thomas Bayley Potter, one of the five members of parliament who organized the movement in favor of this country in 1863, a consistent home ruler,

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Sic in the original; probably "MANUFACTURES".

who has voted with Gladstone every time. (Applause.) Who is the leading philosophical free trader in England at the present day? John Morley. (Applause.) Who is John Morley? The English statesman who, long before Mr. Gladstone made up his mind, had declared himself in favor of home rule in Ireland. (Applause.)

Richard Cobden himself (applause), after whom the club is named, was always a friend of Ireland. He was kept out of public office, largely by his friendship to Ireland. He would not enter a government which would not do justice to Ireland. He was the man who destroyed the protective system in England, although he did not go as far as we would desire.

FRIENDS OF IRELAND ALL FREE TRADERS.

What is William E. Gladstone? (Great applause.) Are Irishmen going back on him, on that noble old man, who, in the eightieth year of his age, is devoting himself with marvelous activity and energy to furthering the cause of Ireland, and only taking care of his health and saving his strength so as to disappoint the Salisburys and Balfours, who are eagerly hoping for his death? Irishmen! you don't have one single friend among the protectionists of England (applause); while nineteen out of twenty free traders of England are your friends, and always have been; and they are the men who are bent upon and determined to secure your freedom and your proper independence. (Applause.)

Free traders, and they only, are the allies of Parnell. (Applause.) Who subscribed the $30,000 to support Parnell in the infamous prosecution brought on by the *Times*? They are free traders to a man. (Applause.)

Irishmen! what you want is freedom. (Applause.) You don't want any tory "protection." You want to protect yourselves. Freedom is what Ireland wants; freedom is what America wants—free trade, free land, free men! (Great and long continued ap plause.)

Mr. Shearman Answers Questions.

When the applause had somewhat subsided Chairman George arose and announced that Mr. Shearman was prepared to answer questions. More than a dozen men jumped up in various parts of the hall, and Mr. George, having recognized the first one that caught his eye, repeated the following question:

Q.—If tariffs destroy manufacturing industries, why is it that manufacturers in this country to a man are in favor of a protective tariff?

A.—In the first place, I cannot accept the statement. They are not by any means. Our good friend, Mr. Tom L. Johnson (applause), to whom Mr. George referred early this evening, is a manufacturer and an absolute, thoroughgoing free trader. J. B. Sargent of New Haven (applause) is the largest manufacturer in his line, and he is a free trader. William Marshall of Brooklyn, the largest cordage maker in America, is a free trader. (Applause.)

Nevertheless, it is probably true that a ma jority of the manufacturers in the United States are protectionists. That is nothing at all new in the history of this world. When any class of men once give way to their selfish instincts and endeavor to frame a national policy for their own benefit and not for the benefit for the nation[sic] at large, they invariably overshoot the mark, and in their greediness do themselves injury as well as other people. This is just as true about lawyers as about manufacturers; just as true about clergymen as about lawyers; just as true about doctors as about clergymen; just as true about mechanics or farmers, and just as true about anyone who seeks to frame laws for his own interest instead of for the interest of the whole people.

Sic in the original; probably "not for the benefit of the nation".

The same questioner: Then you mean to say that the mechanic, the doctor, the lawyer, the manufacturer, are simply aiming to cut their own heads off?

A.—What I do say is that when any one of those classes undertakes to act for its own selfish interests, it practically does cut its own head off. That is true of every class in the world.

A gentleman with a decided foreign accent attempted to frame a question in which the only intelligible word was "policemen;" but after a vain endeavor to understand, Mr. Shearman said: "I shall have to follow the example of Mr. Evarts's boy and say, 'I don't know.'" (Laughter.)

Q.—On the platform I see the sign "Free trade, free land and free men;" we have free trade between the sister states; and we have neither free land nor free men. I wish the gentleman to tell me why? (Laughter.)

A.—Because we have only gone half way. If you start out for Albany and stop at Poughkeepsie, you will never get to Albany. We have free trade between all the states; and that is the secret of the wonderful prosperity that we have. (Applause.) That is why wages are so high; it is because we have so much free trade. But so long as we do not have absolute free trade, taxes to the extent of seven hundred millions a year are piled upon the shoulders of the poorest men of the community; and the poorer you are the more taxes you pay in proportion to your means. In addition, about five hundred millions more are piled on the shoulders of the poor under the shape of bounties to protected manufacturers and mine owners. When you take that vast amount year after year out of the wages of the workingmen, and more especially out of the wages of the poorest classes, how can you have free land or free men? (Applause.)

Q.—I would like to ask whether, if this country adopt free trade in wool, admits wool free of duty, England will not at the same time place an export duty on wool, in order to protect her manufacturers?

A.—If my friend will only get the republican
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majority to consent to pass a bill repealing the duty on wool, to take effect on condition that that state of things never occurs, on my part I will agree to find among my friends any amount of money to put in bank to guarantee this country against any possibility of that thing happening. Nobody dreams of its happening. It is impossible. Moreover, England has no surplus wool to export.

Q.—How much do the 60,000 people, engaged in the linen industry in Ireland earn as compared with American workmen? And why, since free trade has been introduced have so many Irishmen emigrated to America?

A.—In the first place, the 60,000 Irishmen engaged in linen manufacture undoubtedly receive very much less wages than work people of a similar class in the United States; although Mr. Barbour, the president of the Barbour flax spinning works, a most ardent protectionist, testified before the tariff commission, in 1882 that he was compelled to steadily raise the wages of his Irish employes, but was steadily cutting down the wages of his American employes. (Laughter and applause.) At that rate the Irish would after a while get there. (Laughter.) It is very true that since the adoption of partial free trade in England in 1846 the population in Ireland has largely fallen off. *Why is it?* LANDLORDS. (Applause.)

Q.—I would ask Mr. Shearman, who had the kindness to answer the gentleman on this side of the house, giving him such cheering and encouraging news—(cries of "Don't make a statement; ask your question")—how is it that Brazil levied an export duty on coffee?

A.—If I answered literally, I would say, "Because Brazil wanted to;" but I understand that long and full questions cannot be asked here, and I seek, therefore, to answer the spirit of every question. (Applause.) What the gentleman means is this: That when we repealed the duty on coffee in 1872 Brazil put an export duty on coffee, with a view

to make us pay as much for coffee as we did before. Did she succeed in doing that? For a year or two she did. That is sixteen years ago; and ever since the first two years she didn't. (Applause.) If we had been in such a condition that we must have coffee or die, and there had been no place other than Brazil from which coffee could be got, we should have had to pay that export duty. But there was a great deal of coffee in other parts of the world; and Brazil could not get any more for her coffee than Porto Rico got for hers. The consequence is that for the last fourteen years Brazilians have paid that duty themselves. (Applause.)

Q.—Why is it that Germany and Italy, with high tariff duties, send us ten immigrants to one from England?

A.—I have been there. If you had been there you wouldn't wonder. Italy enjoys all the blessings of an enormously high protective tariff. It almost beats ours. In some respects our tariff is worse; but, taken as a whole, the Italian tariff is the worst. I have seen workmen in Rome working all day long for thirty and forty cents a day, eating their black bread and softening it with water at the pump. I have seen poor creatures in the Neapolitan districts living on twenty or thirty cents a day, and not always earning that. No wonder they want to emigrate. What is the cause? Free trade? They never had it; never began to have it. In Germany, since 1879, when they adopted the protective tariff, they have sent more and more emigrants to us. The high tariff has driven people out.

Q.—Is there any law in England against trusts?

A. There is[sic] what is called the common law, which is substantially the same as ours; but England, having free trade, has never had occasion to resort to that. (Applause.)

Q.—What is there to prevent them from organizing a trust on the other side?

A.—If the manufacturers of England made a trust combination, that combination would be immediately broken by foreign manufacturers, who would pour in their goods. The object of a trust is to raise the price. If manufacturers have no outside competition they can combine to reduce production. They cannot, however, take in the whole world; and England having free trade in most things, foreigners would pour in their goods, and so break the combination. (Applause.)

Q.—Is the tariff any impediment to the growth of this country and to the development of its resources?

A.—You all have, I trust, two arms—unless you have lost one in the wars. If any gentleman thinks that the development of his resources will be increased by tying one of his arms behind his back, then he is a consistent believer in a protective tariff. The effect of any tariff, and the effect especially of a protective tariff, is to restrict the industry of this country from taking its natural course—in other words, it ties your arm behind your back.

Take the case of wool. The woolen manufacturers of this country have been prevented from making their natural development because the wool they need has been excluded. The carpet manufacturers use four times as much cotton, shoddy hair, etc., as they use of genuine wool. Take shipping for example. Our shipping has been protected out of existence. We have navigation laws for the benefit of our shipping; but we have a high protective tariff on iron and steel which makes it impossible for us to build or repair ships on equal terms; and our shipping industry has just been protected to death. (Applause.)

A number of gentlemen were on their feet to ask questions, but the chairman said: "It is now time to bring this meeting to a close. Mr. Shearman has kindly consented to take another evening and devote the whole of it to the answering of questions. That meeting will be announced through the papers." (Great applause.)

Sic in the original; probably "A.—There is".

Yes, It's the Same Language.

PLAINFIELD, N. J.—Indications multiply that the single tax leaven is working. Last Friday evening the democrats of this place had a banner raising and mass meeting, their principal speaker being the Hon. George L. Ricord. In an unusually temperate speech—a speech free from the customary abuse of opponents and devoted, for an hour and a half, solely to a consideration of the economic bearing of the pending struggle, he closed by drawing the attention of his audience to the present standard of average wages—that conventional two dollars a day which, if earned every working day in the year, is accepted without question by both parties as all that can be expected or even desired. He pointed out to them that this was really starvation wages—starvation for soul, if not for body—and claimed that, by any equitable adjustment, daily wages should be much higher. Then, in his peroration, he congratulated the democratic party that, after wandering for many years, it had returned to the advocacy of genuine democratic principles, that its face was "once more toward the rising sun," and asserted that the campaign in which it is now engaged is but the beginning of another and a grander struggle, in which the "distribution of wealth" should be the turning point.

Does not every George man recognize in such language his mother tongue?

DAVID L. THOMPSON.

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AN ENGLISH PAPER FOR CLEVELAND.

SOMETHING THAT THE PROTECTIONISTS MAY PRINT WITH A LITTLE BRITISH FLAG OVER IT.

The London "Weekly Dispatch" on the Real Issue of the American Campaign.

London Weekly Dispatch, Sept. 16.

It is thirty years since the politics of the United States presented a subject so worthy of our attention as that which is raised by the forthcoming presidential election. Before the war the issue that was nominally raised was the question of state rights, and those who lived through that exciting period have a lively recollection of the abstruse and even metaphysical arguments employed in that great controversy. But the nominal issue was not the true issue. What gave point to the discussion—whether the constitution of the United States was a federal form of government or a mere confederation of states—was slavery. Should slavery continue to exist and expand, or should it perish?—such was the real question that led to the war. At the present time the subject in dispute is on the surface a mere reform of the tariff, and President Cleveland is quite justified in saying on behalf of the democratic party that they have entered upon no crusade in favor of free trade. His flag is not so broad nor so large; all he asks is to "free from duty the imported raw materials used in home manufactures." But, underlying this narrow topic, there lies a far mightier controversy, and, in its real character and ultimate results, President Cleveland's platform will bring to the front the land question, which is now distracting Ireland, and will speedily bring on a storm in England and Scotland. Just as the battle for the Union involved the existence of slavery, so the struggle for tariff reform will settle the question of the nationalization of land in the great republic of America. It is not the intention of the democratic party to raise that issue, any more than it was the intention of the republican party to destroy slavery when it rose in arms to defend the integrity of the United States; but just as the inexorable logic of facts made the republican party an abolition party, so will the democrats be driven to espouse the cause of labor, and be compelled to throw the burden of imperial taxation upon land.

The situation is profoundly interesting. The revenue of the United States, as distinguished from the separate states of which it is composed, is derived from customs and excise. The customs duties have been fixed with no regard to the requirements of the public expenditure, but for the purpose of protecting American manufacturers from foreign competition. Of late years the income derived from customs has brought in money to the exchequer far beyond its wants, and the government are at their wits' end to know what to do with the taxes they have raised. The kings of Europe have no dread of surpluses; they are familiar with deficits and with loans; they have never suffered from the embarrassment of an overflowing treasury. But that is the situation of President Cleveland. He must either remit taxes or discover new forms of expenditure in order to make ends meet, and bring the national income down to the level of the national expenditure. No other course is possible. Hence arises a clear issue between the two great parties. The democratic party goes for the reduction of customs duties; the republican party will not tolerate any abatement of the taxes, and they have to discover a new mode of expenditure.
Mr. Blaine has already found the path that the republican party must inexorably follow. He proposes that the

imperial surplus should be used to relieve the local taxation of land. His motto is, Keep up the customs and keep down the land tax.

During the American civil war the sympathy of English radicals was wholly with the republican party. Although not from principle, it nevertheless became from necessity a liberation party, and its triumph was the death knell of the worst form of slavery that the world has ever known. But we must not be misled by party shibboleths, and still less by party names. The whirligig of time brings about strange turns. The democratic party, which up till [1864?] was conservative in the worst sense, has now become the party of progress; and its triumph will mark the greatest advance that the world has yet seen. If it conquers, we shall see on the great American continent a practical realization of the dreams of Henry George, and an immense progress toward the better distribution of wealth. For a democratic victory means precisely the reverse of Mr. Blaine's motto; it means the appropriation of natural values for the benefit of the whole people, instead of the enrichment of a few. Industry will be relieved, idleness will be diminished. It will be easier for industry to secure comfort; it will be harder for idleness to revel in luxury. You must either tax land or you must tax labor. In old countries like our own the immense weight of taxation is thrown upon the workers; in our columns Mr. [Banfield?] is showing with startling effect how cleverly the drones in the hive manage to take the honey from the working bees. In America a large part of local or state taxation is borne by the land, and is a burden upon nobody; it merely intercepts a part of the value of the raw material of the earth on its way to private pockets. But through the policy of protection the imperial taxes are imposed upon industry, and not upon land. The success of the democratic party would result in throwing imperial as well as local taxes upon the land; the success of the republican party would create the very evil which old countries have so much to deplore.

President Cleveland unwittingly states a profound truth when he says that he opens no crusade for free trade as it is understood in England. English free trade is a compromise by which the manufacturer is [benefited?] without compromising the right of the landlord to live in idleness upon the labor of the working classes. Mr. Bright and Mr. Cobden struck at the duties that were imposed for protective purposes; their policy did not go the length of attacking those duties that are imposed for revenue only, and these duties are required merely to enable landlords to escape an adequate and just land tax. But the policy of the democratic party, owing to the peculiar circumstances of the United States, will drive them much farther than Cobden or Bright ever dreamed of; it will lead in America to the total abolition of all customs. The principle enunciated by President Cleveland in his letter accepting the democratic candidature, the principle of abolishing taxes on raw material in order to stimulate industrial enterprise, will lead him much farther than he thinks. What is raw material? When that question comes to be faced, the democratic party will find that there is no middle course left to them. That which, from one point of view, is a manufactured article, is, from another, raw material. Silk ribbon is a manufactured article compared with the silk as it is obtained from the silkworms; it is raw material in the making up of ladies' hats. Flour is a manufactured article to the miller, but it is raw material to the baker. Sugar is a manufactured article to the washerwoman who uses it to sweeten her tea; it is raw material to the confectioner or

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the jam preserver. To proclaim the principle that raw material must be free from taxation in order that industry may flourish is like starting an avalanche. It is fatal to the system of protection, and it leads straight to land taxation as the only practicable fund for defraying the imperial expenditure of the American people. We are on the eve of a great social and economic struggle, which in its final issues will be more memorable even than the abolition of slavery. It is now a question of the emancipation of the white man and of the deliverance of the American people from the mischievous doctrines of land tenure which they carried with them to the continent of America from feudal England. Slavery, we ought in justice to the American people never to forget, was another evil inheritance from the old country; but, just as the genius of a free republic proved strong enough to rid the body politic of that dangerous poison, so, we are persuaded, will it prove able to destroy the much more subtle, but not less pernicious, doctrines that they inherited from their old monarchical home.

The Campaign in Pennsylvania.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The single tax Cleveland and Thurman committee of Pennsylvania is getting down to business and will do effective work in the campaign. About $300 has been subscribed, and the committee has thought best to concentrate their efforts and confine their work principally to Philadelphia and the coal regions, although doing all they can in other parts of the state where they see an opportunity for effective work.

Mr. J. C. Frost leaves this week for Schuylkill county, which is the stamping ground of Congressman Brumm, who voted against the Mills bill. He will distribute single tax and free trade literature during the day and speak every night. By this means it is hoped to defeat Brumm, who pretends to represent the interests of labor.

In Philadelphia the committee have secured Musical fund hall at Ninth and Locust streets for October 17, 24 and 31.

Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost will speak October 17, and will be followed by Thomas Shearman, Louis Post and, if the committee can induce him to come, William Lloyd Garrison. Every single tax man in this city and vicinity should make it a point to attend these meetings.

A. H. STEPHENSON.

Single Tax Men and Democratic Candidates in Massachusetts.

CAMBRIDGEPORT, Mass.—The single tax free traders of Massachusetts, like their brethren of New York, are active. In the districts where advanced tariff reformers have been nominated by the democrats for congress they will lend their most cordial support.

Among the democratic candidates upon the state ticket Hon. William E. Russell, the candidate for governor, deserves and will receive a complimentary vote. He has made a record as an aggressive reformer. Against the majority of his party he ably seconded the efforts of the labor party and labor organizations to secure the secret ballot law, and in a public statement upon the subject declared that the existing system opened the door to bribery and corruption, and that workingmen could not secure honest representation. In his administration as mayor of Cambridge he has shown executive ability of a high order. At the present time he is making an active campaign upon the tariff issue.

WM. H. HANNAFORD, Treasurer Single Tax League of Boston.

Single Tax Ideas in the Air.

EAST ORANGE, N. J.—I have attended quite a number of democratic meetings and have heard speakers give reasons for the higher wages of this over other countries that sounded much like the single tax gospel. One gave as the chief reason, that we had cheaper land; others used the phrase “natural opportunities;” while most of them dwelt upon the immense extent of our territory and wealth of natural resources.

Whence these ideas and expressions it not[sic] from the single tax men? The question of wages is being discussed everywhere, and this gives us an opportunity we could not have made for ourselves, because as voters for Cleveland we can now find ready listeners among democrats.

Sic in the original; probably “expressions if not”.

E. C. ALPHONSE.

Prof. Garland's Western Trip.

On his recent western trip Professor Hamlin Garland of Boston, on his way out, delivered speeches at Indianapolis, Chicago and Minneapolis. He stopped for several weeks in Brown county, Dak., and by talks to the farmers and letters to the papers aroused a good deal of thought. One of the most successful meetings was on his return trip, when he spoke before the East side democratic club of Minneapolis. The St. Paul *Globe*, a democratic paper, gave a very full report of this meeting. On his return trip he also spoke at Osage, Iowa, at an agricultural fair, Parkersburg, W. Va., Baltimore, Md., New York city and Worcester, Mass. For the rest of the year he will be in Boston and is willing to speak at New England towns within reasonable distance of Boston.

Going to Elect Tom Johnson.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.—We are going to elect Tom L. Johnson. The growth of single tax free trade—the revival of pure democracy and the sloughing off of old machine men and ways—is simply wonderful here.

L. A. RUSSELL.

The Queens' County U. L. P. Endorses Cleveland.

The New York *Commercial Advertiser* on October 4, published the following:

Timothy J. Schully, secretary of the united labor party executive committee of Queens county, has written a letter to the democratic national committee, in which he says: "The united labor party of Queens county, by their delegates assembled, have adopted tariff reform as their motto for this campaign and indorsed Cleveland and Thurman as fitting candidates to represent the issue. As members of the above party, believing that taxation should be lifted from the products of the workingman's industry, we find that tariff reform is a step in that direction. It is a further pleasure to notify you that the above indorsement was executed by a unanimous vote; a rare thing. Out of 1,850 votes cast in our country last fall[sic] for Henry George. I think,[18] you may safely figure on 1,400 or 1,500.

Profits Higher, Wages Lower.

The New York *Times* had an article in Tuesday's issue entitled "Michigan's iron mines." After giving the output for the year, etc., it says:

> The season, which promised poorly at its opening, is proving one of the best that the mine owners have had for years. Wages of miners, mechanics and laborers are slightly lower than last year; ore is selling at a little lower price, and lake transportation charges are lower than last year.

Sic in the original; probably "in our county last fall".
Sic in the original; probably "for Henry George, I think".

Where's Your Protective Tariff?

One million men idle in this country and 500,000 annually being added from Europe to help these idlers. It cannot be said that these men are idle from choice, but from necessity.—[Louisville Labor Record.

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A PROTECTION CATECHISM.

1. *Is demand for goods demand for labor? If not, why not?*

2. *When we buy foreign goods do we set foreigners at work? If not, why not?*

3. *When foreigners buy our goods do they set us at work? If not, why not?*

4. *Will foreigners send their goods into this country unless we send our goods out? If not, why not?*

5. *Does the importation of goods reduce wages here? If so, how?*—[STANDARD, Oct. 6, 1888.

A Protectionist Tries His Hand.

PORTLAND, Me.—"A Protection Catechism," published in your last issue, is a series of questions which I presume you would like some "protectionist" to answer. Thus believing, I will attempt it:

1. Is demand for goods demand for labor? If not, why not?

A. It is; and if the demand is supplied by foreign labor, it will rob home labor to just that extent. Will it not?

1. When we buy foreign goods, do we set foreigners at work? If not, why not?

A. We do; but why not buy home goods, and so set our own people at work?

1. When foreigners buy our goods do they set us at work? If not, why not?

A. They do, but why not buy home goods and so set their own people at work?

1. Will foreigners send their goods into this country unless we send our goods out? If not, why not?

A. Not unless they have a surplus and we have a shortage. and I cannot[sic] understand how it is desirable that they should. I think every country should supply its own wants as far as possible, and not be put to the expense of transporting goods for distant lands. In fact, it is necessary to the independence of any country to be able to supply its own needs.

1. Does the importation of goods reduce wages here? If so, how?

A. It does. By lessening the demand for labor here, it increases the supply of labor and drives it into unfamiliar employments, while in the meantime wages go down to the lowest ebb. I am old enough to have experienced this long since and know what I am talking about.

Sic in the original; probably "a shortage, and I cannot".

S. T. TAYLOR.

Politics are Humming at Cornell.

ITHACA, N. Y., Oct. 6.—Politics are humming here at Ithaca and at Cornell university. Four mass meetings have been held within four days—one republican, one prohibitionist and two democratic.

The significant feature of the two democratic meetings, and that which most gladdens the hearts of us single tax electcral[sic] reformers, is the bursts of silence which inspired professors, students and citizens whenever any allusion was made to Hill.

Political straws here indicate a wind, fast rising to a cyclone, that will on November 6th shake one Hill down to its foundation.

On Monday evening Congressman McMillan, of the ways and means committee, addressed a large audience enthusiastic for Cleveland and reform. Hill was only mentioned once or twice in a sort of "me too" manner.

At the students' republican mass meeting on Wednesday, the first speaker called upon was Professor Wheeler, who proved to be for Cleveland, though he conscientiously refrained from saying more than to advise the students to study well the questions of the hour, and to decide without fear or favor. Another professor who spoke was for tariff reduction.

The call for the students' democratic mass meeting for Thursday evening was signed by twenty-five of Cornell's leading professors and instructors. The portraits of Cleveland and Thurman and Hill. with[sic] the national flag, hung over the stage. Hill's picture so offended the first comers that one of them, a prominent student most active in circulating the call, tore it down, expressing doubt as to their ability to secure speakers if it were left in sight. To quiet suspicion and to prevent the need of an explanation, the other pictures were also taken down. It was considered safe to leave the flag.

The meeting was addressed by three of Cornell's leading professors, Wheeler, Tuttle and Burdick, and a prominent alumni, S. D. Halliday, who made eloquent speeches in favor of Cleveland and taxation reform.

