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Contents

104 notes: 104 misprints. Uncertain readings are in [brackets?]. Original spelling and misprints are kept as printed.

Page 1

The Onset. 5 Frances M. Milne

★ THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY. 6

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 2: delay in capital cases breeds sympathy]* 6

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 3: the fairness of the trial and Judge Maguire's letter]* 6

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 4: those who justify or excuse violence]* 8

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 5: anarchy as a reaction from socialism]* 8

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 6: anarchy an importation that finds congenial soil]* 8

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 7: the slums as the soil of anarchy]* 8

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 8: the danger of habituation to violence]* 9

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 9: good is not begotten by evil]* 9

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 10: the American people themselves are responsible]* 10

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 11: ominous signs]* 10

★ *[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 12: the party of peaceful remedy]* 10

★ *[Editorial note: letters on the Irish World and the "isolated" priest]* 11

★ *[Editorial note: the World's proposal of an income tax]* 11

★ *[Editorial note: the Lehigh valley coal strike]* 12

★ *[Editorial note: coal land monopoly and the evictions]* 12

★ *[Editorial note: miners' wages and coal royalties]* 13 Henry George

Page 2

★ ANTI-POVERTY. Nearly Six Thousand People at the Academy and Steinway Hall. 14

★ At Steinway Hall. 24

The Arthur Hall Meeting in Harlem. 24

Page 3

[The Arthur Hall Meeting in Harlem, continued] 25

It Was a Victory in Brooklyn. 26 E. Stillman Doubleday

Congratulations From the Hartford Land and Labor Club. 26 F. E. Cleveland, E. R. Clyma, Dr. Simmons (committee)

The Missionary Work Shall Go On. 27 S. Mendelson

OUR GLORIOUS DEFEAT. How Triumphant Democracy Won an Ignoble Victory. 27

In the Fight Till the End. 32 Charles H. Fitch

Let the Loyal Ones Stand Up and Be Counted. 32 A. L. Earle

To Resume Active Work in South Brooklyn. 33 T. P. Ryan

Close Up the Ranks and March On. 33 A. Van Dyke

A Democrat Cheers Us On. 33 An Honest Democrat

Bristling with Fight. 34 Samuel Pellitier

Men Voted for a Principle. 34 L. A. Russell

Words of Wisdom from a Clergyman. 34 An Episcopal Clergyman Who Voted for the Cause

Among the Lumbermen in Minnesota. 34 A Worker for the Cause

The True Men Undaunted. 35 W. D. B.

Hammering Away. 35 Charles Cowles

Enlisted for the War. 35 W. H. Van Ornum

IS PENNSYLVANIA ABREAST OF US? One County in the Keystone State Gives 1,200 Votes for the Syracuse Platform. 35

We Must Change Our Elective System. 36 E. R. Enbody

Beginning at the Foundation. 36 William Barker

Got Beat Often. But Won at Last. 36 J. B. Packard

Attracted to a Principle. 37 Henry Osborne

Will Always Vote for the Principle of Equal Rights. 37 Charles I. Peoble

Indianapolis Men Not Discouraged. 37 Charles H. Krauss

Ready to Go on with the Fight. 37 Samuel Pelletier

The Corruption Fund. 38

Page 4

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1887. [dateline and notice on delivery by mail] 40

A VICTORY FOR LAND GRABBERS. 40

[Editorial note: Commissioner Sparks's letter] 40

[Editorial note: the politics behind Sparks's removal] 41

THE OLD FAITH RENEWED. 41

"A MORTGAGE ON THE CLOUDS." 43

[Editorial note: the Howitzer's dim vision] 43

[Editorial note: a paper belittles the Anti-poverty meeting] 44

A WORD TO THE PHARISEES. 44 David B. Scott

[Editorial note: the Sun and "the poor ye have always with you"] 46

[Editorial note: Puck's alarm at the George vote] 46

[Editorial note: the sham Labor Unionist] 46

[Editorial note: cheap land in Dutchess county] 47

[Editorial note: Dr. Gregory on periods of non-employment] 47

[Editorial note: the Star and the Australian system] 47

[Editorial note: Colonel Fellows "vindicated"] 47

[Editorial note: the bucket shop and the stock exchange] 47

[Editorial note: R. G. Horr on the pioneer farmer's rights] 47

[Editorial note: small parks and tenement rents] 48

[Editorial note: the southern California land boom] 48

[Editorial note: the telephone monopolies] 48

[Editorial note: letters from all quarters] 48

Page 5

THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS. Judge Maguire's Opinion of the Justice of their Sentence. 49 James G. Maguire
ABOLISH THE TARIFF. 53 Edward J. Shriver
Mr. Pentecost on Anarchy. 54
SOME FACTS ABOUT TAXATION. 54
[SOME FACTS ABOUT TAXATION, section 2: the assessor and the Yorker's purchase] 55
[SOME FACTS ABOUT TAXATION, section 3: assessing the widow's mortgage] 56 M. K. Couzens
The Sanction of the State to Land Tenure. 57
Will Reorganize for Political Education. 58 Henry C. Townsend
OUR FUTURE RECRUITING GROUND. 59 William T. Croasdale
Tracts Doing Better Work Than Years of Oratory. 60 George H. Van Winkle

Page 6

OUR SCOTTISH FRIENDS. How the Good Cause is Advancing in Auld Scotia. 61 Richard M'Ghee
Propaganda Work in Washington County. 62 W. W. Van Denburg
HOW THE GOSPEL IS SPREAD. A Case Which Illustrates How Old Men Engage in the Work of Propaganda with the Enthusiasm of Youth. 63 W. Brothers
Speak to the People that They Go Forward. 63 J. K. Rudyard
Corruption at Newburg. 64 John J. Mullen
Twenty-third Ward, Brooklyn. 64
Notice to Louisville Readers. 65
FIRST LAND, THEN WATER. A Great Syndicate Secures Control of the Water Supply of Several Cities. 65
★ What a Protestant Clergyman Thinks of Dr. McGlynn. 66 John Owen Bache
Some Suggestions. 67 W. T. Loper
Will Fight It Out if it Takes Ten Years. 68 R. S. Ganoung
Up and Doing in Ohio. 68 George T. Alpress
An Influential Nicodemus Bears Testimony. 68 A Nicodemus
The Society to Befriend Working Girls. 69
THE MOVEMENT IN TEXAS. The President of a County Farmers' Alliance Lecturing to Tillers of the Soil. 69
Renewing the Fight in Erie County. 70 J. A. Ronayne
Land Tenure in Provincetown, Mass. 70 C. G. C.
ANOTHER CHRISTIAN MINISTER GAINED. Rev. W. M. Goodner of Larned, Kan.. Bears His Testimony. 71 W. M. Goodner
Building the City of God. 72 Clare Aspinwall
Inconsistencies of Taxation in Michigan. 72 J. M. McGregor
Reason for Gratification and Hope. 73 J. C. Howe
An Anti-Poverty Composer. 73
Another Good Song. 73
Converts in Pennsylvania. 73 D. C. Barber

Page 7

★ QUERIES AND ANSWERS. Door Yards. 74
★ A Mortgaged Home. 74
★ An Industrious Landlord! 75
★ The Revenue. 75
★ The Poor Man's House. 76
★ The Whim of Employers. 76
★ Live Within Your Means. 77
★ The Farmer's Tax. 77
★ Income Taxes. 78
★ Timber Land. 78
★ Free Trade. 78
★ The Mortgaged Farmer. 79
★ The Surplus. 79
★ Notes. 79 Louis F. Post
STRIKING ILLUSTRATION. How Labor and Capital Are Hampered in Production. 80
From Chautauqua County. 80 F. G. Anderson
Horace Greeley on the Declaration of Independence. 81 Horace Greeley
A Day Laborer's Sum in Proportion. 81
THE AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM. 82 B. B. Vallentine
MEMBERS OF LABOR ORGANIZATIONS 83
UNITED LABOR PARTY. 89
ILLINOIS. 90
ALL READERS OF THE STANDARD IN favor of a united labor party in the First assembly district 90
23RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT MEETS 90
VOTERS OF MARYLAND 90

Advertisements (13): CURE FOR THE DEAF · POPULAR EDITION. PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE? · Henry George's Works. · Henry George's Buch · NOW OUT. THE GERMAN EDITION OF PROGRESS AND POVERTY. · HENRY GEORGE'S SOLUTION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM · THE SINGLE TAX. · JUST OUT. AN ACCOUNT OF THE GEORGE-HEWITT CAMPAIGN. · THE DEMOCRAT. · TAX REFORMER. · THE LAND AND LABOR LIBRARY. · GERMAN TRACTS. · THE PHONOGRAPHIC MAGAZINE.

Page 8

PUBLISHER'S NOTES. 91
[Publisher's Notes: get subscribers and spread the tracts] 92
[Publisher's Notes: letter from Plainfield with $5 for the recruiting fund] 92
[Publisher's Notes: the recruit subscriptions] 92
[Publisher's Notes: the recruiting fund] 93
[Publisher's Notes: recruiting fund receipts] 93
WORDS OF GOOD CHEER. Renewed Pledges of Devotion to the Cause from Correspondents of "The Standard." 94 Dwight M. De Silva
[Words of Good Cheer: Schenectady, N. Y.] 94 Martin S. Kelly
[Words of Good Cheer: Hoosick Falls, N. Y.] 94 F. S. Hammond
[Words of Good Cheer: Albany] 94 Robert A. Wood
[Words of Good Cheer: Ilion, N. Y.] 94 Charles W. Rose
[Words of Good Cheer: Lowell, Mass.] 94 Samuel Quinn
[Words of Good Cheer: Cleveland, O.] 95 John F. Hart

[Words of Good Cheer: New York] 95 N. Cassely
[Words of Good Cheer: Troy, N. Y.] 95 F. W. M.
[Words of Good Cheer: Marlboro, Mass.] 95 G. A. E. Reynolds
[Words of Good Cheer: Elizabeth, N. J.] 95 Eugene C. Gibney
Kill the Monster Bribery. 95 C. H. Baildon
ELECTIONS AS THEY ARE. 95 George A. Miller
Vote Buying in Greenpoint. 97 J. M W
Unsurpassed Corruption in Albany. 98 Robert A. Wood
Two Hundred Purchasable Voters Added to the List in Schenectady. 98 H. B. Salisbury
Congratulations from the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Society. 98
Just for a Handful of Silver. 99 N. Cassely
Judge Maguire at Vincennes. 99 W. W. Bailey
The Triumph of Corruption. 99 A. J. Rose
Seventy-four Thousand Honest Votes. 100 John E. Dugan
★ Dr. McGlynn Not "Isolated" Yet. 100
Bribery in Schenectady Unprecedented. 100 Martin S. Kelly
An Appeal for the Needy. 100
The Campaign Fund. 103
What will Occur when Profits Disappear? 103
★ ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY. 103
A LOST FRIEND. 106
ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMONERS. 106 W. J. Nesbit

Advertisements (13): SPECIAL FOR NOVEMBER. BRAHAM'S · Canned Goods · AUTOCOPYIST · RUPTURE. · CHARLES E. SCHAIDNER, · JAMES BOGAN, · PRINTING. CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY · $38 GOLD WATCH. The Keystone Watch Club Co. · AN AMERICAN WATCH (The Waterbury) · PISO'S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION · HOLLAND'S · GOOD NEWS TO LADIES. The Great American Tea Co. · COOGAN BROS.

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”).
- p2-p3: the Anti-poverty report (McGlynn, George and Post at the Academy, Steinway Hall and Arthur Hall) breaks off mid-word at the foot of p2 and resumes at the head of p3 (“con-/stitutes”). Deck “Goreuch”, text “Gorsuch”.
- p3: “The Corruption Fund” gives a total of $247.000 that the printed figures cannot check; Pellitier and Pelletier both appear.
- p6: c2 ends “building up the clu” with no stop.
- p8: the Allegheny notice says “Friday evening, Nov. 19” (a Saturday); “197” seems meant for 167.

Page 1 of 8

[Running head: THE STANDARD (masthead)]
THE STANDARD

VOL. II.-NO. 20. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1887. PRICE FIVE CENTS

p. 1, col. 1

The Onset.

Defeat! Do you talk of defeat?
With the clarions echoing clear!
With the enemy's line in retreat,
And the day of the Lord drawing near?
To their fortress we've driven the foe—
Their fortress of folly and fraud;
Let them rally their forces and show
If haply they fight against God.

Defeat! Do you talk of defeat?
Why, you know not the battle we wage!
The pulse of its valor has beat
From age unto answering age.
As humanity's hope it is old;
It is young as the morning that thrills,
With life and with joy manifold,
The radiant valleys and hills.

Defeat! Do you talk of defeat?
When law was dishonored, and gave
Its strength to the cruel, who fleet,
Pursued to his bondage the slave;
Tho' helpless and hopeless he fled,
Did the hour of judgment delay?
Go, count me the names of our dead
In the battlefields numbered to-day.

Defeat! Do you talk of defeat?
When the judgment of Pilate was set,
And, eager for vengeance complete,
The priest and the ruler were met;
When loud rose that terrible cry—
"Upon us, and our children, His blood!"
Did they truly the heavens defy?

> Tho' the cross upon Calvary stood.
>
> Defeat! Do you talk of defeat?
> I hear but the thickening fray;
> From east and from west they will meet,
> Our warriors marching to-day!
> From north and from south they will come,
> God's soldiers, who know not retreat;
> For justice and honor and home.
> Defeat! Do you dream of defeat?

FRANCES M. MILNE.

San Luis Obispo, Cal.

THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY.

Four men were hanged in Chicago on Friday last. There would have been five, but that one had escaped the gallows by a most determined suicide. They were hanged upon judicial conviction of the highest crime known to the law—a crime which resulted in the killing of seven people and the wounding of some scores of others. Yet, on the eve of their execution, a long procession, with muffled drums and banners draped with crape, marched through the streets of New York; on the Sunday after the execution their dead bodies were carried to the grave in Chicago with demonstrations of respect and sympathy such as are rarely accorded to unquestioned public benefactors, and in all parts of the country there are indications that a considerable class regard these men not as criminals, but as heroes and martyrs.

In this there is matter for much serious thought.

One strong element in the sympathy with the Chicago anarchists is, of course, due to that disposition which arises from the long interval which our legal procedure permits between the first arraignment for a capital crime and the execution of sentence. Events diminish in impressiveness as they recede in time, just as visible objects dwindle in size as they recede in distance. The imagination concerns itself with the living man under the shadow of the gallows more readily and more powerfully than with the act which brought him there, and pity for the sad plight of the criminal excites sympathy and prompts excuse, while the crime is condoned or forgotten. So strong is this disposition that, no matter how clearly his guilt has been proved, the most atrocious murderer does not fail to find sympathizers and excusers in the time intervening between trial and execution, and to be set before the public mind as a victim rather than as a criminal. Whatever may be said for capital punishment, it certainly loses its most important effects in the long delays which our criminal procedure permits, and either these delays should be prevented, so that trial and execution should follow closely upon the crime, or capital punishment should be abolished. In criminal, as in civil cases, justice ceases to be justice when it is not prompt.

But beyond this sentimental sympathy which is in greater or less degree excited by every case of capital punishment when execution is long delayed, and which, from the nature of the case and the wide attention called to it, was peculiarly strong in the case of the Chicago anarchists, there has been a widespread impression, even

among those who had no sympathy with anarchy, that these men did not have a fair and unprejudiced trial, and that they were convicted rather as anarchists than as participators in the overt act for which they were arraigned.

The sympathizers with anarchy have from the first been actively engaged in propagating the belief that these men were simply victims to the vengeance of an excited class feeling; but beyond the effect thus exerted upon the public mind, and giving great help and countenance to it, has been the impression produced by the fragmentary reports of the trial which reached the general public through the press.

Until the seven judges of the supreme court of Illinois, after a full examination of the evidence and the record, unanimously sustained the verdict and the sentence, it was certainly my impression—an impression confirmed by the opinions of men whom I knew to be fair-minded—that the seven anarchists, or at least some of them, no matter how much moral connection their teachings and agitation might have had with the throwing of the bomb, had, in the excited state of public feeling in Chicago,

p. 1, col. 2

been condemned on evidence that did not really amount to legal proof, and were only connected with the bomb throwing by general and vague incitements to acts of the kind. A reading of the summary of the evidence which is embraced in the decision of the supreme court of Illinois showed me that this was not correct, but that enough evidence had been presented to clearly connect the seven men with a specific conspiracy to use dynamite against the police on the evening on which the bomb was thrown, and to render them under the statutes of Illinois, and on the common principles of law, as much guilty as though with their own hands they had thrown the bomb.

Probably the most satisfactory answer to the many letters which I have received from those who, having no sympathy with anarchy in itself, have urged me to join in the demand for the pardon of the Chicago anarchists on the ground that they had been convicted on insufficient evidence, is the letter from Judge James G. Maguire, which is printed on the fifth page of this number of THE STANDARD.

I found, on talking with Judge Maguire, in one of the brief intervals during the canvass in which we had opportunity to meet, that his impression of the case of the Chicago anarchists was that I had first entertained, and being extremely desirous of testing my own opinion by that of an old friend for whose ability and character I have the highest respect—a man in full sympathy with all true reform, and at the same time acquainted with legal procedure and accustomed to the weighing of evidence—I urged him to read the papers in the case, and give me his opinion. At the same time I handed him a long letter from a friend of ours, a lady of intelligence, who, in urging me to do what I could to arouse public opinion against what she deemed would be judicial murder, had gone over the points which have been popularly presented as telling in favor of the innocence of the anarchists, and who had asked me to show the letter to Judge Maguire, whose influence she also invoked.

Judge Maguire did as I requested him. But, not having time before leaving for San Francisco to write for THE STANDARD a review of the case, he gave me permission to get and print the private letter he had while still engaged in the campaign written to our friend.

I do not print it as a full review of the case, for Judge Maguire would have been more elaborate if writing for publication, but as showing the conclusion which a judicial and unprejudiced mind had arrived at after examination, and as an appropriate answer to many other letters which during the last few weeks I have received.

In printing his letter I may also say of the judge that while he saw no ground for asking executive clemency as a matter of right and justice, he agreed with me in believing that there were good grounds of public policy for the mitigation of the capital sentences.

But beyond the element of which I have been speaking—the impression, shared in many cases by those who have no sympathy with violence, that the anarchists had not been fairly condemned—there are other elements of more permanent importance. There is among us a class who justify and applaud such deeds as that for which the Chicago anarchists were executed. There is another class, who without justifying such acts of violence imagine that they will hasten, if, indeed, they are not actually necessary to social reform. And there is a still larger number who, without any definite opinions, are disposed to sympathize with any one who falls under the ban of a class whom they regard as the enemies of their own.

