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Contents

55 notes: 55 misprints. Uncertain readings are in [brackets?]. Original spelling and misprints are kept as printed.

Page 1

★ CAMPAIGN NOTES. 5

★ *[Campaign notes: Westchester county]* 5

★ *[Campaign notes: Brooklyn]* 6

★ *[Campaign notes: Utica, Herkimer and Ogdensburg]* 6 Henry George

CHRISTIANS AT THE POLLS 7 James O. S. Huntington

★ Three Magnificent Mass Meetings in Brooklyn. 9

★ A Mass Meeting at Webster Hall. 10

[The Standard invites campaign correspondence] 10

GUIDE POSTS FOR THE ROAD. 10 T. L. McCready

Cheering News From an Indiana Man. 12 P. H. Carroll

HOW THE TOWN WAS BONDED. 12 F. S. Hammond

United Labor Men in Kansas Please Take Notice. 13 F. M. P. Donnelly

★ A Big Meeting in the Twenty-second District. 14

What the Twenty-third Assembly District Will Do Next Week. 14

Page 2

★ ANTI-POVERTY. / THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC CROWDED AGAIN. / Dr. McGlynn Instructs the Anti-Povertyites in the Primitive Christian Method of Propagating the Doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. 15

★ THE CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY REMARKS. 15 Louis F. Post

★ ADDRESS OF DR. M'GLYNN. 18 Edward McGlynn

The Farmers Are Commencing to Do Their Own Thinking. 24 H. H. Freeman

Organized Against Corruption in Croton. 25 William H. Daly

A Healthy Growth. 25 C. E. Gooding

Page 3

★ SINGLE TAX VS. SOCIALISM / THE DEBATE BETWEEN SERGIUS E. SHEVITCH AND HENRY GEORGE. / A Crowded House, with Hundreds Turned Away—A Full Statement of the Socialistic Objections to the Single Tax—The Possibilities of Labor with Free Access to Natural Opportunities. 26

★ MR. SHEVITCH'S ARGUMENT. 26 Sergius E. Shevitch

★ HENRY GEORGE'S REPLY. 30 Henry George

★ MR. SHEVITCH'S REJOINDER. 32 Sergius E. Shevitch

★ HENRY GEORGE CONCLUDES THE DEBATE. 33 Henry George

Progress and Poverty in California. 34 E. C. Phelps

It Was Written By William McCabe. 35

A DEVICE OF LANDLORDISM. / Promoting Land Values Through the Medium of High Toned Street Names. 35

A Typical Meeting in Montgomery. 36 L. [Tompkins?]

Stirring Up Johnstown. 37 Earnest Worker

Page 4

[Notice to subscribers on delivery] 39

PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. / Adopted at Syracuse August 19, 1887. 39

★ UNITED LABOR PARTY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK. / Headquarters State Executive Committee, [appeal for campaign funds] 40 Edward McGlynn; Gaybert Barnes

BUT TEN MORE DAYS. 41

[We have made a magnificent fight in the state] 41

[Of course, the natural question arises] 42

[In this city and Brooklyn the outlook is more than hopeful] 42

THE LABOR PARTY INSPECTORS. 43

[A few days after that election] 43

[Until the following summer there was no pretense] 44

[But after the 19th of August a new opportunity] 44

[As the courts concede, Mr. McMackin] 45

[But while no criticism of the courts may be made] 45

[What the united labor party is not permitted to do] 45

Making Converts in Syracuse. 45 W. H. Joyce

JEM'S CHANCE. 45 W. C. Wood, M. D.

THE SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL FAITH. 47 Harvey Book

★ Kept Steadfast in the Faith by the Arguments of Its Opponents. 48 Samuel Quinn

★ Henry George to Speak in Brooklyn. 49

Page 5

★ TWO WEEKS MORE. 50 Louis F. Post

Renssalaer will Acquit Herself Nobly. 54 T. J. Sanford

The Small Manufacturers are with Us. 54 E. A. Kimball

Fast Multiplying in Marlborough. 54 C. H. Baildon

Albany Will Make a Pretty Good Showing in November. 55 F. C. Stevens

Growing Confidence in Elmira. 55 H. M. Bergman

Organized in South Orange, N. J. 55 H. T. Haase

JUDGE MAGUIRE'S TOUR. 55 James G. Maguire

★ Booming in Dutchess County. 58 W. C. Albro

★ Much Enthusiasm in Western New York. 59 A. J. Rose

Making Converts in Port Chester. 59 Fred J. Huppert

Patrick Ford Will Live to Regret His Present Stand. 59 Edward Hayes

★ The West Side Anti-Poverty Society. 59

★ A WORKER'S CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCES. 59 Alfred S. Houghton

★ A Great Awakening in Malone. 61 I. E. Murphy

★ The Prospect of Success Grows Higher Every Day. 61 John G. Koelmlein

Doctrine Spreading on Long Island. 61 Thomas E. Boland

Page 6

★ WORKING FOR VICTORY. / CHEERING REPORTS FROM MEN ACTIVE IN THE FIGHT. / A Growing Feeling of Respect for the Principles of United Labor–Clergymen and Farmers Listening Eagerly–New Clubs Forming. 62

Spreading the Gospel in Indiana. 63 W. W. Bailey

DEACON ROGERS'S HOUSE. 64 W. C. Wood, M. D.

Their Eyes are Blinded. 65 Luke W. White

Sowing the Seed in Illinois. 65 Robert Cumming

How the Seed Sprouts. 66

A Newsdealer Who is Telling the News. 66 George Shaw

★ CHURCHMEN THINKING. / EPISCOPAL MINISTERS CONSIDER WHAT THEY SHOULD DO FOR LABOR. / They Accept the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man and Believe that When an Opportunity to Labor is Given to All Men One Great Cause of Suffering Will be Removed. 66

Mass Meetings in the Sixteentn Assembly District. 71

Clinging to Nominal and Rejecting Real Ownership. 71 Rusticus

ANTI-POVERTY LETTERS. / WILL CONTRIBUTE THEIR MITE OF VOTES. 72 J. M. Foster

AWAKENING FROM THEIR POLITICAL SLEEP. 72

A GRAND GOD-GIVEN LAW. 72 Martin Meagher

HEARTILY SICK OF THE OLD PARTIES. 72 Philip Smith

PUSHING THINGS IN MONTGOMERY. 72

MICHIGAN LAND. 73 Judson Grinell

It Makes No Difference Whether Farms are Becoming Larger or Smaller–The Question is, Who Owns Them? 74

It Sounds Sensible. 75

"For He Had Great Possessions." 75

Page 7

QUERIES AND ANSWERS. / Shifting the Tax. 76 David Martin

Western Syndicates. 76 John A. Stull

How to Get at the Value. 77

★ A Tangled Brooklyn Editor. 77 Kings County

Exempting Homesteads. 78 John W. Coleman

Notes. 78

THE CAMPAIGN FUND. 80

Privileged Criminal Classes. 84

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS. / Where They Meet and When. 84

★ UNITED LABOR PARTY. / Appointments for Speakers in New York State. 94 Gaybert Barnes

Advertisements (17): Members of Labor Organizations · Braham's · NEW PUBLICATIONS. / Protection or Free Trade? · Henry George's Works. · THE LAND AND LABOR LIBRARY. · HENRY GEORGE'S SOLUTION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM. · LAND AND LABOR · ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMONERS. · ILLINOIS. · ALL READERS OF THE STANDARD · 23RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT · VOTERS OF MARYLAND · Canned Goods · AUTOCOPYIST · SELLING LIKE HOT CAKES!—U. L. P. CAMPAIGN BUTTON. · THE DEMOCRAT. · TAX REFORMER.

Page 8

PUBLISHER'S NOTES. 100

[Here is a letter from a minister of the New church] 100

[Here is a letter from an earnest worker] 101

[How goes the recruiting fund] 102

AN ILLUSTRATION AND A PROMISE. / The Vast Untaxed Natural Opportunities of Luzerne County–"Only God or Myself Can Start or Stop These Mines"–Active Political Work Among the Farmers. 102 C. S. Hopkins

The Movement Elsewhere. 103

★ The McGlynn Fund. 104

★ A REVIEW OF THE LOCAL SITUATION. / The Nominees for the Senate, the Civil Courts and the Assembly–The Campaign to Close With Hot Work for the Labor Party. 104

Preaching Anti-Poverty Doctrine in Paterson. 106

★ ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY. 108

NOTICE.–VOTERS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK 108

★ UNITED LABOR PARTY.–GRAND mass meeting 111

Advertisements (23): CURE FOR THE DEAF · THE WATERBURY. · SELLING LIKE HOT CAKES · PRINTING. · SHACKMAN'S ORIGINAL PEDIGREE! · A NEW TREATMENT OF THE GREAT QUESTION OF THE DAY! · NEW PUBLICATIONS. GERMAN TRACTS. · "PROGRESS AND POVERTY" IN GERMAN. · THE SINGLE TAX. · CAMPAIGN MEDALLIONS OF HENRY GEORGE AND DR. McGLYNN. · JUST OUT. · DR. McGLYNN, HENRY GEORGE, POWDERLY · THE PHONOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE. · EXTRA EDITION OF "SOCIAL SCIENCE." · $38 GOLD WATCH · Piso's Remedy for Catarrh · CHARLES B. SCHAIDNER, · HOLLAND'S · JAMES BOGAN, PRINCIPAL AGENT · OUR HOMES MADE BEAUTIFUL · DR. BAIRD'S GRANULES. · GOOD NEWS TO LADIES. · COOGAN BROS.,

About this text (6 notes on this issue)

- `[word?]` is a best guess; `[illegible]` means unreadable. Line-end hyphens are joined. Misprints are kept as printed; letters judged to be broken type are written as intended but listed among the misprints (marked “broken type”).
- p1: George’s CAMPAIGN NOTES (signed); “Christians at the Polls” is signed James O. S. Huntington.
- p2: the Anti-poverty report gives Post’s remarks and McGlynn’s full address. p3: the George-Shevitch debate gives George’s two speeches verbatim.
- p4: McGlynn and Barnes sign the appeal; “John N. Bogart” and “John M. Bogert” in successive paragraphs; the convention is dated Aug. 17 here and Aug. 19 on the platform.

- p5: “Two Weeks More” is signed LOUIS F. POST; “Judge Maguire’s Tour” signed James G. Maguire. A. D./A. J. Rose and H. F./H. T. Haase differ in print.
- p8: the recruiting fund adds if Vogel’s blotted figure is 70. The Dr. Baird advertisement is badly printed (two [illegible]).

[Running head: THE STANDARD]

[Running head: VOL. II.—NO. 17. | NEW YORK, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1887. | PRICE FIVE CENTS]

p. 1, col. 1

CAMPAIGN NOTES.

The united labor party is in good condition in Albany, and has a straight ticket in the field, Edward J. Lee being the candidate for state senate and P. S. O'Heaney for assembly. An attempt was made in the beginning to run the labor vote as a sort of Irving Hall tender to old party politics, but when the convention, mainly composed of Knights of Labor, came together, their first move was the adoption of the Syracuse platform, which spoiled the schemes of the trading politicians. J. J. McCabe, member from this district of the state committee, is a good organizer, and has done efficient work. On Wednesday of last week, when I spoke in Albany, it was impossible for our friends to get a large hall, a fair for the Catholic cathedral occupying the opera house and the next largest hall, in the Armory building, having recently been bought by the Catholic Union, who refused to let it for a united labor meeting. The only one remaining was Van Vechten hall, which accommodates but six hundred people, and this our friends had to content themselves with. At the hour set for the meeting not only was it packed, but there was such a great crowd around the doors that we had to adjourn to the park, where I made a short open air speech, and then went to the hall, where a crowded and most enthusiastic audience awaited me. There is no doubt that our friends in Albany will give a good account of this county.

Among the interesting men I met in Albany was George Frank, one of the land reformers of forty years ago, when Evans led the agitation for the homestead law and Duganne was writing his spirited songs. Like the other veterans of that time, Mr. Frank is jubilant at seeing the doctrine of the land for the people coming so rapidly to the front.

The united labor party is also in good condition in Westchester county. It has nominated a straight and strong ticket for local offices, and expects to poll a very large vote. I spoke at Sing Sing on Thursday night of last week, following Mr. Flanagan, who has been sent out by the telegraphers, and is doing good work in organizing. James Mahon, president of the Sing Sing club, presided, and though it was a very rainy night we had a full house. Our nominee for assembly, Mr. John G. Mecouch, was present on the platform.

I spoke in Yonkers on Friday night to another crowded house, Dr. W. N. Southworth the son of the famous novelist, Mrs. E. D. E. N. Southworth, presiding. Dr. Southworth is one of the men who accepted our principles years before the political movement began, and he is now taking a very earnest part in the work. He tells me that his mother is also a warm advocate of the doctrine. Matthew K. Couzens, our candidate for state engineer and surveyor, was present, but he is not a talker and did not make a speech. He is, however, a man highly esteemed by all who know him and will add strength to our ticket in his locality.

The third place I spoke at in Westchester county was New Rochelle, on Saturday afternoon, at a meeting which had been arranged for by Dr. Huntington. It was a bad time and the meeting was a small one, but it did good for all that.

Among our active friends in this county is Alexander Sutherland of Yonkers, who is now doing good work in organizing the smaller towns. He belongs to a family consisting of a father and three sons, who are all thoroughly in earnest in the new movement.

On Saturday night I spoke at three great meetings in Brooklyn, the size and enthusiasm of which fairly astonished me. In the beginning our friends looked upon Brooklyn as a rather backward place, but from these meetings and what I hear of the strength of the organization there it will hardly be much behind New York on election day.

Utica is another of the places where the progress of the united labor party has exceeded all expectation. When Mr. Pentecost opened the campaign here so little interest was taken that his audience hardly exceeded fifty persons, but he made, so those who were present say, a magnificent speech, which sent the whole fifty out to talk about the doctrine. When Dr. McGlynn came he had a crowded audience in the largest hall, and then came Louis F. Post to push the work further along. I spoke on Monday night to a large and extremely intelligent audience in the opera house, and answered many questions which showed great interest in the movement. Rev. H. W. Whitfield, a Presbyterian clergyman, presided. We have now a good organization in Utica, of which Thos. Sweeny is president, and Geo. M. Faulkner is secretary, and our friends say that they are increasing in numbers every day and expect to poll a large vote.

I met in Utica George E. Bedell of Herkimer, state committeeman from the Twenty-fourth district. His report of Herkimer county is very encouraging. He says our doctrines are rapidly taking hold of the farmers, and that they have nominated a full united labor ticket and expect a very good showing on election day. Three months ago, Mr. Bedell says, he knew no one in the county besides himself who stood on our platform, but [now?] he is confident of at least a thousand votes,

p. 1, col. 2

I spoke on Tuesday at Ogdensburg, in St. Lawrence county, one of the most backward counties in the state so far as the united labor movement is concerned. Until my visit there was no organization, and but one meeting had been held, that addressed by Dr. McGlynn. Before Dr. McGlynn's speech the popular impression about us had been that we were a set of cranks and destructives, bent upon dividing property and taxing the farmers out of their homes, but for all that Dr. McGlynn had a great meeting and produced a great effect. I heard of it first from a railroad conductor whom I met week before last between Rouse's Point and St. Albans, Vt., who said he happened to be in Ogdensburg that night, and went out of curiosity to see the man, and with the intention of staying only a few minutes; but he sat there listening to the doctor for two hours and forty minutes, and could have stayed for two hours and forty minutes more. "It was totally different from any political meeting I ever attended," said the conductor. "Dr. McGlynn did not have a word to say against any one else. It was more like a sermon, and there was more real religion in it than in any sermon I ever heard. If I could hear a sermon like that I would go to church every Sunday." Similar to this was the effect upon the townspeople, and since Dr. McGlynn's speech the land question has been generally discussed.

It got another impulse on Tuesday night when I spoke to an audience that crowded every part of the large and beautiful opera house in the city hall. At the conclusion of the meeting a united labor organization was effected, Mr. H. M. Davidson, a prominent member of the Knights of Labor, being chosen chairman, and Mr. George E. Algie, a dry goods merchant, secretary. The good seed is now well planted in Ogdensburg and a goodly crop will show in votes in the coming election, but the great effect of what is now being done here and throughout the state will not be perceived until some time after.

I am every day more and more convinced from what I have seen in this campaign that it is entirely possible for the united labor party to firmly hold the electoral vote of the Empire state next year. For what we are now doing is like the striking of a spark in tinder or the throwing of a lighted match among shavings. Everywhere, although they may not yet have received them, the mass of the people are ready for our doctrines, and everywhere in country and town there are such flagrant instances of the injustice of the present system of taxation that, once attention is called to it and a rational remedy proposed, the work of propaganda goes on of itself. Everywhere I go I find that people crowd around me after the conclusion of my speaking to give me local examples of how our present treatment of land stands in the way of improvement, of how heavily the homestead owner and farmer are taxed as compared with the holder of vacant land, and how the holders of large amounts of personal property laugh at the laws taxing them. If I could note and write all I hear upon these subjects I could fill THE STANDARD every week. "I am with you," said an Ogdensburg man to me last night. "I am with you from now on, and I am glad some party has come forward to advocate a rational system of taxation. I have been walking past a vacant lot going to and from my house every day for these ten years. The owner is not even compelled to put a sidewalk on it, and the snow lies there in winter and it is dusty in summer. I went to him three years ago on behalf of some friends of mine, who were willing to pay a reasonable price for lots, and wished to build houses, which would have very much improved our neighborhood, but he wanted two or three times what the land is worth to-day, and when I remonstrated told me that he could afford to carry it until he got his price. I am with the party that proposes to make him pay as much for holding that. land as we have to pay who put up houses and improve the town. If the united labor party carries out its system of taxation he will find that block too heavy to carry any longer."

Among my auditors in Ogdensburg last night was a resident of Ottawa, Canada. He had only heard of us through the misrepresentations that had been made, and it required a good deal of persuasion on the part of a friend to induce him to come to the meeting. But when the meeting was over he proclaimed himself unreservedly and enthusiastically an advocate of the single tax, and declared that he would go back to Ottawa and use his best efforts from this time on to spread the doctrine of equal rights.

Another Canadian who was present was Mr. John Berks of Cardinal, Ontario, who goes home with the avowed intention of starting an anti-poverty society or a land and labor club in his home. I met here also Mr. C. L. Fowler of Potsdam, and Mr. M. B. Murphy of Massena, and a number of other friends from other smaller towns in this county. We are breaking ground in the country this year, but it will not take long to give us an organization in every hamlet. In the meantime we may look with confidence to the 8th of November for a vote that will astonish the politicians and show that the long looked for party of the people has indeed been born,

HENRY GEORGE,

p. 1, col. 3

CHRISTIANS AT THE POLLS

A new movement has come, gathering under a common standard men of all classes, callings, beliefs. These men have formed themselves into a party. They have adopted a name—that of United Labor. They have entered into a political campaign that extends to every corner of this Empire state. They have raised wholly new issues. They are presenting social and economic questions in place of the personal rivalries and sectional animosities that for years have been the subjects of party competition. This new party stands fairly before the people of this state and makes its voice heard through the land. It appeals to every class in the community for acceptance and support. It appeals to the intelligence of the public in its plain statements of indisputable facts, its irrefragable logic, its keen analysis. It appeals to the moral sense of men by its cry for justice, fair dealing, equality of privileges. But it urges a yet more powerful claim; it appeals to the *heart* of society, for it speaks in the name of religion, in the name of God

the Father and of Christ the Son and Brother. Religion has long been excluded from the arena of politics, or regarded as an unwelcome visitor. But under the influence of this new movement, sacred names, reverently uttered, and spiritual truths, earnestly set forth, are heard in political caucuses, in excited conventions, in the halls of assembly districts, on the platforms of concert halls and theaters, Sometimes what was announced as a political speech becomes a simple utterance of the truth of the gospel of Christ, the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man. It might be thought that this was an accidental feature, resulting from the *personnel* of some of the present leaders of the party, an adventitious thing evincing no response from the masses. But men in these days do not listen patiently to declamation in which they take no interest, and yet vast audiences in all parts of this state have been content to listen for an hour at a time to the enunciation of the primary truths of religion set forth as the ground on which the doctrines of the united labor party rest. And if those who come to scoff do not yet remain to pray, yet many who come in a spirit of idle curiosity go away to repeat what they have heard, and bring others to come and receive the truth. These are patent facts, and whatever significance they may or may not leave to others, there is one class in the community to which they must, it would be thought, appeal. This is the class that consists of those who openly avow themselves believers in the teachings of Jesus Christ and claim to be His followers. Christians may disregard ordinary politics and turn away with indifference from the wranglings of office seekers; they cannot so safely disregard any man or body of men that asks a hearing in their Master's name. This the united labor party does.

Fellow Christians, for I, too, claim a right to that glorious title, will you not give a calm consideration to the claims of this movement, appealing, as it does, in the name of our common Lord? Have you honestly considered the statements that this party presents to you? Are you quite sure that they are opposed to the gospel of Christ? Have you freed your mind from all misconception and prejudice, the misrepresentations of a hostile press or the sneers of a mammon-worshiping society? Have you given due weight to the fact that this new party is bringing back faith in the mysteries you reverence to thousands who had lost that faith, that thousands of men are glad to confess that this movement, condemned as false and unchristian, has made them better Christians, more pure, more true, more devout? "By their faith ye shall know them." Have you realized that while the old parties are appealing to motives the most sordid and debasing, this party urges men by the attraction of self-sacrifice, unselfishness. love of justice and truth, and that so persistently that where some lower incentive is used it instantly strikes the attention and jars like a false note in a strain of music? I know how constantly a different presentment of the matter is forced upon you. As so often happens a single word serves the turn of those who would ruin our cause. "Confiscation." This is the sham spectre that is paraded before the eyes of religious people. It does its work, false though it be. Many of you really believe that what the united labor party contemplates is some wholesale breach of the eighth commandment; that by some chicanery a few designing men are plotting to seize the reins of government and then to plunder the industrious and upright of the fruits of their toil, distributing the spoils among the idle and the vicious. If that is what you think we teach, no wonder at your indignation when we invoke the name of religion on behalf of such a scheme of robbery. But is it not worthy of you as followers of the apostolic teaching which bids us "Prove all things" and to be "patient toward all men" to hear what the united labor party really does mean? We hold that "the land of a country belongs to the people of that country." That in some sense you must acknowledge as true. During years past Congress has given away millions of acres of what are spoken of as public lands, together with the streams, rivers and other natural advantages of such land, to various railroad companies and other corporations, The

p. 1, col. 4

justification of these grants can only be that Congress is a body representative of the people composing this nation, and that the people owning the land in its corporate capacity chose to give some of it away! No one supposes that the members of congress had any other right to dispose of this land. But the amount of land is limited; there is only so much of it. Therefore, when what still remains of the public lands is given away or sold, as most of it has been to private persons at a nominal price, there will be no more land in the power of the people.

But in the course of a few years the majority of the individuals in this nation will die, and in a few more years the present population of these states will have been replaced by a new collection of individuals. Now will these new comers have no right to the land in which they are born? Will they as a nation be disinherited? If it is true that the land of a country belongs to the people of that country, why does it belong to that people at one period of its history and not at another? And if in future time the nation shall urge its claim to the land it inhabits, is this to be described as robbery? Does not the land belong to our descendants as truly as it does to us, and have we a right to give away that which is not ours alone, but theirs as well? Is there anything inconsistent with the highest teachings of Christian ethics in the declaration of Thomas Jefferson: "The land belongs in usufruct to the living; the dead have neither powers nor rights over it?" But is it proposed that the government shall take and redistribute the land or seize and rent it out? Nothing of the kind. The rights of the nation can be acknowledged without any such revolutionary act as that. (And yet let us as Christians remember that we stand responsible for the justice of the divinely-revealed economy of the Old Testament, and that the Mosaic system provided for very nearly such a revolution every fifty years.) The claims of the nation may be satisfied much more simply. What is necessary is that the increasing value of the land produced by the growth of population should be used for the benefit of the whole people. This may be most easily accomplished by laying a tax on the value of the land and making that tax equal to the renting value of the land, at the same time removing the taxes on production and all other property. If this tax is used for the benefit of the community at large, then the community receives the real worth of its possessions, and all the individuals that compose the community share in the heritage that belongs to them. Is this confiscation? Is this contrary to the teachings of Christ? But is this change to be made by some political maneuvre? By no means.

When it comes about it will be by the deliberate action at the polls of the great majority of the people of this land. The very men who urge this act of justice are urging as well a system of voting which will free the ballot from the coercive power of money, trickery and political chicane and make the votes of the people express their real will. And if the people of this country declare for a system which shall give to every child born on this soil a share in the blessings that God has poured upon this country in the fertility of its soil, the richness of its mines, the healthfulness of its air, what will this be but a grand act of national obedience to the precept of Jesus Christ, "Whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye also unto them likewise?" This is the reason why we believe that we have a right to appeal to you in the name of Christ. And if our advocacy of these measures seems earnestness to the point of enthusiasm, we ask you to remember that while to many of you this question may be one of interest, but has no immediate or personal meaning, there are hundreds of thousands of men and women to whom it is a matter of life and death; yes, in the crowded slums of our great cities, even of salvation or damnation.

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

Three Magnificent Mass Meetings in Brooklyn.

If there was any doubt in the minds of fair minded persons that Brooklyn would poll a very large vote for the candidates of the united labor party it mnst[sic] have been dispelled on Saturday night, when three immense mass meetings were held at the same hour in different parts of the city. The chief speakers were Dr. McGlynn, Henry George, Victor A. Wilder, John J. Clancy and Major A. R. Calhoun; and the wildest enthusiasm prevailed. The chief meeting was held in the Claremont avenue rink, said to be the largest hall in the city and capable of holding four thousand people. The place was packed, and though a large part of the assemblage was beyond the range of the speakers' voices, men still lingered in the hope of catching some idea of what was going on. At Williamsburg the

Sic in the original; probably "must".

capacious Grand Army hall was filled to the doors, and another immense crowd thronged Bartholdi hall in Greenpoint. For enthusiasm and numbers these three great meetings far surpassed the hopes of the projectors.

A Mass Meeting at Webster Hall.

On next Tuesday evening a mass meeting will be held in Webster hall, Eleventh street, between Third and Fourth avenues, of the Seventh senatorial district united labor party, comprising the Eighth, Tenth and Fourteenth assembly districts. Louis F. Post, Everett Glackin, Paul Meyer and William McCabe will deliver addresses.

THE STANDARD invites correspondence from its friends throughout the state relating to the progress of the campaign, and giving facts which may illustrate or bear upon the principles advocated by the united labor party. Such correspondence should be brief, and confined to the recital of facts, to avoid undue pressure upon our columns.

p. 1, col. 5

GUIDE POSTS FOR THE ROAD.

A stranger writes me, stating that he has engaged to deliver at an early date a statement and defense of the objects of the Anti-poverty society, and requests that I will give him a definition of the cardinal points of the society's principles, arranged in consecutive order.

I presume that my correspondent is not asking for an exhaustive account of the arguments by which the Anti-poverty society justifies the reform it advocates, but that having thoroughly examined the subject and satisfied himself of the righteousness of the society's aims and methods, he needs only such a brief, succinct statement as may enable him to present to an audience the arguments with which he is already familiar in proper and logical sequence. He does not ask me to furnish a road for him to travel on, but only a series of guide posts which may mark the turnings.

The reform demanded by the Anti-poverty society is simply the taking by the community—viz: the state, city, county or township government—of the full annual rental value of natural opportunities, and the abolition of all other forms of taxation, without exception. This, we claim, will abolish poverty, and in doing that will abolish also the selfishness, greed, cunning and falsehood which the dread of poverty begets, and will not only enable, but constrain, men to live in literal accordance with the laws announced by Christ in the sermon on the mount.

Here is the argument in brief:

1. Every material thing that man is, or has, or can desire, is produced by the application of human labor to the raw material provided by the Almighty in the structure of the earth.

2. There is no limit to the production of wealth, save only such as is imposed by lack of natural opportunity, or lack of human labor.

3.—Land—i. e., natural opportunities or the raw material of nature—and human labor being the two, and the only two, factors of wealth production, it follows that whoever *owns either one, necessarily, to that* extent, controls production. If I own men as slaves, I can check wealth production by refusing to allow them to work on natural opportunities. If I own natural opportunities instead of human beings, I can control production just as effectually

by refusing to allow my fellow men to exert their labor on those opportunities. In either case I can force my fellow men to give me all the wealth they produce beyond what will enable them to live and reproduce their kind. I can make them work for my benefit. I can *keep them in poverty* while I *myself* am wealthy.

1. Private ownership of human labor being already abolished, the abolition of private ownership of natural opportunities will remove the fetters from wealth production, insure the just distribution of the product and extirpate poverty.

2. The absorption of land values by taxation will be equivalent to the abolition of private ownership of natural opportunities, because:

First—The measure of land value is the competition among individuals for the privilege of using a special piece of land in preference to some other piece. A patch of arable land near New York has a value of several hundred dollars yearly, while an equal fertile piece of ground some hundreds of miles away may have no value whatever, because, owing to proximity to a market, the application of the same amount of labor will produce several hundred dollars more wealth yearly from the first piece of land than from the second. Under present circumstances the land owner seizes this value in the form of rent, or capitalizes it, and exacts it in a lump in the shape of purchase money, the effect being that the men who want to apply their labor to that land must remain idle unless they can purchase the permission to work from the land owner.

Second—The steady tendency of land values to rise as population increases renders it profitable for land owners to absolutely prohibit the use of natural opportunities until the value reaches an abnormally high figure.

Third—Both these causes tend to the creation and increase of poverty; the first by enabling land owners to avail themselves of the competition among laborers to extract the uttermost farthing of wealth produced; the second by rendering it profitable for land owners to refuse laborers permission to utilize natural opportunities on any terms whatever.

Fourth—But if land values were absorbed by taxation—so that whatever the land owner might exact from his tenant would be taken away from him—there would no longer be any profit in mere land owning, and land ownership, as we now know it, would cease. Land possessorship, however, would remain. The land owner who should want to use his land, to put labor upon it and create wealth, would find a profit in doing so; but the land owner who couldn't or didn't want to use his land would necessarily let somebody else use it who would pay the tax, since if he didn't do so he himself would be constantly out of pocket the amount of the tax, without any possibility of ever getting it back again from anybody else.

Fifth—The effect of this would be to throw open natural opportunities, without exception, to whomsoever would exert labor upon them for the creation of wealth. Thus both factors of wealth production—human labor and natural opportunities—would be rendered free, with the result, as before shown, of rendering poverty impossible.

1. As for the ethical side of the question, that presents but little difficulty. The Almighty places successive generations of men on this planet, and removes them in His own good time. It were impious to suppose that when He laid the foundations of the earth, stored it with minerals and bestowed on it fertile soils and varying climates, He did so with intent that a favored few should enjoy the ownership of these things, and be privileged to refuse their fellow men any share in them, except upon payment of tribute as from inferiors to superiors.

T. L. MCCREADY.

Cheering News From an Indiana Man.

EVANSVILLE, Ind.–A word from an humble advocate of your doctrine may be of some cheer to the thousands who are now in line, and also to some weary brother who has stopped to rest by the roadside. In 1884 I became thoroughly conversant with your doctrines, and since then have been hard at work trying to get others to work in the same direction. Yesterday I spoke to a friend on the subject, and he said in answer: "Do you know there is an insane asylum in this city?" I handed him the little book entitled "The Land Question." To-day he met me and asked when we were going to organize a club, stating that he wanted to join us. This summer I have traveled over a good part of this state, coming in contact with a

p. 1, col. 6

number of Irish Catholics, who openly love and sympathize with Dr. McGlynn.

I was in Indianapolis last Tuesday, and friends there are about to form an anti-poverty society. I also called on our friend Warren W. Bailey of Vincennes, who is doing noble work for the cause, and deserves much credit for the six hundred converts I found in his city. Mr. Chapman, master workman of district 58, Knights of Labor, has, after one hour's explanation, became a thorough convert.

We will organize a club here on next Thursday, which will be made up of progressive, intelligent men, including manufacturers as well as laborers. So in the future you will hear good news from the Hoosier state.

P. H. CARROLL.

HOW THE TOWN WAS BONDED.

"Well, Uncle Ben," said Frank, "I hope you haven't forgotten your promise to tell me about the bonding of your town to aid in building the railroad."

"No, indeed; and I guess this is about as good a time as any.

"You know before the Midland was built we were a long distance from the railroad; and the country hereabouts being so hilly, scarcely anyone expected ever to see a railroad constructed any nearer to us. So when the line of the present road was surveyed through here nearly everyone was anxious to have it built, and when a proposition was made that we should bond the town for $143,000 for the purpose of taking stock in the road, it was received with a good deal of favor. One of our leading farmers, Mr. A––, the brother of a great western hog killer, was particularly earnest in the matter. He described in glowing terms the benefit a railroad would be to our town, and showed how, within a very few years, the stock of the railroad company would return us sufficient in dividends to meet the interest on the bonds, if not to pay a handsome profit. In one way and another, enough property owners were induced to think well of the scheme to carry it through, and so the town was duly bonded.

"Well, the road was built, and land values boomed for a time. Mr. A–– sold his farm for something like $200 an acre, and moved away to Kansas City to take charge of his brother's business there, while the rest of us, like fools, stayed here. But it was soon evident that the road couldn't pay, and its affairs got worse and worse, until finally it was put into the hands of a receiver. The road kept running down; the fences along the line went to pieces, and our cattle began to stray on to the track and get killed. I myself lost three valuable cows, and when I wrote to the receiver about it, I was told that there was no longer any railroad company–the company was bankrupt.

"It was even so! The road was sold on mortgage foreclosure, and the stock which the town had received in exchange for its bonds was no longer of any value. So now we are paying interest on those bonds, and shall soon be compelled to pay the principal." "But," said Frank, "the road is paying well enough now, isn't it?"

