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About this text (5 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”).
- p4-p5: the United Labor Party ballot tickets (George for Secretary of State, Post for District Attorney, Thomas for the Supreme Court) are transcribed ticket by ticket; the scan is very dark.
- p5-p6: McGlynn’s first-person article runs from the foot of p5 to the foot of p6 and is signed EDWARD McGLYNN there; the first word on p6 is under a blot ([illegible], probably “to”).
- p7: Thomas B. Preston’s “Archbishop Corrigan’s Mistake” quotes George at length. “Heury George” (c3) is printed that way and listed. Tract list number 42 is printed twice. The Allegheny notice says “Friday evening, Nov. 5th” (a Saturday).
- p2 c2: “take the tax off John Smith’s house” should be Jones’s by the sense; kept as printed.

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THE STANDARD

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p. 1, col. 1

THE NEW YORK ELECTION

Before the next number of THE STANDARD is printed the voters of the state of New York will have an opportunity to record their ballots upon an issue of the greatest importance.

As to who are chosen to fill the state offices that are to be voted for is a matter of no consequence. All the candidates that have been put in nomination are presumably competent, and which set of them are to fill the positions and draw the salaries is a thing of small concern. But there is a principle involved in this election which makes it of more importance than any election that has been held in this state for many years, and will give to its result an influence not only through the whole union, but over the whole civilized world.

Amid the disintegration of parties which have become merely associations of office seekers, and the degradation of politics to a mere struggle for spoils, there has come to the front in this election a new party which seeks to bring about in a peaceable and constitutional manner the greatest of political and social revolutions, and which calls upon men to gather round its standards and vote its ticket—not for the sake of putting this set of men in office or keeping that set of men out cf office, but for their own sake, for the sake of their wives and their children, for the sake of those who are poor and oppressed, for the sake of the weary and heavy laden and degraded, for the sake of that great republic whose destiny may be the leadership of the world; for the sake of all men now in life and yet to come.

This party has a larger and a greater aim than any which ever yet entered the arena of American political action. It seeks to give full and logical expression to the central truth upon which the American Declaration of Independence was based. It seeks to abolish poverty, to do away with the bitter intensity of the struggle for existence, to solve the great labor problem, to purify not merely our politics but our social life, to secure work for all, leisure for all, abundance for all, and opportunities for full development to all, by recognizing the equal rights of all to those natural elements which a beneficent Creator has provided for all, and, by abolishing those minor monopolies which now give some citizens an advantage over their fellows and permit the grasping and unscrupulous to levy toll upon the commerce of the country.

It aims to do all this not by taking from one and giving to another, not by setting any limit to individual acquisition of wealth, not by any restrictions or penalties, but by a simple change in our methods of taxation which has the sanction of every principle of political economy and of every dictate of sound public policy, and by the adoption of a principle that has but to be stated to be approved—the principle that where the advance of improvement makes any social function a monopoly in its nature. that monopoly should be controlled by and for the people whom it concerns.

On the eighth page of this paper will be found the platform of the united labor party, upon which all its candidates stand, and which gives to their candidacy its significance and importance. Unlike the platforms of those ghosts of parties whose contests since the breath of life has departed from them have made American politics a mere struggle between "ins" and "outs," it contains no plank that has for its object the mere catching of votes. It is a clear and distinct statement of principles of vital importance, of principles which, if made the test and touchstone of institutions and laws, would promote prosperity, insure peace, dispel the clouds that lower on the social and political horizon, and make human life easier, wider, higher and nobler.

It is for and on account of these principles that the united labor party comes before the people of New York at this election and asks the indorsement of their votes.

The united labor party is not in any sense a class party. Organized, in the first place, by representatives of the trade and labor associations of the city of New York, it is, in its inception and growth, a recognition of the truth that to largely and permanently improve the conditions of any body of laborers, the social conditions which affect all the people must be improved. Recognizing in its membership and platform that all who in any way take part in satisfying the physical, the mental or the moral needs of men, are in the true sense laborers, it aims at uniting them all in the common purpose of improving the general conditions of the whole people. Its very coming into the petty strifes of our politics is a promise of better things. Every vote that is cast for it in this election will count in exciting thought and stimulating discussion all over the country. It success[sic], or even a heavy vote for it, will begin a new political era, in which appeals must be made to intelligence, not to prejudice, and students and statesmen must take the places of the wire pullers and log rollers.

In conformity with the usage and necessity of American politics, the united labor party has in this city, as in a number of localities throughout the state, made

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nominations for all the officers to be voted for, and ballots which may be used for this purpose will be found on the inside pages of this paper. The legislative nominations have a great importance, as it is only by securing the legislative power that the principles of the party can be carried out. But beyond the general effect on the standing of the party there are reasons which should strongly urge every good citizen to the support of these candidates. They are not the nominees of any ring or machine. They have not bought their nominations and they have not been forced to pay assessments. They are put forward by a political organization which has not yet had time to become corrupt, and their election will be a successful revolt against the boss dictation and ring rule which makes mockery of republican government in the metropolis of the nation. They have been selected by conventions which more truly and fully express the popular will than any that have been held in this city during the memory of living men, and which have been moved by a desire to select the men whose ability, integrity and services to the cause have most commended them to the respect and confidence of their fellows. They embrace some few men who, like the candidate for surrogate, have held important public positions without a blemish upon their character, but are for the most part men new to public life, unembarrassed by pledges, untrameled by political bargains, and who, fresh from the office, the desk or the workshop, have entered politics not to make a living, but to carry out an idea. These men, if elected, will bring to their duties a determination to rectify abuses and an ambition to win public conffdence[sic] and justify public trust. To go over the long list of these nominees would require too much space, and to particularly mention any of them would be to make invidious distinctions, but the public may be certain of these candidates that they have earned the respect and justified the confidence which has

Sic in the original; probably "Its success".
Sic in the original; probably "confidence".

caused them to be put forward by large bodies of men, keen in their observation and critical in their judgments, as worthy to represent a great cause in the responsibilities of office.

There is one local office, however, which is in itself of such importance, and has, by a combination of circumstances, been brought into such prominence in this election as to require special reference—that is the office of district attorney.

The office of district attorney is, next to that of mayor, the most important in New York. Its possession is not merely a matter of safety to the rings and plunderers who fatten on the spoils of municipal government, but it is to them the source of enormous political power. The thousands of indictments there pigeon-holed and the complaints that can be so readily made for infractions of a liquor law which is little better than a sham, afford the means by which the "practical politicians" who are supposed to have a "pull" in the office extract money and compel votes at every election; so that the possession of the district attorneyship is estimated by "men who know politics" to be worth twelve or fifteen thousand votes to the machine which secures it.

The democratic rings and bosses have united to support for this place a man who, first entering office under the Tweed ring, is entirely satisfactory to them; and a wholesome indignation amoug[sic] those business men who are generally satisfied to rest supinely under boss rule has induced the republican bosses to nominate a gentleman, who, in the office of assistant district attorney, prosecuted with vigor Sharp and his associates.

On their part, the united labor party has nominated Louis F. Post, a lawyer of experience and ability, who has earned the respect and confidence of the working masses, a man of the highest character and an advocate of equal rights, who with pen and voice has been one of the earliest and one of the best workers in the cause. Of Louis F. Post I can speak from a long and intimate personal acquaintance. I know him to be a man of ability, courage, honerty[sic] and public spirit—a man who, in the place of district attorney, would do all that man can do to enforce the law without fear or favor, and who has received, unsought, the nomination of a party moved solely by a desire to put forward its best man.

So clearly was the fitness of Louis F. Post recognized that his nomination in a convention of over eight hundred delegates was not merely unanimous, but was made by acclamation amid a perfect whirlwind of enthusiasm. We, who know him—and the men who have been engaged in reform movements in this city for the last five or six years know Mr. Post—know that he will make a district attorney who will justify our confidence and win the respect of all good citizens.

There is no question that the beating of the candidate of the democratic bosses and the rings is of prime importance, but neither can there be any doubt that Mr. Post is a stronger candidate than Mr. Nicoll, and that the friends of good government, irrespective of party, should unite upon Mr. Post if they wish to beat the democratic candidate. Mr. Post is not merely the nominee of a stronger party than Mr. Nicoll (for to say nothing of its growth since that time, the vote

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ON THE INSIDE PAGES OF THIS PAPER IS PRINTED THE STATE BALLOT OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY, AND ALSO A FULL SET OF THE LOCAL BALLOTS OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY FOR THE VARIOUS DISTRICTS OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK. THESE ARE SO PRINTED THAT THEY MAY BE CUT OUT AND VOTED AS LEGAL BALLOTS.

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

ASCERTAIN THE NUMBER OF THE JUDICIAL AND SENATORIAL DISTRICTS YOU LIVE IN; ALSO THE ASSEMBLY AND ALDERMANIC DISTRICTS. THEN CUT OUT THE BALLOTS TO CORRESPOND AND VOTE THEM.

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at the last election showed that the united labor party is in this city strouger[sic] than the republican party), but he is the nominee of a party in entire sympathy with him and which will vote for him as a matter of principle. Mr. Nicoll, a democrat rejeeted,[6] by his own party machine, has been nominated by republicans. But the republican machine and the democratic machlne,[7] in this city work together, aud[8] Mr. Nieoll[9] cannot even cxpect,[10] the republican vote. He will doubtless get the support of a large number of democrats belonging to that class of respectable business men who usually take little interest in an election, but he will certainly be "knifed" by the Republican "boys," who only look on his nomination as an opportunity to trade him off, and who are keenly susceptible to the influence of the enormous amounts of money which are being raised for election purposes, not only by the rings and bosses of the city, but by the assessment of federal office holders.

Under such conditions the friends of good government, whatever their politics, ought to rally to the support of Mr. Post as the certain way of beating the democratic nominee and securing a district attorney who will impartially enforce the law.

Under the caption "Henry George's Mistake," the last three issues of the *Irish World* have contained long, double leaded, double column editorials, signed by Patrick Ford, and evidently intended for gratuitous distribution by "those whom it may concern" on the eve of election, in order, by exciting the prejudices of Catholics, to induce them to vote against the principles which Patrick Ford has so long and so ardently professed.

Of this disgusting exhibition of canting apostacy, in which, not satisfied with grovelling before powers which he once defied—not satisfied with becoming a defender of the "sacred rights" of landlordism and denouncing the utterance of principles with which the columus[sic] of the *Irish World* for years have rung, Patrick Ford descends to the lowest depth of demagoguery to excite prejudice toward the true hearted priest who has not merely been his friend, but his friend in need, it is not necessary to speak in detail. The Patrick Ford of these articles may safely be left to the judgment and the memory of the "*Irish World* men" to whom in his better days he taught the great truth of the equal and the inalienable right of all men to the land which the Almighty created for their use.

Patrick Ford may, for the moment, do some service for his new masters, but they will never trust him. His stab in the back may cost the united labor party some votes, but he can never undo the good he has done. Though he now does what he may to oppose it, the great cause of "the land for the people," for which he labored so long, so faithfully and so efficiently, will march on, not merely without him, but despite him. That he now tries to block its way is a pity—for Patrick Ford.

The fundamental principle of the united labor party is the doctrine that God made the earth for the common enjoyment of all men.

Sic in the original; probably "stronger".
Sic in the original; probably "rejected".
Sic in the original; probably "machine".
Sic in the original; probably "and".
Sic in the original; probably "Nicoll".
Sic in the original; probably "expect".
Sic in the original; probably "columns".

The principle legislative[sic] measure proposed by the united labor party is the shifting of all taxes from products of labor to land values. Products of labor, being produced by the individual, it is confiscation to take them away from him; land values, being produced by the community as a whole, it is confiscation to take them away from the community.

HENRY GEORGE.

IMPORTANT TO VOTERS.

The united labor party-ballots printed on another page are, when cut out, legal ballots, and, if voted, must be counted. This issue of THE STANDARD is laid before every voter in the city of New York, for the purpose of presenting the objects of the united labor party and putting into the hands of every citizen a complete set of the party's ballots to enable all who so desire, to vote with the narty[sic], free from intimidation or annoyance at the polls.

Observe the following instructions:

1. Cut out the ballot indorsed "state," and fold it so as to expose the indorsement only.
2. Ascertain the number of the senatorial district in which you live; cut out the ballot indorsed "Senator—1st District' or"Senator—2d District," and so on according to the number of your senatorial district, and fold as before.
3. Ascertain the number of the assembly district in which you live; cut out the ballot indorsed "Assembiy[sic]—1st District," or "Assembly—2d District," and so on according to the number of your assembly district, and fold as before.
4. Cut out the ballot indorsed "City and County," and fold as before.
5. Cut out the ballot indorsed "Judiciary," and fold as before.
6. Cut out the ballot marked "Alderman

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—1st District" or "Alderman—2d District," and so on, according to the number of your assembly district, and fold as before. If you live above Harlem river, ascertain the number of your ward, and cut out the ballot indorsed "Alderman—23d ward" or "Alderman—24th ward," as the case may be, and fold as before.

1. Ascertain the number of the judicial district in which you live, cut out the ballot indorsed "Justice—1st District," or "Justice—2d District," and so on, according to your judicial district, and fold as before.

Having observed the foregoing instructions you will be in possession of a full set of legal ballots, and will have nothing more to do than to put the ballots into your vest pocket until you get to the ballot boxes; having done that, give the ballots to the chairman of the board of inspectors, and see that he puts them into the boxes that are marked to correspond with the indorsements upon the ballots.

Sic in the original; probably "principal legislative".
Sic in the original; probably "party".
Sic in the original; probably "Assembly".

Whoever votes these ballots votes for higher wages, lower rents, better business and the eternal principle of justice enunciated by Thomas Jefferson that the land belongs in usufruct to the living.

THE TRUE INTEREST OF WORKINGMEN.

Political action on the part of organized workingmen is imperatively demanded.

It is needed to supplement, perfect and protect our industrial organizations.

When the predicted and expected panic comes, an attack will be made all along the line on the trade unions and Knights of Labor districts.

Combined capital in nearly every branch of industry stands to-day opposed to organized labor, wanting but the opportunity to open a simultaneous attack on the labor leagues.

Capital has organized not for defense, but for attack. We have had several "affairs of outposts" already. The aggressive movements of the Worcester shoe manufacturers, the Newark morocco manufacturers, the Pennsylvania salt works' owners will be repeated in every line of trade when the building boom collapses and factories are stopped by overproduction.

Unless, indeed, the workingmen are organized politically.

If the Newark manufacturers knew that their lockout would have been followed by a repeal of the duty on imported leather they would never have turned the knights into the street.

If capitalists generally know that attacks on labor organizations will be followed by the destruction of special privileges, or, as the last resort, the rearraugement[sic] of some of the laws on which property rights depend, they will be readier to come to amicable settlements with the workingmen.

Combined capital can starve organized labor. It cannot starve the rulers of a city, state or nation.

Political action, then, is necessary to protect the industrial organizations, if for no other purpose.

But what method of political action shall we adopt? There are two systems:

1. The balance of power idea.

2. Independent party movements.

Some gentlemen connected with organizations formed to forward the first of these plans have lately taken occasion to sneer at the "crack-brained theorists" who support the united labor party's platform.

If, as is sometimes rashly assumed, the men who favor the balance of power scheme were all seeking only personal gain by their labors, it would not be worth while to reply to their covert or open attacks. But, as in most movements, the majority are honest and unselfish, a brief inquiry into the advantages of the system may be made.

The idea of holding the balance of power, of supporting friends of labor and opposing enemies, has been borrowed from England. It is decidedly un-American.

Sic in the original; probably "rearrangement".

It began when but a few of the English workingmen were entitled to the suffrages, when the great mass were disfranchised.

Its advantages are few, its disadvantages many.

In the first place the only laws which can be secured by this method are palliative—so-called "labor" measures—such as the abolition of the truck system, arbitration boards, factory and mine inspection laws, and laws regulating child and female labor. Anything touching on political economy—broad questions involving a change in existing laws as to property rights and changes in existing systems—must be abandoned.

The benefits to be gained are seldom worth fighting for. No one supposes that if all these laws were placed on the statute books the position of the workingman would be greatly improved.

But the great objection to the system is not theoretical, but practical. In the very nature of things any scheme of this kind can be but temporary.

The system in itself involves "deals" and combinations. These deals must be arrauged[sic] by committees. If any of these committeemen secure office nine workingmen out of every ten will believe they have been bought. If with a Roman firmness, which has never yet been found among such committees, they decline office they are still suspected. accused of taking bribes or of favoring the party with which their individual sympathies are linked. In all cases dissensions and bickering are sure to follow and the movement falls under a cloud of suspicion.

At the most such a scheme can only last for a few years, and then die, leaving workingmen and workingmen's parties discredited.

Independent, straightforward politics is our only hope. But we need a platform. Shall we ask for a radical change, or shall we look for inspection laws, etc.?

The teachings of history point out our path.

From the fourteenth to the eighteenth century the whole trend of English legislation was in the direction asked by those seekers for laws which will neutralize competition.

The wildest advocate of restrictive and

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protective legislation could not have asked more than the laws of England gave.