Anarchy is a reaction from socialism, and the ranks of the anarchists proper are filled by men who, having been attracted by the large promises of German or state socialism, have come at length to see its incoherence and impracticability. The theory of anarchism is the antipodes of that of socialism. Instead of the cumbrous and impossible system which would make government the all in all and reduce the individual to the position of an employe and ward of the state, philosophic anarchy would carry to its extreme the proposition that "the best government is that which governs least," by abolishing all government and leaving individuals free to fall. as it supposes[sic], into the mutual relations dictated by their own interests and convenience. With the mass of the so-called anarchists, however, anarchy is not a theory, but a feeling that working men are oppressed by an intolerable class despotism, and that the breaking down of governmental power by acts of violence is the only sure and speedy way of release. Anarchy is the child of despair. It is the impulse of men who, bitterly conscious of injustice, see no way out.

Anarchy is an importation into the United States. It is not an accident that out of the eight men convicted in Chicago only one was of American birth, for the American element among our avowed socialists and anarchists is in hardly greater proportion. But if anarchy did not find congenial soil it would not perpetuate and propagate itself on this side of the Atlantic. The foreigner, imbued with anarchistic principles in a country where great standing armies maintain avowed class governments, crosses the ocean

p. 1, col. 3

to a country where government is nominally based upon the will of the people. If he found here that political liberty brought social justice, that there was in the great republic room for all, work for all, and the opportunity to make a fair living for all, his anarchism would soon be forgotten, and the apostle of dynamite would, amid any class of our foreign population, meet only ridicule and derision. But what great bodies of the foreigners who come here actually do find, is that our political equality is little better than a delusion and a mockery, and that there exists here the same bitter social injustice which presses down the masses of Europe. In a country where there were no tramps; in a country where there were no paupers; in a country where there were no men forced to beg for work or alms: where there were no families crowded together in miserable tenement rooms; and no children compelled to toil when they ought to be at play, anarchy might be imported and imported, but it could not exist, much less take root. But amid conditions that can be found to-day within the American republic, anarchy finds its proper soil and atmosphere.

The strength of anarchy in Chicago is in those squalid quarters where foreigners live, not so much because they are foreigners as because they are miserably poor—quarters in which, not merely do whole families work and live in single rooms, but sometimes two families occupy the same room. Large numbers of these people have been brought to this country by the false promises of land and railroad agents who have deliberately misstated the

Sic in the original; probably "fall, as it supposes".

opportunities for work and the wages that could be obtained. Swindled from the moment they landed at Castle garden, and largely helpless from their ignorance of the language, they have been driven into the fierce competition and bitter degradation of the slums of a great city, a sense of injustice rankling in their breasts.

So it is in New York and in our other large cities. If any one will travel through the foreign quarters on the east side of New York and see how human beings live and work, or even if he will read the reports of the ministers of religion and charity who occassionally[sic] explore the dark places of this east side world, he will see how fit are the conditions to propagate and even intensify that blind revolt against government and society which was first developed under European tyranny.

We cannot shut out anarchy by shutting out immigration. The evil thing is already here. Nor can we extirpate it by now and then hanging or imprisoning or clubbing. In all our cities we are rearing an increasing number of children under conditions which would make anarchism a thing of spontaneous development, even if it did not already exist.

In all our great cities to-day may be seen those barbarians of civilization, the fiercer and more destructive Huns and Vandals of whom Macaulay prophesied, and with whom, if they continue to grow and increase, modern civilization must some day fight its death fight. Where the older ones among them were born is a matter of little moment. They are to-day an integral part of our people. And their children are growing up, and other people's children are falling under like conditions.

Of the two, anarchism is much better suited than socialism to the American genius, and I am inclined to think that, as a theory, it has many more adherents among native Americans. But the extension of theoretical anarchism need give us little concern. The really dangerous thing is in our people becoming habituated to ideas of violence, and in the growth of passions that incite to it.

There are many, even among native Americans, who, without expressly justifying violence, yet think and talk as though violence would hasten, if, indeed, it is not the only agency that can bring about anything like large political and social reforms. Conscious of corruption in the political organization and of deep and bitter injustice in the industrial organization, they—even the more intelligent of them—have formed no clear idea of the cause, nor yet of the cure. They have such an abiding faith in the power of combination and of concentrated capital on the one side, and in the ignorance and helplessness of the masses of the people on the other, that they are hopeless of any reform until the wealthy and powerful class are startled by menace of violence into conceding to fear what they would refuse to justice. All great advances, they say, must be bought by the blood sacrifice, and the *vis inertia*[sic] of organized society can only be broken by social earthquake.

All this is erroneous. Good is not begotten by evil; it is good that begets good. If great advances have sometimes been marked by blood sacrifices, so, in greater degree, have periods of decadence. The great agencies that have everywhere enslaved men have been the passions kindled by war and bloodshed. And when civilization has gone down, it has been in the action and reaction of violence. What our modern civilization needs to extricate it from the dangers that under present conditions gather with its advance, are intelligence and conscience. But violence arouses passion. And in the breast of

p. 1, col. 4

Sic in the original; probably "occasionally".
Sic in the original; probably "vis inertiae".

the civilized man still lurk the same passions that belonged to human nature when men chipped flints into spear heads.

All idea that violence may secure or hasten social reform is based upon the vague notion that there is some particular body of men who have the power but lack the will to bring about social reform, and who may be forced or frightened into doing so. This is a notion akin to those so vaguely but widely diffused, that hard times are due to greedy speculators; low wages to grasping employers; and corrupt government to depraved politicians. But all such notions are childish. Social and political evils are due not to particular men or sets of men, but to general conditions, in the maintenance of which the whole people are concerned, and to the changing of which the general intelligence and the general conscience must be aroused. Even in Russia it is not the police and the army that maintain autocratic government so much as the superstitious loyalty of the Russian peasant. But of all countries in the world this is most clearly true of the United States. There is here no privileged aristocracy, no established church, no standing army loyal to a person or a dynasty. Here all power is in the hands of the people—of the working masses, who constitute the great majority of the voters. They can make or unmake politicians; they can give power to this party or to that party; they can rewrite the laws when they will and according to their will. If voters are bought, it is because there are men willing to sell as well as men willing to buy; if legislative bodies are corrupt, it is because voters tolerate corruption and because they tolerate a system which brings corrupt men to the front. It is not any set or sets of bad men who are oppressing and misgoverning the American people, but the American people themselves.

And if it is true that there are among workingmen many who are disposed to condone acts of violence when committed by those who assume to be the champions of oppressed labor, is it not true that there is the same blind class feeling among the well-to-do? When Pinkerton detectives shoot down strikers; when superserviceable policemen club socialists, is there any outcry from those who deem themselves conservative?

The bursting of a dynamite bomb in a Chicago street; the hanging of men in the United States for a crime for which, had it been committed in Russia, we would not have extradited them; the fact that the idea of law and the idea of justice are already in the minds of thousands so far divorced that those whom the courts condemn as deserving the highest punishment known to our code, are by considerable bodies of our people thought of as martyrs, are ominous things. There is no danger, perhaps, that organized anarchism will ever prove formidable in the United States, but there is danger that the minds of men becoming familiarilzed with ideas of violence, violence will here and there break out. There is danger that the frenzy born of injustice on the one side and the frenzy born of fear on the other, may, by a series of actions and reactions, lead to results the most disastrous.

The anarchists are not our most dangerous class. Back of the men who died on Friday in Chicago with a fortitude worthy of a better cause; back of the men who sympathize with them and their deed, is a deep and widespread sense of injustice. Those who are most responsible for the existence of this are those who, having time and opportunity and power to enlighten the public mind, shut their eyes to injustice and use their talents and opportunities to prevent the arousing of thought and conscience and to decry any peaceful remedy that may be proposed.

There is one body of men in the United States who do see the causes and the cure of that social injustice which is arraying men against each other in combinations of capital and combinations of labor, which is bringing forth the millionaire on the one side and the tramp on the other, which is exciting class hatred and class passion. There is a

party which does not denounce men, but aims by constitutional and peaceful means to change general conditions, and which appeals to intelligence and to conscience. This party polled 73,000 votes in the state of New York at the last election. But it will poll more. In it, or, rather, in the ideas that it is disseminating, is the hope of true conservatism. But these ideas have to make their way, not merely against the ignorant poor and the ignorant rich, but against the misrepresentations of a majority of those who by the positions they hold and the influence they wield, are most bound to do their best to enlighten the public mind.

I have received many letters from Irishmen and Catholics denouncing the attitude of the *Irish World* in the last election, but I do not care to take up the space of THE STANDARD with such matters. Patrick Ford may be left to the "*Irish World* men." For my part I know that many Catholics, and among them many priests, voted for us in the last election, and next time there will be many more; while as for the "isolated" priest, there is continued evidence that he still retains the

p. 1, col. 5

undiminished esteem of his parishioners and the respect of all who admire truth and manliness.

The *World* calls on me to abandon my absurd theory of taxing land values, and to support instead an income tax as a means of relieving working men of unjust burdens.

If the *World* sees no further, and is prepared to advocate an income tax in lieu of other means of raising public revenue, or any considerable part of it—as, for instance, that now collected at our custom house by onerous duties upon the bringing into the country of things the people want—it would give me much pleasure and would do a great public service. For the income tax has some great advantages over the indirect taxes, by which so much of our revenues are raised. Unlike those taxes, it does not check and hamper production, and it does not fall upon the poorest class with far more weight than upon the richest class. It does not aim to tax a man upon what he consumes, but, which is much more rational, upon what he receives. And any discussion by such a powerful journal as the *World* of the income tax as a substitute for these indirect taxes would at least cause many thousands of people to see their disadvantages, and to get at least such a first lesson in the incidence of taxation as would enable them to realize that in taxing capital they are not taxing the capitalist, and that in levying duties on the entrance of foreign productions they are not taxing the foreigner but taxing themselves.

But while for these reasons I should think the advocacy by the *World* of an income tax in lieu of worse taxes would be a step in advance, I myself cannot advocate it. My aim is not merely "to relieve the working people of unjust burdens," but to relieve all people of unjust burdens; and, believing as I do in the sacredness of property rights, I would not tax any man who has a large income, for that reason alone, any more than I would tax a man with a small one. I am neither a socialist nor a communist, and have no quarrel with rich people because they are rich. If men are to-day able to get large incomes by reason of monopolies which permit them to appropriate the proceeds of other people's toil, I would abolish these monopolies, and not, while leaving the cause of the unjust distribution of wealth in full operation, endeavor somewhat to equalize things by taxing incomes. Whatever any man may fairly earn, whether by his labor, his skill, his capital or his organizing ability, without interfering with the equal rights of others, I would leave entirely to him, and not tax him a penny on that account, even though his income amounted to millions.

But without reference to objections of this kind, which the *World* may consider theoretical, there are certain very obvious objections to the income tax which are enough to discredit it, even if otherwise no objection could be made. Like the greater part of our present taxes, but even more directly and obviously than most of them, the

income tax, when an attempt is made to apply it, becomes a tax not so much upon income as upon conscience. This was abundantly shown during the period in which the national government imposed a tax upon incomes. The tax gatherer can ascertain the incomes of men who work for salaries or wages, and in most cases, at least; of those whose incomes, as is the case with many widows, and orphans, are derived from property held in trust or under guardianship; but there is no possible way by which he can ascertain the incomes of business men, capitalists, speculators and others, who as a class, have the largest incomes. The consequence is that an income tax, even with all inquisitorial devices that can be suggested, is easily evaded by the very classes upon whom its advocates would have it fall, while it not infrequently happens that business and professional men are compelled, by the fear of the injury that might be done them were the smallness of their real incomes known, to make a false return and pay a tax larger than the law designs.

The strike in the Lehigh valley coal region still continues, and Master Workman McGarvey and a committee from the Knights of Labor of that district are in this city making an appeal for funds to sustain the strikers. This strike is one which ought to command sympathy where any strike can. The miners are asking for a pitiful increase of eight per cent upon a scale of wages which just barely enables them to live. Any one who visits the Lehigh valley, even in ordinary times, will see that the highly protected American laborer, in this part of Pennsylvania at least, is hardly, if at all, better off than the poorest class in western Ireland. And now, with fifteen thousand men out of employment, the region is as though swept by the abomination of desolation. The sympathies of the storekeepers in the Lehigh region are with the miners, and they have contributed liberally to the support of the strike, while from the other coal mining fields large But contributions[sic] have been drawn. more is needed. The operators are, of course, suffering heavy losses, but in the contest of endurance they are in better position than the men, for, though they lose for the time what they otherwise would make, and their machinery is idle and rusting, it is yet true,

p. 1, col. 6

as a Scotch mine owner puts it, that “land no eats anything,” while men must eat or die.

How those passive, industrial wars, called strikes and lockouts, injure non-combatants, as do the active wars waged with rifle and cannon, is shown by the advance of coal in New York to eight dollars per ton. And the real root of all this strife is indicated by the news that the combined coal companies are about to use their last and stringent means of coercion in the eviction of the striking miners from what they call their homes.

Labor of itself is perfectly helpless in these Pennsylvania coal fields, because the laborer has no legal right whatever to the use of land, the indispensable natural element of human life and human production. There is enough unused coal land in this region to give employment to a far greater number than the men who are now standing idle because they cannot agree on a matter of wages with their employers. But this land, though unused, is all held in private ownership, and, although neither the miners themselves nor any one who wanted to employ them in mining coal could get permission to use this land without paying for it a very high price, it is taxed at purely nominal rates—land worth thousands of dollars per acre paying taxes at the rate of seventeen cents per acre. Not satisfied with the ownership of all this mineral land, the operators in this region make a practice of neither selling nor leasing even the right to the surface of as much ground as would enable a miner to put up a house. The mine workers are all compelled to live in what are called company houses, and before they enter one of them are obliged to sign an agreement called a “cut-throat lease,” by which their right to legal formalities is waived, and the owner is empowered to put them out on five days’ notice. There are many points in this region from which

Sic in the original; probably “large contributions have been drawn. But more”.

all of the earth that the eye can rest upon, even from an elevation, is the property of one man or one corporation. On these large estates, all other "free and independent citizens" of the state of Pennsylvania and of the United States of North America, although very many of them have been born upon the spot, are mere tenants at will, who can not only do no work without this earth owner's permission, but can at any time be driven forth at his will and caprice. In this region one may hear just such stories of individual tyranny and oppression as may, or, perhaps rather, could, some years ago, have been heard in western Ireland, with the addition of stories of robbery by the pluck-me stores, at which, in defiance of the Pennsylvania law designed to prevent this abuse, the miners on some of the coal estates are yet compelled to trade. Under this state of things labor combinations are the only means by which the coal miner can prevent himself from being utterly crowded to the wall, and strikes his only weapon. He has not yet learned to use the ballot, and is only in some cases waking up to the fact that a man without any right to use land is as unnatural a thing as a fish without water.

The work of the coal miner is exceedingly hard and dangerous, and as it is carried on makes men old and broken down long before their time. Yet the average pay in the anthracite coal regions of the much protected state of Pennsylvania, which ought to be a paradise for workingmen if high tariffs could really protect labor, only amount, according to the report of the Pennsylvania bureau of industrial statistics for 1885, to $6.67 per week. The wages, for an eight per cent increase on which the Lehigh miners have struck, amount to about thirty-nine cents for the mining of a cubic ton of coal, while the royalty paid to the owners of the coal in this district, when mines are worked or leased from the owner, will average nearly, if not quite, fifty cents per market ton. The bulk of the coal increases with the breaking, and thus. while[sic] the miner who works in danger and darkness under the surface of the earth, gets thirty-nine cents for mining a certain quantity of coal, the mere owner—not the operator, who furnishes capital and machinery, but the mere owner, who, as owner, does nothing whatever to aid in the production of coal—gets some sixty-two and a half cents for giving his gracious permission to break that much coal out of the vein in which it was implanted ages before man came upon the earth.

Implanted in the vein for whom?

The laws operative in the Lehigh valley, as in all the rest of the coal regions and all over this broad land, say virtually that this coal was implanted in the vein—this gathered sunlight, with all its potency of light and heat and power, was during the long ages of the carboniferous era stored up—for the Lehigh coal and navigation company and Messrs. Pardee, Coxe and others, their heirs and assigns; and that no other human being has any right to take or use it, save with their permission and upon their terms.

But go into any Sunday school and ask the youngest scholar, "Who made the coal?" and he will answer, "God."

Ask him for whom God made the coal, and you shall see if he will think of any Lehigh coal and navigation company or any Mr. Pardee or Mr. Coxe.

So true is it. as[sic] some one has said, that if great wrongs perpetuate themselves from generation to generation, it is only because the man hushes the questionings of the child.

HENRY GEORGE.

Sic in the original; probably "thus, while".
Sic in the original; probably "So true is it, as".

Page 2 of 8

p. 2, col. 1

ANTI-POVERTY.

NEARLY SIX THOUSAND PEOPLE AT THE ACADEMY AND STEINWAY HALL.

No Word of Discouragement, but the Fight Promptly Renewed—The Chairmen James P. Archibald and Everett Glackin—Addresses by Dr. McGlynn, Henry George, Louis F. Post, Professor David B. Scott and W. J. Goreuch—The Meeting at Arthur Hall.

The first meeting of the Anti-poverty society after the election was not one to encourage those who[sic] hope that the movement for the land for the people can be killed by a single blow. Every seat and all available standing room in the Academy of Music was occupied, while Steinway hall was well filled. That is, between five thousand and six thousand people gathered on the first Sunday after their defeat to renew their pledges of loyalty to their party's principles and to promise a continuance of the fight with renewed energy. Miss Munier's chorus sang in both halls and the wonderful progress recently made by it was again the subject of general remark.

CHAIRMAN ARCHIBALD'S REMARKS.

James P. Archibald presided at the Academy of Music. "Was ever party so defeated?" he said. He then continued:

We are a united labor party; we have the pure gold of the party among us; we have been in the crucible; the dross has been removed from us and to-day our party is composed of thirty-eight thousand men, who are fearless and faithful and cannot be bought. (Applause.) We have to-day a party that will not easily be killed; we have in it men whom we can trust, upon whom we can depend. We have had in the past the idea that the entire organized labor of this state was with us, but as a man who has been interested in organized labor for many years, and who has given all that he could spare toward it, I do feel ashamed of the part that it took in this election in the state of New York. (Applause.) Organized labor in this last fight has nothing to boast of. Whether the position it has taken has been the result of the egotism of its leaders, or the personal vanity of those who have sought to control it from time to time, I know not; but whatever the cause, it has been proven that organized labor has been recreant to its own interests (A voice, "You are right") and to those who have sacrificed themselves in its behalf. (Immense applause.) We have had many things to contend against. We have had the public press of this country almost solidly against us, but no portion of the press has pierced the heart of organized labor like that which organized labor made; I allude to the *Irish World*. (Hisses and groans.) We come out of the fight, as I have said, unsullied and uncontaminated; and no body of men ever stood together with a fiercer hatred of anything that was detrimental to the interests of humanity than we do in standing together against such influences hereafter.