"Yes, *indeed*," answered Uncle Ben; "the road is making money now; but then the original capital stock is not worth anything. It has been canceled in some legal way that just about equals repudiation."

"Well, then, why don't the town cancel its bonds in the same way if they have never received any value for them?"

"Oh! you see we can't get through the same loop hole by any means. Some of the other towns that were caught in the same trap tried that, but failed, and had to pay a large sum for costs into the bargain. You see the bonds are a mortgage on all the land of the town, and they cannot be evaded."

Frank looked puzzled. "A mortgage on all the land?" he said. "Did you sign the bonds yourself?"

"No, indeed! And I even voted against issuing them."

"And so your farm—your land and house and barn and stock—has actually been mortgaged without your consent, and will be sold to pay a debt you never incurred. Really, uncle, that looks to me like pure and simple confiscation. You ought to join our united labor party. We don't believe in any such thieving principle as that. All we claim is the right to tax the value of the bare unimproved land without any improvements at all, and that not above its rental value as bare land; and whatever you can make out of the land, or put on the land, we say ought to be yours absolutely, without tax or public burden of any kind."

Uncle Ben looked very thoughtful for a while, then he said:

"Well, it does look as if somehow or another our present laws allow these monopoly fellows to steal about all we work to make; and what they don't steal outright they take in freight charges on our crops."

"Well, uncle, don't you think it would be better if the whole people owned the railroads and operated them, just as they do the postoffice?"

"Don't know but it would," said Uncle Ben; "don't know but it would. We have to pay for building the roads anyhow and find all the money they make their profits out of, and I don't see why we haven't a right to say how they shall be run."

And Uncle Ben is going to vote the united labor ticket on November 8.

F. S. HAMMOND.

United Labor Men in Kansas Please Take Notice.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—We have organized a united labor club here and adopted the Syracuse platform, and we are anxious to correspond with all believers in our principles throughout the state, with a view of calling a state convention in the near future and adopting a plan of organization. I take this method of inviting communications from Kansas citizens who believe in the principle of the single tax.

F. M. P. DONNELLY,

211 Armstrong street.

A Big Meeting in the Twenty-second District.

The Twenty-second assembly district association will hold a mass meeting in Parepa hall, on Third avenue, near Eighty-sixth street, on Saturday evening, Oct. 29. It is expected that this will be the largest meeting of the campaign held in Harlem. The chief speakers will be Henry George, Louis F. Post, James Redpath, John McMackin, Paul Meyer and Dr. Daniel De Leon.

What the Twenty-third Assembly District Will Do Next Week.

The Twenty-third assembly district, united labor party, has engaged, for all the week beginning Monday next, 31st inst., Park Music hall, 126th street and Second avenue; Sulzer's Harlem casino and garden, [126th?] street and Second avenue; Association hall, 129th street and Fourth avenue; Temperance hall, 124th street and Lexington avenue.

Page 2 of 8

[Running head: 2 THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, OCTOBER 29, 1887.]

p. 2, col. 1

ANTI-POVERTY.

THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC CROWDED AGAIN.

Dr. McGlynn Instructs the Anti-Povertyites in the Primitive Christian Method of Propagating the Doctrine of the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man.

Despite the intense interest in the George-Shevitch debate and the great crowd it attracted to Miner's theater, the regular anti-poverty meeting at the Academy of Music last Sunday filled every seat and left only standing room for those who arrived later than a quarter to eight. Promptly at the stated time Miss Munier, at the head of the Concordia chorus, came upon the platform, and was warmly applauded by the audience. She was followed by William T. Croasdale, chairman of the executive committee, and Louis F. Post, who presided. After the opening hymn Mr. Post was introduced. He was received with hearty applause. He said:

THE CHAIRMAN'S INTRODUCTORY REMARKS.

I read in this morning's paper that Senator Warner Miller says he don't want any better anti-poverty society than the republican party. I guess that is so. I don't think he does want any better anti-poverty society than that party. The trouble with that party as an anti-poverty society is, however, that it is altogether too exclusive; it does not distribute its anti-poverty around broadly enough. Whenever it abolishes the poverty of one man, it impoverishes several hundred or thousand other men. That is not the kind of an anti-poverty society that we have here. As you have often heard, the purpose of this anti-poverty society is not to make any one rich, or to remove his poverty particularly, but to get rid of all poverty. We think we can improve society when we bring around that condition. Now that is not to be done by any such anti-poverty methods as either of the old political parties have adopted, or as some of the churches advocate. That can only be done by securing to all men their natural rights, and giving to every man an equal chance in this world. (Applause.) No, not by giving it to him, for it has been already given to him by the Creator; it is for us to remove the obstructions to his enjoying it. (Applause.)

The Great Architect of the universe who made this planet on which we stand launched it in space freighted with all the natural materials necessary for our sustenance and enjoyment, and the question that we discuss is, whether that work of omnipotence was intended for the special advantage of a few planet owners or for the common enjoyment of all men in successive generations. (Applause.) That question is the anti-poverty question. That question is the land question. That question is the labor question. That is the question that goes home to every man in the community; and if we answer that and answer it aright, there will be no more poverty for any man who is willing by his own labor to abolish his own poverty. (Applause.) Until that is answered the poor man will be the workingman and the rich man will be the idle man; and that is just putting the cart before the horse. If we consider this question with respect to the relation of man to the planet, to the land, there can be but one answer;

this planet was not made for the special advantage of a few planet owners, but for all men as they have occasion to use it.

Man, as you have often heard from this platform, is a land animal; he can't exist without access to land; he is as helpless without access to land as a fish is without water. He is chained by an invisible chain to the surface of the earth; whether he go out upon the seas or down into the bowels of the earth or up into the air, that invisible chain holds him here to the surface, and to break that chain is death.

Whoever then can claim exclusive ownership to a part of the earth's surface that another man must use is the owner of that man, even to the extent of life or death.

Take an island in the middle of the sea. Suppose a mariner to be shipwrecked there. Let him be utterly without capital of any kind—an absolutely naked man thrown upon his own resources and the natural material that he finds in that island. By applying his labor to the land there, by plucking the fruit, by catching the game, by tilling the earth, he will be able to abolish his poverty. Go to that place a year afterward and you will find that man comfortably housed, comfortably clothed and well fed—all the result of his own labor applied to the land: all because he does not have to say to somebody, "Mister, please give me a job." He simply goes and takes the job that he finds there, applies his labor to the raw material, and away goes his poverty. (Applause.)

Now, suppose another sailor be shipwrecked by that island. When he gets near the shore, the first man comes down to him and says: "Look here, you can't land here unless you agree to be my slave." The second one might say: "I don't believe in slavery; I don't want that condition of life; I will drown first." The other might then say: "Let us compromise; I agree that you shall be a free man, but you must acknowledge that I own this island." That would be a good compromise, and if this second man was as big a fool as some of us, he would make the compromise—he would acknowledge the ownership of that island in the first man. He might ask the first man if he made the island, and the first man would answer, "No; but I found it." Of course he found it—he couldn't help but find it. But proceeding upon the theory of our law the second man would recognize the first as the owner of that island because he found it. Don't you think that an entirely new condition of affairs would take place on that island the next morning. Before, when the first man was hungry he would go out and catch a rabbit or a bird and eat it; but he would turn over a new leaf after the second man landed. He would say: "I am hungry; I think I would like to have a bird; you may catch a bird and prepare it and cook it for me and let me eat it for my breakfast, and I will let you have the gizzard for your breakfast." (Laughter and applause.)

Well, the second man would not like that arrangement, of course; but how is he going to help himself? If he undertook to object to that; *if he* should say, "Catch your own bird and I will catch my bird," the first man would say: "Look here, this island is mine, and if you are not willing to work when you have work, then get off my land." (Laughter.) That is what they tell people on this little island that we are living on, for this is but an island in space just as that was an island in the sea, and whoever owns this island can own the people that must live on it just as that first man would own the second who landed on the island and had to get his living out of it. (Applause.)

Now, that illustrates the land question. We want to put an end to that condition of things. We don't propose to divide up the land; that would not be a good thing to do. Barnum and his partners own a pretty good menagerie, but they don't cut up the animals in order to give each partner his share; that would spoil the menagerie. Here is this piece

p. 2, col. 2

of land, the value of which rises as population grows. That value is a bonus, a premium for the better places on the earth's surface. Whoever has these better places charges that bonus, that premium. He gets something for nothing, and he puts it into his own pocket. What we propose to do is to put a tax on that premium, *taking it* away from the

man that would get the benefit of it without working *for it*, and *give it* to the community which has produced the value that enables him to get that premium. It is not the land we propose to tax; it is the value of land. Some people don't know what that means. The governor of this state don't know or seem to know what it means. (Laughter.) No, he don't know what the value of the land means. The governor says if we put taxes on the value of the land, the farmers will have to pay all the taxes. But I failed to find any farm that would be worth much if the improvements were swept away during my recent tour through the state. Those farms therefore would pay little or no trx[sic]. Valuable land lies in the center of population. Here in the city of New York where a single lot was sold at the rate of something like four million dollars an acre, you will find the valuable land; it shades down in value from there till it reaches an agricultural value, and then you go to another city and you will find there a great land value, and that shades down until it reaches an agricultural district; and then you strike a mining region where land values are high. And so it is all over the surface of the globe. Those values are what we want to tax.

Speaking about the governor not understanding land values, I am amused at times in reading the different press reports of what the mayor of New York and the governor of the state, who know nothing about it, say as to what Henry George wants. You know that old story of a quarrel over the Lord's prayer between two men. They were discussing the matter, and finally one said to the other: "What do you know about the Lord's prayer? You don't know anything about it." "Yes, I do," said the other. Said the first one, "I'll bet you five dollars you can't repeat it." The bet was made and the second one started, "Now I lay me down to sleep, I pray the Lord my soul to keep; if I should die before I wake, I pray the Lord my soul to take. Amen." 'By thunder," said the other, "take the money. I didn't think you knew it." (Great laughter and applause.) That is the way these statesmen hob-nob together over the tax question, over the land question. Neither of them knows the difference between the Lord's prayer and "Now I lay me" on the question of taxation.

As population increases, all of the advantage of natural opportunities goes to the owners of natural opportunities; it is not wages that increases with the advance of civilization, but the value of opportunities; land, land value, that is what increases, and land value is what absorbs all of the pecuniary benefits of progress.

By our method of taxation, by making these opportunities free, we intend to raise wages of all kinds and we shall do it in the simplest way. Every man knows what it is that makes strikes fail; it is not the boss, not capital, but unemployed labor. There are so many people that want jobs and there are so few jobs to get. If you can do anything that will make more jobs than there are men to do them you raise wages up to the highest earning point of earnings, and that is as high as we want to raise them, because if you raise them any higher somebody will get less than he earns. Give me ten jobs and nine men and I will guarantee that wages shall be raised to the very highest point of the man's earning, because there will be a job always seeking a man and there won't be a man to do it; but give me nine jobs and ten men and I will guarantee to reduce wages to the very lowest point of subsistence. I will take the tenth man and put him through a course of pauper house diet. They say the way to abolish poverty is to make men economical. I will make that man the most economical man of the ten (laughter), but it won't abolish his poverty. After I have got him in a condition to work cheap, because he can live cheap, I will send *him* out for a job and he will have to take the place of one of the other men. He will turn scab, for a man would rather be a scab than a corpse. (Applause.) He will go out hunting for a job. He knows how to be thrifty. He applies for a job at a lower figure than one of the other men is working for, and he will get it. When he pushes the other man out, I will put the man he has pushed out through the same process; and thus will I take the whole nine, with the same result each time, and when I get through with them all I shall have all ten of the men the most economical you ever saw—so economical that the next step in the direction of economy will be the grave. That step won't be taken, of course, for I must not allow the tenth man to starve; I will have to keep that tenth man alive in order to carry this scheme through.

Sic in the original; probably "tax.".

This system of taxation will end all that by making it unprofitable for men to keep opportunities for labor without using them, and when it becomes unprofitable you will find that their value will fall, and you will find that there will be ample opportunity for men to employ themselves without being compelled to beg for work. (Great applause.) Miss Munier, assisted by the Concordia chorus, sang "The Crusaders' Marseillaise," the words of which were composed by herself. The audience insisted upon her recall, and another selection was given.

When Dr. McGlynn came forward the audience rose to its feet to cheer the more vigorously. When it had subsided, he said:

ADDRESS OF DR. M'GLYNN.

Mr. Chairman, ladies and gentlemen: This movement of ours for the teaching of a great Christian, religious and moral truth, has been likened rightfully, time and again, to the propagation of our holy religion in the first centuries after the life of our Savior; and it occurs to me that we should profit by the similitude, and seek to copy as carefully as we can the methods practiced and preached and taught to His disciples by our Savior, and carried out by them with such wondrous success.

You may remember from your reading of the Acts of the Apostles and of ecclesiastical history that the apostles of Christ were hardly permitted to address such vast audiences as it is our good fortune to address; and yet, during their brief lifetime, they converted vast multitudes of men. And the same thing was true of those to whom they committed the work, so that it should continue after their death. The Christian religion was forbidden by all manner of enactments, which were enforced with the most cruel penalties, so that the Christians could rarely and hardly come together in large numbers to hear the Word, and the preachers of Christian truth could address those whom they would convert to the better way only in small numbers, privately, by stealth, by night, in private houses, in the upper chambers, with all manner of danger of detection and of cruel punishment. It is obvious that the apostles of Christ during their brief lifetime could not have come into immediate personal contact with very large numbers of men; they but carried out in their practice the simile of the Master when he compared the word of God, His doctrine, to the leaven that should leaven the whole mass. So that the mere handful of men, the disciples of Christ, were but the small lump of leaven that leavened the mass, not by immediate contact with all parts of it, but by that pro-

p. 2, col. 3

cess of leavening, that contagion, by which the ferment, the leaven, is able to leaven a large mass of dough. And I feel more intensely to-day than I have felt since the beginning of this great movement, that this is what remains for us to do in order to achieve a speedy triumph for the cause that is so dear to us all; and, therefore, instead of *repeating* the oft-told tale that you have heard from this platform, or the principles of the party, of the religious character of these principles, of the unspeakable beatitude of those who have seen the great light, whose natures have been gladdened by great truth, whose hearts have been touched and warmed by its genial rays, I shall invite you to hear some practical advice as to the means by which you can best preach the light, best convert others to the belief in this truth, and best hasten the day when this doctrine shall be written in our laws. (Applause.)

I have said that we can, with great profit, imitate the methods by which the Christian religion was propagated. It was propagated by methods largely different from those by which the churches seek to propagate religion to-day. Christ sent his apostles without scrip or staff. He told them not to be solicitous what they should eat, or drink, or wear. He sent them into the whole world to preach the gospel to every creature, with the assurance that He would be with them encouraging them; to trust to the providence of God, and to the bounty of those who would hear the word. They traveled on foot, and wherever they could they sought to interest men in the things of the kingdom of heaven. They considered no task too great, no journey too long, no fatigue so overwhelming that all should not

well be endured and spent in the seeking even of a single soul that they might rescue from the darkness of paganism and transfer to the glorious light of the gospel of Christ. (Applause.)

Many of you who have enrolled your names as members of this Anti-poverty society, and who come here week after week to be instructed, to be edified, it may be to be entertained and amused, should feel that you have a sacred duty laid upon you by your perception of the truth, and that it is not enough for you to come here and be entertained, or edified, or amused; that having seen the light you must go away from here either better or worse than when you came in. You shall go away better if you go away with the resolve so to let your light shine among men that they shall give glory to your Father in heaven. But if you should hide that light through indolence, through selfishness, through fear of the scoffs of men, through fear of some temporal loss, you are recreant to the truth—you are sinning against the light, and therefore it had been better for you had you not seen the light at all. (Applause.)

The work of the conversion of multitudes of men to a great reform, to a better way, to a purer way, to the doing of justice, even at the expense of great sacrifice to their own interests, must be largely a work of personal intercourse, of persuasion, largely a work of sympathy, of encouragement and of example. This is the part of our work that I fear has been most neglected, and it is extremely important that we should now begin to do it with all our might.

And how can each one of you become a preacher, a messenger, an apostle of this great truth that is essentially the same truth that Christ sent his messengers into the world to teach to every creature, this blessed gospel of equal, absolute, perfect, impartial justice to all men—this doctrine, so wondrously radiant with the light of pure religion, that all men, being children of the one heavenly Father, are therefore equally entitled to the use of the natural bounties that He has created for His family; this great doctrine that is engrafted in the preamble of our Declaration of Independence, and seeks its sanction from religious teaching, that the equal rights of men are the inalienable gifts of the creator of men. We should be able to propagate these truths and to make them practicable by example, by our intercourse, by our teaching in private society, in our homes and places of business, while in the street, while bent even upon innocent recreation; we must teach the truth, we must sing the truth, we must do the truth, we must preach the truth and we must pray the truth. We must use all those arts that the church of Christ in the course of ages has so wisely introduced into the sanctuary that they might help to charm and to please the hearts of men and to gladden and to quicken the minds of men; and so, as far as we can, we must bring all the various means and helps of business, of pleasure, of art and of literature to help the great work. Let every man use whatsoever gifts the great Creator has given him. If he have the gift of speech, let him improve it to the utmost; let him use his best endeavors to cultivate that gift; and let him beg the holy spirit of God to touch his lips with fire from God's holy altar that he may have a supernatural gift to teach, to charm, to strengthen and to convert the minds and the hearts of his brethren. If you have the sweet gift of song, sing the labor songs. Do what you can to get workmen in the factories, to get workingmen at their tedious tasks, to sing as they work the praises of the universal Father, and to cause the minds of their hearers as well as their own to thrill with the magnificent electricity of the brotherhood of men. (Great applause.) And those of you that have the gift of ready writing, use the spare moments that you have in writing to the journals, and in writing to your friends both near and far; keep telling them the glad tidings; never tire of making known the good news; invite them to enjoy with you the magnificent liberty of those who have been emancipated by the truth, the truth which is essentially the same as taught by the Son of Man when he said: "If the Son of Man shall set you free, you shall be free indeed." (Great applause.) And again he said: "If truth shall set you free, you shall be free indeed." Teach them to take heart of hope; bid them be glad at the approach of the better day foretold by the prophets and the seers of old, yearned for by people, the noblest and best of every land and of every age; tell them that you have been permitted from loftier heights, to which in God's goodness you have been raised, to see the glimpses of the dawn of the day of universal emancipation, of universal justice, the beginning of the coming of the kingdom of the Lord.

And you men of business, mingle with your business the preaching of the glad tidings of the *abolition of poverty* and the restoration to men of their god-given equal rights and liberties. You have the example of more than one business man of whom you have heard that they make it their business never to issue a business letter without sending in it some one of these land and labor tracts, some one of these Anti-poverty society tracts. (Applause.) And we hear that not infrequently those tracts that have thus been, as it were, smuggled into lawyers' offices, into counting rooms, into factories, into private families, are the good seed that falls upon good ground and speedily brings forth fruit a hundred fold. (Applause.) The tract brings a heartfelt response from the recipient that shows the new light that has been given to his mind; he has ordered a bundle of goods, and he has actually received the gospel. (Great applause.) We must make good our assertion that this is something more than a political party. We must make good the assertion that this platform is more religious

p. 2, col. 4

than political, by showing the same zeal for the propagation of these truths that has ever been shown by those who desire to win men to what they believe is a better way. (Applause.)

And those of you that have the artistic and the æsthetic taste, do what you can with a ready use of pencil or graver, seriously or humorously, to help the cause.

Do what you can then with paint, with graver, with head or hand, with word, with sympathy, with work, with talk, with personal intercourse of any kind to help to leaven the mass, to enlighten the minds of as many creatures of God as you can reach, so as to hasten the coming of that blessed day when all shall see the light, and all shall bask in the genial warmth of the countenance of the Savior, of the Father in heaven. (Applause.)

And besides what may be done by individual effort with individuals, it is high time that the members of this society, that the friends of this cause, should come together in smaller groups in their own homes, or in some convenient meeting place near to their homes, on any or every night of the week to read portions *of the literature of the movement*, chapters from "Progress and Poverty" or "Social Problems," or any one of the tracts that have already in so large number been printed to help this cause. Discuss the question, in order that by that new light that comes from contact and conflict of mind and mind you may see more clearly the truth; that it may take deeper root in your minds and in your hearts, and that you may be the better able by the practice of such discussions to make clearer the truth, to better illustrate it; that you may better understand the objections, the doubts, the difficulties that arise in the minds of men, and be the better prepared and equipped to answer and to remove them.

You may have seen in THE STANDARD two weeks ago the suggestion, which was repeated, I believe, by Mr. Atkinson, the president of the Philadelphia Anti-poverty society, on this platform last Sunday evening (applause), namely, that young men with no obligations of providing for any but themselves, should be invited to enlist in this movement as missionaries to go out through the country precisely as Christ's apostles went, being not solicitous for themselves, trusting to the providence of God and to the hospitality of those who will think the hospitality but a small return for the good news that these young messengers and apostles of the gospel will have brought into many a household. During my trip the past week I have heard of just such cases. I heard from the state committeeman of one of the congressional districts remotest from this city in the western part of the state, that he had under his immediate direction a young man of fine English education, and also of some means, who, being a philosopher, and I should say a good deal of a Christian, actually desired to get away from the wretched conventionalities of life, and was going about the country earning his living picking apples and serving the farmers in different parts of the country in this and other states, in order to come nearer the heart of humanity, in order to see human nature just as it is, and with the chief object of propagating the great truths of this Anti-poverty society (applause); and that young man is now going about the country distributing tracts and other literature, and conversing and reasoning with men, and gradually insinuating the truths into their minds, removing their objections and enrolling them as rapidly as he can in the ranks of this army that has sworn to

abolish poverty, and will never tire, will never surrender till the accursed thing shall have been destroyed root and branch. (Great applause.)

Now there may be hundreds who could imitate the example of that young man. The apostles of Christ actually became what the world in its contempt to-day would call mere tramps, tramping from village to village, from town to town, and from city to city, on foot, seeking hospitality wherever they might find it, as the Master expressly told them, entering into a house and saying "Peace be to this house." They received very frequently a cordial welcome, and they began to tell of the blessed Master who had been sent to deliver them. They told how, in a remote place in Judea, a man had appeared who was more than man, the meekest, the gentlest, the lowliest of the sons of men, who borrowed sweet images from the lilies of the field, from the fishes and from the harvest, and from all the works of God, and in homely, simple parables taught truths sublimer than had ever been uttered; and how He taught men by a proper use and understanding of the things of time and sense, to make the very earth itself a kingdom of heaven, and to make here on earth the beginning of such a society as should have no end with time, but should be called up from earth to heaven to be God's enduring kingdom throughout eternity. (Applause.) They went and taught that this Man was more than man, that the very Son of God had come to preach liberation to the captive and justice to the poor, the oppressed, the wronged and the down-trodden. They went among the slaves, the laborers in the fields and in the streets, and they whispered to them the glad message of peace, of hope, of redemption; they told how He was all indignation, all bitterness against the proud, the unjust, the oppressors, and how He was all sweetness and tenderness and meekness to the poor, the oppressed, the down trodden; they told the marvelous thing how this man of all men had dared to say to the proud, the learned, the self righteous, "Woe unto you rich men; woe unto you generation of vipers; woe unto you whitened sepulchers!" and the slave with wide-eyed wonder looked up, taking heart of hope and dared to believe that the day of redemption was at hand. They taught to the oppressed how this man had said: "Thus shall you know that I am the long expected messenger of heaven, because the gospel, the glad tidings of the good news of emancipation is preached to the poor." (Great applause.) They told how this man had uttered, with a voice that was music, with a benignity of expression that was the very smile of heaven, with a magnetism that proclaimed Him more than man, "Blessed are the poor. Blessed are they that hunger and thirst after justice. Blessed are the poor. Blessed are the meek. Blessed are the peacemakers. Blessed are ye when men shall revile you and say all manner of evil unjustly for my name's sake." And the world wondered; the sad, the sorrowing, the robbed, the dying, the perishing, heard gladly the promise of redemption. But the scribes and the pharisees, the learned, the self-righteous. the very custodians of the written word of God, the ministers of God's holy temple, were slow to receive the word. They looked with suspicion upon this new teacher. They asked contemptuously, "Could any good come out of Nazareth?" (Applause.) They went further and they charged Him with being guilty of sedition with misleading the people and they calumniated Him, and they said He was subverting society and they constituted themselves "saviors of society" against the pernicious, the dangerous, the damnable doctrine of the Jesus of Nazareth. (Great applause.) And they taught the multitudes who drank in the lesson with intensest eagerness how they did Him to death, how they said it is expedient that one man should die for the people; how the reverend, the learned, the ministers of the altar and custodians of law turned politicians and said, "If we allow this man to go on teaching these

p. 2, col. 5

dangerous doctrines, our masters, the Romans, will take umbrage, and they will come and destroy what little vestige of political liberty and independence our nation yet enjoys." And so it is expedient that one man shall die for the people—the accursed argument of expediency. (Great applause.) And they taught the multitudes how the wrath of men had wondrously and speedily worked the will of God; how the Master had eagerly desired to run that race, to mount that scaffold, to die that ignominous[sic] death, because His heart was agonized with His ill-requited love, because He fain would impress the whole world; and so He would go out and stretch out His arms and bless the down-trodden of all the world; and they taught the multitudes that it was by dying that He had

Sic in the original; probably "ignominious".

triumphed and fulfilled His own promise—"When I shall have been lifted from the earth, then shall I begin to draw all things to myself." And they said, "It is we that shall furnish the blessed day that shall fulfill His prophecy," when He commanded them to go out among the people of every race and clime and bring them into the blessed fold that He had established on earth, of which He is the loving and the good shepherd, into that beautiful, harmonious, well-provided family of which He is the Father and for which He has provided so large and so abundant a table, in which that goodly city, built upon the mountains of God, of which He is the wise and supreme ruler, into that kingdom of heaven on earth of which He is the divine and eternal king. It was by such teachings as that, whisperings in the wind, in the street corners, in the very prisons to the jailers and to the other tenants, that the gospel of Christ was spread; the very executioners became witnesses to the miracles, to the heroism of those whom they had done to death, and often dropped from their hands the swords with which they had decapitated martyrs of Christ and became transformed from lions into lambs, and eagerly bounded into the arena and offered their own heads upon the block, and bore witness to the new truth that was in them. And thus in a few generations the whole Roman empire was honeycombed with this doctrine. Tertulian[4], the Christian apologist, taunted the pagans of his day, living as he did at the end of the second century of the Christian era, with the fact that in the short space of time that elapsed from the crucifixion of Christ the Christians had already filled every place in the Roman empire except the pagan temples. He said: "We are already filling your camps and armies, the palaces of your Cæsars, the tribunals of justice, the market places, the work shops, the emporiums and your ships; and the only places that we leave entirely to yourselves are the temples of your false gods." (Great applause.)

Now, I repeat, we can afford to imitate the processes by which the Christian truth was thus propagated in a short time throughout the whole world. You will remember that when Constantine became a convert, a luminous cross of light appeared in the heavens with the assurance in that sign he should conquer; but many men are ready to prove from history that while he was converted by a miracle, it was also at that time the wisest policy and the best statesmanship, it was expedient for him to become a Christian; that the whole empire had so largely become Christian before him, that it was effected by his sagacious and statesmanlike intellect; that it was a matter of expediency, as well as a matter of duty, for him to bow his imperial robe under the yoke of the lowly Savior. And just in proportion to the greater rapidity with which ideas of every kind can now be spread may we hope for the speedier growth of our cause. The Christian fathers tell us that that wondrous Roman empire, with all its crimes, with all its bloodthirstiness, with the mercilessness with which it carried out its edicts, was made in great measure the work of a great and loving providence; that it brought together in what is called the Roman peace, under one law, under one sway, so large a portion of the world; it built the roads, it built and named the ships; it made possible the intercourse of commerce, of literature and of art, and it prepared the way, by uniting millions and hundreds of millions of men in one common empire, for the easier and the speedier preaching and propagation of the religion of Christ. And so the philosopher Saint Augustine tells us that the empire of Rome was the precursor of the gospel. (Applause.)

Now, if the great minds of the saints of old could see in that cruel, bloody, conquering, rapacious empire the overruling providence of God preparing the way, making smooth the roads for the beautiful feet of the preachers of the glad tidings of emancipation, how much more may we not recognize the providence of God in the raising up of this great nation, of this young and giant republic, with so magnificent a field; with a whole continent for her domain; with the extraordinary development of labor-saving machinery; with wondrous application of steam and electricity, almost annihilating time and space; may we not recognize in this a wondrous providence of God preparing for the coming of a new baptism of fire upon earth, the preaching of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man? May we not hope that in proportion to the saving of time, of labor that we add to our civilization, we may propagate the more speedily this great truth that is in but another form the essential truth of Christ's gospel and that is destined to prepare the way for a new and more vigorous preaching of the Christian

[4] Sic in the original; probably "Tertullian".

truth, for the coming of the day foretold and yearned for by the heart of Christ, when all his wandering sheep that are now scattered on a thousand hillsides, shall be gathered into His blessed fold, and He shall rule them, the meek and gentle shepherd; He shall feed them as He fed of old His gentle flock in Judea.

Have we not a practical illustration of the wondrous swiftness with which the glad tidings can now be carried from place to place, by the many facts that are familiar to you on this very platform? Have we not had the very great delight of hearing from this platform but a few weeks ago, a jurist, a man of ability, who in a few days was able to hurry across this vast continent, to help to answer our Macedonian cry, "Come over and help us?" It would have taken months and months in the time of the elder apostles for any one of them to have accomplished such a journey; it would have been simply impossible. Have we not time and again seen men after addressing you from this pulpit hasten to catch a train that would hurry them to the uttermost boundary of the state that they might preach to another multitude the self same truth on the following evening? (Applause.) It is my purpose to be to-morrow evening at the remotest corner of the state. On Friday afternoon I was able to talk to a most intelligent and respectable audience of about three hundred in the little village of Albion, between Rochester and Niagara Falls. I had spoken to two thousand the evening before in the city of Rochester, and hundreds were turned away unable to gain admission. (Applause.) On the same Friday evening, after speaking in Albion, I was able to speak in Lockport, a small town, to twelve hundred people, which was, as the managers of our cause there felt, a wonderful gathering for that town. On Friday evening I was near Niagara Falls, and on Saturday evening I was able to address three enormous meetings in different parts of the city of Brooklyn. (Applause.) May we not hope, and have we have[sic] not reason to believe, that

p. 2, col. 6

the preaching of this truth shall be accomplished in a much shorter time than the old world was converted to a perfect adhesion to this truth, that it shall be written in the laws of every land with much greater rapidity than was the gospel of Christ preached to multitudes of men in the first ages of Christianity? (Great applause.)

Now then let us resolve to make practical the preaching; while we are ministering to the wants of others let us not be so solicitous for the satisfaction of our own. While it is necessary for the best interests of society that labor shall have its reward, let us feel that it is still a more blessed thing to labor for no material reward, but for that reward that shall come not here but hereafter, to those who will have sacrificed the comfort and domestic bliss, and shall have spent themselves and all their havings in order, by their sacrifice, by their untiring labors, to hasten the coming of the kingdom of God on earth. (Applause.)

There may be men here, and women, who think this but a beautiful rhapsody, and who will find in the mouth of the speaker confirmation that he is beside himself. "Paul," said the Roman governor, "too much learning hath made thee mad." And the same Roman governor, beginning to catch glimpses of the truth that Paul was preaching of the moral law, of the equality of men in the face of that law, of the fatherhood of God and the equal brotherhood of men, and a certain duty of men to men, his conscience was touched, but he felt not within him the strength, the desire to make the necessary sacrifice, to obey the law, and so he shut his eyes to the truth; he was pleased; he was amused; he was entertained; he was instructed by the eloquent preacher of the gospel of Christ, and he thought that he would like to see a little more of this truth, but he said, "I will hear you some other time;" but as far as we know that day never came. We have no record that Paul ever appeared before him again to preach the truth. It is a dangerous thing to come so near to the light and warmth and not permit the light to enlighten your minds, or the warmth to quicken the pulse of your heart. It is a dangerous thing. It were not well, it were better perhaps, if you hadn't seen the light, if you hadn't heard the word, if you hadn't heard the voice bidding you forget your selfish interests, bidding you take a new view of the dignity of human nature, bidding you acknowledge the equal brotherhood of man, bidding you to feel a divine enthusiasm for humanity; it would be

Sic in the original; probably "have we".

better that you hadn't heard it, if, having heard it, you will simply forget that you have heard it, if you will try to forget its ringing tones, if you will try to stop your ears, as the Jews of old, when they were told, "I see the heavens open and Jesus standing at the right hand of God." They stopped their ears that they should not hear the blasphemy, and they condemned him to be stoned to death. (Applause.)

Having seen the light, let us pray God never to permit us to shut our eyes to the light; having heard the call let us humbly and fervently beg him to give us the grace to obey the call.

Having been invited to enlist in this glorious army under the clear, spotless white banner of this new crusade, let us beg of God to give us the courage, if need be, to leave all else to enroll ourselves in this army, which, with us or without us, is going on conquering and to conquer until it shall have enrolled the whole world in the glorious brotherhood of men under the loving fatherhood of God. (Great applause.)