None but members of a trade union (guild) could work at a trade. None could join a guild without serving a seven years' apprenticeship. Raw material could not be exported, manufactured goods could not be imported. Hours and wages were regulated by law. Foreign workmen were obliged to stamp their goods with a distinctive mark; the use of machinery was regulated or forbidden. The guilds could seize and destroy goods made by unauthorized workmen. Everything connected with industry was regulated by law, and the laws passed were such as were asked for by the guildsmen.

English legislators for centuries granted privileges to the city artisan and made heavier the load of the agricultural laborer.

Sic in the original; probably "arranged".

While land was comparatively free, both prospered. Even adverse laws could not depress the wages of the hired while all land was cheap and common lands were plenty.

But when, under Henry VIII, the lands of the monasteries were handed over to greedy favorites and the hosts of tenants and workers turned on the highways; when the common lands were inclosed, and the agricultural laborer changed from a customary tenant into a landless serf, all the protective and restrictive laws were useless to the skilled craftsman. The wages of the city artisan went down as rent arose, and the independent workman degenerated into the helpless operative.

Men who sneer at the land plank simply advertise their ignorance of the history of labor.

It has been stated that the balance of power was of British origin. For years the English trade unions have been represented by parliamentary committees and by elected members from their own ranks.

They have obtained all the legislation they asked for. Factory laws, inspection laws, yes, even the repeal of the conspiracy laws have been freely granted.

But yet the unemployed laborers stalk in armies through the streets of London, fill its open places and surge in maddened waves against the bulwarks of society.

And the British trade unionist—that most conservative of beings—has thrown the balance of power idea to the winds, organized an independent labor party, and after coquetting with collectivism has planted himself squarely on the platform of the land for the people.

At the last session of the great trade union congress the parliamentary representatives were hardly accorded a respectful hearing. A committee was appointed to prepare a plan for an independent party and the land plank was adopted with scarcely a dissenting voice.

The miners' union has withdrawn its members from parliament. The true democracy of England is preparing to clasp hands with that of Scotland and Ireland, and at last the line between the classes and the masses is about to be squarely drawn.

Where men are debarred from political power they must try to bring pressure on the rulers. In America the ballot is free; we rule ourselves. If we have ideas which we wish embodied in law, we should follow the American plan, organize a party and adopt a platform. If we are reasonable beings, or know aught of the history of labor, we will seek to free from monopoly's grasp the passive factor in production, from which all wealth is wrought—the land on which we live.

But one word more. A district attorney is to be elected this year. The most conservative of workingmen would like to have the laws impartially administered. Workingmen by the score have been convicted of conspiracy, but never a capitalist. The members of the coal pool would be to-day ironing shirts in Sing Sing if the same law was administered to rich and poor. Stock exchange boycotters should be punished as well as Bohemian bakers. Enforce the law impartially or repeal the law.

We are told that the united labor party cannot hold the workingmen together on its platform. If the united labor party should be permitted to die through the supiness[sic] or hostility of workmen, this generation at least will never see another one with 68,[000?] votes behind it in the city of New York. If the united labor party should go down, we will have to wait till new men come to the front, for never again will it be possible to associate in an organized body the people who last year and this have shaken the pillars of political power in New York.

Sic in the original; probably "supineness".

But it will not die, and it will always be composed of workingmen.

JOHN R. O'DONNELL.

The Lost Leader.

. . . . .

We shall march prospering—not through his presence;
Songs may inspirit us—not from his lyre;
Deeds will be done—while he boasts his quiescence,
Still bidding crouch whom the rest bade aspire.
Blot out his name, then—record one lost soul more,
One task more declined, one more footpath untrod,
One more triumph for devils, and sorrow for angels,
One wrong more to man, one more insult to God!

> Life's night begins; let him never come back to us!
> There would be doubt, hesitation and pain,
> Forced praise on our part—the glimmer of twilight,
> Never glad, confident morning again!
> Best fight on well, for we taught him—strike gallantly—
> Aim at our heart ere we pierce through his own;
> Then let him receive the new knowledge and wait us,
> Pardoned in heaven, the first by the throne!

ROBERT BROWNING.

A Business Man's Views on the Political Situation.

After careful study of the theories of Henry George, as expressed in "Progress and Poverty," I am forced to the conclusion that the safety of our republic, as well as the true stability of our commercial interests, lies in the legislative adoption of the single tax upon land values. I sincerely hope the business men of the Empire state will awaken to the fact that only through the absorption by the community of those values which the presence of the community creates, and the using of the same in public enterprises, can labor and capital receive all that wealth which their efforts produce, for by that means alone can labor and capital be relieved from the present unjust system of indirect taxation which to-day reduces both to a condition of legalized slavery to monopoly. The victory which the united labor party will achieve on Nov. 8, will be but the Lexington of the nineteenth century revolution.

SAMUEL A. BOYD,
N. Y. manager Keystone Watch Club Co.

p. 1, col. 6

[German]

Wie der Profit zu erhöhen ist.

Für den Kaufmann mit beschränktem Capital, für die der großen Mittelklasse angehörenden, die auf eigene Rechnung ein Geschäft begründen wollen, ist die Frage: „Wie kann man den Profit erhöhen?" nicht ohne Interesse; und wenn wir ihnen gleich Anfangs versichern, daß was wir vorschlagen – nämlich den Profit zu erhöhen – auch sicher das thun wird was wir versprechen, so werden sie es der Mühe werth halten unsere Methode zu lesen und den Werth derselben zu erwägen. „Ein Pfennig erspart, sind zwei gewonnen," ist ein altes weises Sprüchwort. Zuerst schlagen wir also vor den Profit zu erhöhen durch Verminderung der Ausgaben.

„Ein flinker Pfennig, ist besser als ein langsamer Sechser," ist ein ebenso werthvolles Sprüchwort. Zweitens, schlagen wir vor, die Profite zu erhöhen, durch Veranlassung von zahlreicheren und schnelleren Verkäufen.

Ist es in deiner Macht, oh Bürger Kaufmann, deine Ausgaben zu vermindern und deine Verkäufe zu vermehren, durch ein und dieselbe Methode?

Es ist! Und wie vorher bemerkt, ist die Methode sicher, und ungleich der meisten, jetzt von Händlern befolgten, ist sie vollkommen gerecht. Sie schädigt Niemand. Sie ist Allen nützlich. Worin besteht sie?

Schafft alle Steuern ab, außer einer auf den Werth des Landes.

Aber das ist ja der Henry George'sche theoretische Humbug!

Ja Freunde, und es ist ein sicheres und bestimmtes Heilmittel für deinen Mangel an Geschäften und für die zahlreichen Bankerotte, von Leuten, die wie Du, mit beschränkten Mitteln den Aufbau eines Geschäftes begannen, inmitten der arbarmungslosen[sic] modernen Concurrenz.

Jetzt höre zu, was wir zur Verminderung der Ausgaben vorschlagen.

Welches ist der größte einzelne Posten unter deinen Ausgaben? Ist es nicht die Rente für deinen Store? Gut, wir schlagen vor diese Rente zu vermindern. Ist das praktisch genug für Dich? Wie? Auf diese Art. Du bezahlst jetzt zwei Arten von Renten: eine für das Gebäude, worin sich der Store befindet, und die andere für das Land, auf welchem das Gebäude steht.

Es ist vollständig gerecht, daß Du die erstere zahlst; aber die letztere für das Land ist – wenigstens gegenwärtig – nicht gerecht.

Wenn nun Du, und Andere die sich in gleicher Lage befinden, sich mit den anderen Arbeitern der Stadt, der Town oder der Village, wo ihr lebt und arbeitet, vereinigt, um eure Repräsentanten im Congreß oder in der Staatslegislatur zu instruiren, daß sie dahin wirken sollen, die gegenwärtigen Steuermethoden so zu modificiren, daß alle Steuern auf Landwerthe gelegt werden, ohne Rücksicht auf Verbesserungen, so ist leicht einzusehen, daß Landwerthe sinken werden.

Niemand, der Land besitzt, würde es halten wollen ohne es zu benutzen; denn wenn er es thun wollte, würden ihn die Steuern auf Landwerthe bald auffressen.

Land würde unter solchen Bedingungen für den Besitzer keinen Werth haben, wenn er es nicht benutzen wollte. Jeder Eigenthümer würde es entweder selbst nutzbar machen oder gezwungen sein es an Jemand zu überlassen der dies thäte.

Sic in the original; probably "erbarmungslosen".

Neue Gebäude, neue Wohnhäuser, neue Läden für den Verkauf und Handel würden errichtet werden, wo dies möglich ist – und in den Markt kommend mit den schon errichteten Wohnhäusern und Läden concurriren und ein Fallen der Renten verursachen. Und da dies allgemein wäre, so würden alle Gebäude und jede Nachbarschaft davon berührt werden. So würden wir also Deine Hauptausgabe – die Rente – vermindern.

Zunächst, durch dieselben Mittel, würden wir Deine Verkäufe vermehren. Denn, wenn die Steuern nur von den Landwerthen erhoben werden, wie vorher angegeben, würde Niemand Land halten, ohne es zu benutzen. Verbesserung, Bauten, Beschäftigung von Arbeitern aller Art auf dem Lande, wäre der zunächst nothwendige Schritt.

Ueberall wären die Baugewerke an der Arbeit – Zimmerleute, Maurer, Anstreicher wären *fortwährend* an der Arbeit.

Aber die Arbeiter arbeiten nicht, außer sie werden bezahlt. Wahr! Deshalb würden dieselben Zustände, welche ihre Beschäftigung veranlassen, auch das Geld in Cirkulation bringen, welches jetzt eingeschlossen ist. Capital würde flüssig für die Errichtung von Gebäuden und den verschiedenen Arten der Verbesserung des Landes, und die Taschen der Arbeiter würden mit den verdienten Löhnen gefüllt.

Nun werdet ihr wissen, daß diese Arbeiter für sich, für ihre Frauen und Kinder die Waaren nöthig haben, mit denen ihr handelt. Wenn sie vollen und regelmäßigen Lohn verdienen, würden sie eure Waare bezahlen können, und wenn euer Laden immer mit Kunden angefüllt ist, würden sich auch eure Verkäufe vermehren, nicht wahr?

So würden wir also durch dieselben Mittel eure Verkäufe vermehren und eure Ausgaben verringern.

Kaufleute, Ladenbesitzer, Arbeiter der Mittelklasse, ist dies nicht die Wahrheit?

Wißt ihr, daß in unserem Lande zwischen 1870 und 1885 – fünfzehn Jahre – von jedem 100 Männer, welche Fabrik- oder Ladengeschäfte anfingen, 95 fallirten?

Wißt ihr auch, daß in denselben fünfzehn Jahren fünfundneunzig Prozent aller Fallimente, die in der Geschäftswelt stattfanden, die solcher Leute waren, die mit $5000 oder weniger Capital arbeiteten?

Die Vereinigte Arbeiter Partei ist die einzige Partei, welche die Befreiung der Industrie von Steuerlasten befürwortet und alle Steuern auf den Werth des Grund und Bodens legen will. Wenn ihr eure Stimme für dieselbe abgebt, so stimmt ihr für dauernde Arbeit, hohe Löhne, gute Geschäfte für Ladenbesitzer und Wohlstand und Gedeihen für Alle!

Neuntausend Menschen starben in der Stadt New York während des vergangenen Jahres, weil sie in Tenementhäusern [zusammengepfercht?] waren. So berichtet der Registrar des Gesundheitsamtes.

Neuntausend menschliche Wesen, die heute am Leben sind, werden im Jahre [1888?] in Folge desselben Uebels sterben.

Der Erfolg der Vereinigten Arbeiter-Partei bedeutet die Abschaffung der Tenementhäuser.

Eine gegen die Vereinigte Arbeiter-Partei abgegebene Stimme ist eine Stimme zu Gunsten der Tödtung von neun Tausend Deiner Mitmenschen.

Dein Vater wohnte in einem Hause.

Du wohnst in einem Flat.

Welche Sicherheit hast Du, daß Deine Kinder nicht gezwungen werden, in einem Tenementhause zu wohnen?

Denke darüber nach. Es ist der Mühe werth. Studire die Platform der Vereinigten Arbeiter-Partei und Du wirst finden, daß in dem Erfolg dieser Partei die einzige Sicherheit liegt für eine glückliche Zukunft Deiner Kinder.

In den Tagen der Sklaverei war ein kräftiger Mann $1000 werth. Interessen zu sechs Prozent gerechnet, kostete der Sklave seinem Herrn $60 jährlich, außer den Kosten für Nahrung, Kleidung, Obdach, ärztliche Behandlung und Begräbniß.

Wie viele amerikanische Bürger erübrigen jetzt $60 jährlich, nachdem Nahrung, Kleidung, Wohnung u. s. w. bezahlt worden?

Eine Stimme für die Vereinigte Arbeiter Partei ist eine Stimme für [Abschaffung?] der industriellen Sklaverei.

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[German]

Wegweiser für die Landstraße.

Für Alle, die dem Fortschritt huldigen und ihr Theil dazu beitragen wollen, jedem Arbeiter den Ertrag seiner [Arbeit?] zu verschaffen, giebt es in den Vereinigten Staaten nur eine Partei, der sie sich anschließen können, und dies ist die Vereinigte Arbeiter-Partei, deren jetziger Bannerträger Henry George ist. Es ist keinem Zweifel unterworfen, daß unsere gegenwärtige Civilisation dem Verfall entgegeneilt, dessen Ursachen und Anfang Henry George in seinem Buche „Fortschritt und Armuth“ in so klarer und überzeugender Weise schildert. Dort sind auch die Wege angegeben, die eingeschlagen werden müssen, um den Verfall zu hemmen. Wir müssen zur Gerechtigkeit zurückkehren, und die Gerechtigkeit verlangt, daß Jedem die Erzeugnisse seiner Arbeit gesichert werden. Um dies zu ermöglichen, muß vor Allem der Grund und Boden, auf den alle Menschen angewiesen sind, der Habgier Einzelner entwunden, und zum Segen und Gedeihen Aller Verwendung finden. Auf die zu diesem Ziele führende Landstraße, auf der die Vereinigte Arbeiterpartei in starken und stets wachsenden Colonnen marschirt, giebt es Seitenwege, die von auf dem Ziele Zustrebenden für kürzer gehalten werden, aber nur in die Irre führen. Um es Allen möglich zu machen, den Weg zu erkennen, den die Vereinigte Arbeiter-Partei einzuschlagen gedenkt, sind hier einige Wegweiser errichtet.

Die von der Vereinigten Arbeiter-Partei verlangte Reform ist einfach das Nehmen für die Gemeinde – nämlich für die Staats-, Stadt-, County- oder Town Verwaltung – des vollen jährlichen Rentwerthes aller natürlichen Gelegenheiten und der Abschaffung aller anderen Arten von Steuern ohne Ausnahme. Dadurch, beanspruchen wir, würde die Armuth abgeschafft, und indem dies geschieht, würde auch die Selbstsucht, die Habgier, der Trug und die Falschheit aufhören, welche die Furcht vor der Armuth erzeugen. Dies würde die Menschen nicht nur in den Stand setzen, sondern auch anspornen, völlig den Gesetzen gemäß zu leben, die Christus in seiner Bergpredigt niederlegte.

Hier sind die Argumente in gedrängter [Kürze?]:

1. Jedes materielle Ding, welches der Mensch ißt oder hat, oder wünschen kann, wird producirt durch die Anwendung menschlicher Arbeit auf das Rohmaterial, welches der Allmächtige in Erschaffung der Erde geliefert.

2. Es giebt keine Grenzen für die Production von Gütern, außer denen, welche der Mangel an natürlichen Gelegenheiten oder der Mangel an menschlicher Arbeit bestimmt.

3. Land – d. h. die natürlichen Gelegenheiten oder das von der Natur gelieferte Rohmaterial – und die Arbeit der Menschen sind die zwei, und zwar die einzigen zwei Faktoren der Güterproduktion. Daraus folgt, daß wer im Besitz eines dieser Faktoren ist, nothwendiger Weise bis zu dem Maße die Produktion controllirt. Wenn ich Menschen als Sklaven eigne, kann ich die Güterproduktion hemmen durch meine Weigerung, dieselben arbeiten zu lassen, zur Ausnutzung der natürlichen Gelegenheiten. Wenn ich natürliche

Gelegenheiten anstatt menschlicher Wesen eigne, kann ich die Produktion ebenso wirksam controlliren, indem ich meinen Mitmenschen die Erlaubniß verweigere, zur Verwendung ihrer Arbeit auf die natürlichen Gelegenheiten. In beiden Fällen kann ich meine Mitmenschen zwingen, mir alle die von ihnen producirten Güter zu geben, außer was zum Leben und zur Fortpflanzung unentbehrlich ist. Ich kann sie zwingen, für meinen Vortheil zu arbeiten. Ich kann sie in Armuth halten, während ich selbst reich bin.

4. Da der Privatbesitz der menschlichen Arbeitskräfte schon abgeschafft wurde, ist nur noch die Abschaffung des Privatbesitzes von natürlichen Gelegenheiten erforderlich, um die Güterproduction von allen Fesseln zu befreien, die gerechte Vertheilung der erzeugten Güter zu sichern und die Armuth auszurotten.