We are not in the least deterred by what some would call our defeat, but we are rather more encouraged, because we believe that our ranks are more firmly welded together, and we are in a position to show a more solid front. I have no doubt that in the near future, out of what our enemies have pleased to call a disastrous defeat, victory will rise triumphant, as right does always and ever triumph over might. (Great applause.)

Sic in the original; probably "who (broken type)".

DR. M'GLYNN'S ADDRESS.

Dr. McGlynn was received with unbounded enthusiasm when he was introduced by the chairman. After several minutes of cheering he said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: You were invited from this platform by the chairman last Sunday evening to assemble here again this evening to take part in what he prophesied should be a wake (laughter); and, so that there should be no mistake as to his meaning, he expressly added, I believe, the wake of one or the other of the two old parties. (Laughter.) He did not make any mistake in inviting you to be present this evening at that ecclesiastical ceremony facetiously known as a wake, and I am glad to see that you have accepted the invitation in such large numbers that Steinway hall is also very comfortably filled. (Applause.) It may seem to some superficial observers, scoffers, enemies of the cause that is for us a religion, that we made a mistake, that our prophecy has miscarried, and that we should have assembled here to celebrate the wake of our own movement (laughter); but I am happy to say that there is no such thought in my mind. (Great applause.) There is no such depression or fear in my heart as to the future of the great movement that we have called by the religious name of a new crusade as to make me feel that we should assemble here for any other purpose to-night than to sing songs of praise to the Most High for the mighty things that He has done in so short a time, and that are full of the most potent promise of the full redemption of His people. (Applause.)

It is true that there should be celebrated a wake of one or the other of the old parties, and many, thoughtlessly, would be ready to say of the party that failed to get as many votes as the other in the late election. I say no. We are prepared to celebrate the wake after the ignominious death of the party that triumphed at the polls with such a victory that it is questionable whether it will ever live to gain a similar one. (Great and prolonged applause.) That party has sinned most egregiously; it has shown a peculiar satanic malignancy against God's truth preached from this and similar platforms, and God were not God if that party should not be signally and speedily punished for this crime against His laws, against justice, against truth and against humanity. (Applause.)

A man who afterward lived to be president of the United States happened to find himself in Wall street the day that President Lincoln died, when many thoughtless men were ready to despair of the republic. He stood upon the steps of the treasury as if inspired, and said to the multitude, "God reigns, and the government at Washington still lives." So we, on the morrow of what the superficial would call a defeat, still point to heaven, to God the Father, and say that He still lives, and that this movement still lives, and that it is destined with His blessing to go on conquering and to conquer till men shall be ashamed to remember and still more reluctant to confess that they ever doubted the truth, or ever spoke word against it, or raised hand to beat it down. (Applause.)

It would be extremely amusing if it were not so sad a matter, but in spite of the sadness and the seriousness of the subject, it still is extremely amusing to hear the organs of the boasted successful party talking of the vindication of their principles—(laughter)—when every moderately well-informed citizen of this city well knows that the so-called vindication of principle was at the expense of shameful crimes against the very sacred arc[sic] of our liberties by the most horrid desecration of the ballot boxes, by the purchasing of men by the tens of thousands, inducing them so to degrade their manhood, so to sin against their citizenship, so to perjure their consciences as to accept a paltry bribe for their vote; and

p. 2, col. 2

that is called a vindication of principle. (Laughter and applause.) Ask the wretched men who by the hundreds were literally led by the collar to deposit a ballot that had been paid for, what principles were they vindicating? Ask the fifty men in each election district who were hired workers, receiving from five to ten dollars a day, whose chief, most important and earliest work[sic] was depositing the ballot placed between their fingers by the captain of the

Sic in the original; probably "ark".

election district, and the twenty-six employes of the city departments who draw their annual salary frequently because of their vote on election day, making a total of some seventy-six persons in one election district out of a total of about two or three hundred; ask them what principles they were vindicating other than the wretched, pagan, selfish principle of putting money in their pockets at the expense of prostituting their manhood, debasing and degrading their citizenship and sinning against their consciences and against God! (Applause) And we are asked to weep over our defeat. In the first place, we did not expect to carry the state of New York; we were hardly so fatuitous as to believe that in so short a time so miraculous a conversion of men could have been made from their prejudices, from their ignorance, from their unreasonable adhesion to old parties, to old names, to old grooves; still less could we have hoped in so short a time to overcome the serried ranks of corrupt political forces on the one side or on the other; we might well have hoped, we had reason to hope for a much larger vindication, if you choose to use the word, of our principles in the ballot boxes in this city; we had every reason to believe that men who but a year ago to the number of 68,000 voted for the same platform and even for the same candidate would nearly all have voted for him and for that platform again. We have every reason to believe that hundreds of them are still alive, that the angel of death has not destroyed some 30,000 voters in the city of New York who voted for this platform a year ago. We have reason to believe that many who saw the light, many who were influenced by the great truth, many who showed themselves capable of some enthusiasm in a holy cause, have shut their eyes to the light and turned their backs upon the cause. But the reason for this is not hard to find; it is in all manner of petty and unworthy motives, one of which I have already mentioned. Thousands and thousands of the poorest, the wretched, the unemployed, often with insufficient clothing, men living in dens in tenement houses, were induced to accept a few dollars to get a comfortable dinner or two, a barrel of flour, or a ton of coal or whatever it might be—something characteristic of misery, of the degradation that comes from abject poverty.

But we must be philosophical enough and Christian enough to reflect that the very degradation of which all this gives evidence is for us an additional reason, an incitement to do what we can to make good the name of this society (applause), to do all that we can to justify our calling this society by the name of anti-poverty, to do all we can to destroy the cursed thing root and branch, to emancipate men from so terrible a degradation that they thus sell themselves. This is an additional reason why we should try to emancipate men, and we should remember that in spite of what the poet has said, "Who would be free, himself must strike the blow," you will hardly find an instance in history where slaves, in the truest sense of the word, ever freed themselves. (Applause.) The very debasement, the degradation, the misery, the ignorance, the stupidity, the incapacity for reason that are the necessary consequences of long protracted slavery, render it morally impossible that the slave ever should emancipate himself. The emancipation has to come from on high; it has to come from men with a freer vision, with powerful brains, with mighty hearts, with heroic courage, who are willing to die for the slave, even while the slave himself, unconscious of his degradation, is ready to accept the bribe of some politician or to raise his voice and shout, "Away with him; away with him! Crucify him' crucify him[sic]!" (Applause.)

And thus it has been. No doubt many who voted this ticket a year ago, this year have voted against it, and in their disappointment they may have tried to find some excuse for their unspeakable degradation by saying that five dollars in hand is better than prospective emancipation in five, ten, fifteen or twenty years, after they, perhaps, shall be dead, and that a comfortable dinner once in a while is a good thing, and that therefore Christianity and all this talk about abolishing poverty and about the emancipation of the laboring masses and the abolition of industrial slavery is all very fine talk, but money talks in the mean time. They will think it clever to say that a good way to begin to abolish their poverty is to abolish it to the amount of the bribe that they accept for their vote. (Applause.)

Now, then, it is a very sad thing that so many should have thus failed to do their duty; but it does not discourage us in the least; it makes us but the more determined to wage relentless war against the corruption that is thus so

emboldened that it does not attempt to conceal itself, but stalks abroad in the daylight and actually boasts of its triumph as a vindication of principle. (Great applause.) The sad thing is that the public monitors, who are supposed or assumed to be public teachers of morals and of justice, the preservers of our liberties and our rights, even those that were bitterly opposed to the election of a certain successful candidate, are now rejoicing over the general result in the state and the triumph of democratic principles by the election of the excellent state ticket, gainsaying the fact, of which they cannot be ignorant, that that excellent state ticket was elected by precisely the same men who elected the candidate that they were denouncing as utterly corrupt and unfit to hold public office, and precisely by the same means, namely, by wholesale corruption, by the buying up of voters literally by the tens of thousands, so that, according to some calculations, including office holders paid by the year for doing election work and those paid on election day by the day, there would be some forty to sixty thousand men who voted the democratic ticket in this city last Tuesday who were paid for their vote. It is also claimed that the plurality obtained in that manner settles, a year in advance, the presidential election, ignoring the fact that two can play at the same game, as if the republican party, having been caught napping this time, but having usually a longer and a wider purse than the democracy, should not actually be alert enough at the next election to raise twice as large a corruption fund as its opponent raised this year, and buy up sufficient voters to vindicate their principles. And that is what we may expect, for the party that has spent its half or three quarters of a million, according to various accounts, this year will hardly be able to raise that amount next time, and therefore the republicans may be expected to come with fresh "principles" to the polls at the next presidential election, and these fresh "principles" will be so numerous and so cogent and so forceful that they are almost sure to carry the day. (Laughter and applause.) You remember the beautiful, new, fresh, crisp "principles" that were said to have been scattered so copiously and to have made so powerful an impression on the minds of the voters of Ind-

p. 2, col. 3

ana in 1880, in the shape of new two dollar bills (laughter) fresh from the treasury by way of Mr. Stephenson's bank in Third avenue, and there was such a powerful impression made on the minds of the voters by the diffusion of these "principles" that Indiana, being a democratio[sic] state, was converted into a republican state.

Now, that is all very funny, and it excites our hilarity; but as I said here last Sunday evening in telling an anecdote that Wendell Phillips used to tell, which was always sure to excite great hilarity, so that he might very well before telling this story have said, "It may seem to you a very funny story, but it is not; it is a very sad one; it indicates the impending ruin of the republic;" it indicates, he might have said, that before the completion of the first century of the history of our republic we are already in the same position in which Rome was in the eighth, ninth or the tenth century of her history. It would show that we have lived faster, and that corruption with us has come much sooner; it would show that we are already in that condition in which the republic of Rome was when under the forms of republicanism the chief magistracy, under the old euphonious name of generals or imperator, would actually be put up on the auction block by the praetorian guards and sold to the highest bidder.

That is very funny. Yes, but where are our liberties? Where is "the land of the free and the home of the brave?" Where is the refuge of the oppressed and the down-trodden of all nations? Where is the beacon light of liberty, of justice, of manhood? Where are the hopes of hundreds and hundreds of men all the world over? Where are the dreams and the professions of seers and sages and teachers who have gone smiling to the gibbet and to the stake in Russia, in Germany, in Italy, in Turkey, everywhere hoping for better days to come because they have seen a wondrous light in the west telling them of a land of freedom, telling of a land that was supposed to have based all its institutions upon the magnificent, god-like, inspired utterances of men who must have been more than men, who had written in a document of liberty for themselves and all mankind that God has endowed them with equal

Sic in the original; probably "work (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "Crucify him! crucify him!".
Sic in the original; probably "democratic".

rights to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness? I say that Wendell Phillips might well have prefaced his story, and I might well repeat the same thing again in telling you of this corruption and say, "If you have tears to shed prepare to shed them now."

It is sad that we should be constantly making a jest of what should inspire us with infinite sadness for our country; and I say, with full deliberation, that if it were not that God in His providence has raised up men to reassert the Declaration of Independence, to swear by that declaration that they shall never rest till they shall have done what they can to make it common and practical among men, then might we well to-day despair of the republic. (Applause.) Men who went about from polling place to polling place on election day have told me of the corruption they witnessed, and I saw a little of it myself, for I was not so recreant to my duty as a citizen, although I am a priest, as not to fulfill that most sacred duty of registering and voting, and I confess what little I saw, and much more that I saw last year, was well adapted to inspire me or any thinking man with unspeakable sadness. To see the flushed faces, to perceive the whiskey sodden breaths, to see the eager expression of countenance, to feel that the sacred ballot box, the sacred urn in which the destiny, perhaps, of the country was being decided, should be so guarded and so surrounded that everything should seem to tell such of degradation, of poverty, of misery, of vice, where all should tell rather of virtue and decorum, of law, of order, of happiness for the future, that spectacle was infinitely saddening, and if it were not for the teachings of this platform, if it were not for the principles of this society, if it were not for the magnificent declarations of that united labor party, which so-called organized labor on last Tuesday and before and since did, has done and is doing so much to injure, then might we well despair of being ever able to overcome the serried ranks of corruption.

We have to contend not merely against the deprivation, the degradation, the vice, the poverty, the misery, the crimes of the poor, but the worse crimes of the respectable members of society, of the so-called learned and intelligent men. The men who have planned the crime against their country's life are not ignorant men; they are not poor men: they are largely professional men: they are men sitting upon the judicial bench; they are men ready to buy the nomination for high positions on the bench by offering to various parties twenty and twenty-five thousand dollars as bribe money for their nomination. (Applause.) The so-called respectable classes are the more criminal because they have not the excuse of poverty.

I have seen within a week a quotation from a carefully prepared article of a professor of political economy in Yale university, Professor William G Sumner, a man for whom I have heretofore had some respect because of his liberal and philosophical views about commerce, about free trade; but I was amazed to see that the intention of the professor is to controvert explictly[sic] and determinedly the essential teachings of the Declaration of Independence; and so we have the strange spectacle of Professor Sumner, evidently from a point of agnosticism. on the one hand, and Bishop Gilmore (hisses) of Cleveland agreeing in denouncing that sacred instrument. Bishop Gilmore, the author of the pastoral letter of the province of Cincinnati, actually starts out with a deliberate thesis to show that men are not born equal, are not born free, and Professor Sumner, in an utterly pagan spirit, says something like this: Man has no more right to life than a rattlesnake. He has no more right to liberty than a tiger or a lion; he has no more right to the pursuit of happiness than such as he can vindicate by showing his superior fitness. (Hisses.)

You see to-night better than you saw last Sunday night not only the magnificent philosophy, but the necessity of the platform upon which we stand if there is to be any hope of the republic. We must teach the slave, if we can, his rights, his dignity, his sanctity as a man; we must teach him that, imbruted as he is, he is yet stamped with the ineffable, august image of God the Father; we must teach him the essence and the core of all religion, the fatherhood of God; and we must rebuke the blasphemy of the blatant, triumphant, bribe-giving politician, who dismisses with a sneer the brotherhood of man as that nonsense that has been effectually got rid of. We begin to

Sic in the original; probably "explicitly".

see now better than ever before, dear friends, that the things that have been said to you from this platform are not fanciful sketches; that they are not the mere rhapsodies of heated imaginations, of visionary enthusiasts; we begin to see more clearly that it is only by bringing men back to this essentially religious principle, by showing that the Declaration of Independence is a profession of religion as well as a profession of the rights and liberties of men, that we can emancipate the masses, that we can bring back our society to anything like such order, such liberty, such equality as shall give us any reason to hope for its perpetuity.

The mission of the crusaders who have taken up the cross of this holy war for God, for humanity, for justice, for equality, is to go out into the whole country, into every city

p. 2, col. 4

and into every family, and preach religion to the masses and teach them the unspeakable dignity with which each one of them is invested in being endowed by the Creator with the equal right to life, to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness, in being stamped by the Creator with the very image of himself; teaching them not so much their rights as their duties; teaching them to forget their selfish interests for the sake of justice and for the brotherhood. (Applause.)

And this is what we have again sworn to do. The very afternoon of the day after the recent election the executive committee of your society met at the Cooper union. There was an unusually large attendance of men whom we have learned to know and respect for their wisdom and their virtne[sic]. They were of one mind, that in spite of the apparent defeat the atmosphere was clear; that the unworthy, the half-hearted, the false friends, had been sloughed off; that we had made new and faster friends; that we had gained a great moral victory throughout the state, this and neighboring cities, and that we must begin that very day a new campaign.

Let us into whose hearts the spirit of God has poured a holy unction and a new consecration for a crusade of justice, for humanity and for God, find no bitterness in our minds or hearts, but infinite compassion for the degraded multitudes of men, and new incitement to go on to the bitter end, toiling and preaching the word, never tiring of the long journey that we may have to make, never heeding the ignominy, the scorn, the calumny and the malice that may be hurled against us, with perfect confidence that Truth is eternal, that the eternal years of God are hers, while Error, writhing in her pain, must die amid her worshipers. (Great and long continued applause.)

AN INVITATION FROM MEDICAL STUDENTS.

Dr Montague R. Leverson was then introduced, and on behalf of the students of the College of Physicians and Surgeons invited Mr. George to address them at an early day, explaining to them and other college students the theory of the taxation of land values and the manner in which he hopes to abolish poverty through the adoption of that principle. Dr. Leverson said that he hoped that after Mr. George had taken some time for repose he would accept the invitation. He further said:

These young men who have signed this invitation, and their fellows, come from all parts of the Union, and they will, I trust, go forth as eager disciples as I have been from the hour I abandoned my own book on political economy, because your work taught me that I was wrong. (Applause.)

HENRY GEORGE'S ADDRESS.

When Mr. George came forward he was greeted with cheer after cheer. Mr. George said:

If I had been elected secretary of state you could not have received me better (Applause.) Indeed, I doubt if you would have thought of me quite as much, knowing, as I do, that there is nothing that binds men so closely

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Sic in the original; probably "virtue".

together as standing in a minority for a great truth. (Cries of "Hear! hear!") Had we carried the election on Tuesday all sorts of people would have been trooping to our standard—the self-seekers, the men who want office, those who want to get into the lead to betray the cause, those who are attracted merely by success. Now we know that every comrade is tried and true. (Applause.) We know that it is principle and nothing but principle; truth and nothing but truth; a high and noble aim and nothing but that high and noble aim, that bands us together to continue the struggle that will never end until poverty is abolished from the earth.

After I "repose," the good doctor has said, I don't intend to repose until I repose in the grave. (Applause.) I accept this invitation so kindly tendered me by my friend, Dr. Leverson, of whom it can indeed be said he has shown the highest of all qualities, the quality of intellectual honesty (applause); that he threw away his book in order to hail and to accept the truth. (Applause.)

I have been pleased since Tuesday night. (A voice: "They will all get educated after awhile.") Yes, they will all get educated after awhile, and to educate them is our real struggle. What we have said again and again is that we do not seek to get the offices; we are seeking to educate the people, and in that respect the movement is going on all the faster and all the better. (Applause.)

I have been pleased, as I began to say, since Tuesday night at the expressions in the letters that have come to me from all parts of the state and all parts of the Union and the sentiments I have heard from every one of our districts. I have yet to meet a man who looked on the result with repining. I have yet to meet the man who felt discouraged. (Applause.) On the contrary, it has nerved us; it has strengthened us. We know our numbers now, and we have no reason to feel ashamed of that noble army of over 73,000 men who, in the state of New York on Tuesday last, against every influence that could be exerted and for candidates who could not be elected, polled a vote that meant simple adherence to a great principle. (Applause.) Seventy-three thousand men in New York state alone! How many men are there, then, to-day between the Atlantic and the Pacific? (A voice: "A million!") Yes, a million, at least. So far has the truth won its way that it never again can be hidden. This fight must go on. (Applause.)