And so let us preach, let us talk, let us travel, let us work and write and sing; let us paint and build and do whatsoever we can; let every man do what he can, pay some tribute of his labor, his taste, his diligence, to this holy cause. If you have nothing else to give, produce something by the skill or art or trade that is yours and offer it to this cause. If you can do nothing else, you can distribute the literature, you can bring others here, even if it is necessary for you to stay away yourself to make room for them. If we shall take on this spirit it is as sure as anything can be not merely that we shall conquer, for that promise is given us, but that we shall conquer with such rapidity that all the world shall wonder. Some of you are here to-night who shall live to see the perfect fruition of the blessed gospel that we are teaching. We have much comfort in the example in our own country of the abolition of slavery. What would have seemed impossible but a generation or two ago has long since become a matter of history, which is fast becoming ancient history; and so we may well believe that there are men and women here to-night who will live to see the day when the great reform for which we are agitating shall be the inheritance of all the world. (Applause.) It is well for us to have been born in this age; it is well for us to be alive to-day; it is a glorious thing for those who are permitted to take part in the first great conflicts, in the first great battles of this holy war; it will be a beautiful happiness and a pleasure for those who, having taken part in the holiest battles of the war, shall live to enjoy the fruition of the perfect peace that shall have been conquered by the perfect victory. (Long and continued applause.)

The Farmers Are Commencing to Do Their Own Thinking.

DRYDEN, Oct. 24.—The intelligent farmers are "catching on" wherever I go. While they are my most searching questioners, they see the force of the replies and go away from the public gatherings confessing that they have got new light and a better opinion of the principles of the united labor party.

We shall have them with us soon, droves of them, and they will come through conviction, and not through either "leadership" or impulse. The day for haphazard politics has nearly passed, and the people are fast concluding that any and every plan that will gain acceptance must bear a well defined and consistent relationship to the constitution of things—to the natural, political and social economy of the universe. Liking or disliking, whim, inclination, feeling do not rule so much. Is it sound sense? Does it meet the wants of the times? Will it do to build on? are questions constantly raised. In response to satisfactory conclusions on these points comes the general resolve not to be overruled by mere attachment to bygone policies.

H. H. FREEMAN, Organizer.

Organized Against Corruption in Croton.

CROTON, Westchester Co.—We now have a Henry George campaign club in addition to a land and labor club, and we will man the polls well on election day. The tracts we have distributed are having telling effect, and the cases of quick and complete conversion are surprisingly numerous.

It is difficult to predict how many votes we will poll for the candidates of the united labor party, as there is a shocking amount of corruption in Croton and votes are easily purchasable; but it is certain that the earnest, honest men who are with us are not a few.

WILLIAM H. DALY,
President Henry George campaign club.

A Healthy Growth.

SOUTH BLOOMFIELD, Oct. 21.—Your tracts came to hand this day. I will use them to the best advantage. This movement has a healthy growth far beyond my expectation. This is a very conservative part of the state.

Yours with great hope,

C. E. GOODING.

SINGLE TAX VS. SOCIALISM

THE DEBATE BETWEEN SERGIUS E. SHEVITCH AND HENRY GEORGE.

A Crowded House, with Hundreds Turned Away—A Full Statement of the Socialistic Objections to the Single Tax—The Possibilities of Labor with Free Access to Natural Opportunities.

The debate between Henry George and rgius[sic] E. Shevitch, the socialist leader, took place last Sunday evening in Miner's theater, Eighth avenue, near Twenty-fifth street. The building was packed as it had never been before, fully three thousand people being jammed within its walls, and over a thousand others clamoring in vain for admittance.

A supply of tickets had been distributed by the united labor party and by the socialists, an equal number to each. The socialists' tickets were printed on red cards and the united labor tickets on blue ones. This distinction was used by the ushers to divide the audience into two parts, the reds taking the left of the house and the blues the right. The main aisle divided the two sections. This was done to prevent any disputes in the audience which might interrupt the debate on the stage.

On the stage were John McMackin, Frank Ferrell and others among the united labor men, while James Redpath had a seat in a box. Among the progressives present were Hugo Vogt, Alexander Jonas, Dr. F. W. Lilienthal, Charles Sotheran and Edward King.

At 8 o'clock precisely Mr. Samuel Gompers took his seat at the presiding officer's table, placed his watch and a bell upon it, and opened the meeting by announcing the conditions of the debate. Drawing attention to the fact that the gathering was not a campaign meeting, he urged the audience to refrain alike from applause and hisses. He announced that Mr. Shevitch and Mr. George would speak alternately, each for forty-five minutes; after which each would be allowed fifteen minutes for replies.

MR. SHEVITCH'S ARGUMENT.

Mr. Shevitch then arose and began his address in a calm, deliberative voice. He said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: In coming on this platform to-night I come to you with all due consciousness of the great task which I have undertaken and of my unworthiness to perform it. I ask your indulgence from the very beginning. I want only to say that the words I will speak to-night will be that which I consider to be the truth without any reference whatever to personal feeling.

Sic in the original; probably "Sergius".

The subject of discussion to-night is the scheme of Mr. George of the single land tax, to substitute which for all other forms of taxation will, as he represents, solve the social and the labor questions of our day. I propose to show that this single land tax system is not only insufficient to solve those questions, but if considered alone, if considered as a social panacea, independently of all other social reforms. it will be productive of results which will be more hurtful to labor than beneficial.

I will in the second part of my remarks show how, on account of this false basis on which the labor movement, so far as the united labor party is concerned, has been placed, the whole political movement of labor has been side-tracked, has been distorted, has been put upon a platform on which no true labor movement can stand.

This is what I will attempt to show during my remarks.

Production, as it is organized now, is regulated by two vast instruments of labor: machinery, with all the powers of nature which now produce such tremendous wealth all over the civilized world. and the land, which produces the necessaries of life. Now let us see. If we nationalize one of these instruments of production; if we nationalize what Mr. George calls the natural opportunities given to man by nature—that is to say, the land—will this nationalization of the land by itself solve the social problem? Mr. George does not advocate the nationalization of land. He does not want to disturb anybody in the title to property in land. All he wants is to confiscate the rent which the present proprietor of the land gets, by a taxation equivalent to the whole rent. But let us study the question broadly. Let us assume that he does want to nationalize the land. What would be the consequence? The consequence would be that a certain lot of land which now belongs to a private citizen, Tom Jones, will belong to the community. The man who builds on that land will have to pay his rent, not to a private proprietor, but to the community. That rent will perhaps in the long run be a little less than the rent he pays now.

Now. suppose a city in which there are ten factories. In each of these factories one hundred men are working for wages. The factories are supplied with all the necessary machinery. These hundred men get $2 a day under present circumstances. Now the system of nationalization of land is introduced. The man who owns the factory, the boss, will pay his rent not to the proprietor of the land, but to the community. Will his workingmen in consequence of that simple fact get higher wages? Why should they?

If to-morrow a new machine is made which renders half the men superfluous, the proprietor will throw out half of his hands. Each of these factories will work, instead of with one hundred men, with fifty men. The men thrown out will come to the proprietor and say, “We are ready to work for less wages; give us instead of two dollars a dollar and twenty-five cents.” And other men who have no families to support will say, “Give us one dollar a day.” The same process of competition between laborer and laborer, ground down by that terrible monster, the machine, will go on whether the land belongs to the community or whether it belongs to Tom Jones. (Applause.)

But Mr. George will say: “This is not true. The competition between the laborers will be, if not entirely destroyed, at least greatly relieved by the fact that the land is free, that these men thrown out of employment by the machine may go out somewhere, in the uptown districts of the city, take from the community for a very small rent a lot of land, construct their houses on it and live there in peace.” How will they build a house on it? With their hands, with their nails, with their feet? (Applause and hisses.) Where is the money to purchase the instruments of labor? Where is that engine of production, capital? They haven’t got it. Does land give them capital? Does bare land give them anything except the land? Where are they to get the necessary machinery in order to bring materials so as to be able to subsist from the products of that land? I don’t think that any answer can be given to this question. (Laughter.) You may laugh, gentlemen, but it is nevertheless a truth. It is not the first truth that has been laughed at in the world. (Applause and hisses.)

Somebody will say that the building trades will have a good deal to do. That is true to a certain extent. House rents will certainly grow cheaper. But don't you know that as long as capital, concentrated in private hands,

p. 3, col. 2

has control of the labor market the rate of wages is regulated by the means of living. If rents grow cheaper wages will have a tendency to fall. With every new machine, every new invention in industrial production, a greater number of working men and women will be thrown out of employment. The labor market will be crowded precisely as it is now. Where is the difference?

There is one other argument in favor of the land tax. You force those who hold land for speculative purposes to make it productive. This argument we indorse in full; but no single land tax is necessary. What is necessary is simply a land tax especially high on unimproved land, compelling speculators to put their land to profitable use.

The single land tax would be a single tax. All other taxes would be abolished. The tremendous concentrations of capital would be entirely free of any taxes at all. It would mean absolutely free trade. American labor would have to compete with the combined force of capital all over the civilized world. (Applause.) If you introduce absolute free trade dozens of branches of industry would droop and die.

A voice: "Name them."

Thousands and thousands of workingmen would be thrown out of employment. A commercial crisis would be the consequence such as we have never seen yet in this country. The labor market would be overcrowded. What would we do with free land then? Sit on it or lie on it or be tramps upon it. (Applause and hisses.) Land without the instruments of labor to cultivate it is just as worthless as a boat without sails.

Mr. George takes the example of Robinson Crusoe and Friday. Suppose Robinson Crusoe said to Friday; "You are not only a free citizen of this island, but this land belongs to you just as well as to me. But there is a little hitch in the matter. I expect a vessel to-morrow to bring to me all the necessary engines to cultivate this land and some workingmen, but you are free to do so just as well as I." Where would poor Friday be then, without a penny in his pocket, without a single instrument to cultivate that land? (Laughter.) Would he not be the slave of Robinson Crusoe?

Mr. George does not want the nationalization of land. All he desires can be obtained by the single land tax. What would be the consequence? Take the city of New York. The real estate of this city is held under various conditions at present. Some of it belongs to some men to whom the buildings belong. Some belongs to other men than those to whom the buildings belong. What would be the consequence of the single land tax? First, where the land and the buildings belong to the same men? Now the community gets the full rental value of that land. The man will say: "1 will[sic] pay that tax and I won't give up the land, or if anybody wants to have that land let him pay for the house, which is worth two millions of dollars." How are you going to get out of that?

Let us take the instance where the land and houses belong to different parties. The man invites other millionaires to join him. They form a combine and say to those who own the houses, "You will have to pay an equivalent to us for this horrible tax." And the men who own the houses will go to the tenants who rent the offices and say, "Now you will have to pay us so much more in order to compensate for that land tax." The man who rents the office will take it from the one he sells his goods to. Who is that? Who? It is always the same poor wretched beggar, the proletarian, the workingman. (Applause.) The whole theory of the single land tax is founded on the sophistry that the present robbery of labor centers in the one fact of private ownership of land, which is not true. If the means of production remained in private hands labor would be robbed just as it is now. The great land owners will

Sic in the original; probably "I will".

immediately form a combine to resist the land tax. In a few years the condition of the laborer would be the same as it is now.

But what will not be the same as this—by that single land tax you will give to the government a tremendous power which it does not possess now. Mr. George likes to accuse the socialists of desiring a paternal government. I tell you Mr. George's scheme is a much more horrible paternal government than the socialists ever proposed. (Applause and cheers, mingled with hisses.) To the government will belong a vast amount of land, and the government will have the possibility of determining the height of the rent for that land. It will furthermore—and that is perfectly right—have the railroads, the telegraphs and all the means of communication. Think of the power that government will have. The great industrial corporations, the machinery of industrial production, remains just as it is now. Capitalists will have the same powers over the government officials as they have now. The government will fall into the hands of the monopolists of industry just as it does now into the hands of the monopolists of industry and land combined.

The single tax does not touch the labor question. That question centers in the robbery committed on labor by those who hold possession of the instruments of labor. And it is not the socialists who say so, it is the men of organized labor. (Applause.) Mr. George thinks that rent is the robbery committed on the workingmen. He forgets that at the bottom of that robbery is simply the competition between labor and labor, and that competition will not be destroyed by any amount of single land tax.

The land tax scheme, whether it be wrong or right, is a utopian theory born in one mind, uncorroborated by the actual state of facts. It is a theory of one man, and that theory has been forced upon the large labor movement while that movement was not in any way prepared, not only to understand, but even critically to examine that idea! Mr. George may ask why did all the trades of New York as one man support him in the last campaign? "Where is the difference? I was the same man and my theory was the same." We can answer that. The great majority of the working population of this city supported Mr. George last year, not because of his land theory, but notwithstanding his land theory (applause), as a sincere and honest man—which he is now (tremendous applause)—because he had written in his book, "Progress and Poverty," one of the most tremendous indictments against the present order of society which has ever been published. (Applause.) The critical part of his work is grand. Every man who is dissatisfied with the existing order will shake hands with Mr. George even now. The laboring population accepted him as a standard bearer, thinking he was broad minded enough to sink part of his petty theories in the one vast, grand labor movement, which is not one-sided, but which has many sides and is as broad as the civilized world itself is broad. (Applause.) The man who can force one idea upon millions of people can be the originator of a sect, or, if he is a politician, can be the originator of a political machine; but he will never be the originator of a great political party of labor. (Applause and hisses.) When Mr. George attempted to do so he smashed the party of united labor. (Hisses and applause.) As I told him on the Syracuse platform under the ban of expulsion—"If you attempt to force this one idea upon the labor movement, you will smash the party to pieces," and they have done it. (Cries of "No! no!" hisses, applause and cries of "Order!" Mr. Gompers and Mr.

p. 3, col. 3

George both rising and motioning the audience to keep quiet.)

From the very beginning, after the close of the campaign last year, the whole system of Mr. George and his friends has been to substitute for the large party of labor something on the one hand like a church, and on the other hand like an ordinary political machine. (Great disorder, hisses and cheers.) Instead of leaving the movement in the hands of the labor organizations they called a bogus mass meeting in Cooper union and elected, or rather nominated, their central committee without any other powers than those which Mr. George himself conferred on them. This same line of policy was continued throughout the year (a voice, "Stick to your subject!"); land and labor

clubs were formed throughout the state without any constituency behind them—(Cries of "Question! question!" Mr. Gompers rising and requesting the speaker to confine himself to the subject of the debate.)

My reasoning is that a false basis implies a false policy. A certain theory propounded by one man may, as I have said, form a church, but it will not form a great party. The movement of labor has been side-tracked into these land and labor clubs, practically under no control of organized labor whatever, composed of men not belonging to the laboring classes. Mr. George has succeeded in founding what I might call the Church of Progress and Poverty, but he has not founded the great American labor party. (Applause and cheers.)

HENRY GEORGE'S REPLY.

Mr. Gompers then introduced Mr. George. who was received with intense enthusiasm. He said:

I am about to speak on the time limit, and therefore your applause will simply take away so much of my time. What Mr. George has founded or what he has not founded I do not propose here to discuss. We are here to-night for a more important object. We all agree that labor to-day does not get its fair earnings. I come to defend what I believe to be not merely the best but the only possible way to emancipate labor. I do not claim for this measure—the taking for the use of the community of the rental value of land—that it would do everything. It is the beginning. After it is done all other things will be made easier, and until we have done that we shall be rowing against the tide in all other reforms. (Applause and hisses.)

Now, the great difference between the opinions that I represent and the opinions that Mr. Shevitch represents may be seen in Lassalle's open letter to the workingmen of Germany. He accepted the law laid down by the orthodox political economists—the law that wages must always tend to the minimum which will enable the laborer to live and to reproduce. That he calls the iron law of wages. There I and those who think with me take issue. We do not believe that there is in nature any such thing as the iron law of wages. We hold that it is merely the law of wages where natural opportunities are monopolized.

This competition is a one-sided competition of men debarred of their natural opportunities for employment. The means of production, what do they consist of to-day? The answer will probably be land, machinery and various other things. There was in the beginning nothing but man and the earth. Human labor exerted upon the land brings out, produces, all other means of production. Therefore it is that land is more important than anything else. Given men and given land and all other things can be produced. Give a man everything else and deprive him of land and it avails him nothing. (Applause and cheers.)

To recur to that illustration of Robinson Crusoe and Friday. Mr. Shevitch says that Robinson Crusoe having machinery and tools, Friday would have been perfectly helpless. Well, that I deny. Friday, without any machinery, could certainly have gone fishing. (Laughter and applause, cheers and hisses.) If the island had belonged to Robinson Crusoe he could not have done that. Friday could have done without machinery or tools just as Robinson Crusoe did. Friday could have made him a hut out of the limbs of a tree. Friday could have lived and produced as a naked man, applying his labor to the natural opportunities offered by that island. If three or four others came there, they could have lived and lived well. But the moment Robinson Crusoe owned the land, that moment he could say to Friday: "Unless you do so and so you walk off." (Laughter.) Friday would have been his absolute slave.

Wages in all branches of industry are not what they ought to be. That increase in productive power that comes from discovery and invention does not raise wages as it ought to do. But what is the reason of that? It is perfectly clear that wages in all occupations must tend to a general level. Now, the broadest of all occupations in the United States is—what? (A voice: "Farming.") Those occupations which apply directly to nature, which extract wealth from the soil. Now, in the state of New York, can the man who comes here with not merely his natural powers, but with

something more, with a little capital—can he go to work and cultivate the soil? The ordinary renting rate in the state of New York to-day is one-half the produce. The man who does the labor gets only half of what his labor produces. The rest goes to the owner of the farm. There, in that primary occupation, labor is divested of one-half of its earnings. When, in that primary industry, labor is shorn of one-half of its earnings, what do you expect in those industries that rise above it? To put a tax on the value of land, removing all other taxes that now bear upon labor and to take for the use of the community the value that attaches to land by reason of the growth of the community, would have in the first place the operation that Mr. Shevitch concedes. It would make the holding of land on speculation unprofitable. That of itself would tend to destroy that competition which everywhere tends to press wages down. I don't mean to say that every one would want to be a farmer. That is the one thing all men could be. And enough could and would become farmers to relieve the glut in the labor market. (Applause.)

Mr. Shevitch asks what could a man with merely his hands do with the land. We have in this city illustrations of what the very poorest class can do when they have the land. Did you ever see Squattertown? (Applause.) There are men who by going on vacant land put up some sort of a rude dwelling and make themselves some sort of a home. And so everywhere let man have access to land and he can in some way use it.

Take this city of New York. Mr. Shevitch divided the people into two classes—owners of land and houses and owners of land where other parties were the owners of the houses. He spoke of these two classes, and, I think, forgot another class—those who own land where there are no houses. (Applause.) The effect of the tax on the first class would be to simply make them pay the value of the land to the community and relieve them of all taxes whatever upon the houses. The mere ownership of land would become utterly worthless. Mr. Shevitch paints a picture of the real estate owners making a grand combine and putting up rents, so as to recompense themselves for the additional tax imposed upon land values. If they can do it by making a combine, why don't they do it now? Let us suppose that the owners of used

p. 3, col. 4

land were to make such a combine, what would they do with the owners of vacant land? Would they take them into the combine also? (Laughter, applause and hisses.)

Here is the principle of taxation: A tax which is levied upon the production of a thing that must constantly be produced by human labor will, by making supply more difficult, raise prices, and the man who pays the tax is thus enabled to push the tax upon the consumer. But a tax upon the value of land has no such effect. Land does not have to be constantly supplied in order to meet the demand. Its price is always a monopoly value, and a tax which falls upon land values does not fall upon all land, but only upon valuable land, and that in proportion to its value.

It is perfectly true that were we to raise all our revenues in this way we could get alcng[sic] without the custom house and have absolute free trade. But I for one can see no horrors in absolute free trade. On the contrury[,9], what labor wants is freedom, not protection. (Applause.) Absolute free trade in any sense worthy of the name means free production. Once make production free and labor can take care of itself. (Applause.)

In what consists the value of land? It is a premium, an advantage, which the use of any particular piece of land will give over what the same application of labor and capital can get from the poorest land in use. Therefore, if we take that premium for the use of the whole community we put all land upon a substantial plane of equality. We can abolish all other taxes and enormously simplify government. Opening opportunities for labor, we get rid of that bitter competition that to-day everywhere tends to force wages down. Then we could go on, not to a paternal government that attempts to regulate everything, but to a government that can control businesses in their nature monopolies. (Applause.) Once put the social foundation on a firm and equal basis and then we can march forward

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

in that direction as far as may be necessary. We do not hold that everything is done when this one single measure is carried out, but we do hold that a firm and true beginning is made. Men have lived and can live without the railroad and without the telegraph, but no man ever has lived or ever can live without land. (Great applause.)

Here Mr. George hesitated, while the audience remained in silent suspense. Finally he said: "I was stopping, trying to think of some points I have not covered, but I have forgotten them."

A voice: "The ownership of machinery."

Oh, yes; about that factory. (Laughter.) Mr. Shevitch says that the owners of those factories may get a new invention which will enable them to produce the same result with only one-half the labor, and then those who are discharged will beg for employment at reduced rates. That would not be so if the men had opportunity to employ themselves. No man will work for an employer for less than he can get by employing himself. The natural result of increasing productive power is to increase the earnings of labor. Employment being free and natural opportunities open, there could be no such thing as dispensing with labor. But the shutting up of natural opportunities drives men back and forces them to seek for employment from those who can employ them.

Consider land and the use that is made of it. The extractive operations on land are not merely farming, not merely building houses. There are a hundred and one operations—fishing and cutting of timber, mining, and so on.

A voice: "Fishing on land?"

Yes; fishing on land. (Laughter.) You have either got to sit on a piece of land or stand on it and fish (laughter, cheers and applause), or if you go upon the water you must use material drawn from the land to prevent you from sinking. There is no productive occupation that is not in the last analysis the union of human labor with land. Until land is free to labor there cannot possibly be anything that will fully emancipate labor. (Applause.)

MR. SHEVITCH'S REJOINDER.

'Mr. Shevitch now has his second inning," said Mr. Gompers, as Mr. George sat down.

Mr. Shevitch at once arose, and was received with applause from the reds. "I would prefer," he said, with a smile, "to get the applause from the other side of the house," pointing to the blues. The latter cheered him heartily at this pleasant sally, and he continued:

Mr. George paused for some moments to recollect some points he had forgotten to answer. It is my impression that he has forgotten to answer nearly every point of my discourse. He has not shown that land taxation is equivalent to land confiscation. He has not shown that under his land tax system a combine of large land holders is impossible. He has evaded that question and he has asked me what would that combine do with the men who had vacant lots? They would leave them alone or take them in just precisely as the wheat merchants do in cornering the wheat now in the west. They take them into the combine and raise the price. That is what the members of the combine in lands would do and who could prevent them?

Mr. George did not show that the competition of labor would be destroyed by that land tax system. He did not show, he simply made an assertion, that natural opportunities would be open to labor. He said that laborers might go fishing, and he very graciously said that he did not expect a man to go naked in the city of New York. But that man would be naked practically and the ideal of George's free land would be Shantytown. When I hear such things on a platform in New York city in the nineteenth century I begin to believe that Mr. George is a Rip Van Winkle of social economy. (Applause from the extreme left.) He actually has been born in antediluvian times and has all at once waked up in time for the Syracuse convention.

At this there was a storm of hisses from the right and cries of “Question! Question! Question!”

“It is the question,” continued Mr. Shevitch amid hisses. “It is the question (hisses), and you can’t choke me down. (Hisses and hootings.) It is precisely the question, and you shall not choke me down.”

The left broke out in applause, and the right went wild with yelling and hooting, amidst which there were cries of “Order? Order!” Mr. Gompers had to get up and speak for several minutes before he could quiet the trouble. Then Mr. Shevitch continued:

You surely do not expect me to compliment Mr. George. Mr. George seems utterly to forget that we are living in the grand century of machinery, in a great age of production on a large scale, where the mere laborer is absolutely the slave of those who possess the instruments of labor. This simple land tax does not free the laborer from the competition with his fellow laborer. The laborer with his free land must have capital to construct his house, and capital to begin farming on a small scale even. And there will be a big man with a big boodle, who will come beside the laborer with his lot, and take not one but ten, twelve, twenty or two hundred lots and will begin the cultivation of the soil on a grand scale with all the necessary machinery, and will crush down that free-born citizen on the lot by his side. (Applause from the reds.) There is no such thing as free competition as long as the instruments of labor are in private hands. The labor question, the

p. 3, col. 5

social question of the day, is not a fiscal question. The social question of to-day is the abolition of wage slavery, and that is impossible as long as the instruments of labor do not belong to those who create wealth. And if there is a man belonging to organized labor who believes that such a thing is possible, then he deserves to enjoy the paradise of Mr. George in Shantytown, and it is good enough for him. (Hisses and applause.)

HENRY GEORGE CONCLUDES THE DEBATE.

Then Mr. George arose to conclude the debate. He said:

The object of the labor movement is the abolition of wage slavery. How do you propose to abolish it? That is the question. (Applause.) If any man has any better plan than that I propose let him come and state it. Mr. Shevitch’s plan, as I understand it, is that of forming a number of co-operative societies, embracing all the working classes, who are to be furnished by government with capital.

(Cries of ’No, no! no, sir!” from the reds.)

Well, with machinery, then. That plan, I say, is utterly impossible. There attaches to it the same disadvantages that attach to all dreams of the elevation of the workingman by the formation of co-operative societies. You must raise from the very foundation. You must make labor free. Now, such catch phrases as my picture of Shantytown as an ideal city can avail nothing with any thoughtful man. (Great applause.) What I say is this: That even the poorest man, if he has free access to land, can make some use of it, and the condition of those Shantytown people, poor as it was, was very much better than that of many who are herded in tenement houses, liable to be turned out at the end of the week or the month. (Applause.) This tax that will take the value of land for the community will in the first place put all men upon an equality with regard to land. It will put in the treasury of the community a vast fund for public expenses. It will abolish all the taxes that now rest upon men by the increased prices in the things that they produce. Take the case of the renting farmers, who have to pay one-half of their produce for the use of land; out of the other half they now pay all their taxes. Under the other system these taxes would be taken out of the landlords’ hands. (Applause.) The tax would do away with all temptation to monopolize land. Mr. Shevitch is mistaken in saying that the laborer would have to pay for land. There would be no tax upon land, only a tax upon the value of land.

A voice: “What is the difference?”

Here is the difference: that land of itself has no value. Land never has any value until two men want to use it. The prices that are charged for land on the outskirts of a city are a speculative value due to the anticipation of what it will be worth when the population crowds out. Under our system the employment of labor would be facilitated in every direction. Laborers would not be merely saved from paying rent, but would get employment during times when they were not engaged in their trades. Every man who goes to work extracting wealth from nature not only does something to lessen the glut of labor in other occupations, but by producing wealth for which he demands other wealth in exchange creates a demand for labor of other kinds. Take the coal miners who are standing idle in Pennsylvania. Apply this system and it would be impossible for corporations to keep those vast coal fields idle. (Applause.) Those men, given the opportunity, could go to work for themselves, and then they could readily get capital enough.

A voice: “Do you see it now?” (Laughter.)

Mr. Shevitch says that out in the west men can get all the land they want. If that were true there would be no such thing as tramps in the United States. Not only is that not true, but even on the Pacific, in Washington territory on the one side, and in southern California on the other, men are paying onethird and one-half the produce of their labor for the privilege of tilling virgin soil. (Applause.) It is our system which permits these great values that attach to land by reason of the growth of the community to go into private hands, that gives the speculators a premium for getting just in advance of the settler; and wherever the settler goes there will he find the speculator just ahead of him.

Now, as to capital. When the farmer has to give up one-half of his produce for the privilege of applying his labor to land; when all through the other occupations the same law holds; when men have to pay to an individual for the use of what they call their country one-quarter, one-third, one-half the produce of their labor, is it any wonder that the working classes find it very hard to get capital? Capital is produced by labor exerted upon land. Here, in the fact that we make the land the private property of some our number[sic], is a constant drain of capital from those who produce it into the hands of those who are merely proprietors and monopolizers. “The destruction of the poor is their poverty.” Take from men one-half of their earnings and you reduce their power of treating with others, you reduce their power of employing their labor upon the best terms. You create a fundamental difference, from the foundation, a tendency which on one hand tends to make one class richer than they ought to be and on the other hand to make the other class poorer than they ought to be. (Applause.) Labor is the producer of all wealth (applause), but labor without land is helpless, and that is the reason why any attempt to bring about more healthy social conditions must begin with the land. (Applause.)

Mr. Gompers then adjourned the meeting.

Progress and Poverty in California.

SANTA ANA, Cal.—I have been traveling through the southwest portions of California for the last four years canvassing and can positively say that there are 1,500,000 acres of as fine and productive land in the three southern counties of the state as can be found in America. covered with an immense growth of wild sunflower and wild mustard, whose owners manage to rent it to sheep men for two to three months each year for four or five times the tax they are required to pay, while the public roads are lined with tramps and hungry men packing their

Sic in the original; probably “some of our number”.

blankets. hunting for work, and a large portion of the citizens in and about the towns are entirely homeless and compelled to work week after week for the poor privilege of a shelter upon God's green earth. Last fall I saw with my own eyes a young man twenty years old who had spent his last dollar to reach California hoping to better his condition—an American, who could trace his ancestry back to the landing of the Mayflower in Plymouth bay—cleanly and neatly clad, with a piece of paper in his hand and his coat on his arm, walk up to the slop barrel of the Trans-continental hotel at Colton, Cal., and pick out some pieces of stale meat and bread, do them up in the paper and start off to where he could eat them unobserved and thus save himself the mortification of having to beg a meal of victuals before he could obtain employment. This man never drank a drop of liquor or gambled in his life.

E. C. PHELPS.

It Was Written By William McCabe.

NEW YORK CITY.—Will you kindly let me know who wrote the article "Preachers of the New Crusade," in your issue of Oct. 15?

p. 3, col. 6

A DEVICE OF LANDLORDISM.

Promoting Land Values Through the Medium of High Toned Street Names.

When applied to street nomenclature the ordinal numbers have a significance in New York apart from the mere designation of the order in the succession of the thoroughfares. Especially is this the case with the avenues. Usually the first of a number of things means simply the first in order, and the fifth means nothing more than the fifth; but if one New Yorker tells another that he lives not in First but in Fifth avenue, he conveys volumes of information with respect to his desire to be looked upon as one possessed of wealth and secure in the enjoyment of high social position. On the other hand, if a man says he lives in First avenue he confesses that he daily associates with those who commit the social crime of working hard for wages and that he very likely pays a landlord for a place in which to live. This taint of work, if not of poverty, attaches in greater or less degree to all the numbered avenues save Fifth, and, in some parts of uptown, Fourth. It may readily be seen that a fashionable lady, in exchanging cards with another, may be thrown into a state of chagrin if her own card bears a number in Sixth avenue while the card of her new acquaintance announces a residence in Madison or Fifth. It is possible that the Sixth avenue woman may live in one of the palaces of that thoroughfare, and the dame vaunting the Fifth avenue visiting card may be boarding in a fourth story rear room: but on the testimony of street names alone the Fifth avenue contestant for social honors has the advantage. The real estate dealers long ago discovered that there were dollars for them in society's struggle for ostentatious show. The question of changing the names of the avenues above Central Park from workaday numbers to those of more aristocratic significance has been discussed by the dealers during the past year with the fervor of business men who see an opportunity to make something out of nothing. As a consequence the board of aldermen have obligingly passed an ordinance that imparts to homely Sixth avenue, above the park, the sounding title of Lenox boulevard. This is a happy choice of name. The people living on this boulevard live at their leisure. So did Lenox. The owners of the vacant lots expect to be rewarded by their appreciative fellow citizens for holding the land in speculative idleness. The Lenox family, after keeping in their hands a twenty thousand dollar, farm[sic] in the neighborhood of the park for half a century, have

received a donation of about seven million dollars from the New Yorkers who needed the land to build homes upon. A Lenox erected a public library building that is practically closed to the public. This exclusiveness is imitated by people who would fear social ostracism if they lived in Sixth avenue, *but who would glory in residing* in Lenox boulevard. "Boulevard" is enchantingly foreign, too. Yet the average "palatial occupant" is kindly cautioned patiently to practice enunciating the word "boulevard" in order to master the intricacies of its vowels. The tongue that has been accustomed to "av-vanoo" may unconsciously blunder into "bulley-vawrd."

But there are some foolishly serious people uptown in New York. They are of the pestiferous poor. In that neck of the woods on the west side, nigh to Washington heights, a protest to the board of alderman[sic] has been circulated which represents that there are people living there who positively refuse to be fashionable. The signers of the remonstrance set forth that they do not want "Tenth avenue" to be baptized as "Fort George avenue." They "like the American plan of numbering streets and avenues," which is clear, plain, systematic, easily comprehended, and far preferable to the European method of giving public highways the names of illustrious or notorious characters, bloody battles, etc. They solemnly aver that "it is too expensive to pay higher rent for new names, as the projectors of the scheme to change the name of Tenth avenue expect an increase in the selling price of real estate and of rent; and New York rent has to be paid by the ninety-six per cent of the residents who are tenants, and is raked in by the four per cent who are landlords." Moreover, "the name of 'Fort George avenue' would be unpatriotic. Fort George was named after a royal English despot, against whom the American people revolted."

Surely, these petitioners must be people of simple mind. The landlords see what's in a name—that is to say, profits. The tenants but reveal their weakness when they express fears that increase of rent will ensue upon the abolition of the vulgar numerical name of their thoroughfare. And have they not accepted the ample proof that patriotism has died out among the snobocracy of New York? When they remember the many beautiful and poetic American Indian names that might be given to hotels and apartment houses by New York's Anglomaniac landlords, and see instead the superabounding flattery extended through their nomenclature to the English nobility, may they not be thankful that poor back street Tenth avenue is not to be called Marlborough lane or Avenue Benedict Arnold? If there was money in it to the denationalized millionaire landlords of New York, would the association of vice, tyranny or treachery prevent the adoption of any high toned name for street or apartment house?

A Typical Meeting in Montgomery.

MONTGOMERY, Oct. 21.—An enthusiastic mass meeting was held here on Thursday, Oct. 20. The speakers were Rev. C. A. Poage of New York city and Mr. J. [H.?] Rhome, nominee for assembly for the Second district. Although a cold rain fell in torrents and the night was intensely dark, the speakers were greeted by a full house. Among those present were all the leaders of political opinion of this section. The speakers were frequently applauded.