Die Absorbirung der Landwerthe durch Besteuerung wäre gleichbedeutend mit der Abschaffung des Privatbesitzes von natürlichen Gelegenheiten, weil:

Erstens – Das Maß der Landwerthe in dem Mitbewerb liegt, der unter Individuen stattfindet für die Erlangung des Privilegiums, der Benutzung eines bestimmten Stück Landes, dem man den Vorzug vor einem anderen giebt. Ein Stück culturfähiges Land in der Nähe der Stadt New York hat einen Werth von mehreren hundert Dollars jährlich, während ein ebenso fruchtbares Stück Boden, einige hundert Meilen entfernt, vielleicht gar keinen Werth hat, weil durch die Nähe eines Marktes, die Anwendung desselben Arbeitsquantums, jährlich verschiedene hundert Dollars mehr an Gütern producirt auf dem zuerst erwähnten Stück Land, als dies auf dem anderen möglich wäre. Unter den jetzigen Verhältnissen legt der Landbesitzer diesen Werth in Beschlag in der Form von Rente, oder er capitalisirt ihn und fordert ihn dann in einem Klumpen als Kaufpreis. Die Wirkung davon ist, daß die Leute, welche ihre Arbeit auf dem Lande verwenden wollen, müßig bleiben müssen, wenn sie nicht im Stande sind, die Erlaubniß zur Arbeit vom Landbesitzer zu kaufen.

Zweitens – Die beständige Tendenz der Landwerthe mit der Zunahme der Bevölkerung zu steigen, macht es für Landbesitzer profitabel, die Benutzung der natürlichen Gelegenheiten absolut zu verweigern, bis die Werthe eine abnorm hohe Ziffer erreicht haben.

Drittens – Beide dieser Ursachen tragen zur Erzeugung und Vermehrung der Armuth bei; die erste, indem sie es den Landbesitzern ermöglicht, sich die Concurrenz unter den Arbeitern zu Nutzen zu machen, und die erzeugten Güter bis auf den letzten Pfennig zu expressen; die zweite, indem sie es für Landbesitzer profitabel macht, den Arbeitern die Ausnutzung der natürlichen Gelegenheiten unter irgend welchen Bedingungen zu verweigern.

Viertens – Aber wenn die Landwerthe durch Besteuerung absorbirt werden, so daß, was jetzt der Landeigenthümer aus seinem Pächter ziehen kann, ihm genommen wird, dann würde kein Vortheil dabei sein, Land zu eignen, und die Landeigenthümer, wie wir sie jetzt kennen, würden verschwinden. Landbesitzer würden jedoch bleiben. Der Landeigenthümer, der sein Land benutzen wollte, um darauf arbeiten zu lassen und Güter zu erzeugen, würde es profitabel finden; aber der Landeigenthümer, der sein [Land?] nicht benutzen könnte oder wollte, würde nothwendiger Weise die Benutzung desselben einem Anderen überlassen, der die Steuer bezahlte, denn wenn er dies nicht thäte, würde er den Betrag der Steuer aus seiner Tasche zu zahlen haben, ohne die geringste Möglichkeit, den Betrag derselben von irgend Jemand zurück zu erhalten.

Fünftens – Die Wirkung davon würde sein, daß die natürlichen Gelegenheiten Jedermann zugänglich sein würden, ohne Ausnahme, der Arbeit, behufs Erzeugung von Gütern, darauf verwenden wollte. So würden beide Faktoren der Güterproduktion Menschenarbeit und natürliche Gelegenheiten – befreit werden, mit dem schon vorher gezeigten Resultat, die Armuth unmöglich zu machen.

Sechstens – Soweit die ethische Seite der Frage in Betracht kommt, bietet sie nur geringe Schwierigkeiten. Der Allmächtige läßt auf diesem Planeten Generationen auf Generationen von Menschen folgen, die wieder verschwinden, wenn die Zeit dazu gekommen. Es wäre gottlos anzunehmen, daß diese schöne Erde mit all ihren

Reichthümern und fruchtbarem Boden blos erschaffen wäre, damit einige Bevorzugte den Besitz dieser Dinge genößen – und das Recht besäßen, ihren Mitmenschen irgend einen Antheil daran zu verweigern, außer sie bezahlten ihnen Tribut, wie Untergebene an ihre Vorgesetzten.

Stimmt für die Candidaten der Vereinigten Arbeiter-Partei, und eure Interessen werden ehrlichen Männern anvertraut.

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John Smith is the owner of a piece of ground, twenty-five feet by one hundred. He has never used this ground; he is not using it now; he never intends to use it. All he has done, is doing or ever will do, is to keep anybody else from using it, except on payment of a price which will enable him to live without work for the rest of his life. For this John Smith is rewarded by having his piece of ground assessed for taxation at less than one-third its value.

John Jones has bought a piece of ground, twenty-five feet by one hundred, for use. He builds a house upon it, in which he lives with his family, thus making the neighborhood more desirable, and increasing the value of John Smith's vacant lot, which lies beside his house. For this John Jones is punished by having the assessment of his lot for taxation doubled and a heavy tax imposed upon his house besides.

The united labor party proposes to tax John Smith's vacant lot and John Jones's improved lot equally, and to take the tax off John Smith's house[sic]. It means to stop rewarding John Smith for making the neighborhood less desirable, and to stop punishing John Jones for making it more so.

Can you honestly say that this is not strictly just and right? You will say so if you vote against the united labor party.

John Jones is earning two dollars a day. He lives with his family in a tenement house, stints himself and his loved ones in every possible way, and saves fifty dollars a year with the hope of buying himself a home.

John Smith is the owner of a vacant lot in the suburbs. He has no use for the lot himself, never saw it in his life and is never likely to. He allows a market gardener to use it in return for enough to pay the taxes and interest on purchase money, and keeps his eye on Jones. Meantime, as roads are built and population increases, the value of that vacant lot rises just $50 every year.

At the end of ten years Jones, by dint of working like a slave and living like a brute, has saved $500. Smith, who, during that ten years, has saved nothing at all, pockets Jones's $500, takes from him a mortgage for the original cost of the lot and graciously transfers to him the title to the ground which he (Smith) didn't make and never saw.

By hook and crook, working harder than ever, living closer than ever and, appealing to all his friends for help, Jones manages to get a house built on the lot. At once the tax upon the lot is doubled and a heavy tax is levied upon the house besides.

Isn't all this rather hard upon poor Jones? The united labor party thinks it is.

Twenty years ago Harlem was a town of poor men's homes. And it took two hours to get there.

Sic in the original; probably "John Jones's house".

A few men came along and said to the people of New York: "You poor fellows are inconveniently crowded down here in the city. There's plenty of room for you in Harlem, but you can't go there to live because it takes so long to get there. But if you'll give us the privilege of using your streets, we'll build a railroad to Harlem that will carry you there and back quickly, and then all you poor men can go there and get homes of your own."

Well, the people of New York gave the elevated railway men the use of the streets, and the road was built as promised. And if a poor man wants to live in Harlem to-day he must live in a tenement house, *because the elevated roads have made the land in Harlem so valuable.*

Your father lived in a house.

You live in a flat.

What security have you that your son will not be compelled to live in a tenement house?

Think this thing out. It is worth your while. Study the platform of the united labor party and you will see that in the success of that party lies the only guarantee for the future happiness of your children.

Nine thousand people were done to death in this city last year by tenement house overcrowding. The registrar of vital statistics says so.

Nine thousand human beings, alive to-day, will die during 1888 if the tenement house overcrowding continues.

The success of the united labor party means the abolition of the tenement house.

A vote against the united labor party is a vote in favor of death to nine thousand of your fellow men.

In the days of chattel slavery an able-bodied man was worth $1,000. Reckoning interest at six per cent, the slave cost his master $60 a year besides the expense of his food, clothing, shelter, medical attendance and burial.

How many American citizens to-day get food, clothing, shelter, medical attendance and burial and $60 a year besides from early manhood to old age[sic].

A vote for the united labor party is a vote to abolish industrial slavery.

WARNING TO WATCHERS!

The watchers of the united labor party are this year intrusted with most important duties. The inspectors intended by the legislature to protect the party against fraud are kept away from the polls by a conspiracy, the obvious purpose of which is to falsify the vote. This purpose can be frustrated by intelligent and vigilant watchers, and it is therefore the duty of every watcher to insist upon his rights, and that he may insist upon them to know and understand what they are.

Sic in the original; probably "old age?".

Last fall a watcher who had qualified himself for his important office succeeded in detecting a fraudulent attempt to credit

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Mr. Hewitt with fifteen votes that had been cast for Mr. George. Let every watcher this fall imitate the vigilance of that watcher—it was A. M. Molina—and such fraud can be prevented.

There are two kinds of watchers. One kind is appointed by the party organization, and is therefore the immediate agent of the party; the other is appointed by candidates. The powers and duties of these two kinds of watchers differ in some degree, and we propose to explain the functions of each.

If you hold a certificate from Mr. McMackin, chairman of the county committee, you are a *party watcher*, and it is your right and duty to be present in the polling place of the district to which you are assigned fifteen minutes before the polls open in the morning, namely, at 5:45 o'clock a. m. When the ballot boxes are set up, you must examine each of them with great care, to see that it is in good order, that there is no place through which ballots may be surreptitiously inserted, and that there are no ballots in the box. You must then remain in the polling place all day, to see that no fraud is perpetrated, that no electioneering is done there, and that any one whom you believe to be a fraudulent voter is challenged. When the poll is closed you must get as near to the inspectors as possible, without interfering with them, and where you can see and read the face of every ballot. *Do not allow a single ballot to be finally counted until you have read it.* You have no right to touch a ballot, and you must not allow any one except the inspectors (not even a poll clerk) to touch one; but it is your right to have every ballot shown to you in such a way as to enable you to read every word upon it.

Before any ballot box is opened you must require the inspectors to proclaim in a loud voice how many votes should be in that box; and when they have done so, you must make a note of it. Then, and not before, the inspectors may open the box. When the box is opened you must see that the inspectors first ascertain the number of ballots in it without unfolding them; and before the canvass can proceed the number of ballots found in the box must tally with the number previously proclaimed by the inspectors. You must require this course to be pursued in respect to every box in turn.

When the ballots in a box are finally counted and proclaimed aloud, and before another box is opened, you must require the inspectors to enter upon the proper blank returns a correct statement of the ballots so finally counted, and to attach to the returns a sample of every different kind of ballot found in the box. This is of the utmost importance. One of the commonest methods of election frauds is to declare ballots defective. If a specimen of each different kind of "defective" ballot is attached to the returns, the fraud can be nullified before the county canvassers, or, if necessary, in the courts; but if samples are not attached it becomes impossible to investigate the alleged defect. Hence, when fraud is intended, a certain number of ballots are declared "defective" or "scattering," and no sample is attached. Be careful, therefore, to see that a sample of *every* kind of ballot found in a box is attached to the returns, with a statement of how many ballots like that there were. If every ballot in the box should happen to differ from every other, then every ballot would have to be attached to the returns.

Prepare yourself with a note book to enter the result of the count in respect to every office, and when the chairman of the inspectors proclaims the canvass, as he must do at the close of the canvass of each box, note the result *as he proclaims it*, so that you will be able to swear to the truth of your memoranda should occasion require.

If you are a *candidate's watcher* your rights and duties do not begin until the polls are closed in the afternoon and when the inspectors are about to open the box in which are deposited the ballots for the office for which the person you represent is the candidate; but from that time until that box is completely disposed of and the returns made out, your rights and duties are the same as those of the party watchers.

The police *must* protect all watchers in the exercise of their rights and the performance of their duties, and you have a right to demand such protection. On your part you are to be courteous, fair and firm, respecting the rights and feelings of others, and insisting that your own shall be equally respected.

Finally, every watcher should lose no time in getting from the bureau of elections, 300 Mulberry street, where they are to be had free, the "manual containing practical directions for the use of the inspectors of elections, poll clerks and other officers of election of the city and county of New York for the year 1887." District associations should put this manual into the hands of all their watchers. You should study the manual with great care before election day, and have it with you at the polls for reference in case of dispute.

In view of the manifest attempt to defraud the united labor party of its votes, on you, watchers, largely rests the responsibility for the result next Tuesday.

Dr. McGlynn to Speak in Brooklyn.

Dr. Edward McGlynn will address the citizens of Brooklyn on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 6, at 3 p. m., in the Academy of Music, under the auspices of the Kings county Henry George land club.

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ANTI-POVERTY.

Abner C. Thomas Presides and Judge Maguire and Dr. McGlynn Speak at the Twenty-seventh Meeting of the Society.

Crowds were turned away from the Academy of Music last Sunday evening, the house being filled soon after the doors were opened. Miss Munier and the Concordia chorus received the first round of applause as they entered upon the stage, and thenceforward the audience exhibited great enthusiasm throughout the evening. Chairman Abner C. Thomas, in a short address, said:

"This is a campaign that is to break down the barriers which greed would place in the road of industry and in the road of men who ought to be able to earn their living. We want to bring two million idle men upon an immense quantity of idle land, so that the land may produce by their labor. We want to remove the taxes that are now imposed upon industry and the products of industry, and place those taxes where they belong, and that is on the commonwealth of the whole people. (Applause.) We want to establish the principle that the land of the United States belongs to the people of the United States, and we propose to pay the expenses of government out of her own estate."

Judge James G. Maguire followed Mr. Thomas in a speech that produced a profound impression. In the course of his address the judge said:

"It is not in the great city of New York alone that our gospel has reached the hearts of the people; away to the extremities of the state, those who understand it are warm and eager in the fray, just as earnest as you are, and those who don't understand it have reached the conclusion that it is about time to find out what it all means. I have delivered some twenty odd addresses since I saw you last, and I was exceedingly gratified at the manner in which our doctrines were received. I have found but few unpleasant incidents in my tour, and I believe that on the 8th of November next the result of the enthusiasm which you have aroused, the interest which you have manifested, and the great efforts that have been made by our honored leaders in all quarters of the state wherever it has been possible for them to raise their voices, will be that the state of New York will respond to this great movement for the emancipation of our people from industrial slavery, which is growing as no movement ever grew before."

The speaker said he had supposed that, whatever might be the feeling with respect to the methods adopted, there could be no dissenting voice as to the object in view, the abolition of that awful curse that has settled upon humanity and which is known by the name of poverty. He had supposed that there were none in this land who would object to the abolition of poverty, if it could be abolished, but he found that even in the pulpits men actually hold up their hands in holy horror and accuse the anti-povertyites of attempting to abolish "that glorious and god-given thing, that means of grace" called poverty. He was afraid he would not be believed if he should tell it. He had actually bought five papers before he would be satisfied that any priest of the gospel had dared to give utterance to such sentiments before an American congregation. But there it was: "Anti-poverty denounced. At the Church of the Epiphany on Second avenue the Rev. J. P. Lonigan preached yesterday morning a sermon directed against the Anti-poverty society and the leaders of that movement." The judge said the priest had made the mistake of attacking an infinite principle in order to wreak finite malice on a finite man.

"There was a man out west who sold a quarter of beef to one of his neighbors, and the neighbor was not very prompt in paying for it, and he went to frighten him about it and said, 'If you don't pay me for that beef it is all right; if you don't pay me for it in this world, you will have to pay me for it in the next.' (Laughter.) 'Well,' said the other, 'that is a fact; I forgot that. Send me another quarter of beef on the same terms.' Don't let those people that are plundering labor now, take wealth unjustly, revel in luxury in this world and then say, through gentlemen who wear the robes of the Christian ministry, 'Suffer it, ye plundered victims; suffer it, it will be all right in the next world, they will have to pay you there.' Take your own in this world; take what God has given you here; it is your right, and none, I apprehend, will be cast out of heaven for taking his right, and don't permit any speculation in this world on the assumption that they, the party speculating, will have to pay for it in the next. Poverty may be a material evil, but I tell you that the cost of it is a moral evil, and it will not be worth while to try and abolish the latter before attempting a crusade against poverty. The attempts that have been made to pervert the words of Christ, 'The poor ye have with you always,' is entirely unworthy of the pulpit, entirely unworthy of the men who pretend to minister at the altar of Christ. He meant by that that the poor would be with the people when he had passed away, but he did not mean to establish a machine on earth for the perpetuation of poverty and its attendant evils. He did not mean to impose a duty upon his followers to keep a multitude of wretched and starving poor ever present in order to fulfill that declaration, and when it is said, either in the barroom or the pulpit, that the miseries that are suffered by men in consequence of being denied the privilege—the opportunity to produce a living from god-given natural resources—is not due to the fault of men, but the niggardliness of nature or to the will of God, I say no matter whence that declaration comes, whether it be made in the barroom or from the pulpit, it is blasphemy. If the Creator meant to have enforced idleness and suffering for the necessaries of life in this world, why did he provide bounteous resources, ample if thrown open to the use of his people to provide for all their possible wants? (Applause.) The very fact that those resources are spread everywhere around is a

complete answer to any such narrow interpretation. I have found in the course of my travels, however grand and noble, men in the priesthood who don't take the narrow view that the men take who are attacking Dr. McGlynn; and I find this remarkable circumstance exists, that the men, in or out of the pulpit, who attack us are men who have not read any, have not studied any, but who do simply as ostriches, stick their heads in the bushes and think that because they cannot see the enemy the enemy cannot see them. The attacks come from men who have not read, who, having eyes, see not, and, having ears, hear not, and they, of course, denounce, while nearly all who have read either approve and commend or relapse into a silence that is perfectly convenient; and it is to my mind a most magnificent spectacle, this drawing the veil of ignorance before their eyes in the enlightened present while we are rising to knowledge, and battling against that dark and evil past with blows that are simply irresistible, that ever and anon are opening new battles for the victory which will soon be accomplished by this great movement.