We might disband the united labor party; we might give up the Anti-poverty society (cries of "no, never!"); that great priest whom God has raised up to preach this gospel (applause) might agree to keep his peace, and we, one and all, might cease our efforts, and still this struggle would go on. Others would take our places in the fight that we had shirked, and ultimately the victory would be won. It is within the power of each of us, the weakest, the humblest, to help this movement forward a little; it is not in the power of all of us to stop or to stay it. (Applause.) When a truth like this comes into the world, when it gets as far as this has done, then the future is secure. Through strife, through defeat, through treachery, through opposition, the great cause will go on. There is something behind it more powerful than we; there is behind it something that will urge it on, no matter what we may do or what we may not do. And for ourselves, what reward can be greater than that of knowing that, no matter what comes to-day or to-morrow, or next week or next year, we struggle, do our little best on the side of that power that all through the universe works for good? (Applause.)

I came in when Dr. McGlynn was speaking of the cry that went up from the rabble in Jerusalem, "Crucify him! crucify him!" and it is the history of the world. If poverty meant physical deprivation; if it merely meant hunger and cold, it would not be such a curse as it is. The bitterness of poverty, that which calls on us to exert every effort in this struggle to abolish it, is that it stunts and starves the mental and the moral nature of men just as much as it does the physical. (Applause.) It degrades, it imbrutes, it corrupts, and that is the very reason that we are against it so earnestly, and the reason that the men whom we try most to save are always, and in the nature of things always will be, so easily rallied against us. (Applause.) And there is, too, it seems to me, in that idea that runs not merely through Christianity, but through so many other religions, of the God coming down to earth to help men, another deep

p. 2, col. 5

teaching. They who are degraded can never raise themselves; help comes from above. It is always those who have received power and intelligence and strength who must go and help those who are beneath; and that is the reason why we in this movement have always called on men in the name of duty, in the name of sympathy, have appealed to them not so much on account of what they can do to help themselves, but what they can do to help others. (Applause.) And when the spirit of this great movement enters into a man's soul, when its truth enlightens his mind, when its power appeals to his conscience, immediate results are to him nothing. Whether it is 7,000 votes or 700,000 votes or seven votes, he will struggle on all the same. (Applause.) Though he may know that victory never can come in his life time, yet even during his life time his view of life will be higher, his trust in God will be firmer, his assurance of a future life will be stronger, for the faith and hope that he has entertained with regard to this movement. (Applause.)

When a man sees and fully realizes that degrading poverty and all the vice and the crime that spring from it are not due to the laws of the Creator, but are due to the selfishness and ignorance of men; when he sees that if mankind would really carry out in their laws those simple precepts taught to fishermen and mechanics by the sea of Galilee eighteen hundred years ago, then we might all be rich; when he sees that the spring of that bitter struggle for wealth that now debases so much of human life and wastes so much of human power would be gone; when he once realizes that if justice were done, the kingdom of God might indeed be brought on earth, there comes to him a higher ideal of human life; there comes to him a faith, a trust that is more to him than any of the things that the world to-day counts to be success. (Applause.) He knows and feels that though here he may only face disaster; though during the years he has to spend here his path may seem like a road constantly leading up hill; that yet the time will come when he may hope at last to hear the words, "Well done, thou good and faithful servant." (Applause.)

And so let us go on, each in our own way spreading the fire and the hope of this new crusade, not merely in our meetings, but in our homes and our lives, talking to friends and acquaintances, in asking questions and setting men to thinking. Our work is the work of education—the education of men and women, of graybeards as well as the little children. What we have to do is to awaken thought, to arouse conscience, to get men to see the simple truth that injustice[sic] and liberty are the great remedies for all social and political evils. (Applause.)

REMARKS BY LOUIS F. POST.

Mr. Louis F. Post received an enthusiastic greeting upon his introduction by the chairman. He said:

Well, there is no use of disguising it, they did thrash us last Tuesday But[sic] I guess we needed it. We were getting a little too big for our boots. (Laughter.) When I was a boy I went to school to Professor Scott; he used to thrash once in a while, and the thrashing did us good; and so I believe that this thrashing will be a good thing for our movement. (Applause.)

It is not much of a thrashing when you come to think about it, for with thirty-eight thousand voters in our ranks in the city of New York in whom we can trust, and forty thousand outside in the state of New York, we can push this movement along so far that they won't be able to thrash us after a little while.

There is one practical lesson that we should especially draw from this election, and that is that we must immediately go to work to procure the passage of a bill making the Australian system of voting a law (applause); and I think we can get such a bill through this winter; we can if the republicans don't take the hint that Dr. McGlynn threw out. I felt very confident that we might get that law through next winter until Dr. McGlynn

Sic in the original; probably "justice".
Sic in the original; probably "last Tuesday. But".

threw out that hint, because the republicans heard something drop last Tuesday, too, and they have a voice in the legislature, and I was imagining that we might get some of them to help us put through that bill. (Applause.) But if that purse of theirs holds out, they may think it cheaper to buy votes next fall from the democrats than to let us take away votes from both of the parties honestly. That is what the Australian system will enable us to do. It will not be profitable to bribe when this law is in force, because there is no way of knowing that the man is going to vote as he agreed to. There is no way of telling until after the vote is counted; and these parties will not pay for votes which are so uncertain. This will stop the buying of votes and the intimidation of voters, and then we can get an honest expression of opinion at the ballot box.

We have all been led off to talk about this election that is over, but we have a campaign before us which is not merely an election campaign, but a campaign that extends throughout the entire year, in which it is our duty to do what we can to abolish poverty by getting people to understand what it is that makes poverty, and to remove the cause.

I notice that since this society was started all sorts of quack plans for the abolition of poverty have been proposed, and I saw a most remarkable one in a paper last Sunday. I don't recall the name of the man who proposed it, but I think it was Proctor. He says that the way to abolish poverty is not to eat so much. (Hisses.) That is a curious kind of philosophy that tells a man who is so poor that he can't get enough to eat that the way to abolish his poverty is to eat less. (Laughter.) But that is the proposition, and it grows out of the deceptive fallacy that poverty is to be abolished by economy. You can't abolish poverty by economy. It is not by saving wealth that poverty is to be abolished, but by making more wealth and securing its just and honest distribution. (Applause.) Suppose everybody economized in food, how would the grocer like it? Suppose everybody economized in clothes, how would the tailor like it? Suppose everybody economized in houses, how would it suit the builder? And so you can go through the whole category of businesses. If you carry out the principle of economizing, it will make less demand for production, and that makes less demand for labor, and this in turn makes lower wages, so that what a man saves in consumption he loses in wages, and in the end you get more poverty than you had before. (Applause.) Let us see to it that whoever wants to work shall have an opportunity to work, and then away will go poverty.

Every man can abolish his own poverty if you give him a show. But these people that talk about anti-poverty societies of one expect a man to abolish his own poverty without having a show. The men that do abolish their own poverty without having a show have to capture somebody else's show (laughter). and then that somebody else has a harder time to abolish his poverty. Therefore we must get right down to bottom rock, and insist that the opportunities that God provided for all shall be secured to all, and that what every man produces shall be his, and that no part of it shall be taken from him. When we have accomplished that, poverty will be abolished, and we can accomplish it in a very simple way, the way that you have heard spoken of here frequently, simply by shifting taxes from the products of labor to the value of land. (Applause.)

What is the effect of taxation that falls

p. 2, col. 6

upon the products of labor? Simply to diminish production. Do you recall in French history during the last century when a tax was put upon windows and doors how it resulted? Hugo says a million and a half of peasants' cottages had but three openings, one door and two windows; two million had but two openings, one door and one window, and half a million had but one opening, a door. The window and door tax caused that, because the more windows or more doors a man had the more tax he had to pay; and therefore he had as few as possible. It is the same with the production of things—of houses, clothing, food, groceries. If you put taxes upon those things, people will economize in them, and the result will be the same as the tax upon windows and doors. If taxes falling upon the products of labor will retard production, then it is clear that if you take the taxes off production, it will have the effect of increasing production.

But that will not be enough in itself, and we shall need a revenue. Let us collect our revenue from the values of land, from something that is not produced by one man, but by the whole community, and which attaches to what was created by God. Let us tax land values for public use. Without going into any description of the system, let me call your attention to the statement in one of the morning papers. Within a stone's throw of here is what used to be a farm, known as the Spingler farm, extending from somewhere about Fifteenth street to Thirteenth street, and from Union square and University place to Sixth avenue. An old chap used to make a living off of that by raising cabbages on it. That was all right, but he has not raised any cabbages there for a long time, nor have his descendants, and while the population of New York has grown and people here have wanted that farm for a higher economic purpose, that old farmer and his descendants have hung on to it with the grip of death; they have got the farm, or rather they have got the land that used to be called a farm, and hundreds of people have put houses upon it, and there is one descendant of that old man who now is a millionaire simply from her ground rents; she has not put any buildings upon the land, neither did her ancesters[sic]; she does not do anything with the land; people who needed it have put up buildings and are using them. and they are paying her for the privilege of using that part of God's earth, besides paying taxes on the buildings.

So long as a few individuals get such values instead of the whole people, just so long are we violating the eighth commandment.

Some say they can't understand this. Well, they are not the only people that don't seem to be able to understand the eighth commandment. There are people up in Sing Sing and across the river here that don't understand the eighth commandment, and that is why they are there. Judge Maguire, I noticed, was a little charitable to folks that can't understand this simple principle. He seemed to think that we ought to be charitable to them. Perhaps we ought. But these people always make me think of what a young lady said to a dude. The dude was a constant caller and he took up a great deal of her time. He had very soft hands, and did not talk about anything much except those soft hands of his. Finally she one day asked, "Mr. De Jones, how do you keep your hands so soft?" He answered that that was a very easy matter. "I always wear my gloves to bed."

"And does wearing your gloves to bed keep your hands so soft?"

"That is what does it," he answered.

"Well, Mr. De Jones, do you always wear your hat to bed also?" (Laughter.)

I sometimes think that perhaps those people who don't understand this simple question probably wear their hats to bed. (Great laughter and applause.)

Mr. Croasdale announced that the Academy of Music could not be engaged for the 20th and 27th of November and that the society had rented Steinway and Irving halls for those occasions.

Mr. W. J. Gorsuch of Philadelphia was the last speaker. He declared that the united labor party had achieved a great victory; that it discovered that there were 37,000 men in the city of New York who believed in its principles and were willing to evidence that belief by their works. In a fight for justice, for the oppressed, for the wronged as against the wrongdoer, one was equal to five men, and among the most energetic of the workers for the party were women. There could be and was no reason for the party to feel discouraged. It had entered the late canvass for a higher purpose than ousting one set of men from office and putting in another; and that the fight would never cease till the victory was won.

Sic in the original; probably "ancestors".

At Steinway Hall.

At Steinway hall Everett Glackin, president of Typographical union No. 6, presided. Though attributing the result on Tuesday largely to bribery, he declared that organized labor had failed to do its duty. The working people will learn in time that their old methods are inadequate; that strikes, though sometimes necessary, will fail to give relief from existing conditions. When a strike is in progress the great body of the strikers are always found loafing about headquarters. They are waiting for the employer to give in or for the strike to be declared off. They have nothing else to do and no other means of earning a living. The theories of Henry George, when applied, will give the land to the people and assure work for all who are willing to work. Then there will be no further need for strikes or trade unions. Mr. Glackin said that as a trade unionist and a Knight of Labor he felt that he had the right to talk plainly and point out to workingmen the true remedy for the evils under which they suffer. He was listened to attentively and heartily applauded.

The chairman then introduced Henry George, who was received with even greater enthusiasm than during the canvass. Mr. George declared that those who had taken the cross of the new crusade were not discomfited or even discouraged by Tuesday's defeat. Over 37,000 men have voted for our principles, and they can be depended on to stand together hereafter. They were not bought, and they cannot be bought.

Mr. Gorsuch and Professor Scott followed in speeches promising steadfast work in the future. Professor Scott was followed by Dr. McGlynn, who received the usual enthusiastic welcome, and was compelled to wait several minutes until the cheers and applause subsided. His speech was of the same general tenor as that delivered in the Academy.

The Arthur Hall Meeting in Harlem.

The Harlem anti-poverty society, under the management of Rev. C. P. McCarthy, began the new campaign last Sunday evening in Arthur hall, Sixth avenue and 126th street.

The meeting was opened by the song of "The New Crusade," Mrs. McCarthy presiding at the piano, the audience joining in the chorus.

The Rev. C. P. McCarthy then said that his subject as advertised consisted in the affirmation that "The cross of the new crusade marches onward, bribery and corruption notwithstanding."

He then proceeded:

The set-back which the united labor party experienced at the polls on last Tuesday con- continued on p. 3 →

p. 3, col. 1
← continued from p. 2 stitutes one of those normal checks from which final triumph is assured. The strength which springs from mere numbers, and is not properly matured by corresponding moral and educational forces, will find itself deficient when placed face to face in conflict with an enemy whose skill in political battle has accumulated resources selected by long experience.

The righteousness of our cause, and our confidence in the immediate success of those principles of truth and justice upon which it is founded, have in a great measure produced expectations of immediate success which mature experience would have enabled us to reject; and were it not for these principles of truth and justice, as a party we would be to-day extinct.

But what are the facts? We are, it is true, somewhat discouraged, but not dismayed; we are cast down, but not destroyed. the reason of which is that the real life-principle in our enterprise has not been touched or in the smallest degree weakened—nay, it has been strengthened, made more vigorous by the struggle, or, speaking more correctly, the opening skirmish of the mighty battle which is yet to come! We are now in a condition to realize with critical exactitude our practical strength, which we can estimate without making the mistakes into which we have been led by false calculations made upon last year's vote, which was exclusively confined to the office of the mayoralty.

When I now preach the cross of the new crusade, I proclaim that "common salvation" concerning which St. Jude of old wrote when he exhorted those to whom he wrote to "contend earnestly for the faith which was once delivered unto the saints," that faith which involved practical obedience to the golden rule of the Divine Master.

What are bribery and corruption but the children of poverty?

I say those who supply the funds at public elections, by the use of which offices are bought and sold and the public conscience polluted, these are the men (no matter how high their stations are, so far as money is concerned, or office, for character they have none except that which qualifies them for a swift entrance into pandemonium) who are the real anarchists and cut-throats of society.

This bribery and corruption fund last Tuesday was one of the chief instrumentalities by which the ballot box was captured and the elective franchise was made an article of barter and sale.

In this Twenty-third assembly district men who lived the life of corner idlers, going from one groggery to another and begging for drinks, were the fit tools whom the political county and local bosses used to do their dirty work. These ne'er-do-wells and outcasts in many cases were seen with handfuls of greenbacks, inviting voters to drink, so that they might become the easier prey of their secret efforts to bribe.

Now, do not strike at the lower and meaner ins'ruments[sic] who carry on this traffic in the sacred liberties of the nation. The real criminals, the arch-anarchists, are those who supply the funds.

Sic in the original; probably "instruments".

There is only one remedy for so terrible an evil, and that is the substitution of the Australian method of balloting for the present system, by which the elective franchise is made a farce and a curse.

Mrs. Margaret Moore followed the chairman's address in a speech of a half an hour, which took the audience by storm, and elicited frequent, long and earnest applause. Her closing remarks brought tears to every eye, and she took her seat amid cheers, which were long continued. She described her arrest and imprisonment in Ireland and her meeting with Mr. Henry George and his remarkable work there with clearness and fine effect. At the close Mr. McCarthy announced that the Arthur hall meetings would be continued, and that next Sunday evening Mrs. Margaret Moore, Mr. Gorsuch and Mr. Howard Morse would be the principal speakers. The meeting begins precisely at 7:45, and those who want to get seats will do well to get to the hall at 7 o'clock.

It Was a Victory in Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN, Nov. 9.–The victory of the united labor party in Brooklyn on the 8th of November was far beyond my fondest hopes or expectations. I had marked 8,700 on the wall, whereas in the first ballot of the united labor party in Brooklyn we have polled nearly fifteen thousand votes–as counted by the enemy. Our force could have turned the tide of the old parties either way. But while that fact is a terror to them, it has no significance for us, for we propose to turn the tide our way, and with clean hands and our eyes fixed on the goal of equal justice, to march steadily on. But powers of evil massed their forces in New York city yesterday. Imagine a poor, struggling workingman, surrounded by a jam of well dressed men, each telling him "there is no hope of electing labor candidates[sic] this year; you are just throwing your vote away–it will be time enough to vote the labor ticket next year, when they are stronger and can reasonably expect to win," etc. Think of $10 offered to such a man, with no coal in the bin, no flour in the box, little or no work, and winter just before him. Think, friends of humanity, and pity him, while he struggles between his need and his conscience. Then think of the 36,482,[19] men who went through the fire of that terrible temptation and came out unscathed–36.482 veterans to-day, tried and true. Why! brothers, be proud! Did you expect to come out of this your first really great battle with all your army intact?–none killed, none wounded! Rejoice! This is the greatest victory you have won; you can never win a victory more grand in its significance, more ennobling in its results.

E. STILLMAN DOUBLEDAY.

Congratulations From the Hartford Land and Labor Club.

HARTFORD, Ct., Nov. 9.–At a meeting of the Hartford land and labor club, No. 1, of Connecticut, this evening, the following resolution was adopted:

> That we congratulate the united labor party of New York on the gallant fight they have made against the combined strength (and money) of the two old parties–not of New York only, but of the nation–and assure them of our sympathy and co-operation for the campaign of next year, believing that with the thirty-seven thousand educated votes to start with a long step is made toward the complete victory we all believe to be awaiting us in the near future.

Sic in the original; probably "candidates (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "36,482".

F. E. CLEVELAND, }
E. R. CLYMA, } Committee.
DR. SIMMONS, }

The Missionary Work Shall Go On.

NEW YORK, Nov. 11.—It has done me good to read THE STANDARD this week on the result of the election. If Henry George is not disheartened, the defeated voters certainly are not. We shall continue to do our missionary work, each man according to his powers. It is impossible that our cause can be smothered; growing education and increasing poverty will keep discontent awake and seek the remedy. Workingmen and farmers, if but slowly, are sure to come round. "The end crowns the work."

S. MENDELSON.

p. 3, col. 2

OUR GLORIOUS DEFEAT.

HOW TRIUMPHANT DEMOCRACY WON AN IGNOBLE VICTORY.

Money Everywhere—Poverty Hired to Vote for Its Own Perpetuation—Anti-Poverty Not Discouraged—Assembly District Organizations Cheerful and Ready for the Future.

"I never saw anything like it." "There never has been so much money spent on a presidential canvass as was spent here last Tuesday." "It was simply awful." These are a few of the expressions culled from the *World's* report of an interview with Police Commissioner Stephen B. French concerning the election of November 8. Mr. French is no novice to be easily shocked or astounded, for he has been a leader in many a hard fought campaign in which "the boys" of the republican party were his subordinates and allies, and his amazement at the expenditure of money at the last election is proof that it was, as he says, "simply awful."

It is clear by this time that the politicians of the democratic party regarded it as substantially the first struggle for the retention of power by their party in 1888, and felt that the party's very existence was at stake. Despite all the professions in favor of civil service reform and all protests against "pernicious activity" in politics, there was an actual parade of the strong desire on the part of the federal, state and municipal administrations that every candidate, good or bad, on the democratic ticket should be elected. Office holders as well as candidates were assessed, and the men in office went to the polls in solid phalanx to cast the vote on which they felt that their continuance in place depended.