Professor Andrews, our new and popular professor of political economy, who always speaks favorably of George and the single tax, sat on the platform, but for lack of time did not speak.

STUDENT.

NOTES FROM CORRESPONDENCE.

John H. Stolsenburg of New Albany, Ind., sends us a free trade song. Here are a few verses:

Look! the boys are on the march, Cried the son of toil; Look! the boys are on the march, Cried the son of toil. All the clans are in array, They will drive the trusts away And the "combines" shall decay, Cried the son of toil.

When will heavy taxes cease? Cried the son of toil; When will heavy taxes cease! Cried the son of toil. When our trade is freer made, When big tariffs are not laid, And when labor's promptly paid, Cried the son of toil.

Sic in the original; probably "electoral".
Sic in the original; probably "Thurman and Hill, with".

And will labor then be sure? Cried the son of toil; And will labor then be sure? Cried the son of toil. Yes, our rights shall then be clear, While our work shall last the year, And fair wages bring good cheer, Cried the son of toil.

Will our commerce yet be free? Cried the son of toil; Will our commerce yet be free? Cried the son of toil. With our ships on every sea, Trade and commerce shall be free, Homes and Land and Liberty, For the sons of toil.

Thomas Williamson, Lynchburg, Va.—I was glad to see the explanation of the payment of the tax on the value of land under a boarding house on the single tax plan. I have had to meet this objection most frequently: "That some citizens would not contribute, under the single tax plan, to public expenditure at all." I have always contended: First, that the land value belonged to all and hence all contributed, if the land values were used for the common expenses; and secondly, that all had to use some land either directly or indirectly, and that where this use was conjointly with the landholder, each one would [pay?] to the extent of that use. For example, suppose I own a house and lot (using present style of speech). If I take boarders I make them pay their share of the land value tax and also enough on their food and lodging to make a profit on my outlay. I make nothing on the rent, but on the house improvements, food, fuel, etc. Thus, suppose I have accommodations for nine boarders; each pays one-tenth of the land value tax, just as if each of us ten were using one-tenth of the land. As to food, fuel, lights and lodging, I make them pay a fair percentage over and above the capital I expend in providing such accommodations.

W. L. Boreman, Parkersburg, W. Va.—Since Professor Garland spoke here a good many have questioned us who before would have nothing to say.

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PUSHING CAMPAIGN WORK.

The speakers who have been addressing single tax meetings held under the direction of the committee report large attendance and the greatest attention and enthusiasm on the part of their audiences. Especially interesting have been the occasions where the speakers have answered questions.

On Thursday of last week a meeting was held at 412 Grand street, in the Eighth congressional district, addressed by J. R. Abarbanelle and W. O Eastlake[sic].

The Cooper union meeting, at which W. J. Gorsuch and Thomas G. Shearman spoke, was held on Friday. The full report is in another column.

W. B. Estell and William McCabe spoke on Saturday at a meeting held at 105 Second avenue, the headquarters of the Ninth congressional district branch of the free trade club. Despite the terrific rain storm it was a good meeting.

In Brooklyn, at Temperance hall, a meeting was held the same evening. Rev. S. W. Laidler presided, and Louis F. Post and W. O. Eastlake spoke. A short account will be found in another column.

At Paterson, N. J., Henry George spoke on Monday night. It was the largest meeting held during the campaign, although both parties have had meetings. Mr. George's speech was enthusiastically applauded.

On the same night W. J. Gorsuch and John H. Dougherty addressed a meeting at McTammany's hall, Brooklyn.

Sic in the original; probably "W. O. Eastlake".

A branch of the Free trade club in the Eleventh congressional district opened headquarters the same evening, Monday, at No. 335 Eighth avenue. Addresses were made by William T. Croasdale and J. R. Abarbanelle. The rooms were crowded and the audience enthusiastic.

On Tuesday, Louis F. Post spoke at Elizabethport. N. J., and[sic] Henry George and Thomas G. Shearman at Palace hall, Brooklyn, E. D.. The[24] Elizabethport meeting was the largest political gathering held there in five years. The hall was packed with people till the close of the meeting, and Mr. Post's speech was received with enthusiasm. The Brooklyn meeting was also very large and successful.

The meetings for Wednesday were. in New York[sic], at Wendel's hall, West Forty-fourth street, addressed by Thomas G. Shearman and Louis F. Post; in Brooklyn, at New Turn hall, Sixteenth street and North Fifth avenue, addressed by W. O. Eastlake and John H. Dougherty.

On Thursday, October 11, the Eighth congressional district single tax men will hold a meeting at New Windsor hall, 412 Grand street. A. J. Steers and Fred C. Leubuscher will speak.

On Friday, the 12th, the Seventh congressional district single tax men will meet at the committee rooms, 12 Union square, to complete their organization. Their temporary organization was formed last week, when H. B. Epstein was elected temporary chairman and P. V. Jones temporary secretary.

The Sixth congressional district will be organized on Saturday, October 13, at Greenwich hall, corner Christopher and Hudson streets, at which time and place a mass meeting will also be held. The general public is invited.

The Ninth congressional district will hold a meeting at the headquarters of the Ninth congressional branch of the New York free trade club, at 105 Second avenue, on Saturday evening, Oct. 13.

At Cooper union, Thomas G. Shearman will answer questions about the single tax and free trade on Friday, October 19.

Hugh O. Pentecost will speak at Cooper union on Wednesday, October 24.

A grand rally will be held on Thursday, Nov. 1, at Cooper union. There will be addresses by Thomas G. Shearman, Louis F. Post, Hugh O. Pentecost and Henry George.

In Philadelphia Hugh O. Pentecost will speak at Music fund hall on Wednesday, Oct. 17; Thomas G. Shearman will speak there in the same hall on Oct. 24, and Louis F. Post and William Lloyd Garrison on Wednesday, Oct. 31.

In Brooklyn, there will be a grand rally at the Rink on Tuesday, Oct. 23. Thomas G. Shearman, Louis F. Post, Hugh O. Pentecost and Henry George will speak.

At East New York, Louis F. Post will make a short speech and answer questions at Schiellein's assembly rooms, corner Atlantic avenue and Vermont avenue, on Monday, October 15.

Thomas G. Shearman will speak at Albany on Tuesday, October 16.

At Passaic, N. J., Louis F. Post will speak on Wednesday, October 17.

Henry George will speak at Harrisburg, Pa., on Thursday, October 25.

Sic in the original; probably "Elizabethport, N. J., and".
Sic in the original; probably "Brooklyn, E. D. The".
Sic in the original; probably "were: in New York".

Here are as many extracts from the committee's correspondence as space will permit us to publish:

James McMann, Lansingburgh, N. Y.—I voted for Mr. Cleveland in 1884 and will vote for him in '88, and against Hill in the state.

John Hofer, New Haven, Conn.—I send my name to be added to the roll of single tax Cleveland men. I am a free trader in the full sense of the word. I voted for Blaine in 1884.

Fred T. Wilcox, Ashtabula, O.—Inclosed find my name, with two others, who were, as myself, formerly republicans. Have been a regular reader of THE STANDARD from almost the beginning. Two of us arranged with our newsdealers to keep it on sale. Now it is widely read here, and benighted Ashtabula is conceded to be the single tax hotbed of the county. Our Knights of Labor assembly is doing glorious work for the single tax cause. All but a few have "seen the eat[sic]," and we live in hope that those few will come around before November.

James Pollard, Stanton, Minn.—Enroll me and my friend, whose name I inclose—both life-long republicans. The more single tax is talked here the more the people get perplexed in their old notions, and are constantly burrowing the ground to keep the weeds down, and hope to see a fair crop in time to vote for Cleveland Thurman[sic].

Morris Cole, Union City, Mich.—Read "Progress and Poverty" four years ago. Have been traveling almost constantly ever since, north, south and west, and never let a chance pass to advocate the single tax, converting not only the three persons whose names are inclosed, but dozens of others, with more to follow.

Edwin Pope, Paterson, N. J.—I voted in 1884 for Gen. Butler, but shall cast my vote this year for Mr. Cleveland. He has pointed out to us the road to freedom. I perceive a great change of thought with reference to the tariff, even in this hide-bound city, and there is no doubt of a still greater change taking place before election day. THE STANDARD is the best paper I have ever read. I would rather go without my meals on Sunday than not have it.

F. O. Brown, Fort Worth, Tex.—I inclose signed blank. This will be the first time I ever voted the democratic ticket, although I have been a voter since '61. I have been a single tax man ever since I heard Henry George's speech on the steps of the sub-treasury building on Wall street, New York, two years ago. I formerly considered that what

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I did not know about the labor problem was not worth knowing. I vote for Cleveland with the hope that his majority may be so large that it will encourage him to take more steps and longer ones forward. I can say from my own knowledge that the single tax idea is gaining in Texas.

Alfred Pettit, Newark, N. J.—I always voted the republican ticket. Was converted to the single tax about a year ago. Am hard at work trying to convert my friends.

Locke Craig, Asheville, N. C.—Inclosed find my signature for enrollment. I am condemned as a George man, but the democratic clubs keep me busy addressing them and discussing the tariff with republicans, and evidently do not realize that they condemn under the name of Georgeism the same ideas which they applaud under the name of democracy. Hereafter the majority of democrats in this district will be democrats who are for absolute free trade.

J. W. H., New York.—Under the beautiful system of protection to American industries I am compelled to work fourteen hours out of every twenty-four (Sundays magnanimously excepted). So you see it is utterly impossible for me to take any active part in any movement, no matter how heartily I may indorse it.

Sic in the original; probably "seen the cat,".
Sic in the original; probably "vote for Cleveland and Thurman".

M. L. [Gabie?], San Francisco, Cal.—Inclosed find list of eighteen single tax men who desire to be enrolled for Cleveland and Thurman, among them Judge James G. Maguire. I expect to get more signers before long.

Thomas F. Burns, Hyde Park, Mass.—I inclose list of three single tax men who will vote for Cleveland because they believe in free trade. They voted for Butler in 1884.

Richard W. Jones, Brooklyn, N. Y.—I authorize the enrollment of my name among the single tax Cleveland voters, who will vote so because his movement is in our direction. I was bred and born a protectionist and republican. I shall also work for Miller and against Hill.

Usufruct, New York.—The monopolist may rest secure so long as the workingman wastes his time in futile strikes. But just as soon as the workingman makes up his mind to vote for freedom the monopolist's name will be Dennis.

Dan Meagher, Sacramento, Cal.—Inclosed find a few signatures which I picked up yesterday noon among my shopmates. Could have got more if I had more time. They are all from the machine shops, where about 2,000 men are engaged in building locomotives, cars, and manufacturing bridge materials. A large part of the scrap iron we use comes from England. If we could get free coal, free pig iron and free steel billets we would defy Pennsylvania.

H. W. Benedict, Auburn, N. Y.—I send you herewith five more names for enrollment. They were obtained at a meeting held to form a Cleveland and Thurman campaign club. There were a goodly number of single tax men there.

James Corning, Meriden, Conn.—Here are twelve signatures. We want literature. We will cheerfully distribute it.

Mark F. Roberts, Pittsburg, Pa.—Please enroll me as a single tax Cleveland voter. We had a club of forty-one members, all save one or two, protectionists. I am certain that ninety-five per cent of them will now vote for Cleveland and Thurman and the "first step toward true free trade." The democrats, thanks to the splendid editorials in the Pittsburg *Post*, are loud in their denunciations of the tariff fraud and robbery.

Samuel E. Sperry, Brooklyn.—With this I send you fifteen more signatures. As soon as I can give time to the business I will get more.

F. A. Clark, Newark, N. J.—Inclosed find six names for the single tax roll. Four of these men voted for Blaine four years ago.

John Bennett, Philadelphia, Pa.—Inclosed find a small contribution to the campaign fund. I am sorry that I cannot send more, but it is a hard fight to maintain an existence in this highly protected locality. We are rapidly learning by bitter experience that the producer gets none of the fat of protection.

J. M., Amsterdam, N. Y.—Enroll me as a single tax man who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. All our single tax men of last year are with us for Cleveland and against Hill.

J. H. Griffes, Chicago.—I send you a list of fifty single tax Cleveland voters. No one was asked to sign who had not seen "the cat." There is no such thing as the united labor party in Chicago. Out of all those requested to sign the enrollment only three refused, because they believed in independent political action.

C. S. Hopkins, Buffalo, N. Y.—Had a red hot discussion in a hotel here with about a dozen protectionists and a miscellaneous audience of seventy-five. I laid out the protecs so completely that the democrats had a love feast, and the evening democratic paper published an account of it.

In the Ninth District.

NEW YORK.—The heavy rain storm of last Saturday evening did not have the slightest dampening effect on the single tax free traders of the Ninth congressional district. They were on hand sharp on time, at their club room, 105 Second avenue, to listen to the promised addresses on the question of the campaign. The meeting was rapped to order by Edw. Zimmerman, who, after a few preliminary remarks, introduced W. B. Estell, a coal miner of Freeland, Pa. Mr. Estell gave an interesting description of the life of a coal miner, the hardships he endures, his beggarly requitement, and the life of miserable poverty that as a rule the miner and his wife and children have to endure. Mr. Estell dwelt at length on the wages paid to miners for the past fifteen years. He showed that before a tariff was put on coal the miners had more work and better daily pay than they got after the first duty was put on; and since then wages had fallen and work had become shorter, until now the average earnings of coal miners were one-half what they used to be. Mr. Estell said that the coal miners of Pennsylvania had of late been thinking over the causes that have led to the slough of despond in which they now find themselves; and now they are seeking for the measure that will bring them relief. It would not be long before the miners of Pennsylvania [would all?] be in line in favor of the single [tax on?] land values. There were a good many of them standing on that line now. The result of the change of thought would be made evident in the coming election, when the republican majority would be considerably reduced. If the single tax campaign for this election had been commenced in Pennsylvania last spring that state would now have been debatable ground.

William McCabe followed with a short speech, after which the meeting resolved itself into a debating club, and a discussion ensued which lasted until after 12 o'clock. Five visitors who had been inquiring into the ideas involved in the single tax theory, but who still had some lingering doubts, had them thoroughly removed, and announced their intention of entering actively into the movement. It was a pleasant evening, despite the rain outside, and was a profitable one to all who attended.

SINGLE TAX.

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Commerce.

Thou mother queen that ever reigns Unconquered o'er the earth, Thine is the blood that lifts its veins[sic] In thee its life had birth; Without thee, wealth—though never told— Were lifeless pyramids of gold.

Nature's arm before thee lowers; Thou scarrest deep her face, With her own resistless powers[sic] . Annulling time and space; In thy iron-trod footprints lie These foes to thy prosperity.

Thy giant slaves, with spurning heel Bear o'er the seething sea, And thy vast webs of burnished steel Earth's treasures home to thee. Thy couriers outstrip the sun And roll the wheels of progress on.

Yet far from perfected remains Thy lofty destiny, For foolish children cling in chains About thy bended knee, Impeding thy majestic stride In vain attempts thy course to guide.

Thy bounteous tide we idly dream To dam before our doors; We do but turn the golden stream Which seeks more open shores. Each land that would share in its good Must pour some tributary flood.

Sic in the original; probably "the blood that fills its veins".
Sic in the original; probably "resistless powers,".

This world-wide sea doth ever flow With even measured sweep, Its changing currents come and go, But ever balance keep; Tear down all barriers to the waves, Or strand on rocks that mark their graves!

KATE HUDSON.

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?], 22 Third avenue, or James J Mahoney, secretary Single Tax Cleveland and Thurman club, [23?] Myrtle avenue. Alhambra, Mon Ter–W E Brokaw. Altoona, Pa–Joseph Sharp, jr., secretary Single tax club, 411 Tenth street; Albert C Rouzee, [924?] First avenue. 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, [1400?] 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–L S Hinman, 42 Prospect ave. Boston, Mass–Edwin M White, 45 Eliot street; J R Roche, president Anti-poverty society, 15 Bowdoin street. Brooklyn, N Y–J Hickling, 41 Sidney place, president Single tax club. Burlington, Iowa–James Love, bookseller, or Richard Spencer. 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–E J Brackens, president Single tax club, 505 North High street; Sam F Caen, corresponding secretary, care Edward Hyneman, 348 1-2 South 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. 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. East Rindge, N H–Edward Jewett. Elizabeth, N J–Benjamin Urner. Elmira, N Y–William Bergman, 712 East Market street. Farmington, Iowa–F. 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, 14 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, 149 South Hill; or A Vinette, P O box 482. Lynchburg, Va–Thos Williamson, cor Fifth and Church streets. Madison, Dak–E H Evenson. Manistee, Mich–Albert Walkley or W R Hall. Mart, Tex–J L [Caldwell?], chairman Ninth congressional district organizer. Massillon, O–Samuel T Wright, 63 West Main street. Memphis, Tenn–R G Brown, secretary Tariff reform club, 59 Madison street. Middletown, Conn–John G Hopkins, P O box 530. 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, [255?] 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, [58?] Oriental street. Newburg, N Y–D J McKay, secretary Single tax club, 238 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, 89 North Main street. Parkersburg, W Va–W I Boreman[sic], member of Single tax league. Pawtucket, R I–Edward Barker, [23?] Gooding street. Peoria, Ill–J W Avery. Philadelphia, Pa–Wm J Atkinson, [926?] Chestnut street; or A. H. Stephenson, 214 Chestnut street, secretary Henry George club. Piermont, N Y–Charles R Hood, P O box 13. Pittsburg, Pa–Mark F Roberts, 1727 Carey alley. Plymouth, Mass–C E Marks, box 51. Portland, Ore–S B Riggen, [48?] Stark street, or James P Kohler, 131 Grand street. Poughkeepsie, N Y–William C Albro. Pulaski, N Y–C V Harbottle. Ravenswood, Ill–W H Van Ornum. 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 [54?]. 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, [665?] Nichols street. St. Louis, Mo–Geo S Bonnell, president Single tax league, [1527?] Leffingwell avenue; Miss Sarah N Gates, secretary, [1300?] Washington avenue. Stockton, Cal–D A Leonard. Syracuse, N Y–Charles S [Hopkins?], 9 Seymour street; A R Perry, 149 South Clinton street; or F A Paul, 4 Walton street; or James K McGuire, secretary Single tax club, 59 Greene street. Thomaston, Conn–Andrew Leary, sec Land and labor club, P O box [298?] Trenton, N J–H R Mathews, 9 Howell street. Troy, N Y–B B [Martin?]. Tuckahoe, N Y–Albert O Young. Unionville, Conn–John McAuliffe. Utica, N Y–Thomas Sweeney, 136 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, [221?] 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?] [end of line obscured by damage at page edge] 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.

A Scarecrow That Don't Scare.

Milwaukee Daily Review.

In view of the great popularity of the single tax theory, it is somewhat ridiculous for the Milwaukee *Sentinel*, after having exhausted itself to find reasons why Congressman Smith should not be supported for re-election, holds up as a sort of scarecrow to the public the statement that he is a "Henry George man." According to all indications it will not particularly injure a man's chances for popularity to be an advocate of an idea that is growing at a prodigious rate in public favor.

Sic in the original; probably "W L Boreman".

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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1888.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1888.

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

THE STANDARD advocates the abolition of all taxes upon industry and the products of industry, and the taking, by taxation upon land values irrespective of improvements, of the annual rental value of all those various forms of natural opportunities embraced under the general term, Land.

We hold that to tax labor or its products is to discourage industry.

We hold that to tax land values to their full amount will render it impossible for any man to exact from others a price for the privilege of using those bounties of nature in which all living men have an equal right of use; that it will compel every individual controlling natural opportunities to either utilize them by the employment of labor, or abandon them to others; that it will thus provide opportunities of work for all men and secure to each the full reward of his labor; and that as a result involuntary poverty will be abolished, and the greed, intemperance and vice that spring from poverty and the dread of poverty will be swept away.

A WHINE FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.

The Amoskeag manufacturing company is a corporation which produces wealth at Manchester, N. H. The reason why the company does its wealth producing at that particular place is because a special opportunity of nature exists there, giving to the labor employed in certain processes of production a vastly greater efficiency than would attach to it at most other places. A day's labor in the Manchester mills will produce more ginghams and grain bags —which are what the Amoskeag company principally makes—than it would if applied elsewhere. Because at Manchester the Merrimac river falls fifty-four feet, and thus provides power to run an immense amount of machinery, by the use of which the efficiency of labor is enormously increased. The Amoskeag manufacturing company is not the only wealth producing concern that utilizes the natural opportunities of Manchester. Locomotives, boots and shoes, stockings, machinery and other things are produced there, not for home consumption, but for the use of people all over the United States.

This state of things is not regarded as an evil by the inhabitants of other cities and states. The western farmer, when he packs his grain in an Amoskeag bag, or buys a dress of Amoskeag gingham for his wife, does not curse the government for permitting the Amoskeag company to send its products into his home market; nor does he sigh for the good old days when farmers' wives wove cloth on hand looms. He knows that while the folks in Manchester are weaving gingham for him, he is growing wheat and fattening hogs for them; and that by this division of labor he gets vastly more gingham than if he did his own weaving, and the Manchester people more wheat and pork than if they cultivated their own fields and fed their own pigs. Free trade enables him to enjoy the benefit of that fifty-four feet fall of water at Manchester, and them to enjoy the benefit of the soil and climate of the western grain belt. For all practical purposes, he weaves his cloth at Manchester and they grow their grain on his farm.

Unfortunately, however, though there is no obstacle to the free interchange of products between Manchester and other parts of the United States, there are very serious artificial impediments to a similar system of exchange between the people of the United States and the people of other parts of the world. And this limitation of freedom works injury to both the Manchester manufacturers and to the farmers and others who consume their products. Men on the other side of the Atlantic, who would gladly employ the western farmer to raise wheat for them, are forced to employ Russian farmers instead, because our laws forbid Americans to accept pay for wheat in the only forms in which those transatlantic men can offer it. The consequence is that the farmer, selling less wheat, has less money with which to buy Amoskeag ginghams. In just the same way the Amoskeag people are hindered from making ginghams and bags for men in the West Indies, in Canada, in South America, in Africa, in Australia and in Asia. And in consequence *they* have less money with which to buy wheat and other things they would like to have. The net result is that the whole American people have less wealth than they otherwise would have, and vastly less than they need—less ginghams, less bags,

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less wheat, less pork, less boots and shoes, less stockings, less steel rails, less sugar, less everything. The productive power of the entire country is crippled. Men who know how to produce things, and would like to produce things, are forced to stand idle, either because they themselves are forbidden by law to accept what other people offer in exchange, or because other men are prevented in that way from utilizing *their* industry and are consequently

destitute of means to purchase their product. Smith is out of work because Brown, having nothing to do himself, cannot afford to employ him. Brown in turn is idle because of Jones's lack of employment. Jones depends on Robinson, and so on. Each one wants what the others would like to furnish. And outside the tariff fence within which they stand at a deadlock is an eager crowd, asking nothing better than permission to set Robinson to work and thus start the impulse of production along the whole line. Shut out from the markets of the world the whole community suffers in much the same way as the people of New York did during the three days of last March, when the blizzard prevented men from coming to the city to buy and sell, and preserved to New Yorkers their own home markets.

But notwithstanding this limitation of the market for its production, the Amoskeag manufacturing company has done very well—at all events, during the past year. The treasurer, Mr. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge, has just issued his annual report; and though we have not been favored with a copy of the document, we can gather from the *Mail and Express* and other journals that have received it a sufficient knowledge of its contents. The company has greatly increased its product, has issued a stock dividend of 33 1-3 per cent—increasing its capital from $3,000,000 to $4,000,000—and has paid in cash dividends $300,000, or ten per cent on its original capital. It has also increased the efficiency of the labor of its employes by making many improvements in the shape of new buildings and machinery; and especially by acquiring the right to raise the flashboards of the dam an extra foot. This last improvement, Mr. Coolidge states, "will be of much value to us in the time of drought, as we can store one foot more of water each night to be used during the day." It is noticeable, too, that all these betterments have been paid for out of profits. The company is to be congratulated on its success in the past, and on its prospects for the future. It has made lots of money, and has wisely fitted itself to make a great deal more. Hereafter a day's labor in its mills will produce more gingham and more bags than ever before. It is to be regretted, of course, that the laborers will derive no benefit of advanced wages from this increase in their efficiency; but so far as the Amoskeag corporation is concerned, one might expect to see it eagerly anxious to secure a wider market for its products by the removal of every restriction upon commerce. Limited free trade has made it what it is. Absolute free trade would open for it a still more splendid career of prosperity.