Mr. Poage's speech was exhaustive and convincing. At the conclusion of his address he invited questions. There was a volley of responses from all parts of the hall, and it was quite evident from the spirit displayed that those questions came from a genuine wish to acquire information. In every instance the answer was satisfactory. Since then this question of the land tax has been the chief subject of conversation. Men of all parties are deeply interested, and we propose to try and have Mr. Poage come and speak here again.

L. [TOMPKINS?]

Sic in the original; probably "dollar farm".
Sic in the original; probably "board of aldermen".

Stirring Up Johnstown.

JOHNSTOWN.—Our land and labor club is up and doing. It had a well attended mass meeting in Kennedy hall last week. Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost was the chief speaker, and in its brief report the *Leader* said that he made one of the most eloquent speeches ever delivered in Johnstown. That sturdy worker, Dr. William C. Wood of Gloversville, was in the chair. He made a telling point in asking "If we tax dogs because they are a nuisance and thus tend to limit their number, why should we tax houses, which are good things, and thus tend to check the production of houses?"

This meeting has caused many people to "see the light."

EARNEST WORKER.

Page 4 of 8

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY.

Adopted at Syracuse August 19, 1887.

We, the delegates of the united labor party of New York, in state convention assembled, hereby reassert, as the fundamental platform of the party, and the basis on which we ask the co-operation of citizens of other states, the following declaration of principles adopted on September 23, 1886. by the convention of trade and labor associations of the city of New York, that resulted in the formation of the united labor party.

"Holding that the corruptions of government and the impoverishment of labor result from neglect of the self-evident truths proclaimed by the founders of this republic that all men are created equal and are endowed by their Creator with unalienable rights, we aim at the abolition of a system which compels men to pay their fellow creatures for the use of God's gifts to all, and permits monopolizers to deprive labor of natural opportunities for employment, thus filling the land with tramps and paupers and bringing about an unnatural competition which tends to reduce wages to starvation rates and to make the wealth producer the industrial slave of those who grow rich by his toil.

"Holding, moreover, that the advantages arising from social growth and improvement belong to society at large, we aim at the abolition of the system which makes such beneficent inventions as the railroad and telegraph a means for the oppression of the people and the aggrandizement of an aristocracy of wealth and power. We declare the true purpose of government to be the maintenance of that sacred right of property which gives to every one opportunity to employ his labor, and security that he shall enjoy its fruits; to prevent the strong from oppressing the weak, and the unscrupulous from robbing the honest; and to do for the equal benefit of all such things as can be better done by organized society than by individuals; and we aim at the abolition of all laws which give to any class of citizens advantages, either judicial, financial, industrial or political, that are not equally shared by all others."

We call upon all who seek the emancipation of labor, and who would make the American union and its component states democratic commonwealths of really free and independent citizens, to ignore all minor differences and join with us in organizing a great national party on this broad platform of natural rights and equal justice. We do not aim at securing any forced equality in the distributon[sic] of wealth. We do not propose that the state shall attempt to control production, conduct distribution. or in any wise interfere with the freedom of the individual to use his labor or capital in any way that may seem proper to him and that will not interfere with the equal rights of others. Nor do we propose that the state shall take possession of land and either work it or rent it out. What we propose is not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title, but by abolishing all taxes on industry or its products, to leave to the producer the full fruits of his exertion and by the taxation of land values, exclusive of improvements,

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Sic in the original; probably "distribution".

to devote to the common use and benefit those values, which, arising not from the exertion of the individual, but from the growth of society, belong justly to the community as a whole. This increased taxation of land, not according to its area, but according to its value, must, while relieving the working farmer and small homestead owner of the undue burdens now imposed upon them, make it unprofitable to hold land for speculation, and thus throw open abundant opportunities for the employment of labor and the building up of homes.

While thus simplifying government by doing away with the horde of officials required by the present system of taxation and with its incentives to fraud and corruption, we would further promote the common weal and further secure the equal rights of all, by placing under public control such agencies as are in their nature monopolies: We would have our municipalities supply their inhabitants with water, light and heat; we would have the general government issue all money, without the intervention of banks; we would add a postal telegraph system and postal savings banks to the postal service, and would assume public control and ownership of those iron roads which have become the highways of modern commerce.

While declaring the foregoing to be the fundamental principles and aims of the united labor party, and while conscious that no reform can give effectual and permanent relief to labor that does not involve the legal recognition of equal rights to natural opportunities, we nevertheless, as measures of relief from some of the evil effects of ignoring those rights, favor such legislation as may tend to reduce the hours of labor, to prevent the employment of children of tender years, to avoid the competition of convict labor with honest industry. to secure the sanitary inspection of tenements, factories and mines, and to put an end to the abuse of conspiracy laws.

We desire also to so simplify the procedure of our courts and diminish the expense of legal proceedings, that the poor may be placed on an equality with the rich and the long delays which now result in scandalous miscarriages of justice may be prevented.

And since the ballot is the only means by which in our republic the redress of political and social grievances is to be sought, we especially and emphatically declare for the adoption of what is known as the “Australian system of voting,” in order that the effectual secrecy of the ballot and the relief of candidates for public office from the heavy expenses now imposed upon them, may prevent bribery and intimidation, do away with practical discriminations in favor of the rich and unscrupulous, and lessen the pernicious influence of money in politics.

In support of these aims we solicit the co-operation of all patriotic citizens who, sick of the degradation of politics, desire by constitutional methods to establish justice, to preserve liberty, to extend the spirit of fraternity, and to elevate humanity.

UNITED LABOR PARTY OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK.
Headquarters State Executive Committee,

28 Cooper Union,

NEW YORK CITY, Sept. 1, 1887.

To all Members and Friends of the United Labor Party throughout the United States: By its platform, adopted at Syracuse on the 19th of August last, the united labor party of the state of New York has brought into state politics the principles on which the memorable municipal campaign of a year ago was fought. and thus taken a great stride in the forward movement which must not know retreat. Within the next twelvemonth the advance must be made upon the national field. To this end a national conference will at an early day be called in conformity with a resolution adopted by the New York state convention. To all throughout the state and the union who desire the

emancipation of labor, the destruction of monopoly, the doing of even justice, the simplification and purification of government, with the abolition of privilege on one hand and of poverty on the other, the united labor party of New York sends greeting and it solicits their help. Every such contest as the one we are now entering upon must be a costly one. We need money to send speakers through the state, to

p. 4, col. 2

distribute literature in every city, town and village, and to print and distribute our ballots. The last item alone, owing to unjust electoral laws which we are striving to reform, and which throw upon private generosity what should be a public burden, will cost us several thousands of dollars. Contributions, small or great, to aid in this work will be gratefully received and promptly acknowledged by this committee.

EDWARD MCGLYNN,

Chairman and Treasurer.

GAYBERT BARNES, Secretary.

BUT TEN MORE DAYS.

But one more issue of THE STANDARD will appear before the election, and less than ten days remain for the great work of inducing a majority of the people of this great state to put it in the forefront of the great movement for the establishment of justice and the elevation of humanity. No hour or minute of this remaining time should be lost by any man or woman who has enlisted in the new crusade. Meetings are yet to be held and documents circulated; but above all things else, personal work should now be done. We have sown the seed broadcast, and the coming ten days should be devoted to the harvest. All of us know men who have been listening to our speakers and reading our literature, but who have not yet made up their minds to vote for our candidates. The ties that bind such men to the old parties have been weakened, but they still bind them, though loosely, to vote for candidates who represent no ideas bearing on the present or future.

Let us strive with such men individually. They all acknowledge that the old parties have become mere machines, running in old ruts, and that they have no longer high ideals. Urge them to do something then to bring principles back into politics in order that political contests may again become battles of ideas instead of selfish scrambles for mere office.

We have made a magnificent fight in the state, and no human being can with certainty predict the result. We were told in the beginning that we could make no impression in the rural communities– that we could not even gain a hearing. Experience has shown that in towns and villages and at agricultural fairs our speakers have had the largest meetings held in such places for years, and that in every instance many of those drawn there by by[sic] curiosity became converts, and immediately preachers of the anti-poverty doctrines of the new crusade. Doubtless the good work was started by the missionaries sent out from this city, but plenty of eager hands have been found to join in it with enthusiasm, and everywhere men have been found who have long been converts to the doctrine that the land belongs to the people, but who now for the first time find opportunity to proclaim to their neighbors the faith that is in them. Judge Maguire tells us that he has been surprised and delighted with the clearness and readiness with which local speakers of whom we have hardly heard in this city answer the questions of opponents

Sic in the original; probably “by”.

or inquirers. Whatever may be the immediate result, there is no question that the most rapid and wonderful work of propaganda, that the world has ever seen has been carried on in New York during the past two months.

Of course, the natural question arises, what will be the result at the polls? As has been said, no man can make a definite answer in figures to such a query. One answer, however, springs instinctively to the lips of all who have been engaged in the work, and that is that the vote outside this city for the united labor candidates will be vastly greater than the old politicians ever dream of. The old organizations have held but few meetings, and all who have attended them have heard merely the old explanations to vote the ticket simply because it is the ticket. On the other hand, the very falsehoods about the labor party have helped to swell its gatherings. Men come for miles to hear for themselves just what the preachers of the new crusade have to say. They listen intently and eagerly, and ask questions after the speakers have finished. The result is that thousands have been convinced and other thousands have gone away confessing that their own leaders and newspapers have deceived them as to the principles and purposes of the new party. When we consider the general apathy and disgust of the masses with mere machine politics, there is no such thing as fixing the limit of the new vote. In such a condition of affairs all things are possible—even a plurality of the vote outside the city. It is only a question of time when the meaningless and useless old parties will be overwhelmed by an avalanche of disgust, and no prophet has yet fixed the time for this universally anticipated event. There is no reason why it should not occur on Nov. 8, 1887, as well as on any other day.

In this city and Brooklyn the outlook is more than hopeful—it is cheering. Wonderful work has been accomplished in less than three months across the East river, and a new party has been thoroughly organized and equipped for a contest that actually presents signs of possible victory in the first battle it will fight. Certainly all the enthusiasm is on our side, and we can hold three or four vast meetings simultaneously in Brooklyn, each of which will be larger than any single meeting that either of the old parties could by all their arts get together.

In New York city the campaign has necessarily been vastly different from that of last year. The party entered the canvass confident of success, and it has been busy in perfecting its organization and making its nominations. This work has just been completed, and the remaining ten days of

p. 4, col. 3

the canvass will be given up to a rousing campaign. The enrolled members of the party vastly exceed in numbers those of last year. Confidence is universal, and numerous new converts are active workers in the cause. With the exception of a few socialists or disappointed office seekers, there have been no known desertions from our ranks, and the placcs[sic] of these have been taken twenty times over by new recruits. This of course relates to the party organization, but that is all that any party has as a basis for estimating its strength, and all the facts obtainable go to prove that the united labor party is much stronger than it was a year ago and will poll a much larger vote. Our opponents, who predict a falling off in our vote, cannot give a single fact to substantiate their claim, and when closely pressed practically confess that it is based on pure guess work. THE STANDARD has never heard of a single fact to warrant an impeachment of its estimate that the united labor vote in this city will exceed 90,000. It may be mistaken, but no one is able to present a single fact now to show that it is mistaken.

Recent events have tended to make our victory doubly sure. Our opponents are divided as we could not have hoped. The arrogance and insolence of the democratic bosses has angered their party, and the readiness of the republican machine to sacrifice all pretense to principle in order to gain votes by putting on their ticket a democrat rejected by his own party machine, has had an equally demoralizing effect on the republicans. In fact we

Sic in the original; probably “places”.

are already beginning to experience some of the benefits we shall derive from the inevitable union of both the old party leaders against us that will officially proclaim that there is no longer any real difference between them. The democratic votes that will not be given to the present ticket and the republican votes that will be driven off by that party's nomination of the democrats, will not go to the old-time opponents of these voters, but they will meet in the ballot boxes as votes for the new party.

The prospect then in New York city is brighter than it was a year ago, and the prospect in the state is such as to render almost any hope not impossible of fulfillment.

THE LABOR PARTY INSPECTORS.

A little more than a year ago the labor organizations of New York city were requested by the Central labor union to call a political convention. In response to that request delegates were elected, and under the auspices of the Central labor union the convention was called to order, and John McMackin elected chairman. From that time forward the Central labor union, by its own disclaimer, had no official relations with the convention. The object of the call had been to organize a new political party on the basis of justice to men who work for a living, and, having seen the convention properly organized, the functions of the Central labor union in that regard ceased.

This convention of the new party, to which no name had yet been given, adopted a platform of fundamental principles at Clarendon hall on the 23d of September, 1886. The leading feature of that platform was a declaration in favor of securing the land for the people by an exclusive tax on land values. When the platform had been adopted, the candidate nominated and an executive committee appointed, a call was issued to the people, generally to join in the movement. Until that time, from wise motives of precaution, only members of labor organizations were admitted into the councils of the party; but when the general call went out a public meeting was held at Chickering hall—the famous meeting at which Dr. McGlynn spoke, and by speaking incurred the bitter animosity of some of his ecclesiastical superiors,—and from the body of that meeting a committee was appointed to co-operate with the committee already appointed by the labor convention. Then a ratification meeting was held at Cooper union, at which the candidate for mayor formally accepted, the campaign was opened, and local organizations of the party were formed in every assembly district.

Still the party had no name.

The incidents of that wonderful campaign are still fresh in the public mind, and its history need not be repeated here. It is enough that 68,000 votes were counted for the party by inspectors selected by their enemies, to say nothing of the votes that were cast and not counted. continued on p. 4 →

← continued from p. 4 A few days after that election this new party called a mass meeting at Cooper union, at which an address to the country was adopted and a temporary committee for the national organization of the party appointed; and in the month of December primary elections of delegates to a county general committee were held by the local organizations of the party in the various assembly districts. When the delegates to the county committee met they perfected a permanent organization with John McMackin as chairman, and adopted a constitution and by-laws, in which the name of the new party that had made a record of 68,000 votes, and which that committee represented, was declared to be "The United Labor Party."

At a later meeting a sub-committee of the county committee was elected to endeavor to procure the passage of a law giving to the new party an inspector of election who might protect the party in the future from the frauds by

which it had suffered at the previous election. The sub-committee performed its work so successfully that an act was passed requiring the police board, in case it held that a

p. 4, col. 4

third party polling 50,000 votes was not entitled to one of the four inspectors of election already provided for, to appoint a fifth inspector on the nomination of that member of the police board who should be selected by the chairman and secretary of the party polling the 50,000 votes. continued on p. 4 →

← continued from p. 4 Until the following summer there was no pretense that any other organization than the united labor party was entitled to the fifth inspector, or that any other persons than John McMackin, as chairman, and John N. Bogart, as secretary, of the county committee of the united labor party, were authorized to select a police commissioner to nominate the fifth inspector. But during the summer the New York *Sun*, in a characteristic editorial, suggested that Irving hall, an insignificant local faction of the democratic party which had indorsed the labor party's nominee for mayor at the previous election, was entitled to the extra inspector. At that time the socialists were in the united labor party and had representatives of their own peculiar views and methods in the county committee. They especially were angered at the claim of the *Sun*, and vehemently asserted that only the united labor party could be considered in the matter.

This was the situation when John McMackin, as chairman, and John M. Bogert, as secretary, of the county committee, selected Police Commissioner McClave to nominate inspectors for the united labor party; and all through the summer the various assembly district associations of the united labor party were engaged in procuring members of the party to consent to be inspectors. Among those who took part in this work were all of the leaders of the socialists, now in the progressive labor party, who were in the habit of working in the movement at all. There was then no question that the board of police could be called upon to decide except as to the relative rights of the united labor party and the Irving hall faction of the democratic party; and at that time the pretensions of the Irving hall people were laughed at. continued on p. 4 →

← continued from p. 4 But after the 19th of August a new opportunity was afforded the political hucksters. A joint committee of the united labor party of New York and Brooklyn, acting in concert with the temporary committee on national organization, called a state convention, which met in Syracuse on Aug. 17, 1887. The socialist members of the united labor party of New York city took part in the election of delegates to that convention. Some of their men were elected, some were defeated, and in the cases of some there were contests. In the decision of these contests some of the socialists were excluded, whereupon, pursuant to the decision of a preliminary secret caucus, most of the socialists retired from the convention, from which all socialists were subsequently practically excluded by the adoption of a platform which, while it was precisely the same as that adopted at Clarendon hall a year before, added an explanatory clause declaring against what is commonly known as state socialism.

Following this action of the convention, and late in the month of August or early in September, 1887, nearly one year after the mayoralty vote on which all claims for the extra inspector are based, the socialists formed a new party, calling it "the progressive labor party," and selected one of the democratic police commissioners to name their inspectors. Meantime the Irving hall faction had selected another democratic police commissioner to make its appointments. This being the situation, the two republican police commissioners voted to appoint the united labor party inspectors and the two democratic commissioners voted in opposition on the ground that the adverse claims were well founded. The question was then brought into the courts. continued on p. 4 →

← continued from p. 4 As the courts concede, Mr. McMackin made a *prima facie* case in favor of the claims of the united labor party; but on the other hand, affidavits were filed by the progressive labor party (which, it will be remembered, had not been thought of, much less organized, until last August), that it was that party, and not the united labor party, that cast 68,000 votes for Henry George last November. This, no doubt, made an issue of fact, and the courts are not open to criticism for having decided, as the general term of the supreme court did several days ago, and as the court of appeals did this week, that that question of fact must be determined upon evidence before the courts can apply the law. But such a trial cannot be had in time to give the inspectors to the political party for whose protection they were specially intended. Aided, therefore, by the slow processes of the law, the brokers in public office, who now govern New York, are free to resort to the same frauds in canvassing votes this year that they resorted to last year. continued on p. 4 →

← continued from p. 4 But while no criticism of the courts may be made, what shall be said, in face of the indisputable facts recited above, of the democratic officials in the police board who have deliberately pretended, well knowing the pretense to be false, that there is a question as to what party polled 68,000 votes for Henry George last fall. Of the honesty of such men there can be but one opinion, and of their purpose, in view of the notorious corruption in our election machinery, there can be no doubt. continued on p. 4 →

← continued from p. 4 What the united labor party is not permitted to do through official inspectors it must accomplish through competent, courageous and alert watchers.

Making Converts in Syracuse.

SYRACUSE, Oct. 22.—Leo Miller of Chicago spoke in Syracuse on Thursday evening, and fairly carried the audience away with his con-

p. 4, col. 5

vincing arguments, able and clear explanations, and the eloquent manner in which he defended the principles of the united labor party. A number of converts were made, mostly elderly men—the hardest kind of men to capture. Indeed, Mr. Miller so plainly proved the injustice of the present land system that I hardly think any man in the room could fail to see it.

W. H. JOYCE,

State Committeeman.

JEM'S CHANCE.

It was noon time at the farm, and John, his father and Jem, the hired man, had come in from the field to dinner.

There was a wagon under the shed; and as soon as John saw that he knew Uncle Ephraim was there, and that he was in for a lecture.

And John was right. Uncle Ephraim had "driv' over," as he said, "just to take the nonsense out of that boy, and stop his running after this Henry George foolishness." Uncle Ephraim knew it was foolishness because, because—well,

he just *knew* it, and he didn't want any nonsense of that kind in his family. He was a prosperous man, was Uncle Ephraim, a self-made man, sir, who had worked his way up in life—just what a man ought to do to succeed.

Sure enough, as soon as dinner was eaten and he got a good chance to talk, John's uncle commenced on the new fangled heresies of the united labor party, and took John roundly to task.

"Young man," he said, "you are like a good many others. You think that fortune ought to come to you, when the truth is you've got to go after it. Industry, sir, industry, perseverance and economy are what bring success." And Uncle Ephraim leaned back in his chair and looked particularly wise and crushing.

John remained silent, which rather disconcerted his uncle, who expected to have his proposition denied, and didn't exactly know how to go on when the denial didn't come. It really is very embarrassing when people don't say what you expect them to.

However, after a minute of impressive silence the uncle went on again—a little explosively, for John's silence angered him.

"Look at me, sir!" he said. "I began life forty-five years ago, working by the month. I saved my money, bought a farm and paid for it, sir. And now I have the best farm in the country, well stocked and money out at interest besides. And all the result of hard work, sir. Talk about anti-poverty societies! The way to abolish poverty is to go to work. Do as I did, sir, you and James, there, too."

John remained silent; not because he hadn't plenty to say, but because he wasn't quite sure whether his uncle had finished talking or not. But Jem, the hired man, who had been sitting quietly listening, spoke up:

"I beg pardon, sir," said he, "but it doesn't seem to me that we young men have as good a chance as you had."

Uncle Ephraim exploded.

"Not as good a chance, sir! Why—why—I used to work for thirteen dollars a month, and here you're getting twenty. Not as good a chance? Why, you could get a farm quicker than I did; but you young fellows nowadays prefer to wear fine clothes and put on airs." And Uncle Uphraim[sic] looked around the table with a contemptuous half smile, as much as to say, "That settles it."

But Jem was not to be settled so easily. He had been thinking this thing out, and had come to pretty definite conclusions about it, and he meant to have his say out.

"That sounds very fine," said Jem, "but just let's look into the matter a little and see whether I'm having the same chance you did.

"In the first place, while you were working by the month you were courting your employer's daughter at the same time, and you finally married her. Now, if John here had a sister, and I was to try for any chance of that kind there'd be a situation open for a good hand on this farm pretty soon, wouldn't there? Yet I am as honest, as industrious, as good looking, and, thanks to the public schools, a good deal better educated than you were. The difference is that when you were a young man the chances were all in favor of a hired man getting a farm of his own, while now the chances are all against it.

Sic in the original; probably "Ephraim".

"You say I wear better clothes than you used to. Well, when you were a hired man you dressed in the same style as the son of your employer, and I do the same. Don't you know John's father wouldn't have me round here if I went dressed as you used to?

"It's true I get $20 a month, while you only got $13; but can I do as much with it? When you wanted to buy a farm you could get one for $10 an acre, with just as good improvements on it as anybody else round here had at that time. You paid for your hundred-acre farm with six years and a half of labor. Now if I want to buy a hundred-acre farm I must pay $100 an acre for it, and even then the improvements won't be such as will put me on an equal footing with my neighbors. How much labor at $20 a month will that farm cost me? Only five hundred months, that's all! Just forty-one years! In other words, if I work hard and live close and save every cent I make, I shall be past sixty by the time I get where you were when you were thirty. And even that isn't the worst of it, for if things keep on like they're going now, by the time I get ready to buy that farm the land will be worth $200 an acre instead of $100.

"Why, just think what a chance you had as compared with what I have. You had a good social position, which you could maintain without spending much money, while I have an inferior one, and have to spend money to keep it. Six years and a half of labor and saving put you on the same footing as your neighbors, which a whole life time of work wouldn't do for me. Chance, indeed. Why, I wish I had only half your chance!"

"Well, Jem," said Uncle Ephraim, "how are you going to help yourself?"

"Oh! as to that," said Jem, "the united labor ——"

But at that moment the clock struck, and the hour's nooning was over.

W. C. WOOD, M. D.

THE SEARCH FOR A POLITICAL FAITH.

AMSTERDAM, N. Y.—Any one who has ever read Thomas Moore's "Gentleman in Search of a Religion" can appreciate the sense of confusion and uncertainty that assailed me at the outset of my search for a political faith—one which should satisfy my conscience and enable me properly to discharge my responsibilities as a citizen.

Not having enjoyed the advantages of a collegiate education, I was compelled to trust to the guidance of common sense and to the aid of the press. Being possessed of a spirit of independence, I hailed the formation of the united labor party with a feeling of satisfaction, as affording me an opportunity for the exercise of that spirit. This feeling, however, was, for a time at least, rudely dispelled by the comments of the press. I learned from the newspapers that the land value tax idea, upon which the new party was based, was iniquitous, mischievous and silly. It was shown to my entire satisfaction that the idea of dividing the land equally was not only the height of folly, but that it was positively wicked. I was informed that even were it practicable it would eventually result in

p. 4, col. 6

injustice to unborn millions who were not here when the division took place; that God had made one spot more fertile, more productive, than another; that the fellow who got one of the inferior tracts would very properly be dissatisfied; and, finally, that if the idea were carried into effect it would be but a short time before the shrewd and unscrupulous would again be the owners of the lion's share of the bounties of nature. These conclusions, after mature deliberation on my part, appeared perfectly valid and logical, and I was compelled to accept them as sound.

Nor was this all. I learned that "these united labor fellows" were a lot of dissatisfied demagogues and disappointed agitators, men whose minds had becomo[sic] diseased from brooding over misfortunes which in the majority of cases they might have averted. I was told that the new party's idea of free land could never attract sensible voters, because, as everybody knows, our democratic and republican statesmen had long ago provided a liberal amount of land for any citizen who would take the trouble to ask for it. "Do not," so the papers asked, "the united labor party know that at this moment there are 160 acres of free land awaiting every one of them?" All this and much more in the same strain I learned from my one, two and three cent educators.

My attention being thus attracted to the subject, I made a study of our public land policy, with the result that my confidence in the consistency and honesty of the press was considerably shocked. I observed that in one editorial they pointed with the confidence inspired by an indisputable proposition to the wisdom of the policy that allotted to every citizen 160 acres of land, regardless of productiveness, and with no provision for compensation to the man who might get the poorest land; while in other utterances they laughed the same idea to scorn when it suited them to attribute it to the united labor party.

My next lesson was when I learned that it was precisely to correct and put an end to this unjust principle, which they were falsely accused of advocating, that the united labor party had entered the political arena.

As the final result of my studies I have satisfied myself that the land value tax which the united labor party propose, will secure to every child unborn at least standing room, because it will remove the inducement for men to hold more land than they can put to use. I have convinced myself that it will insure to the unfortunate possessor of inferior land his equal right to what God obviously meant all to enjoy, because it will compel the possessor of the superior land to pay the difference between the value of his land and the value of the inferior land into the common treasury for the privileges and advantages he enjoys through occupying the choicest spot. It will prevent the cunning and unscrupulous appropriating the share of others, because they want that share only when they can compel others to give part of what they produce for the privilege of occupying it. and nobody would be fool enough to do that when they could get land and retain all the product. In short, I am satisfied that the policy of the united labor party would prevent all the evils so ably pictured by the press as following in the wake of government ownership of land, and its equal division, as practiced by our government. In conclusion let me ask, in all candor, of the pro-poverty press, why do they uphold a policy attended by the evils they have so powerfully depicted?

HARVEY BOOK.

Kept Steadfast in the Faith by the Arguments of Its Opponents.

Though a firm believer in the land doctrine of Mr. George, owing to active interests in private pursuits at times I become lukewarm, so to speak, and look upon the task Mr. George has undertaken as impossible of accomplishment; but I have a happy faculty of reading as much against his doctrine as for it, and, strange as it may seem, by such means I keep up a constant glow of enthusiasm in its favor despite my own active engagements in other directions.

The opponents of Mr. George have convinced me that he is right—are convincing the thinking world—and hence I have heart in his ultimate success.

Sic in the original; probably "become".

I write this after a careful reading of the *Herald's* criticism on the Rev. R. I. Halaind's[sic] new book against Mr. George, indorsed by Bishop Corrigan and approved by the church. Time will not permit me to expose fully his obvious ignorance of the doctrine he opposes, and wherein his arguments are for instead of against Mr. George.

The reverend writer says: "Turn it as you please, if you assess the tax according to the area, you discriminate most unjustly against husbandry, for it requires more space to raise grain, hay, cotton and sugar than to make watches, machinery, shoes or clothing."

Now, any man who professes to understand Mr. George's doctrine knows that it contains nothing about taxing "according to area," as the writer assumes it does, but the very opposite; so much for his ignorance of the subject. Then comes this most convincing argument against himself: "Man, in the sententious phrase of Aristotle, is *animal domesticum*, or destined to live in domestic society; to raise children who shall owe him their existence and in whom he will perpetuate himself. The permanency and progress of the species depend on his faithful discharge of those duties. But in order to fulfill them he must have permanent domain, for otherwise he might die, leaving his children unprovided. If parents left nothing to their offspring then every generation would have to begin the work over again."

How many under the present system have a right to permanent domain. Only a few compared with the population, and even fewer may be expected in the near future if the present system continues, as is the case in older countries to-day when absentee landlords live in luxury and idleness upon the industry of their helpless tenantry. And is not this a reason for the position of Bishop Nulty, from whom the reverend gentleman begs to differ?

Is it not permanent domain that Mr. George is battling for? Not permanent domain for a few, but for all. And if the learned writer admits that any are entitled to permanent domain, he must admit that all are. Hence he has justified the position taken by Mr. George and Bishop Nulty or he discriminates unjustly against one class in favor of another.

We recognize no class, but all as brothers.

Again, how many under the present system leave their children provided with land when they die? Are not the majority of mankind too poor to possess land and pay the price placed upon it? Would not more be able to leave their children provided if they could get land without price?

We believe, as the reverend gentleman does, in permanent domain, and that every man should leave his children provided. And he believes as we do, but unwittingly, to judge him charitably.

SAMUEL QUINN.

Henry George to Speak in Brooklyn.

Henry George will address the citizens of Brooklyn on Sunday evening, Oct. 30, in the Academy of Music, on Montague street, under the auspices of the Kings county Henry George club.

Sic in the original; probably "Holaind's".

Page 5 of 8

TWO WEEKS MORE.

The last two weeks of my tour through the state were of a different and even more encouraging character than the first three. In the beginning I was breaking ground. In no place where I spoke had there been a public meeting (except at Gloversville where I spoke in June), and in many places there had been no agitation; but after leaving Syracuse I came upon ground that had been plowed by others, and the effect of agitation was apparent.

On the 10th of October I went to Seneca Falls, a thriving manufacturing village in the the[sic] lake region west of Auburn. No interest had been taken there in the movement until late in the summer, when H. H. Freeman induced a cigar manufacturer named Hall to take it up. Hall had a conference with some of his employes and two or three labor sympathizers in the village, which resulted in a little meeting of a baker's dozen in Hall's shop. A club was formed, headquarters were rented, a united labor party transparency was put out, and a series of public meetings were held; and when John J. Bealin and I arrived we were met by an active and growing organization of sixty members, and an audience of 400 that crowded the town hall. Nor was the audience large, merely; it was also enthusiastic and quick to comprehend the points that were made in favor of the land value tax.

Among the members of the club at Seneca Falls are a cigar manufacturer, the principal tailor of the village, the principal undertaker, an old and respected physician, and many of the men who work in the shops.

The manufacture of pumps is the principal industry of Seneca Falls, the works of the Gould manufacturing company being located there, and I found that a very large number of the workmen who have not yet joined the club are in sympathy with the movement, and will vote the ticket. Here as elsewhere there will be an unexpectedly large silent vote, silent from fear of blacklisting in business or in opportunities for employment. One of the most encouraging signs was the fact that the question of abolishing all taxes except on land values was the chief topic of discussion at the hotels and on the streets before as well as after the meeting. From Seneca Falls I went to Medina, an agricultural center west of Rochester. There I met A. D. Rose, a member of the state committee and an indefatigable organizer, and also Dr. Houghton of Cincinnati, who spoke with me.

Mr. Rose got on the train at Rochester, and before we had been half an hour out of the depot he had every man in our car reading land and labor tracts. It was noticeable that no one to whom Mr. Rose offered a tract refused to take it or treated the matter contemptuously. On the contrary, every one fell to reading, and the interest of some was excited to such an extent that they entered into a serious interrogative discussion with Mr. Rose, who tells me that this is his constant experience, and that he finds men ready to listen, well disposed to inquire, and generally more open to conviction in consequence of the transparent misrepresentation of the press than they were when the press was non-committal. Mr. Rose's experiences through the farming districts were very interesting and significant. I can spare space to recite but one of them:

In one county he did not know of a man to whom he could delegate the work of organization. So far as he could learn, there was not a STANDARD subscriber or a Knight of Labor there. But he finally heard of a prosperous

farmer who had been a greenbacker, and upon whose sympathies, therefore, he thought he might rely. He found the farmer at work in his barn, and, introducing himself, said:

"I would like to talk you to death, but it won't take me more than ten minutes."

The farmer laughed and promised to give Mr. Rose an opportunity to try the experiment. After a little while they retired to the farmer's house, and when Mr. Rose stated the errand he was on, the farmer impatiently objected to considering any question that involved the taxing of farmers to death. It seemed that he preferred being talked to death to being taxed to death.

Mr. Rose then explained that he would not do any of the talking himself, but would leave two or three men to do it for him if the farmer would listen. The farmer promised, and Mr. Rose left with him a copy of Shearman's single tax and one of David Dudley Field's cross-examination of Henry George, saying:

"Read them, and if tney[sic] interest you write to me."

After a few days Mr. Rose got a letter from the farmer declaring that he had read the tracts three or four times, and the more he read the better he was pleased, but wanted to read "Progress and Poverty" before coming to a conclusion. The book was sent, and that settled it. The farmer who expected to be talked to death is now working himself to death in making converts and perfecting a county organization. Already several of his neighbors, farmers, have joined him.

The meeting at Medina was presided over by a farmer named Sullivan, whose farm lies about three miles out of the village. The attendance was about three hundred and fifty, and intense interest was exhibited throughout, and at times enthusiasm. Among the auditors was Senator Pitts, whose home is at Medina. Mr. Sullivan made an opening address, in which he showed the most satisfactory familiarity with the land value tax and its relation to the farming community. He is now devoting his time to organizing the county in which he lives, and reports rapid progress in organization and prospects of a very large vote.

Warsaw is famous for its salt, the ownership of which affords a large unearned income to several corporations. Here a meeting had been called at the court house, but the day before the use of that building was refused, and an audience assembled in the K. of L. hall, where Dr. Houghton and I after addressing it had the satisfaction of seeing fifteen new men join the club.