An ostentatious display of indifference to any such trivial affair as a state election was made by Collector Magone, and public announcement was made that the custom house would remain open throughout the day. The promise was kept, but the building might as well have been closed. There was scarcely a voter in it during the day, and when one of the French steamers came in she was detained at Quarantine simply because there were not enough people on duty at the custom house to inspect her had she been permitted to come to her dock. Her passengers were brought to the city in a tug, carrying only their hand baggage, and there were not even enough men on duty to inspect that and much of it had to be left over night. This illustrates the interest taken by an ostentatiously indifferent body of federal officers in the contest.

The state and city officers made no such pretence, but worked openly at the polls all day along with the regular workers and the forty or fifty extras hired for the day at each of the 812 election districts, most of whom probably did nothing but vote the ticket.

Philip Kelly, chairman of the united labor party of the Eighteenth assembly district, had an experience in this line that illustrates the manner in which it was done. In the eighth election district of that assembly district there were fifty paid workers around the polls. Almost the only work they did. so far as a casual observer could see, was to go to the polls early, deposit their ballots for the right parties, and then proceed to the nearest gin mill and spend their hard earned five dollars. These workers did, however, one other good service to their purchasers. Many of the voters of the united labor party are hard working men, who are not able to lose a day's work. It is therefore necessary for them to vote before going to their work in the morning. In many of the election districts a long line of these paid "workers" formed at the polls before they had opened, and managed in this way to keep the voters who had to go to work from depositing their ballots until working time had arrived.

The Eighteenth assembly district was not the only one that suffered from a plethora of "workers." From nearly every other district in the city comes the same story. It would be a fair estimate to give an average of forty "workers" to every voting place in the city. At five dollars a "worker," a total of $200 for each voting place is made, and a grand total for the twelve voting[sic] places of $162,400.

In addition to this, the captain of each election district was given a certain sum with which to run the district. This money was spent in drinks and other "inducements" to the free and independent voter to vote the straight ticket. This sum varied according to the district. The minimum sum was not less than $25, while in some of the districts where purchasable voters abound it was nearer $200. A low average would be $75. making an aggregate of nearly $62,000. Inasmuch as both Tammany hall and the county democracy had their captains and were equally interested in polling a big vote, this figure may be multiplied by two, making nearly $125,000 for incidentals on election day.

In the Eighth assembly district there was perhaps more open purchasing of votes than in any of the other districts. Arrangements for the sale and delivery of the mattress vote had been made long before election day and the returns show that the bargains were carried out in good faith. The active work of the police in ferreting out illegally registered voters, and the great talk of arresting them when they attempted to vote, proved to be simply a precautionary measure to insure their voting the right way.

In this district two polling places will give a fair sample of how the work was done. At the polling place on Grand street near Forsyth George W. Dunne of District assembly 49 votes. He watched the voting for a short time on election day. He saw in three cases within fifteen minutes workers for the old parties talk confidentially for a few moments with prospective voters, give them tickets and march them to the polling place. When the voter came out in each case he had money in his hand. In the polling place in Bayard street near the Bowery a young man attached to the united labor party saw workers of the old parties speak to man after man as they came up to the polls. A brief conversation, the transfer of tickets, and something else invariably followed, and the "free and independent" citizen deposited his vote.

A sergeant of police and a squad of men were on the block, and when the attention of the sergeant was called to the actions of the workers, he coolly said to the united labor party man, "Young fellow, you had better attend to your own business."

In other election districts in the Eighth assembly district similar scenes were enacted.

Sic in the original; probably "812 voting (or"eight hundred and twelve")".

The "workers" in the Fifth assembly district pursued slightly different tactics. One of the men who had been sent out to take charge of an election district by the united labor party came into the headquarters a little after 7 a. m., threw his bag of tickets on the table and coolly announced that he didn't intend to work any more. When asked what was the matter with him, he said:

"Ah. there is too much opposition, and its no[sic] use working any longer."

Another man was sent to take his place, but no united labor party tickets could be procured at that polling place for nearly an hour, and at the most important hour in the day.

In making a tour of the Fifth district, Mr.

p. 3, col. 3

Miles found another of the workers peddling out tickets for the democrats. His explanation was as follows: "I may as well be frank with you. I was offered $20 if I would do this. I have been on strike for three or four weeks, and in justice to my family I could not refuse the money." Other instances of the same kind have been reported.

The police did yeoman's work for the democratic ticket in the lower districts. This is particularly true in the Fourth ward, where officers in uniform brought up their friends to the polls. Officer Griffiths of the Oak street squad is said to have been particularly active in the ninth election district of the Second assembly district, going into the houses and bringing down voters who were dilatory about coming to the polls.

In nearly every one of the big tenement houses on the east side the democratic bosses had at least one man under pay. It was nis[sic] duty to find out just exactly the condition of every voter in the house, whether or not he could be approached either with money or in any other way. Detailed reports were made to the district captains and the wherewithal to approach him was furnished with a lavish hand.

Numerous letters have come to hand complaining that tickets run out of some united labor boxes were "crooked," that men were offered bribes as high as $25, and so on. One earnest worker who gives his name writes:

"The Germans voted as a unit for the democratic ticket as a rebuke to the high license and other fanatical measures introduced by the last legislature. Every Irishman who sought to vote the united labor ticket was approached by Tammany heelers and asked if he was a Catholic. If the reply was in the affirmative, an appeal was made to his religious prejudices, and he was assured that the main object of Henry George was to break up the church. Money was liberally used by both of the old parties. . . . As you say, this is only our Bull run. Assuring you that I feel stronger than ever in the cause, I am, etc.

———— ————."

That the liquor interest was openly on the side of the democratic party is an unquestionable fact. The liquor dealers' league at first indorsed the democratic state and city tickets only, leaving the local branches free to choose between various candidates for senate and assembly. In several instances the candidates of the united labor or the republican party were thus indorsed. Shortly before the close of the canvass this was all undone.

The story of this change as told by a liquor dealer to one of the leading men in the united labor party is interesting. It was understood from the beginning, he said, that the republicans were to be punished for their proposed high license legislation last winter, and early in the canvass the central authorities of the liquor dealers' association indorsed the democratic state and city tickets, and ordered a heavy assessment for that party's

Sic in the original; probably "it's no".
Sic in the original; probably "his".

campaign fund. Several of the local districts, while submitting to the assessment, claimed the right to act on their own judgment concerning local nominations, and they were so strenuous about it that they were permitted to have their way.

Democratic candidates for assembly who failed to secure an indorsement naturally objected to this, and the party authorities protested to the committee of the liquor dealers, but without effect. Shortly before election Governor Hill paid a visit to this city and the representatives of the liquor dealers were summoned to meet him. He told them bluntly that the arrangement giving freedom of choice to local branches would not do and that it must be altered. The leading liquor men informed him that their powers were limited and that they could not coerce the local branches into obedience to any order of the kind. The governor insisted that they must find a way, and by way of encouragement informed them with some excitement that if the next assembly was republican, and passed a high license act or any other restrictive liquor bill by a majority of one, he would sign it. The leaders of the liquor dealers saw that Mr. Hill was not to be trifled with and promptly promised to make their association's indorsement cover every candidate on the democratic ticket from secretary of state down to alderman. They not only did this, but they ordered a new assessment to help make the result doubly sure.

The man who told this story to a prominent leader of the united labor party complained bitterly over this compulsory contribution to the campaign fund of a party with which he had no sympathy. He was asked why he did it. "What can I do?" he replied. "No single dealer can stand alone against the association. If I do not pay I must go out of business. If I kick I am thenceforth a marked man and my saloon will be raided by the police on every possible occasion." This is an illustration of the bondage in which saloon keepers are held by the police. Many of them violate the law requiring them to close at one o'clock a. m., and most of them systematically violate the Sunday law. The police of their neighborhood are always aware of these facts, but so long as the saloon keeper is in favor at headquarters the officers take no action, except on occasions when some one high in authority starts a raid like that started by Mayor Hewitt some months ago. In ordinary times, however, the law is violated with impunity; but let a saloon keeper once incur the hostility of the authorities or that of the captain of his district, and from that time on life is a burden to him unless he goes out of business or appeases the wrath of his enemy. Under these circumstances it is not wonderful that the party controlling the district attorneyship in this city is able to assess every saloon keeper without regard to his political affiliations or opinions, and it can do so with impunity because the victims of the blackmail can only complain in secret. Open complaint would subject them to exactly the same penalties that they would incur by refusal to pay.

The same influences that were prevalent in New York were potent in Brooklyn. Victor A. Wilder, candidate for comptroller on the state ticket of the united labor party, has issued a ringing address to the men who supported that ticket in Brooklyn, in which he says:

"We have made a splendid fight. There is not a single shadow over our part of the contest. Everywhere there has been loyalty; everywhere a magnificent spirit; everywhere courage. We have confronted the most lavish use of money. The political bosses have been forced to put forth their utmost strength. It is only too true that a vast number of workingmen may, still be depended upon to vote for the men these political bummers select. But we have done something. With only enough money to print our ballots, with nothing to carry on a campaign, with the press against us, with the patronage of public office unstintingly used against us, with the police force in open alliance with our enemies, with gangs of ignorant and illegally naturalized voters, with intimidation everywhere, yet we have voted and have made our votes tell. In visiting two-thirds of the polling districts on election day I have for the first time in my life seen these things. I have seen the almost supreme power of the political machine; I have seen the polls packed with paid hirelings of the political bosses; I have seen men dragged to the polling places stupefied with rum, and voting as their masters dictate; I

have seen ballots taken out of the hands of voters over the very ballot boxes, and others forced into their hands, while the police looked complacently on; I have seen the brutal, cunning, conscienceless ward boss, backed by his army of heelers, debauching the voters; I have seen how it is that the boss has the "pull" in our factories, on our horse cars, in our public parks, and wherever public franchises exist, thus forming what I call the abominable alliance between the industrial boss and the political boss.

"But I have also seen a large number of earnest men. poor in purse, banding themselves together, with only partial organization, without power or money, manfully facing this corrupt system and fighting it; I have seen men standing at the polls all day without a mouthful to eat, men who have not had a new coat on their backs for five years, patiently and hopefully working without reward against terrible odds; I have seen these men keeping sober amid reeking drunkenness at many of our polling places: I have seen vigilant workingmen go to the polls to vote with their ballots open; I have seen a campaign conducted by the men of the united labor party on principle, not on men. I have seen the two old parties unmindful of all principles and solely interested in men. Their men have won, but our principles are yet to win."

As it was in New York and Brooklyn. so it was throughout the state. The democratic party has made no appeal to the minds or consciences of men. It simply gathered money, and then, resting until election day, it went into the market and bought the votes necessary to give it success.

OUR PARTY NOT DISCOURAGED.

The cheers at the Webster hall meeting on election night in the face of the disappointing returns were the first evidence given of the manner in which our people meet defeat. The same spirit has been shown since, not only at the anti-poverty meetings, but at the meetings of the several assembly districts that have been held since election.

The Seventh assembly district's regular meeting was held on the Thursday after election. There was neither recrimination or whimpering. The meeting was a large one and business was transacted as though nothing serious had happened. A committee was appointed to consider and report on headquarters for the year beginning Jan. 1, at which time the present lease runs out, and other committees were appointed on lectures and entertainments and a ball, The initiation[sic] fee and monthly dues were raised from ten cents, the old rate, to twenty-five cents, and there was a general expression of opinion to the effect that the men remaining had sufficient devotion to the party's principles to be willing to pay the expense of maintaining them. In the Ninteenth[,24] assembly district there was an informal gathering of the executive committee and other members on Sunday morning, and there was a universal expression of opinion in favor of an immediate resumption of the fight. A few instances of apparent treachery on the part of men intrusted with boxes were reported and they will be investigated.

The Twenty-third assembly district held its regular meeting on Monday evening of this week, and the attendance was unusually large. There was no abatement of determination or enthusiasm, and the general opinion was in favor of engaging at once a larger hall for the coming year.

The Fourteenth assembly district met on the same night. The attendance was large and the members were undaunted. More than fifty members subscribed $2 each toward furnishing and fitting up their headquarters, and it was resolved to begin at once an active propaganda, with a view to educating the whole people of the district up to an understanding of the party's principles. The Sixteenth assembly district held its regular meeting on Tuesday night. There was a general discussion as to the cause of the defeat, and it was agreed that money was the chief factor. Resolutions were adopted pledging anew the devotion of the members to the Syracuse platform and urging

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Sic in the original; probably "a ball. The initiation".
Sic in the original; probably "Nineteenth".

all honest citizens, without regard to party, to join in securing the establishment of the Australian system of voting.

A large meeting of the Fourth assembly district was held on Saturday evening. Philip J. Scannell, chairman, declared that, considering the influences brought to bear against it, the party had done well to cast nearly 2,000 votes for the head of the ticket in that assembly district. Dr. Coughlin, B. J. Hawkes, Wm. B. Clarke and others concurred in the opinion of the chairman, and there was a general expression of opinion in favor of an immediate resumption of active work to preach the land doctrine and gain new recruits by all honorable means. The attendance was unusually large, and the pledges of fidelity to the party's principles and of renewed activity in their propagation called forth much enthusiasm.

These few instances give a fair idea of the spirit with which the party everywhere meets an overwhelming defeat that was specially contrived by our enemies with a view to crush us out of existence. It is a spirit that proves that henceforth there will be an unflagging and ever growing party behind the principles enunciated in the Syracuse platform.

In the Fight Till the End.

CINCINNATI, O.—Our partial disappointment has already cleared the air for us here. We are fairly rid of the barnacles who, with little principle, had fastened upon the movement in the hope of being foisted into place and power by some nineteenth century miracle. But there remains a quality of courage and good fellowship in the rest of us which argues the happiest promise of a strong, pure and aggressive *movement in this vicinity.* The efforts of the workers in New York deserve our heartfelt thanks.

> I'd rather fight a gallant fight
> Than fill a gilded throne;
> I'd rather spread the welcome light
> Than make the world mine own;
> Kind offices are all the kind
> To which my efforts bend,
> And I'll be following close behind
> And with you to the end.

CHARLES H. FITCH,
Secretary Land and Labor No. 1, Ohio.

Let the Loyal Ones Stand Up and Be Counted.

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.—Perhaps this is a good time to renew my allegiance to the doctrine of single tax on land value, and to express my admiration for the magnificent and heroic canvass of the state which you have made. In the face of a reduced vote, it becomes the loyal ones to stand up and be counted, answering to the roll call, "Here, sir!"

A. L. EARLE.

To Resume Active Work in South Brooklyn.

BROOKLYN, Nov. 14.—A large and enthusiastic meeting of the Twenty-second ward association of the united labor party of Kings county was held at Holyer's hall, Fifth avenue and Twelfth street, South Brooklyn, last Friday evening. Resolutions were read and adopted declaring that "the large vote polled by the united labor party in this county is a gratifying verdict in favor

p. 3, col. 5

of our efforts in this our first campaign, and shows that there are fifteen thousand courageous and enlightened freemen in Kings county," despite every kind of evil influence. "We declare our unswerving fidelity to the principles of the united labor party, and that active and incessant work shall be pushed from this day forth in the promulgation of those principles."

All believers are invited to attend this hall and become members, and all unbelievers are invited to attend and take part in the debate.

T. P. RYAN, Secretary.
240 Ninth street, South Brooklyn.

Close Up the Ranks and March On.

NEW YORK.—Our vote in the state corresponds closely with the number of patriots who responded to Lincoln's first call for volunteers to save this Union. Opposed to them were the upholders of human slavery; opposed to us are the upholders of industrial slavery. That 75,000 met their Bull Run like brave men—defeated, but not dismayed, and many of them lived to see the Appomattox surrender. So let us take heart of hope. Let us renew the fight at once, with perfect faith in the justice of our cause; with charity not only for those who, blinded by prejudice, won't listen to us now, but also for those whom we had a right to count on—who, weary of life's struggles, fell an easy prey to temptation. So let us close up the ranks, and before the sun of this nineteenth century sets we will see the full fruition of our hopes.

A. VAN DYKE.

A Democrat Cheers Us On.

NEW YORK.—I regret that the election has not turned out as satisfactory as I thought it would. But no matter. Let this be no barrier against our continuing in the good cause. Having decided on the right course, let us go forward with all our energy. That right course is before us. Woe to the man that cannot brave the laugh of fools.

We had the thieves and dumb-driven cattle against us, assisted by the bigots who were arrayed against the priest of truth—Dr. McGlynn. But what stronger breastplate than a heart untainted? Thrice is he armed who hath his quarrel just, and he but naked, though locked up in steel, whose conscience with injustice is corrupted.

Is it not sad to contemplate my not daring to sign my name to this letter? Should I do so I should very soon get my walking papers.

AN HONEST DEMOCRAT.

Bristling with Fight.

NEW YORK, Nov. 13.–The men of the Nineteenth have had their feathers ruffled and are bristling all over with fight.

I attended an executive committee meeting this morning and I never saw a more enthusiastic body of men. There were a few who were disappointed, but not one who was not filled with courage. It would have done your heart good to have seen those sober, earnest minded men looking to the future with a firm assurance of hope and victory.

Even now the politicians are wondering at us because we are not depressed in spirit. However, we are not dismayed, but mostly for the reason that we are all on "fire" for our principles. They say that such a thing has never been seen before.

SAMUEL PELLITIER.

Men Voted for a Principle.

CLEVELAND, Ohio.–The sixty-eight thousand votes of last year were largely cast in ignorance of Henry George's proposition to shift all taxation to land values–a mere seizing on him–one known to be a clean man, in favor sincerely of a remedy to felt evils to the poor–to pronounce, or utter, the deeply felt protest of many democrats and many republicans against the manipulation of the organizations of both those parties to accomplish ends foreign to the wish of the rank and file in them. These thirty-seven thousand are real. Nearly all who voted this time, by so doing expressed a firm, intelligent, determined act toward embodying into civil law Henry George's proposition for remedying poverty.

L. A. RUSSELL.

Words of Wisdom from a Clergyman.

GREENPOINT, N. Y.–As a reader of your paper and a believer in its principles I think the defeat in New York is wholesome. It will now be made apparent what real strength there is to the convictions of those who have thus far sustained the movement. The weeding out process is very necessary to all youthful undertakings. If I may be allowed to say it, there has been a good deal too much boasting done. Now for quiet and steady work, and less noise and bustle. That there is truth fundamental in the principle of "the single tax" I am convinced, and still more I have faith that "the truth will out," only it will take a longer time than some of us have thought.

AN EPISCOPAL CLERGYMAN WHO VOTED FOR THE CAUSE.

Among the Lumbermen in Minnesota.