This, however, is not the opinion of Mr. Thomas Jefferson Coolidge. He thinks that it would be no use for the Amoskeag manufacturing company to try to sell ginghams in Canada, or in Australia, or anywhere else outside the United States. He thinks that they couldn't even sell them *in* the United States if the people of this country were at liberty to buy them anywhere else. He tells the stockholders in his report that "it is simply impossible to manufacture colored goods and fine yarns without protection." For this he gives two reasons: First, that his company has to pay higher wages than are paid by foreign manufacturers; and second, that the company labors under a burden of excessive taxation, the local taxes alone amounting to $90,000 a year. Mr. Coolidge asserts that the English manufacturers could furnish as much gingham for eighty cents as the Amoskeag manufacturing company can for $1; and if English goods were allowed to come in free, the Manchester concern would have to shut up shop, and, like Mr. Bounderby and the other Coketown magnates, "pitch their property into the Atlantic."

As to Mr. Coolidge's first reason, it is to be feared that when he intented[sic] his mind on the study of the foreign wages question, he didn't exhaust all the sources of information at his command. Had he asked Mr. James G. Blaine about the matter, that gentleman could have informed him, as he officially did the people of the United States, June 25, 1881, that—

> The average wages of employes in the Massachusetts mills is as follows, according to the official returns: Men [$8.30?], women [$5.62?], 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 1st of January, 1880, was about $8 per week, subject to a reduction of 10 per cent; women from $3.40 to $4.30, 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.
>
> 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,
> p. 4, col. 3
> with more economy and facility than can be done by England.

So much for Mr. Coolidge's first reason. As for his second reason, while we cannot believe that the weight of local taxes is sufficient to prevent his company from competing with English manufacturers on equal terms—seeing that the Englishmen also are not unburdened by taxation—we nevertheless admit the injustice of the system that fines the Amoskeag manufacturing company for producing wealth, and tender our respectful sympathy to him and his fellow shareholders, as well as to the gingham wearers and bag users, who ultimately pay the taxes with several profits added. If Mr. Coolidge will read THE STANDARD and study the doctrine of the single tax he will comprehend the injustice even better than he does at present. The Amoskeag manufacturing company ought to be taxed for the value of the natural opportunities it uses, or prevents others from using—the fifty-four feet fall of water and the bare ground on which its buildings stand. This would be just; because that fall of water and that land owe their value to the pressure of population, and not to anything the company has done. If the Amoskeag stock holders were the only people in the United States, or even in New Hampshire, the falls and land would still be as valueless as they were two hundred years ago. But beyond this the company should not be called upon to pay a single cent of taxes; and the exaction from them of $90,000, or $9,000, or $900, or $90, or $9, or ninety cents, is absolute robbery.

But suppose Mr. Coolidge's fears of foreign competition to be well founded. Suppose a British manufacturer can produce and sell to a consumer in this country for eighty cents as much gingham as the Manchester mill can deliver for $1. With wheat at a dollar a bushel, that would mean that with free trade an American farmer could produce, by producing a bushel of wheat, as much gingham as he can now get by producing a bushel and a quarter. Has Mr. Coolidge the colossal impudence to insist that American farmers *ought* to give him and his fellows five pecks of wheat to the bushel, while everybody else gets only four pecks? Or, to put it another way, does he think that his company *ought* to be allowed to call twenty-eight inches of gingham a yard and get as much for it as another man would charge for full measure? Are the Amoskeag stockholders really such a helpless, degraded, un-American set of paupers that they cannot make an honest living by honest work, but must come whining for permission to rob their fellow citizens by charging one dollar for eighty cents worth of production? Mr. Coolidge

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Sic in the original; probably "intended".

ought to hide his head for very shame at the mere thought of laying himself open to such an imputation. At all events, he may as well make up his mind that the American people are making up *their* minds that if they must have paupers they will support them openly in public institutions *as* paupers, and cease to license them to collect alms at their own sweet wills under cover of the law. As Mr. Coolidge himself whimpers in the closing paragraph of his report:

> I am struck by the fact that all the arguments used by the president and his party in this political campaign are arguments which would be just as strong after the tariff had been reduced ten, twenty or thirty per cent as they are now. They all lead directly, by the overthrow of the protective system piecemeal, to complete free trade.

So they do. And we are glad that Mr. Coolidge sees it.

On the whole, however, we don't believe that Manchester, N. H., will be called upon to provide poor house accommodation for Mr. Coolidge and his friends. The Amoskeag people will not go out of business when the British gingham and bag weavers come into our markets, even if the Englishmen *do* offer to sell ginghams and bags cheaper than the Manchester mills can afford to. They will add another foot or two to their flashboards, and so increase the efficiency of their labor. Or if that is impossible or insufficient, they will import some more English machinery, or, better still, set Yankee ingenuity to work inventing improved American machinery. Only one thing we are confident they will not do. They will not reduce the wages of their hands. For if they could do that they would have done it already.

AN ILLUSTRATION, AND WHAT IT ILLUSTRATES.

In the northern part of New Jersey there is a protection touter called the Sussex *Register*, which seems to be running a race in absurdity with the New York *Press*. Recently it put forth a characteristic specimen, all about the erection of some large factory in Philadelphia. Neither the factory, nor its owner, nor the kind of goods it is to produce is named; but this nameless factory is to employ 5,000 men—whether Italians or Huns is not stated. As steam power is to be used, many boilers of great size are required. In the bidding for the chance to make these boilers, an Ohio firm, not named, got the contract for $138,000, against the next lowest bid of an English firm, not named, which was $138,010. "That is to say," observes the Sussex *Register*, "the English company would make the boilers, transport them across the ocean, land them, pay the duty, haul to factory and set in brick, for $10 more than the cheapest American competitor would do it."

It strikes us that from the protection standpoint the extra sum is rather small for the payment of extra wages. As it is stated that 3,000 men will be employed twenty-three days on the job, those men

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could not possibly get in extra wages more than one three-thousandth of $34.492[sic]—the difference between the American price and the English price minus the tariff. This is $11.49 each for twenty-three days work, or fifty cents a day. As wages go, fifty cents a day extra is worth thinking of; but when the steel monopolists, the coal monopolists, the iron monopolists, and all the other monopolists, whose exorbitant prices, made possible by tariffs for their benefit, were paid out of the fifty cents, and they must be paid out of that, how much would be left for the Ohio workmen? And when, besides these deductions, the boiler manufacturers' ordinary profits on the extra price he is compelled to pay for material in consequence of the tariff on it, and the extraordinary profit which the tariff helps him to get, were deducted from what was left of that fifty cents, how much of the remainder

Sic in the original; probably "$34,492".

would the Ohio workmen get? And when out of the remainder of that remainder the Ohio workmen were compelled to pay an exorbitant price for their coal, their clothing, much of their food, most of their luxuries, their house room, their furniture, and what not, all increased in price on account of the tariff, how far would the remainder of the remainder of their fifty cents go toward doing it? And that they must pay more for protected articles is proved by the very transaction in question; for does not the Sussex *Register* show that these American boilers cost at least $34,502[sic] more than they would cost if there were no tariff? and is it not to make high prices that the tariff is imposed? and if it did not make higher prices would it not be utterly useless?

But the specific point the Sussex *Register* makes of this transaction between the nameless Philadelphia factory and the nameless Ohio machinery establishment is that the duty of twenty-five per cent on machinery has saved this contract of $138,000 to America. Let that be conceded, and yet, if there were no tariff on either iron, coal, steel or machinery it would be also saved to America. Any mechanic knows that we can build machinery cheaper than English manufacturers can, and when we do not it is because our machinery establishments are crippled by tariffs on the tools and materials they use.

And what is the advantage after all of saving the contract to America? If keeping work at home is a good thing that contract should have been saved to Pennsylvanians; but it wasn't. It went to an Ohio man against the higher bids of two nameless Pennsylvania concerns.

One hundred and thirty-eight thousand dollars was sent out of Pennsylvania to Ohio. Ohio is $138,000 richer and Pennsylvania is $138,000 poorer! The nameless Ohio manufacturer has received $138,000, and the nameless Pennsylvania factory has lost as much! Isn't that bad for Pennsylvania? Of course not, for what really has been done is to compel Pennsylvanians to produce things to be sent to the Ohioan to pay for the boilers, and if the boilers had been bought in England Pennsylvanians would have been compelled to produce things to be shipped to England in payment. To Pennsylvanians it makes no difference except that they must pay more than the boilers are worth. But what in that case would the Ohioans do? Well, if there was nothing else for them to do they would at least have to produce for themselves the things which Pennsylvanians must now send to them.

The net result of the transaction is that the nameless Pennsylvania factory pays thirty odd thousand dollars more for its machinery than it is worth, which is divided between the nameless Ohio manufacturer, the Bessemer steel monopoly, the iron kings and the coal barons, and workingmen both in Pennsylvania and Ohio must take the best wages they can get in competition with whoever may come along from anywhere able to do their work; for, though the Sussex *Register* says the Ohio workmen will get their share of this $138,000, every workman who has been at work long enough to go through the experience of a strike or a lockout, knows they will get nothing of the kind, but, instead, the very lowest price that in a glutted labor market in which all the world competes the employer can force them to take.

Suppose, however, that it is a particularly good thing to have an Ohio boiler manufacturer make boilers for a Pennsylvania factory, so good a thing as to make it desirable for the people of the United States to pay a subsidy to have it done. Even then is not a protective tariff the most expensive and least satisfactory way of accomplishing the result? Would not a direct bounty be better? Let us see. The English firm offers these boilers for $138,010. If the duty were taken off they could discount that amount by $34,502 and deliver the boilers for $103,508. Then, to secure the contract for the Ohio manufactory, and prevent the Englishman's boilers from invading our territory, let us levy a direct tax on the people, and say to the Ohio concern, "If you will deliver these boilers for

Sic in the original; probably "$34,502".

[$103,498?], and employ American labor, we will pay you out of the treasury of the United States [$34.502?], which will give you $138,000, the price you are getting now." Consider the advantage of this method. The Ohio concern would get $34.502 with which to pay their workmen high wages, and as the workmen would know how much extra their employer received they could call him to account if he put it into his own pocket instead of giving it to them; while the Pennsylvania factory would get its boilers for [$103,498?] instead of $138,000, and thus save in the item of

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boilers alone the handsome sum of $34,502 with which to pay their operatives higher wages or employ more of them.

True, this bounty would come out of the people; but it does now, not only the bounty, but a profit on the bounty. But protectionists will not accept a bounty for a tariff, although it would better accomplish all they claim for a tariff, because the humbug of "encouraging home industry" must be disguised in some complex method. A direct bounty would be so simple as to expose the fraud to the commonest understanding.

AN UNFORTUNATE DISCOVERY.

Harney's Peak is in the territory of Dakota, which, as all the world knows, is in the United States of America. Dakota is part of that boundless west to which our statesmen are in the habit of referring when they tell us about the marvelous wealth of our country, the fertile prairies and rich mines she holds in trust for us, her children, and all the rest of it. And Harney's Peak is, if all said about it be true, the very richest part of Dakota. For Harney's Peak is full of tin, the mining experts say; and tin, as we all know, is a metal in general and constant demand.

This is fortunate indeed. We need tin badly, and are likely to stand more in need of it every year. We need it for use in our growing canned provision and oil business; we need it for our roofing, for our kitchen ware, for a dozen other industries, every one of which is hampered by the want of cheaper tin. When once the Harney's Peak mines are opened we shall be able to get tin more easily than we do now, and can therefore use it for many more purposes. Truly, this is a favored land of ours.

Ah! but wait a bit. Don't let us be too rapid in our prognostications. All that is what might be, if things were different; but then, you see, things aren't different. Harney's Peak is in the United States, but the tin in Harney's Peak doesn't belong to the people of the United States, by any means. It belongs to the few individuals who first happened to notice it, or who bought it from the men who noticed it. And they have hied them over to London, where they are trying to sell the tin as it lies in the ground, for $15,000,000, to a lot of Englishmen who never saw Harney's Peak, and probably never will see it, and who will never dig an ounce of tin ore, but who will manage to make money out of the Harney's Peak mines all the same. Because they will have the privilege of forbidding or allowing whatever men they please to dig the ore; and it is a mathematical certainty that no man will strike a pick into Harney's Peak without first agreeing to give those Englishmen a sufficient share of what he digs to make them pretty comfortable.

It is interesting, though not altogether pleasant, to project the mind into the future and consider what will happen if those Englishmen buy that tin mine, and the deposits turn out as rich as the present owners insist they are.

In the first place, that patriotic American from the south of England, Mr. Robert P. Porter, and that other patriot from the north of Wales, Mr. John Jarrett, will at once begin to howl for a protective duty on tin. Here, they will make haste to tell us, is a rich tin mine in our own country that can give employment to at least a thousand men, and that can't be developed without protection. The cost of mining tin ore, they will say, is all labor; so that even if

we do have to pay a little more for our tin for a time, the money will stay in the country, and we shall really be getting the tin for nothing. Consider, also, what a thing it will be for the farmers of Dakota, who will have a market for their breadstuffs among the tin miners right at their doors. With a heavy duty on tin the country will be prosperous, without it the country will be ruined. And so on, and so on. Anyone who reads the protectionist papers knows the style of talk.

Well, suppose the duty on tin imposed, and imagine the result. Will the workers in the tin mines get better wages? Hardly. There are plenty of Italians and Hungarians landing in New York, and the emigrant fare to Dakota is by no means high. Will the Dakota farmer get a better price for his grain? Hardly. Why should a buyer pay more for wheat at Harney's Peak than at any other town in Dakota? Will tin ware advance in price? Why, certainly. The men who use tin in making tin ware, having to pay more for their raw material, will naturally add the increased cost, with a profit besides, to the prices of their finished goods. Will the tin mining shares advance? Why, certainly, again. The whole of the tribute squeezed out of the American people in the shape of an extra price for tin will be sent across the Atlantic and shared among the mining stock holders in dividends.

And then, when the next treasury report is issued, Mr. Porter and other protectionist apostles will point to the record of imports and exports, and laugh for joy. "Just look here," we shall hear them say, "our exports have increased by so many millions of dollars; while our imports have actually fallen off. We are becoming a self-supporting nation, and selling lots of stuff to other nations, too!" And they will write editorials and make speeches, lauding the protective system, and showing by statistics the wonderful things it has accomplished. And once every month the treasurer of the mining company, in his Londou[sic] office, will prepare a neat little document, directing the managers of the mine in Da

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kota to pay to John Smith or order so many thousand dollars for balance due from sales of ore, which document he will sell for cash to an English banker, who will send it over here to pay for breadstuffs and provisions that would otherwise have had to be paid for in goods. And when the English stockholders in the Dakota tin mine get their shares of the American tribute, they can, if they please, send the money over here, buy land in Dakota with it, and live at ease forever after on the blackmail American farmers will be forced to pay them for the privilege of living and working in the United States.

You see, the great advantage of the protective system is that it preserves America for Americans. Another advantage is, that it often enables Englishmen to do the preserving, and to charge pretty roundly for it, too. It is a blessing all round.

GETTING PAID FOR IDLENESS.

Since THE STANDARD last went to press, two sugar refineries in Brooklyn, employing between them about 1,000 men, have been closed by order of the sugar trust.

As in the case of the Boston establishment previously shut down, the owners of these refineries will not cease to make money because they have ceased to make sugar. Curious as it may seem, they will actually command more wealth than they would have done had they kept on producing wealth. Idleness is more profitable to them than industry. The men in their employ will be worse off because deprived of the opportunity of earning wages by making sugar. The people who use sugar will be worse off because there will be less sugar for them to use. But they themselves will be better off because through the operation of the trust they will be able to compel sugar users to pay them an extra price for the sugar they have already made.

Sic in the original; probably "London".

That this power to gain money by doing nothing depends wholly upon monopoly is evident. Were each refiner operating separately, without agreement or collusion with his fellows, not one of them could make anything except by producing sugar. The moment a refinery shut down it would cease to pay a profit. It is only by combining into a trust that the sugar refiners of the United States are able to exact from the people a reward for idleness.

Equally evident is it that the trust rests, in the last resort, upon the protective tariff. Against the competition of new refineries in the United States the trust is amply able to defend itself. Few capitalists would be inclined to invest the very large amount of money required to establish a refinery, in the face of the assured deadly opposition of a syndicate whose wealth is measured by scores of millions of dollars. But against the competition of the world at large the trust has absolutely no protection but the tariff wall. Sweep away the tariff, allow any grocer or housekeeper who wants a barrel of sugar to send to France, or Germany, or Belgium for it, and the foundation of the American sugar trust would be destroyed. Nothing then could enable the refiners to exact tribute for idleness but an international trust. And an international sugar trust, in the existing conditions of commercial jealousy among European nations, would be a flat impossibility.

The trust rests upon monopoly. The monopoly rests upon the protective tariff. But the effect of the trust—the chief purpose of its being—is to cause less sugar to be produced. Therefore the effect of the protective tariff is to diminish the production of sugar.

How does this compare with the assertion of protectionist writers and speakers that the purpose of the tariff is to stimulate production?

The retail buyers of sugar, and of things of which sugar forms a part, are, in effect, the producers of sugar. The farmer, who, at some cross roads store, trades a dozen eggs for a pound of sugar, really produces the sugar, since his demand determines the direction of labor toward sugar production. He puts into the great magazine of exchanges a dozen eggs, and takes out a pound of sugar; and when he sweetens his coffee he does it with the product of his own industry just as truly as if he had raised a crop of sorghum and made the sugar for himself. While tending chickens and collecting eggs he is, so far as those eggs are intended to be exchanged for sugar, in reality refining sugar in New York, or Boston, or Philadelphia, or wherever else sugar can be refined with most advantage to himself.

Now, what protection says to the retail purchaser of sugar—the man who really produces the sugar—is this: "You must refine your sugar at certain designated places, no matter whether it costs you more labor to do it there or not." What free trade tells him is: "You are a free man. Refine your sugar where you will." Which of the two offers most of justice? And would not the effect of free trade be to increase the production of sugar?

The protective system diminishes the production of sugar—compels people to go without it, and forces workingmen to stop making it. Free trade would increase the production of sugar, and by encouraging its use, encourage workingmen to make it. Consider how in one direction alone, to say nothing of many others, new industries would be developed.

Buying her sugar in France, Germany, and Belgium, Great Britain has built up an enormous business in the production of continued on p. 5 →

[Column ends here mid-sentence at the foot of page 4; no continuation line is printed.]

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[continued from page 4]

← continued from p. 4 jams, jellies, and preserves. Her goods are sold all over the world. Despite our protective tariff of 35 per cent they have forced their way into this country and compelled our own producers, except of the finest grades of goods, to retire from our markets. Not only does this industry give employment directly to a very great number of men and a very large amount of capital, but it has indirectly added immensely to the wealth of the country. Farms are planted with small fruits, ships and sailors have more work, commission merchants, forwarders and clerks are provided with employment. And all because Englishmen have the sense to refine their sugar where they can do it to most advantage. Yet Great Britain is not by any means a good fruit growing country. There is not a fruit used in her preserve making industry that cannot be raised to more advantage on this side of the Atlantic.

Now as to what might be done in the direction of this one industry we have expert testimony. The firm of Gordon & Dilworth of New York is one of the largest producers of sweetmeats and preserves in the country. And they affirm unhesitatingly that if they were allowed to produce the materials of their manufacture where they can do so to most advantage—if they were relieved of tariff taxes upon sugar, glassware, pottery, lumber, nails, corks, paper and tin, they could compete with the English and Scotch manufacturers on equal terms in Great Britain, with advantage in the other markets of the world, and with overwhelming superiority in the markets of the United States.

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And as with sugar, so with every other product of industry. Deprive men of the privilege of producing where they will—compel them to waste their labor in producing at points of less advantage—and the inevitable result is less production and less opportunity for industry. Freedom is economical. Restriction can never be otherwise than costly.

A SIGNIFICANT ADMISSION.

The Press of this city generally utilizes its editorial page to tell its readers about the wonderful prosperity of American workingmen—the splendid wages they receive, the silk dresses their wives and daughters wear, the perfectly lovely time they are having generally. It is true that the news columns of the paper knock these pretty romances into flinders by telling actual facts about actual men, women and children. But the *Press* is so constituted that it doesn't mind that; and it apparently has no dread of the possible effect upon its readers. It seems to think that when a man believes in protection his logical faculties are benumbed.

But the other day the *Press* editorial page took on a new appearance. Probably the regular editorial writer was away, and the news editor undertook to supply his place. Anyway, the *Press*, in double leaded type, said this:

> It is, we think, generally conceded by labor organizations of all kinds that wages in nearly all industries, trades and crafts have reached what, from their point of view, is the danger line. That is the line beyond which American labor ought not to go if it expects to retain a standard of living superior to that of

> European labor. As a matter of fact, in some of the unorganized trades and occupations and in the unskilled labor market, wages have already gone below the danger line.

> If this is not believed by wage earners of all kinds the *Press* wishes those who are interested would inquire of Mr. Powderly, who leads the Knights of Labor, or of Mr. Gompers, the leader of the federation of trades, if, during the last twelve months, any trade or craft backed by these powerful and useful organizations has been able to secure a single raise in the scale of rates of compensation anywhere.

And after thus confessing the complete failure of the protective system to do its acknowledged duty by the workingmen, the *Press* goes on to explain that the cause of low wages is that "the demon of cheapness is abroad in the land." Things are altogether too cheap, it thinks, and that makes the present trouble. If the Mills bill should pass they would be cheaper yet, and there would be worse trouble. Hence an argument for protection. The *Press* doesn't point out that this is a still stronger argument for the sugar trust, and the cotton seed oil trust, and the steel rail trust, and all the rest of them. Perhaps it expected its readers to see that without being told. Or perhaps, on the other hand, it thought they hadn't sense enough to see it.

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The direct tax law of Great Britain interferes even with marriage and other settlements. Any deed whereby any definite sum or share is settled upon or for the benefit of a person, for every £100 or part of £100 is taxed $1.50. If a British subject desires to settle [$20,000?] on his wife the government exacts a tax of [$60?], and if the settlement is $100,000 the tax is $300. Is such a tax likely to be so popular as a customs duty, which the man who pays it does not feel, and which helps along American industries!—[Mail and Express.

On mature consideration we think it is. The American workingman, of course, will feel badly at having to pay $60 every time he settles a paltry [$20,000?] on his wife; but, on the other hand, he will be able to settle shoes on his children free of tax. And when he gets very weary of the tax on settlements, he can abolish that impost, and lay all taxes upon land values.

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A bright weekly paper, the *Journal*, has been started in Cohoes, under the editorship of Richard Monk. It warmly supports Cleveland and Thurman because of their attitude on the tariff question, and as warmly opposes Governor Hill because of his [veto?] of the ballot reform bill.

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MEN AND THINGS.

Mr. Edward H. Ammidown, president of the American protective tariff league, informs the public, through the *Mail and Express*, that he sent last month the following letter to a vice-president of the league in Virginia:

> NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 12, 1888. *H. C. Parsons, Natural Bridge, Va.*—DEAR SIR: I think if you can arrange for a joint discussion on the Mills bill in ten or more cities in Virginia, and assure our speakers liberal and attentive audiences, we can promise men with a national reputation and fully armed with facts for a fair and high debate of this simple economic question. Yours very truly, EDWARD H. AMMIDOWN, President, etc.

It is further stated, that in accordance with this suggestion, Mr. Parsons communicated with the chairman of the democratic state committee, suggesting a series of joint debates; and that to this communication no official answer has yet been returned.