We met a real curiosity at the hotel in this place. He was a man of some acquirements and of apparent intelligence, but he defended human slavery on the old lines so familiar to people whose memory extends back of the war. It was nearly twenty-five years since I had heard pro-slavery arguments and this Rip Van Winkle made me feel

p. 5, col. 2

young again. As might be expected he was loud in his denunciation of Henry George, and so persistently and illogically assailed the land value tax that he nearly converted every man in the reading room of the hotel to a belief in the tax.

The meeting at Utica was small for our party, but judged by the ordinary political meeting it was large. There were over 100 present, all of whom gave strong indications of interest in and adherence to the movement. Hudson, where I spoke on the 14th, is a peculiar place. There are several sincere and earnest workers in the movement, but they labor under great disadvantages. The place has been thoroughly corrupted by politicians, who hesitate at nothing to carry their points. At the meeting, wnich[sic] was a large one, signs of approval from the audience were

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

wholly lacking. As I was informed, every man was afraid of his neighbor, not knowing how his personal interests might suffer if his sympathy with the movement were made known; and the same feeling influenced those who managed the meeting, for while there were several among them quite competent to preside, a chairman was imported from Coxsackie lest any local man should by his prominence in the movement call down upon his head the vengeance of the opposition. That this timid feeling is not without reason is evident from the experience of Mr. Wilcox, a cigar manufacturer, who having got a little too far to the front in the movement early in the fall, was reminded of his recklessness by a notice from the internal revenue office to the effect that his bonds, which had been good enough for ten years, were defective: and when he brought his bondsman, a perfectly solvent man, forward for examination, the bondsman was subjected to a long, prying and harassing inquiry, which was intended to induce him to withdraw in disgust, and might have succeded[,22] if he had not understood the situation. Mr. Wilcox asked a leading politician what all this meant. The reply was: "Why, that's politics; you took a hand in against the Tilden faction last spring, and now you add insult to injury by joining the George party!"

But despite this condition it is expected that Hudson will astonish the politicians by its large vote for the united labor party. The feeling of fear that keeps men silent gives rise to a feeling of resentment that will find expression on election day. Amsterdam is the home of our candidate for state treasurer, P. H. Cummins. He and his friend Bartley with something more than a score of others like them are unceasingly at work. There is hardly a farmer's wagon that comes into Amsterdam which does not carry tracts home, and whenever Mr. Cummins sends out advertisements of his business he sends tracts along, while Mr. Bartley expends his spare time and money in the publication of the *Labor Stage* through which a great deal of effective missionary work is done.

Amsterdam was dead to the movement until Dr. McGlynn went there, but the doctor's appearance broke the ice, and I found an enthusiastic audience. The unfortunate strikes in that section disheartened men, but as the news of this movement comes to them from different sections the old energy is rousing again. Of Brooklyn, where I spoke in the Academy of Music on the 16th, nothing more need be said than that the academy was more than three-quarters filled with a paying audience and that throughout the meeting the fervor so familiar to attendants at the anti-poverty meetings in New York was present.

On the 17th I was with Mr. George at Kingston, where every one agreed that the meeting was the largest political meeting ever held under a roof in that section of the country. An immense rink was packed to the doors, and the truths of the new crusade were welcomed much after the manner of New York audiences. The significance of this is great when it is remembered that only two months ago there was no movement at all in Kingston and only twelve sympathizers. Now Ulster county is thoroughly awake to the importance and power of the united labor party. Herkimer is like Kingston. Mr. Bedell, a spring bed manufacturer, has been at work for several months, but he met nothing but discouragement until Dr. McGlynn spoke in the village. Since then the party has grown up like magic. Clarence Moeller has been doing excellent organizing work for three weeks through the county, and on the 18th, when I was there, a county convention was held, at which ten of the nineteen towns were represented by good men, each with an effective constituency behind him. Ex-Judge Smith, a leading lawyer of the county, who is a thorough convert to the land value tax, was nominated for member of assembly, and the better informed members of the party are confident of carrying the county.

The meeting was attended by over 350 people of all classes, and resulted in several converts already heard from. A German, who had been bitterly opposed to the movement, remarked to one of our men the next day: "Vell, I kess I vos a leetle Henrich Church men myselluf." He had put a new story on his house, and was rewarded for his enterprise with a tax assessment of $10,000, whereas before he had paid on but $7,500.

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

At Peekskill the meeting was small, owing to the annual firemen's parade, which took place on the same night. A great many members of the party belong to the firemen's organizations with which they marched, and the people generally were attracted by this local event of the year. The size of the meeting, however, was no indication of the sentiment of the place, for I am informed that the town is well organized and will poll a large vote. At Glens Falls and Whitehall the movement is only in a fair state of advance, but it is growing, and there are several active and intelligent advocates of the land value tax in both places who are promoting its growth. These gentlemen have assurances of support at the polls from men who for obvious reasons hesitate to join an organization, and it is not at all improbable that both of the old parties there will find a formidable competitor in the united labor party even at the approaching election.

At Whitehall an earnest adversary of Henry George fell into conversation with me, and knowing his views I led him away from the "George question" and into a discussion of taxation. He had been an assessor and it

p. 5, col. 3

wasn't long before he was denouncing the system of taxing improvements quite as vigorously as I could have done.

"Why," said he, "when I was assessor a hard working fellow up here fixed up his house and yard and they wanted to put $100 more on his assessment, and there was a lazy, shiftless fellow across the street who let his property run down, and they proposed to reduce his tax. But I said, 'No. sir; I won't agree to tax that man for being industrious! You can tax the other fellow higher for his laziness, if you want to!" This intelligent assessor was not a little surprised when I told him that his policy was the Henry George policy.

So I have found it everywhere. Whenever the misrepresentations of the press are brushed aside, and men understand what it is that we want to do, the industrious man agrees with us. Only the vagabond (rich or poor) stands out against the land value tax when he understands it.

Judge Maguire did good work in Troy, as Dr. McGlynn had done before him. The city is well organized, and although a good deal of the same timidity that characterizes Hudson is recognized here, the party has attained a momentum which is every day making it easier for the timid to declare themselves. My audience in Troy numbered nearly four hundred.

While in the west of the state I stopped for an hour in Rochester and for five hours in Buffalo. In both cities the party has grown immensely since I spoke there, not only in numbers and effectiveness of organization, but also in an intelligent recognition of the scope and power of the land value tax. The bitterness of Bishop McQuaid's attacks in Rochester is winning votes every day.

Let no one make the mistake of supposing that the power of the united labor party lies in New York and Brooklyn alone. In the agricultural districts, as well as in the large towns and cities, a vote will be polled this fall that will forever silence those pettifogging explanations of last year's vote in New York that it was a mere protest and not an intelligent declaration in favor of the land for the people.

LOUIS F. POST.

Renssalaer[sic] will Acquit Herself Nobly.

TROY, Oct. 22.—During the past fortnight we have held meetings in the towns of Easton, Valley Falls, Johnsonville, Eagle Mills, Sandlake, Cropsyville and Schaghticoke. All the meetings were large and enthusiastic, and every one except that at Eagle Mills resulted in the formation of a Henry George club. At Eagle Mills the proprietor of the hall refused to rent it when he learned the purpose of our meeting.

At Sandlake we had the assistance of Mr. Charles O. Henry, of New York, who kept the audience interested for an hour.

At Easton we have a strong friend in Michael Moran, who brings two wagon loads of voters to nearly every meeting in the county, making the night air ring with their campaign cry, "George! George! Henry George!" as they pass along the roads.

Here in Troy we are making things hum. All our wards are well officered, and every possible precaution will be taken to preserve the purity of the ballot box. We have a banner 21 by 12 feet in front of our headquarters. Next week we shall attack the rest of the county.

You may depend upon it, Renssalaer will acquit herself nobly on Nov. 8.

T. J. SANFORD.

The Small Manufacturers are with Us.

NEW YORK CITY, Oct. 24.—While your reports from the various agricultural counties of this state are encouraging to the land and labor workers, I find that in our New York county the republicans are joining us.

Particularly is this true of many small manufacturers (who as a rule are planning, thinking men), and who are of the middle class—the nation's strength. This class of influential men, formerly republicans, are reformers in spirit, and will cast many votes for Henry George.

While every vote counts one, my belief is that a thoughtful vote for the single tax labor party is of greater value than any other.

The republicans are meeting us, and they will surely be with us. I mean these small manufacturers who want the masses to have more money in order to buy their wares freely.

E. A. KIMBALL.

Fast Multiplying in Marlborough.

MARLBOROUGH.—We are working hard in this town, by holding meetings and distributing tracts. Prof. L. E. Wilmarth of the National academy of painting and sculpture is the most prominent worker among us, and is making lots of converts. He postponed a trip to Europe from October 1 until after election in order to devote his entire attention to the canvass, and has been going about from farm to farm, talking to all who would listen. He

Sic in the original; probably "Rensselaer".

will address a mass meeting in this town on Monday, October 24, and in Milton, Highland and other towns later on. He and I were the only George men in the town two months ago, but now the men who believe with us are beginning to start out of the ground.

C. H. BAILDON.

Albany Will Make a Pretty Good Showing in November.

ALBANY, Oct. 22.—I have been a land and labor man for some time, having previously voted the republican ticket, which I did mainly because of two evils I thought best to choose the least. I could not vote against the principles of the united labor party without being a hypocrite or a fool. The good cause is gaining recruits here daily, and I think we will make a pretty good showing in November This is a slow city, but it doesn't take a back seat for rotten politics.

F. C. STEVENS.

Growing Confidence in Elmira.

ELMIRA.—Confidence in the vote of the united labor party is spreading and there is no doubt that we would cast a much larger vote to-day than we could have cast a month ago. The democratic party is losing its grip and will be able to use far less money this year than formerly, for the simple reason that many of the men who hitherto have sold their votes now prefer to cast a free ballot for a principle and a man of their own choice. Added to this the democratic candidate for senator is unpopular.

H. M. BERGMAN.

Organized in South Orange, N. J.

SOUTH ORANGE, Oct. 17.—We have formed a land and labor club in our township. We elected T. Barrett a member of the county committee, H. F. Haase and Robert Leslie delegates to the county convention, and indorsed the Syracuse platform of the united labor party. We expect to make things hum in this vicinity this winter by holding anti-poverty meetings once a week.

H. T. HAASE, Secretary.

p. 5, col. 4

JUDGE MAGUIRE'S TOUR.

ELMIRA, Oct. 19.—On October 12th I had a splendid meeting in Troy. The audience, composed principally of earnest and thoughtful workingmen, was large and enthusiastic. The seed of our philosophy has evidently been well sown, and it has not "fallen in stony places," but in the [deep?], rich soil of independent thought.

Messrs. Romaine, Stanford, Zeiser, Boyd and many others of our party are doing excellent and effective work, not only in Troy, but in the surrounding towns and villages. On every hand I heard assurances that the united labor party, already strong, is daily growing. It now numbers in its membership several leading business men of Troy, and the great work of breaking down the groundless prejudices of the business classes is being speedily accomplished. At the close of my address, as is usual, I held a sort of after meeting, at which introductions, hand shaking and questions and answers occupied about half an hour. I believe that such informal meetings do a great deal of good, for many conscientious and earnest men who have been brought to a favorable general feeling with respect to our views, but who are honestly puzzled about minor matters, sometimes mere matters of detail, will in a sort of man to man discussion, ask questions to satisfy their misgivings, whereas they would not think of asking such questions before the entire audience.

Our Troy meeting was voted a grand success.

On the evening of the 13th I spoke in Lansingburg to a good sized audience. My address did not seem to arouse the enthusiasm to which I had been everywhere else accustomed, though telling points, and especially stories told by way of illustation[sic]. were sometimes applauded. I remarked to the chairman upon closing my address that the audience did not seem to take much stock in the natural rights of man. Quick as a flash he said: "I think you are mistaken. Let us test them." He stepped to the front and asked: "All in favor of the land reform just advocated by Judge Maguire please to stand up." To my surprise nearly all in the audience stood up. After seating them he asked all opposed to rise, and just one old gentleman, who I afterward learned was David Reeves Smith, stood up. He looked lonely, but firm as the sandstone of his own philosophy. After this vote I realized that there was a sort of gloomy earnestness about the audience which I had not before appreciated I now believe that Lansingburg will give a good vote for the united labor party.

On my way to Dunkirk I stopped again at Buffalo, and had a pleasant chat with our enthusiastic friends, Messrs. Spitzmuler and Ronayne.

The important work of organizing district clubs is being vigorously prosecuted.

At Dunkirk—thanks to the hostility of Bishop Ryan and Father Stephen—we were unable to hire the hall in which the political meetings of other parties are generally held, but the tolerably commodious Town hall was filled with a very attentive and intelligent audience, including a large number of Father Stephen's parishioners, who do not believe that it is heresy to teach that God made them equal to rich men, and that God made the land for the equal use and sustenance of all mankind. The choir of the Independent Presbyterian church volunteered to furnish us with vocal and instrumental music, and this added greatly to the success of our meeting.

Rev. E. P Adams, who has delivered several sermons on the equal rights of God's children in the land, was called upon to preside and introduced me to the audience. Good results are expected from the meeting.

I was told that at Jamestown, owing to the local strength of the union labor party and the weakness of our following, I need not expect to meet much of an audience or to find much enthusiasm. I therefore went with misgivings, but not timidly, for I believe in the philosophy of that old hymn:

> Let courage rise with danger,
> And strength to strength oppose.

I was therefore resolved to speak, though only three should be gathered in the name of justice. To my surprise when I arrived at Fireman's hall at a quarter before eight o'clock every seat was occupied and a large number were

Sic in the original; probably "illustration".

standing. The audience represented all classes. Among the people present were several clergymen, several lawyers and business men, a great number of mechanics and workingmen, and a large sprinkling of ladies. I never addressed a more intelligent or a more attentive audience. Every man and woman seemed to be a thinker, and their critical earnestness and their mental fairness as manifested by their discriminating applause kept me to serious argument from the beginning to the end.

After speaking for an hour and three quarters I suggested that I had talked long enough, but yielding to general cries of "go on, go on." I proceeded. Still they sat and still they stood until I had talked two hours and a quarter, and at the close they gave such a round of applause as made me feel that the cause of the united labor party was not very weak in Jamestown.

Conspicuous among the audience was a venerable gentleman whose snowy locks betokened the weight of years, and who, as I was informed, was a distinguished visiting congregational minister; he seemed to be one of the most intensely interested of my listeners and remained until the last. Whether he was favorably or unfavorably impressed I am, of course, unable to say, but I am satisfied from his appearance that he has the courage to state his conviction, whatever it may be.

After the meeting a large number of the audience gathered around the platform and I spent another half hour very pleasantly in answering questions and receiving introductions.

I am informed that a great change of sentiment on the land question is rapidly coming over the people of this section.

Last night I spoke to a good sized audience at Hornellsville. The people were not as demonstrative as I have found them in many other places, but they were very attentive. I found from brief conversations during the afternoon that they were to a great extent laboring under the delusion that the tariff is a protection to American labor. Indeed, I learned that there were several honest "protectionists" who were satisfied to join our party, but feared that as a national party we would favor free trade. In the course of my address I therefore alluded to this delusion.

p. 5, col. 5

When I called it a delusion there was a perceptible flutter, as if some sacred shrine had been profaned, but there was also some applause. I called the attention of the audience to the fact that for more than a quarter of a century they had been told that the protective tariff of itself protected labor, and then asked why it was found necessary at the end of that period to pass a law prohibiting the importation of pauper labor to compete with American labor. I suggested to them that the tariff had simply prevented the law of supply and demand from operating to reduce the prices of manufactured commodities, but left employers free to scour the pauper labor markets of the world, as they had always done, to bring cheap labor into competition with American labor, while reducing American laborers to slavery and pauperism by closing natural opportunities against them. They saw the point in an instant, and for the first time during the evening the applause became general.

As an example of the monopoly and extortion fostered by the tariff, I briefly reviewed the history of the pool formed last year by the coal kings, showed how they had closed some mines, reduced the working time of others and prevented the opening of new ones, thus throwing thousands of laborers out of employment; limiting the employment of tens of thousands of others; creating a new army of unemployed laborers, and compelling the labor unions to either support this new army or submit to their ruinous competition in the labor market; and all this to enable the protected coal kings, by shortening the supply, to raise the price of coal and freeze the laborers in our great cities into paying about two dollars a ton extra for their coal, notwithstanding that even at the old prices coal was yielding an enormous profit to the land and railroad monopolists.

When I showed them that the removal of the tariff would at once reduce the price of coal about twenty-two per cent, and would compel the mine owners to open up their mines and increase their force of employes in order to fully supply the market and head off foreign competition, thus vastly benefiting both laborers and consumers, while the single tax upon land values would force the owners of undeveloped coal deposits to either work them or give them up to those who would, the responsive applause became all but universal. The fact is that these people have never heard the tariff question discussed. The republicans have been the avowed advocates of protective duties, and the quibbling and equivocating "tariff for revenue" democrats have never even endeavored to answer them, fearing, as they themselves say, that "the people are too ignorant to understand the question."

At Hornellsville I met and had a pleasant talk with Mr. Preston, who was nominated for secretary of state by the union labor party. He has, as you know, withdrawn from the ticket and he tells me that that party has now no candidate as far as his knowledge goes. He impressed me as a fair, honest and very intelligent man. He has not yet made up his mind to join the united labor party. but he has become sufficiently interested to subscribe for THE STANDARD and to read "Progress and Poverty." I have not the slightest doubt of his speedy conversion to our principles,

"And God said; 'Let there be light, and there was light." So even now is darkness banished by the word and the minds of men illumined. I speak in Elmira to-night.

JAMES G. MAGUIRE.

Booming in Dutchess County.

POUGHKEEPSIE, Oct. 24.—During the past week we have had four important meetings, the principal one of which was held in the Casino on Tuesday night, and was addressed by Henry George. At least fifteen hundred people were present, among them Rev. Father James Nilan, who recently announced himself in hearty accord with the principles of the united labor party. Several other priests were also present. At the end of an eloquent speech Mr. George answered questions put by Superintendent of Schools Burgess, Counselor B. M. Fowler, President Gaines of Eastman college, Cyrus Swan, J. Parker Heath and others. The meeting was a complete success, and has been productive of much healthy discussion.

On Thursday another land and labor club was organized. In the Second ward, where the party is strongest, George W. Lawson was nominated for supervisor and John P. Harvey for alderman.

William Sweeny, of the county committee, arranged for a very good meeting in Arlington on the 20th, which was addressed by Professor L. I. Gardner. Several other meetings have been arranged for in the same place during the coming week.

The number of new faces at all of our meetings gives testimony to public interest in our movement. We are fast making converts.

W. C. ALBRO.

Much Enthusiasm in Western New York.

BATAVIA, Oct. 24.—I was with Dr. McGlynn at Albion on the afternoon of the 21st. His meeting was large and enthusiastic. As we passed through Medina a large crowd, which had assembled at the station to wish the reverend father godspeed, gave three rousing cheers. I was also present at the reception tendered Dr. McGlynn by a gathering of citizens of Lockport in the capacious opera house. The proceedings were marked by enthusiasm. All through the Thirty-first congressional district organization is going on, and I think the size of the vote on the 8th of November for the candidates of the united labor party will cause consternation in the ranks of the old parties.

A. J. ROSE,
Member State Committee.

Making Converts in Port Chester.

PORT CHESTER, Oct. 22.—Our ratification meeting on Friday of last week was well attended, the audience being principally composed of mechanics and laborers. John McMackin and J. J. Bealin spoke.

Andrew Moore, John Wasson and Fred J. Huppert have been chosen delegates to our county convention. We are making converts, and the press is giving fairly full reports of our meetings.

FRED J. HUPPERT.

Patrick Ford Will Live to Regret His Present Stand.

NEW YORK CITY.—You are right about Patrick Ford. It was from the *Irish World* that I first saw the light, and from the letters of "Trans-Atlantic" I became impressed with the great truth that God made the land for all his children. Mr. Ford will live to regret his present stand.

EDWARD HAYES,
371 W. Fifty-sixth street.

The West Side Anti-Poverty Society.

At the meeting of the New York Anti-poverty society No. 2, at Miner's theater, Eighth avenue and Twenty-sixth street, on Sunday evening next, the speakers will be A. J. Steers and Louis F. Post.

p. 5, col. 6

A WORKER'S CAMPAIGN EXPERIENCES.

PLATTSBURG, Oct. 23.—Three weeks ago to-day I was at Akron, and made a few remarks to the boys of land and labor No. 8 of Ohio. Mr. O. J. Sutton, one of the candidates upon the union labor state ticket, presided. He is a very

capable and popular young man, and a most enthusiastic George man. He should get a large vote among the land and labor people in Ohio, for he is not afraid to speak his convictions.

Since then I have spoken at Binghamton, Owego, Elmira, Hornellsville, Jamestown, Dunkirk, Medina, Warsaw, Penn Yan, Corning, Olean, Oneonta, Nyack, Hoosick Falls, Glens Falls, Whitehall and Plattsburg.

The prominent characteristics of all these meetings have been attention, interest and respect on the part of the audiences, which have been composed in most instances of a class of people not usually seen at political meetings. No more flattering evidence could be produced of the permanence and progress of this movement than the character of these assemblages.

The encouragement, therefore, is so great that nothing can arrest it.

It may seem strange to those who have never given the matter any attention, but if any class or department of labor grasps this question upon presentation more readily than another, it is the farming fraternity.

I confess that I have been fearful of the farmers, but now I am anxious to go among them, for they are intelligent and not dominated by cliquism nor divided by rival factions. At Poughkeepsie I met Mr. George, and we rode together as far as East Albany. In the smoking car we fell in with a group of men discussing the labor problem. Among them was a farmer, who frankly said that he was not favorably disposed toward the labor party, but was anxious to be informed. After a short explanatory statement from Mr. George, he said that now it was clear to him —in fact, he expressed a joyful relief to learn what was proposed.

He said: "My father once rented a farm for [$175?] per annum, and the first year we barely paid it, for the farm had been neglected and it required almost all our time to repair and clear the place off. The few years that we were there resulted in much improvement to the farm, and after the expiration of the lease my father desired to purchase the farm, but he found that the owner valued it higher than he did before we took it—in fact, it looked as though he wanted us to pay him for the improvements we had made, just as we had paid the taxes on them, for if that farm was worth any more it was due either to the improvements that we had made or else to the growth of the town." This short conversation shows how farmers will grasp the essential point.

Another evidence that I have been impressed with is the attraction that this movement has for the clergy, especially those of a liberal turn.

In almost every place where I have been I found one or more clergymen always attentive, often enthusiastic, and occasionally as pronounced in public as they were in private.

In every place where I have been I have been assured that there were many workingmen who would vote the ticket (on the quiet), but who did not dare to be seen even in conversation with any one known to be a pronounced "George man." Others feared to vote, although they desired to, because their places were threatened if they did. At one place I heard of a conversation between the sister-in-law of an employer and an employe, in which he (the employe) was was[sic] quietly warned to keep away from these meetings.

A representative form of government of a people, the majority of whom are free only in the sense that the tie which binds them to their owners can be severed only at the cost of suffering to them, cannot possibly continue. It must either become more democratic by the destruction of the chains that bind the "house of want" to the "house of have," or else it will surely develop into a "strong government," making the chains unnecessary.

Sic in the original; probably "was".

Mr. George has recounted the numerous evidences of bribery that appear everywhere, so that I will not refer to them, but the subject must be thoroughly ventilated.

Our friends at the polls should prepare in all cases written statements of cases of bribery, and have the matter thoroughly ventilated. Yours truly,

ALFRED S. HOUGHTON.

A Great Awakening in Malone.

MALONE, N. Y.–There was a large turnout of Malone's most intelligent citizens on the evening Henry George came here to explain his land value tax reform. Since then the sole topic wherever you go is Henry George and his theories. Public opinion has undergone a complete change. Before his advent he was regarded as a crank, a demagogue or something worse, but since he was here the only criticism heard is that his philanthropy leads him to proclaim visionary and impracticable reforms. His fiercest opponent says of his land value tax "that it is a scheme too lofty, too pure and Christ-like to suit the civilization of the time." Malone has truly experienced a great awakening. The prospect that before looked gloomy and discouraging now has every appearance of fructifying into the most satisfactory results. We have perfected an organization and are making converts on every turn. I believe a large vote will be polled here for the united labor candidates. Democratic politicians are depressed and republicans of the same genus are considerably nonplussed.

I. E. MURPHY.

The Prospect of Success Grows Higher Every Day.

ITHACA, Oct. 24.–We had a rousing mass meeting here last Monday, at which about 2,500 were present. Dr. McGlynn spoke with his usual fervor and effectiveness. The Ithaca *Journal* of next day remarked that such meetings and addresses are bringing "a new and attractive issue into the field of politics" and will "go far to account for such a recruitage as the leaders of the party hope for and anticipate."

We are making a vigorous tract distribution and gather in converts at every meeting of our club. The prospect of success grows brighter every day.

JOHN G. KOELMLEIN.

Doctrine Spreading on Long Island.

BRENTWOOD, L. I.–Though we have not as yet had any campaign meetings of the united labor party, land and labor tracts have been circulated. There are many instances in this part of the state to clearly show the absurdity of our present system of taxation, and people are beginning to see them.

THOMAS E. BOLAND.

Page 6 of 8

p. 6, col. 1

WORKING FOR VICTORY.

CHEERING REPORTS FROM MEN ACTIVE IN THE FIGHT.

A Growing Feeling of Respect for the Principles of United Labor—Clergymen and Farmers Listening Eagerly—New Clubs Forming.

Henry C. Townsend of Wappinger's Falls writes: "Large quantities of tracts have been circulated among our people in the town here and among the farmers living in the vicinity. Our people are reading and thinking to an extent that puts terror into the hearts of the old party leaders. We believe we will poll a large vote. Wappinger's Falls is a manufacturing village, and the people engaged in the factories are much above the average in intelligence. Most of them have had good rudimentary education and are fully capable of thinking and acting for themselves. They do not intend to be dictated to by the old parties."

H. M. Davidson of Ogdensburg says: "We are educating the people and getting them to think and weigh the principles of the party for themselves. There was a marked contrast between the meeting which the republicans held here and the meeting gotten up by our men for the reception of Dr. McGlynn. General Warwick of Brooklyn addressed the former meeting. A band of music was engaged for the occasion and special efforts were made to make the proceedings interesting and attractive, but even the republicans themselves admit that the meeting was tame after Dr. McGlynn's meeting. Dr. McGlynn gained lots of friends for the cause in Ogdensburg."

William H. Joyce, Syracuse.—Leo Miller's address here on Thursday evening was very good. The audience listened to him with close attention, and he has undoubtedly made many converts. H. C. Romaine of Green Island is helping us in the work of organizing our outside districts. Work is progressing rapidly.

William C. Wood, Gloversville.—The people here are taking a very lively interest in the new politics. They will fill the opera house until there is not room for one more on the 31st inst., when Henry George speaks here.

J. H. Blakeney, Chairman State Committe[sic] and Organizer, Binghamton.—Good meetings have been held in Greene and Sherburne, Chenango county, and reliable men in both places will handle the ballots.

Rufus R. Wilson, Chairman Land and Labor Club, Elmira.—Judge Maguire's address here on the 19th was most successful and cannot, I think, fail to be productive of great good. Taken all in all it was the most satisfactory meeting we have yet held.

D. C. Sullivan, Ridgeway, Sullivan Co.—I have been holding meetings since the 11th inst. and every night with good results. The meetings have been well attended, and the farmers are eager to learn all about the single tax. I want more literature to distribute among them. There is a great interest aroused in Medina since Messrs. Post and Houghton spoke there, and we are busy supplying information about our principles. I shall hold meetings in every

Sic in the original; probably "Committee".

little town in this county before election day, when I think a very satisfactory vote will be cast for the united labor party candidates.

Edward Dunham, Quackenville, Rensselaer Co.—T. J. Sanford of Troy delivered an address here last week, and at the close of the meeting a club was formed. G. W. Abbott was elected chairman and myself corresponding secretary.

Thomas Fassett, Plattsburg.—I have just visited three or four of our towns close by and found the prospect better than I ever expected. As far as I can see our chances of success here in Plattsburg grow better every day. We will draw out a silent vote that will astonish the old party leaders. As it is, neither of the old parties have held their county conventions yet. They are very much puzzled and alarmed at the strength developed by the united labor party.

John J. Flanagan, organizer, Hastings, Westchester Co.—I stopped off a few hours here and spoke to what factory men I could get hold of during noon hour about the necessity of organizing a club. A temporary organization was formed, with James Rooney as chairman and William Hogan as secretary. They want literature at once to distribute through the town.

Frank E. Wilcox, Hudson.—We have distributed tracts among a class of people that heretofore have been inaccessible. The seed thus scattered is sure to take root and fructify.

James E. Murphy, Malone.—Since Henry George's visit to Malone there has been a complete revolution in the minds of people who before that were not conversant with the principles of the united labor party. Chateaugay, a town east of here, has quite a number of sympathizers with the cause. I have ordered THE STANDARD sent to a great many men during the campaign, and have distributed tracts thoroughly. Send me more tracts.

H. B. Hawkins, Oneonta.—I am much encouraged by our success here of late. Our most recent meeting was a good one, and we have the support of a clergyman and other prominent men.

J. A. Ronayne, Member of State Committee, Buffalo.—I have started the ball rolling in the towns of Aurora and Lancaster. Everything is running smoothly here. We are principally engaged in perfecting ward organization. I find that the prohibitionists are busy in the country towns, and are likely to pull down the republican vote.

M. T. Butler, Parishville, St. Lawrence County.—A meeting was held here the other night and a Henry George Club organized. We intend to commence work at once.

Edward Murphy, Organizer, writes from Waterville.—Clinton, Whitesboro, Yorkville and other towns in this district are being organized, and will be in good condition by election day.

H. J. Kelder, Secretary Ellenville Land and Labor Club.—We are making good use of the land and labor tracts. They have been well circulated in the country, and we can report progress. We are arranging for other meetings.

Spreading the Gospel in Indiana.

VINCENNES, Ind.—The good work goes bravely on. I have appointed Mr. Patrick H. Carroll a deputy organizer for Indiana, and he will prosecute the work with the spirit of an enthusiast. He is now at Sullivan, and will visit Evansville later.

Our local club now has a new and commodious hall, which is centrally located. At a recent meeting the principal address was delivered by Elder George E. Platt, an Englishman, pastor of the Christian church at Grayville, Ill. He was passing through, was proselyted by Mr. Carroll and myself, and induced to remain over and speak. He was previously interested, but had not a settled conviction beyond this, that the land question is at the bottom of all other politico-social questions. His address was a striking one in its thoughtfulness and grasp of general truths. He said it was the highest duty of the church to teach justice and establish equity. It is

p. 6, col. 2

the minister's highest duty to discover the truth in all questions, social, moral, political, and teach it to his flock. Failing in that he fails inexcusably, sinfully. Were the doctrines of the New Testament taught in their simplicity, justice and equality would prevail, caste and special privilege would disappear. If the church fail of its duty in proclaiming and defending all truths, it will go to the devil, and the sooner the better. He was loudly applauded, Catholic, Protestant, Agnostic and Hebrew heartily joining in manifestations of approbation of his lofty sentiments. He will make a noble soldier of the new crusade. The club is doing excellent work, interest is broadening and deepening, and it is absolutely certain that the future is ours.

W. W. BAILEY,

Organizer State of Indiana.

DEACON ROGERS'S HOUSE.

Deacon Rogers had made up his mind to build a new house.

The deacon was a successful business man. Beginning life as an errand boy he worked his way through the various grades of clerkship in the store where he was employed. At thirty he was a partner in the firm. At forty he was the sole proprietor of a first-class business in a growing town. The old house his father had built was antiquated, and, moved by the oft-repeated urging of his wife and family, the deacon had at last decided to build a house which should be worthy of his position as a leading merchant, and at the same time an ornament to the town he lived in.

The question now was, what kind of a house should he build? And on this the deacon was taking counsel with himself.

After consultation with his architect, the deacon had finally narrowed his choice down to two designs, one to cost $18,000 and the other $30,000. His inclination was toward the more expensive. Could he afford it?

With pen and paper, Deacon Rogers carefully set down the figures of his income and disbursements. So much could be relied on as profit from his business; so much would come in yearly from the investment of past savings. On the other side he set down the expenses of his children's education, the cost of maintaining an increased establishment, a certain amount to be prudently saved and reinvested every year. The two sides of the account came perilously near to balancing; but still there was a margin.

"I'll do it," said the deacon as he looked lovingly at the design of the more expensive house and thought what a vastly improved appearance it would give the village street. And without more ado the deacon wrote a letter to the architect instructing to go[sic] ahead and prepare the specifications and contracts.

Sic in the original; probably "instructing him to go".

The letter was just sealed, the ink on the envelope still wet, when the deacon's old friend, Mr. Smith, the tax collector, entered. In the pride of his heart the deacon showed him the plans of the new house.

"Beautiful indeed," said Smith. "A building like that will give our village a regular boom; bring us in a pretty penny more in taxes, too, won't it?"

Deacon Rogers started. He hadn't thought of that! He made a hasty calculation of what the additional taxes would be, and found they would more than swallow up the narrow margin of income over expenses. "I was only joking, Smith," said he. "That's the house I'm going to build." And the deacon displayed the plan of the $18,000 building.

So the smaller house was built. The lumber dealer sold less lumber; the other dealers sold fewer nails, less glass, fewer stones, lighting fixtures, plumbing, furniture, and so on. The contractor made smaller profits, and the carpenters, and masons, and bricklayers, and daily laborers all had less to do and got less wages. And all because the village authorities wouldn't let Deacon Rogers build a house without fining him for doing it.

And the vacant lot which lay next the new house increased in value by nearly a thousand dollars as soon as the house was built; and the man who had intended to use his savings in buying it and building a house upon it found he couldn't manage it.

W. C. WOOD, M. D.

Their Eyes are Blinded.