STILLWATER, Minn., Nov. 7.–I want to send word that there are men in this little town who are thinking. Our population numbers about 15,000 inhabitants, made up for the most part of lumbermen who are out into the woods during the winter time cutting timber. While they are away they get little to read, but when in town here they are ready to read and to listen. Some of us who saw the light have organized a club and meet every Saturday

night, preaching the good word as well as we can and endeavoring to excite discussion. We have had no speaker of prominence as yet, but hope to have one soon. We have hope for the future.

A WORKER FOR THE CAUSE.

The True Men Undaunted.

WASHINGTON, *D. C.*, Nov. *10.–Don't*[sic] imagine that the falling off of the vote in New York will have any effect upon those who understand and appreciate the principles of the new crusade. The cause has been gaining true converts all the time, and those who left were either not sincere in the beginning or are moved to desert us through personal or other influences which at present place them under duress.

W. D. B.

Hammering Away.

CHICAGO, Nov. 9.–Allow me to use the words of our brave Lawrence–"Never give up the ship." We must be up and doing. Seventy thousand votes is a goodly number, and they were cast by men in whose hearts burns the truth which no defeat can smother. I am continually hammering away, and have made five converts.

CHAS. COWLES.

Enlisted for the War.

RAVENSWOOD, Ill., Nov. 9.–Everywhere there are true men who are not discouraged at temporary defeats, but who will work all the harder, and thus make all the more certain the success which awaits us sooner or later. We in Chicago are enlisted for the war, whether it be one year or fifty.

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

p. 3, col. 6

IS PENNSYLVANIA ABREAST OF US?

One County in the Keystone State Gives 1,200 Votes for the Syracuse Platform.

WILKESBARRE, Pa., Nov. 14.–On the 10th of October last a convention composed of workingmen from different parts of Luzerne county was held in this city. They adopted the Syracuse platform, signed their names to the document, nominated a full county ticket and adjourned. We were without organization and without money. The old parties, through their press, heaped ridicule and abuse upon all connected with the movement. The principal cry was that the ticket was gotten up for the purpose of defeating one or the other of the old parties.

We did not have $150 cash. yet[sic] we made a most gallant fight. We were so short of funds that some of us were compelled to walk from five to ten miles home after attending meetings. We had the greatest difficulty in

Sic in the original; probably "D. C., Nov. 10.—Don't".
Sic in the original; probably "$150 cash, yet".

distributing our tickets, as we could not afford to pay men to stand at the polls. In this city there was an organized movement to tear down our posters. In one polling place they were torn down at least six times. We had considerable treachery in our ranks. Men whom we trusted to bill the different towns for meetings failed to perform their duty; and one of our candidates, after waiting until the tickets were printed with his name on and also on the election return sheets, withdrew his name, and now publicly boasts that he only accepted the nomination in order to find out the plans of the organization, so that he could betray us to the democrats.

In spite of treachery, fraud, corruption, intimidation and a short campaign we polled about 1,200 votes in the county upon the principle of the single tax.

Our principles are being more thoroughly discussed after election than before. We are taking a little breathing spell after our hard work, and then to business again. We propose organizing the county for the spring elections and making the fight for assessor.

We Must Change Our Elective System.

MAUCH CHUNK, Pa., Nov. 9.—I only write to say "God reigneth," and the right must, will, prevail.

I imagine Horace Greeley must often have felt, in the hours of reverse or check, as many of us feel just now, but I am none the less determined to-day than yesterday, and say, "On with the battle." We wiped out chattel slavery. We will wipe industrial slavery out. The ballot is our weapon, and half the fight will be won when we have the proper method of voting secured. Can not the minority party in New York be induced to make the fight for the Australian system? I should judge the result in the city yesterday would again show the necessity for a reform in methods. Accept assurances of my purpose to stay in the fight.

E. R. ENBODY.

Beginning at the Foundation.

PROVIDENCE, Nov. 11.—From this time henceforward I am a missionary of the new crusade. Those of us who already see its beauty and justice and understand what it involves, must each in his own way seek to convince others. I have some time since thrown off my reserve and mastered my disrelish to being called a crank, visionary or socialist; and when proper occasion serves will frankly and openly espouse the cause in the face of all men. I can talk, and try to talk, temperately and without impatience or temper, and I can distribute tracts. Please send me for inclosed check 1,000 copies of No. 3 of the Land and labor library. I want to begin at the foundation.

WM. BARKER.

Got Beat Often. But Won at Last.

ST. PAUL, Neb.—I see we are beat. Getting beat is nothing (when we are right; when we are wrong it hurts). La me! I can recollect when the anti-slavery party were beat year after year, and finally, when they did succeed so far as to say that slavery should go no further, it all went—slavery went overboard entirely. And now when we, after getting beat time and again, succeed so far as to say that monopoly shall go no further, then will monopoly go altogether. Doubt it not!

J. B. PACKARD.

Attracted to a Principle.

584 HENRY STREET, Brooklyn, Nov. 4—I have been a republican since 1860 on account of the principles advocated by that party, but now I have made up my mind to vote your ticket, believing that the advocacy of your theories of taxing land values only is one of the best thoughts that ever came into politics for the benefit of humanity. I therefore earnestly wish you success, and hope to see the new party in charge of the legislature of this great land of ours in the near future.

HENRY OSBORNE.

Will Always Vote for the Principle of Equal Rights.

NEW YORK.—I cast my first ballot last Tuesday. It was a solid united labor ticket, and, from a political standpoint, a vote thrown away. Money has proven itself to be more powerful than principle, and although my vote may for an indefinite time be as equally ineffectual in regulating the public legislation or administration, it will always be cast for a candidate avowing the principles which the united labor party has thus far proclaimed.

CHAS. I. PEOBLE.

Indianapolis Men Not Discouraged.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Nov. 8.—The Henry George men with whom I am acquainted would not think of being discouraged at the result in New York.

The new party is now third in the race, but it has come to stay. We are now signing a call for a meeting to be held at an early day, when we will form a Henry George land and labor club. We are working for humanity. It is a glorious work. We are sure to succeed.

CHAS. H. KRAUSS.

Ready to Go on with the Fight.

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.—The battle has been fought, and thirty-one thousand cowards surrendered to the enemy. But for all that I am as confident of the success of our principle as I was on the day preceding the election, for we have right on our side, and shall succeed ultimately. I am not one whit discouraged, and am as ready to carry on the fight against ignorance as I ever was.

SAMUEL PELLETIER.

The Corruption Fund.

New York Times, Oct. [15?].

The two democratic organizations have virtually agreed upon a schedule of assessments to be levied on the candidates for the various offices to be filled in November. They want the candidate for comptroller to pay an assessment of $40,000; each supreme court justice to pay $20,000; each city court judge, $5,000; the criminal court judge, $10,000; surrogate, $10,000; district attorney, $10,000; president of the board of aldermen, $[2?], 000; the ten district court judges, $3,000 each; the state senators, $5,000 each; assemblymen, $1,500 each, and aldermen (25), $1,000 each. This makes a total of $247.000[sic]. The yearly salary roll of the officers to be elected amounts to but $87,000,

Sic in the original; probably "$247,000".

Page 4 of 8

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Sample copies sent free on application.

Sic in the original; probably “THE STANDARD, and all”.

SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1887.

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

A VICTORY FOR LAND GRABBERS.

The action of Secretary Lamar in forcing the resignation of Land Commissioner Sparks, if confirmed by the president, as seems likely at this writing, is a substantial victory for the land grabbers. Secretary Lamar, in his letter to the president, insisted that either he or the land commissioner should retire from office. The letter was somewhat petulant in tone, and it complained that General Sparks, his subordinate. had persistently criticised and resisted the action of his superior officer. This is a sufficient reason for removing a subordinate, if the matter is merely looked at from the official standpoint; but to the general public the matter will assume another shape, and the question will arise, "Which is right, the secretary or the commissioner?" This government of ours has not yet become so complete a bureaucracy that questions of discipline and etiquette transcend all others in importance.

It is a conceded fact that there has been much fraud and corruption in the management and disposal of our public lands. Not only have sinister influences caused congress to vote vast tracts of the public domain to great corporations for speculative holding, but numerous frauds have been perpetrated in surveying and locating lands seized or otherwise acquired by individuals and syndicates. One of the strongest counts in the indictment brought by the democrats against the republican party was that of corruption and favoritism in the disposal of these lands.

Commissioner Sparks has always appeared to regard it as his duty to rectify the abuses and remedy the wrongs in the land department so bitterly complained of by his party. In one notable instance, that of the Guilford Miller farm, the president sustained General Sparks and overruled Secretary Lamar in order to save improved land held by an industrious settler from the rapacious grasp of the Northern Pacific ring. Mr. Cleveland obtained a great deal of newspaper glorification for this act. From that time to the present hour all of the land grabbers have urged relentless war on the commissioner of the land office.

Under all the circumstances, General Sparks's forced resignation is an event to inspire the land monopolists with hope, and discourage those who have hoped to recover at least some small portion of the public domain from their grasp. The reasonable presumption, too, is in favor of General Sparks in this controversy, He[sic] has come into close contact with the whole system, and he is an aggressive. energetic man, disposed to go to the very bottom of every case demanding investigation at his hands. Secretary Lamar, on the other hand, is notoriously a somewhat indolent man, prone to accept the representations of those near him without close or laborious inquiry. Among those near him are the numerous wealthy schemers who abound in "Washington society," and who especially affect the friendship of cabinet officers. These people naturally sympathize with every form of monopoly, and their opinions and prejudices impregnate the very atmosphere that Secretary Lamar breathes.

Commissioner Sparks's letter is in every way more dignified and conclusive than that of Secretary Lamar. He shows conclusively that the secretary has evaded the true issue by trying to make it appear a question of authority

and insubordination. The question is really one of law, on the decision of which depends the power of various corporations to seize vast tracts of land otherwise belonging to the people. Commissioner Sparks's decision in these cases had been against the corporations. The latter, through their attorneys, applied to Secretary Lamar to reverse the decision. The commissioner wrote a strong, but respectful letter to the secretary supporting his own views by argument and quotations of authority, and he declares that as a public official charged with the immediate guardianship of the public lands he had at least an equal right with representatives of private interests to apply for a review and revision of departmental decisions against the public interests. No unprejudiced man can doubt this, or look upon such an appeal as an act of insubordination. Taking the correspondence as a whole, Secretary Lamar does not appear in an enviable light, and the administration ought to suffer in public estimation from this incident.

But current political rumors give the event an even more sinister aspect. It is

p. 4, col. 2

generally understood that Secretary Lamar will be appointed to the supreme bench as soon as congress meets. If he is confirmed by the senate, Postmaster General Vilas is expected to go into the interior department and Don M. Dickinson of Michigan is to become postmaster general. Why should Mr. Lamar be so anxious to get rid of General Sparks within two months of his own probable retirement from the cabinet? The answer to this is obvious. However yielding the easy-going southern secretary may have been, no one has ever accused him of any personal connection with the rings now dominant in our politics. It is vastly different, however, with the rich and pushing northwestern speculator from Wisconsin. Mr. Vilas is in all sorts of things, and he is seeking promotion and bringing Dickinson into the cabinet in order that the influences that have hitherto held the northwest faithful to the republican party may be arrayed on the side of this administration. No pecuniary dishonesty is involved in this, but Mr. Vilas is not the man to put up with a subordinate who persists in fighting great corporations. It is bad politics. The people are uncertain and easily humbugged, but the great corporations stand by the party that stands by them. So Sparks must go. This administration is going into politics. Cleveland and Vilas is the ticket for 1888, and old fashioned democrats who really believe that the people have rights that ought to be respected must adapt themselves to new methods of thought and action or step down and out.

THE OLD FAITH RENEWED.

"Is the ethics of Jesus practicable?" is the somewhat startling inquiry with which a paper opens that was recently read before a Baptist association in Boston by Rev. Fred E. Dewhurst. The paper is printed in full in the last number of the *Christian Union.*

The author does not approach the subject with any of the prejudice that might reasonably be looked for in one who claims to be a minister of Christ. On the contrary, he examines the question as calmly as if he were a Buddhist or an agnostic. He frankly confesses that there are many professing Christians who, by word and deed, deny that it is practicable for individuals or for society to accept Christ's teaching in the Sermon on the Mount as a rule of life and conduct, and he says:

> One of the most famous and widely heard preachers of New England, in discoursing recently to his congregation upon the teachings of Count Tolstoi, admitting the substantial correctness of Tolstoi's

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

> interpretation of Christ's teaching, said: "But Jesus was mistaken. He was under the limitations of his time and place. He is not to be followed in his practical and social ideas."

This, Mr. Dewhurst[sic] says, is "the only sincere and courageous avowal" he has seen of "what many would count it blasphemy to say in words, but are daily saying in deeds." He takes issue with the unnamed preacher, and declares that "if Christ was right and knew what he said, there is no peace till we come wholly and invariably to His doctrines. If He is not right, why should we even call Him Lord and Master?"

Why, indeed? The very fact that the practicability of His teachings is thus made a matter of cool debate among Christian ministers shows how widely modern Christianity, as interpreted by the churches, has drifted from the teachings and examples of its founder. No wonder that it was stated at a recent meeting of Episcopal clergymen in this city that men can be found who will listen gladly to talk about Jesus and his life and teachings who would hiss the bare mention of the church! The two attitudes cannot be considered antagonistic, when we find men representing the church frankly avowing, not merely that that institution fails to follow Jesus "in His practical and social ideas," but openly teaching that men are under no obligations thus to follow Him.

If such men as Mr. Dewhurst would attend some of the meetings of the Anti-poverty society they would see that in a purely secular society, which claims no connection with any church, the full meaning of the teachings of Christ is heard and accepted, and the scenes that marked the first preaching of the gospel are re-enacted. Mr Dewhurst says:

> I know of no one really acquainted with the historical beginnings of primitive Christianity who questions that it was chiefly the practical and social impulse proceeding from those who had been quickened by the ideas, the teachings, the spirit of Jesus. Life and society sprang into new conditions with a rapidity at which modern Christianity is constantly wondering. The gospel of the kingdom was rapidly establishing the kingdom of God then on the earth. Grant, that it was crude, gro tesque, meager It[sic] was still real, free, spontaneous. There was one brief day when in the Christian community there seemed to be a realization of human brotherhood under the fatherhood of God.

That day recedes from view in Christian history as the record of organization and the formulation of dogma appears, paving the way for dissension and dispute. It has, however, come back to earth right here in this city of New York, and with its return many of the divisions born of theological and ecclesiastical differences have disappeared. In the Academy of Music for Sunday after Sunday enormous audiences, composed of Catholics, Protestants, Jews and agnostics, have gathered to listen to the story of the life and teachings of Jesus told anew. Men like Dr McGlynn, Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost and Father Huntington have preached the old gospel with new fire and fervor to men and women who there found for the first time the full and glorious meaning of the glad tidings over which the primitive Christians rejoiced. The declaration of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man is received with eager applause. The thought of establishing God's kingdom on earth is accepted with the de-

p. 4, col. 3

light that characterized its reception by the early Christians. Thus, while in the churches some preachers are declaring that Christ was mistaken, and others are calmly deliberating on the practicability of his ideas, in a New York theater thousands are laying aside the prejudices and doubts engendered by theological quarrels and listening eagerly to the self same gospel that wrought the wonderful results that marked the beginnings of Christianity.

It would be well if modern Christianity would stop wondering at the rapidity with which "life and society sprang into new conditions" under the teaching of the immediate followers and companions of Jesus, and try to gain at

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

least some conception of this new and wonderful revival in the belief, not merely that the ethics of Jesus is practicable, but that it surely leads to the coming of God's kingdom on earth.

"A MORTGAGE ON THE CLOUDS."

The New York *Herald* is one of the newspapers that think land monopoly an evil that only concerns the people of the far off territories. In its news columns last Sunday, however, it unconsciously gave an illustration of the evils wrought by the system near at home. We give elsewhere the substance of its story of the crafty process by which a syndicate of land monopolists have acquired the power to tax for their own benefit the people of all the cities of northern New Jersey for the water they use. The *Herald* describes how these people first sought to secure legislative assistance for their scheme, and it adds that, though the legislature refused to delegate to them power to condemn lands, "there was nothing to prevent them from buying the lands," anu thereupon they secretly set about acquiring them by purchase.

Some of the sentences in the *Herald* account would be received with applause at an anti-poverty meeting. It says, for instance, that the people of Newark, when the proposal was made that they should buy water by the gallon, "opened their eyes" and declared that "the right to the water from the clouds and the springs ought to be a public right;" but the syndicate replied "that they owned the headwaters of the Passaic, and really had a mortgage on the clouds, as no one could use the water that fell in their domains without paying them for it."

If the *Herald* will study the Syracuse platform, which was printed in full in its issue of Sept. 20, it will see that the prevention of just such monopolies is doubly provided for. If all taxes were levied on land values to their full rental value, this syndicate of water barons could have had no temptation to either importune the legislature or to buy up the mountain land, for they would have known that the moment that their monopoly gave a ground value to those lands that such value would have been taken by taxation into the public treasury. Again, that platform declares, "We would have our municipalities supply their inhabitants with water, light and heat." Under our system the municipalities of Jersey City, Newark, Paterson and other cities would have revenues that would easily enable them to join in securing an abundant supply of pure water, and they would probably not need to exercise the right of eminent domain to secure possession of the land about the headwaters of the Passaic, since the owners, being unable to appropriate to their own profit the increased rental value given by putting them to use, would gladly sell them at such prices as they ignorantly took from the syndicate that acquired them by stealth.

It is astonishing that a paper like the *Herald*, having a large corps of intelligent and highly educated editors. should be unable to comprehend the simple but comprehensive principle, the natural working of which it thus illustrates by object lessons in its own columns. When it there declares that private ownership of the head waters of the Passaic gives to a syndicate a mortgage on the clouds, it demonstrates the exact and inevitable effect of unchecked private ownership in land. Should God repeat the miracle of the wilderness and cause the clouds to rain manna, instead of water, owners of the land would make the same claim to a mortgage on the clouds and declare that "no one could use" the manna "that fell on their domain without paying them for it." The only effect of the new bounty of the Creator would be to raise rents and lower wages still further.

It is astounding that any sane man can shut his eyes to a fact so obvious.

A paper called the *Howitzer*, published at Greeley, Col., is amazed that THE STANDARD is able to see how the laying of all taxes upon land values can lighten the taxes of the farmer, and confesses that its own vision is too dim

to see it. If the editor of the *Howitzer* will take for an example some farmer of his acquaintance and ask him how much taxes he now pays on real estate, how much on personal property, how much cheaper he could live if there were no tariff or internal revenue taxes, and how much taxes of all other kinds he pays, and then ask him how much the naked improved[sic] land of his farm is worth per year, the editor of the *Howitzer* will complain less of dim vision.

Attempts to belittle the Anti-poverty society sometimes act as boomerangs. Last Monday one of the papers, in its report of the meeting at the Academy of Music, announced that there was not the usual rush for a place in the academy; but in its report of the Steinway hall meeting it stated that this hall was well filled by the overflow from the academy. Where was the blue pencil?

p. 4, col. 4

A WORD TO THE PHARISEES.