We sincerely trust that the Virginia democracy will, even at this late day, accept the challenge so boldly made. At the same time, we must remind Mr. Ammidown that he himself, speaking for his tariff organization, has declined to put forward a champion to debate the issue of protection or free trade here in New York. The challenge was sent to him weeks ago, and declined. It is still open. We trust Mr. Ammidown is not afraid to do in New York that which he urges his vice-president to do in Virginia.

And while we are about it, we ask Mr. Ammidown's attention to the following advertisement inserted some days since in the *Press*, of this city. It would be blasphemy to say that protectionists do not read the *Press*, advertisements and all. Yet up to date not a protectionist out of the whole lot of them has answered this advertisement:

> WANTED—A protectionist to make an address before the Tenth congressional district Single tax Cleveland club, explaining how tariffs increase wages, and to answer questions put by the audience. Address BENJAMIN DOBLIN, Chairman, 12 Union square.

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The republican national committee have done a righteous thing. They have advertised that they will pay $25,000 in rewards "for information resulting in the arrest and conviction of any persons guilty of violating the election laws in the impending national election in the cities of New York or Brooklyn, by false or illegal registration." Two thousand dollars is to be paid for the first conviction, $1,000 for the second, $500 for the third and $250 for each subsequent conviction until the $25,000 shall be exhausted. Annexed to the advertisement is a certificate from the Garfield national bank, showing the deposit of $25,000, to be specifically applied to the payment of the rewards.

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The trouble about protection is that it never protects all round. Somebody always has to pay for protecting the other fellow. Here are the farmers of the colony of Victoria, in Australia, meeting in convention in Melbourne to insist that something should be done for them. They are forced to pay heavy prices for manufactured goods, they complain, because of the protective tariff; and yet the much protected Victorian manufacturers unpatriotically go to New South Wales for their wheat and wool, for no better reason than that the New South Wales people can afford to sell wheat and wool cheaper. So the Victorian farmers want a whopping tariff laid on wheat and wool and things of that sort; and as wheat growing is a younger infant industry than wool growing, they modestly ask for a bounty on wheat production. The only thing they dont[sic] want to see protected is labor. They think that costs altogether too much and ought to made cheaper[,36]. And so they entreat the government to renew the system of assisted immigration and thus help them to get their wheat raised and their wool clipped at lower prices. Just where the laboring man comes in in the Victorian scheme of protection, it is rather hard to see.

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Sic in the original; probably "don't".
Sic in the original; probably "ought to be made cheaper".

A female *World* reporter lately assumed the character of a sewing girl looking for employment, and visited several New York establishment[sic], in which the highly protected industry of clothing manufact ure is carried on. Her experiences were interesting.

Her first visit was to a vest factory, where she was offered the choice of binding vests at four cents each, or finishing necks at half a cent to two cents. Declining work at these prices, the reporter passed on to an overcoat establishment, where she secured a job. By hard work she succeeded in finishing two overcoats in the course of the day, for which she received twenty-five cents. Here is her description of the place:

> In this shop the slaves worked from seven o'clock in the morning until seven in the evening and seven days in a week. At eleven in the forenoon and three in the afternoon the factory was invaded by soda water and bread men. Nearly everybody invested in a pint bottle of soda, for which they paid two cents, the water being unfit to drink. Bread was sold for a penny, cut up in chunks weighing about four ounces, and the same price was accepted for a cheese sandwich. Fruit ped dlers offered a big apple or a small pear for a cent, and by a series of questions I learned that many of the workers were able to subsist on the investment of five cents a day or fifty cents a week, the extra fifteen cents paying for half a pound of coffee, which was prepared in the beer cans over the furnace fire. Besides venders of sausage, shoe strings, shirt buttons, handkerchiefs and notions in general, there were agents from various lotteries, the representative of the Louisville concern being the most successful. There was absolutely no retiring room for the unfortunate sewing girls to go to, and no provision whatever for creature comforts.

When the day's work was over, the reporter, by offering to provide a beefsteak, induced the girl who had been sitting next her during the day, to ask her home to tea. It was not an ideal home to which they went:

> In one room my little colaborer lived with her parents and six little brothers and sisters, the youngest being a babe of three months, the next two years, and the others under
> p. 5, col. 3
> seventeen years, that being Anna's age. The two youngest children were asleep on a pillow beside the kitchen stove, three played house on a dirty mattress that was tied up in a rope and used as a seat, and the fourth child clung to the mother's skirts, crying piteously. All the bedding was hung out of the window; and on the sills were crowded cans containing milk, drippings and perishable groceries. The mother could not speak English, although she understood much that was said. In spite of the beefsteak and fresh biscuits we had brought she did not accord me a welcome sufficiently cordial to justify my remaining; and to be frank I was not sorry to quit the wretched abode, with its suffocating smell.

All this in the city of New York, in the year of grace 1888.

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Mrs. Sophie Schreckner, of 455 West Thirteenth street[sic], is a woman who has committed many crimes. To say nothing of her wickedness in coming into the world in the first place, when she might have known there was no room for such as her, she has been guilty of getting married, of having two children, of becoming a widow, and of trying to make an honest living as a washerwoman. For all this it was proper that she should be punished, and she has been punished accordingly. One day last week, having nothing to eat in the house, she sent her two ragged, bare-footed little ones out to beg. A policeman arrested them, and a police justice turned them over to a charitable society. Now that Mrs. Schreckner has been deprived of her children, perhaps she will reflect upon the misdeeds

Sic in the original; probably "several New York establishments,".
Sic in the original; probably "(conflict with Society Notes: Schreckler, [445?])".

we have enumerated, and make up her mind to cease intruding herself into a world where she clearly is not wanted.

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A convention of Kentucky tobacco growers have adopted a foolish resolution recommending that no tobacco be planted in this country during 1889 and that the crop of this season be withheld from the market until next summer. They give as a reason for this extraordinary proposal that there is more tobacco now on hand than can be sold at a profit, and they have summoned a second convention for October 15 to arrange the details of the plan.

If the tobacco growers in the convention had possession of all the tobacco growing land in the country, they might, with the assistance of the blessed tariff, carry out this little scheme successfully; but as it is, the only effect of their trying to carry out their resolution would be to encourage everyone else to plant tobacco. If the convention persevere in their nonsense, they will find next year that there will be just as much tobacco planted as ever, and that their saved-up crop of 1888 will only help to break the market down. They are trying to form a trust without knowing how to do it. Trusts rest on monopoly. No monopoly, no trust. If these Kentucky gentlemen want to form a tobacco trust, they must begin by buying up all the tobacco lands.

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A certain Mr. Proutt of Chicago, said to be a Christian scientist, comes before the public with a scheme for making 6,000 families rich, if not absolutely without work, at all events with very little labor. He proposes that the 6,000 families shall go west in a body, take up each 160 acres of land, and found a city, which, supposing each family to consist of five persons, will start into life with a population of 30,000 souls. The land within the city limits, Mr. Proutt estimates, will at once be worth $15,000,000, and that in the suburbs $9,000,000, making $24,000,000 in all, or a neat little property of $4,000 for each family.

Mr. Proutt's idea is ingenious, only he hasn't worked it out quite far enough. To make his proposed city truly prosperous he must arrange for a second detachment of 6,000 families to follow the first. These will not take up any public lands in or around the city, because the first lot will have gobbled it all; but they can rent land from the first comers. In this way the wealth of the city will be increased from $24,000,000 to $48,000,000 at least; and the first batch of emigrants will reap the reward of their prudence and sagacity by making the second lot work to support them.

Getting in Good Work at Lynn.

LYNN, Mass., Oct. 7.—I inclose you a list of eight Cleveland and Thurman single tax voters which I obtained in my few leisure moments. But one voted for Cleveland four years ago, two were independent and five were republican.

Mr. Theodore Perkins, secretary of our land and labor club, and other members are circulating enrollment blanks.

THE STANDARD is doing immense work in the enlightenment of the people in this section, the most gratifying evidence of which is the number of young men who are to be found on the streets and in the labor headquarters discussing the tariff question from its true economic standpoint. Their political opponents are not a little surprised and mystified at the information displayed by, and the readiness of the replies of, the young free trade advocates.

The rapid progress of true economic thought was also emphasized at a democratic meeting here last week, when the speaker, Mr. Russell, nominee for governor, said: "Whatever may be the views held by the people relative to

the influence of the tariff in maintaining wages, I am of the opinion that neither free trade nor protection has anything to do with them," which elicited hearty applause from a considerable portion of the audience. Again, the nominee for lieutenant governor, Mr. Cor coran[sic], speaking of the extortionate taxation of the tariff, asked, "And what do you receive in return?" I shouted, "Nothing!" "That's it, exactly," he returned; "you receive nothing." And the applause of 2,000 people indicated that their eyes were being opened.

W. W. GRAY, President Land and Labor Club.

Teaching Brooklyn Democrats.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—A single tax Cleveland and Thurman meeting was held last Saturday evening at Temperance hall, Brooklyn. Notwithstanding the very heavy rain that lasted all the evening, about a hundred people were present, most of whom were evidently desirous of hearing straight out free trade arguments. Rev. S. W. Laidler presided and delivered a first rate speech on the tariff bill just presented by the senate committee, and advocated absolute free trade. The other speakers were Louis F. Post and Wilbur O. Eastlake. Their speeches were received with great enthusiasm.

ONLOOKER.

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THE CAMPAIGN "STANDARD" FUND.

"Credo's" idea of a "sowing society," whose members should pledge themselves to the payment of twenty-five cents monthly "for the purpose of disseminating the single tax doctrine through the medium of THE STANDARD," seems to have met with some approval. Here are two of the letters that have reached us on the subject:

MORRISTOWN, N. J.—Inclosed find twenty-cents for monthly subscription to single tax sowing society, to be used in circulating STANDARDS. The idea of some kind of association, with regular dues, is much more likely to bring forth contributions than the plan of miscellaneous giving, even for a par ticular object. A. C. KIP.

BALLSTON SPA, N. Y.—"Credo" made a suggestion which I think is the best I have yet seen, and I act upon it at once. I would suggest that some kind of a card be printed, upon which each member could keep a memorandum when he paid, and thus be kept in mind of it. Our cause is making rapid strides. Three-fourths of the democrats are anti-protectionists already. R. FEENY.

We wait to see how many more STANDARD readers will pledge themselves to support "Credo's" idea. The plan proposed is certainly simple and feasible enough. There are few friends of the single tax movement who cannot spare twenty-five cents a month for the purpose of placing THE STANDARD before people who otherwise might not be likely to see it. And anything like concerted action in this direction would supply the means of reaching a very wide circle. We hope to see the applications for membership in "Credo's" "sowing society" come tum bling in.

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But it must not be forgotten that there is special work to done now[sic], that cannot be delayed. The end of the campaign is drawing near; and when it shall have closed an opportunity will have vanished. Men's minds just now

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

are open for the discussion of economic principles as they have not been for a generation past. To force the doctrine of the single tax upon their attention *nou*[sic], in the heat of the campaign, while they are thus peculiarly ready to receive it, is the object of the campaign STANDARD fund. Were the fund twenty times what it is, it would still be all too small for its work. To swell its resources promptly is at present the most effectual way that single tax men can take of aiding the cause they have at heart.

Here are some of the letters from contributors:

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—I send you one dollar for the STANDARD campaign fund, and regret that I cannot increase the amount, as I know of no better way of spreading the single tax doctrine than by placing STANDARDS and free trade tracts in the hands of our opponents.

Unfortunately for me I am not yet of age, so I shall not have the pleasure of casting my first vote for Cleveland and Thurman and Miller this year. However, I hope at the next presidential election to be able to assist at the polls in the election of the candidate who comes nearest to supporting the single tax doctrine. GEO. N. OLCOTT.

MOUNT PLEASANT, Iowa.—I send list of names and $2 for campaign fund. The single tax idea seems to be gaining friends. I am buying five or six copies of THE STANDARD each week, putting them where they will do good. A. O. PITCHER.

PULASKI, N. Y.—Your weekly pleas for recruiting funds are irresistible. Much as I need funds for other purposes, this burden enlarges and will not down. I inclose a dollar, hoping this will relieve my sense of duty somewhat, and convert some blind soul. If this does not relieve me I may squeeze out more? C. V. HARBOTTLE.

NEW HAVEN, Conn.—Inclosed I send my name to be added to the list of single tax voters who will vote for Cleveland and Thurman. I voted for Blaine in ’84, but am now a free trader in the full sense of the word. I send $2 for the campaign fund. Wish I could send more. JOHN HOFER.

PORTLAND, Ore.—Inclosed find express order for $7, of which $5 is to pay for my subscription to the campaign STANDARD fund for October and November, and for the remaining $2 please send me forty copies of THE STANDARD of September 1, containing speeches by Henry George and William Lloyd Garrison. S. B. RIGGEN.

FULTON, N. Y.—Inclosed find postal note for $1.30. Put the dollar in the campaign fund, and for the balance send me two hundred copies of Judge Reid’s “A republican’s reasons for supporting Cleveland.”

I also inclose an enrollment blank signed, as I am a thorough convert to the single tax. I could not do otherwise. I have always been a republican, and voted for Blaine in 1884. I shall not vote for Hill. The believers in the single tax here number very few, but we are fighting as stoutly as we can.

E. C. ROGERS.

NEW YORK CITY.—Inclosed find $2 for the campaign. Wish I could send more, and may do so before the campaign is over. THE STANDARD arrives every week, and is the best paper I ever read. E. B. SWINNEY.

NEW YORK CITY.—I inclose $1, to be used as you judge best. I would have sent in my contribution sooner, but was out of work and could not afford to do it. Now I will do my best, and try and send you as much every other week. I always buy my STANDARD at a news stand, read it from beginning to end, and then put it in my barber shop.

Sic in the original; probably “special work to be done now”.
Sic in the original; probably “now”.

A GRANGER.

NEW YORK.—Some time ago I noticed in THE STANDARD your suggestion to its friends that it might be possible to largely increase its circulation by each one asking some newsdealer who had not been keeping it on sale to procure three copies weekly, with the understanding that one copy would be taken immediately upon their arrival, and the remaining two at the end of the week if not sold. The idea seemed to me to he a very good one[sic], and so when a man who had recently lost his eyesight, and who had a wife and little ones dependent upon him, set up a news stand in the lower part of the city near the office where I am employed, I asked him to get three copies; told him I would take one as soon as received, and stipulated that the other two were to be displayed so that people passing might know that THE STANDARD was kept there for sale, agreeing to take them if they were unsold at the end of the week. The first week I was a day late in calling for my copy, and upon inquiring for it, was informed that four copies had been procured and sold. I told him to get more and to supply the demand, and that I would see that none were left on his hands at the end of the week. That was about two months ago, and my blind friend now sells from thirteen to eighteen copies weekly, of which number I usually take three or four to mail to acquaintances who I think may be attracted by something which I see (and mark) in them. Thus you see your suggestion put in practice by one of the friends of the

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cause has not only been the means of helping a blind man to support his family, but what is of far greater importance (even to him, I hope), has done something towards helping forward the crusade which I have faith to believe will eventually lead to a far higher and nobler development of mankind than has ever been dreamed of on earth. Of course I do not know that all these copies are sold to people who had not been previously buying it elsewhere, but it is fair to presume that a good part of them are; and it is in the hope that many others may be encouraged to try the plan that I write of my success with it.

FRED J. MILLER.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Oct. 3.—Inclosed find $1; apply where it will do the most good; will try to send another before the campaign closes. I have a mother and niece dependent upon me besides my own family, hence the smallness of my contribution; wish I could make it a thousand. Every single tax man who is imbued with the glorious principle ought to contribute a mite at least.

Leo Miller, H. Martin Williams and Thomas Hudson, three single tax men, good and true, are making their voices heard in this state. The single tax doctrine is gradually taking hold of the masses, and has already passed the stage of ridicule in this locality.

A significant thing happened a few nights ago. When I was reading THE STANDARD, our chief operator, a man who has seemingly cared very little for questions of a political or economical nature, came up behind me and looked over my shoulder, and said: “What’s George got to say this time?” I read him a portion of one of Mr. George’s answers to a question at the last Cooper union meeting. He said: “I tell you that man George has the largest head on him of any man in this country to-day. I believe he is right, and the great strength of his doctrine lies in the fact that he bases it on the teachings of Christ and the Holy Bible.” I was a little surprised.

I am getting up a list of names for enrollment. L. P. CUSTER.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—Inclosed please find one dollar from one of the 50,000 to whom you appeal in this week’s issue of THE STANDARD. I wish I could afford to do more. I get my STANDARD from the newsdealer here instead of subscribing for same at the office of publication, as I think this induces dealers to keep it on their counters and thus bring it more into public notice. I also inclose money for tracts. GEO. D. LIDDELL.

Sic in the original; probably “to be a very good one”.

DETROIT, Mich., Oct. 3.—I inclose check for $5, being matured installment of my subscription to the campaign fund.

I heard Mr. Blaine speak to-day. He fought shy of tariffs, trusts and troubles generally and confined himself to a demagogic thrumming on the pension veto string and other irrelevancies. Yet he it was who said that any departure from the issue that a high tariff makes wages high to the laborer was a weakening of the campaign. Query: Is Mr. Blaine weakening? HERMAN KUEHN.

CHICAGO, Ill., Oct. 3.—By transfer of the list of the *Labor Enquirer* my name is now on your subscription roll and will be renewed from time to time as it expires. I accidentally came across THE STANDARD on its sixth issue, and having read "Progress and Poverty" I immediately sent for the preceding numbers, and haven't missed a number since, frequently purchasing several, and encouraging different newsdealers to keep it on sale.

I am reminded by receipt of Mr. Croasdale's circular of September that I have not been quite so active in urging the circulation of THE STANDARD as I might have been. I therefore inclose payable to you an order for $3 for which please send me ten copies of THE STANDARD until after the November election, and I will endeavor by that time to get as many or more permanent subscribers for a longer time. Recognizing the press as the great educator, I don't know any better way for quiet single tax men to be useful than to urge his friends to read THE STANDARD and thus induce voters to think. I find where this can be accomplished every honest truth-seeker is sooner or later convinced, and most frequently in turn becomes a propagator of the truth.

Thousands of quiet people every day say God bless Henry George, and I hope every one will try and get as many subscribers for for THE STANDARD[sic] as he can, so that the issue may be so large that its columns may be in great demand for advertisements and thus enable a reduction in the price of subscription and increase its circulation. I have found that I can induce many men to buy single copies who do not feel able to pay down a year's subscription at once.

I will in a day or so send what signatures of single tax Cleveland men I can get. Please send this week's issue for first numbers of STANDARD for my club.

As one of the tribe of Abou Ben Adhem I salute you. J. HARRIS, 76 Market street.

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The subscriptions to the fund for the past week have been:

E. [C.?] Alphonse, East Orange, N. J. ..... 1 00 T. Edward Ferguson, Brooklyn (monthly contribution) ..... 2 50 George Datch, Pittsburg, Pa. ..... 1 00 W. F. Elflin, Cleveland, O. ..... 1 00 Rome Adams, Oak Hill, N. Y. ..... 2 00 A. Granger, City ..... 1 00 A. M. Segin, Memphis, Tenn. ..... 72 Herman Kuehn, Detroit, Mich. ..... 5 00 J. R. Hoadley, Rutland, Vt. ..... 2 10 S. & W. Mendelson, City, (monthly contribution) ..... 10 00 M. Williams, Bowling Green, Ky. ..... 1 00 F. B. Swinney, City[sic] ..... 2 00 Dr. Stewart, Cookport, Pa. ..... 1 00 J. L. G., Boston, Mass. ..... 5 00 G. D. Liddell, Providence, R. I. ..... 1 00 F. A. Simms, Lynn, Mass. ..... 50 L. P. Custer, Indianapolis, Ind. ..... 1 00 G. N. Olcott, Brooklyn, N. Y. ..... 1 00 O. A. Pitcher,[45] Mt. Pleasant, Ia. ..... 2 00 H. Gonzales, Melrose ..... 50 E. C. Rogers, Fulton, N. Y. ..... 1 00 L. Prang, Boston, Mass. (monthly contribution) ..... 5 00 Fourth instalment O. M. & L. O. M., city ..... 5 00 S. B. Riggen, Portland, Oregon ..... 5 00 F. N. B., Cincinnati, O. ..... 15 Richard Feeney,[46] Ballston Spa, N. Y. ..... 25 A. C. Kip, Morristown, N. J. ..... 25 J. W. Jakeway, City ..... 1 00 R. T., Stapleton, S. I. ..... 1 00 A. R. Wynn,

Sic in the original; probably "subscribers for THE STANDARD".
Sic in the original; probably "E. B. Swinney".
Sic in the original; probably "A. O. Pitcher".
Sic in the original; probably "R. Feeny".

Toledo, O. ..... 1 00 B. Macdonald, Flushing, L. I. ..... 5 00 C. V. Harbottle, Pulaski, N. Y. ..... 1 00 T. W. Roberts, City ..... 25 Credo, Newark, N. J. ..... 25 John Hofer, New Haven, Ct. ..... 2 00 James Perry, Brooklyn, N. Y. ..... 10 00 Jacob Jordan, Troy, N. Y. 2 00

Total for the week ..... $81 47 Previously acknowledged 3,316 44

Total to date $3,397 91

The Outlook in the West is Very Cheering.

CHICAGO, Ills., Oct. 3.–Six months ago I favored independent action, but soon saw how futile it would be, and now am convinced that by joining the democrats in their one short step toward freedom we not only compel them to go further than they intended and give the movement such impetus that it can never be checked until the whole tariff infamy is swept away, but have advanced the single tax cause more than would have been possible in a generation by independent political action.

I have traveled much through the west in the last six months, and am daily surprised at the steady and rapid growth of our principles. Everywhere men who a year ago were shocked at the mere mention of the single tax, are now interested, willing, even eager listeners. The leaven is working, and I bid all our single tax friends to be of good cheer, renew hope and courage, and

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press forward with unfaltering step. The promise of morning brightens, and some of us will live to see the noon tide glory of the perfected liberty that can only come when justice is done.

One good sign of the times is that where I buy what STANDARDS I can pay for, and where not long since many numbers remained unsold each week, for the last month the supply has been exhausted on the first day after arrival, and it is now common to see them being read studiously on railroad trains and street cars, in hotels, and wherever men have a few minutes leisure; and what is more, the reader invariably passes the paper to some one else, pointing out some articles that meets his thought[sic]. It is the great political educator of the times.

WM. SPALDING, Room 16, 175 LaSalle street.

SOCIETY NOTES.

Almost everywhere it has been a gay and pleasant season, a little rapid in its onward course at some places, proportionately slow at others. At Newport and Lenox, where society people most do congregate, it may almost be said to have been brilliant. The most open-handed hospitality has prevailed, a hospitality that has been untrammeled by the influence of cliques, and that has excluded none where education and refinement gave a right to enter. Consequently no injurious scandals, having their origin in envyings and backbitings, have darkened the air. But the summer days with all their varied and multiplied pleasures have passed without a cloud.–[New York Sun.

John Nolan, old, sick and homeless, was picked up in the street the other day by the police of the Twenty-third precinct. He said that he was eighty-five and had been so long in his feebleness dependent on his children, who had little themselves, that he felt it to be his duty to rid them of the burden. So he crept into the street and gave

Sic in the original; probably “some articles that meet his thought”.

himself up. The old man either could not or would not tell where his children lived, and was taken to Bellevue hospital.

The first meet of the Essex county hounds took place Saturday afternoon at the Country club house, Hutton park, Orange. Tea was served in the club house by Mrs. John Wilmerding, Mrs. Douglass Robinson, Jr., Mrs. Powers Farr, Mrs. Lydig and a host of Orange matrons, from half-past 3 until half-past 5 o'clock. There was a high-jumping contest at 4, and the hounds' meet took place shortly after 5 o'clock. The meets will continue on Wednesdays and Saturdays throughout this month, and the hunt ball will then wind up the Orange season.

The *Evening News* of October 3 said that Robert S. Nicholas, aged thirty-eight years, of 28 Bowery, attempted suicide the night before by jumping off the dock at the foot of Market street. He was rescued, and is detained at the Gouverneur slip hospital. He said that as he was unable to find work he had no desire to live.