MAHWAH, N. J.—A few months ago I was prompted by curiosity to look over "Progress and Poverty." I soon became deeply interested, and have since not only reread the book several times, but have purchased and read every contradiction of it published. The great wonder to me now is how I so long failed to see the self evident truths it teaches.

Last year, while on a visit to a southern gentleman, I spoke very freely to my host of the wickedness of slavery. He answered: "I now can see that you are right, but if you had so expressed yourself before the war, I should have shot you dead, and I doubt if any jury could have been found to convict me. But then I owned a hundred slaves, while now, thank God! I own none.

This is only one of a thousand illustrations that might be given of the way in which self interest blinds men's eyes to the truth.

LUKE W. WHITE.

Sowing the Seed in Illinois.

BRACEVILLE, Ill., Oct. 10.—A land and labor club of 15 was organized in Gardner, four miles from here, with James Guissy president, and Thomas Strongman secretary. Mr. McMcGregor[sic], Mr. Mathews and myself from Braceville were present, and made known the objects of the united labor party. Another gentleman from Gardner spoke in favor of the movement, which he hoped would find earnest support in that town. Mr. Guissy read the

Sic in the original; probably "McGregor".

Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost's "Dream," and distributed several copies of THE STANDARD. The evening passed very pleasantly, and we walked home through the darkness and the rain talking "Henry George" and the good time coming all the way. The times are ripe for this movement. You will hear of other clubs springing up hereabouts before another week ends.

ROBERT CUMMING.

How the Seed Sprouts.

Mr. J. S. Crane of Cohoes, N. Y., while camping on the shores of Lake Champlain last summer, was visited by a laboring man, to whom he gave an outline of the single tax theory, afterward sending his guest a copy of "Progress and Poverty." Mr. Crane has just received a letter from his sometime guest, from which he permits us to make the following extract:

> "You may count on at least one more vote for the united labor ticket; and I think I have secured three or four besides my own, for I am now talking the new crusade doctrine to every one I can buttonhole. I cannot thank you and Mr. Keeler enough for the books and documents you have sent me."

A Newsdealer Who is Telling the News.

KIRKVILLE[sic], Mo., Oct. 21.—On Monday last H. Martin Williams of St. Louis addressed a meeting at our Masonic hall on the subject of the new crusade. He held his audience interested for more than two hours. People are beginning to inquire into the land question. Our normal students and many others are seeking information. Not a day passes but some one comes to inquire. I recommend "Progress and Poverty" to them.

GEORGE SHAW,

P. [I.?] News Stand.

p. 6, col. 3

CHURCHMEN THINKING.

EPISCOPAL MINISTERS CONSIDER WHAT THEY SHOULD DO FOR LABOR.

They Accept the Fatherhood of God and Brotherhood of Man and Believe that When an Opportunity to Labor is Given to All Men One Great Cause of Suffering Will be Removed.

A meeting of the church association for the advancement of the interests of labor was held on Wednesday morning at Calvary chapel, in East Twenty-third street near Third avenue. About fifty members of the Episcopal church, principally clergymen, were present.

Sic in the original; probably "KIRKSVILLE".

The meeting was called to order by the Rev. B. F. Da Costa, D.D., who spoke of the origin of the society last spring when a number of persons in the church decided on the necessity of studying the labor question. A declaration of principles had been adopted, which the secretary, Rev. Edward Kinney, would read. They were as follows[sic]:

"The church association for the advancement of the interests of labor, believing that the clergy and laity of the church should become personally interested in the social questions now being agitated, should inform themselves of the nature of the issues presented and should be prepared to act as the necessities of the day may demand, sets forth the following principles and methods of work for its members:

1. It is of the essence of the teaching of Jesus Christ that God is the Father of all men and that all men are brothers.

2. God is the sole possessor of the earth and its fullness, and man is but the steward of God's bounties.

3. Labor being the exercise of body, mind and spirit in the broadening and elevating of human life, it is the duty of every man to labor diligently.

4. Labor, as thus defined, should be the standard of social worth.

5. When the divinely intended opportunity to labor is given to all men, one great cause of the present widespread suffering and destitution will be removed[sic],

The chairman then spoke of the relative attitudes of the church and the body of the workingmen, referring to the meeting in Newark at which the name of Christ was received with tumultuous applause, while when the church was spoken of there were hisses. He called upon the Right Rev. F. D. Huntington, bishop of central New York, who had promised to address the meeting.

Bishop Huntington said that what was proposed by the society, as he understood it, was to find some way of bringing the ministry into practical sympathy with the unprivileged class. It was beyond question that our Lord while He was on earth took special pains to place himself close to that unprivileged class. He took pains to bring his gospel to the poor. Christianity was not agrarian, but it was wonderfully sympathetic. The great hindrance to the Episcopal church since the days of the tories had been that it was the church of respectability, of the well-to-do classes. What they wanted was to get at the people. How were they going to do it? That, he supposed, was the object of the association.

Thinking men were not afraid of names, and its members must expect to be assailed with the terms "communist" and "socialist." It was an old problem how to adjust the rights and duties of the individual and of corporate bodies. It was a problem for the church and for the state. While communism sought equality by the abolition of property and marriage, and all institutions restricting individual liberty, socialism sought equality for the interest of labor chiefly by co-operation in production, by the opening of opportunities for labor, and a fair distribution of property. Under the Mosaic system every fifty years there was a redistribution of land because "the earth is the Lord's."

"I am not very much alarmed," continued Bishop Huntington, "when I see that some of the clergy have taken note of this labor movement and have connected themselves with the labor party. I am not much afraid of parties, and I know that this association proposes to have nothing to do with parties; but I am not at all disturbed that some members of this association vote and work with the labor party any more than I am to hear that some members vote and work with the prohibition party or the republican party or the democratic party. None of them are any

Sic in the original; probably "follows:".
Sic in the original; probably "removed.".

too good. If you choose, go and vote with the labor party—that is your business as citizens—but as ministers of Christ we are not contemplating that part of any man's duties; we are talking of pastoral work, pulpit work, sympathetic work.

"Well, my friends, nature wants to get out of every man two things; first, all that can be made or all that he can make of himself as an individual, and secondly, all that he can do for his fellow man. Communists and socialists blunder dreadfully, but, dear me, do not the absolute monarchies blunder? Do not republics blunder?

"I heard the other night Father McGlynn at Syracuse. The speaker who introduced him said that all the Syracuse clergy were absent, because they were afraid of their congregations. But as a bishop is not supposed to have any congregation I went. And I was very glad I went, not because I adopt this theory—I do not—but because of the quality of the man and the quality of his speech, which was away up, a long stretch above any political address that I ever heard before in my life. Half or three-quarters of his speech was a most direct, searching sermon, evangelical and Catholic. His audience, which was a very large one, was made up particularly of the class of which I have been speaking. I sat where I could watch them, and I kept saying to myself: 'Are they not going out pretty soon? So much religion as all this is more than they will stand.' They did not go out, but sat perfectly still and listened. And I happen to know that there was one gang of men who went there to make a disturbance and raise something like a riot if they could. These men after fifteen minutes sat with mouths and eyes and ears wide open, and did not whisper or make any sign from beginning to end. Dr. McGlynn explained the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man in the simplest and most childlike way. He did not speak a word of vituperation. He did say that he thought it was rather too much wages for one family to get to make fifty millions out of one railroad. (Laughter.) He said that he wished a larger distribution and a little more equitable one. I see Bishop McQuaid of Rochester since then, losing his temper fearfully, has talked against Dr. McGlynn and has charged him with having a large church debt. My dear brethren, where should we be if men were judged by the size of their church debts? (Laughter.)

"Well, I see that the political papers accuse Henry George of having accumulated thirty or forty thousand dollars' worth of property. I am not aware that Mr. George is an advocate of the destruction of property or the wrong of holding private property, and it is not intimated that he got what he owns otherwise than by his brains, with a clear con[sic]

p. 6, col. 4

science and busy hands. I have not adopted Mr. George's theory about land, but I am indebted to him for an example of loyal independence and dignity, in the study of political economy, and I am indebted to him for a good many pages of as eloquent Christian writing as I know of, as good writing of English as I have found in any statesman or preacher of our day perhaps. That is all I have to say about him, and I say that heartily.

"But these are personal matters; keep clear of them. Co-operate with no party. Follow no human leadership. I should hold back from your principles if they implied anywhere that the rich, as being rich, were under any censorship. Now, there is a message for the rich and for the poor, for the laboring man and for the employer. It seems to me that the message to the employer is this: to be just, to be patient. 'Live simply[sic]—no heartlessness—no self-indulgence. Let the clergy stand in their pulpits and say that in the name of the Lord and the Lord will stand by them.

"Rousseau said: 'If the poor can get nothing to eat, they will eat the rich.' We do not justify the poor in doing that, do we? But it is a prediction. Say to the laboring men:"Take care not to be in a hurry: take care not to despise your

Sic in the original; probably "clear con-".
Sic in the original; probably "Live simply".

richer brethren.'[sic] Labor is not a curse but e blessing.[35]. It is a delusion to tell the workingmen that we are going to relieve them from all their burdens.

"So here is a two-fold message. Preach obedience to law, respect for law. We need a great deal more of that in the United States. Stand very fast to one another against anarchy, against lawlessness in all its forms.

"And now, dear friends, pardon me for having taken so much of your time. I give you my reasons why I respect this organization, this movement. Let no man look to his own, but every one to others' welfare. This will be Christianity; not anarchic, but sympathetic. I therefore desire to renew the pledges heretofore made of my own service in this your cause." (Applause.)

The chairman then stated that the object of the association was to open the way for the clergy and laity of the church to become personally interested in the social questions now being agitated. Any communicant of the church might become a member by signing the constitution and by laws and paying one dollar.

Rev. Dr. Darlington next spoke. He said he did not know of any minister who could not consent to follow Bishop Huntington. He advocated less luxurious living among the clergy, and thought that total abstinence would be a good thing to adopt. If the clergy would fulfill the reasonable wants of the workingmen they would flock to the churches. They should not speak so much of the divinity of Christ and more of His humanity. They should speak more of Him as the Carpenter. They should not teach people so much how to die—they had bad enough[sic] of that—but how to live. (Applause.) He thought it would be a desirable thing if the clergy should join some of the labor organizations.

Mr. James L. Dunham was then called upon as a representative of the "unprivileged classes." He said the workingmen did not object to religion or the church, but to an aristocratic religion. He had heard type setters and iron molders and men of that stamp preach the gospel of Christ as he had never heard it preached in any pulpit. (Applause.) He urged the clergy to go out among the workingmen and learn what they wanted, and then do it. (Applause.)

Rev. Dr. Kramer then offered the following resolution:

Resolved, That this meeting of clergymen and laymen of the Protestant Episcopal church declares its approval of the principles and methods of the church association for the advancement of the interests of labor as set forth in the statement read by the secretary.

Rev. Dr. Boggs of Newark said that it was better to advise the rich to give work to the poor than charity. They had a right to work, and did not ask for charity, but for justice.

Rev. Dr. Duffy, chaplain of Columbia college, thought the declaration of principles might be amended by the addition of one to the effect that the laborer was worthy of his hire.

Rev. Dr. Davenport thought that many of the clergy were not receiving as much stipend as the bricklayers. He also thought that the laboring men were being manipulated by imported European leaders.

Dr. Kramer: "No, sir; they are not."

Dr. Davenport: "Well, that is the idea I got from the newspapers."

Sic in the original; probably "brethren.".
Sic in the original; probably "a blessing".
Sic in the original; probably "had had enough".

Father Huntington: “That is just the idea you get from the newspapers.”

Dr. Davenport: “Well, is it not correct?”

Father Huntington, emphatically, “No! False!”

Mr. Goodwin, chaplain at Governor’s island, said the platform was very like a political platform. He was opposed to the clergy engaging in any crusade in behalf of the laborer against the men who hold wealth. A great deal had been said in favor of Mr. George and Dr. McGlynn (applause), but he did not see much difference between communism and socialism and was opposed to anything like a political handling of the subject. He thought they should take care to show that their body was not committed directly or indirectly to the principles of these men. He called upon Father Huntington to give a clear exposition of the labor platform.

Father Huntington said: “Would it not be well to make a motion that we declare this association to have no political connection, and also that it is the voice of the clergy here that we are not engaged in a political campaign? I think I have a right to say that for myself, for, although entirely believing in the platform of the united labor party, I have not spoken once publicly in the campaign, and that because I am a priest. Therefore, I claim that I have a right to ask that this motion be passed.”

Dr. Kramer claimed precedence for his resolution, which was, however, tabled until Father Huntington’s motion had been taken up and passed. Then it was taken from the table and carried unanimously.

Father Huntington then took the floor and said: “I am a member of the order of the Knights of Labor, and in meeting there and in other gatherings number of working people find a profound distrust of clergymen. It is not expressed by voice very often. It does not come out in ribaldry or insult, but underneath lies a profound distrust of the clergy and the institution which they represent. They look upon the church as an assembly of respectable people, people pledged to the commercial standard of society, people who are supporting and upholding a system which they see in many ways is rotten to the core, people who are willing to have abuses go on as long as they are countenanced by respectability and the learning and wealth and culture of the nation. That is why they are so suspicious of the clergy and distrustful of the church. It is because some of them read the New Testament and find a different air breathing from its pages from what they find when they enter many of our churches. (Applause.) They ask the church for bread and the church seems to be giving many of them a stone. They ask in louder and louder terms—and, my brothers, you will some time or other have to meet their question—they ask why it is that though from St. Matthew to Revelation there is no trace of any respect for wealth as wealth, yet that in many of our churches money seems to give an added claim to

p. 6, col. 5

esteem. I don’t say that the clergy condone sin because of money. I don’t think they do. But I do think that a great many of us have a sort of feeling that a good man who has money is rather better than a good man who has none. (Cries of “No! no!”) It is the firm conviction of these workingmen and is the fundamental principle of the Knights of Labor that industrial and moral worth, and not wealth, should be the standard of social life. How many clergymen are willing to preach that in their pulpits—(a voice: “I preach it every week[sic])—that the millionaire who does no work useful to his fellowmen is at the lowest grade of society alongside of the loafer and the tramp; that no man has a right to go through the world without working; that no man has a right to neglect to labor; that, no matter what the cultivation of society may be, a man is not to be regarded as a faithful Christian, as a worthy communicant, unless he is willing to exert himself for the enlargement and elevation of human life. How many of us are grading men that way? Look at the men who are prominent in the church. Can it be said that the church is far from making wealth, and not industrial and moral worth, the standard of social life? It seems to me that these

Sic in the original; probably “every week”.

principles are not vague; that they are very clear and direct. That at least is the opinion of workingmen of whom I speak, men who do not want to lose Christ, and yet do not seem to find Christ in the churches. We need to preach the apostolic injunction. 'If any would not work, neither should he eat' to the rich and to the poor as well. If I believe in the doctrine of Henry George it is because once you apply his principle there will be work for all and therefore industrial worth will become the standard of social worth in this country. Then those who work with their hands and who do that work nobly and perfectly can take rank beside the preacher and teacher. By asserting these principles we will meet in some measure the wants of the workingmen. That is what they ask for and that principle of our society, I think, is perfectly definite and clear. (Applause.)

As soon as Father Huntington sat down, Rev. Dr. Tuttle jumped up and began to attack the Knights of Labor, who he said were the bane of New York and the bane of the country. He praised the humble and lowly poor of New York who did not move among agitators. He was afraid the clergymen present were entering on a path which they would be sorry for one of these days, and that they were somehow drifting into a political movement.

Rev. Mr. Anketell then introduced a resolution declaring it to be the sense of the meeting that they affirmed certain principles laid down in holy scriptures, such as "The earth He hath given to the children of men,'[sic]"The profit of the land is for all," and similar axiomatic truths.

Another clergyman excitedly moved to lay the motion on the table.

"What, lay the Bible on the table!" exclaimed Mr. Anketell.

Nevertheless it was done, and the clergymen present refused to affirm the sacred truths.

The meeting, which had been opened with prayer by the Rev. F. W. Tompkins, pastor of Calvary chapel, where it was held, was then adjourned, but without benediction. The brethren did not seem thoroughly harmonious.

Mass Meetings in the Sixteentn[sic] Assembly District.

The Sixteenth assembly district united labor party will hold mass meetings as follows; Monday evening, 31st inst., open air meeting Twenty-sixth street and Second avenue; Tuesday, Gosweiler's hall, 350 First avenue, near Twenty-first street; Wednesday, hall on avenue B, near Sixteenth street; Thursday, Gramercy hall, 326 East Twenty-first street; Friday, Shitzhoff's hall, avenue A, near Eighteenth street. If the weather is favorable, open air meetings will be held in the neighborhood of Turn halls on the same evenings as the meetings indoors.

Clinging to Nominal and Rejecting Real Ownership.

LADUE, Mo.—There are farmers in this county, having from one to five thousand dollars invested in land, with more or less capital in tools, stock, buildings, etc., who, instead of making a good living, are running in debt. They are not receiving one cent of interest on their investments; they see that day laborers without any capital are living just as well as they themselves can afford to; and yet they would rather cling to the nominal ownership of their acres till sold out by the sheriff than possess them forever under the single tax system.

Sic in the original; probably "men,".
Sic in the original; probably "Sixteenth".

RUSTICUS.

ANTI-POVERTY LETTERS.

The following are extracts from letters received during the week at the Anti-poverty society office, 30 Cooper Union.

WILL CONTRIBUTE THEIR MITE OF VOTES.

FULTON, N. Y.—I received the 500 tracts you sent me. I will see that they are properly distributed.

I bought the first copy of THE STANDARD out of curiosity, and for some time there was only one besides my own sold at our news room. They now sell thirty copies. Fulton is a large manufacturing town, and a hard nut to crack for anything but a republican or democratic theory. We have, however, two or three prominent men quietly working, and we hope to contribute our mite of votes on election day.

J. M. FOSTER.

AWAKENING FROM THEIR POLITICAL SLEEP.

FORT PLAIN, Montgomery Co., N. Y.—We had a meeting here last evening, and a very interesting address by Mr. P. H. Cummins. The meeting was well attended by voters of the village and vicinity, who are, if I mistake not, awakening from their fatal political sleep, and beginning to inquire what there is of this Henry George movement, and to help it along.

A GRAND GOD-GIVEN LAW.

SKANEATELES FALLS.—Tracts received all right. I will distribute them where I think they will be read with attention. These tracts, if carefully perused, will be more effectual than any speaker. The land for the people is a grand god-given law, which will make all men and women free and independent, giving them an inherent right to live on the soil on which they were born without begging from their fellow creatures. The malice of unscrupulous politicians toward the leaders of our party is beyond the imagination to conceive, but truth, justice and moral courage must and will triumph. I think a good number of our working people here will vote for the united labor party ticket.

MARTIN MEAGHER.

HEARTILY SICK OF THE OLD PARTIES.

SCHELLSBURG, Pa., Oct. 20.—The tracts I have received I shall distribute where they will do most good. I meet numbers of men here who are heartily sick of the old party politics, but who have not yet sufficiently studied the subject to at once indorse our movement. I shall ply them with our literature.

PHILIP SMITH.

PUSHING THINGS IN MONTGOMERY.

MONTGOMERY, N. Y., Oct. 24.—We are pushing things here, and will make good use of the tracts. We had an enthusiastic meeting on the 20th, at which C. A. Poage and J. H. Rome, our nominee for assembly, were the speakers. The rain fell in torrents, but the hall was filled, and the greatest interest was manifested. The speeches

have been the topic of conversation ever since. Leading men of the old parties were present and put all the questions they could think of, and Mr. Poage answered them to entire satisfaction

p. 6, col. 6

MICHIGAN LAND.

Judson Grinell in Detroit Advance.

The sturdy pioneer hews for himself a home in the forest. His nearest neighbor is miles away. He grubs out the stumps, clears away the underbrush, builds fences, sows and cultivates and reaps, and makes the wilderness blossom as the rose. The value of the land before he settled on it was practically nothing, for he was surrounded by just as good land that had little or no commercial value. But now comes along the assessor, and he inventories the farmer's sheep, and cows, and horses, and oxen; notes the number of acres cleared and the number of rods of fence erected, and takes account of the modest house and barn he has built. And in proportion to the amount of labor performed—in proportion as the pioneer has been industrious and frugal and has exerted his strength intelligently—in that proportion is he assessed. He has taken land worth $2 or $3 or $5 an acre and has made it worth $25 or $40 or $60 an acre. The surrounding country, just as advantageously situated and just as fertile, is assessed at or near the old figures. Is this right? Is it just?

There are 36,443,446 acres of land in Michigan. Of this 14,852,226 acres are in farms, of which 8,303.028 acres bear the greater part of the burdens of taxation, while speculators and corporations holding vast tracts of good cultivable land are able to keep it out of the market to sell at an enormous increase over the original cost when pressure of population compels the people to pay them millions of dollars for what has cost them hardly as many cents.

All this is to the discouragement and detriment of the agricultural community. It lowers farm wages and drives the farmers' sons into the cities to compete with the mechanic and laborer for work.

To relieve the personal property in the state from taxation, and to consider all improvements on land, of whatever name and nature, as personal property will throw the taxes on raw land. Where raw land has no market value, there no taxes will be assessed. Where raw land has value, there taxes will be laid. Is it not plain, then, that the bulk of the taxes will be shifted from the country to the cities and villages?—from improved farm land to unimproved farm land and city lots?

In the city of Detroit are over 100,000 building lots. Of these some 48,000 are vacant. They are unimproved and unoccupied, except perhaps by a sign reading, "For Sale." These vacant lots vary in market value from $300 to $30,000, according to situation. Many of them are not in the market at all, the owners well knowing that as population increases land values will rise, and they will get all the benefits arising from the large aggregation of human beings in a small area.

As land values are mainly in the cities, to put all taxes on land values will shift the taxes on the shoulders of the landlords in the cities.

The assessed value of the farms of Michigan, including land, fences and buildings, is $571,443,462. Of this vast sum at least two-thirds is on improvements—on labor. The farmers are also assessed $21,897,488 on farming implements and machinery, and $70,626,248 on stock.

The total assessed value of the real estate of the 48 cities of Michigan is $279,631,000, which also includes all the buildings. But of this amount that part of the value which is the result of human exertion is not over one-third.

Thus it is seen that in the country the greater part of the value of the real estate lies in the improvements—in the labor expended—while in the cities the greater part of the real estate value lies in the raw land. It is its situation that makes it valuable. So that to take taxes off all improvements will relieve the agricultural community, and will put the burden where it belongs—on those that are enjoying the advantage of holding land in cities.

Under the present system personal property in the cities mainly escapes. The personal property in the country is not of a nature to so easily be hid.

The cities now pay on an assessed value of $70,607,072, and the rest of the state on an assessed value of $68,679,546. If the true value of the personal property of the cities could be found it would show that it was three times as valuable as that in the country.

It Makes No Difference Whether Farms are Becoming Larger or Smaller—The Question is, Who Owns Them?

Chicago Express.

Mrs. S. S. Weeks sent us a clipping from a newspaper, which has been mislaid since it was received, and hence we cannot reproduce it. It was an article signed by P. W. W., and set forth that the land was not drifting into few hands, but showed from a comparison of statistical reports of several different years that small farms, and not large ones, were on the increase. Mrs. Weeks asks if this is correct.

Not having, nor caring to have, the census reports before us, we grant that P. W. W. has given them correct. But, as Preudhon[sic] says, "statistics is the biggest liar in the world on some questions." The statistics don't say how many men own these farms. That is the real question that is up for settlement here. The man who asserts that the land is not drifting into few hands is either very ignorant or a willful deceiver. There are in Illinois 100,000 tenant farmers; In Iowa,[41] more than 50,000: and in the state of Ohio not more than 150,000 farms are cultivated by their owners.

Six companies in Hartford, Conn., hold mortgages on western farms to the amount of $50,000,000. Most of these will go into the hands of the money sharks. The Standard oil company owns more land than the London landlords own in Ireland. At one session of court in a county in southern Illinois over fifty mortgages were closed. The writer knows men in southern Illinois that own from half a dozen to twenty farms. The rents and interests that come into the hands of one man with whom we are well acquainted is sufficient for him to buy every year a farm worth from $15,000 or $20,000, and he does buy them every year. Statistics don't give, nor pretend to give, the number of land owners. Lord Scully owns somewhere near 75,000 acres of land in Illinois, and has imported 200 families from England to cultivate it. It is immaterial to this question whether the farms are large or small. Who owns them is the vital question. The slavery of the south rooted out all the small land owners so that the country was too sparsely settled by whites to have neighborhood or district schools. The planter hired a teacher for his own family. But the northern planter does not trouble himself about anything but rent. If it pays him best to have small farms to rent, all right. If it pays better to have large ones, he can telescope them easily.

Sic in the original; probably "Proudhon".
Sic in the original; probably "farmers; in Iowa".

It Sounds Sensible.

London Financial Reformer.

The abolition of all taxes upon labor and the substitution of a tax upon land values would of necessity include the sweeping away of the tariff. This would, in America, undoubtedly result at first in a large influx of foreign goods, and British manufacturers would for a time be kept busy with American orders. But this would only be for a short time, and the American manufacturer, being able to procure his raw material cheap—thanks to free trade—would soon be able to supply the finished article not only as cheaply as his foreign rival, but cheaper, for he would have *no* taxes to pay. In place, therefore, of us inundating America with our goods she would be able to undersell our manufacturers in our own markets and monopolize the vast neutral markets of the world. In that case our antiquated land laws would of necessity be altered, and our working population have to be relieved of the burden of excessive rent and heavy taxes.

"For He Had Great Possessions."

Grand Rapids Workman.

Rev. Henry W. Kuhns, pastor of Grace church (Lutheran) of Westminster, Md., has resigned. Twenty-one years ago Rev. Kuhns invested $600 that had come to him by inheritance in a tract of land adjacent to Omaha, containing forty-two acres. He offered it some time ago for $1,000, but couldn't sell it. It is now worth from $80,000 to $100,000, and is constantly increasing in value. He is going to live in Omaha and take care of his land, hence his resignation.

Page 7 of 8

p. 7, col. 1

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Shifting the Tax.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—One thing bothers me in your plan. You say the tax could not be shifted by the landlord on to the consumer. I have read "Progress and Poverty," etc., etc., but I cannot get it into my cranium, which may be thick, muddled or otherwise, how the tenant is to escape paying the tax. I can easily see how he can escape paying the rental value, but how he is to escape both rent and tax I cannot see; nor even if he could, as he is the user of the natural opportunity, why should he not pay the tax? If a man built a house which cost $2,000, the ground rent of which was $60 per annum, in calculating what he could rent that house at on your plan, how would he calculate, eliminating depreciation and other matters, $2,000 at 6 per cent, $120, or $2,000 at 6 per cent and $60, $180? If he cannot collect the tax from the tenant, how is he to get his money out of the operation? Trusting you will clear away this cobweb in Queries, etc., in STANDARD, I am, respectfully, DAVID MARTIN.

The tenant cannot escape paying the tax if the land has a value. What is meant by the expression, "the tax cannot be shifted," is that the tenant could not be made to pay more to his landlord if the land value were taxed than if it were not. You are wrong in supposing that the tenant would not pay the rental value. He would pay the rental value, and out of what he thus paid the landlord would have to pay the tax. If the rental value were $100, that is what the tenant would have to pay, and he would have to pay it, tax or no tax. But if the tax were $50, the tenant would not have to pay $150. He would still pay $100, and the landlord, instead of retaining the whole $100, would retain $50 and pay $50 for his tax.

A tax on a house can be collected of the tenant. If a house that rents for $100 is taxed $50, the tenant must pay $150 or the builder will not be able to get his money back, and the business of building houses will be so unprofitable that the supply of houses will fall off.

If you do not yet understand, read tract No. 37 of Land and labor library.

Western Syndicates.

JAMESTOWN. N. Y,—Your speakers all contend that the taxes on farms will be lowered, and that taxes on city property will be raised. Now, if such is the case, how are you going to reach those speculative land syndicates in the west so as to raise their taxes and make them either improve or sell? JOHN A. STULL.

We do not say that "taxes on farms will be lowered," but that the taxes of farmers will be. The working farmer now pays taxes on both improvements and land value, while the land speculator pays on only the land value. The farmer's land value tax would go up if his land had any value, but the abolition of all other taxes would more than

offset the increase. In the case of speculative land syndicates it would be different; their land value tax would rise, but, having few improvements or none, they would get no corresponding benefit from the abolition of other taxes.

And, having no object in holding land except to profit by its increase in value (which would be taxed away), speculators would abandon their holdings, and working farmers would be able to get them for use for a very small price or nothing.

How to Get at the Value.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—(1) In what way would you get at the value of lands? Would it be according to the improvements or without the products of labor?

1. If there were no houses in Philadelphia or in New York could you put enough value on the land to get necessary expenses?

2. People have no difficulty now in getting at the value of land nor would they have if all taxes were placed on land values. When the tax was first shifted it would be based on the selling value of the bare land. This would reduce the value and the rate would rise, and ultimately as the selling value of land disappeared the tax would be placed on the *rental* value instead of the *selling* value.

3. **If there were no houses in Philadelphia nor in New York there would be no land values there except a small agricultural value. Consequently taxes would be very light. But there would also be little necessity for public revenue.**

A Tangled Brooklyn Editor.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—A daily paper of Brooklyn, referring to Dr. McGlynn's assertion that if land is rightfully property the landlord has the right to do with it as he pleases, argues that the doctor's position is weakened if it be shown that a man has not a right to do as he pleases with his own property, and suggests that a man has absolute ownership of his own body, but has no right to kill it in the public streets. KINGS COUNTY.

It is new doctrine that a man has absolute ownership of his own body. There was a time recently when it was supposed by men like the editor of the Brooklyn paper that a man might have a right of property in the body of another man, but we must go far beyond the horizon of history for the notion that men have a right of property in their own bodies.

Property involves the idea of production, exchange and consumption. None of these ideas attach to the human body.

Production does not attach to land, for man cannot produce an atom. Nor does consumption attach to land, for man cannot destroy an atom. But the law attaches the idea of exchange to land, and that, at least, must attach to it if it is to be considered property at all. But if the idea of exchange attaches to land as to products of labor so as to make it private property, as products of labor are, then it is just as much an invasion of private right—just as much "communism" in its offensive sense—to tell a man how much he must charge for land as to tell him how much he must charge for dry goods.

Exempting Homesteads.

CHICAGO, Ill.—It is scarcely probable that any political party can succeed without the aid of the small farmers and owners of small homesteads in towns and cities, and it seems to me that the proposition to levy a tax on all lands to their full annual value cannot possibly become attractive to these classes without some modification. It seems to me therefore that while it might impair to some extent the symmetry of the George theory of taxation, it would greatly increase our chances of success to advocate the exemption from any taxation whatever of homesteads in farm or town dwellings where their value does not exceed $4.000 or $5.000. JOHN W. COLEMAN.

You are right; no movement can suc-

p. 7, col. 2

ceed that does not enlist the sympathy of the working farmer and the small business and working men of towns and cities. But your proposition to exempt homesteads is unnecessary. It is proposed to exempt so much of the homestead as is produced by labor, and that would practically exempt all farm and homestead owners whose farms or homesteads are not worth more than $4,000 or $5,000, for the farm or homestead which is not worth more than that is nearly all improvement value; the land value is so small that all such owners would pay less taxes than they do now. It would only be in the case of men who were speculative or thriftless that there would be an increase of taxation upon that class.

Notes.

James McDaniel, Los Angeles, Cal.—The clipping from the Nyack paper credited to the *Evening Post*, and which you inclose, is what newspaper men call a "fake." The writer pretends to be a Long Island farmer owning a farm of 100 acres; that the buildings, etc., are worth $2,500 and the land $2,500; that he is taxed one and one-half per cent, amounting to $75; and that under the George plan he would be taxed on $33.300. Of course it is apparent that he could not be taxed on $33,300 unless his land was worth that much, in which case the tax would be just. But as the land is worth only $2,500, that would be the basis of his tax, which at even four per cent, the highest probable estimate, would require the farmer to pay $100 instead of $75, or $25 a year more than now, in return for which all his indirect taxes would be abolished. This pretended farmer would on his own statement pay less taxes than now. But alongside of this farmer, so he says, is a rich New Yorker who has put up a $50,600[sic] house on $125 worth of land. Names would have been useful here, for it is very remarkable that any one should erect such a costly building on such cheap land. The facts are evidently evolved from the inner consciousness of the correspondence editor of the *Evening Post?* But suppose it were so, then, at 4 per cent the farmer would pay $100 taxes on $2,500 worth of land, and the New Yorker would pay $5 on $125 worth of land, or an equal proportion,

Sic in the original; probably "$50,000".

and each would be freed from all other taxes except that the New Yorker would be taxed to the full value of any interest he might have in city lots, mines, and so on, which largely escape taxation now. But the farmer says that it is necessary to raise $525 from him and his neighbor. Well, it wasn't necessary before his neighbor put up that $50,000 building, and it is difficult to understand how that investment increased the necessity for public revenue. Of one thing you may be quite sure; if there were such a case, and the George system of taxation would increase the farmer's tax and reduce that of the New Yorker, both the New Yorker and the *Evening Post* would advocate the George system with all their vigor. That they so vigorously and viciously oppose the system is good *prima facie* evidence that they see this thing pretty much as we do.

SINGLE TAX, New York.–The "nuts" from the Cincinnati *Commercial* which you forward for answers could be cracked by the writer himself if he were not in such a pitiable state of mental confusion.

1. Can taxes create public wealth? No; nothing save omnipotence can *create* public wealth, or any kind of wealth. Wealth is not created; it is produced–that is, drawn forth from land. But while taxes can neither create nor produce public wealth they can, when public wealth falls into private hands, take it out of private hands and put it where it belongs. Wealth paid for ground rents is public wealth, because ground rents are caused by the people as a whole, and to take such wealth by means of taxation is the simplest, cheapest and surest method of putting it into the public treasury.