"The people of St. Stephen's parish, from the moment they arose to defend their persecuted pastor, did something far more than to vindicate their pastor. They have vindicated truth the length and breadth of this

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and—the patriotism, the loyalty, the independence of the Irish-American character in this nation. They have given once for all the lie to the assertion that they held a divided allegiance between the temporal see of Rome and the American government, to which their political allegiance was pledged. They have drawn the distinction which, once drawn, must ever be recognized, for it is broad and clear, the distinction between their duty to their country and their religious obligations to the heads of the church. They have said to the world that Irish-American Catholics can appreciate that distinction, and that while in religious matters they bow to the authority of religious superiors, they know when to cry a halt when those superiors dare to invade the domain of their political rights. St. Stephen's has struck the keynote of the great principle that will finally assimilate in a perfect political brotherhood all the people of the United States; recognizing no distinction henceforth between creeds or races, but standing together as fellow citizens, as fellow teachers in the national sense, each guarding the other's right to follow whatever religious principles may be his.

"Let it be understood by all who are here to-night listening to the principles of the united labor party for the first time that we do not propose any paternal form of government; that we do not propose to have the state take charge of industries: that we do not propose to destroy individuality; that we don't propose to cut the world up into a checker board and give each fellow his little square to stand upon. We propose simply to exempt personal property and the improvements upon land from taxation; we propose to abolish all license charges on desirable businesses, to abolish all poll taxes: to raise all public revenue by a single tax on land values. That is all of it. There is nothing in that subversive of social order; there is nothing in that that tends to destroy anything that is useful in civilization. It is our purpose, by taking the rental value of land for public purposes, to get rid of two ruinous classes that have fastened themselves upon our civilization; to get rid, first, of the people who are now taking the rental value of land for private use, who are merely sitting as tribute takers, as mere toll gatherers at the gate of industry, reaping where they have not sown, taking a share of the wealth which they have contributed nothing to produce. That the rental value of land is produced in all cases, at all times, and in all places by the general industry and the general enterprise of the whole people, is apparent to all who will glance for a moment at the way in which rental values grow and arise. Let me define the word landlord as used to-day. We do not include as a landlord the man who builds and rents a house. The man who puts his capital into your house is a useful man; he confers a benefit on mankind by making that improvement upon land, for houses would not exist but for human labor. The landlord, in the economic sense, is merely a man who collects tribute from another for allowing that other to use the natural and indestructible powers of the soil, Now, it is said that if you cut off this rental value of land, you will destroy industry and the incentives to industry; that you will break up our whole industrial system and throw society into chaos. Did any man ever stop working in this world because another was simply told to stand back and not take part of what the worker produced? Did any worker ever stop work for that reason? I say no; and the

landlord has never taken any part or share in production; the landlord, as I define him, is a mere parasite, drawing away where he gives nothing, and yielding absolutely nothing in return.

“When I was a boy my father set me to cutting suckers off cornstalks; perhaps those of you who are here, being crowded and kept always in industrial centers, have had no chance to find out what a sucker of a corn stalk is. A sucker is a parasitic growth that fastens itself just above the root of the corn, and it draws away the substance by natural processes draws away the nourishment, and if you should let it grow there, it will grow faster than the cornstalk, and the bigger and the fatter and the sleeker it gets, the more weasened and shriveled the cornstalk becomes and the less corn is yielded to the farmer. I am told by first-class farmers that in the whole history of corn raising a good ear of corn was never known to grow on a sucker, not one. But if you let it grow it saps the life out of the corn. Now, the farmer simply goes to work and cuts the sucker off, and just as soon as the sucker is cut off it don’t destroy the corn, as they say lopping off this parasite of landlords will destroy industry; it don’t hurt the corn a bit, but the substance that would otherwise go into the sucker goes up into the cornstalk and develops it, and fills out the ears and makes a more plentiful supply of corn for harvesting; the cutting of it off does no harm at all. And now that I think of that job that my father set me at so many years ago and compare it with what I am now doing, it seems to me that I am at very much the same kind of a job, for, after all, can any man name any function or any relation which the landlord bears to the wealth producing industry of the country which he drains that is not precisely like the absolute useless[sic] sucker, precisely the same as that parasite upon industry? If that were lopped off would production cease? (Cries of ‘No.’) Would production for an instant be diminished? No, but the share that now flows to feed the idle and useless parasite would flow into the industrial system; and isn’t it the same? The bigger and fatter the landlord gets the more weasened all those engaged in industries get. Is not that so? If that parasite, then, were cut off as completely as the farmer cuts the sucker off the cornstalk, the substance would not be lost. not a particle of it; it would flow up into the industrial system; it would go to develop the industrial system and bring out in better and fuller form all of the purposes of industrial organization.

“There is another class we want cut off, and that is the land speculator, who grows upon the hope of securing in the future the thing that the landlord gets in the present; and what service does he render to society? He simply grasps land and holds it idle; he bars the people out of the use of land and stands there holding the natural resources, the material that God designed to be the homes of his people, barring them out of it until the people shall give value to it, that he may take it, perhaps, far off in the future, If any man wants to take it for use, now he must pay not what it is worth now, but what it will probably be worth twenty years hence, a speculative value. If you tell him you won’t pay it, he says: ‘Well. I can afford to hold it; as long as your industry keeps up my land value will rise and it will give me interest all of the time.’ Right down here in the center of the great metropolis men are holding land in idleness, have been holding it, doing nothing with it, barring the people away from the use of it, keeping it out of use, and yet making money, I think, for the whole period of about two hundred years. (Applause.) And I am told that there is land here that has been held for about two centuries by successive generations and their assigns and vendees that have been paying interest every year upon the investment; that while there may have been two or three years at a time when the advance in value was nothing, or not sufficient to pay interest upon the previous value, yet that there has been no period in all those two centuries when at the end of ten years the owners could not have sold the land for enough to pay the price that it was worth ten years before with the highest standard interest upon that investment. During the ten years you are giving to these worse than landlords, these men who stand and bar you out of natural resources—a profit as great as capital can earn in any active assistance—that it may give to labor in other departments. We want to get rid of those classes and divide all the products of industry

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between individual producers according to their share, and give all the rest to the community which produced the rental value that makes land worth more at one point than at another, and to get rid and drive away the dogs in

the manger that we call speculators, who are barring the people out of their natural rights, to profit afterward by that debarring.

"We are not assailing any vested right of any land owner. I have repeated that during the past two or three years from every platform whence I have spoken, and I have challenged any man, at the bar or elsewhere, to point out any vested right against which we are leveling the powers of the people. I say, and I say as a matter of settled law, settled by the highest authority in this union, not settled by one decision, but by at least four decisions of the United States supreme court and one of New York, your own state, and I know of no state decisions that are worth looking into in face of the higher authority that is involved in the decisions of the supreme court of the United States, and that decision is that no private landlord or private owner of land has ever purchased a right to take the future rental value of a land at all; he has purchased a right of possession unlimited as to time, but that is all, subject to these conditions; First, that whenever the people want that land they may take it absolutely under the power of eminent domain—(applause)—by paying him whatever loss he may suffer that is not suffered by other land owners. But that is not the decision under which we proceed; that is not the reserved right under which we proceed; they hold it subject to another and a broader condition, and that is that the man who takes private title to land anywhere in the United states holds it subject to the right of the people at any time to take the rental value of that land by taxation whenever they may please to do it. Not only is this right reserved, but the means of enforcing this condition is fixed and determined by the constition[sic] under which the right is reserved. It is by and through the ballot that that right is asserted, by the exercise of the constitutional power of the franchise, by the peaceful method by which the people of this country announce all of their decisions, all their desires when they wish to have them formulated into law. There is therefore a perfect accord in this movement with the principles of moral justice; indeed, our principle is absolutely necessary to the establishment of natural justice and natural rights among men; but more than that, it is a moral and a natural right which is perfectly consistent with the legal rights which have been reserved to the people of the several states, and all that is to be accomplished by this movement falls strictly within the legal rights of the people to whom we appeal by and through the ballot to exercise that reserved right to take the rental value of land by taxation; and let me say in conclusion that I am satisfied that before many summers have passed—if not, indeed, at the very election which is now approaching—the people of New York state and the people of the other states of the Union will break the shackles which bind them now to the carriage of landlordism and of land monopoly, and rise to that true condition of natural equality with respect to the great natural god-given resources of this country, which it is absolutely necessary they should maintain in order to stand in a position of social and political equality upon which and by which the grand institutions of this country can alone be preserved." *(Great applause.)*

The address of Dr. McGlynn was mainly given to the consideration of those features of the Syracuse platform which, when compared with the land plank, are of minor significance. It would be idle, he said, to say to the individual oppressed by the monopoly of transportation or intelligence, "If you don't like our charges, go and build a railroad or telegraph of your own." The individual had the right to retort: "I cannot build a railroad of my own; I cannot build a telegraph of my own, but I, as an individual citizen, even though the humblest of all, have the right to demand that the mere creature of the sovereign people, of which I am one, shall not oppress me. And, therefore, I have a right to demand, and to ask others to join me in the demand, and to labor with them for the bringing about such change in the law as shall compel these corporations, created by us, to so serve us that they shall get in return for the service only a fair interest on their investment and fair wages for their service in superintending the roads."

With this declaration as a text, the speaker urged that monopoly was a sin. A long and painful experience had shown that the great corporations created by the people would own the government and rule and oppress the

Sic in the original; probably "absolutely useless".
Sic in the original; probably "constitution".

people if the people did not control absolutely in the public interest the corporations. The doctor's speech was an exhaustive and convincing argument in favor of public management of street railroads and the supply of water, gas and heat in municipalities, together with an exposition of the Australian system of voting and the plan of nominating candidates, as proposed by Allen Thorndike Rice.

Why the Secretary of the Metal Exchange Will Vote With the United Labor Party.

Of course I am going to vote the united labor party's ticket, and I think that every business man should do the same thing, not only because of a philanthropic desire to better the condition of the poor, but out of regard to his own interests. We are very apt to deceive ourselves with the notion that we belong to a capitalistic class, when in reality we're only working for wages, in the shape of profits, and the wages are getting smaller every year. Clerks find it continually harder to get situations, and the whole mercantile community has greater difficulty to avoid bankruptcy, because private ownership of land stifles production and steadily reduces the margin for exchange by the appropriation of rent. Therefore, I feel that my vote for the labor ticket not only helps to redeem the very poor from starvation, but also is actually money in my own pocket.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

Why the Editor of the "Electric Age" Supports the Movement.

The question has been asked me, "Why do you support the Henry George movement?" I support the Henry George movement because I believe that my business and the business of all others, as well as each individual, will be infinitely benefited by its adoption. I believe that if all land is taxed to its full rental value, a young man will find many avenues of employment open to him, and opportunities to make a living will necessarily be more numerous. Farmers will not then find it necessary to knock at the doors of telegraph offices to compete with the telegraphers for the few vacancies that occur. When land is equally accessible to all, as it will be when the George theory is put into practice, the labor problem will have been solved.

J. B. TALTAVALL,

Editor of the *Electric Age.*

The greatest possible reform in the machinery of our politics would be the adoption of the Australian system of voting.

The united labor party is the only party that makes the adoption of the Australian system a plank in its platform. All the legislative candidates of the united labor party are pledged to its adoption, and a vote for them is a vote for the Australian system—a vote to reduce the power of money in elections and to end "bossism."

Father Huntington to Lecture at Greenpoint.

Rev. Father Huntington will deliver a lecture on “Labor the Standard of Social Life” at Greenpoint, on Friday evening, Nov. 4. The lecture will take place in the parish house, Church of the Ascension.

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JUSTICE, 1ST DISTRICT.

JUSTICE, 6TH DISTRICT.

JUSTICE, 11TH DISTRICT.

SENATOR, 8TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 1ST DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 5TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 9TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 13TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 17TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 21ST DISTRICT.

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JUDICIARY

JUSTICE, 5TH DISTRICT.

JUSTICE, 9TH DISTRICT.

SENATOR, 7TH DISTRICT.

SENATOR, 11TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 4TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 8TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 12TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 16TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 20TH DISTRICT.

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CITY AND COUNTY.

JUSTICE, 3D DISTRICT.

JUSTICE, 8TH DISTRICT.

SENATOR, 6TH DISTRICT.

SENATOR, 10TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 3D DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 7TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 11TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 15TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 19TH DISTRICT.

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STATE.

JUSTICE, 2D DISTRICT.

JUSTICE, 7TH DISTRICT,

SENATOR, 5TH DISTRICT.

SENATOR, 9TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 2D DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 6TH DISTRICT

ASSEMBLY, 10TH DISTRICT

ASSEMBLY, 14TH DISTRICT.

ASSEMBLY, 18TH DISTRICT

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STATE.

For Secretary of State,

HENRY GEORGE.

For Comptroller,

VICTOR A. WILDER.

For Treasurer,

PATRICK H. CUMMINS.

For Attorney-General,

DENNIS C. FEELY.

For State Engineer and Surveyor,

MATTHEW K. COUZENS.

JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District[sic] Court for the Second Judicial District,

JOHN GALLAGHER.

JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District Court for the Seventh Judicial District,

MAX BAYERSDORFER.

SENATOR.

For Senator for the Fifth Senate District,

Nicholas Muller.

Sic in the original; probably “District,”.

SENATOR.

For Senator for the Ninth Senate District,

Thomas J. Ford.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Second Assembly District,

JOHN A. CROWLEY.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Sixth Assembly District,

CHARLES P. BLAKE.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Tenth Assembly District,

ADOLPH KEEP.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Fourteenth Assembly District,

JOHN MURPHY.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Eighteenth Assembly District,

ANDREW J. CARSON.

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CITY AND COUNTY.

For Comptroller,

PATRICK H. DOODY.

For District Attorney,

LOUIS F. POST.

For President of the Board of Aldermen,

WILLIAM McCABE.

For Coroner,

PAUL MAYER.

JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District Court for the Third Judicial District,

JOHN D. BILLINGS.

JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District Court for the Eighth Judicial District,

THOMAS J. PURDY.

SENATOR.

For Senator for the Sixth Senate District,

Jacob Rawiszer.

SENATOR.

For Senator for the Tenth Senate District.

Alphonso J. Steers.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Third Assembly District,

WILLIAM J. LOUGHEED.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Seventh Assembly District,

HARDING WESTON.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Eleventh Assembly District,

MICHAEL F. KEENAN.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Fifteenth Assembly District,

EDWARD CONKLIN.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Nineteenth Assembly District,

William G. McLaughlin.

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JUDICIARY.

For Justices of the Supreme Court,

ABNER C. THOMAS,

JOHN VINCENT.

For Justices of the City Court,

MORRIS W. HART,

GEORGE W. DEASE.

For Judge of the Court of General Sessions,

FREDERICK C. LEUBUSCHER.

For Surrogate,

GIDEON J. TUCKER.

JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District Court for the Fifth Judicial District,

HERMAN G. LOEW.

JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District Court for the Ninth Judicial District,

HOWARD H. MORSE.

SENATOR.

For Senator for the Seventh Senate District,

Everett Glackin.

SENATOR.

For Senator for the Eleventh Senate District,

Charles Brice.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Fourth Assembly District,

JOHN J. BEATTIE.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Eighth Assembly District,

JOHN N[sic], BOGERT.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Twelfth Assembly District,

GEORGE GAGE.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Sixteenth Assembly District,

DANIEL CLEARY.

Sic in the original; probably “N.”.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Twentieth Assembly District,

LOUIS BERLINER.

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JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District Court for the First Judicial District,

FRANK T. FITZGERALD.

JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District Court for the Sixth Judicial District.

AUGUSTUS A. LEVEY.

JUSTICE.

For Justice of the District Court for the Eleventh Judicial District,

JAMES A. O'GORMAN.

SENATOR.

For Senator for the Eighth Senate District,

Abraham Mead.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the First Assembly District,

THOMAS MORAN.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Fifth Assembly District,

FRANCIS P. NICHOLS.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Ninth Assembly District,

HENRY O. COLE.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Thirteenth Assembly District,

JAMES LYNCH.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Seventeenth Assembly District,

JOHN K. SULLIVAN.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Twenty-first Assembly District,

JOHN J. O'BRIEN.

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ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Twenty-second Assembly District,

WILLIAM J. O'DAIR.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Twenty-third Assembly District,

JEROME O'NEILL.

ASSEMBLY.