Persian, Chinese and Japanese furnish designs for fashionable tea gowns at present. One of the most beautiful of these gowns has just been imported by Mrs. Macdonald of Chicago. It is in the Yeddo design, and the back and sides composed of a rich brocade in deep pink covered with great butterflies in gold, purple, mauve, crimson and pale green. The butterflies are all hand embroidered, and each one has two genuine rubies for eyes. There are eighty-eight on the robe. The front is of China crepe, a delicate gold in color, and this is lined with sunrise pink silk and bound with a bright green silken cord; which also forms a girdle and is tied in front. The full angel sleeves are of brocade lined with pink and embroidered in tiny white flowers. The gown is said to have cost $1,500.

Two miserable looking children, George, aged nine, and Lizzie, aged six years, the offspring of Mrs. Sophie Schreckler, living on the top floor of [445?] West Thirteenth street, were arrested on Sixth avenue this morning for begging. The children had neither shoes nor stockings, and were shivering with cold. They were taken to the Jefferson market police court, where they said their father, Jacob, was dead, and that their mother took in washing. The mother was able to make enough money to pay last month's rent, but having paid that, she found herself without a cent. As they were without bread, the mother sent them out to beg.

A new dinner table wrinkle is a dish of dark colored jelly, in the center of which is an electric light. The effect of its sudden illumination "is just too splendid for anything."

Mrs. M. E. Van Wie, of No. 38 East Sixtieth street, called at the morgue last night and identified the body of the man who died suddenly in a lodging house at No. 16 Sixth avenue yesterday morning. She says that he was Lee Byrne, a native of Ireland, sixty years of age, who ten years ago was a millionaire white goods dealer in New Orleans.—[New York Herald, Oct. 5.

Baron Barthold Hoynigen Huene, who was married to Miss Annie Lothrop, eldest daughter of George Van Ness Lothrop, recently minister to Russia, made a handsome bridegroom in his full dress white uniform of the Chevaliers gardes of the empress of Russia. It was indeed an unusual sight to see both bride and groom in white. Baron Huene is a man of wealth, this being one of the requirements in his regiment, the outfit alone costing $5,000.—[New York Telegram.

The poormasters of Hudson county went to the almshouse at Snake hill on Friday and ex- amined all the paupers confined there. They decided that half a dozen of the men were able to earn their own living. They were put out. Among them was John Weisenrider, seventy-three years old, of Union Hill. Owing to his age he cannot secure work, and it is said he has no friends to take care of him. He once paid $6,000 a year in taxes on Union Hill property. Freeholder Waas will try to get him readmitted to the almshouse. Among the paupers who were not turned out by the poormasters is Gottlieb Jung, another resident of Union Hill. Some time ago a relative in Germany died and left an estate valued at more than $10,000 to Jung. Last week Town Clerk Ables of Union Hill got a letter from D. R. Jacobias, a lawyer who has charge of settling the estate, saying that Jung would get the

money about Dec. 1. Jung will be allowed to stay at the almshouse until then. He is not seventy years old.—[New York Sun.

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[Advertisement] MASS MEETING

MASS MEETING in COOPER UNION, MONDAY EVENING, OCTOBER. 15, 1888[sic], to advocate BALLOT REFORM and PROTEST AGAINST THE RE-ELECTION OF GOVERNOR HILL. – WILLIAM M. IVINS and HENRY GEORGE will make addresses.

Sic in the original; probably “OCTOBER 15, 1888,”.

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JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON

THE OPPOSING SYSTEMS OF THE TWO GREAT LEADERS.

1800 AND 1888—THE SAME PARTIES AND THE SAME ISSUE.

A Historical Review of the Fundamental Distinctions in American Politics by Chauncey F. Black.

President Garfield, just before his untimely death, said that the influence of Jefferson upon the politics of this country was rapidly waning, while that of Hamilton was rapidly increasing. Nor was the remark unnatural. He was accustomed to see and admire the government only in its most tremendous exhibitions of strength during an exceptional period. Its enormous drafts upon the lives and property of the people, its vast fiscal and military operations, its imperial endowments of corporations, its ruthless discriminations, in favor of the few as against the many in its tax lawa[sic], and, indeed, its whole legislation and administration, from the hour in which he entered congress to the hour in which he became president seemed to show that the limited federal agency which our forefathers established had at length developed into that strong, masterful government which was Hamilton's ideal. But even when President Garfield spoke the tide that had been running so strongly was near its turn.

THE DREAD OF DISUNION.

For twenty years the overmastering dread of this people was that which arose from the mad attempt to destroy the Union; and their attention was fixed upon the one point of danger. They poured out blood and money without stint to preserve the Union; but these were not the whole, nor, perhaps, the greatest of their sacrifices. They tamely suffered the states to be robbed of power at every possible point of attrition between them and the federal government, and at some points where there was not even the excuse of attrition. They permitted the manufacturers who supplied our armies and those who furnished the munitions of war—the fortunate possessors of the furnaces, forges, mills, shops, and looms, who were able to render a timely service to the republic at an infinite private profit—to set themselves up as a class apart, and under the war tariff to levy enormous tribute upon the industry of the people long after the peace. They allowed the capitalists who took the national loans, at shaves each more ruinous than the last, not merely to roll up great fortunes and acquire exclusive privileges, but to erect themselves into a permanent power, able to control the operations of the treasury, to bind and loose the business of the country, and to exercise a most dangerous power in political contests. They saw the railway corporation, whose inestimable service to the cause of the Union was doubly paid for, turn into its coffers rich streams of subsidy from the proceeds of common taxation; appropriate the public domain, which was acquired by the first democratic administration, and which Mr. Jefferson[sic] fondly believed would remain an ample basis of public credit forever; lift itself into an *imperium in imperio;* levy taxes, extort tribute, invade congress, buy

Sic in the original; probably ""laws"".
Sic in the original; probably ""Mr. Jefferson"".

legislatures, corrupt the political morals, and well nigh strangle the liberties of the nation. And in 1877 they saw all these classes and powers unite in the imposition of a chief magistrate not merely unchosen but overwhelmingly repudiated at a regular and orderly election. All this they submitted to because they were too much preoccupied to resist. While the war lasted, while the federal relations of the seceding states remained in debate, an appeal to the supreme passion of union was all that was necessary to divert attention from any question less grave than that of national preservation.

HOW THE FEDERALISTS USED THE SAME FEELING.

The same passion was played upon in the same way by Hamilton and the "monocrats," who undertook to revolutionize the new government by the assumption of implied powers at the close of the last century. The pressure of British force was hardly withdrawn until the contending nations of Europe began to rival each other in the destruction of American commerce, and the young republic for years trembled on the verge of a conflict wherein the firmest union of the states would have been as important as during the revolution. Secession at that time meant simple ruin to the states which should go as well as to the states which should remain. The very word was terrible in the ears of men who had just achieved political and commercial independence, and knew that both would be completely sacrificed by dismemberment. In 1861 the United States and the confederate states would each have constituted a great nation, but in 1800 no respectable power could have been formed by any subdivision of the whole. Upon this dread Hamilton and his political associates laid hold as the lever with which to pry one rib after another from the constitution. When the funding bill was to be passed under circumstances which enriched a class of favored speculators and formed a "treasury party" in congress, the Union was said to be in danger. When the state debts were to be assumed, it was insisted that the project of separation had already taken form; and when the national bank, the parent of "the monster" of Jackson's time, was proposed, it was urged that it alone was capable of nursing a strong confederacy, and contenting its several members in the same family. But this could not continue; the practice ceased with the pretext; and the people realized the mischief which had been accomplished in the meantime. At the close of the Adams administration, with its extravagance and corruption, its British sympathies, its alien and sedition laws, its judicial outrages, its whippings of editors, its prisons filled with the victims of political persecution, the revulsion came, and the ever infamous attempt, so like that of 1876, to seat a president against the will of the people completed the good work. To realize the fierce and stubborn spirit with which those old federalists resisted the grand reclamation of popular rights as proposed by the republicans under Jefferson one must turn over many a musty page which in the light of events possesses none but a painful interest. The noblest men that ever lived in all the tide of time were denounced as the common enemies of religion and of society. The people demanding only a faithful observance of the constitution were "the rabble," preparing in the secrecy of the democratic clubs all the horrors of the French revolution, and Jefferson, Madison, Gallatin,

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and their compatriots were Jacobins and disunionists.

HISTORY REPEATING ITSELF.

But the federalist party and all its belongings were swept away for the time, and no man of that generation saw its foul head raised again. "The constitution was saved," said Jefferson, "at the last gasp." The people and the states reclaimed the rights which had been filched from them; the doctrine of "implied powers" in the Hamiltonian sense was decidedly negatived, and the process of consolidation was not merely arrested, but reversed. "The ship of state was put on her republican tack again;" armaments were reduced; simplicity and economy became the rule; the federal taxgatherer disappeared; the public debt was discharged; the territory of the nation was doubled; the political prisoner came forth from his dungeon; the liberty of speech and of press was restored; and the golden age of the republic passed like a cloudless summer under the illustrious line of Virginia presidents.

History is again repeating itself. The election of President Cleveland at the close of the term for which President Garfield was chosen marked the turn of the tide, and with the message in which President Cleveland struck the key note for this campaign the standards of Jeffersonian democracy were again raised. In the election of 1888, under changed names and new leaders the same great parties front each other on the same lines as in 1800. On the one side the party of "protection" or special privileges—the party of Hamilton. On the other side the party of freedom or equal rights—the party of Jefferson. I have faith in the result. For years it has indeed seemed as if Hamilton waxed, while Jefferson waned, but the question fairly before the people and the political revolution of 1800 must repeat itself.

A simple statement of the systems of Hamilton and Jefferson—the one the ideal of the republican party and the other the ideal of the democratic party—will sufficiently account for the action of the people whenever their "sober judgment," unvexed by any other issue, has been called to decide between them. For a free people, intending to remain free, there can be but one choice. The question is a perfectly plain one, between a fixed written constitution and a constitution capable of indefinite expansion in any direction considered desirable by its administrators, between a government of limited and a government of unlimited powers, between the republic and the empire. Our forefathers rendered their decision between the two in the adoption of the constitution of 1787, in the adoption of the amendments proposed by the first congress, and in the total repudiation in 1800 of the federalists, who had undertaken to accomplish by forced construction what they had failed to accomplish by fundamental enactment.

HAMILTON'S PLAN OF A COERCIVE UNION.

Hamilton's earliest dream respecting the new government was of a grand, costly, magnificent "coercive union"—a dream which he found time to elaborate in the very heat of the revolution. The British constitution was his ideal and its worst features were those which he distinguished by his heartiest approbation. He made no secret of his conviction that, while it was as it stood the most perfect government ever devised by man, the extension of the suffrage, or the curtailment of the power of the ministry to procure corrupt parliamentary majorities by the patronage of the crown, would render it abortive. Upon this model, with all its defects, which in his eyes were but so many virtues, he longed to fashion the institutions of the new world. His fundamental postulate was, not that the people should govern, but that they should be governed, and his next, that there were but two methods of governing them well, namely, by force and by interest. When, therefore, he appeared in the convention of 1787, nobody was surprised by the extraordinary scheme of empire which he improved an early opportunity to develop. Here is the outline: His first step was the extinction of the states; they could not co-exist with a national government. For the rest he proposed to follow as nearly as might be the British model, being specially careful to give constitutional sanction to the worst abuses of that system[sic],

> "It is said with us," he said, "to be unattainable. If it was once formed it would maintain itself. All communities divide themselves into the few and the many. The first are the rich and well born; the other the mass of the people. The voice of the people has been said to be the voice of God; and however generally this maxim has been quoted and believed it is not true in fact. The people are turbulent and changing; they seldom judge or determine right. Give, therefore, to the first class a distinct, permanent share in the government. They will check the unsteadiness of the second, and as they cannot receive any advantage by a change they therefore will ever maintain good government. Can a democratic assembly, who annually revolve in the mass of the people, be supposed steadily to pursue the public good? Nothing but a permanent body can check the imprudence of democracy. Their turbulent and uncontrolling disposition requires checks. . . . It is admitted that you cannot have a good executive on the democratic plan. See the excellency of the British executive! He is placed above temptation; he can have no interests distinct from the public

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

> welfare. Nothing short of such an executive can be efficient. . . Let one body of the legislature be constituted during good behavior or life.
>
> "Let one executive be appointed who dares execute his powers.
>
> "It may be asked, is this a republican system?
>
> "It is strictly so as long they remain elective. And let me observe that an executive is less dangerous to the liberties of the people when in office during life than for seven years. . .
>
> "Let electors be appointed in each of the states to elect the executive (*here Mr. H. produced his plan*), to consist of two branches, and I would give them the unlimited power of passing *all laws* without exception. (*The sentence stands thus in Yates's minutes.*) The assembly to be elected for three years by the people in districts; the senate to be elected by electors chosen for that purpose by the people and to remain in office during life. The executive to have the power of negativing all laws; to make war or peace with the advice of the senate; to make treaties with their advice, but to have the sole direction of all military operations, and to send ambassadors and appoint all military officers and to pardon all offenders, treason excepted, unless by advice of the senate. On his death or removal, the president of the senate to officiate, with the same power, until another is elected. Supreme judicial officers to be appointed by the president and the senate. The legislature to appoint the courts in each state so as to make the state governments unnecessary to it.
>
> "All state laws to be absolutely void which contravene the general laws. An officer to be appointed in each state to have a negative on all state laws. All the militia and the appointment of officers to be under the national government.
>
> "I confess that this plan and that from Virginia are very remote from the people. Perhaps the Jersey plan is nearest their expectations. But the people are gradually ripening in their opinions of government; they begin to be tired of an excess of democracy; and what even is the Virginia plan, but *pork still, with a little change of the sauce?*"

HAMILTON'S POINT OF ATTACK.

These were Colonel Hamilton's "ideas of a suitable plan of government." They were received by the convention with silence, not to say contempt, and were heard of no more. The men of the revolution had even less taste for that sort of government than the men of to-day; and Colonel Hamilton and his few advanced friends, failing in their plan of mon

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archy, were forced to make reluctant choice between the several plans of the republicans. They ate the "pork," but they never so much as pretended that they liked it.

But the constitution was passed without a bill of rights, and without a declared rule of construction, and the advocates of strong government were not without hope. There was room for a wide difference of interpretation, and, with favorable administrations, Hamilton foresaw the possibility of building up an immense superstructure, undreamed of by the the[sic] framers, upon the basis of implied powers. There had crept into the preamble, through "mere inattention," as Madison put it, "to the phraseology," a few words copied from the articles of confederation, and these words—"to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare"—taken alone and without reference to the enumeration of specific powers in the body of the instrument, seemed comprehensive enough to

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

warrant the assumption of any conceivable authority. Hamilton therefore favored the adoption of the constitution. He saw in it but the germ of the government of the future; it would grow, it would expand; a fixed constitution was to him an absurdity; power would "gravitate" to the center; "the rich and well born" would gradually assert themselves over the swinish "many," and, with this elimination of what he was pleased to call "pork" from the working charter, the "few" would ultimately assume the "distinct and permanent share" of authority which properly belonged to them.

THE DECLARATION OF RIGHTS.

The states hesitated to ratify the constitution in this form; it was clearly a most hazardous experiment; but the great name of Washington, and the clear understanding that he would become the first president, overbore the better judgment of the firmest republicans. But, unfortunately for Hamilton's scheme of revolution by construction, the first congress supplied the declaration of rights, and this inflexible rule of interpretation in the ten amendments which were immediately proposed and ratified. Indeed, most of the states had ratified only upon the distinct understanding that those amendmendments[sic] should be made; and in nearly every case the all-important tenth amendment—"The powers not delegated to the United States, nor prohibited by it to the states, are reserved to the states respectively, or to the people"—was strenuously insisted upon. Even Colonel Hamilton's own New York put this in her declaration of rights which accompanied the ratification, with peculiar solemnity and uncommon precision of words.

Colonel Hamilton had now nothing left to stand upon but the half-dozen inadvertent words of the preamble, limited and restrained as they were by the specific grants in the operative words of the constitution. But he did not despair. He was confident that this small piece of elastic material in the framework of the new government might be stretched out wide enough to support banks, paper money, corporations, internal improvements, bounties, subsidies, armies and an aristocracy of money, patronage to corrupt and force to intimidate the people. No sooner was the constitution put in operation than he appeared in that identical place where, of all others, an administration hostile to its whole spirit might be readily engineered. Washington had applied to Robert Morris for advice on the finances. Great as were his services in the revolution, Morris was a testy old aristocrat. He was then just fresh from Paris, where he had spent months shut up in his house cursing Jacobins. He was heartily sick of democrats, perhaps of republicans, and recommended Hamilton to the task for which he had no stomach himself.

PROGRESS TOWARD MONARCHY.

I have neither space nor inclination to recapitulate the history of the first administration. Much of it Washington sincerely regretted; much of it he permitted to be made with evident reluctance; and it is clear now that if he had really proved the figure of clay which he was expected to be in the hands of his leading minister, the government would have been revolutionized before it was fairly inaugurated. Hamilton's measures were all of a piece, taken in due succession and with a single view. The funding bill was a grand speculation. It was matured and promulgated in such a manner as to enable the favorites of the treasury to realize large fortunes in a twinkling. Members of congress were permitted to participate in the plunder. and[sic] so was formed the "treasury band" in the two houses. Here also was created immediately the nuclues,[55] of that moneyed aristocracy—the holders of the public debt, suddenly enriched by the very act of acquiring it—which Hamilton believed would ultimately become the great conservative force in the government. The assumption of the state debts followed in the same direction; another speculation, more influence to the treasury, a further increase of the debt and of the power of the debt holders. Then came the bank. With that "monster" and its progeny the Hercules of democracy has been contending, with

Sic in the original; probably ""amendments"".
Sic in the original; probably ""plunder, and"".
Sic in the original; probably ""nucleus"".

brief intervals, ever since. The treasury report on manufactures was a mere expansion of the system. It undertook to establish the doctrine that congress might take the money of one class of citizens and give it to another under plea of encouraging a desirable industry. It laid the foundation of monopoly deep and wide. Here, to be sure, was a fine beginning! Patronage, corruption, manipulation of the debt banking, paper money, bounties, monopoly! When to this was added mystery the circle was completed. Jefferson charged that Hamilton deliberately mystified the accounts of the treasury so that neither congress nor the people could unravel them.

THE FORMS.

But Hamilton understood also the value of ceremony as an accessory to power, and he prescribed a system of absurd formalities to govern the intercourse of the president with his fellow citizens. He went in a coach and and six, attended by outriders in livery and followed by members of the administration in a coach and four, with a numerous and stately retinue, to open congress, and then delivered his message like a king's speech. Congress, having agreed upon an "address" in reply to the speech, attended the president in a body to present it. All forms of etiquette were arranged to the minutest particular after the manner of European courts. The greater part of it was extremely irksome and distasteful to Washington, and there is reason to believe that of some of it he was subsequently almost ashamed; but he was persuaded to submit to it, as being necessary to maintain the dignity of government. Hamilton even went so far as to suggest that no citizen, private or official, should be permitted a private interview with the president, except members of the senate, who, like the peers of France, should alone enjoy this high privilege. Still he was not satisfied. The experiment had succeeded better than he expected, but he said:

> It is my opinion, though I do not publish it in Dan or Beersheba, that the present government is not that which will answer the ends of society by giving stability and protection to its rights, and that it will probably be found expedient to go into the British form.

This was "the system of Hamilton," which we are informed is to supersede the "system of Jefferson," upon which the Union was founded, and upon which it flourished in lib

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erty, peace and[sic] security for more than half a century—or, to be exact, from the moment a genuine republican administration, sincerely cherishing the principles of the constitution, came into power in 1801, until the last democratic adminstration[57,58] went out of power in 1861. The brief intrusions of the whigs in 1840 and in 1848, scarcely amounted to interruptions, since their measures were never suffered to succeed, and the popular mind on each occasion reverted promptly to the tried rules of democratic administration, whose value these new departures only serve to illustrate.

JEFFERSON'S DEVOTION TO LIBERTY.

Jefferson was born a democrat. He not only believed firmly in the right of the people to govern themselves, but in their ability to do it better than it ever had been or ever could be done by power derived from any other source. Fortunately for mankind, and fortunately especially for the country, which, in his eyes, was blessed by God and nature beyond every other, he came upon the stage of action at, perhaps, the only time in history, and the only place in the world, where his gospel of absolute human freedom could be put in successful competition with the hoary abuses of kingship, of statecraft, of aristocracy, or, as Mr. Hamilton had it, of the "rich and the well born." It would be interesting, were it within the scope of this paper, to follow him through his extraordinary career of

Sic in the original; probably ""peace," and"".
Sic in the original; probably ""administration"".
Sic in the original; probably ""administration"".

radical reform in Virginia—the act of religious freedom, the abolition of the right of primogeniture and of the law of entails, the code which came round and perfect from his hands, with every ancient right of Englishmen restored and fixed in the nice precision of the common law terms, his fierce opposition to the slave trade, his noble efforts for complete emancipation, and his great labors in the cause of free popular education.

Mr. Jefferson held that the American colonies were and ever had been free states. It was not a new thought when he embodied it in the Declaration of Independence. Each distinct society in the new world was as independent as Great Britain herself. With her they owed a common allegiance to the crown; but her parliament had no power to make laws for them any more than for Hanover. Their several legislatures ordained their several laws, and within the limits of each the king was as firmly bound by those laws as he was by the acts of parliament in the three kingdoms. This theory was boldly advanced by Mr Jefferson long before the older statesmen of Virginia were prepared to accept it. But it was the only theory upon which the revolution could proceed either legally or logically; and when he came to draw the Declaration of Independence it had become the doctrine of the patriot party through the continent. That immortal document is an arraignment of the king for a series of political crimes, whereby he had absolved his American subjects from their allegiance, precisely as the whigs contended King James had absolved all Englishmen in 1688. It did not make the colonies free and independent states. It merely declared the fact that they *were* free and independent states, and in the exercise of a right belonging to them in that capacity they severed their connection with a hostile king. The result of the war was the acknowledgment of the independence of each separate commonwealth, and upon this stupendous truth rested Mr. Jefferson's whole political system.

JEFFERSON'S FAITH IN THE PEOPLE.

Mr. Jefferson was in France when the convention of 1787 finished its work. From that good hour when he ins[illegible]ed the Virginia committee of [correspondence?] with a distinct view to early confederation, he had pursued the scheme of closer union between the states with eager assiduity, and he had watched the course of late events from his distant standpoint with intense anxiety. When the constitution reached him he was charmed at first glance with the symmetrical framework of the new government; with its power "to go on of itself peaceably, without needing continual recurrence to the state legislatures;" with its wise distribution of powers, and with its "compromise of the opposite claims of the great and little states, of the latter to equal and of the former to proportional influence." But he was struck with amazement by the omissions. The lack of a bill of rights was a fatal defect. He desired such a bill, containing all the provisions of the first ten amendments, and some others, which posterity has reason, and may yet have more, to regret that he was unable to secure. He earnestly protested against the perpetual re-eligibility of the president, and against "standing armies in time of peace." and he wished to guard against "monopolies," the ripe fruits of which were then visible in France, by the most rigid constitutional restrictions. But he strongly urged the adoption of the instrument as it stood, together with instructions to the representatives of each ratifying state to procure at once the proposal to the legislatures of the necessary amendments. His faith in the people was unbounded. "After all," he said, "it is my principle that the will of the majority should prevail. If they approve the proposed constitution in all its parts, I shall concur in it cheerfully, in hopes that they will amend it whenever they shall find it works wrong. This reliance cannot deceive us as long as we remain virtuous, and I think we shall be so as long as agriculture is our principle object[sic], which will be the case while there remain vacant lands in any part of America. When we get piled upon one another in large cities, as in Europe, we shall become corrupt as in Europe, and go to eating one another as they do there." He forsaw[60], it appears, clearly enough the process by which moneyed and manufacturing interests would first corrupt and then pervert the government to enable them to devour the earnings of the people when, at some remote period, population should concentrate for work and bread in a few centers; but even his prophetic ken was unequal to the

Sic in the original; probably ""principal object"".
Sic in the original; probably ""foresaw"".

conception that "monopoly" would ever usurp uncounted millions of acres of the "vacant lands of America," and fling them also into the scale against liberty and justice!