> Then said his lordship, "Well, God mend all!" "Nay, by God, Donald, we must help him to mend it!" said the other.—RUSHWORTH (*Sir David Ramsay and Lord Rea, in* 1630).

This quotation appears on the title page of Latter Day pamphlets, by Thomas Carlyle, and seems a suitable quotation for the beginning of a short reply to some of the strictures on the labor party and its advocates that have appeared in an evening paper. For, to many of us, the world appears by no means a perfect world; is, in fact, very far from being a perfect world. If there is to be any progress toward perfection, it is plain enough to the commonest observer that this is to be accomplished by "helping God to mend it." If, on the other hand, we are to continue in the comfortable idea that the world is a very good world for all concerned, quite good enough as it is, then there is nothing for God to mend, and he wants none of our help to mend it. This latter idea seems to be the one held by a very large portion of the press, so large a portion, indeed, as to approach unanimity. Those who hold to the other idea are denounced as troublers in Israel, as men who seek to turn the world upside down, who sow discontent where all otherwise would be contentment, making men unhappy, restless and dangerous who would otherwise have borne their lot patiently and even cheerfully.

The man who sees a piece of machinery working wrongly, jarring, shrieking, jerking, betokening infinite possibilities of mischief, displays only the plainest common sense when he attempts to find the cause of the disorder. He is the wiser man who, after discovering the difficulty, is able to point out the remedy, and when the remedy is once pointed out he would be wanting in common sense if he did not even seek to apply it.

Now, here is a large portion of the press, the educator of public opinion, deliberately shutting its eyes to the fact that the labor machinery is terribly and dangerously out of order, rebuking those whose eyes are open to the danger, heaping epithets on those who are trying to find the causes of this derangement, and hurling anathemas and contemptuous abuse on the man and his associates who are seeking to apply a remedy.

Take the *Evening Post*, for example, of last Friday evening. Here is an extract from an editorial headed "A Word to Social Philosophers." It is speaking of the tragedy that day completed at Chicago:

> The lesson it conveys is, in our belief, one which it behooves our social philosophers, including under that term philanthropic clergymen and college professors and labor speculators, no less than the poor anarchists,

Sic in the original; probably "meager. It".
Sic in the original; probably "naked unimproved".

> to ponder diligently. Some of them—we say it advisedly—have gone, and are going far to share in the blood guiltiness of this diabolical anarchist agitation by the encouragement they give in their lectures and essays and "conferences" to the notion that every man who saves or acquires in any way more money than his neighbor does wrong to that neighbor, and that in short the owners of accumulated property are a band of robbers. What professor or preacher or philanthropist, except McGlynn, we shall be asked, has preached any such atrocious doctrine? Every professor and preacher and philanthropist, we answer, who tells crowds of ignorant and poor men that there is something wrong in the present constitution of society without showing what the wrong is and how it is to be remedied, and every professor and preacher who gives poor and ignorant men to understand that in his opinion the earth supplies the means of "abolishing poverty" if its products were only fairly distributed.

There is more of the same sort, but this will suffice.

The readers of THE STANDARD scarcely need be told that so far as the three classes are concerned, which the *Post* has grouped together, the statement is a stupendous complexity of falsehood. Nay, further, there is a cool, deliberate malignancy in the article that approaches the diabolic. Yet here is the editor of a paper that prides itself on its dignity and courtliness, a paper that may be called the Turveydrop of the New York press, folding his pharisaical robes about him, and coolly telling his readers—"saying it advisedly," mark you—that "philanthropic clergymen, college professors and labor speculators have gone and are going far to share in the blood guiltiness of this diabolical anarchist agitation!" etc.

They do not "show what the wrong is," quoth the *Post.* Does it need showing? It is everywhere. It flaunts in our streets. It cries aloud in our lanes and alleys, and its unceasing wail which has been rising and spreading for long, weary years is heard increasing as our wealth increases; this sense of wrong, which has produced a profound distrust of the church and its teachings, which from time to time breaks out in turbulence and murder, and which is not a characteristic of our land alone, but of all lands; and yet the *Post* and its associates, if they see this, try to shut their eyes to it all, abuse the men who dare not shut their eyes to it if they could, and perhaps scarcely think it worth while even to exclaim with his lordship, "Well, God mend all!"

Even if the labor agitators did nothing but rouse attention to such a state of things, that would not be wholly despicable work. Any school boy knows that work like this is preliminary to all reform. If the *Post* has no sense of the wrongs of labor, so much the worse for the *Post.* But those who have long seen these wrongs will none the less continue to harp on that string in spite of abuse and calumny and contempt.

But "clergymen and professors and social philanthropists" do more than see the wrong. They point out a remedy. They believe and teach that it lies in freeing land from monopoly, not only in the great west, but in the cities, where men hive; in removing taxation from every form of human industry and placing it on land. They

p. 4, col. 5

seek to attack every kind of monopoly, noticeably the octopus, whether in the shape of a grasping railroad corporation or a telegraph company, and they would strangle such combinations as the Standard oil company or the Cotton oil and other kindred trusts; or better, make it impossible for them to exist. They would, at the same time, educate the laboring man to a knowledge not only of his condition, but of the great principles on which his rights as a human being rest, and they would do this despite his weakness and vacillation and indifference born of the very condition in which he has been so long enthralled. They would teach him, be it ever so slowly, to rely on himself and to trust others who have no other object but his good, and thus under better laws, and better conditions, they would enlarge the workingman's outlook and re-awaken in him confident hope. Still further, they would teach the workingman that in bringing the question of labor with its wrongs and remedies into the great arena of politics he is submitting himself and the truths he has learned to a tribunal that sooner or later will do

him justice. It is precisely this political feature of the workingman's education that has disturbed and alarmed the enemies of the movement. Poets might have sung, and "preachers, professors and philanthropists" orated to their heart's content, but the workingman as a politician with a candidate was a thing not to be endured. Now that the recent election has relieved the well-to-do friends of the *Post* from what had almost come to be a scare and was at one time an ominous menace, the reaction from that tension shows itself in haughty, contemptuous and singularly false abuse of the friends of the workingman.

Yet though the teachings and work of the "preachers, professors and philanthropists" may not commend themselves to the approval of the editor of the *Post* and others like him, they will to honest men like blunt Sir David Ramsay when he said, "Nay, by God, Donald, we must help God to mend it."

DAVID B. SCOTT.

Election "boodlers" find great comfort in the *Sun's* assurance that "the poor ye have always with you." It is a prophecy of other victories to come, provided campaign funds hold out and the Australian election law fails to pass.

The thief's cry of "stop thief," so familiar to every school boy for generations, is revived in the serious department of *Puck*, a department which, as is usually the case with serious departments of "funny" papers, is the funniest department of all. It calls upon the two old parties to put aside their petty disputes and unite against those very bad people who want to take away what it calls "our land." There is this to be said for *Puck*, however, that it vaguely recognizes in its own half ignorant and malignant fashion, a great principle which its abler contemporaries overlook. It finds no consolation in the falling off of the "George vote," but proclaims that though the "agitators" were silenced, the seed they have scattered would take root and grow. It is indeed so. The seed of truth once sown will sprout and bear fruit, whatever may happen to the sower. The serious pro-poverty press may smile if it will at what it chooses to call that "falling off of the George vote," but *Puck* is as earnestly agitated as it is possible for a clown to be over the promise of seventy odd thousand American citizens in New York state to devote themselves to the recovery by lawful American methods of the common inheritance for all the people. It is not to be wondered at, perhaps, for in another man's melon patch it is the clown that scents danger quickest and shrieks loudest when a cowhide whistles in the air.

One of the curiosities of the late political campaign was a paper called the *Lubor Unionist.* It was dated from New York and had the appearance of being a genuine periodical; but, in fact, it was a mere proof sheet with no circulation at all. It was edited in the interest of the democrats and sent to the country press, which copied its articles as gravely as if it really had a circulation among working people.

This trick was borrowed from the Tilden clique. That clique used to issue to country newspapers solely for copying purposes a paper called *The Examiner.* and[sic] in every campaign the farmers were liberally dosed by their county organs with extracts credited to *The Examiner* which was described as "one of the most popular papers of New York," just as this year extracts were credited to the unknown *Labor Unionist* as from "the leading trade union paper."

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

According to the Poughkeepsie *Eagle,* Dutchess county is in a bad way. Business there is dull, and land is cheap. But let no one rush up to Dutchess county to get land cheap, for it will be found that the cheap land of Dutchess, like land everywhere, costs about all that can be made from it above a bare living. If land was cheaper in Dutchess county, business would be better.

John M. Gregory, LL.D., writes to the *Independent* of the unemployed poor of London, and advises that as there is a "certainty of periods more or less regular of non-employment for all workers," the earning periods must be made to "provide also for the wants of the idle times." Does Dr. Gregory discover in the economy of nature any periods when labor cannot find employment, other than such as occur annually and against which nature, by an adjustment of seasons and climates, so perfect as to prove design, enables mankind to provide? It is curious how many

p. 4, col. 6

well meaning men there are who, wanting to go east, will not turn toward the rising sun because they cannot bring themselves to believe that that is east. The periods of non-employment, so mysterious to people like Dr. Gregory, are not natural and are easily and clearly explained when the truth is once considered that an institution which steadily removes the passive factor of production, land, from the reach of the active factor, labor, must bring on a collapse, and that if the same institution remains after the collapse new periods of prosperity, culminating in succeeding collapses, must result. Let labor and land come easily together and there will be no periods of depression, but a steady advance of general prosperity.

The *Star*, in opposing the Australian system of voting, says the present system is good enough for it. Of course it is; but there are people who have prejudices in favor of honest elections.

Colonel Fellows declares that he has been vindicated by the votes of his fellow citizens of New York. We fail to see it in that light. No attempt was made to refute the most serious charges brought against Colonel Fellows, but the telling of such stories about a man, whether they are true or false, was roundly denounced as an outrage. The truth is that the voters of New York, after hearing all the facts, decided that Colonel Fellows is just the sort of man that they want for district attorney. We do not see that this "vindicates" any one, and least of all the people of New York.

Elliot W. Todd has been indicted and convicted of gambling because he kept what is known as a "bucket" shop. A "bucket" shop is a place where people bet on the rise and fall of stocks. Is it now the turn of the stock exchange to be indicted and convicted of gambling?

The Hon. R. G. Horr has queer notions of natural right. He correctly supposes that people by settling near a pioneer farmer add something to the value of his farm, "but," he adds, "so has he added somewhat to the value of each and every farm in that community;" and then he wants to know if the pioneer "chooses to release to them all his rights as to their lands and they all release to him their rights in his, why does not that give him exclusive ownership, and justly, too?"

Without inquiring whether it does or does not, suppose we ask Mr. Horr to explain what becomes of the rights of the farm laborer, the blacksmith, the grocer, the wheelwright, the tenant farmer and the journeyman mechanic, all of whom add to the value of all the farms quite as much as the neighboring farmers do? After he has made that explanation it would be worth Mr. Horr's while to notice that farm land values are the least of all values, and to consider the rights of the people generally relatively to the rights of owners of valuable mines and choice city lots. And having gone so far, perhaps he may discover the truth that the unborn also have rights to which they are entitled when they come into the world, and that no mutual releases between pioneer farmers can justiy destroy the natural rights of the unborn, who are not parties to the releases.

If small parks were scattered through the tenement districts would the rent of rooms overlooking the parks be higher or lower than they are now?

One of our dailies recently asked—having refercnce[sic] to the land value boom in southern California—whether it was due to an actual increase of value that could be maintained or was the result of wild speculation. What did it mean? It meant to ask whether industry could pay land rent based on such values and survive, or whether the values were beyond the power of industry to stand the pressure. And yet this paper did not "see the cat."

The investigation by a legislative committee into the management of the various telephone companies in the eastern part of this state has disclosed facts that ought to hasten legislation for securing the public control of telegraphs and telephones. There is a perfect string of monopolies engaged in taxing for their own benefit the people who use this now indispensable means of communication. First of all, the parent monopoly demands from the local companies $14 per annum for each instrument and a certain proportion of receipts as the condition on which they will permit any telephones to be used. Then another company, embracing within its territory the whole eastern portion of this state, secures control of all the local companies, and waters its stock so as to justify large charges in order to earn dividends on its fictitious capital over and above the extortionate charges of the present monopoly. No right thinking person will deny that the inventor of so beneficent an agency as the telephone ought to be rewarded, but it is clear from such disclosures as this that it would be vastly better for the public that the inventor should be munificently rewarded by the government, and the control of the invention assumed, rather than permit the establishment of a monopoly that is sure to be used by speculators for extorting money from the public.

We print numerous letters from all quarters which indicate that the courage and determination with which the assembly districts in this city face defeat is prevalent all over the state and the country. The friends of truth and justice do not fear that error and wrong will prevail in the end.

Sic in the original; probably "reference".

Page 5 of 8

[Running head: THE STANDARD[sic], SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 19, 1887. 5]

p. 5, col. 1

THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS.

Judge Maguire's Opinion of the Justice of their Sentence.

The following letter was written by Judge Maguire to a personal friend without expectation of its being published, but as he was obliged to return to California before he could write a review of the case for THE STANDARD, he has permitted us to publish this letter:

CORNING, N. Y., Nov. 2.–Mrs. S. R. M––. My Dear Friend: I regret that the pressure of my engagements has made it impossible to send you the result of my examination of the record in the anarchists' cases.

I first read the very able speeches of the condemned men, and felt my sympathies aroused by them. I next read Mr. Blair's brief in their behalf, afterward the attorney general's brief, and finally the opinion of the supreme court of Illinois. My conclusion is that the condemned anarchists are all guilty of willful, deliberate, premeditated murder. It would be impossible, in the scope of a let- It would be impossible, in the scope[sic] of a letter, to review the case; nor could any such review so clearly or fully present the evidence or show the relation and connection of its various parts, or the legal effect of the whole, as does the masterly opinion of the supreme court of Illinois, to which I must again commend you. Briefly, however, the evidence shows that for two years Parsons and Spies, with the occasional assistance of Schwab and Fielden, had been publicly advocating the murder of policemen and others by the use of dynamite bombs and firearms. These things are shown, not by the reports of hostile or indifferent newspapers, but by the files of their own papers, and very conclusive circumstances connected with them. But it is not necessary to discuss these circumstances, for the facts in this connection are not denied. It further appears conclusively that all of the defendants were connected with and assisted in the organization, training and instruction of groups of men for the avowed purpose of enabling them to act in concert in the murder of Chicago policemen and others by the use of dynamite bombs and firearms. It appears, also, that for several months the defendants, Parsons, Spies, Fielden, Schwab, Engel and others, had been advising and threatening the commencement on or about May 1, 1886, of a violent revolution, involving, and, indeed, expressly including the use of dynamite in the killing of the policemen of Chicago and others. It further appears that Lingg, who was the special bomb maker of the "armed groups," had perfected a peculiarly efficient and deadly bomb by an unusual combination of metals in the shell, providing for the brittleness necessary to cause the bomb to break into effective missiles, and providing at the same time for the elasticity necessary for other purposes. The armed groups, as I have said, were formed and drilled and instructed for the express purpose of killing, by means of such bombs, members of a particular class of people in Chicago–namely, policemen.

That constituted a complete conspiracy to commit murder without any of the special arrangements of May 3, and it made every person who was a party to those purposes, not only morally but legally guilty, of any murder that might be committed by any member in execution of the general plan. This is the rule, not only under "the

Sic in the original; probably "THE STANDARD".
Sic in the original; probably "It would be impossible, in the scope of a letter".

conspiracy laws of Illinois," but under the laws of every civilized state and nation in the world. It is a mistake to suppose that there is anything peculiar in the laws of Illinois in this respect.

The guilt of the defendants does not depend upon their having been present at, or absent from, the meeting of the evening of May 3. The conspiracy to murder policemen was not formed at that meeting—it was already in existence, and the conspirators who met that night simply agreed upon a more specific plan of committing the murders for which they were all banded together.

But the evidence shows that the defendants all knew of the specific plan of May 3, all acquiesced in it, and all aided in its execution. The evidence shows conclusively that Lingg made the bomb that was exploded at the Haymarket. This is proved by a great many independent circumstances, which, taken together, constitute a doubly complete chain of evidence establishing this fact.

The analysis of the fragment of shell taken from the mangled body of Deegan[sic], and its agreement with the analysis of the "improved" shell confessedly made by Lingg, and with the metals from which Lingg had been manufacturing shells in the house of Seliger; the fitting of the iron nut found[,38] in the body of Hahn to the threads of the bolts in the other bombs made by Lingg; the fact that those bolts had been purchased by Seliger, at Lingg's request, on the very day of the murder; the fact that Lingg had been engaged during the entire day of the murder, with Seliger and four of the men who attended the secret meeting of the night of May 3, in making dynamite bombs, and that Lingg and Seliger carried the bombs thus made to the rendezvous at 58 Clybourne avenue, and distributed them to members of the armed groups who were in waiting only an hour before the explosion; all show conclusively that Lingg made the fatal bomb for the purpose for which it was used, and the same circumstances also show beyond any reasonable doubt that it was thrown by one of the conspirators to whom it was delivered by Lingg. But these are not the only circumstances nor the only important circumstances indicating that the bomb was thrown by one of the conspirators. They (the armed groups) had previously agreed upon a signal word, by the publication of which all members of the armed groups should know that the time for their work of murder had arrived, and which should summon them to their places of rendezvous for action. This signal was the German word "Ruhe," and it was duly published (simultaneously with the famous and inflammatory "revenge circular") in the *Arbiter-zeitung*[sic] by August Spies (the notice and circular being in his handwriting and the signal word being trebly underscored by him) on the morning of the murder. Further, it was agreed to as part of the detail plan of May 3 that as soon as a bomb should be thrown by a conspirator the other conspirators present should immediately open fire with their pistols on the police before the latter would have time to recover from their fright and discomfiture. This was exactly the course pursued at the Haymarket meeting. For the other circumstances I must again refer you to the supreme court's opinion. It does not matter who threw the bomb, if it appears beyond a reasonable doubt, from the evidence, that it was thrown by some one of the conspirators.

If four or five men should enter into a conspiracy to murder a certain man, or a certain family, or a certain body of men, and the conspirators, being without lead, should melt up some spoons and make bullets for their purpose out of the white metal, in a mold having a peculiar flaw in it (I have an indistinct recollection of a case very similar to this), and if the conspirators, going to hunt up their victim, should find him in a crowd, and shortly after their arrival he should be shot and killed, and the fatal bullet, upon being extracted, should prove to be of white metal and to bear the mark of the peculiar flaw in the mold, could there be any doubt about the guilt of the conspirators if, on account of the

p. 5, col. 2

darkness, the man who did the shooting could not be identified? Certainly not. The analogy between the case above supposed and the case of the anarchists is very complete, and the failure of the authorities to prove that

Sic in the original; probably "Degan".
Sic in the original; probably "found (broken type)".