For Member of Assembly for the Twenty-fourth Assembly District,

CLARENCE S. GRAVES.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the First Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

CORNELIUS J. FLYNN.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Second Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

THOMAS MAHER.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Third Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

THOMAS J. MORROW.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Fourth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

BASTABLE J. HAWKES.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Fifth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

WALKER J. ELLIOTT.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Sixth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

FRANCIS SCHOFIELD.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Seventh Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

JOSEPH F. JOHNSON.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Eighth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

FRED W. MAYER.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Ninth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

JOHN LAW.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Tenth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

AUGUST W. MAYER.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Eleventh Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

THOMAS S. P. MILLER.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Twelfth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

MAX ALTMAN.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Thirteenth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January. 1882,

LEWIS J. MULLEN.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Fourteenth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

PETER C. BAMBERGER.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Fifteenth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January. 1882.

JAMES T. COUGHLIN,

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman iu[sic] the Sixteenth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

CHARLES J. COOTE.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Seventeenth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January. 1882,

JOHN J. MURPHY.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Eighteenth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

WILLIAM J. BOYHAN.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Nineteenth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

WILLIAM C. ANDERSON.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Twentieth Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January. 1882,

THOMAS DOLAN.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Twenty-first Assembly District as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

JOHN KELLY.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Twenty-second Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882,

MANUS O'CONNOR

Sic in the original; probably "in".

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman in the Twenty-third Assembly District, as the same existed on the first day of January, 1882.

WILBUR O. EASTLAKE.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman, Twenty-third Ward,

JAMES R. GARRISON.

ALDERMAN.

For Alderman, Twenty-fourth Ward,

JAMES F. SEERY.

[In?] the election on next Tuesday will end a political year the events of which must make the beginning of a new era and its ending suggests a retrospect. The year marks a very gratifying change in the fortunes of the new crusade for the emancipation of labor and the abolition of poverty. The work that has been done for the spreading of the light, and the combination and co-operation of many diverse agencies to effect the purpose, have been marvelous. I think I can see so clearly the work of a special providence of God, that I am emboldened to hope for a perfect victory within a few years where else I would despair of its achievement for generations. The difficulties in the way were great. Indifference, ignorance, selfishness, enlightened or unenlightened, the *vis inertiæ* of conservatism, the prejudice, misapprehension and misrepresentation of doctrines, purposes and motives, had all to be encountered and overcome. Too much praise can not be given to the wisdom and energy with which those who, in the mayoralty canvass of a year ago brought the great question cf[sic] the common ownership of natural bounties into the political arena, almost before the echoes of that great conflict had died out began with more perfect machinery and with multiplied agencies to organize the battle on the field, not merely of the city, but of the state and of the nation. The regular formation of the party in every disirict[27] of the city of New York, the establishment of the central land and labor committee. the work that it has done in evangelizing the country, the foundation and gratifying success of THE STANDARD, the happy inspiration of founding the Anti-poverty

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society, the Syracuse convention, the present vigorous canvass, have all been in perfect keeping with the method prescribed by the apostle of Christ for the propagation of Christianity: “Preach the gospel, in season and out of season.” The zeal for so doing with which thousands are moved, could only have been inspired by a great truth based upon natural religion, and appealing to the enthusiasm for justice and humanity.

With our cause, as with that of Christianity itself, the very opposition has but served to propagate the doctrine by the curiosity and interest excited, which have given us so much wider an advertisement and so much larger audience than without it we could have dared to hope for. The old history has repeated itself in the gathering in of new and heroic friends of the truth, and in the sloughing off of false and cowardly ones. And now, in so brief a time, we are permitted to enjoy not a little of the foretaste of victory in the unconscious or unwilling tributes that they are paying to us who believe that “nothing is so successful as success,” and who give evidences, by their changed attitude toward the cause, that we are going on, conquering and to conquer. Gratifying proof of this is to be found in the fact that now only a few of the most ignorant and blatant among bishops, priests or laymen dare

Sic in the original; probably “of”.
Sic in the original; probably “district”.

any longer to assert that the essential doctrine of the labor party and of the Anti-poverty society is contrary to the teachings of the Christian religion. All but the very stupid, or the wilfully blind, have been made to see the beautiful consonance of this doctrine with the very essence of religious truth—the fatherhood

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of God and the brotherhood of man. Perhaps the most strenuous opposition came in the beginning from some prelates of the Catholic church, because of the unfortunate, inconsiderate and hasty condemnation of the land league doctrine upon gross misinformation, by Cardinal Simeoni, who four years afterward acknowledged that he had never examined it. The discussion has given world-wide advertisement to the fact that the able, learned and pious Bishop Nulty of Meath, in Ireland, taught the doctrine of the new crusade in his now famous pamphlet just about the time that Mr. George was publishing his "Progress and Poverty." and that Cardinal Manning, after listening to Mr. George's exposition of his views, said to the latter that there was nothing in them contrary to the teachings of the Catholic church. And now we are informed that the learned Jesuit theologian, Cardinal Mazzella, having been deputed in Rome to examine Mr. George's works, has pronounced the same favorable judgment upon them. All this is very soothing to the delicate consciences of simple and uninstructed people who were pained and distracted by hearing from some teachers of religion that a doctrine commending itself so readily to their sense of justice and natural religion could in any way clash with revealed religion; and they will now be able to feel that in being good land reformers they may well be all the better Christians and the better Catholics. One of the most pleasing features of the year's history is that so many of the clergy, both Catholic and Protestant, have been compelled by the discussion to inquire, and upon inquiry have become enthusiastic believers.

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To-day no Protestant clergyman but a very bold, and self-sufficient one will have the presumption to pronounce unchristian a doctrine cherished as a part of their religion by so many pious and learned men of his brethren; and no Catholic clergyman, whether priest or prelate, will venture to condemn the doctrine of "the land for the people" as un-Catholic, unless he be one of those who, in their ignorance and pigheadedness, would be more orthodox than the church and more papal than the pope, and who will persist in teaching that excommunications are contagious, although the pope has for years been teaching that they are not. One of the surest omens of our speedy success is to be found just in this, that it is the clergy and religious men that—after they have understood the doctrine—are most potently attracted to it, and precisely because of the religion that is in it. Such being the case, the futile efforts of politicians and partisan journals to make it appear that the movement is hostile to, or antagonized by, religion, are becoming rather wearisome. Equally futile and much more irrelevant are the efforts to prejudice the labor party's cause by a discussion of what has been called my case. Surely, neither I nor any case of mine can rightly be made an issue in this campaign; but even if it were so, it would be an injustice both to me and to the cause to make this the occasion of stirring up religious prejudice, since, as I have over and over again protested, I believe no cause worthy of my enthusiasm that is not essentially a religious one. And in this matter, so far from sinning against religion, I was but fulfilling a religious duty of conscience by

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resisting an unjust demand of retractation of a doctrine that I knew to be true, that I knew had never been condemned, that, I was informed, had never even been examined by those who demanded the retractation, and that now, after examination, is not found in any respect contrary to Catholic teaching. It will be remembered that on the 16th of January last a telegram was sent by Cardinal Simeoni, ordering me to retract the doctrines I had taught concerning the equal rights of men to land or the natural opportunities of labor. To have obeyed his command would have been to sin against the, to me, known truth, and therefore against my own conscience, and therefore against God. Now, this demand for retractation of the doctrine is abandoned, and the great gain that comes to the cause in the relief [of?] the timid consciences of very many who are instinctively attracted to it is more than worth all that it cost. Least of all should any one make an issue in this campaign of that portion of my so-called case, which consists of the question about my going to Rome. Men should simply inquire: Are the

principles of the united labor party political and economic truths? And if they find them to be such they should feel bound to support them, even though they may disagree with me about a matter that is my business more than anybody else's, namely, my opinion that no power on earth has the right to forbid me to confer with and address my fellow citizens on our economic and political interests, provided I thereby neglect no duty of my priestly office, and teach nothing contrary to religion or morality; and that if I had committed an

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offence, I had a right to be tried for it on the spot, and before punishment; and that, being suspended and removed without a hearing, I was not bound to obey a summons to another tribunal five thousand miles away to which I had not appealed—a summons which I had never taken an obligation to obey, either as a priest or as a student of the propaganda. I may add that, in this view of my obligation, I am corroborated by many of the best priests and theologians I know. Although the doctrines of our party are not condemned and never can be by the Christian church, yet it is undeniable that a certain number of narrow minded, ignorant and autocratic ecclesiastics are opposed to the party and its doctrines, and are grossly abusing their position to deter people from our Anti-poverty society. Very many have been helped to preserve their religion, and not a few have been brought back to it, by learning to distinguish between the constitution, the lawful authority, the doctrines and the saeraments[sic] of the Christian church, and the passions, the prejudices, the ignorance, the blunders and the crimes of the human or machine side of the church. The failure to make this distinction clear has been time and again the ruin of religion, and such education as this is now particularly needful and helpful. Most unreasonable of all would it be to be influenced in a matter of so grave political and economic import to each and every one of the people by the wretched business of personal criminations and recriminations by mere calling names and imputing motives. I may say here, to relieve the annoyance of friends of our cause, that very many of the sayings and doings attributed continued on p. 6 →

Sic in the original; probably "sacraments".

	ALDERMAN, 1ST DISTRICT.	ASSEMBLY, 24TH DISTRICT.	ASSEMBLY, 23D DISTRICT.
ALDERMAN, 5TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 4TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 3D DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 2D DISTRICT.
ALDERMAN, 9TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 8TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 7TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 6TH DISTRICT.
ALDERMAN, 13TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 12TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 11TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 10TH DISTRICT.
ALDERMAN, 17TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 16TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 15TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 14TH DISTRICT.
ALDERMAN, 21ST DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 20TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 19TH DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 18TH DISTRICT.
ALDERMAN, 24TH WARD.	ALDERMAN, 23D WARD.	ALDERMAN, 23D DISTRICT.	ALDERMAN, 22D DISTRICT.

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← continued from p. 5 [illegible] me by newspaper gossip are pure fabrications, often ridiculously untrue, being the very reverse of the truth. Life is so short and precious that our friends should not expect us to take the time to correct and contradict the misstatements or falsehoods concerning ourselves that happen to come under our notice, while they may well believe that many of them escape our observation entirely. Reports of our speeches are often painfully inaccurate and misleading, but we need not wonder much at this since even what we have carefully written and caused to be printed is so frequently misquoted, not always through mere carelessness. Thus, misuse is made of the letter to Archbishop Corrigan, in which I accurately stated the main doctrine and purpose of our movement; the doctrine being that the private ownership of land, which gives to the so-called owner the unearned increment in value as distinct from all improvements, is against natural justice, because, as the very word implies, the increased value, being unearned by the owner, should not belong to him, but does belong to the community which produces it, and because the land was given in common to the human family by the Creator; and the purpose being to confiscate, not the land. but private property in land. by taking its rental value for the common use by changing the laws as speedily as we lawfully can I said in the same letter that this should be done "without one penny of compensation to the miscalled owners." because the admitting the right to compensation for the confiscated private property in land values would be vitiation of the whole doctrine, as was well said by Bishop Nulty in

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his criticism of a speech of Michael Davitt's, in which speech Davitt lapsed from the true doctrine upon which, in his better moments, he had taken his stand, into pothering about compensation in the shape of so many years' purchase. Thus, also, misuse is made of an article of mine in the *North American Review* for August, so that I am made to say that nuns become nuns in order to lead lives of idleness and pleasure; and I am, therefore, charged with "assailing" them. A reading of my article will show that what I did say was this:

> "Would it not be enough to make the elder know-notning[sic] bigots turn in their graves could they hear that vast sums aud[30] great public properties are thus turned over to irresponsible private and sectarian institutions, especially if they could learn that the priests, monks and nuns, whose institutions are thus benefited by the public, are but the more emboldened to denounce our schools and other public institutions, in language at times brutal, if not obscene, while indulging in unwarranted pharisaic glorification of their own institutions, and of themselves. The extraordinary zeal manifested for the getting up of these sectarian schools and institutions is, first of all, prompted by jealousy and rivalry of our public schools and institutions and by the desire to keep children and other beneficiaries from the latter, and, secondly, by the desire to make employment for and give comfortable homes to the rapidly increasing host of monks and nuns, who make so-called education and so-called charity their regular business, for which a very common experience shows that they have but little qualification beyond their professional stamp and garb."

Ignorance and want of training would unfit them for education and for nursing in hospitals and asylums, but would not necessarily make the life one of idleness and pleasure, but rather one of harder

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work and greater discomfort. In the portion quoted and the immediate contest[sic], I was simply arguing against the appropriation of money from the public treasury for the support of sectarian institutions.

EDWARD McGLYNN

The last two months have brought an answer to an important question, "What will the farmers say to a tax on the value of land?" Next week will probably give the answer more in detail, but we know already that the reiterated statements that the only supporters of the united labor party were the restless and discontented elements of our large cities, is entirely false. Those who have thought they heard in the clear and dignified appeals of our advocates the echo of the "*panem et circenses*," "bread and games," of the mob of imperial Rome may now lay aside that gratuitous supposition. And yet it is true that there are multitudes of men and women and children in this city for whom the triumph of our cause stands out as the one ground of hope that they may be delivered from conditions of life deadening and debasing to every God-given impulse toward purity and light. Many of these people do not recognize even this hope of relief from their misery. They have been crushed too long under the iron wheels of competition and monopoly, under rents that are always being raised and never being lowered, under long stretches of "financial depression," under the petty yet grinding exactions of great business houses, even to expect that any change short of a cataclysm will come. These are the "dwellers in tenement houses" about whom so much is said and written. I have not perhaps said or written more about them than many others, but the circumstances of life have made me a witness of their silent sufferings for years. No man can live in such surround-

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ings without asking himself: "What will the end be?" Remember, it is an increasing misery. Of all the many causes which contribute to their wretchedness, there is hardly one that is not growing steadily and surely. In spite of the beautiful figures of professional or amateur statisticians, the rents of rooms in tenement houses are increasing. Fifty cents a week is a small sum, perhaps, but it may mean substituting beer for meat two or three times a week. Competition is growing sharper, and firms must somehow outdo each other; what they lose in their prices they must recoup from the wages of their employes. That means more shop work in crowded attics, more making of bricks without straw, in modern parlance, "finding our own thread and things." The cost of food and of coal may, indeed, be getting lower on the average, but the violent fluctuations resulting from "corners" and "pools" produce

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Sic in the original; probably "know-nothing".
Sic in the original; probably "and".
Sic in the original; probably "context".

keen suffering among those who must live from hand to mouth, the results of which are often not removed even by the cheapness that follows. And then the distress of these people is an accumulated suffering. The burdens that fall upon the community through the robbery of public funds, bribery, extortion, municipal corruption—these burdens fall in the last instance upon the people who have neither the wit nor the opportunity to shift the weight upon other shoulders. The great landlord, feeling the pressure, transfers it to the real estate office, the office to its agents, the agents to the house keepers, and they to the tenants, but there it must stop. and there the crushing weight of injustice must fall. "The destruction of the poor is their poverty." And what is to be the remedy? Model tenement houses and parks for the people only push the evil deeper down into the back alleys and basements. Soup kitchens and free dispensaries and all the vast machinery of charitable endeavors only delay a little

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longer the day of reckoning, when people will ask not, "What will you give us to keep us from starving?" but, "Why must we starve with the wealth of the world at our doors?" Even churches and schools are but lifting an individual here and there, while the mass is drifting on to the time when the cry of a disinherited people will drown the voice of the teacher and the priest.

What remedy have we to suggest?

Simply this—that opportunity be given to all men to apply their labor to the natural sources of wealth, to land, mines, streams. And this not by any arbitrary redistribution of these elements, but simply by shifting the taxes so that they will render the holding of land in idleness against all comers unprofitable and foolish. To this remedy there is indeed a ready and cheap answer: "Tenement house people neither have the ability nor wish to become farmers." Quite true. We will go farther. An increasing number of farmers have neither the ability nor wish to continue farmers, and are therefore pressing into the city to live, eventually, most of them, in tenement houses. But the laying of a tax on land values and the taking off taxes from production, together with the control of railroads by the government, will bring back the day when men could till the soil and still be something more than drudges or slaves. This will at least check the steady drift toward the city, increasing to a rush at every widespread strike or other financial calamity, of thousands of men discouraged by the hard struggle for life in country districts under the burdens of our present tax system. But then, too, there are thousands of men who have already come to the neighborhood of cities, and who are competing with operatives in factories and shops, raising rents and lowering wages, who would gladly support themselves and their families on the land. But these people cannot become cultivators of the soil without becoming also wealth produc-

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ers. With their increased power of production will come the desire for further consumption; they will want better houses, better tools, more books and pictures and music. With this increased demand business will revive, factories now closed will be opened, new buildings will be put up, wages will rise, and a way will be opened for hundreds of thousands of crushed and darkened lives to develop in the freedom of God's air and the glory of His sunlight.

JAMES O. S. HUNTINGTON,

Sup. O. H. C.

A Presbyterian Clergyman's Testimony.

Rev. William McKittrick, pastor of Hope Presbyterian chapel, in Fourth street, is an active worker for the cause cf the united labor party. In conversation with a STANDARD representative on Monday last, Mr. McKittrick said: 'I

have made two speeches during the campaign for the labor candidates, and I shall speak again. I have taken an active part in politics this year for the first time. Hitherto I have been trying to vote for the best candidates, seeing but little difference in the principles of the old parties, though my sympathies were with the democratic party. During the past year the action of the New York democracy with respect to high license has been disgraceful. While I do not believe in prohibition, I sympathize strongly with the temperance movement, and when I saw that there was not one democrat at the state capital last winter to lift his voice for temperance, I regarded the party as stultifying itself.