JEFFERSON IN WASHINGTON'S CABINET.

When Jefferson took his seat in the cabinet of Washington he found a most extraordinary state both of public affairs and of society. Hamilton's plans were already well under way. The treasury had "insinuated its power in both houses of congress." The funding bill had passed; the assumption bill was matured, and the bank was about to be born. Jefferson and Hamilton were the recognized leaders of the two parties, then almost as distinct as at any time since. They were thrown together at almost every meeting "like cocks in the pit." Randolph supported Jefferson with enlightened zeal. Knox, a great honest giant, was the mere echo of Hamilton. He believed in his little colleague and big guns; and that was his whole confession of political faith. Washington endeavored to hold the balance even between them. Both his great secretaries enjoyed his personal confidence; but Jefferson always contended that he did not comprehend the "drift" of Hamilton's measures. The president signed the bank bill with hesitation, not because he approved the principle, but in deference to the will of the legislature. "He was true to the republican charge confided to him, and has solemnly and repeatedly protested to me," says Jefferson, "in our conver

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sations, that he would shed the last drop of his blood in support of it, and he did this the oftener and with the more earnestness, because he knew my suspicions of Hamilton's designs against it, and wished to quiet them."

But it was the tone of society and the talk of the drawing rooms and dinner tables which most astonished the democratic secretary of state. Classes were already formed and the divisions officially recognized, and, amid the pomp and ceremony instituted by Hamilton, the prevailing sentiment sounded strangely unrepublican in the ears of the author of the Declaration of Independence. The sympathies of this pseudo aristocracy were unreservedly British, and the late ambassador to France was not a little shocked by the comments he was forced to hear on the mild beginnings of the French revolution, to which every friend of liberty was then a hearty well wisher. He soon ascertained that while the secretary of state could not well be excluded from these select circles, he was not especially welcome. Hamilton's candor alone was entirely unabashed in his presence. Mr. Adams, who was a convert to the principle of monarchy, but wished it elective and honest, said at table, "Purge that (the British) constitution of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would be the most perfect constitution ever devised by the wit of man." To which Hamilton, after a significant pause, rejoined: "Purge it of its corruption, and give to its popular branch equality of representation, and it would become an *impracticable* government; as it stands at present, with all its supposed defects, it is the most perfect government which ever existed."

THE FEDERALISTS IN POWER.

Upon Mr. Jefferson's retirement the federalists assumed "unchecked control." Hamilton was always for improving every opportunity for increasing and displaying the military power of the government, and he longed for some domestic case in which a "striking exhibition" of this sort might be made. The so-called whisky insurrection furnished him a pretext, and he not only marched an army to suppress an insurrection which had no existence, but he trampled in brutal triumph upon an unoffending people, who had peaceably submitted to every requirement of the government before a soldier had crossed the Alleghanies. It is a fact that Hamilton, without any authority, civil or military, organized a mixed commission of his own to inflict his will upon the inhabitants of western Pennsylvania. and[sic] most singular it is that history has taken so little note of that, the worst, the basest, and the baldest crime against liberty and law since the adoption of the constitution.

Sic in the original; probably ""Pennsylvania, and"".

The Adams adminstration has, by common consent, become the object of universal execration. If it had any redeeming features beyond the personal integrity of the infatuated men who composed it, history has failed to mention them. The British craze pervaded it from first to last; and the excesses of the French revolution, together with the celebrated X. Y. Z. affair, whereby it was made to appear that Talleyrand had endeavored to extort from the American ambassadors a large sum as the price of a treaty, had set the tide with momentary but tremendous force in favor of the British party. The Hamilton measures were continued, and others even more odious and in more flagrant violation of the constitution were added. The alien law enabled the president to banish foreigners at pleasure, and was aimed especially at the French republicans exiled or domiciled here. The sedition law was intended to silence criticism, and it was rigorously and brutally enforced. The country was pushed to the verge of war with France and to the edge of a most unnatural alliance with England; and this—long after the determination of France to keep the peace with us at any price had been known—was made the pretext of great military and naval establishments, involving an enormous increase of the public debt, both of which—debt and army—were in themselves primary objects of federalist policy. Pulpit and press teemed with "maniacal ravings" regarding the Jacobins of France and their alleged friends and allies, the republicans of America. Every excess, every horror of the French revolution, were predicted as the natural consequences of the triumph of Jeffersonian democracy, among the least of which were the dissolution of the Union and bloody anarchy. I say the least, deliberately, for in the dream of diabolism which haunted the desperate federalist of that day were things which may not even be written.

Jefferson had been elected vice-president with Adams. He remained at his post and guided the contest at the seat of government. But many of the republican leaders gave up the conflict in congress, and went into the state legislatures "to rouse the people" to a just sense of their danger. Gallatin alone remained in the house, where the federalist members shouted him down, and inflicted every indignity possible in such a body. There was talk even of "deportation" of obnoxious persons, and the attorney general was as ready as any attorney general of them all, from the first of Adams to the last of Grant, to lend himself to any outrage that power deemed expedient. "No man who did not witness it can form an idea of their unbridled madness and the terrorism with which they surrounded themselves."

THE PEOPLE AWAKE.

But the federalists had pushed their plans of centralization too boldly. When the people saw that they had "been duped into the support of measures calculated to sap the very foundation of republicanism," they swept the offending party from the councils of the nation, to reappear again only after the lapse of more than half a century, when the crimes of its ancestors had been forgotten, to run the same course and to meet, it is to be hoped, the the same fate.

The election of 1800 resulted in the choice of Jefferson and Burr. But the party which held power, like the party which held power in 1876, could not afford to lay it down at the bidding of the people, and they determined, if possible, to hold on by fraud, and, if necessary, by force. The people of New York having elected a legislature pledged to choose republican electors, Hamilton wrote the governor imploring him to assemble the existing federalist legislature and defeat the will of the voters by changing the law; but the governor quietly laid the letter away with an indorsement indicating his sense of the infamy of the proposal, and that was the end of the first attempt to tamper with the electoral vote of a state. Then they resolved to elect Burr and trust for their protection to his treachery and his gratitude. Failing in that, they conceived the project of defeating an election altogether, and installing the president of the senate, a scheme which was abandoned only because the majority of 1800 was made of sterner stuff than the majority of 1876. When every other resource had been exhausted, they resorted to the ineffable baseness of attempting to bargain with Jefferson himself, but their overtures were rejected with

contempt. The federalist party was dead; like all such parties, it was rotten before it was dead, and a hasty interment was the only decent thing it could demand.

In obedience to the will of the people, complied with only after a long and perilous contest in the house, Mr. Jefferson became president on the 4th of March, 1801. As a mere literary production the inaugural was simply

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perfect; while as a statement of fundamental theories and republican principles of conduct, it became at once, and remains to this day, a very scripture of democratic faith. And the two administrations which followed came fully up to the proclamation. To this hour it is uncertain whether the first democratic president rode on horseback and almost alone to the place of his inauguration, or "walked up from his lodging house attended by a few gentlemen." At all events, the ceremony was of the simplest and plainest. When he reached the White house the whole of the old Hamiltonian system of courtly etiquette was brushed away; the hand of the republican president was freely given to every citizen, and his ear to every complaint. He communicated with congress by written message, and dispensed with the absurd parade of the address to the executive.

But the "monocrats" died hard. To the last moment of its existence the Adams administration continued to struggle against fate. Hamilton's plan of augmenting the weight of government by "cutting the states into convenient districts" and setting up a crowd of new judges had been partly adopted, and John Marshall was busy until midnight of the 3d of March preparing these commissions, when Levi Lincoln, by order of Jefferson, summarily relieved him, so summarily that Marshall declared he was allowed to take nothing away but his hat. The commissions were withheld, and the "midnight judges" never sat. This done, the prisons were opened, and the languishing victims of the unconstitutional sedition law set free. Then, with his illustrious cabinet, Madison, Gallatin, Smith, Dearborn and Lincoln, he began the great work of reducing the government in every department to a state of republican simplicity.

THE GOLDEN AGE OF THE REPUBLIC.

Mr. Jefferson's sovereign cure for all the ills of the state was the introduction of the most rigid economy; a frugal government is seldom corrupt and never oppressive. He cut down the great military and naval establishments bequeathed by the federalists as rapidly as the law permitted; and finally with the aid of congress, reduced the army to about 3,000 men, which were all that honest government had any use for. He reduced the diplomatic force to the three ministers at London, Paris and Madrid. He dismissed unnecessary officials as fast as investigation disclosed their existence. He directed Gallatin to simplify the treasury statements and accounts so as to render them intelligible to the plainest citizen, and invited every aid in the work of reform. The whole system of internal taxation, including three-fourths of the whole civil list, was abolished at a blow, and the deficiency supplied by Jefferson's invariable expedient, economy. When he had exhausted his discretion he appealed to congress for authority to make further reductions, and the curious spectacle was presented of an executive petitioning the legislature for permission to surrender power and to give up patronage. The result was the rapid decrease of the public debt, which the federalists had regarded as a "national blessing," and the rise of a new question, new, indeed, in every part of the earth. What should be done with the surplus? Of this government, in truth, the people knew nothing but the blessings; its burdens were imperceptible. This was "the system of Jefferson." It was faithfully continued under his lineal descendants, Madison and Monroe, and has never, for an instant of time, ceased to command the deliberate approval of the American people. If it has been displaced by corrupt administrations, they have never yet dared to go to the country upon their federal principles. They have uniformly disguised their measures, denied their purposes, and ridden into power upon false pretenses. When General Garfield said the principles of Jefferson were waning, he meant only to say that the special interests opposed to popular liberty, and depending for their existence upon federal consolidation, corruption and extravagance, were

gaining. But they gained in like proportion from 1790 to 1800. The power of the "few" seemed then as impregnable as now. Hamilton believed that the election of Adams in 1796 had sanctioned the civil revolution, impressed upon the constitution the quality of expansiveness, settled practically the question between the "British model" and the hybrid abortion of 1787, and confirmed the power of the federalists for all time. General Garfield interprets recent elections in the same way, and is just as much mistaken. The interests of the people remain the same; neither their rights nor their determination to maintain them have changed. Jefferson's simple faith in their ultimate good sense was justified on the first great occasion for the exercise of their "sober judgment," and there can be no reasonable doubt that it will be justified again, when, as in 1800, the special causes of delusion have passed away.

THE JEFFERSON CLUB.

But Mr. Jefferson loved to see the people move in their primary capacity; the less they trusted to their representatives and the more they trusted to themselves the greater was the safety. These governments were theirs, "by the people and for the people;" they should manage them, and "eternal vigilance was the price of liberty." Accordingly, in every hour of peril he advised them to organize, to deliberate, to agitate, to come together in local societies, which, being connected by the ties of fraternal interest and correspondence, might pass the signals of danger from one to another, "like that shepherd's whistle which, sounding through the listening stillness of the night, gives warning that the wolf is upon his walk again." It was the voluntary local associations, the vigilance committees, the committees of correspondence, which lent the strongest impulse to the revolution, and it was the voice of the people rising in thunder tones through the many throats of the "democratic societies" which struck terror to the hearts of the federalists in 1800. The popular club is the chosen engine of liberty everywhere; and the Jeffersonian club, planted in every neighborhood, is the one thing needful to "rouse the people," as aforetime they were roused by Jefferson, Madison and Gallatin. Shall we not take this leaf also from the handbook of freedom which comes down to us from the "author of the Declaration of Independence and the founder of the democratic party?" As he lay dying, on the 3d of July, 1826, his mighty intellect, half released from its embarrassment of flesh, reverted fondly to this system of popular machinery for the security of popular rights. Fancying the struggle again in progress he cried out[sic]. "Warn the committee!" and rising in the bed, he seemed to be tracing with eager but shrunken hand a dispatch to the embodied patriots. These were almost his last words. The next day being the Fourth, and the fiftieth anniversary of the declaration, he passed away at high noon, and in the very hour of its adoption. When he shall have "waned," when his teachings shall have lost their influence, when his memory shall have ceased to be dear, the free institutions of America will be no more.

THE SYSTEM OF JEFFERSON.

Mr. Jefferson had a scientific mind of the highest order, and he gave to his doctrines the simplest and clearest expositions of which they were capable. Such expositions, precise and beautiful, at once exact and comprehensive, are found scattered throughout his political writings. The most familiar are those in the first inaugural, and in the letter continued on p. 7 →

[Article breaks off mid-sentence at the foot of column 6; no "continued" line is printed on this page. Presumably continued on page 7.]

Sic in the original; probably ""cried out:" or "cried out,"".

THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1883. 7

p. 7, col. 1
← continued from p. 6 to Mr. Gerry (p. [267?], vol. 4, of his works). The following brief statements comprise the whole system:

The tenth amendment to the constitution is an inflexible rule of construction, the sacred and comprehensive guarantee of American liberty.

"The support of the state governments in all their rights, as the most competent administrations for our domestic concerns and the surest bulwarks against anti-republican tendencies; the preservation of the general government in its whole constitutional vigor as the sheet anchor of our peace at home and safety abroad."

An honest administration of the government, which implies not merely a just application of the public moneys to the public service, but a faithful observance of the limitations of the constitution. Of applicants for office three questions only need be asked: "Is he honest? Is he capable? Is he faithful to the constitution?"

A number of officials sufficient for the transaction of the public business; no supernumeraries to eat out the substance of the people.

A diplomatic establishment limited to the public necessities; nothing for parade; nothing for patronage.

A sleepless jealousy of standing armies; a mercenary force always dangerous to liberty; the military embodiment of the people in the states the surest safeguard of public peace and domestic rights.

The money raised by taxation to be expended only on the objects specified in the constitution. It may not be distributed to favorites in the form of bounties or of subsidies, nor given away in charity. He urged the state of Virginia to be liberal toward the San Domingo sufferers, but he denied the right of congress to grant them a dollar.

Economy in the public expenditures, not only that the people may be lightly burdened, but that the purity of the administration may be preserved. Extravagance is the parent of corruption, and corruption is the parent of usurpation. A public thief is a public enemy. During the eight years of his administration there was not even an Indian war, simply because there was no swindle to provoke one. Every word of promise was kept, and every dollar was sacredly applied to the purpose for which it had been appropriated.

No power in the general government to lay one class of citizens under tribute to another; duties levied for revenue, and discriminations permissible only against those countries which discriminate against us. "Free commerce with all nations, entangling alliances with none." He held that all restrictions upon the freedom of trade were but remnants of barbarism, and that a state of things in which any people, wherever situated, might freely exchange its surplus for the surplus of any other would produce the greatest sum of human happiness.

The power to prosecute internal improvements belongs to the states; whether wisely or not, it was certainly withheld from the general government. In order to apply even an inconvenient surplus in the treasury to such objects an amendment would be necessary.

Congress has no power to erect a private, or a mixed private and public corporation, to do that by indirection which the United States may not do directly.

Eternal hostility to monopolies; no power to create them is granted: the whole spirit of the constitution prohibits them. But such was Mr. Jefferson's dread of these subtle and formidable enemies of freedom that he earnestly recommended a separate clause in the bill of rights "to guard against them" forever. But the danger at that time seemed so remote to all but this far sighted sentinel on the watch tower that his solemn warning passed unheeded, and posterity is paying the penalty.

Supreme confidence in the virtue and intelligence of the people, and implicit obedience to their will when legally expressed.

This is the system of Jefferson. That of Hamilton was in all points the precise opposite. His friend and admirer, Gouverneur Morris, who delivered the most notable of his funeral orations, stated his opinions in a nutshell: "Gen. Hamilton disliked the constitution, believing all republican government radically defective. He hated republican government. He trusted that in the changes and chances of time we should be involved in some war which might strengthen our Union and nerve the executive. He never failed, on every occasion, to advocate the excellence of, and avow his attachment to, monarchical government."

Between these systems, that of Jefferson and that of Hamilton, this generation of Americans are called upon in this election to decide. There can be no doubt upon which side the choice will fall. The American people are not yet ready to reverse the judgment of their ancestors.

CHAUNCEY F. BLACK.

How the Tariff Injures the Tariff Trade.

I. It shuts our manufacturers out of foreign markets. We have capital, plant and workers employed in woolen manufacture capable of supplying nearly double the amount of goods now consumed at home. The result is that the mills are closed or run on short time a large part of the year, occasioning a heavy loss to the manufacturer, reduced wages to operative, and general disturbance to the business interests of the country.

1. Many of the most valuable kinds of woolen goods cannot be produced here profitably, because the wools needed are not grown here, and are subject to prohibitory tariff. Such goods are thus of necessity imported in their finished state, employing foreign workers.

2. Ordinary American made goods are largely adulterated with shoddy, to enable our manufacturers to undersell the foreign merchant, thus robbing the public and debauching the manufacturer.

3. The cost of low priced woolen goods worn by the poor is more than doubled, while that of the more luxurious articles worn by the wealthy is only increased from thirty to fifty per cent, discriminating thus in favor of the rich and against the poor.

S. W. LAIDLER, Brooklyn.

The St. Louis League Does Some Challenging.

ST. LOUIS.—At the regular meeting this week of our single tax league Mr. Wm. [C.?] Bohannon, a very earnest single tax advocate, and the originator of the first land and labor club in this city, gave a clear, logical statement of single tax principles.

Our league has sent a general challenge to all of the republican clubs of the city to debate the tariff question. A special challenge has also been sent to the Abraham Lincoln club to meet us at any time and place that may be mutually agreeable. A large number of STANDARDS and tracts have been distributed.

At an election of officers of the league Miss Sarah N. Gates was chosen as secretary. The other officers were re-elected.

SARAH N. GATES, Rec. Sec., 1,300 Washington av.

The American System.

A significant phase of the wool question is shown in the following incident related in the San Francisco *Alta:*

> Mr. William Dean, now deceased, was for many years a large eastern manufacturer of woolen goods. He was summoned before the tariff commission a few years ago. To the opening remark of the chairman, "Mr. Dean, you are a woolen manufacturer, I believe," the irate old gentleman replied: "No, I'm not. Your infernal tariff drove me out of that business years ago. Now I'm a shoddy manufacturer."

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BOB WHITE'S THEORY.

"Hello, Bob; what are you driving at?" asked Sam Richards of Bob White, as they met on the street.

"Same old business," said Bob; "making clothes for the multitude. Why don't you come around; that overcoat of yours is a good deal the worse for wear?"

Sam was a printer, and his overcoat was not quite so slick as when it was made for him.

"Well," he replied, "I am giving so much attention to election now that I haven't time to look after my clothes."

"Hard at it for Harrison and protection, I suppose," Bob remarked carelessly.

"Not exactly," said Sam; "I'm like the pups; my nine days are past and now I can see."

"Ain't a free trader, are you?"

"Exactly."

"What!" exclaimed Bob, with an emphasis that kicked like an overloaded gun and knocked him back against the lamp-post.

"For a fact," said Sam, when Bob had recovered from the recoil.

“Well—by—th-u-n-der! Why, look a here! Do you know that if we had free trade you could get that overcoat of yours new—new, mind you!—for what I would have to pay my men to make it now?”

“No, you don’t say so!” said Sam, astonished in turn.

“But I do.”

“Oh, I can’t believe that. The *Press* says we can get clothes just as cheap here as they do in England, but I don’t believe that either. Now be serious, Bob, and tell me what I could get this coat for if we had free trade?”

Bob hesitated, rubbed the lapel of the coat through his fingers, looked thoughtfully at the sky, and with some deliberation replied: “About twenty-five dollars.”

“And what will *you* make it for?” pursued Bob[sic].

“I’ll make you that coat for fifty dollars.”

“And is the difference due to protection?”

“Yes, sir.”

“Could I get a coat like this for twenty-five dollars less if we had free trade?”

“That you could my boy.”

Sam laughed in Bob’s face. It was not polite, to be sure, but he couldn’t help it. “Why, Bob,” said he, “how in the world does it do me any good to pay fifty dollars for a twenty-five dollar coat?”

Bob was staggered a little at first, but he soon recovered. “It’s this way, Sam,” he began, laying his hand gently on his friend’s shoulder. “You keep that extra twenty-five dollars in the country.”

“But I have to give it to you or some other fellow; I don’t keep it in my pocket.”

“No, you don’t keep it in your pocket, but it comes back to your pocket.”

“How so? You never buy anything of me.”

“No, not directly; but the extra twenty-five dollars you give me I divide with my men by giving them higher wages, and they spend more; then the part of it that I keep enables me to spend more. In that way we give employment to other people in this country, and so the money works around to you in higher wages for setting type. See?”

“That sounds pretty well for an old story, Bob,” said Sam; “but I’ll think it over, and when I get fifty dollars, may be I’ll call on you. You say the great point is to keep the money in the country.”

“Yes, that’s the point.”

“Isn’t it just as bad for me if I send to Chicago for my clothes as if I send to England? That extra twenty-five dollars wouldn’t work its way back to me from Chicago, would it? That’s a good ways, you know.”

“Of course it would,” said Bob; “Chicago is in the country, and as long as you keep the money in the country it’s all right.”

Sic in the original; probably ““pursued Sam””.

“Same thing if I sent to San Francisco?”

“Certainly.”

“But San Francisco is as far off as England.”

“Don’t make any difference. It’s all in the country. That’s the point. Don’t forget that.”

“I won’t,” said Sam, with an air of serious thought, and the two parted.

A few days later Sam Richards called on Bob White at Bob’s tailoring shop. He looked over the stock, and finding some goods that answered his purpose, asked Bob the price of an overcoat.

“Fifty dollars,” said Bob.

“And if it wasn’t for protection it would be twenty-five.”

“That’s about the figure; but the money would go out of the country, and then your wages would go down.”

“Yes, I’ve thought over that talk of yours.”

Bob was glad to know he had made an impression.

“By the way,” said Sam, “I see Ben Black has a tailoring shop in this building, right across the hall from you. How’s he doing?”

“Oh, underselling, underselling.”

“That’s bad,” said Sam thoughtfully. “Stops the extra money from getting back to his customers, don’t it?”

Bob looked dubiously at Sam, but Sam’s face was serious. After walking up and down the room he said:

“Hold on awhile, Bob, I want to see Ben, and I’ll just step across to his shop.”

Bob, a little nervous, possessed his soul in patience until Sam should return; but Sam did not return, and when the two next met, he wore a new overcoat for all the world like the *one* Bob wanted to make for him.

“Where did you get that overcoat?” asked Bob, a little testily.

“Of Ben Black,” Sam replied, shaking Bob warmly by the hand.

“But you promised to get your overcoat of me?”

“I know I did Bob,” said Sam, “and if it would have made any difference to you I would have kept my promise. But while I was in Ben’s place he offered me this coat for forty dollars. At first I didn’t want to disappoint you; but then thinking over what you said to me, I saw clearly that you would be just as well off if I bought of Ben. I saw that the money I paid him would stay in the country—why, it would stay right in your own building,

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and your share would work its way around to you; so, don’t you see, it is just the same all around as if I bought of you. Indeed, Bob, old boy, it’s better, for now I’ve got ten dollars to spend and both our shares of that will work its way around too. I never before thought there was so much in this idea of spending our money in the country. It’s a great thing. Why we get our clothes and keep our money, too; don’t we Bob?”

“Yes,” said Bob.

LEWIS FREELAND.

"Who Gets the Plunder."

Walt Whitman in Specimen Days and Collects.

The protectionists are fond of flashing to the public eye the glittering delusion of great money results from manufacturers, mines, artificial exports—so many millions from this source and so many from that—such a seductive, unanswerable show—an immense revenue of annual cash from iron, cotton, woolen, leather goods, and a hundred other things, all bolstered up by "protection." But the really important point of all is, into whose pockets does this plunder really go? It would be some excuse and satisfaction if even a fair proportion of it went to the masses of laboring men—resulting in homesteads to such, men, women, children—myriads of actual homes in fee simple in every state (not the false glamour of the stunning wealth reported in the census, in the statistics or tables in the newspapers), but a fair division and generous average to those workmen and workwomen—that would be something. But the fact itself is nothing of the kind. The profits of "protection" go altogether to a few score select persons—who, by favors of congress, state legislatures, the banks and other special advantages, are forming a vulgar aristocracy full as bad as anything in the British or European castes of blood or the dynasties there of the past. As Sismondi pointed out, the true prosperity of a nation is not in the great wealth of a special class, but is only to be really attained in having the bulk of the people provided with homes or land.