2. Can taxes on a part be kept from resting on all? That depends. If the part be a monopoly for which the public is already paying a monopoly price, as in the case of land, a tax on that part will rest where it is placed. If landlords could charge higher ground rents, they would not wait until a tax on ground rents was imposed before doing so. But if the part be a product of labor, the supply of which may be increased, a tax on that part will not rest where it is placed. This subject is fully considered by Mr. George in his article on "Taxing Land Values," No. 37 of Land and Labor library.

3. Can the money from taxes be diffused so as to reach the individual laborer? The individual laborer is benefited by the expenditure of taxes on public improvements; and if it is desired, they may be made to reach him in the way of pensions. But the chief benefit to the individual laborer will not be so much in his share of the land value tax as in the unlimited opportunities for employment it will give him by making all unused land practically free.

4. Can the workman be benefited by rack rent taxation on the land which is the source *of his food and the place of his dwelling?* He already pays a rack rent for the land which is the source of his food and the place of his dwelling; and general expectation of increase of rack rent puts a price on unused land which *removes it from* his reach. The land value tax would take for public use the rack rent that he now pays to individuals, and by eliminating profit from mere land owning would bring vacant land within his reach.

5. Does the George theory of exempting the improvements of the land, while adding the artificial value created by its use and the city growth about it, make the tax on the land any fairer, any more a blessing? This question must be translated into English. As it stands it doesn't mean anything.

6. Does it make any material difference, except in the direction of inequality and injustice? It is impossible to answer this question until the fifth is translated.

JAMES C. ROSHEIT, Albany, N. Y.–If your friend owned a natural opportunity, a mine or a city lot, for instance, and rented it to you for $100 a year, you would not be taxed at all, but your friend would be taxed on the $100, and his tax might be high enough to take it all away from him. Ask your friend to explain why he, more than you, would be entitled to keep that $100.

PHILIP BAUSCH, New York.–(1) If the land theories of Henry George are founded in natural justice, as your critics concede, it makes no difference whether they are adequate or not. (2) It may be true that able expounders of political economy believe in prolonging the payment of public debts so that one generation will have no more to pay than the next; whereas Mr. George holds, with Thomas Jefferson, that one generation has no right to bind another with debt. But what of it? Piracy has been ably defended, and slavery found no lack of advocates among moralists when it was a paying institution.

F. W. S., New York.–The remedy for bribery will be found in the Australian system of voting. Meantime the utmost efforts will be made to detect this form of anarchy and punish it.

S. D. GUION, Brooklyn.–You do not give full facts. State value of land, value of improvements, amount of present tax on real estate and amcunt[sic] of personal tax.

p. 7, col. 3

THE CAMPAIGN FUND.

TORRINGTON, Ct., Oct. 18.–Inclosed please find $1, my second contribution toward the campaign fund. I wish I could afford to give more at a time, but cannot. I hope you will receive this mite. O. E. R. DE ROBERT.

SAN DIEGO, Cal., Oct. 10.–I inclose money order for $5, to be applied as follows: Membership in Anti-poverty society, $1; recruiting fund, $1; united labor party campaign fund, $1; Father McGlynn fund, $2. You will please instruct the Anti-poverty society to make further assessments against me for the purpose of aiding them in their righteous struggle to bring men back to God. For twenty years I have cheerfully contributed my "mite" to church and charity. I have listened to many sermons in almost every state in the Union—delivered by ordinary and celebrated bishops, priests and ministers—but not until I had read and reread "Progress and Poverty" and the lectures delivered by the great McGlynn was I awakened to the true doctrine of the "fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man." I rejoice that united labor has at last got a platform as solid as the "Rock of Ages." I have distributed a great many copies of "Progress and Poverty" and THE STANDARD, and shall continue to spread the gospel of the "new crusade." J. M. ZION.

MADISON, Dak., Oct. 21.–Inclosed please find money order for $5 for the campaign fund from the local assembly K. of L. at this place.

Our will is good enough, but our means are small. God grant that you may come out victorious.
S. S. MASTRUD.

MT. PLEASANT, Oct. 17.–Inclosed please find post office order for $2 to add to the campaign fund. I am doing much to spread our principles of justice in my little village, but I know it will make my task easier if I help the campaign in New York state, for if we win there it will do a great deal toward softening prejudice against our principles all over the land. Fight hard, spread the truth and win. P. C. SULLIVAN.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Oct. 18.–Kindly send the inclosed draft for $10 to the proper person of the united labor party. I wish I could send more, but with coal at $10 a ton and the bin empty I hardly feel able to do more at present. How I admired the "Friend" who, in THE STANDARD of the 8th, writes that he sends "$20 for the cause and goes without a new winter overcoat." It shows there is something besides political jobbery in the movement, and that it is full of sincerity and sincere men. EDWIN D. BARBER.

Sic in the original; probably "amount".

ELIZABETH, N. J., Oct. 18.—Please put the inclosed fifty cents in the campaign fund to the credit of my boy, George McGlynn Crisman, who was two months old on the 20th inst. He must have a hand in the emancipation of the industrial slaves. My poverty prevents me from sending more, but my heart is filled with sympathy for the noble cause. I am doing what I can here to spread the truth that the land belongs to all the people. C. H. CRISMAN.

Received this week:

Philip Bauch, New York..... $1 00
O. E. R. De Robert, Torrington, Conn..... 1 00
George McGlynn Crisman, Elizabeth, N. J..... 50
Menze Williams, Bowling Green, Ky..... 1 00
Wm. E. McKenna..... 45
J. J. and A. Payne, Springfield, Ill..... 2 00
D. V., New York..... 2 00
T. Dougan..... 1 00
E. McAuley..... 1 00
By F. W. Marks, Minneapolis, Minn.:
J. Glanon..... 50
W. A. Decker..... 50
G. Dahl..... 50
W. B. Anderson..... 50
B. C. Olson..... 50
Chas. Peterson..... 50
M. Bohan..... 50
Al. Tee..... 50
Michael Carroll..... 50
C. T. M..... 50
A. F. Kohn..... 50
F. B. Wright..... 50
Stephen Cahill..... 50
W. C. Maginnis..... 25
J. H. Atty..... 1 00
Charles Irons..... 1 00
H. Thornton..... 1 00
James McDaniel..... 1 00
M. H. Hovermale..... 1 00
F. Bristow..... 1 00
R. B. Tolsman..... 2 00
T. Hanafin..... 2 00
J. Anderson..... 50
F. K. Utter..... 1 00
M. T. Pickett..... 1 00
E. A. Richards..... 1 00
F. W. Marks..... 1 00
——— $21 25
A. Skliba, Boone, Iowa..... 1 10
James Dalgarno, Detroit..... 1 00

Herman F. [Stahmer?], New York..... 1 00
No. 1088 A. P. S., Newburyport, Mass..... 2 00
J. M. Zion, San Diego, Cal..... 1 00
Edwin B. Barber, Minneapolis, Minn..... 10 00
P. C. Sullivan, Mt. Pleasant..... 2 00
Paul Hascher..... 2 00
W. W. Childs, Brooklyn..... 5 00
From Portland, Ore., friends..... 22 00
By Harry Spatts for employes of Liebenvoth & Vonane, bookbinders..... 5 05
Boston Post chapel..... 3 00
Six Quaker City cigarmakers..... 2 00
H. B..... 1 00
Local Assembly K. of L., Madison, Dak..... 5 00
J. C. S., Hartford, Ct..... 20 00
Lebanon..... 3 00
Meigs, D. C..... 5 00
H. L. R., L. L., Brooklyn, a Catholic offering..... 4 50
Peter's Pence..... 5 75
H. L. de T., St. Louis..... 15 00
A newspaper man, St. Louis..... 15 00
Two Jersey working girls..... 4 50
J. C., a Cattaraugus farmer..... 10 00
Twelve shop hands, Lynn, Mass..... 6 00
R. M., J. W. J. and W. J., New York city..... 30 00
A slave of the lamp..... 5 00
George W. Smith, Pittsburg..... 10 00
"Mortgaged, poor and scared"..... 1 00
"Three initials," Norwich, Conn..... 2 50
Socialist..... 1 00
Looker on, Mullingar, Ireland..... 50 00
Four McGlynn Catholics..... 13 00
P. McC., a 'longshoreman..... 1 25
All the way from Thurles..... 10 00
The Smith family..... 9 00
Newark friends of Mr. Pentecost..... 7 50
Catholic priest..... 25 00
Two humble workers, Paterson..... 1 00
Thomas Nugent, New York city..... 10 00
A. A. Kinkley, Boston..... 1 00
T. Collins, Boston..... 1 00
A few cigar makers, St. Louis..... 1 60
D. A. Roberts, Columbus, O..... 2 00
E. C. Alphouse, East Orange, N. J..... 1 00
George Duncan, Martin's Ferry, O..... 5 00
"Portland Four," Portland, Mich..... 4 00
H. C. Baton, Philadelphia..... 2 00
A. M. Brinckle, Philadelphia..... 2 00

Land and labor club, Jackson, Tenn..... 2 00
W. Kitson, Groesbeck, Texas..... 1 00
Charles Stevenson, Oriska, Dak..... 5 00
W. H. Piercy, Helena, Montana..... 5 00
James Long, Idaho Springs, Col..... 5 00
W. T. Sinnott, Stillwater, Minn..... 4 00
Plowitz, St. Louis, Mo..... 5 00
Anti-poverty No. 1466..... 5 00
Edward Gates, Lafayette, Ind..... 3 00
Manly Tello, James Kent and Marcus Monaghan, Cleveland, O..... 3 00
L. A. 6174, K. of L., Charleston, West Va..... 4 45
By Joseph Legget, San Francisco:
F. Gutschow..... 20 00
W. H. Easton..... 1 00
R. H. H. Hunt..... 1 00
S. H. Benson..... 50
C. B..... 50
Lewis C. Ruckey..... 5 00
George Johnson..... 1 00
A friend..... 25
A lady..... 25
Two young crusaders..... 50 $30 00
By Charles L. Butler of Providence, R. I., for six members in the land and labor club..... 6 00
T. Leary..... 50
G. A. Hudson..... 1 00
By A. Vinette, Los Angeles, Cal.:
W. A. Cole..... 1 00
Alfred Street..... 1 00
W. J. A. Smith..... 1 00
W. H. Pierce..... 1 00
John Kearney..... 50
Theodore Dubbs..... 1 00
Lewis Row..... 50
J. J. Russell..... 1 00
Chris. Jackson..... 1 00
John G. Paterson..... 1 00
H. Vinette..... 1 00 $10 00
A small property owner..... 1 00
Wall street Nicodemus, through Edward J. Schriver..... 100 00
J. Bookbinder, Brooklyn..... 5 00
By Anthony E. Reilly for the Henry George club of Akron, Ohio..... 5 00
Richard Jno. O'Brien, Augusta, Ga..... 25 00
E..... 30
George Champion, Jefferson, Colo..... 10 00
"Tobacoo[sic]," Memphis, Tenn..... 2 00
"Tobacco," second week..... 2 00

Sic in the original; probably "Tobacco".

Episcopal clergyman, Memphis, Tenn..... 1 00
F. S. Stewart, W. Liberty, Iowa..... 2 00
Anti-poverty society, Paterson, N. J..... 10 00
Land and labor club, Holland, Mich..... 5 00

p. 7, col. 4

Walter Daniel, Cambridgeport, Mass..... 3 00
Old parishioner of Dr. McGlynn, Atchison, Kas..... 5 00
Albert Campbell, Rochester..... 2 00
Friends in Boston Herald chapel..... 8 45
George W. Spencer, Chicago, Ill..... 1 00
Total contributions for week..... $656 65
Previously acknowledged..... 2,041 35
Total to date..... $2,698 00

Privileged Criminal Classes.

Providence People.

We live in an age of privilege, when one man, or class of men, think themselves entitled to certain rights and privileges and immunities from the operation of law because of their birth, their education, their position or their wealth. When the editors of our great papers speak of our criminal classes they mean burglars, tramps, footpads, thieves, pickpockets, etc. But are these the only criminals? Let us see. We have a law on our statute book prohibiting the employment in our mills of children under a certain age. It is made a crime to employ them, yet this law is persistently violated, with two or three exceptions, in every cotton and woolen mill in the state. The law is violated for private gain just as much as it is when a burglar breaks open a safe and secures the contents. An overseer in one of the mills in this state told me that all the other mills violated the school law, and they had to, or they could not compete with them. The mill owners of this state, many of whom belong to our churches and benevolent societies, would hardly consider themselves as part of the criminal class. But are they not? They persistently do that which the law says is a crime, and therefore must be criminal.

ASSEMBLY DISTRICT ORGANIZATIONS.

Where They Meet and When.

The following is a directory of the various assembly district organizations of the united labor party of New York city, showing times and places of meeting, names of chairmen, etc.:

First.—International hall, corner Albany and West streets; every Tuesday evening. Jeremiah Murphy, chairman.

Second.—32 New Bowery; second and fourth Tuesdays for business; first and third Tuesdays for entertainments and debates. William Russell, chairman.

Third.—185 Grand street; every Tuesday evening. G. H. Robinson, 18 Spring street, chairman.

Fourth.—68 East Broadway; Saturday evening. Philip J. Scannell, 35 Rutgers street, chairman.

Fifth.—Warren hall, corner Spring and Clarke streets; business meeting every Thursday evening; entertainments and debates every second Thursday evening after transaction of routine business. William Anderson, chairman.

Sixth.—412 Grand street; every Wednesday evening. James J. Crosson, chairman.

Seventh.—Fifteenth street and Sixth avenue; Thursday evening. Henry F. Reed, chairman.

Eighth.—215 Eldridge street; Tuesday evening. Patrick McMahon, 107 Essex street, chairman.

Ninth.—584 Hudson street, corner of Bank; general meeting second and fourth Tuesday evenings; debates first and third Tuesday evenings. H. Oscar Cole, chairman.

Tenth.—Breacht's hall, 197 East Fourth street; second and fourth Wednesdays. August Mayer, 354 East Houston, chairman.

Eleventh—510 Sixth avenue; second and fourth Monday evenings. Frank Shiller, 133 West Twenty-eighth street, chairman.

Twelfth—Schmidt hall, 85 Avenue D; Tuesday evening. Nathan Rosenstein, 114 Columbia street, chairman.

Thirteenth—363 Eighth avenue, corner Twenty-eighth street; Wednesday evening. Louis J. Mullen, 328 West Twenty-sixth street, chairman.

Fourteenth—178 First avenue; first and third Tuesday and second and fourth Monday. M. J. Murray, 651 East Thirteenth street, chairman.

Fifteenth—475 Ninth avenue; Tuesday night. Edward Conklin, 437 West Twenty-eighth street, chairman.

Sixteenth.—Gosweiler's hall, First avenue, between Twentieth and Twenty-first streets; every Tuesday night. John J. McGrath, chairman.

Seventeenth.—747 Ninth avenue; second and fourth Thursdays. James H. Magee, chairman, 313 West Forty-seventh street.

Eighteenth.—161 East Thirty-second street; every Thursday evening. Philip Kelly, chairman.

Nineteenth.—Deubert's hall, 122d street and Eighth avenue; every Thursday, and twice a month at 832 Ninth avenue. William P. O'Meara, chairman. Communications should be addressed to the secretary, Charles Fring, 151st street and Western boulevard.

Twentieth.—Forty-ninth street and Third avenue; every Thursday. T. Berliner, chairman.

Twenty-first.—161 West Fifty-first street; every Monday for general businees[sic] and every Wednesday and Friday for enrollment of members. William Cummings, chairman. Communications should be addressed to the secretary, John J. O'Brien, 103 East Eighty-fourth street.

Twenty-second.—Headquarters 1438 Third avenue; regular meeting at 1500 First avenue every Tuesday evening. William J. O'Dair, chairman.

Sic in the original; probably "business".

Twenty-third.—1897 Third avenue, corner 105th street; business meeting every Monday evening; Progress and Poverty club readings and debates Thursday and Saturday evenings. C. F. Doody, chairman.

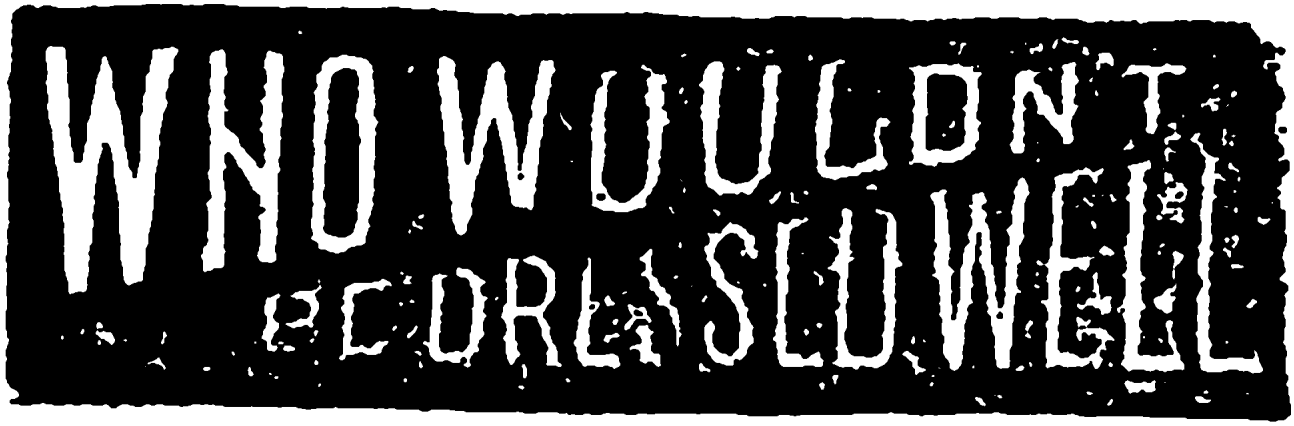
Twenty-fourth.—Karl's park, 148th street and Willis avenue, every Tuesday night. William R. Ahrens, chairman.

[Advertisement] Members of Labor Organizations

MEMBERS OF LABOR ORGANIZAtions and others wishing to canvass for subscribers to this paper on a liberal commission are invited to send their names and addresses to the publishers of THE STANDARD, 25 Ann street, New York.

[Advertisement] Braham's

[Display heading: white letters on a black panel, partly worn] WHO WOULDN'T [BE DRESSED?] WELL



[Illustration: full-length figure of a man in a bowler hat and long overcoat]



SPECIAL FOR OCTOBER.

FALL OVERCOATS.

Made in Chesterfields, of imported Coatings, Quilted Satin Lined throughout, Satin Sleeve Lining, Slated Seams, the Cheapest without exception, to order,

$25.00.

DON'T MISS THIS OPPORTUNITY.

THE GARMENT IS WORTH FULLY $40. Trousers to Measure from $4.00 Suits to Measure from $16.00 When writing for samples, state shade preferred, as we have a line of about 50 shades, ranging from Cream to Jet Black.

Samples and Self-Measurement Chart mailed on application.

[Display heading: ornamental white letters on a black panel] BRAHAM'S [212?] BOWERY, N.Y.



OPPOSITE RIVINGTON ST.

p. 7, col. 5

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

[Advertisement] Protection or Free Trade?

POPULAR EDITION.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

AN EXAMINATION OF THE TARIFF QUESTION WITH ESPECIAL REGARD TO THE INTERESTS OF LABOR.

By HENRY GEORGE.

One Volume, Paper Covers.
PRICE, THIRTY-FIVE CENTS.

Now in press and ready for delivery September 12.

When this book was originally published, in May, 1886, it seemed to me that the tariff would be the first of the economic questions to come into political issue in the United States, and I looked to it as a means by which the underlying land question would be brought into general discussion.

But events then unforeseen are bringing the land question into the discussions of "practical politics" with greater rapidity than I expected, and it now seems likely that it will be an awakening as to the larger question that will lead the masses of our people to consider the smaller,

This gratifying change, however, instead of lessening the interest and usefulness of this book, gives to the matters of which it treats so much more immediate and practical importance as to call for the publication of a popular edition. It has already done much, and is I trust destined to do more, not only to place the tariff question in its true light, but to clear away confusions of thought that obscure the full scope and beauty of the simple measure, which securing equality with regard to natural opportunities, will emancipate labor and give free play to productive forces.

HENRY GEORGE.

Henry George's Works.

Progress and Poverty, paper..... $ 20
" " cloth..... 1 00
" " half calf or half morocco..... 2 50
Social Problems, paper..... .20
" " cloth..... 1 00
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Protection or Free Trade? paper..... 35
" " cloth..... 1 50
" " half calf or half morocco..... 3 00
Property in Land, paper..... 15
The Land Question, paper..... 10

For sale by all booksellers, or sent postpaid on receipt of price.

HENRY GEORGE & CO., 25 Ann street, New York.

[Advertisement] The Land and Labor Library

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

The following have already appeared:

No. 1. "First Principles." By Henry George. 4 pages[sic].

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No. 12. "The American Farmer." By Henry George. 4 pages.

No. 13. "Sailors' Snug Harbor and the Randall Farm." By W. T. Croasdale. 12 pages.

No. 14. "The Collegiate Church and the Shoemaker's Field." By W. T. Croasdale. 12 pages.

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

No. 16. "The Anti-Poverty Society." Dr. McGlynn's address at the first meeting. 8 pages.

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

Sic in the original; probably "Henry George. 4 pages".

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

No. 35. The Syracuse Platform. 2 pages.

No. 36. “Citycus and Rusticus.” Tudor S. Jenks. 4 pages.

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

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

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

No. 40. “Protection or Free Trade.” Henry George. Price, 35 cents.

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

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

Sic in the original; probably “Landlord.” By”.

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

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

1. Platform of the United Labor Party. 2 pages.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Prices, free by mail. 2-page tracts—[50?] copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 15 cents; 1,000 copies, $1; 5,000 copies, $4.25.

Four-page tracts—25 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 25 cents; 1,000 copies, $2; 5,000 copies, $8.50.

Six-page tracts—25 copies, 15 cents; 100 copies, 37 cents; 1,000 copies, $3; 5,000 copies, $12.75.

Eight-page tracts—25 copies, 20 cents; 100 copies 50 cents; 1,000 copies, $4; 5,000 copies, $17.

Twelve-page tracts—25 copies, 30 cents; 100 copies, 75 cents; 1,000 copies, $6; 5,000 copies, $22.50.

Sixteen-page tracts—25 copies, 40 cents; 100 copies, $1; 1,000 copies, $8; 5,000 copies, $34.

Other numbers in preparation.

Address HENRY GEORGE, 25 Ann st., New York City. —

[Advertisement] Henry George’s Solution of the Labor Problem

HENRY GEORGE’S SOLUTION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM.

WHY I PREACHED ON IT.

by

HUGH O. PENTECOST,

Minister to the Belleville Avenue Congregational Church in Newark, N. J.

Sic in the original; probably “Its Error.” (German.)”.
Sic in the original; probably “Ring. 8 pages”.
Sic in the original; probably “John W. Kramer”.

A sixteen-page pamphlet. Price 5 cents.

Sent by mail on receipt of price. Address as above.

p. 7, col. 6

UNITED LABOR PARTY.

UNITED LABOR PARTY.

Appointments for Speakers in New York State.

Dr. Edward McGlynn will speak as follows:

Oct. 29, Long Island City and Grand Army hall, Brooklyn.

Henry George will speak:

Oct. 30, Academy of Music, B'klyn
Oct. 31, Gloversville

Rev. W. E. Lincoln of Painesville, O., and Hon. Samuel W. Williams of Vincennes, Ind. will speak:

Oct. 29, Geneva
Oct. 31, Ithaca
Nov. 1, Auburn
Nov. 2, Oswego
Nov. 3, Ogdensburg
Nov. 4, Watertown
Nov. 5, Rome

Victor A. Wilder of Brooklyn will speak:

Oct. 29, Little Falls

Judge James G. Maguire of San Francisco will speak:

Oct. 29, Binghamton
Oct. 31, Rochester
Nov. 1, Corning
Nov. 2, Penn Yan

Nov. 3, Seneca Falls
Nov. 4, Batavia
Nov. 5, Medina

Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost will speak:

Oct. 31, Yonkers
Nov. 2, Stapleton

Dr. Alfred S. Houghton of Cincinnati will speak:

Oct. 29, Sing Sing
Oct. 31, Yonkers
Nov. 1, Utica
Nov. 2, Syracuse
Nov. 3, Rochester
Nov. 4, Lockport
Nov. 5, Buffalo

Mr. James P. Kohler of Brooklyn will speak:

Nov. 2, Stapleton

Mr. Robert Crowe of New York will speak:

Oct. 29, Little Falls
Nov. 1, Utica
Nov. 2, Syracuse
Nov. 3, Rochester
Nov. 4, Lockport
Nov. 5, Buffalo

Rev. W. D. P. Bliss will speak:

Nov. 4, Amsterdam

Mr. Leo Miller of Chicago will speak:

Nov. 2, Newburg
Nov. 5, Nyack

GAYBERT BARNES,
Secretary State Committee United [Labor?] Party, Room 28, Cooper Union, New York.

[Advertisement] Land and Labor

LAND AND LABOR–The Central Committee has been organized for the purpose of carrying into national politics, by means of circulars, correspondence, lectures, etc., the principles of the United Labor Party of New York, as set forth in the platform adopted at Syracuse, Aug. 19, 1887.

Members of trade and labor organizations, and all citizens in favor of independent political action who are desirous of taking part in the formation of land and labor clubs are requested to address

JOHN M'MACKIN,
Chairman Central Committee,
28 Cooper Union, N. Y. City.

Citizens of the following named states who indorse the principles of the United Labor Party and desire to lend active aid in the great movement now beginning for the emancipation of labor, are requested to communicate with the State Organizers of their respective states, as follows:

California–Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco. Connecticut–Robert Pyne, 284 Asylum st., Hartford. Indiana–Warren Worth Bailey, Vincennes. Kentucky–Henry George Club, 258 Vine st., Cincinnati. Louisiana–John J. Sullivan, 705 Fulton street, New Orleans. Massachusetts (Berkshire county)–F. Harvey Lincoln, box 115, Zylonite. Massachusetts (Boston and vicinity)–Daniel H. Biggs, 61 Clarendon street, Boston. Maryland–T. H. Garside, 1507 West Lexington street, Baltimore. Minnesota–Central Committee, United Labor Party, 42 Third st. south, Minneapolis. New York–John McMackin, 28 Cooper Union, New York city. Ohio–Henry George Club, 258 Vine st., Cincinnati. South Carolina–Benjamin Adams, Charleston. West Tennessee, Eastern Arkansas and Northern Mississippi–Land and Labor Club No. 2. Rooms, 9 and 10, Cotton Exchange, Memphis, Tenn.

[Advertisement] Allegheny County Commoners

ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMONERS.–NOTICE.–The regular meeting of the "commoners" will be held on Friday evening, Nov. 5th, 1887, at 7:30 o'clock sharp. The place of meeting is our hall above the bank on the corner of Fourth and Wood streets. Free discussion on land and taxation.

W. J. NESBIT, Secretary,
142 Market street, Allegheny, Pa.

[Advertisement] Illinois

ILLINOIS.–*Readers of the "Standard" in the* state of Illinois, and all others interested in the great principles it advocates, are requested to send names and addresses to W. H. Van Ornum, president of land and labor club No. 1, Room 63, 170 Madison street, Chicago, with a view to effecting some plan of organization for the state. Persons in Chicago not already members of land and labor clubs, as well as secretaries of such organizations, are especially requested to write.

[Advertisement] All Readers of The Standard (First Assembly District, Albany)

ALL READERS OF THE STANDARD IN favor of a united labor party in the First assembly district, composing the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Fifteenth wards, also the counties and towns included in the distr[ict,?] will please send their names and addresses to the undersigned, for the purpose of organizing the district thoroughly. JOS. H. KOSHIRT, President First assembly district, united labor party, 22 Third avenue, Albany, N. Y.

[Advertisement] 23rd Assembly District

23RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT MEETS every Monday evening. German speaking members every Tuesday evening at Vincent hall, 1897 Third avenue, corner 105th street. Open every evening for enrollment of members. Thursday and Saturday evenings free debates of the Progress and Poverty club

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[Advertisement] Voters of Maryland

VOTERS OF MARYLAND WHO ARE desirous to aid in propagating the principles of the united labor party, as set forth in the New York platform, adopted at Syracuse, Aug. 19 are requested to send their names and addresses to

JOHN SALMON,
415 N. Eutaw st., Baltimore, Md.

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

[Illustration: circular trade mark reading HAND MADE C.M.M.P.A., with the advertisement lettering beside it]



> Canned Goods
> WITH THIS STAMP IN THE BOTTOM OF CANS ARE
> Free from Poison,
> AND ARE MADE BY
> ORGANIZED LABOR.
> Trade-Mark.—Registered.

[Advertisement] Autocopyist

EXCELLENT BLACK COPIES of *anything written or drawn* with *any* Pen (or Type Writer) by the Patent AUTOCOPYIST Only equalled by Lithography. Specimens Free.

AUTOCOPYIST CO., 166 William St., New York.

[Advertisement] U. L. P. Campaign Button

SELLING LIKE HOT CAKES!—U. L. P. CAMPAIGN BUTTON.

Adopted by the party. Over [3,000?] sold at the Anti-Poverty Fair. Sells at sight. Send 5 cents for sample. F. C. KOHART, 9 John st., New York. Agents wanted everywhere.

[Advertisement] The Democrat

THE DEMOCRAT.

A RADICAL REVIEW MONTHLY.

The Democrat advocates Land Resumption and those reforms which are necessary to make the English people *a free people.* It asks "compensation" not for those who have benefited by unjust legislation, but for those who have suffered thereby.

For one dollar the Democrat is supplied for 18 months to any address in the United States or Canada.

Address 5 New Bridge street, London, E. C.

[Advertisement] Tax Reformer

TAX REFORMER.

The first paper published in America devoted to the advocacy of the principles of "Progress and Poverty."

Subscription, one year, with a copy of "Progress and Poverty," given free, 50 cents; with "Progress and Poverty" and "Social Problems," 75 cents.

M. BATTLE, 9 Spruce street,
New York.

Page 8 of 8

p. 8, col. 1

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

There is a world of pathos in this letter. It comes to us without address or signature:

OCT. 24.—Inclosed find contents of a "Christmas box," commenced three weeks ago by a little twelve-year-old girl, whose spirit has passed into a better world.

Use it as you may deem best; and may it, small as it is, aid in spreading the truth of the gospel of the new crusade, is the prayer of her bereaved father.

Thus from beyond the grave a little hand is stretched out to aid in the struggle to save little children's lives, and to gain for them an equal privilege of place at the Father's table. There are gifts whose value is to be measured rather by their spirit than by their amount. This is one of them.

Here is a letter from a minister of the New church in a western town:

——, Wis.—I have received four copies of THE STANDARD from an unknown friend. I am most sincerely grateful for the favor. I had before seen some notice of you and your plans in the papers, and had set you down as a scheming demagogue, actuated, like many other "labor reformers" I have met with, by hate for all but the single class you were identified with. My surprise was great to learn that really you appeared to believe in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man, and that, if successful in your efforts, human society would rest upon those as fundamental principles.

As I have sought to understand the merits of your plan for settling the land question, many difficulties, or apparent difficulties, present themselves; and it will save time in my study of the subject to read your publications. I will thank you, therefore, to have mailed to my address "Property in Land" and "The Land Question." Hoping that I may find you have found the way to harmonize the antagonisms of society, I am, your well wisher,

J. —— ——.

The case of this clergyman is but one out of hundreds that are constantly illustrating the good results of sowing the seed through the "recruit subscriptions." There are hundreds of thousands of men to-day, all over the United States, who are in just the position which this clergyman confesses he occupied scarce a month ago. They have heard of the anti-poverty movement—who is there, indeed, who has not heard of it?—but they have taken their ideas about it from the caricature descriptions of the old party press. In fancy they see a set of half crazed enthusiasts howling for an impossible reform, and one which, even were it feasible, could not be carried out without the grossest injustice and, withal, utterly failing of its object. Naturally enough, these men will not, of their own volition, take the trouble to examine into the matter. They have neither time nor inclination. Living apart from the great centers of population, they see nothing of the great meetings, they hear nothing of the brisk

fire of agitation; and, judging by what they read in their papers, they look upon the whole affair as a passing delusion, which will culminate and die away as so many other delusions have in times gone by.

To a man in this frame of mind a half dozen successive copies of THE STANDARD are a positive revelation. If he doesn't persistently throw the paper into the waste basket unopened—such things are done, but mighty rarely —if he looks into it at all, his attention is bound to be attracted. Reading a little, he is encouraged in spite of himself to read more. He is astonished to see none of the ravings he has been taught to expect, but in place of them calm arguments, pointed illustrations, appeals to truth and justice. He sees commended and upheld some principle which he himself believes in; he finds explained some social anomaly which has long puzzled him. He learns, to his astonishment, that the movement is something totally different to his conception of it, and like our friend, the New church minister in Wisconsin, whose letter we quote, he makes up his mind to look into the matter himself. Such a man is a sure convert, a convert well worth making; and it is the recruit subscription that has gained him.

Push these recruit subscriptions. See that your friends and acquaintances, your clergyman, your doctor, your lawyer, your storekeeper have a chance to see for themselves just what the anti-poverty doctrine is—just what it is the united labor party wants. Sow the seed steadily, persistently, without intermission; it will not be long before the harvest.

We send THE STANDARD on the recruit subscription plan for six successive weeks:

To any two addresses for 50 cents.
To any five addresses for $1.
To any twelve addresses for $2.

But we cannot, of course, renew subscriptions on these terms.

Here is a letter from an earnest worker, with whose name readers of THE STANDARD are familiar:

PLATTSBURG, N. Y.—I have received the ten copies of "Progress and Poverty" I ordered a few days since, and they have all been taken by persons who are anxious to read the work; and I am requested by members of our assembly and others to order twenty-five copies more. You will please send them as soon as you can.