"I have been looking aronnd[sic] for a party with a principle. I have found one where my sympathies are strong—among the working people. Its principles commend themselves to every honest. conscientious Christian man. The nominations of the party, so far as I can see, have been unbought and unsolicited. The party is attracting thousands of young men who think for themselves and expect to succeed through their own efforts. The motives of the party are of the highest, and whether it succeeds in one, ten or twenty years, its purposes appeal to all honest men, and should be promoted by their suffrages."

Sic in the original; probably "around".

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ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN'S MISTAKE.

The attitude of some of the authorities of the Roman Catholic church in this country toward the great land and labor movement and its prominent leaders is one of vital interest to every citizen, non-Catholic as well as Catholic. For if there is to be in this country a power distinct from the general body of citizens, dictating political policies, with a large contingent of followers whose votes can be controlled at the will of a few intriguers, then such an organization is a standing menace to our liberties, and such methods should be resisted by all true Americans for the sake of those liberties, and by all true Catholics for the sake of religion. Hence the discussion of this subject in the public press and in secular magazines and reviews becomes most timely and appropriate.

Already the spectacle has been presented of political circulars, opposed to a certain candidate, being distributed at the doors of Catholic churches in New York city—a species of intimidation which, if practiced by some railroad king or large manufacturer, might have landed him in Sing Sing, or which, if exercised in the south and against the negro, would have caused the whole land to ring with the outrage. And an archbishop has brought about the suspension of a priest who has dared to differ from him and to express certain opinions concerning the ownership of land which had never been condemned by the church. And a score of lesser ecclesiastical lights, by sermons from the pulpit and by articles published in the Catholic press of this country, have been constantly misrepresenting these opinions and endeavoring to blacken the reputation of their author. And other prelates who believe in the truth of these opinions, and in private laugh at the puerile arguments of their opponents, do not dare in public to say one word against them, because, forsooth, etiquette forbids their interference in the affairs of another diocese. It is astonishing with what ease Archbishop Corrigan and his small clique have apparently arrayed the whole power of the Catholic church in opposition to the united labor party and its platform of land taxation. It would be dangerous if they were able to sway Catholic voters with similar ease. Fortunately American Catholics know better than to take their politics from Rome, and, while remaining devout sons of the church, will resist with all their energy any attempt to infringe upon their political liberties.

No Catholic will deny that the church has a right to interfere in politics when politics overstep their natural limits and interfere with religion. If, for instance, the Mormons should ever become powerful enough in this country to form a strong political party advocating compulsory polygamy, the church would have a right to condemn such teachings as opposed to Christian morality, and her children would not need any pamphlets distributed at church doors to show them the advisability of voting against such pernicious doctrines. Or if the prohibitionists should ever attempt to prevent the use of wine in the sacrifice of the mass they would find all good Catholics united against them. Or if any party should advocate the taking away without proper compensation of the exclusive possession and use of land from those who have a right to its exclusive possession and use, the church authorities would undoubtedly be justified in pointing out the moral wrong.

Something in the nature of this last proposition was evidently in the mind of Archbishop Corrigan when he issued his famous pastoral letter. Those who know him will not doubt his sincerity in condemning what he believed to be the doctrines of Henry George, but they will regret the readiness with which he lent his ear to a

misrepresentation of these doctrines without explaining them himself. For Archbishop Corrigan has never uttered one word in condemnation of what Henry George's doctrines really are. The very reverse is true. From the premises laid down in his pastoral letter Henry George's conclusions logically and irresistibly follow. It was not Archbishop Corrigan's piety or sincerity that was at fault, but his want of perception of the full nature of the doctrines which he thought he was condemning. The writer proposes to show this from Archbishop Corrigan's own words. If his words are sincere, as nearly every one will acknowledge, then he has labored under a consistent misapprehension of the doctrine from the beginning, a misapprehension which made him an easy tool of politicians, which led to a similar misapprehension at Rome and the excommunication of Dr. McGlynn, and which has been the occasion of subsequent scandals and the deplorable evils that afflict the Catholic church in America.

An intimate acquaintance with the leaders of the new crusade and a similar acquaintance with the ecclesiastical gentlemen who have attempted to thwart that movement places the writer in the peculiarly fortunate position of being able to clearly discern the amount of what astronomers would call the "personal equation" involved in the controversy and to eliminate it from the problem. It is unfortunately true that there has been an immense amount of personal equation in this matter which has befogged the real issue. Proof of this is shown in the fact that when the same question came up five years ago before Cardinal McCloskey, that wise and farseeing prelate refused to condemn the land taxation theory, and that he has since been dubbed "weak" by the mistaken opponents of the theory.

It is the object of the writer to try to make clear the exact misapprehension under which Archbishop Corrigan labored when he condemned what he thought were the doctrines of Henry George, to show that what he meant to condemn is in reality condemnable, and, finally, to examine some of the other arguments brought forward by Catholic writers. In this endeavor it will be useful to recall the exact words of the different parties to the controversy. They can best speak for themselves. The extracts giving Mr. George's teachings are from "Progress and Poverty," chiefly the seventh book. Archbishop Corrigan's views are taken from his pastoral letter, various articles given to the press, and from sermons. It will be seen that Archbishop Corrigan and Henry George take the same starting point and condemn the same error. The former insists upon exclusive possession of land while not really touching the question of ownership, the latter denounces private ownership of land while upholding exclusive possession just as strongly as Archbishop Corrigan. An incorrect use of the word "own" in the sense of "exclusive possession" has led many to think that the archbishop intended to condemn the teachings of Mr. George. As he has taken no steps to remove this impression, but in public and in private has tried rather to strengthen it, it is fair to assume that he did so intend. But if the meaning of his words be taken in the sense in which they are used, there is nothing whatever in them against the new doctrine. His course would lead one unacquainted with his zeal and sincerity to think that he had purposely used words and expressions intended to make the vast majority of his hearers think he was condemning Henry George, while in reality he

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was only affirming the same teachings in less exact terms. Fortunately his misapprehension can be shown from his own words.

In his pastoral letter issued last November, he says:

> Undoubtedly God made the earth for the use of all mankind; but whether the possession thereof was to be in common or by individual ownership, was left for reason to determine. Such determination, judging from the facts of history, the sanction of law, from the teachings of the wisest and the actions of the best and bravest of mankind, has been, and is, that man can by lawful acts become possessed of the right of ownership in property, and not merely in its use. The reason is because a man is strictly entitled to that of which he is the producing cause to the improvement he brings about in it and the enjoyment of both.

It will be noticed by the careful reader that in the first sentence only does the archbishop refer to land. In the second he speaks of the "ownership of property," and in the third lays down the law that a man is entitled to that which he produces. If "God made the earth for the use of all mankind," then the exclusion of any individual from the right to such use is an injustice. "Whether the possession thereof was to be in common or by individual ownership was left for reason to determine" is misleading; "in common or by individual holdings" would express the idea much more clearly and prevent the confusion which evidently existed in the archbishop's mind between "ownership" and possession. "Such determination is that man can become possessed of the right of ownership in property and not merely in its use." Very true, if by "property" is meant anything produced by man, for "a man is strictly entitled to that of which he is the producing cause." And there is no evidence anywhere that he is entitled to own anything else.

Turn the passage quoted backward and this meaning will become apparent:

"A man is strictly entitled to that of which he is the producing cause, to the improvement he brings about in it, and the enjoyment of both." Therefore "man can, by lawful acts, become possessed of the right of ownership in property" (that of which he is the producing cause) "and not merely in its use."

In order to own property man may have rightful and exclusive possession of that part of the earth on which it is situated or whence he produced it. "The possession thereof" is not "to be in common," for that would destroy the security of the owner's property in the fruits of his toil. The ownership of land is not necessary, provided it is held in individual possession and not in common or tribal possession. That this is the archbishop's meaning is clear from the next sentence in the pastoral:

> But it is clear that in a farm, for instance, which one has by patient toil improved in value; in a block of marble out of which one has chiselled a perfect statue, he cannot fully enjoy the improvement he has caused unless he have also the right to own the object thus improved.

If the archbishop had said "unless he have also the right to the exclusive possession of the object thus improved," he would have expressed the same truth in more accurate language, for here, too, is plainly shown the confusion of "ownership" and "possession." The archbishop is arguing for the ownership of whatever man has produced, and hence for individual possession of land as necessary to the ownership of products. He says that man "has a strict right, and evil are the laws and systems which ignore it—either to ownership and enjoyment or to a full compensation"—for what?—"for the improvement which is his."

Now, this right of man to ownership of what he produces is precisely the same as that laid down by Mr. Henry George, who says in "Progress and Poverty:"

> What constitutes the rightful basis of property? Is it not primarily the right of a man to himself, to the use of his own powers, to the enjoyment of the fruits of his own exertions? As a man belongs to himself, so his labor when put in concrete form, belongs to him. There can be to the ownership of anything no rightful title which is not derived from the title of the producer, and does not rest upon the natural right of the man to himself.

> Nature acknowledges no ownership or control in man save as the result of exertion. She knows no distinction between master and slave, king and subject, saint and sinner. All men to her stand upon an equal footing and have equal rights. The sun shines and the rain falls, alike upon the just and the unjust. The laws of nature are the decrees of the Creator. There is written in them no recognition of any right save that of labor; and in them is written broadly and clearly the equal right of all men to the use and enjoyment of nature; to apply to her by their exertions, and to receive and possess her reward.

Then Mr. George lays down his land theory:

> The equal right of all men to the use of land is as clear as their equal right to breathe the air—it is a right proclaimed by the fact of their existence. For we cannot suppose that some men have a right to be in this world and others no right. If we are all here by the equal permission of the Creator, we are all here with an equal title to the enjoyment of His bounty—with an equal right to the use of all that nature so impartially offers. This is a right which is natural and inalienable; it is a right which vests in every human being as he enters the world, and which during his continuance in the world can be limited only by the equal rights of others. The Almighty, who created the earth for man, and man for the earth, has entailed it upon all the generations of the children of men by a decree written upon the constitution of all things—a decree which no human action can bar and no prescription determine. The widespreading social evils which everywhere oppress men amid advancing civilization spring from a vast primary wrong—the appropriation, as the exclusive property of some men, of the land on which and from which all must live.

Archbishop Corrigan admits that "God made the earth for the use of all mankind," but condemned the theory that "the possession thereof was to be in common." This is exactly Mr. George's position. He says:

> As every man has a right to the use and enjoyment of nature, the man who is using land must be permitted the exclusive right to its use in order that he may get the full benefit of his labor.

The archbishop evidently saw no half way between the tribal possession of land, like that of the American Indians, for instance, and "ownership." He says:

Once deny the right of ownership and you sow the seed of stagnation in human enterprise.

But the "ownership" for which he contends is not real ownership, but such exclusive possession as would secure to the possessor the enjoyment of that of which he was the producing cause. Any one who reads the pastoral carefully will see that his words, though incorrect and badly chosen, clearly intimate the intention of condemning tribal possession of land. Can the rights of the individual be secured without this actual possession in common of the land? Mr. George says they can, and shows the way:

> There is no difficulty in determining where the individual right ends and the common right begins. A delicate and exact test is supplied by value, and with its aid there is no difficulty, no matter how dense population may become, in determining and securing the exact rights of each, the equal rights of all. The value of land is the price of monopoly. It expresses in exact and tangible form the right of the community in land held by an individual; and rent expresses the exact amount which the individual should pay to the community to satisfy the equal rights of all other members of the community. Thus, if

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> we concede to priority of possession the undisturbed use of land, confiscating rent for the benefit of the community, we reconcile the fixity of tenure which is necessary for improvement with a full and complete recognition of the equal rights of all to the use of land.

> We already take some rent in taxation. We have only to make some changes in our modes of taxation to take it all. Now, inasmuch as the taxation of rent, or land values, must necessarily be increased just as we abolish other taxes, we may put the proposition into practical form by proposing to abolish all taxation save that upon land values.

Archbishop Corrigan asks:

> Who would burrow the earth to draw forth its buried treasures if the very mine he was working was at the mercy of the passerby whom its riches might attract? Who would watch with eagerness the season when to sow and to reap and to gather the harvest, which is the very fruit of his labors, if he is told that those who stand by the wayside idle are equally entitled to its enjoyment?

Long before, Henry George had answered these questions in "Progress and Poverty:"

> Give a man security that he may reap, and he will sow; assure him of the possession of the house he wants to build, and he will build it. It is for the sake of the reaping that men sow; it is for the sake of possessing houses that men build. The ownership of land has nothing to do with it.

Of course if one man could squat on another's land and reap the harvest he had sown it would be rank injustice. Yet this is actually the curious idea that Archbishop Corrigan had of Mr. George's theory. He thought that Mr. George in proposing to abolish private ownership of land meant to re-establish a common possession like that of the Indian tribes. This can not only be inferred from the whole sense of his pastoral, but he has stated so unequivocally. On the occasion of his pastoral visit to the Church of the Sacred Heart on May 16, he referred to his controversy with Dr. McGlynn in a sermon which is thus reported in the New York *Heruld*[sic]*:*

> The land theory advocated by Mr. George and Dr. McGlynn the archbishop declared to be a "mistake and a fallacy." It is not right nor is it reasonable, he argued, that land should be free throughout the world. Every one born into the world has a right to live, but he has no right to his neighbor's possessions. The Indians long ago owned all the land in this country in common, but what was the consequence? Were they any happier or more prosperous than those who came after them? There were times when they suffered and perished miserably from famine, war and other causes. They were a poor people, and had nothing to fall back upon in times of distress, and now they are nearly exterminated.

Can language more plainly show the misconception under which Archbishop Corrigan labored? The basis of all our progress and civilization is the individual possession of land; it is the great incentive to energy and enterprise. It constitutes the difference between wandering tribes and our enlightened and refined communities. Does any one wonder that when the archbishop found a man who, he thought, was advocating the abolition of such individual possession, he hastened to point out what he thought was wrong? Neither Archbishop Corrigan nor Monsignor Preston, who is undoubtedly the chief adviser of the archbishop and the real head of the diocese, had read the books they sought to condemn. Mr. George's works were handed to a committee of theologians who, with microscopic particularity, picked out sentences which, taken apart from the context, might be interpreted as tending to deny the right of individual possession of land, and these were condemned.

The pastoral letter was issued on Nov. 20, 1886. The sermon already quoted was preached on May 16 last. There had been no change in bet[sic] archbishop's view of the question. He had no clearer idea of Mr. George's theory on the latter date than on the former. Between those two dates he wrote a letter to Pope Leo XIII. That letter was dated April 2. Its contents have never been published. But if the archbishop was sincere, as few will doubt, he must have communicated to the pope the same misapprehension of the land theory that he was constantly laboring under, as shown by his writings and speeches in New York. He must have told the pope that there was a priest in his diocese who wished to overturn the rights of property—one who held that individual "ownership" of land was wrong, and who intended to establish a communistic possession of land, so that no one could have a piece of ground he might call his own. He had already warned this priest against the dangers of this form of "socialism," but his words were of no avail. Now he left the case to the unerring judgment of the sovereign pontiff. One can

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

fancy the pope receiving such a letter from the archbishop of the metropolis of the western world, the successor of the venerated Cardinal McCloskey. How his heart must have warmed toward such a fearless denouncer of error! Pope Leo replies:

> Your letter, dated the 2d day of April last, has reached us, in which you lament the contumacious disobedience of a priest, one of your subjects, not only toward yourself, but also toward this apostolic see, and anxiously seek to bring before the supreme tribunal of our authority the false doctrines concerning the rights of property disseminated by him among the people in newspapers and public assemblies. We, therefore, moved by these, your words, expressed to us with just grief of heart and in the conscientious discharge of duty, have accurately considered the whole series of facts from the beginning, and have especially seen with commendation your firmness joined with signal charity. . . . It is, indeed, grateful to us, and approved by us, that you have labored to crush ere they sprang up, the various seeds of doctrines scattered under pretext of helping the masses.

"Moved by these, your words," furnishes the key to the situation. Moved by this wretched misconception of the archbishop, Pope Leo ordered Dr. McGlynn to Rome within forty days under pain of excommunication. The order of the propaganda, directing Dr. McGlynn to retract his land theories, was still in force, and Monsignor Preston, for the occasion assuming infallibility, had said: "He must retract his land theories or leave the church." Dr. McGlynn, determined never to retract the theories which he saw had been misconceived and misrepresented, refused to go to Rome, and his excommunication followed, an excommunication founded on a glaring misconception, and one which so learned a canonist as Dr. Burtsell considered of no binding force whatever. Monsignor Preston and Archbishop Corrigan had triumphed at the expense of making excommunication in the eyes of many Catholics seem ridiculous.