From Bitter Root Valley.

ALHAMBRA, Montana.—A friend of mine recently went to Bitter Root valley to look for land. He wanted a home of his own. He is now a tenant. He found a fine country and some government land. But he didn't take any. Why? Because he couldn't. The water front is all held by speculators. Various persons have taken up claims and attempted to farm without irrigation, but they were starved out. The cheapest farm for sale was one with a dilapidated fence and one-third of a water right, for $1,000. He returned discouraged, and concluded to continue to rent, but he started four men whom he met on his trip on the single tax track.

One of them was a bright young lawyer. Another of his neighbors was very slow to see the cat, but when the assessor came around and fined him for the new house he had built he came to see it mighty quick. I know an earnest young single tax man who lost a good position because he was "an agitator." The monopoly that owns so mnch[sic] of this fine northwestern country could not allow a single tax "agitator" to continue in its employ. He must now be a Nicodemus or lose his present position. Nevertheless he is doing a good deal in a quiet way to help the cause.

I hope to be able to organize a single tax club here before spring, although very few around here have yet heard of the movement. There are plenty of chances to illustrate land monopoly in such a way as to show up the cat without going out ot[sic] Montana. Yours "for the war,"

W. E. BROKAW.

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

[Advertisement] What Scott's Emulsion Has Done!

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C. R. BENNETT.

SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS.

[Advertisement] The Great American Tea Co.



p7_fig1

[Illustration: T-shaped black logo block with white lettering: “THE / GREAT AMERICAN [illegible] / T / E / A / COMPANY”]

GOOD NEWS TO LADIES.

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[Advertisement] Campaign Banner and Outfit Co.

CAMPAIGN BANNER AND OUTFIT CO., 46 VESEY STREET, NEW YORK.



p7_fig2

[Illustration: an American flag on a pole with finial and tasseled cords]

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[Advertisement] Unity Congregation.

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Sic in the original; probably ""McMillin" (Benton McMillin; spelled "McMillin" in col. 5)".

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8 THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 13, 1888.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

How?

NEW YORK.—How can we compete with Europe in our own market without a duty sufficient to cover the difference in the price of labor here and there? A. B.

In the first place, Europeans will not send anything into this market unless we send things to them. The more things sent here, the more things must we send out; the more things we send out, the more things must we produce; the more things we produce, the supply of labor being the same, the higher will wages be.

In the second place, the price of labor, computed in time, as by the day, week, month or year, has nothing to do with the problem. Low time-wages may be paid for work which is so inefficient that higher time-wages will be in fact cheaper wages. A dollar a week in harvest to a man with a cradle is higher wages than ten dollars with a reaping machine. The question is whether, when measured by the work they do, our workmen get higher wages than are paid abroad. If they do not, then we can produce, so far as the cost of labor is concerned, cheaper than they produce abroad, though our daily wages be higher.

In the third place, labor is not the only item of cost. We could pay higher wages, measured by product as well as by time, and yet undersell a country in which the raw material was dearer than here.

It Will! It Will!

[HYLETON?], Ill.—(1) Will your single tax break the power of corporation thieves who are using our government to hold us down while they rob us?

1. Will it choke off the deadliest vampire, trusts, not all of which exist because of our tariff?
2. Will it head off the schemers and foil the plotters?
3. Wili it scatter[sic] the horde of hungry hyenas who are gnawing at our vitals?
4. Will it, in fine, leave to us the fruits of our toil?
5. If so, who will pay for the free parks, free libraries, free colleges, free street railways, and other free things which you claim the single tax will provide.

T. D. HINCKLEY.

1. Directly, no. But indirectly, yes. Indirectly, by making men independent; by securing to all an opportunity to make a decent living by honest labor; by giving all greater leisure, and by lessening ignorance. It is net

Sic in the original; probably ""Will it scatter"".

the[sic] "government," but want and fear of want, stunting drudgery and blinding ignorance among the people, that corporations use to hold us down while they rob us. Moreover, the single tax would be a recognition of justice in government, a long step in the right direction, which would make the next step easier to take.

2. Yes, except such as are based on patents.

3. Many, and the worst.

4. As hordes of hungry hyneas[sic] usually gather around a dead carcass, it will probably scatter them, for it will kill off the lion, landlordism, which provides the carcass.

5. Yes; and nothing short of it will.

6. They will be paid for out of the common fund, which is now diverted to private use.

Some men use land on which, with a given amount of labor and capital, they can produce, say, 10; others are thereby forced to use land on which, with the same labor and capital, they can produce only 8. Now the first, obviously, have an advantage of 2. This is due to the better opportunity for work, in the exclusive possession of which they are secured by the state. Then if they pay this difference of 2 to the state for the common good, they will be paying only what they have not earned; and out of the aggregate of these payments free public works can be maintained without taking from any one the fruits or any part of the fruits of his own toil.

Running Down Farms.

UTICA, N. Y.—As a farmer who regards THE STANDARD as the best paper he ever read, I see this objection to your land theory: One man might rent a well improved farm and "run the land out," as they say, making as much money out of it as possible; he might then leave and rent another good farm and run that out; and so on. Would not the system tend to run farms down?

JAMES C. HANSON.

You are misled by the supposition that it is proposed to have the government own farms and rent them. Even if this were the plan, it would not result as you fear; but as no such plan is intended it is not worth discussing.

Under the single tax farms would be owned precisely as they are now. The difference would be, that instead of paying taxes on everything he has, the farmer would pay on the value of the land alone. His buildings and improvements of all kinds, together with his stock and his purchases at the store, would be exempt.

Now let us suppose that a farmer buys a well improved farm. What he would buy would be the improvements, for the the land itself would have little or no selling value. Having got the farm, if he allowed the improvements to deteriorate, he would hurt himself in two ways: First, he would be allowing his own property to lose in value, and would thereby reduce his wealth; and, second, this kind of property being exempt from taxes, the lower it fell in value the higher would be his taxes relatively to his wealth, for the tax on his

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land would not decline. On the other hand, if he improved the farm still more, he would acquire greater wealth; and as that wealth would be exempt from taxation his taxes relatively to his wealth would fall; for the tax on his land would not increase.

Sic in the original; probably ""It is not the"".
Sic in the original; probably ""hungry hyenas"".

But suppose, while keeping up his improvements, he "runs out" the land itself by bad cultivation so that its value falis and brings down his taxes. Do you think any farmer would do that? Can you run down the natural qualities of your soil without reducing your crops? Of course not. And what interest would you have in so using the land as to make small crops? The better your crops the lower are your taxes relatively to your wealth.

When you once understand that the single tax is to monopoly a death dealing tax, and to labor a vitalizing exemption, and appreciate what you already know, that the farmer is not a monopolist but a laborer, you will "see the cat," and questions like the one you ask will no longer trouble you.

War Taxes.

ALMA, Wis.—Please answer this question in THE STANDARD: If the single tax should be accepted and introduced by the government, by what means and in what way can a tax be raised to pay the expenses of a war? I have submitted this question to our local single tax men, who answer as follows:

> There would be no war if the single tax was once "fully accepted and introduced by the government of the United States." The single tax is based upon the broad and fundamental principle of the brotherhood of all men, and it is the harbinger of the Prince of peace; once adopted in the United States every throne in Europe would topple, and the whole world would ask for freedom. Had the United States been really a free country imperialism would now be a thing of the past.

> A government backed by single tax men would not hesitate in case of a war, when citizens are called upon to lay down their lives in defense of country, to take from every millionaire nine hundred and ninety-nine dollars in every one thousand, and pay the expenses of a war as we went along. Had this been done during the late rebellion, we would not now groan under the immense public debt then contracted, and every penny would have been paid long ago. We believe that "the earth belongs to the living," yet we now see one generation paying the debts contracted by another. The institution of a great public debt tends to subvert human rights nearly as much as indirect taxation

> By the way, how early did you get up this morning? What country now "pays the expenses of a war?' None. Every country now leaves such small matters to future generations.

> During the feudal age no public war debts were made. Each baron in war furnished his quota of men and paid for them, and he did it with funds raised on the single tax plan by reason of his ownership of the soil. Were the community the only ground or land lord, it could collect this fund quite as readily as a feudal baron or an Astor and expend it with as good grace. By the way, have you ever read "Progress and Poverty?" If not, do so, please.

> THE ALMA SINGLE TAX CLUB, per T. B., President.

I am not entirely satisfied with the above answer.

DR. GEORGE SEILER,

You should have stated the point in respect to which the answer of the Alma single tax club is not satisfactory to you.

If war funds were raised by bonds, as they are now (and there is nothing in the single tax itself to prevent that), the bonds would be paid by a tax on land values alone, instead of taxes on labor, by which such bonds are now paid.

But, as you are told in the Alma club's letter, the single tax sentiment takes its root beneath mere fiscal policies in the religion of human brotherhood, and once in the ascendant in any country would prevent all wars but defensive ones. If war should come, however, and land taxes were insufficient, it would not regard property as more sacred than life. It would propose, respecting property, what is now done respecting men, and when volunteering fell off it would resort to the draft. If compelled to confiscate property at all it would confiscate the property of present and not that of future generations.

What Is a Commodity?

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—In this week's "Queries and Answers," in reply to the inquiry, "What is a Commodity?" you define it as anything which is "exchanged in commercial intercourse," adding that derivatively it means "anything that affords a convenience." The person who asked the question also asks, "Is labor a commodity?"

Would it not be a correct definition to say that "a commodity is any product of labor that satisfies human desires," or, simply, "any product of labor?" If I make a coat and use it myself it affords me a convenience, and is therefore as much of a "commodity" to me as it would be to another if I had exchanged it with him for something else. When in terminology land ceased to be wealth and became a natural opportunity, labor ceased to be a commodity and became a factor. And the definition I suggest shuts out labor from being classed as a commodity by its own terms.

Many of the apologies for social wrongs obtain their strength from the plausibility of vicious definitions; and in arguments, when I deny that labor is a commodity, I find a strong defense in the definition I have given, as it cuts the ground from under the feet of the opponent and makes him immediately ask, "What, then, is labor?" From that point on, as we all know, the argument is easy.

B. C. KEELER.

The function of definitions is not argument, but to enable debaters to use terms which convey the same meaning to both. It is immaterial, therefore, whether one definition or another be given to the word "commodity," provided the definition be

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,.....

Send this blank when signed to THE STANDARD office, 12 Union square, New York.

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agreed upon. In general use, however, the term "commodity" does not signify anything affording a convenience, but a thing in commercial exchange. If you spoke of ditches, bridges, wells or orchards as commodities, you might cause confusion, for though these are labor products, they are not usually regarded as commodities.

Labor is not a commodity, either logically or in common understanding. It is sometimes metaphorically spoken of as a commodity, but every one understands, or will readily see, that what is really referred to is not labor, but results of labor.

Inequality in Distribution.

NEW YORK.—I have been trying very hard to make my cousin, a very intelligent and well read young man, open his eyes and "see the cat," and we often indulge in discussion concerning the tariff and its effect upon wages. He persistently denies that the facts will sustain the logic. To-day he commenced, after a lengthy discussion, with: "Henry George is logically correct, but—" 'Hold on, there, one minute," said I; "dictate to me what you were about to say, and I will write to THE STANDARD and get a reply that will make your hair curl." He dictated the following:

"Henry George is logically correct, but in considering the different causes of the unequal distribution of wealth he omits to take into consideration the different natural abilities, mental and physical, of the human race."

My reply was chapter 6 of book 3, "Progress and Poverty," a copy of which he has had in his possession for some time. Could I have done better?

CHARLES H. MITCHELL.

You could not. Different wages paid to men of different abilities, mental and physical, are, as stated in tne chapter[sic] to which you refer, "based upon wages paid to those who can only do the average amount" of labor; and "wages in the occupations requiring superior abilities and skill must depend upon the common wages paid for ordinary abilities and skill."

Higher wages for superior work do not make an unequal distribution of wealth; they only give to Paul what Paul earns, without in the slightest degree robbing Peter. Let 10 be common wages, and let there be ten common workmen; then, the product will be 100, and each workman gets what he earns. Let 10 be common wages, and let there be ten common workman and one extraordinary workman[sic] whose productive power is double that of his associates; then the product will be 120, of which the ten common workmen will get 10 each as before, while the extraordinary workmen will get 20.77. But the extra wages of the latter makes no inequality of distribution; they are his extra compensation for his extra contribution. But now let 10 be common wages, and let there be ten common workmen, together with an eleventh man, who has the power to charge the others 1 each for the privilege of working. Then each workman will get but 9 though he earns 10, and the owner of the working privilege will get 10 though he earns nothing. This makes inequality in distribution.

Savings Banks and Workingmen.

NEW YORK.—A friend of mine, who is an admirer of Mr. George's genius as a political economist, has prepared and submitted to me the annexed questions, which he wishes you to answer:

1. The savings banks of this state are the depositories of several hundred millions of dollars, which are mainly the savings of the very class that Mr. George wishes to benefit. I do not desire to enter into the question of the morality or immorality of savings banks, or of their method of investing money. It is an undoubted fact that these savings of the working people are largely invested in bonds and mortgages. How does Mr. George propose to protect, or does he propose to protect, the holders of these bonds and mortgages in the event of his system coming into practice?

Sic in the original; probably ""as stated in the chapter"".
Sic in the original; probably ""ten common workmen"".
Sic in the original; probably ""the extraordinary workman"".

2. I am a speculator, and own a piece of land large enough for ten houses. Henry George's system has been inaugurated, and the tax becomes so heavy that I can no longer hold my land. Ten workingmen appear who are willing and able to pay the tax on the land. I sell it to the ten workingmen for merely a nominal sum. Each workingman erects for himself and his family a charming little cottage surrounded by lawn. At the end of ten years the town has grown up around those ten houses. On the four sides are the post office, the city hall, the courts of justice and police headquarters. The land on which these houses stand has become the most valuable property in town. The workingmen, however, are no richer than they were before, and are able to pay only as much rent (or tax) as they did before. What is to become of the unearned increment in such a case? What are you going to do with the workingmen and their improvements?

3. The taxes on land values are, I presume, less now than they would be after the introduction of Henry George's system. Great areas of land are sold every year in this state for unpaid taxes. The state itself, in addition, owns large tracts of land which it is willing to sell. Why is it that Mr. George, or any of his trades union followers, have never tried to put their theories into actual practice upon some of these lands? It seems to the questioner that if Mr. George's theories are true, it ought to have been the object of trades unions to remove a portion of the surplus of laborers in any particular branch of industry to some of these cheap lands (the tax upon which is very small), where each man could have earned a competence, and where each would have diminished by at least one the number of competing toilers. The questioner does not remember a st[illegible] during which such an experiment was tried. He is aware that the Knights of Labor have tried a plan of co-operative farming, but he does not know of any experiment similar to the one suggested above.

4. It is not one class, but all classes, that Mr. George wishes to benefit, as you will see if you read "Progress and Poverty" with more care than you have yet done. Deposits in savings banks are not mainly the savings of the poor, as is usually claimed. These deposits are largely made by the wives and children of rich men, by small landlords, by professional people, and generally from what is known as the middle classes. But these matters are aside; the question is whether the depositors, whosoever they may be, are to lose their savings by the single tax. That the investments of savings banks are largely in real estate, bonds and mortgages is true, and that the security will be to some extent impaired by the single tax may be also true. To the extent that this security is impaired the depositers may[sic]

p. 8, col. 4

lose, and I shall suppose they will lose. But how will they lose? Not as laborers, but as landlords; for it is only as landlords that the single tax can prejudice their interests. Now measure the possible loss as landlords by their certain gain as laborers, and say whether they would need protection, and if so, why?

5. The increase in rent would not jump in the way you suppose. It would gradually increase. And it would increase because and only because of the great demand for that location. And if the demand for that location was so great, it would be very remarkable if the occupants could not come to terms with some one which would enable them to rebuild elsewhere. If, however, they would not or could not pay the annual value of those lots, they would have to be treated as we now treat delinquent tax payers. But do you not think it a little bit stupid to imagine such a case? Why does the tax increase? Because there is a greater demand for the location. Why is there greater demand? Because the same labor and capital applied there will yield a greater return than formerly. Then, inasmuch as possession of this location enables these owners to make more, what is to prevent them to that extent from paying a higher tax? It is a contradiction to say that a man now occupies more valuable land than he did ten years ago but is not able to pay any higher rent for it. Tell that to a landlord and see him grin.

Sic in the original; probably ""the depositors may" (variant spelling; "depositors" a few lines above)".

6. And I trust he never will know of a similar experiment. Your friend's first two questions indicate that he has thought of the subject with some care; but the third shows such an utter lack of comprehension of the nature, purpose and scope of the single tax, that I must recommend a course of "Progress and Poverty."

Notes.

J. Whitely, Oil City, Pa.–I think you err in supposing that there is such a difference in the price of provisions, and that your critic errs in claiming that living is cheaper here than abroad. Your critic's contention that a tariff is not a tax to the amount of the duty imposed is a mixture of truth and error. A tariff on imported goods is added to the value of the goods to the full extent of the duty. If domestic goods of the same character are a monopoly, the price will rule very nearly up to the point of value, plus tariff. If domestic goods of the same character are competitive the price will be forced down by domestic competition to the point that will yield ordinary profit; it may fall below the foreign price, and is almost certain to if the raw materials here are as cheap as abroad. When prices of domestic goods thus fall to the price of the foreign article, protectionists say the tariff is not a tax. No, not in such cases; nor is it a tariff or anything else. It is simply a dead letter. Wnen goods can be produced[sic] and sold here cheaper than foreign goods of equal quality the foreign goods won't come here, tariff or no tariff. The one effect of the tariff in such cases is to prevent the domestic article from selling still lower by so much as it increases the cost of material and machinery.

LOUIS F. POST.

A Terse Statement of Principles.

BROOKLYN, Sept. 2.–The questions of correspondents, and your answers as printed in THE STANDARD, of which I am a constant reader, interest me very much, but the thought occurs to me whether a great many of such questions, the answers to which necessitate reference to figures and statistics whose accuracy cannot always be depended upon, could not be rendered superfluous and unnecessary by a clear understanding of first principles.

For example, let us commence with the fact that everything that man needs to supply his physical wants is the product of labor. Second, that all trade between nations or individuals is really an exchange of the products of labor.

Now, supposing these two propositions to be admitted, a denial of which by thinking men seems incredible, then it follows that if we could find some race of men rich enough and benevolent enough to supply us as a free gift with everything which we need to supply our wants, then the whole of the labor which was previously required of us to supply those wants would be rendered unnecessary, and all the time which was before occupied in such labor could be employed in education or amusement. This being admitted, then any nation which is willing to supply us with the products of labor at half price (half of the labor cost of production by ourselves) would render one-half of our labor unnecessary; if they were supplied to us at three-fourths of the price. then we would[sic] save one-quarter of our labor, and so on proportionally for any reduction in price.

Such truths as these once clearly fixed in the mind render all comparison as to cost of raw materials, labor, or machinery, or natural resources, wholly superfluous; and as in the great majority of cases we have when arguing for free trade to deal with persons who are wholly uneducated in political economy, it seems desirable that we should endeavor to simplify as much as possible first principles in order to avoid confusing the mind with a

Sic in the original; probably ""When goods can be produced"".
Sic in the original; probably ""price, then we would save"".

multitude of details and of involving it in the fog which to the uneducated mind surrounds the subject of money and exchange. Truly yours,

GEORGE WALLACE, 208 Warren street.

Henry George in Reading.

READING, Pa.—Henry George's lecture on the tariff question before the Teachers institute of Berks, in the opera house of this city, on the evening of the 25th, has been the heaviest blow protection has ever received in this vicinity, and has provoked more comment and discussion than any speech ever delivered here. I have met no less than half a dozen persons who declared themselves converted to the free trade principle by it, and eager knots on the streets and in stores have been talking it over, sometimes in Pennsylvania Dutch and sometimes in English, ever since. The comments of the papers are amusing. Both sides speak highly of the lecture, but the republican paper, the *Times*, puts him forward as a man who dares to say what the democrats think, and declares that "the more ultra free trade Mr. George's expressions were the louder he was cheered by the democrats in the audience," while the *Telegram*, the democratic paper, gives prominence to Mr. George's own statement: "I am not a republican, and I fancy the democrats would not claim me," and speaks of him as "the first and only free trader in the country," but shows undisguise satisfaction[sic] at the way he hammered protection theories. The *Telegram* is mistaken. There are already many as thorough free traders as Mr. George himself in the country, and they are increasing daily.

W. F. M.
p. 8, col. 5

[Advertisement] Pears' Soap

Pears' Soap

Fair white hands

Brightclearcomplexion

Soft healthful skin.

THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.

No workingman should be gulled into the belief that the tariff has been the means of better wages in this country. —[The Industrial West.

They tell us that we get higher wages here. In one sense, on an average, perhaps we do, but no thanks tc the protective tariff[sic].—[Houston, Texas, Echo.

The proof is conclusive that the politicians have used the tariff as a means to rob the people, and the manufacturers have divided the spoils in the way of furnishing a campaign fund.—[Pike County, Ill., Banner.

If the tax imposed on the people of the United States, on the pretext that it is necessary to maintain the rate of wages, should be paid directly to the workers, it would make them all rich men.—[St. Paul Globe.

Sic in the original; probably ""shows undisguised satisfaction"".
Sic in the original; probably ""no thanks to the protective tariff"".

It is true that wages average somewhat higher in this country now than thirty years ago. But the same thing is true in England and other countries. Whatever rise of wages there has been all over the world is due to the progress of civilization and not to either protection or free trade.—[Boston Globe.

The rich people of New York are laying in their coal now. That is wise and prudent. The poor people of New York can't do that, so they will buy it by the bucket in January and pay at the rate of about ten dollars per ton. Trusts are "private affairs."—[New York Herald.

The history of tariff legislation in this country shows beyond dispute that no reduction of tariff taxation ever brought about a consequent reduction of wages. The ups and downs of tariff taxation have no other effect upon wages than their influence in increasing or lowering the cost of living.—[Philadelphia Record.

A novel electric railroad is undergoing construction in a suburb of St. Paul, Minn. The railroad is an elevated structure, and the cars are hung below it close to the street level. They hang from sets of wheels, taking their power from the tracks above, which are charged with electricity. A speed of from eight to ten miles an hour is claimed for the cars.

Labor needs nothing. It has everything. Capital needs all the protection. Robbers need protection, and the robbers whom Mr. Blaine represents in this campaign need the protection of the high tariff in order to secure $52.30 of net profit on a ton of beams made by laborers who received less than $5.70 for their share of the product.—[Chicago Herald.

It is not disputed that the sudden readjustment of society and values to the world's estimate, and the renunciation by the protected employers to the toilers of the immense sums now virtually exacted, might precipitate industrial turmoil. But even with that event, the losses and the disappointments would be the result of protection—not of free trade.—[Chicago Herald.

The whole earnings of labor in the protected industries only amount to $18 in the $100 of product. The average tariff tax is $47 in the $100. If foreign labor should be twice as cheap as our own labor, a tax of $9 on the $100 would make good the difference in labor cost. The remaining $38 in the $100 is wrung from the earnings of workingmen, who receive no equivalent in wages or advantage.—[Philadelphia Record.

Buildings lighted with incandescent lights can now be supplied with storage batteries, which are charged with electricty[sic] at the central station and then brought round to the buildings. This, in place of a costly and troublesome connection by wire, is a great improvement. The storage battery acts as a meter too, for it holds a fixed quantity of electricity. In railroading the storage battery system grows in favor. The underground railway of London has for some time been investigating the various systems of electrically operating railways, and word comes now that this company has decided to adopt storage batteries for running their cars which require 600 horse power motors when run in trains.