I have been out through the county some this week, and I must say that the prospect looks bright for the labor cause in the places I visited, much more than I expected to find. Everything has taken a boom for the labor cause since the meeting at which Henry George delivered his great speech. It created a decided sensation and made a great impression on the minds of all his hearers, which I am sure will be demonstrated on election day by their ballots.

I am more and more satisfied as election day approaches that the silent and still vote will be a great factor for our cause, and the old parties will be disappointed in their estimate made before the election.

THOMAS FASSETT.

Such letters as Mr. Fassett's are an encouragement to earnest workers and a reproach to all who are sitting idle, with folded hands, waiting for the good time which other people's efforts shall bring about. But the workers are becoming more numerous day by day. Scarce a mail reaches us in which some one, hitherto idle, does not announce that he has buckled on his armor and is going in for active campaigning. The truth is that no one who has thoroughly grasped the principles we are contending for can remain idle very long. The desire to be up and

doing—to strike at least one blow for freedom—grows upon him irresistibly; and, sooner or later, the time comes when, in spite of every obstacle and every discouragement, he must work if he would preserve his peace of mind.

How goes the recruiting fund—the fund whose purpose is to send THE STANDARD and the tracts to those whose friends are anxious that they should see the light, but are themselves unable to command the necessary money? Our space permits us to do no more this week than present an account of the contributions, but the letters accompanying these show how earnestly anxious are men who have already seen the light that others should see it also.

The subscriptions to the recruiting fund for the week are:

J. M. Travis..... 1 00
P. Peltier..... 5 00
J. M. Zion..... 1 00
A. A. Orcult..... 80
E. Coyle..... 5 00
J. H. F..... 40
Wm. Deckert and others..... 4 00
'ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer..... 1 00
Little girl's donation..... 71
C. P. Cooper..... 1 00
J. W. Etell..... 8 65
C. J. Vogel..... [70?]

p. 8, col. 2

J. K. L..... 2 00
F. K. Smith..... 4 50

Total for the week..... $35 76
Previously acknowledged..... 1,866 86

Total to date.....$1,902 62

AN ILLUSTRATION AND A PROMISE.

The Vast Untaxed Natural Opportunities of Luzerne County—"Only God or Myself Can Start or Stop These Mines"—Active Political Work Among the Farmers.

WILKESBARRE, Pa.—It makes me tired to hear men say that a tax upon land values will not raise sufficient revenue for public purposes, or that it will oppress the farmer.

I will cite two or three instances in this county that should prove to the most skeptical not only that the proposed tax would yield sufficient revenue, but that the farmers' taxes would be greatly reduced.

There is a tract of land containing about 10,000 acres, lying between South Wilkesbarre and Nanticoke, owned by the Delaware and Hudson Coal Co. It contains a vein of coal unequaled in the world, being 80 feet deep. It will run 1,000 tons per foot of depth to the acre, or a total of 80,000 tons to the acre. It is worth in the ground not less

than 25 cents a ton (coal leases are now being made at 50 to 60 cents a ton), or $20,000 per acre. It is now assessed at $25 per acre, and the whole tract at a tax of one per cent yields only $2,500 per year of revenue. But under our system at the same rate of tax (one per cent), with a correct valuation, it would yield $2,000,000 per year, or one per cent on a valuation of $200,000,000. This vein has never been worked, and it is very easy to understand why.

This same Delaware and Hudson coal company and the Lehigh valley railroad company own seventy per cent of the area of one ward (the Second) in this city, and they only pay three and a half per cent of the taxes levied in the ward. They manage to have the land assessed by the acre as farming land; but the poor workingman who starves himself and family in order that he may get a home pays his tax upon an assessment per front foot. The result is, in one case that I know of personally, a man who by the greatest economy managed to save enough money to buy four perches of land in the Second ward, pays a tax on an assessment of $225, while lying alongside of his four perches are forty acres of land assessed at $200.

In the Lehigh region, where the strike is now in progress, matters are even worse. Eckley B. Coxe, the man who writes articles for magazines upon the beauties of arbitration, etc., has been asked by his men for an advance of eight per cent upon their starvation wages. He refuses to arbitrate, and allows 25,000 men to stand idle for an indefinite period, proudly proclaiming that "nobody but God or myself can start or stop those mines." This E. B. Coxe has, among other large holdings, one piece of coal land containing forty-seven and a half acres, for which he has refused $900,000, but which is assessed for taxation at just exactly $700. This one piece of land under our system would pay as much tax as 900 farms in this county of the average size and value. When we carry this plan out we can abolish all taxes upon the farmer's improvements, which in this county will average at least two-thirds of the total value of the farms, and without increasing the rate of taxation we can raise more revenue upon the three tracts of land above cited than we are raising now from the tax upon all the farming lands in the county.

We are making the farmers understand the great benefits to be derived from the change in the tax system. And as they are as a class shrewd, sensible men, we expect a large support from the rural districts for the ticket which we have put into the field. Our ticket is as follows: Treasurer, Rev. A. C. Smith; register, W. B. Estell; commissioners, P. Weiss, J. J. Meighan; auditors, J. J. Goode, J. Ross.

We have adopted the Syracuse platform, and are making such a gallant fight that bets are being offered by outsiders that we will elect at least some of our ticket. So you can say to the citizens of New York (my native state): Charge right into the enemy's center without fear, for the men of the old Keystone state are moving forward on the double quick to your support. And if you will only break the enemy's center this year, we will be there in time to whip them in detail before they can re-form. It is a desperate battle, but God and humanity being on our side, we shall win in spite of all that can be arrayed against us.

C. S. HOPKINS,
Chairman County Com. Land and Labor Party, Luzerne Co., Pa.

The Movement Elsewhere.

The Syracuse platform of the united labor party is now supported in many parts of the country by newly organized political bodies. The united labor party of Charleston, S. C., was organized on Friday, the 17th inst. Twelve delegates from each ward will meet in convention on November 14 to nominate a municipal ticket. The platform of the united labor party of New York was adopted, and an address to the public prepared.

The land and labor party of Luzerne county, Pa., held a convention at Wilkesbarre and put a county ticket into the field two weeks ago. The *Record* of that city says that the convention "showed a spirit of earnestness and

determination which evidenced beyond a question that the delegates were sincere in their words and actions." It thought the members were honestly devoted to the propagation of their principles.

In Detroit the united labor party held its first regular public meeting a fortnight ago. Thos. M. Dolan, chairman, said that where land values were high wages were low. The united labor party proposed to encourage industry by shifting all taxes on to land values. H. A. Robinson said the party was "bitterly and everlastingly" opposed to land monopoly, the foundation of all other monopolies. Questions were asked and answered and tracts in large quantities were distributed.

The united labor party of Chicago has decided upon a vigorous campaign this fall, and has made arrangements for a convention to be held to-day. The convention of the labor party of Des Moines county, Iowa, was held on the 8th inst. The call was addressed to "working men, business men and all who are opposed to monopoly, ring rule and class legislation, who favor the repeal of all laws taxing citizenship, industry and enterprise, and who favor the collection of government revenues from those who appropriate natural elements and prevent the production and force up the prices of the necessaries of life."

In Rockland, Me., a meeting has been held, to which were invited those citizens who believe that the value of land is created by the community, and therefore that land values all belong to the community; that all values created by labor of any kind belong to labor, and therefore should not be taken by the community; and hence, that all taxes shall be abolished save only a single tax on land values.

The McGlynn Fund.

The publisher of THE STANDARD acknowledges the receipt of $3 for the McGlynn fund –$1 from 'ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer, and $2 cash.

p. 8, col. 3

A REVIEW OF THE LOCAL SITUATION.

The Nominees for the Senate, the Civil Courts and the Assembly—The Campaign to Close With Hot Work for the Labor Party.

In New York city the united labor party senatorial nominating conventions took place on Friday night of last week, and candidates for civil justices were nominated on Monday night of the present week, for the assembly on Wednesday and for the board of aldermen on Thursday.

In the Sixth senatorial district convention the candidates were Dr. J. Coughlin of the Fourth assembly district, George Gage of the Twelfth, Hugh Greenan of the Fourth and Jacob Rawitzer of the Sixth. Jacob Rawitzer received the nomination.

In the Seventh Everett Glackin of the Tenth assembly district was put on the ticket, his only opponent for nomination being James E. Quinn of the Tenth. In the Eighth the candidates were Abraham Meade, Bernard M. Abell and Lawrence Donovan, the first named receiving the nomination.

In the Ninth Thomas Ford and Daniel DeLeon of the Twenty-second, W. J. Boyhan of the Eighteenth and William P. Meehan of the Sixteenth were the candidates. Thomas Ford was the successful one.

In the Tenth A. J. Steers was the unanimous choice of the convention.

In the Eleventh, the candidates were Wm. A. Hotchkiss of the Seventeenth, Wm. G. McLaughlin of the Nineteenth, Charles Brice of the Fifteenth, and A. A. Molina. Charles Brice was nominated.

In the Fifth, John T. Burke received 40 votes, ex-Congressman Nicholas Muller 41, and two blank votes were cast. No further ballot was taken. The executive committee of the county committee ordered the calling of another convention. It was held on Tuesday evening, and Nicholas Muller was nominated. John T. Burke retired in favor of Jeremiah Murphy. The latter's vote was 38 against Muller's 50.

The results on Monday evening at the judicial district conventions were as follows:

First—Candidates for nomination, T. L. Murphy, ex-Judge Callahan and Frank Fitzgerald. The last named was nominated.

Second—Candidates, John Gallagher, J. Oliver Kane, Hiram Ketcham. John Gallagher was successful.

Third—Ex-Judge J. D. Billings was nominated, Thomas H. Smith being his opponent.

Fifth—Herman S. Loew was the unanimous choice.

Sixth—Augustus A. Levey was nominated, defeating Wm. J. Boyhan.

Seventh—Max Bayersdorfer was nominated without opposition.

Eighth—Thomas J. Purdy was nominated.

Ninth—Howard L. Morse was nominated without opposition.

Eleventh—James A. O'Gorman was nominated.

Fourth—A resolution deeming it "unwise and unjust to make a nomination in opposition to the wishes of citizens independent of all political organizations" (referring to Justice Alfred Steckler) was declared carried by the chair. The delegates from the Tenth assembly district remained in the hall after the chairman had adjourned the convention. August H. Wagener was then put in nomination. The county executive has been called upon to decide whether another convention shall be called.

On Wednesday evening nominations were made for the assembly as follows: First assembly district, Thomas Moran; Second, John F. Crowley; Third, —— ——; Fourth, John J, Beattie; Fifth, Francis P. Nichols; Sixth. Charles P. Blake; Seventh, Harding Weston, Eighth, John N. Bogert; Ninth, H. O. Cole; Tenth, Adolph Keep; Eleventh, Michael F. Keenan; Twelfth, George Gage: Thirteenth, James Lynch; Fourteenth, John J. Murphy; Fifteenth, Edward Conklin; Sixteenth, Daniel Cleary; Seventeenth, John K. Sullivan Eighteenth, Andrew J. Carson; Nineteenth, W. G. McLaughlin; Twentieth, Louis Berliner; Twenty-first, John J. O'Brien; Twenty-second, W. J. O'Dair; Twenty-third, Jerome O'Neil; Twenty-fourth, Clarence S. Graves.

The campaign committee of the county general committee has its headquarters at No. 918 Broadway. The members are Jerome O'Neil, W. B. Clarke, John J. McGrath. J. P. Archibald and Joseph Wilkinson. The work of the committee has been under full headway during the past week. The names of about 150 speakers have been arranged alphabetically and assembly district committees are thus enabled to make choice of those whom they wish to attend their meetings. Vast piles of tracts and other campaign documents are received and distributed. Visitors are coming and going all day long, some seeking information or dropping in to chat over the events of the campaign, but most of them workers arranging for meetings and other matters of business. The character of the

information brought to the headquarters from all parts of the city is uniformly encouraging. The party is wide awake in every election district.

The nominating conventions interfered to some extent with the holding of mass meetings during the past week, yet there were many large and enthusiastic gatherings, notably a meeting of Scandinavians at No. 231 East Thirty-third street on Tuesday evening, at which C. J. Teche read the Syracuse platform in the Swedish language.

Beginning with Monday next mass meetings will be held in all the assembly districts every evening until Saturday, when the great parade of the campaign will take place. For this latter event preparations are being made on a grand scale.

It is impossible to give at present the schedule for all the meetings next week. Those which will be addressed by Henry George are as follows: Saturday, 29th inst., in the Eighteenth, Twentieth and Twenty-second assembly districts; Tuesday, in the Twenty-first, Twenty-second and Twenty-third; on the 2d, in the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Sixth districts; on the 3d, in the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Eleventh, and on the 4th in the Eighth, Tenth, Twelfth, Fourteenth and Sixteenth.

Dr. McGlynn will be heard as follows: Oct. 31, in the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Sixth assembly districts; Nov. 1, in the Eighth, Tenth, Twelfth, Fourteenth and Sixteenth districts; on the 2d, in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth; on the 3d, in the Twenty-first and Twenty-second, and on the 4th in the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Eleventh.

Louis F. Post has following dates: Oct. 31, in the Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Eleventh assembly districts; Nov. 1, Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth; Nov. 2, Twenty-first and Twenty-second; Nov. 3, Eighth, Tenth, Twelfth, Fourteenth and Sixteenth; Nov. 4, First, Second, Third, Fourth and Sixth.

William J. Gorsuch's dates are: Oct. 31, Twenty-first, Twenty-second and Twenty-third assembly districts; Nov. 1, Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth; Nov. 2, First, Second, Third, Fourth and Sixth; Nov. 3, Fifth, Seventh, Ninth and Eleventh; Nov. 4, Eighth, Tenth, Twelfth, Fourteenth and Sixteenth districts.

Preaching Anti-Poverty Doctrine in Paterson.

The thirteenth meeting of the Anti-poverty society of Paterson, N. J., was held on Sunday

p. 8, col. 4

last. Rev. B. D. Palmer of the New church was the principal speaker. He prefaced his address by reading the Lord's prayer, and then explained how the practical application of the teachings in that prayer to every-day affairs would bring the kingdom of God on earth. He said that without exception those to whom he had talked believed in the anti-poverty doctrine without being aware of it. The audience was very enthusiastic, and frequently interrupted Mr. Palmer's dis course[sic] with loud applause.

Dr. B. M. Lawrence also made a few remarks befitting the occasion.

[Advertisement] CURE FOR THE DEAF

CURE FOR THE DEAF

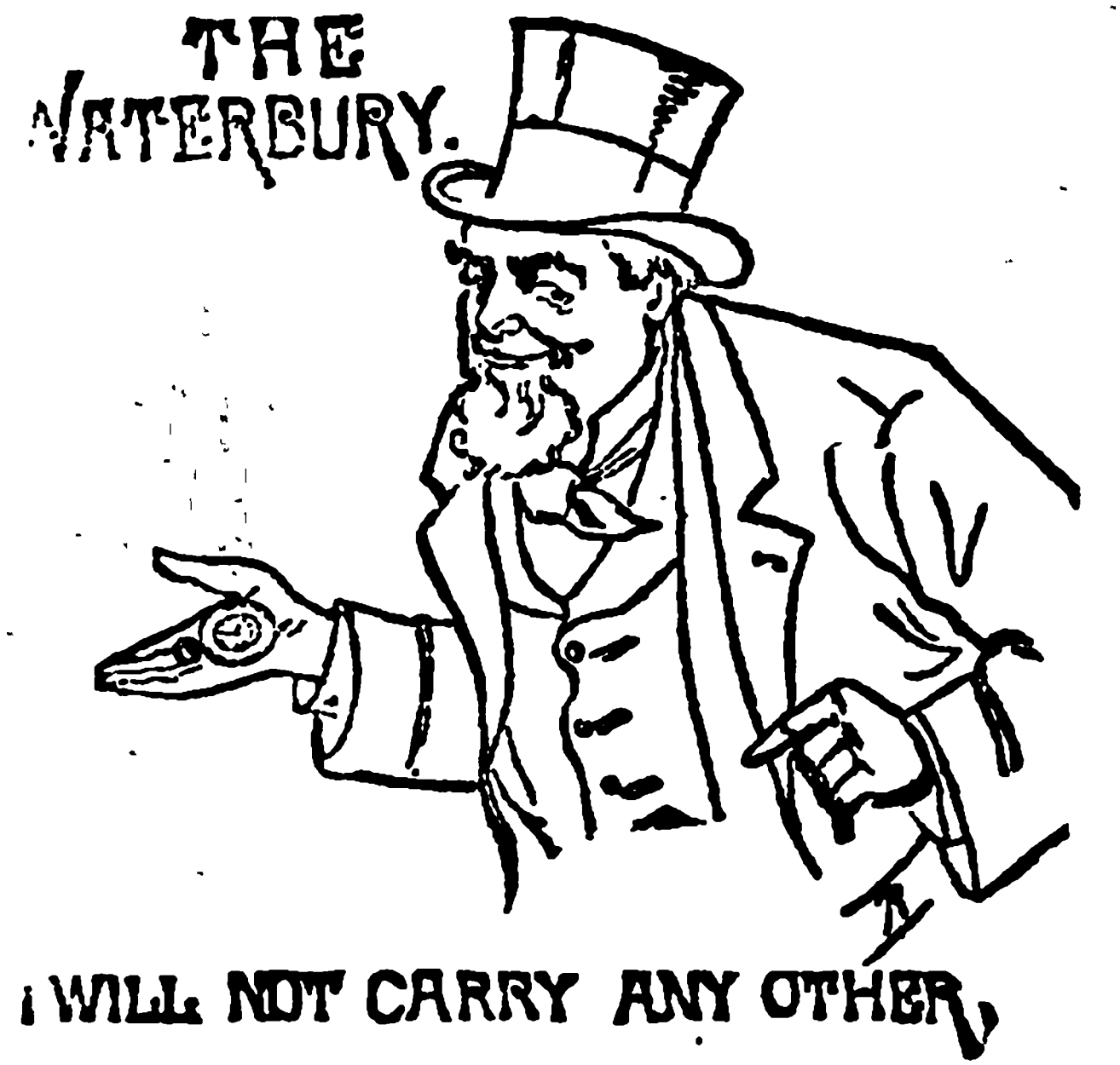
Sic in the original; probably "discourse".

PECK'S PATENT IMPROVED CUSHIONED EAR DRUMS Perfectly Restore the Hearing, and perform the work of the natural drum. Invisible, comfortable and always in position. All conversation and even whispers heard distinctly. Send for illustrated book with testimonials, FREE. Address F. HISCOX, 853 Broadway, N. Y.

Please mention paper.

[Advertisement] The Waterbury watch

[Illustration: bearded man in a top hat holding out a pocket watch in his open palm, with hand-drawn lettering]



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HE WILL CARRY NO OTHER, BECAUSE HE FINDS THIS

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REV. EDWARD McGLYNN, D. D., PRESIDENT.

The twenty-seventh public meeting of the society will be held at the

ACADEMY OF MUSIC

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Singing by

CONCORDIA CHORUS,

Under the direction of

MISS AGATHA MUNIER.

Admission—Orchestra circle and family circle free.

Seats in orchestra chairs and circle boxes, 25 cents each: in proscenium boxes, 50 cents.

Box office open at 6:30 p.m. on Sunday.

Tickets on sale from Thursday to members, or to persons introduced by members, at the Anti-Poverty Society office, 30 Cooper Union.

[Advertisement] NOTICE.—VOTERS OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK

NOTICE.—VOTERS OF THE STATE OF New York who desire to give their suffrages to the candidates of the united labor party can procure ballots on application to

Charles Koffer, 157 Broad street, Stapleton, S. I., for Richmond county.

A. G. Sutherland, 51 Herriott street, Yonkers, for Westchester county.

J. J. Mullen, 197 South street, Newburg, for Orange and Sullivan counties.

Robert Halliday, Nyack, for Rockland county.

William Sweeny, Poughkeepsie, for Putnam and Dutchess counties.

F. E. Wilcox, 95 Warren street, Hudson, for Columbia county.

Herman Shader, Kingston, for Ulster, Greene and Delaware counties.

Timothy McDonald, Hoosick Falls, for Washington county.

A. J. Nugent, 22 Watkyns's block, Troy, for Rensselaer county.

C. H. Barrett, 816 Broadway, Albany, for Albany county.

Patrick H. Cummins, Amsterdam, for Saratoga, Schenectady, Montgomery, Fulton and Hamilton counties.

J. H. Quinlan, Glens Falls, for Warren and Essex counties.

Thomas Fassett, Plattsburg, for Clinton county.

James E. Murphy, Malone, for Franklin county.

H. M. Davidson, 12 Main street. Ogdensburg, for St. Lawrence county.

J. W. Jones, 5 Cadwell street, Watertown, for Jefferson county.

Daniel M. Buckley, 20 First street, Utica, for Oneida and Lewis counties.

George E. Bedell. Herkimer, for Schoharie, Otsego and Herkimer counties.

William H. Joyce, 43 North Geddes street, Syracuse, for Onondaga and Cortland counties.

J. H. Blakeney, Binghamton, for Madison, Chenango, Broome and Tioga counties.

James Bohan, 36 Frazy street, Auburn, for Oswego, Cayuga and Wayne counties.

C. C. Platt, Ithaca, for Tompkins, Chemung, Schuyler and Seneca counties.

Dwight M. DeSilva, Corning, for Ontario, Steuben and Yates counties.

Peter McKittrick, 108 Court street, Rochester, for Monroe county.

A. J. Rose, Batavia, for Livingston, Genesee, Orleans and Wyoming counties.

J. A. Ronayne, 188 Main street, Buffalo, for the First, Second and Third assembly districts of Erie county.

Lawrence J. McParlin, Lockport, for the Fourth and Fifth assembly districts of Erie county, and for Niagara county.

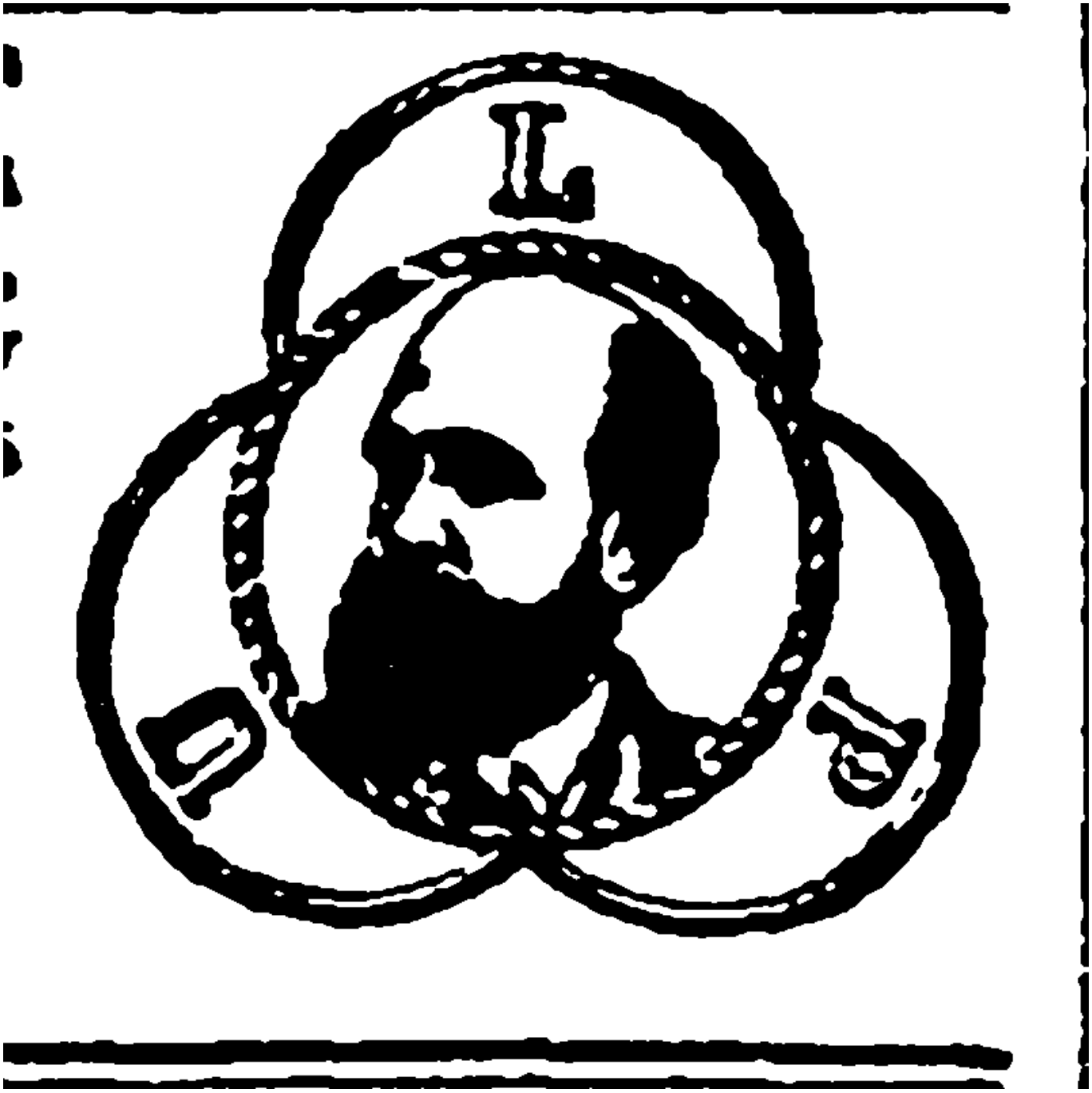
E. D. Northrup, Ellicottville, for Chautauqua, Cattaraugus and Allegany counties.

[Advertisement] SELLING LIKE HOT CAKES

SELLING LIKE HOT Cakes. U. L. P. Campaign Button. Adopted by the party. Over 20,000 sold at the Anti-Poverty Fair. Sells at sight. Send 5 cents for sample.

F. C. KOHART,
9 John street, New York.
Agents wanted everywhere.

[Illustration: campaign button, a bearded man's portrait in a ring within three linked rings lettered L, U, P]



[Advertisement] UNITED LABOR PARTY.—GRAND mass meeting

UNITED LABOR PARTY.—GRAND mass meeting will be held at Elm Park Pavilion, 92d street and Ninth avenue, Sunday, at 2 o'clock. Speakers: Henry George, William McCabe, J. J. Bealin, Frederick C. Leubuscher, W. J. Garsuch[sic] of Philadelphia. John Newton, and File Makers' Quintette will sing the songs of the United Labor party.

Sic in the original; probably "Gorsuch".

[Advertisement] PRINTING.

PRINTING.

CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY (Ld.)

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BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.

p. 8, col. 5

[Advertisement] SHACKMAN'S ORIGINAL PEDIGREE!

BACK TO THE LAND!
—BISHOP NULTY.

[Illustration: trade mark, two clasped hands in a corded ring, lettered TRADE MARK, TAILORS' PROGRESSIVE UNION OF AMERICA, UNION MADE, 1886., REGISTERED.]



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Prices, free by mail: 2-page tracts—50 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 15 cents; 1,000 copies, $1; 5,000 copies, $4.25.

Four-page tracts—25 copies, 10 cents; 100 copies, 25 cents; 1,000 copies, $2; 5,000 copies, $8.50.

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P. O. Box 928, Philadelphia, Pa.

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[Illustration: trade mark, a keystone enclosing an open-faced watch, lettered THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB Co.]



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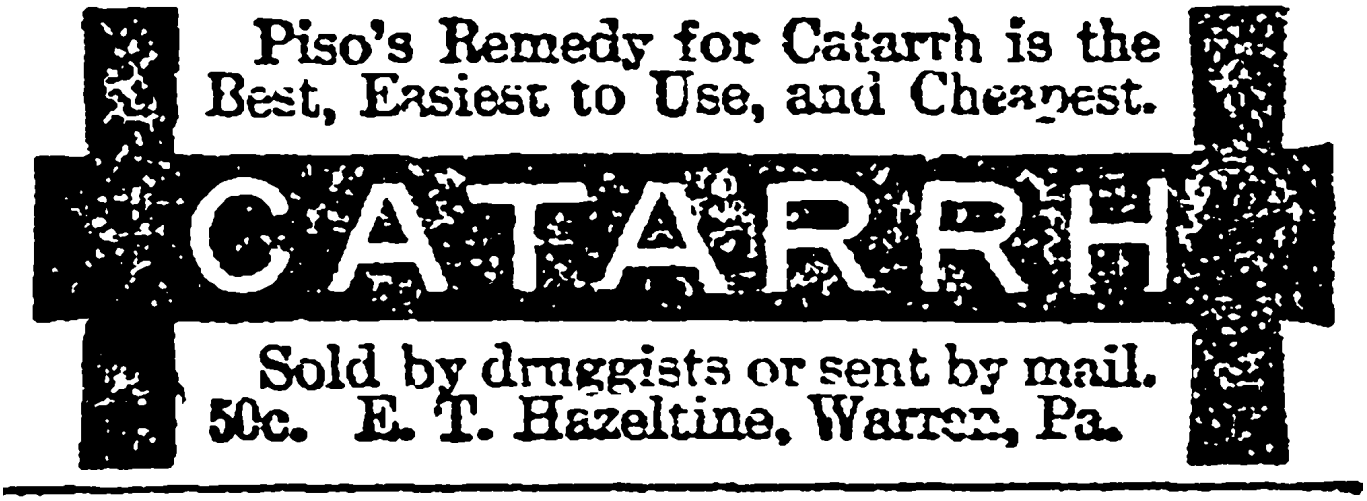

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[Advertisement] DR. BAIRD'S GRANULES.

DR. BAIRD'S GRANULES.

[Illustration: portrait of a bearded man, Dr. Wm. M. Baird]



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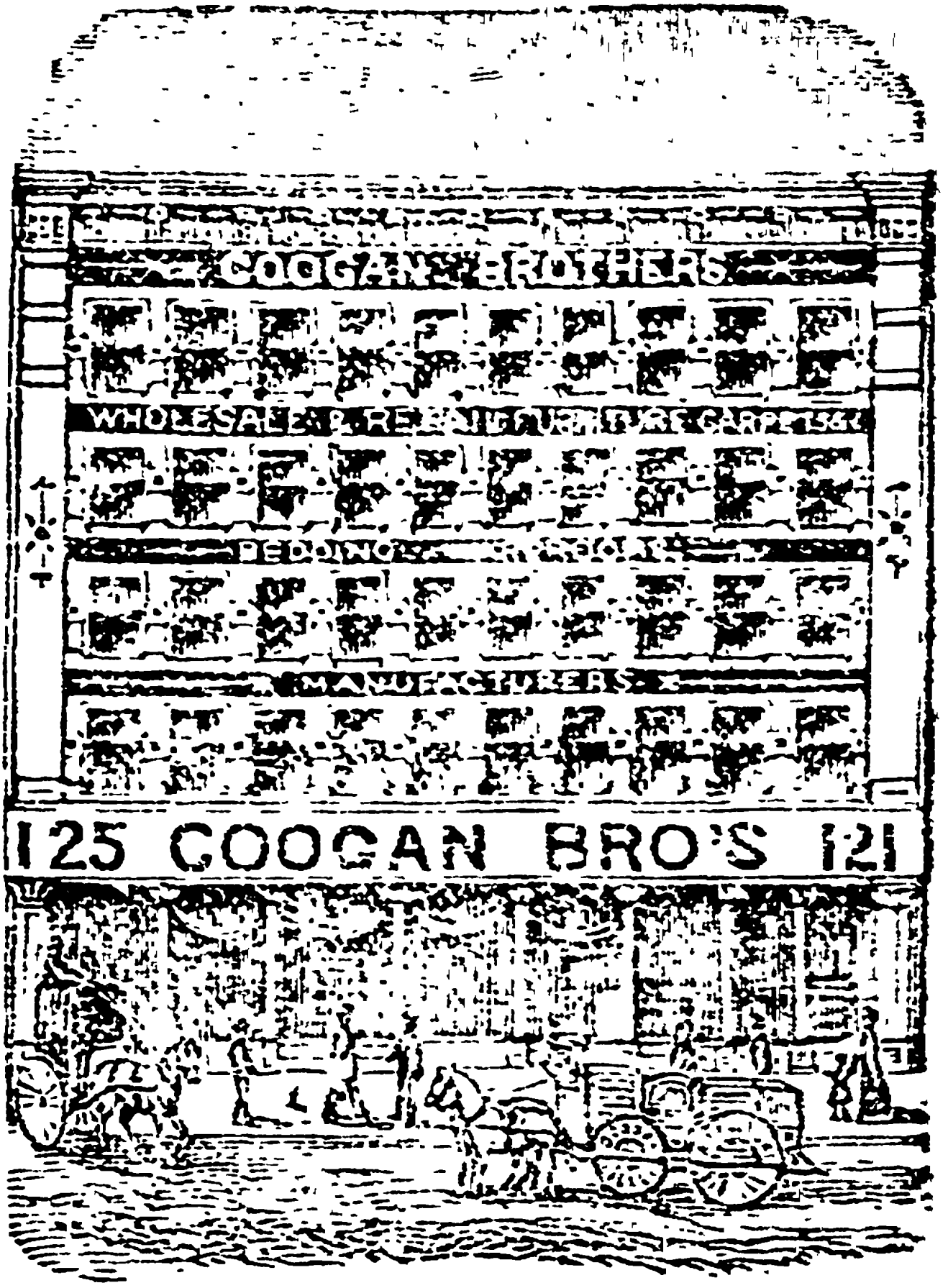
[Illustration: street front of a five-story store building with horse-drawn wagons and pedestrians, signs lettered COOGAN BROTHERS, WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE & CARPETS (partly illegible), BEDDING (partly

illegible), MANUFACTURERS, 125 COOGAN BRO'S 121]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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
3	MR. SHEVITCH'S REJOINDER.	Order? Order!	Order! Order!
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