How much better would it have been if the pope had taken the hint of Cardinal Gibbons in his plea for the Knights of Labor:

> In one word, we have seen quite recently the sad and threatening confusion caused by the condemnation inflicted by an archbishop upon a single priest in vindication of discipline—a condemnation which the archbishop believed to be just and necessary, but which fell upon a priest who was regarded as a friend of the people. Now, if the consequences have been so deplorable for the peace of the church from the condemnation of only one priest because he was regarded as a friend of the people, what will not be the consequences to be feared from a condemnation which would fall directly upon the people themselves in the exercise of that which they consider their legitimate right?

That paragraph, by the way, was omitted in the *Moniteur de Rome*, the official organ of the vatican, and was omitted with many other significant paragraphs from the garbled

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translation sent from Rome to the American press. Only one Catholic paper picked it out of the French text published in the *Herald*, and it is now given to the general public in English for the first time.

There are two views by Catholic theologians regarding individual possession of land. One school, represented by Monsignor De Concilio, holds that the right of man to individual possession of land is derived from his natural right to life, and inalienable. Unfortunately, Monsignor De Concilio makes no distinction between ownership and exclusive possession. In fact, he confounds the two, and has written a pamphlet against Mr. George's theories, starting from this confusion of ideas as a basis. The Rev. Edward A. Higgins, S. J., of Cincinnati, takes the same view. He says: "In this consists the right of ownership, namely, so to possess, hold and use a thing as to exclude others from it." This is a frank confession, but it is not ownership when applied to land. Land ownership includes

not only the possession, holding and use of land, so as to exclude others from it, but also the ownership of the greater part of the increasing value of land derived from the growth of the community. Only part of this value which the commuity[sic] produces is now taken in taxation. Mr. George proposes to take it all because it all rightfully belongs to the community, leaving to the individual the possession, holding and use while destroying his real ownership of the land.

An article appeared in the *Catholic World* for April, entitled "Where Henry George Stumbled." The author, Rev. J. Talbot Smith, thinks he has found a better basis of property than that laid down by Archbishop Corrigan and Henry George, the right of the laborer to the fruits of his toil. He lays down his principle in this dictum: "The basis of ownership is the right of a man to life," and says:

> Our reasoning may take this shape:
>
> That is the true principle of ownership which accounts for all ownerships;
>
> A man's right to life is a principle which accounts for them all;
>
> Therefore man's right to life is the true principle of ownership.
>
> Deduced from Mr. George's reasoning is the axiom: A man can own exclusively only what he produces.
>
> Deduced from our reasoning is the axiom, a man can own exclusively all things necessary to life.

The whole of this reasoning may be admitted without infringing upon the truth of the land theory. Granted that a man can own exclusively all things necessary to life.

Now, what is necessary to life?

The *use* of land and the ownership of products.

Therefore a man has a right to the exclusive ownership of so much of the usufruct of land as is necessary to the support of his life.

This is precisely what Henry George contends. And this is precisely what the present system deprives men of, inasmuch as it is notorious that the large majority of mankind are refused any part of ownership in the usufruct of land.

It is this confusion of thought between use and ownership, exclusive of use, which has caused most of the trouble among those Catholics who do not think deeply. It is the ownership without use, the extortion of the fruits of the labor of those who till the soil by others who assume to own it and do not till it, but obtain a monopoly price for it, which, in the opinion of Mr. George, causes poverty. He holds that by a destruction of this monstrous monopoly of private ownership of land, which includes the "unearned increment," the chief cause of poverty will be removed and natural resources opened to the sons of men.

The other school of Catholic theologians, represented by the Paulist fathers of New York, hold that individual possession of land is not a natural right, but one derived from the state. The state having once granted this right of individual possession cannot take it away. This no one will contest. But they also hold that the state, having once allowed a man to invest his money in land, has no right to take away the unearned increment or value from him by taxing it out of existence without compensation. But the claim of injustice falls to the ground before the

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Sic in the original; probably "community".

simple fact that land is always bought and sold subject to taxation, that the greater or less amount of taxation is a matter of state control, that the taxation. in fact. increases with the growth of the community, though it does not increase as fast as the rental values increase, and finally the state reserves to itself the right to take the full rental value in taxation at any time, and this is an understanding in all purchases and sales of real estate. And people are not compensated for paying their taxes. Of course, as the taxes rise the price of land will diminish until the taking of the full rental value will entirely extinguish the unearned increment, and, lands being transferred from one party to another in the meantime, the losses will be so distributed that no one will feel them much during the course of years necessary to complete the reform. It will act toward land holders precisely as the gradual abolition of slavery in Brazil acts toward slave holders.

These arguments sum up all the attacks that the writer has been able to find among Catholic thinkers against the land theory. They tell unanswerably in favor of private possession of land, but do not touch the question of ownership.

Is the church likely to take any action on the question? No; that would hardly be consistent with her uniform practice. She does not affirm political systems. She confines herself to condemning errors. The only action that could be taken would be to follow the lines of Archbishop Corrigan's pastoral letter, choosing more accurate language and avoiding his misconceptions. For what he wished to condemn is, in reality, condemnable. What he intended to denounce was the abolition of individual possession of land, the "cause of civilization," as Mr. George calls it. For if there were no individual possession there would be no security that the laborer would receive the fruits of his toil. Such a state of things would be socialism. And the church has always denounced socialism.

Pope Leo, in his famous encyclical of Dec. 28, 1878, said:

> You understand, venerable brethren, that we allude to that sect of men who call themselves by various and almost barbarous titles —socialists, communists and nihilists—and who, scattered all over the world, closely bound together in an unholy league. are no longer satisfied with working in secret, but boldly come forth into the light with the determination to uproot the foundation of society. . . . Seduced by the lust of earthly goods, which is the "root of all evil," and through the coveting of which "many have erred from the faith," they assail the right of property sanctioned by the natural law, and under the pretense of supplying the wants of men and satisfying their lustful desires, they aim at making a common spoil of whatever has been legitimately acquired by inheritance, by skill, industry or economy.

Socialism is contrary to natural justice. Mr. George, in trying to abolish ownership of land and open natural opportunities to the equal right of all is striving to assert more emphatically than ever before man's right to "whatever has been legitimately acquired by inheritance, by skill, industry or economy." The wild denunciation and vituperation of Mr. George by the socialists themselves ought to convince the dullest intellect that he is not a socialist. "The Catholic church is not opposed to the present labor movement or Mr. Henry

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George unless they fall into socialism," said Cardinal Manning to a *World* correspondent last December, and that expressed the whole controversy.

There was a memorable interview between Mr. George and the cardinal some years ago. In a letter to the writer of this article last December, Cardinal Manning said:

> Thinking that between Mr. Henry George and myself there might not be a common ground on which to meet, I began oy[sic] saying: "Before we go further, let me know whether we are in agreement upon one vital

Sic in the original; probably "by".

> principle. I believe that the law of property is founded on the law of nature, that it is sanctioned in revelation, declared in the Christian law, taught by the Catholic church, and incorporated in the civilization of all nations. Therefore, unless we are in agreement upon this, which lies at the foundation of society, I am afraid we cannot approach each other."

> I understood Mr. George to say that he did not deny this principle: that his contention is mainly, if not only, on the intolerable evils resulting from an exaggeration of the law of property. I understood him to mean the old *dictum summum jus, summa injuria.* He added that the present separation and opposition of the rich and poor were perilous to society, and that he saw no remedy for them but in the example and teachings of Christ.

Mr. George, in a letter to the writer concerning the same conversation, said:

> I assured the cardinal that men like myself, who sought so to change human law as to secure to every child born into the world his equal share in what the Creator had manifestly intended for all, were not destructives, were not deniers of the just rights of property, and were not irreligious in their spirit; and I complained to him of the efforts which were being made in some quarters to place the ban of religion upon our doctrines.

> At the conclusion of a long and frank conversation, the cardinal said to me that, while he could not say that he agreed with me or not as to the proper treatment of land by society, since he had not yet sufficiently examined the question, he *could* say that there was in the doctrines I had advanced nothing whatever which was condemned by the Catholic church and which a good Catholic could not hold.

Bishop Nulty of the diocese of Meath, in Ireland, as is well known, teaches the same doctrines as Henry George without one word of reproof, and his letter to the clergy of his diocese is now being circulated as a campaign document by the land and labor party here.

These extracts ought to set clearly before all the attitude of the Catholic church to the

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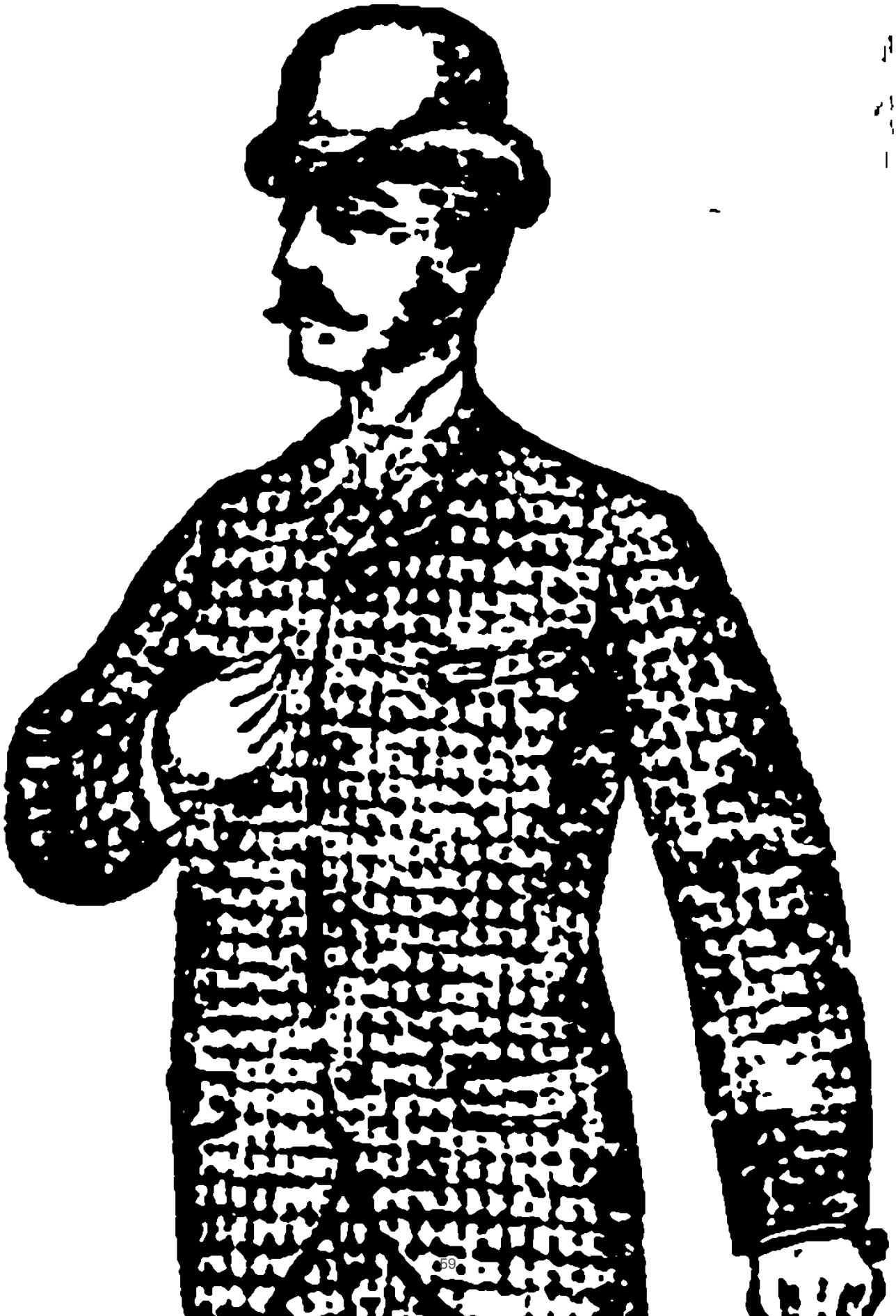

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labor movement. There will be no condemnation of its principles. There may be a reassertion of the Catholic doctrine of the rights of property as opposed to socialism. Here and there some mistaken prelate, who only half sees the truth, may attempt to thwart the movement, or even interfere in behalf of the old political parties. But all such interference, in the minds of all right thinking men, will be laid to the blame of the individuals themselves and not to the church. There is not the slightest danger that the Roman Catholic church will attempt to subvert the liberties of the American people. She could not do so if she wished; for the educated, freedom loving laity of the Catholic church in America would resent such dictation.

Protestants need not fear the erection of a Spanish inquisition under the free air of America. The writer, born a Catholic and hoping to die one, deplores in common with many thousands of his Catholic fellow citizens the sad evils brought upon the harmony of the church through over zealous prelates. If he shall have succeeded in making clear that Monsignor Preston and Archbishop Corrigan are not the church, that they were acting sincerely, though from a mistaken sense of what they were condemning, and that the Catholic laity are not by any means likely to allow interference with their political liberties, this article will not have been written in vain.

The memory of the events of the past year will be likely to bring a sore feeling to the hearts of Catholics for many a generation. It is not likely that the wrong will be repaired. Bishops do not apologize; that is, as a general rule. And Pope Leo, great as he is, is not likely to so rise above the respect for authority, above the sense of discipline, as to right the wrong at its source and order the reinstatement of Dr. McGlynn. Archbishop Corrigan has openly threatened to resign if he did so. But if Dr. McGlynn continues to advocate the principles which he upholds so eloquently, and these principles should finally become the law of the state, the very authorities who condemned Dr. Mc- Glynn would gracefully submit, and every Catholic could with truth say:

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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

Sic in the original; probably "distribution".

leave to the producer the full fruits of his exertion and by the taxation of land values, exclusive of improvements, 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.

AN ADDRESS

To the People of New York of all Political Parties.

Relying on your honor and sense of justice, the united labor party asks you to record your verdict at the polls upon the partisan iniquity and perversion of law by which it has been swindled out of its inspectors of election. The case may easily be understood from the following plain statement of facts:

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. 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, Henry George nominated for mayor, and an executive committee appointed, a call was issued to the people generally to join in the movement. A public meeting was then held at Chickering hall, 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.

At the election on Nov. 8, 1886, more than [68,000?] votes were counted for the labor candidate by inspectors selected by political adversaries. In the course of time it became evident that by no means all the votes cast for him had been counted, there being no labor party watchers at many of the polling places, and attempts at a fraudulent count being detected where there were watchers.

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 ororganization 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 inspectors of election, who might protect the party in the future from the frauds by which it had suffered at the previous election. Members of the subcommittee, Frederick C. Leubuscher and Abner C. Thomas (both now candidates on the united labor county ticket), drafted the bill now [known?] as the fifth [inspector?] of elections law. Mr. Leubuscher appeared before

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the judiciary committee of the assembly, and, stating that he was secretary of the legislative committee of the united labor party, advocated the passage of the bill. After its passage by the legislature, Mr. Leubuscher, Mr. Thomas and Augustus A. Levey called on Governor Hill and urged him to sign the bill. By the legislature, the governor and the state press in general, it was admitted that the purpose of the bill was to afford protection at the polls to the united labor party. The act, as passed, required the police board, in case it held that a 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.

In the following summer, long after the adjournment of the legislature, the New York Sun, in one of its fantastic editorials, 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. But, confident that the intent of the law was plain to every citizen of New York who knew the circumstances of its passage, the various assembly districts of the united labor party selected members to act as inspectors.

On Aug. 19, 1887, at a state convention held at Syracuse, Henry George was again selected as the standard bearer of the united labor party, supporting a platform precisely the same as that adopted at Clarendon hall the year before. This convention excluded members of the socialistic labor party from membership in the united labor party, and declared against what is commonly known as state socialism.

Later, 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 pretending that their insignificant faction really comprised the 68,000 voters who cast their ballots for Henry George, claimed that the law had been enacted for their benefit, and selected one of the democratic police commissioners to name their inspectors. Meantime the Irving hall faction had selected another democratic police comsioner to make its appointments. John McMackin, as chairman, and John N. Bogert, as secretary, of the county committee of the united labor party, in accordance with the law, selected a police commissioner to nominate the fifth inspector.

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 taken into the courts, they being asked to command the board of police commissioners to perform their obvious duty.

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 newly organized progressive labor party that it was that party, and not the united labor party, that cast 68,000 votes for Henry George last November. The supreme court and the court of appeals have finally decided that the question of fact thus raised must be determined before the courts can apply the law. The final action of these courts was only reached on Tuesday, Oct. 25. and it is now too late to have a trial of the issues of fact and an approval of the fifth inspectors before election day. It will be observed that the decision of the courts is, not that the united labor party shall not have the fifth inspector, but merely that the question as to what party polled the 50,000 votes must be settled before the inspectors can be approved.

Meanwhile the case has been on trial before the court of public opinion. There has been but one decision arrived at wherever fair consideration has been given the matter. The following quotations from the press indicate the general feeling: From the *Real Estate Record and Guide* (ind.): "The legislature clearly intended that those who voted for Henry George for mayor should have an inspector." Brooklyn *Times* (rep.): "Every sane man knows that the party referred to was the united labor party." Albany *Journal* (rep.): "The conspiracy to rob the workingmen of New York of their inspectors of election seems to have succeeded." New York *World* (dem.): "It is notorious from the debates in the legislature that it was the intention of the law that the additional inspectors should be accorded to that (the united labor) party."