The Beneficence of Lotteries.

DETROIT, Mich.—Lotteries are institutions with which the post office department ought to have no particular right to interfere. A lottery distributes money. The distribution of money is a public benefit. Therefore a lottery is a public benefactor. Nothing can be plainer than this. It is true that these distributions of money are made to a few persons at the expense of the many, but the funds are taken from the dupes who pay them in such an indirect way that the drain is not felt. Any interference with lotteries is a step in the direction of the ruin of some of our

Sic in the original; probably ""charged with electricity"".

industries. Think of the ticket sellers who would be thrown out of employment were the lotteries to cease! Think of the blindfolded boys who draw the numbers from the wheels! Think of the generals who superintend the drawing! But above all, remember the drawers of prizes who use that money to "give work" to our laboring classes. If the country had only enough lotteries it would be rich indeed, for every process which takes from the many and gives to the few enables the fortunate prize drawers to employ labor, and in that direction lies prosperity. By all means let us have a dozen lotteries in every state, so that we may become a rich and happy people.

HERMAN KUEHN.

Ralph Waldo Emerson on Free Trade.

From Lecture, "Fortune of the Republic," March 30, 1878.

> The genius of the country has marked out our true policy—opportunity. Opportunity of civil rights, of education, of personal power, and not less of wealth; doors wide open. If I could have it—free trade with all the world without toll or custom houses, invitation as we now make to every nation, to every race and skin, white men, red men, yellow men, black men; hospitality of fair field and equal laws to all. Let them compete, and success to the strongest, the wisest and the best. The land is wide enough, the soil has bread for all.
p. 8, col. 6

[Advertisement] Kansas City, Mo. — J. H. Bauerlein & Co.

KANSAS CITY, MO.

FIVE YEARS REAL ESTATE FIRST MORTGAGE COUPON BONDS,

in sums of $1,000 to $10,000 each, bearing interest at the rate of eight per cent per annum. Interest payable semi-annually. These bonds are secured by first mortgages on Kansas City property worth three and four times the amount of bonds. Prompt payment of principal and interest guaranteed at maturity. Interest collectable through your own bank, with New York exchange added. Recorded mortgage forwarded with each bond.

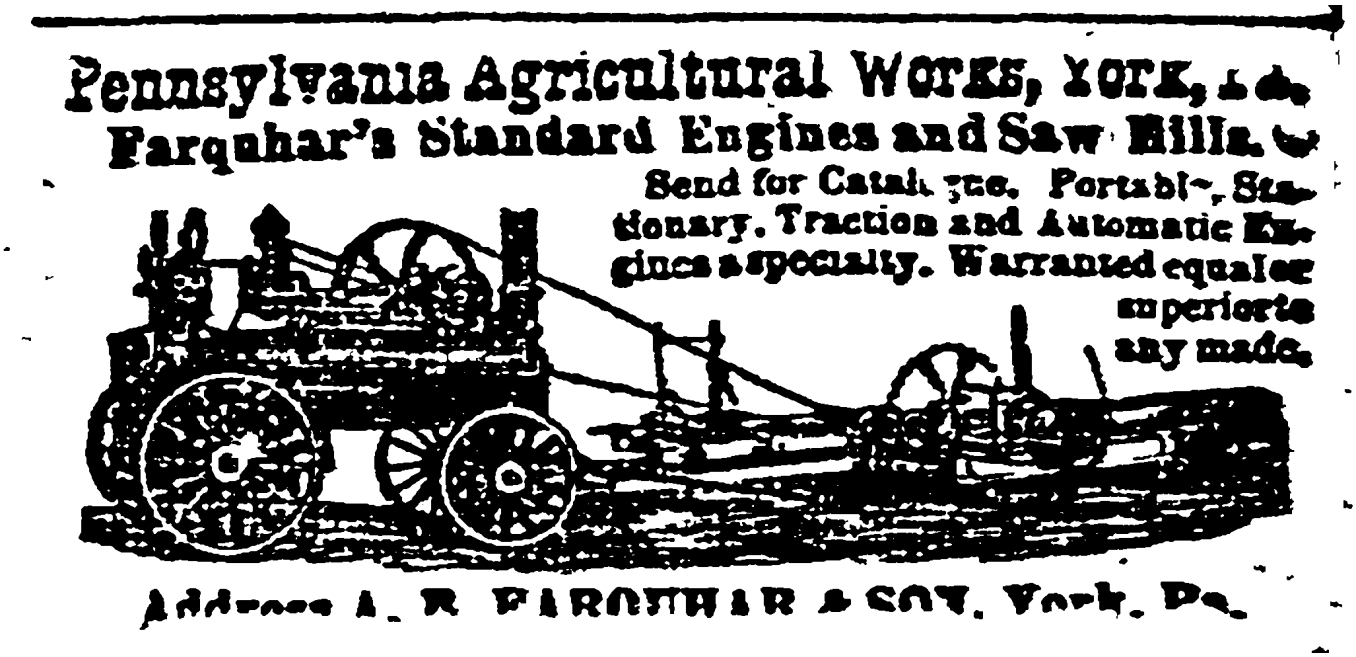
CERTIFICATES OF DEPOSIT

issued in amounts of $100 and upward, bearing interest at the rate of eight per cent per annum. Certificates of deposit are secured by first mortgage bonds deposited with a trustee, a special deposit receipt to that effect, from the trustee, is attached to each certificate issued, therefore making the certificate of deposit an absolutely safe investment.

When ordering securities write your name in full, also that of your city, county and state.

J. H. BAUERLEIN & CO., Security Building. KANSAS CITY, MISSOURI.

[Advertisement] Pennsylvania Agricultural Works — Farquhar's Standard Engines



p8_fig1

[Illustration: portable steam traction engine driving a saw mill by a long belt; workman at the saw carriage]

Pennsylvania Agricultural Works, York, Pa.

Farquhar's Standard Engines and Saw Mills.

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

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

[Advertisement] M. R. Levy & Co.

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POLITICAL NET BANNERS,

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AND

CAMPAIGN EQUIPMENTS.

M. R. LEVY & CO.,

27 WOOSTER STREET, NEW YORK.

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



p8_fig2

[Illustration: open box of the printing outfit showing rows of type, ink pad and tweezers]

ONLY “THE NUTSHELL” PRINTING OUTFIT 50 CTS.

A complete Printing Office.-Linen Marker.-Card Printer. Amusing and Instructive. 4 Alphabets of Type. Indelible Ink, Pads &c. Postpaid 50cts. AGENTS WANTED for new specialties. CIRCULARS FREE

ALSO BUSINESS OUTFIT $1.00 COMMERCIAL OUTFIT $1.50

Ingersoll & Bro., 45 Fulton St., N. Y.

[Advertisement] Piso’s Remedy for Catarrh

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

CATARRH

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

[Advertisement] The Keystone Watch Club Co.

THE BEST WAY

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

Fine Watches

at the Lowest Cash Prices, ONLY

$1.00 A WEEK.

PHILA. OFFICE 904 WALNUT STREET

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.

p8_fig3

[Illustration: ornamental border of ribbons naming branch offices, an open-face pocket watch with the club's keystone emblem and locomotive at upper right. Legible labels in border: NEW YORK; PHILAD[ELPHIA]; DETROIT, [illegible] GRISWOLD ST.; WASHINGTON, D. C.; ST. PAUL; PITTSBURGH; BOSTON; CHICAGO; BALTIMORE; [illegible]. Around watch: PHILA. OFFICE 904 WALNUT STREET. On watch dial: THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO. NEW YORK PHILA. BALTO.]

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.

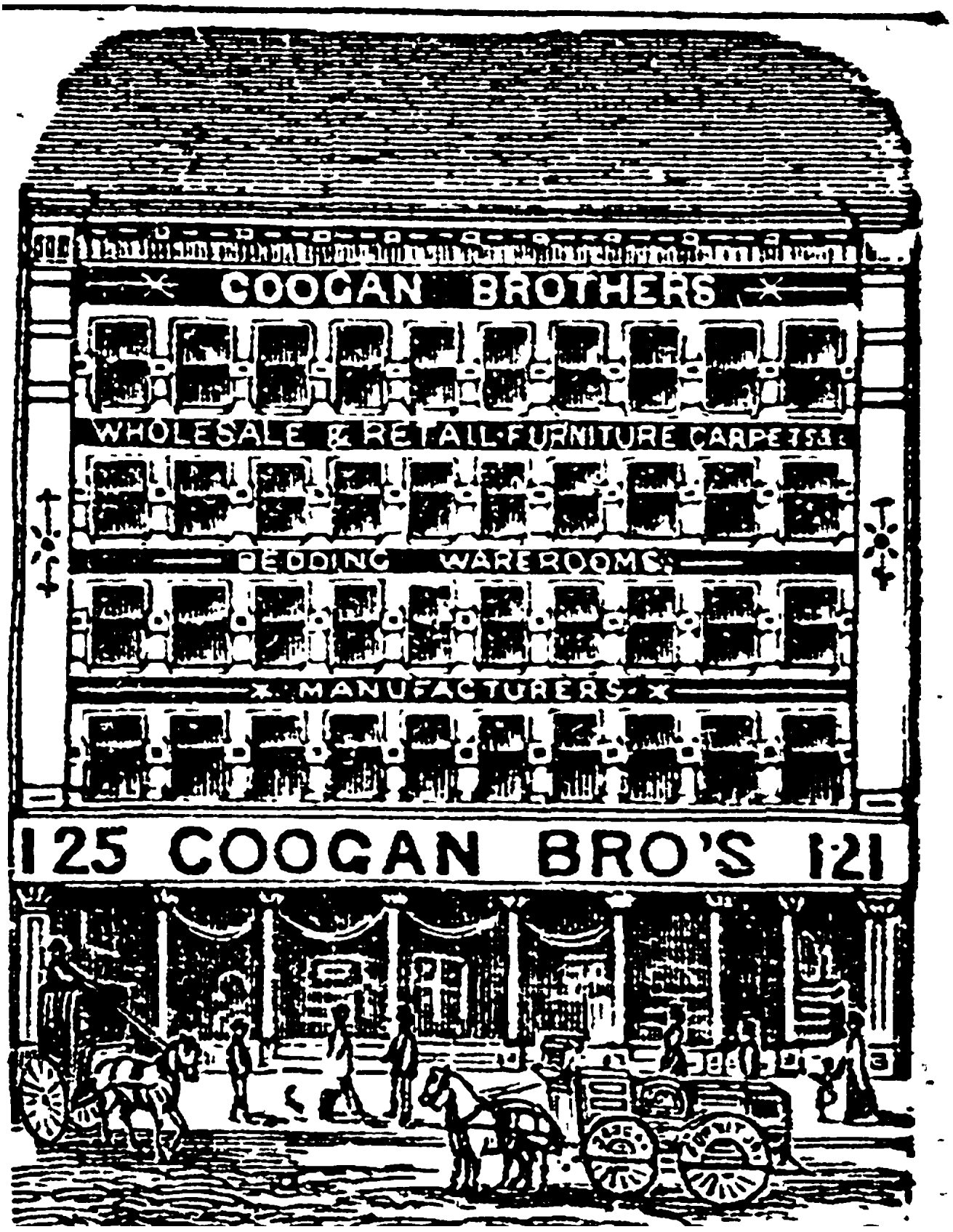
*Look for the stamps –K. W. C. Co. 14 K. FLD.– and buy the BEST.

AGENTS WANTED.

We refer to any Commercial Agency.

For Sale by

[Advertisement] Coogan Bros.



p8_fig4

[Illustration: five-story store front with horse-drawn delivery wagons and pedestrians in the street. Lettering on building: COOGAN BROTHERS / WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE CARPETS &c. / BEDDING WAREROOMS / MANUFACTURERS / 125 COOGAN BRO'S 121]

COOGAN BROS.,

CARPET AND FURNITURE DEALERS,

COR. BOWERY AND GRAND STS.

[Advertisement] Briggs' Pianos



p8_fig5

[Illustration: ornate upright piano (name board lettered BRIGGS) in a frame wreathed with leaves, beside a folded paper reading SEND FOR CATALOGUE]

BRIGGS' PIANOS

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GRACEFUL DESIGNS · · SOLID CONSTRUCTION

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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	CONTENTS:	Chic go	Chicago
1	CONTENTS:	fo Fre Tra le—T e	for Free Trade—The
1	CONTENTS:	B g	Big
1	CONTENTS:	’ax	Tax
1	CONTENTS:	E gli h Pap r	English Paper
1	CONTENTS:	Pro e t on	Protection
1	CONTENTS:	Illustrat n	Illustration
1	CONTENTS:	Unfortu ate	Unfortunate
1	CONTENTS:	Sig ificent	Significant
1	[The London Weekly Dispatch on Cleveland]	a?d exagge ated	and exaggerated
1	[The London Weekly Dispatch on Cleveland]	an his	and his
1	[The London Weekly Dispatch on Cleveland]	a oad	a road
1	[The London Weekly Dispatch on Cleveland]	impos. .on	imposition
1	THE CHICAGO CORNER.	pro luctions	productions
1	THE CHICAGO CORNER.	.Ir. Hutchinson	Mr. Hutchinson
1	[Blaine on free trade at Adrian, Mich.]	pe ple	people
2	Mr. Shearman’s Address.	collecti n	collection
2	Mr. Shearman’s Address.	br ader	broader
2	Mr. Shearman’s Address.	S me	Some
2	Mr. Shearman’s Address.	offic al	official
2	Mr. Shearman’s Address.	p or	poor
2	Mr. Shearman’s Address.	tencs	tends
2	Mr. Shearman Answers Questions.	pr tective	protective
3	The Campaign in Pennsylvania.	d ing	doing
3	Politics are Humming at Cornell.	se[.]ure	secure
3	PUSHING CAMPAIGN WORK.	E.izabethport	Elizabethport
3	PUSHING CAMPAIGN WORK.	l.rge	large

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
3	PUSHING CAMPAIGN WORK.	gct	got
3	PUSHING CAMPAIGN WORK.	cefy	defy
3	To Help Single Tax Strangers.	R ng	Ring
4	A WHINE FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.	it at it is / open r it / prosp ity / opinion . Mr.	it what it is / open for it / prosperity / opinion of Mr.
4	A WHINE FROM NEW HAMPSHIRE.	adm[faint] [faint]e i[faint]justice / sy[faint]em	admit the injustice / system
4	AN ILLUSTRATION, AND WHAT IT ILLUSTRATES.	mucf	much
4	AN ILLUSTRATION, AND WHAT IT ILLUSTRATES.	$103,49[6 or 8]	$103,498
4	GETTING PAID FOR IDLENESS.	S[blot]ce	Since
4	GETTING PAID FOR IDLENESS.	dolla[blot]	dollars.
4	GETTING PAID FOR IDLENESS.	refin[damaged]	refined
5	[Getting Paid for Idleness, continued]	advantfge	advantage
5	A SIGNIFICANT ADMISSION.	sc	so
5	[British tax on marriage settlements]	fettle/rettle	settle
5	MEN AND THINGS.	blasphen	blasphemy
5	MEN AND THINGS.	adve tisement	advertisement
5	MEN AND THINGS.	pr tectionist	protectionist
5	THE CAMPAIGN “STANDARD” FUND.	twenty- [line end] cents	twenty-five cents
5	THE CAMPAIGN “STANDARD” FUND.	je t	subject
5	[Campaign Standard fund: appeal and letters from contributor	contr.bute	contribute
5	The Outlook in the West is Very Cheering.	sing’	single
5	The Outlook in the West is Very Cheering.	th	the
5	The Outlook in the West is Very Cheering.	minu es	minutes
5	SOCIETY NOTES.	Mrs. Sophie Schreckler … [445?] West Thirteenth street	(conflict with Men and Things: Schreckner, 455)
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	N>r” (damaged o)	“Nor”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON		“the”

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
		t.e” (middle letter broken away)	
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	sacrificea” (last letter damaged)	“sacrificed”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	an^d” (d raised/misaligned)	“and”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	pret^xt” (e damaged)	“pretext”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	th^” (e damaged)	“the”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	an&” (d filled in)	“and”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	pub’ic” (l broken)	“public”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	Jeffe-son” (r broken)	“Jefferson”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	’onged” (l broken)	“longed”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	t ,” (o missing)	“to”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	i office” (n missing)	“in office”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	graduelly” (a damaged)	“gradually”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	un^der” (d raised)	“under”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	and and	“and”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	arrang(d” (e broken)	“arranged”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	mer^ely” (e raised)	“merely”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	pa-ts” (r broken)	“parts”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	anothe?” (r broken)	“another”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	g.eat” (r broken)	“great”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	apprcved” (o broken)	“approved”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	h m” / “t ted” (letters crossed by a crease at column foot)	“him” / “protested”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	tne” (h damaged; twice)	“the”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	co,sent” (n broken)	“consent”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	tue” / “the” (doubled across line break; first with damaged h)	“the”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	himse’f” (l broken)	“himself”
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	midnig.t” / “c..missions” / “gre.t” (letters broken or missing)	“midnight” / “commissions” / “great”

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	prima-y" (r broken)	"primary"
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	rous d" (e missing)	"roused"
6	JEFFERSON AND HAMILTON	dispatoh" (c read as o / damaged)	"dispatch"
7	[Jefferson and Hamilton, concluded]	t'e" (h missing)	"the"
7	How the Tariff Injures the Tariff Trade.	wor by" (n missing)	"worn by"
7	How the Tariff Injures the Tariff Trade.	fav r" (o damaged)	"favor"
7	How the Tariff Injures the Tariff Trade.	Brook yn" (l damaged)	"Brooklyn"
7	The St. Louis League Does Some Challenging.	Wasnington" (h appears as n)	"Washington"
7	BOB WHITE'S THEORY.	oi	"of"
7	BOB WHITE'S THEORY.	would go out of the country ... your wages would go down" with several letters broken or missing ("w ould", "o f", "t e", "woula", " own")	as transcribed
7	BOB WHITE'S THEORY.	I' e", "was", " now", "ha s", "rig t", " e doing" (letters broken)	"I've", "was", "know", "has", "right", "he"
7	"Who Gets the Plunder."	Coll cts" (e damaged)	"Collects" (Whitman's title is *Specimen Days and Collect*)
7	[Advertisement] What Scott's Emulsion Has Done!	V ce" (i missing)	"Vice"
7	[Advertisement] The Great American Tea Co.	Dinner S t" (e missing)	"Dinner Set"
7	[Advertisement] The Single Tax Military Band and Orchestra.	many damaged letters ("Fu nished", "M etings", "Parties" as "Par ies", "B lls", "Un on Music for U i n Rates", "Commun'ca-tio s addre e t", "Un on Squ re", "Seve h", "Broo lyn", "pro p y att ende to")	as transcribed
7	SINGLE TAX CLUB MEETINGS.	SING E" (L missing)	"SINGLE"
7	[Advertisement] PRANG'S ART BOOKS.	mono int" (t missing)	"monotint"
7	[Advertisement] PRANG'S ART BOOKS.	quota ions", "Fronti piece", "pub i hed" (letters missing)	"quotations", "Frontispiece", "published"

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
7	[Advertisement] A RARE OPPORTUNITY.	OP?ORTUNITY" (second P damaged), "mov ment", "E ther	"OPPORTUNITY", "movement", "Either"
7	[Advertisement] A RARE OPPORTUNITY.	SAN FR NCISCO" (A missing)	"SAN FRANCISCO"
7	[Advertisement] Single Tax Doctrines in a Nutshell.	S N ; E T ." (spaced letters largely broken)	"SINGLE TAX" (?)
7	[Advertisement] George Wilson.	rich e s", "dur bility", "o' price", "posses es", "advanta ges", "ot er hou es", "Tney	"richness", "durability", "of price", "possesses", "advantages", "other houses", "They"
7	[Advertisement] BELFORD'S MAGAZINE.	NEW UBLICATIONS" (P missing), "administr tion", "mou hs	"NEW PUBLICATIONS", "administration", "months"
7	[Advertisement] AN APPEAL TO THE AMERICAN PEOPLE AS A JURY.	S EECHES" (P damaged)	"SPEECHES"
7	[Advertisement] THE PROTECTIVE TARIFF: WHAT IT DOES FOR US.	i s exact", "presiden 's posi ion	"its exact", "president's position"
7	[Advertisement] WHY WAS IT?	gif ed", "Washing on", "deepiy", "wi l read it o the end	"gifted", "Washington", "deeply", "will read it to the end"
7	[Advertisement] THE PRINCESS DAPHNE.	THF." (E damaged)	"THE"
7	[Advertisement] Own a Single Tax Paper.	Brooklvn	"Brooklyn"
7	[Advertisement] HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS.	HENR GEORGE'S WORKS" (Y damaged)	"HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS"
7	[Advertisement] HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS.	ooksellers" (b missing)	"booksellers"
7	[Advertisement] LAND AND LABOR LIBRARY	Lou's F. Post", "C nada", "Heur George", "Pover y	"Louis F. Post", "Canada", "Henry George", "Poverty"
7	[Advertisement] LAND AND LABOR LIBRARY	Thomas O. Shearman	"Thomas G. Shearman"
7	[Advertisement] LAND AND LABOR LIBRARY	nE STANDARD" (T missing)	"THE STANDARD"

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
8	How?	senc' out" (d broken)	"send out"
8	How?	h..s nothing" (a damaged)	"has nothing"
8	It Will! It Will!	our tarif?" (f damaged/faint)	"our tariff?"
8	It Will! It Will!	pai[d]" (d damaged)	"paid"
8	It Will! It Will!	secur[e]d" (e damaged)	"secured"
8	It Will! It Will!	s.ate for 'he common good	"state for the common good"
8	It Will! It Will!	paying cnly" / "and cut of the aggregate" / "maintainec witho:t	"paying only" / "and out of the aggregate" / "maintained without"
8	Running Down Farms.	Running Down .arms." (F damaged)	"Running Down Farms."
8	Running Down Farms.	for the the land itself	"for the land itself"
8	Running Down Farms.	everythi::g" (n damaged) / "in :wo ways" (t damaged)	"everything" / "in two ways"
8	Running Down Farms.	so that i:s value" (t damaged)	"so that its value"
8	Running Down Farms.	value falis and	"value falls and"
8	War Taxes.	the wh)le world" (o damaged)	"the whole world"
8	War Taxes.	the ex / penses" (no hyphen at line break)	"the expenses"
8	War Taxes.	of a war?'" (single closing quote)	"of a war?""
8	War Taxes.	public deb: tends" (t damaged)	"public debt tends"
8	War Taxes.	DR. GEORGE SEILER,	"DR. GEORGE SEILER."
8	War Taxes.	confiscat[e] [pr]operty ... the pr[o]p[e]rty ... gene[r]ations" (letters lost in a blot/worn patch)	"confiscate property ... the property ... generations"
8	TO SINGLE TAX CLEVELAND VOTERS.	enroll:.ent" (m damaged)	"enrollment"
8	Savings Banks and Workingmen.	The lan` on" (d lost)	"The land on"
8	Henry George in Reading.	ult.a free trade" / "tra.ers	"ultra free trade" / "traders"

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
8	THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.	and :he cars” (t damaged)	“and the cars”
8	THE BEATING OF THE DRUMS.	the c ifference in labor cost” (d damaged) / “exac’ed” (t damaged) / “storage ’atteries” (b damaged)	“difference” / “exacted” / “batteries”
8	[Advertisement] Pennsylvania Agricultural Works — Farquhar’s	Catal.gue. Portabl-, Sta-” / “equal or superior to” set as “equalor superiorto” (letters damaged/crowded)	“Catalogue. Portable, Sta-”
8	[Advertisement] Pennsylvania Agricultural Works — Farquhar’s	Address A. B. FARQUHAR & SON, York, Pa.” with only the lower half of the line inked	same
8	[Advertisement] M. R. Levy & Co.	WOOSTLR STREET” (E damaged)	“WOOSTER STREET”
8	[Advertisement] The Keystone Watch Club Co.	American L:ver Stem Winders” (e damaged)	“American Lever”

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