Moreover, E. Ellery Anderson, one of the counsel opposing the united labor party, admitted in private to counsel for the latter that it was the party to which the legislature meant to give the inspectors. The attitude of the democratic police commissioners has been that of men fully aware that they were playing with the law. Among politicians the question as raised has been regarded simply as a means, fair or foul, of flooring an opponent. No honest man has believed but that the slow machinery of the law has been invoked by a trick.

With these facts before them, the citizens of New York are asked whether or not the united labor party is entitled to the inspectors of election by the plain letter of the law and by the clearly expressed purpose of the law-making body. Should not the conduct of the democratic police commissioners, Fitz-John Porter and John R. Voorhis, meet with a scathing rebuke at the hands of the voters of the city? Ought not that rebuke extend to the shameless trading politicians who are at their back?

A party that polled more than one-third of the votes cast last year, and that confidently expects an increased vote at the coming election, must send its voters before the 812 election boards of the city on election day to deposit their votes in the hands of 3,248 inspectors, not one of whom is placed there to guard its interests. Is not this a violation of fair play? Is not the way paved for fraud in the count? Other facts go far to show that this is the case. Already, from police headquarters the Associated press has been notified that the police will not, for the first time in fifteen years, supply that agency of news with the returns from the polling places simultaneously with the

handing in of the inspectors' official reports to the police department. Is there not design in thus arranging for certain delay in making the election returns public? Is it not a plan to perpetrate fraud beyond precedent or parallel? A false count is to be a fitting climax to the disgraceful course followed by the tricksters who have cheated the people out of their constitutional convention, resorted to petty persecution so as to prevent money being raised to carry on their campaign, and deprived them of their inspectors.

The dishonest and high-handed course pursued by its opponents has but roused the united labor party to greater caution and more active exertion. The party believes it will poll at the coming election more than a plurality of the votes cast. The people of New York are asked to make that plurality so large that it will prevail over trickery and fraud. The united labor party offers to them an opportunity to promote the common good, to declare that the purity of the ballot must be preserved, to ruin the conspirators who have nullified the law, and to restore to the people the powers usurped by bargaining politicians.

By order of the county general committee, united labor party.

> FREDERICK C. LEUBUSCHER,
> H. O. COLE,
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Less 4 wet days at $1.50..... 6 00
Net earnings for a month..... $33 00

During December, January, February and March I have nothing to do, outdoor work

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having mostly stopped. My year's income is, therefore, eight months at $33—$264, which is a weekly wage of $5.08.

My house rent costs me $2 a week. After paying this I have left just $3.08 a week out of which to provide my family with food, clothing, fuel, light, medical attendance, recreation, and education.

I don't believe God meant me to live this way, and I am going to say so by voting the united labor party's ticket.

A. G. S.

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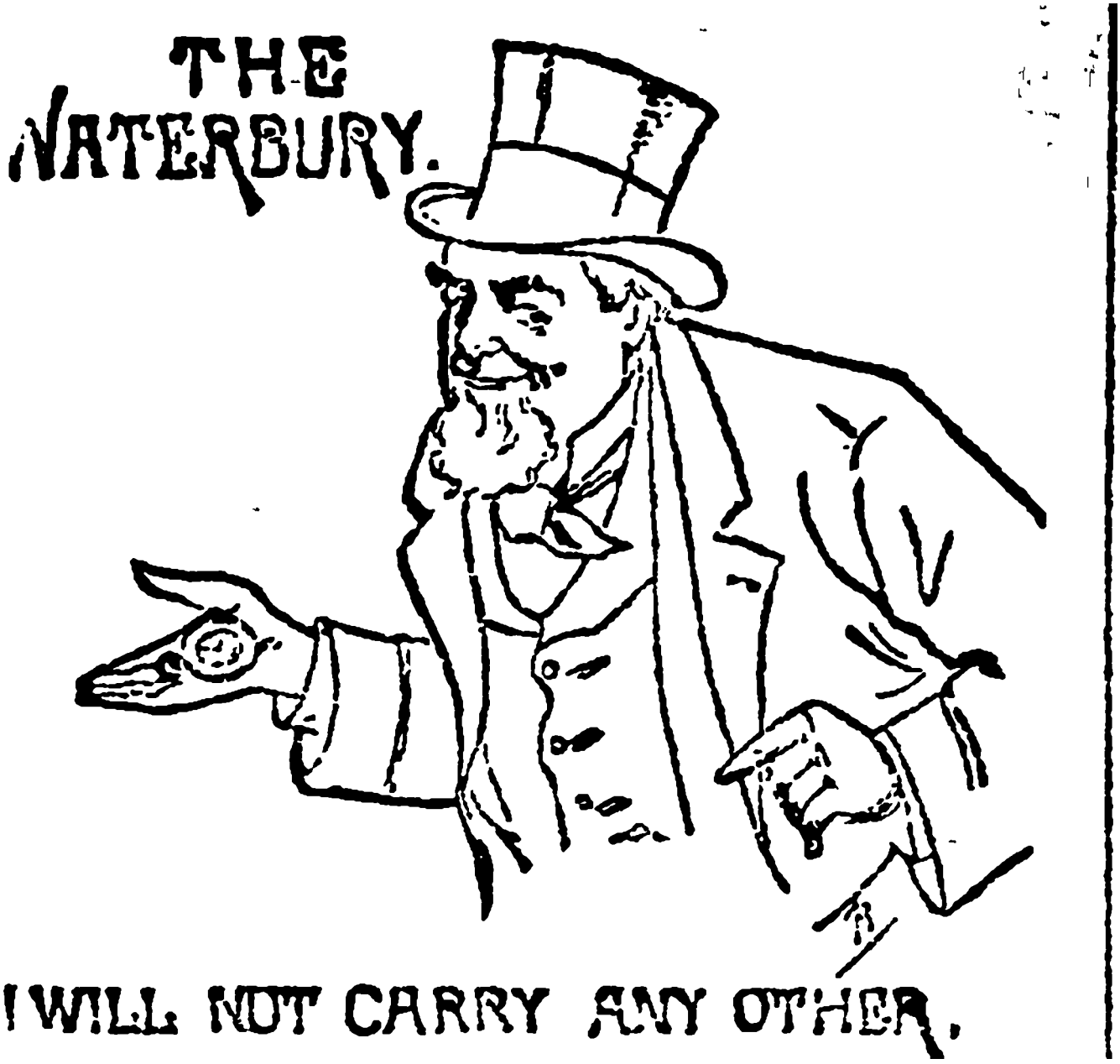

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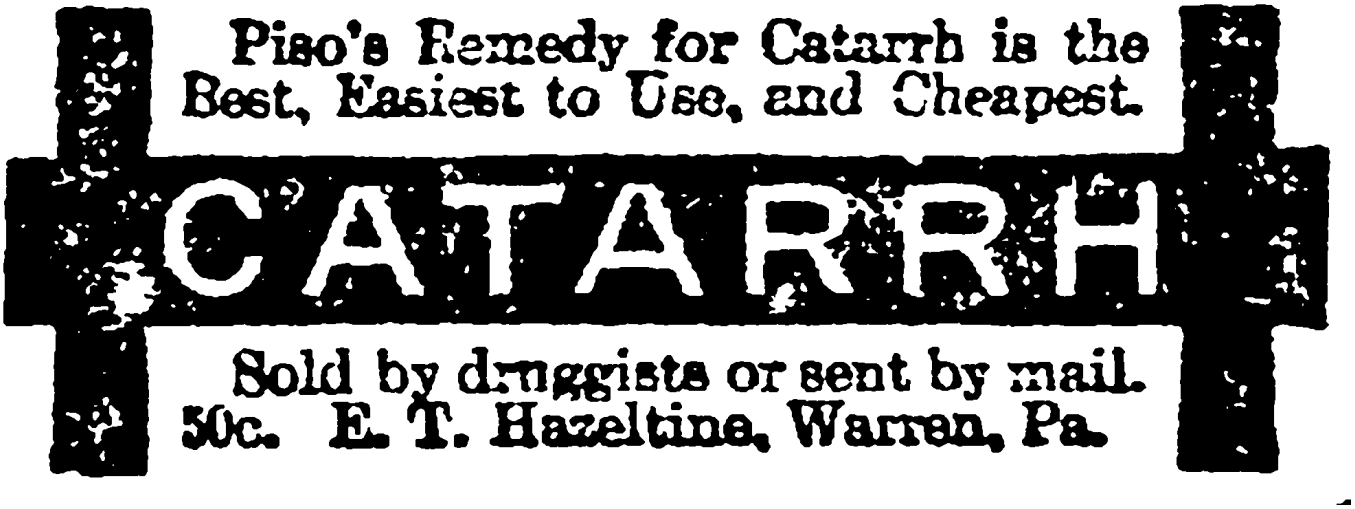

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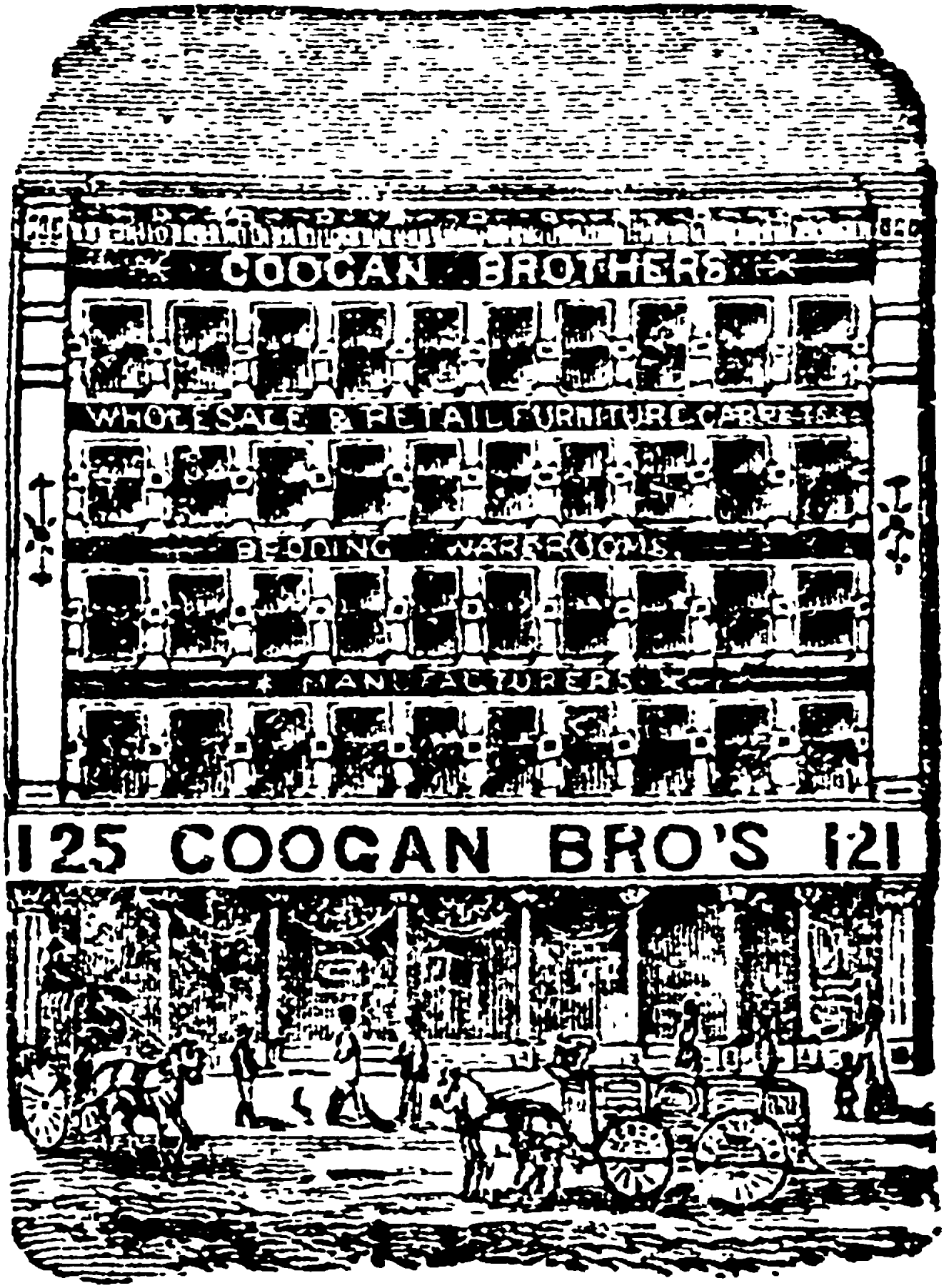
COOGAN BRO'S 121]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Letters that were broken, blotted or missing in the print and have been written as intended. Listed so they can be checked against the scan; they are not footnoted in the text.

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
1	THE NEW YORK ELECTION	cf	of
1	[Editorial note: the united labor party’s local and legislat	nominations	nominations
1	[Editorial note: the united labor party’s local and legislat	popular will	popular will
1	[Editorial note: the office of district attorney and Louis F	any doubt	any doubt
1		vote for him	vote for him

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
	[Editorial note: the office of district attorney and Louis F		
1	[Editorial note: the office of district attorney and Louis F	nominated by	nominated by
1	[Editorial note: Patrick Ford and “Henry George’s Mistake”]	Patrick Ford may	Patrick Ford may
1	IMPORTANT TO VOTERS.	7. Ascertain	7. Ascertain
1	THE TRUE INTEREST OF WORKINGMEN.	overproduction	overproduction
1	THE TRUE INTEREST OF WORKINGMEN.	history point	history point
1	The Lost Leader.	Best fight	Best fight
2	[Editorial note: John Smith’s vacant lot and John Jones’s ho	keep	keep
2	[Editorial note: Jones’s savings and Smith’s suburban lot]	dint	dint
2	[Editorial note: nine thousand tenement deaths]	human beings	human beings
2	[Editorial note: the election manual]	manual containing	manual containing
2	ANTI-POVERTY. Abner C. Thomas Presides and Judge Maguire and	supreme court of	supreme court of
2	ANTI-POVERTY. Abner C. Thomas Presides and Judge Maguire and	subject to the right of the people	subject to the right of the people
4	JUSTICE.	Second	Second
4	CITY AND COUNTY.	Board	Board
4	JUSTICE.	Justice	Justice
4	JUSTICE.	Third	Third
4	JUSTICE.	of	of
4	SENATOR.	District.	District,
4	JUSTICE.	for	for
4	ASSEMBLY.	the	the
5	ALDERMAN.	For	For
5	[Retrospect of the political year, by Edward McGlynn]	will	will
5	[Retrospect of the political year, by Edward McGlynn]	many	many

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
6	[Retrospect of the political year, by Edward McGlynn] (conti	should	should
6	[The tenement house dwellers and the remedy, by James O. S.	wealth	wealth
6	A Presbyterian Clergyman's Testimony.	cf	of
7	ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN'S MISTAKE.	considered	considered
7	ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN'S MISTAKE.	garbled	garbled
7	ARCHBISHOP CORRIGAN'S MISTAKE.	applied	applied
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	purpose	purpose
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	maintenance	maintenance
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	security that he shall	security that he shall
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	strong from	strong from
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	give to any	give to any
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	financial	financial
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	equally shared	equally shared
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	devote	devote
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	legislation	legislation
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	that the poor	that the poor
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	miscarriages	miscarriages
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	to be sought	to be sought
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	the adoption of	the adoption of
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	in order that	in order that

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
8	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	secrecy	secrecy
8	AN ADDRESS To the People of New York of all Political Partie	united labor party asks	united labor party asks
8	AN ADDRESS To the People of New York of all Political Partie	ororganization	organization
8	AN ADDRESS To the People of New York of all Political Partie	in which the name	in which the name
8	AN ADDRESS To the People of New York of all Political Partie	comsioner	commissioner
8	AN ADDRESS To the People of New York of all Political Partie	united labor party, in accordance	united labor party, in accordance
8	AN ADDRESS To the People of New York of all Political Partie	citizens of New York	citizens of New York
8	AN ADDRESS To the People of New York of all Political Partie	whether or not the united labor party	whether or not the united labor party
8	AN ADDRESS To the People of New York of all Political Partie	promote	promote
8	100 PORTRAITS	100 PORTRAITS	100 PORTRAITS
8	100 PORTRAITS	METROPOLITAN, and five	METROPOLITAN, and five
8	NOTICE.–VOTERS OF THE STATE OF New York	Warren and Essex	Warren and Essex
8	NOTICE.–VOTERS OF THE STATE OF New York	Plattsburg	Plattsburg
8	BACK TO THE LAND! SHACKMAN'S ORIGINAL PEDIGREE!	GRASS	GRASS
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8	$38 GOLD WATCH. CO-OPERATIVE CLUBS.	EVER MADE ARE SELLING IN OUR	EVER MADE ARE SELLING IN OUR
8	Piso's Remedy for Catarrh	druggists	druggists
8	DR. BAIRD'S GRANULES.	GRANULES	GRANULES
8	DR. BAIRD'S GRANULES.	ex-County Physician	ex-County Physician
8	DR. BAIRD'S GRANULES.	PILES	PILES

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
8	GOOD NEWS TO LADIES.	Dinner Set	Dinner Set

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