Schnaubelt threw the bomb is equally unimportant. It is not within the scope of human credulity to believe that that bomb was thrown by any person other than one of the conspirators to whom it was delivered for the purpose of being thrown among the police less than an hour before. The statement now being circulated that these men were tried for being anarchists, and that they were convicted for having expressed their opinions upon that question, is absolutely false. Any man may freely advocate the abolition of government, or commit any like folly, without any interference on the part of the representatives of the law, and no man has ever been molested for so doing. Mr. Tucker of Boston has been for many years advocating anarchy in his paper, *Liberty*, and no person has ever interfered with him. There is a great difference between advocating anarchy as a measure of social reform and the infernal work of organizing gangs of murderers to bring about anarchy by murdering public officers.

This latter course was pursued by the condemned men, and the gibbet is their natural reward.

You call attention to some striking circumstances which, considered apart from the other testimony, would seem to be inconsistent with the guilt of the anarchists, but their force fades away in the light of the facts as they appeared at the trial.

You say that four of the condemned men proved an alibi. Yes, but the evidence shows that they were stationed in other parts of the city on errands of murder like to that which drew the others to the Haymarket. Under the detail plan of May 3, men were to take positions near to the police stations, and upon signals or notices from the Haymarket meeting to throw bombs into the stations and shoot the escaping policemen before they could recover from the confusion caused by the explosion of the bombs.

If the five conspirators of whom I have spoken had planned the murder of a family, and four of them had remained at the doors to kill the terrified victims if they should try to escape, or to kill any one who might come to their assistance, while the fifth went into the house, on murder bent, those outside would be as guilty of the murders committed inside as the one would be who plied the knife. So if they separated in order to find their victims, and one should find and slay him, all would be guilty.

If one hired the others to commit the murder, and, having done so, he should go to a distant place to await the crime, his guilt would be none the less if they should kill the victim.

So it is in all conspiracies—each conspirator is an agent of and for all the rest in the contemplated crime, and all are equally guilty of the crime when it is consummated.

You call attention to the fact that these men were advocating the eight hour movement, but the evidence shows that they had no sympathy with the eight hour movement, and had repeatedly declared it of no account except as a means of creating confusion and ill feeling between the workingmen and the wealthy classes, and thus aid their forcible revolution and gain recruits to their scheme of plunder and murder from the ranks of the workingmen. (See evidence as cited by the attorney general and by the supreme court.)

You say truly that the Haymarket bomb “killed the eight hour movement.”

Yes. Just as bombs and dynamiters will kill every labor movement with which they are permitted to have the slightest connection.

You speak of the singular circumstance that some of the alleged conspirators were not personally acquainted with others. This would be extraordinary in an ordinary conspiracy, but these were trained professionals, and among their printed instructions was one to the effect that the leaders, in selecting men for such work, should select some who were not known to the others. (See evidence.)

Sic in the original; probably “Arbeiter-Zeitung”.

You call attention to the fact that Parsons brought his wife and children to the Haymarket meeting, as tending to show that he did not expect trouble there. The evidence shows, notwithstanding this, that he did expect trouble, and it seems probable that his wife, who is a woman of great physical courage, brought the children there for the very purpose of using the fact of their presence to shield their father, as the fact was afterward used. Besides, the instructions of which I speak suggest all sorts of cunning devices to ward suspicion from the "revolutionists."

This view is made more probable by the fact that, at a time when none of the outside spectators were expecting any trouble, Mr. Parsons removed his family to a place of safety, in Zepf's saloon, and there, from a convenient window, he waited and watched for the commencement of the "revolution."

You are right in claiming that little credit should be given to newspaper reports of the utterances of men in times of public excitement, but you are mistaken in supposing that the murderous advice and planning of these men were confined to times of public excitement or depended for proof upon general newspaper reports.

They did these things in cold blood, in times of perfect peace as well as in times of excitement, and their utterances are proved by their own papers. There can be no serious objection to that kind of proof under any circumstances.

This summary of the case is very incomplete, but must close. I am entirely satisfied that the condemned men are all guilty; that they were fairly tried and justly convicted, and that if the death penalty should be inflicted upon any one, these men deserve it.

But I am opposed to capital punishment. I believe that it brutalizes all who are either directly or indirectly parties to it, and that it lends sanction to murder.

The anticipation of the horrible tragedy to be enacted by society in Chicago on the 11th of November shocks the finer moral sense of civilization, and the act itself will tend to degrade our moral standard to the level of that adopted by the men whose lives are to be taken.

There are many other reasons why these men, notwithstanding their guilt, should not be hanged, but it is not necessary, nor would it be interesting, to review them.

I have given my views thus at length because I know that you have no more sympathy for men who deliberately engage in murderous conspiracies than I have, and as you have asked my intercession on their behalf I am doubly anxious to see that you are not yourself drawn into a false position by your noble and womanly sympathies.

I am also desirous of satisfying you that I am not shrinking from any duty in refusing to come to the rescue of the condemned men. With sincere regards, I remain very truly yours.

JAMES G. MAGUIRE.

P. S.–These men, with the aid of their friends, are now seeking to represent that they are martyrs[sic] to the cause of labor, but they are no more the representatives of any cause of labor than was Guiteau a representative of "stalwart republicanism." The American working men do not believe in murder as a means of social reform, and these men are merely martyrs to the cause of murder.

J. G. M.

p. 5, col. 3

Sic in the original; probably "martyrs (broken type)".

ABOLISH THE TARIFF.

A few weeks more, and the two old parties will have a chance to wrestle with the tariff question; will be forced to it, indeed. What will they do? It is characteristic of the pitiful lack of ideas among the men who pose as leaders of political thought and action that the questions of temporary expediency seem so much bigger to them than the vital principles involved that they are greatly worried over an accidental surplus of a hundred millions, and resolutely shove aside the thousand millions that are stolen from the people by our villainous system of taxation. For twenty-five years they have duped the people with the fable of protection to American industry; they have made millionaires by the score and paupers by the thousand. Under the plea of securing high wages to working men, they have enriched mine owners and lumber barons and land grabbing ranchmen, and have driven working men into starvation, and merchants or manufacturers into bankruptcy.

Even the special interests that have been most greedy for protection have suffered most from the iniquity. The iron duties have grown steadily higher since the war, but in all that time the iron trade has had six years of prosperity and sixteen of depression. The growing of wool has been made all but impossible except for the man who could count his sheep by the thousand head and herd them on Government land. Sawmills and furniture factories have been ground to the narrowest margin that would keep them alive, while the important industry of owning land on which trees could grow has been encouraged by a bonus of two dollars a thousand feet of lumber, collected by the aid of a protective tariff against foreign pauper trees. On every hand it has been the monopolist instead of the manufacturer, the land owner instead of the laborer, who has reaped the benefit of this protective system of ours.

Republican protectionists can see no better way to relieve the people than by increasing their burdens. Democratic protectionists are equally blind, and democratic tariff reformers are but little better. Not one of them dares openly to espouse a logical policy of free trade or denounce protection on moral grounds that will appeal to the heart of the people. But there are a few earnest men who have labored unceasingly to release the nation from the fetters of its tariff chain, to break some of the links, and thereby clear the field for sweeping away the whole abominable delusion. These men—such as are consistently free traders and advocate emasculated tariff reduction only as a step toward complete freedom—should join hands with the great army who have taken up the cross of the new crusade; should stand with us for the principle of direct taxation that shall fall on land values only.

We have a great work before us in forcing a distinct declaration of principle on the question of tariff production[sic] as a question of right and wrong. It is a matter of very slight importance whether each of us pays in to the government a few cents every year more than is absolutely necessary, if the burden is equally distributed. It is a matter of very great importance that not only the surplus, revenue[42], but all the tariff revenue, is taken from the many who are poor, and not at all from the few who are rich; that there is an additional contribution levied on the people through the medium of high prices, and that this contribution does not go to develop industry, but to enrich the owners of natural opportunities on which all labor must be exerted; and that, worst of all, the double burden is laid upon the implements of labor and the material that it uses, and directly serves to restrict the wealth producing power of the nation.

Our party, with its creed of the land for the people, is the only party that has the vitality to meet the question fairly. It lies with us to arouse the moral sense of the people to the issues that our congressmen will try so industriously to befog for the next few months. It is part of the work of industrial emancipation to which we have pledged ourselves, and if we are to make our great reform complete we cannot afford to neglect it.

Sic in the original; probably “tariff protection”.
Sic in the original; probably “surplus revenue”.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

Mr. Pentecost on Anarchy.

Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost preached a thoughtful and timely sermon in Belleville avenue church at Newark last Sunday, in which he alluded to the very serious lesson taught to society by the discontent of which anarchism is born. He also gave strong expression to his well known views against capital punishment. The Newark *Advertiser* has attempted to pervert this into a declaration by Mr. Pentecost of sympathy with anarchism, a perversion that will not deceive any one at all familiar with his views. In order to set himself right with any readers of that paper who may have been deceived, Mr. Pentecost has written it a card, in which he says:

You say in your editorial that I "mouthed frantically about the tyranny of capital," and that I "would have capital destroyed." I have never said that capital is tyrannical and should be destroyed. The workingmen of this city have heard me say many times that their fight against capital is unwise and unjust; that the working capitalist is as necessary to society as the laborer. Hundreds of witnesses would bear me out in saying that I have declared that the "aggregation of large wealth" is entirely just and right. So much am I in favor of protecting capital in the enjoyment of all its rights that I openly say, and that continually, that buildings, machinery, furniture, incomes, accumulations of money, stocks, etc., should be entirely untaxed, for the plain reason that what a man earns by the use of brains, muscle or capital, or all combined, is his own, and he should not be checked in his efforts to get wealth by taxation of what he produces. In short, I do not believe that capital is tyrannical and should be destroyed. I do believe that capital is labor's good friend and should be fostered and encouraged.

You associate me with socialists and anarchists. This you cannot fairly do for three reasons.

1. The socialists and anarchists are arrayed against capital and the wage system. I declare for the rights of capital, and think the wage system is not an evil in itself.

2. Instead of declaring that the "cause of labor and anarchy are identical," I declare that I believe the socialists and anarchists are dangerous enemies of labor: that in the communism of the one and individualism of the other there is no hope for the laboring man or anyone else.

3. I deprecate the appeal to force under any circumstances. Whatever the wrongs of the poor man may be I think they should patiently endure them until by thoughtful discussion a majority of the people shall become willing to right them by legislation. The "specifications" which I make concerning these matters may be "absurdly vague" to those who will not consent to investigate them, but to many minds they are clear and simple, and quite in accord with the teachings of Jesus, in whom I am a thorough believer, concerning doing justly to the poor just as soon as we can clearly know how, and in the meantime teaching the poor to patiently endure their sufferings.

p. 5, col. 4

SOME FACTS ABOUT TAXATION.

YONKERS, N. Y.–The board of supervisors of Westchester county some nine years since were unanimous in an eager and most laudable desire "to obtain such facts as might be had looking to both county and state equalization." They employed me to examine the records of land sales in the several towns of the county, to ascertain the character of the sales, and, taking those only that were found to be regular, or of true consideration, to compare them with the assessment rolls of the year, and determine the per cent of assessment to actual value.

The report I made enabled the board, in equalizing, to make a somewhat nearer approach to equality or justice between the several towns and assessment districts of the county. The board believing that something advantageous might be done toward state equalization, further inquiry was ordered the next year, and a similar close examination of several counties throughout the state was made by me. In the performance of this much more extended work, I had my previous suspicions and partial convictions of the shallow, absurd, fraudulent and unjust character of our state system of taxation so vastly deepened as to fill me with wonder that it had not long ago been resolutely attacked and overthrown. There does not, to my mind, appear any possibility of securing even an approximation to equality or justice in the method or system of taxation.

In the fall of that last year of inquiry I attended a meeting at Albany of the state board of equalization, and presented a statement of the ascertained facts. A very large number of brainy men from all parts of the state were present. The object of most of them was to get their respective counties down, "no matter who went up;" of others, to maintain the low rate of equalization by which their counties had been favored by the state assessors.

A motion was made by one of the board that the lieutenant governor (who presides in the state board of equalization) should be one of a committee to make examination of the state assessors' scheme of equalization before them and report such changes as they thought equitable and just.

The lieutenant governor very properly declined. He gave three reasons:

1. That he knew very little about the business, and would not know how to begin the job.

2. In his opinion to do it completely it would, with the assistance of local experts, take years to go through the state and ascertain the facts, make comparisons and correct the local assessors' valuations—very irregular and often unjust, "that at least he knew"—to visit every property assessed, to inquire into and discover all the hidden or unreported personal property; and he hardly thought that one lifetime would be sufficient to make a conscientious, thoroughly true or just report. Indeed, he very much or entirely doubted if such a report could be made at all, even if an unlimited appropriation therefor had been made, and he was not aware of there being any funds provided for such an object.

3. The state assessors were employed and paid salaries to visit the sixty counties in the state and do their best to equalize them, and he supposed they tried, but had to guess a great deal. Nevertheless the board must, when the state assessors are agreed, indorse their work, and if they are in disagreement, the adjustment of their differences is only guesswork, after all.

Verily, a true conception of the "tax muddle."

Something over twenty years since I received a letter from a Mr. C——, a banker in New York city, requesting attention to a matter that will be disclosed in the following verbatim conversation with the chief assessor of an adjoining town:

Writer—Good morning, Mr. Dusenberry. I perceive that the one-half of the thirty-acre parcel sold to Mr. C. by Uncle Jake is ten times as valuable this year as it was last, and the other or remaining half has not increased a cent. The whole thirty acres was assessed last year at $3,000, or $100 per acre. The river frontage of each parcel is equal and in every respect the half part remaining is as good as that sold, no improvements having been made. Why should you value for assessment the part purchased at $15,000, and the other but $1,500?

Assessor—We valleyed the land bought at jest what the buyer paid for it. Ain't that right? What a thing fetches is the vally of it, ain't it?

W.—Not always. Now, I happen to know that Mr. C. intends, next spring, to put up a splendid country residence on that piece of land he bought, and also that within ten days after his purchase Uncle Jake refused $1,100 per acre, or $16,500 for the tract remaining, and that you immediately knew of that fact also, yet your subsequent assessment valuation is but (1-11) one-eleventh of the value in the latter case and full value in the other.

A. (Some temper appearing)—Wall, we didn't change the vally of that piece, because it wan't sold. How are we to tell the vally of this 'ere fancy land until some rich fool of a Yorker comes up and buys it, I'd like to know?

W.—Can't you come nearer to the true value of land in your district without the aid of some rich fool of a Yorker?

A.—Arn't we sworn to assess lands to their full vally, and what anything fetches is the vally of it? Come, now. (And a sidling twist of his big head and an elevation of his right cheek and tight compression of his lips, gave to his aspect a most exquisite mixture of intense asinine stupidity and bursting conceit.)

W.—Well, I see that Mr. Brown's place adjoining Mr. C.'s on the other side, which has eighteen acres, highly improved and with buildings worth at least $18,000, has only $13,000 valuation for both land and buildings, on your list. It is to-day worth four times at least more than the plot which you have assessed $2,000 greater.

A.—Wall, do you expect we are going to change that, just because this 'ere Yorker chooses to pay Uncle Jake for that air piece of land four times as much as it is worth any how! If we begin to change the vallyations we'd have to go through the whole list—do all our work over again. We can't do that, and what's more we won't.

W.—Has it not occurred to you that it is against the interest of this town to make your total town valuation higher in proportion than the other towns in the county? Don't you see that this town will have to pay an undue or greater proportion of the county and state tax?

A.—I don't know nothing about that, and don't care. We are not goin' to make no changes in our roll, nor in our way of jedgment of valleys for you nor no other man, you can bet. I've got to go out and pick pickles.

And he went, and there was, there is not now, any method of redress, for these assessors in their specialty have more power, are "biger[sic] men" than the chief justice of the supreme court. It may just here be set down that in this state an honest man can be an assessor; a capable man can be an assessor; but a strictly honest and thoroughly capable man is entirely out of place in and incompati-

p. 5, col. 5

ble with the system. What is it that has produced such an incongruous state as actually occurred on the same assessment roll in this town of a valuation of assessment in one case of just 1-75 of what the same property actually sold for in the same year, and in another case—with no change also—of thirteen per cent higher than the property brought. Per cent of assessment to actual value less than two in one case, 113 in the other. The first was speculative property. The last was a poor man's house and lot. These were extremes, but there were in the same roll a host of such incongruities of varying discrepancies ever tending to enrich the rich and impoverish the poor. But, in personal property the disparity is, on the average, immensely wider and the injustice far greater.

The following conversation with an assessor was held in this town several years since on personal property.

Q.—How came you to assess this $1,000 mortgage of the Widow Clark? It is really all the property she has in the world, and she has at least four small children to support.

Sic in the original; probably "bigger (or dialect; editor to rule)".

A.—We are not commissioners of charity, and we assess whatever we find that is assessable.

Q.—Would it be convenient to find over two millions of dollars in recorded mortgages on land in this town that do not appear on any assessment roll anywhere? If so, I am ready to assist your investigations. Besides, with all the earnest, active use of your power and sworn duty of assessor to discover over forty times as much liable personal property in this town as the total amount you have on your list for the year, I have here other small mortgagees' cases to present.

A.—Must go. Got to catch a train.

I was evidently too personal about personal property. But somehow the next year the widow was forgotten, or purposely neglected, just like a rich capitalist! Same with some other small mortgagees whose names were left on the table. In conclusion, the great question is put to my readers, What is to be done about it? All honest and intelligent citizens of all parties say they know of and wish these crying evils were abated. But how? How?

Q.—Will the democratic party ever be likely to do more, then, than talk about it?

A.—No.

Q.—Will the republican party, once so grand in its devotion to justice and freedom for all, ever be likely to do anything to overthrow this complexity of injustice?

A.—No.

Q.—Who upheld the nation when the forces of monopoly and injustice to man struck at the national life? Not democrats, not republicans, not warrior generals nor long experienced statesmen, but the common people led both in council and field by common men, saved the nation and crushed out one great injustice, and they must ever be looked to for the righting of all great wrongs and the firm establishment of both law and religion.

M. K. COUZENS.

The Sanction of the State to Land Tenure.

STAUNTON, Va.—The course of THE STAND- ARD is approved by more thinking men than is generally supposed.

A single tax on land values is undoubtedly the solution of our labor problem.

The law books say that title to land is derived from the state; and history bears them out in this, yet this title is always, everywhere, coupled with the right on the part of the state to tax such land.

In England every land holder is a tenant "mediately or immediately of the crown" or of the British people. In the reign of one of the Williams the land tax (other taxes still existing) was four shillings in the pound, equivalent to twenty per cent.

In this country the title is from the government, coupled, though, mark you, with the right to tax it, and the rate to be determined by the government. Now, it is perfectly in accord with our present laws, if the people choose, to abolish taxes on all property other than land values and raising the rate to get a revenue ample for all purposes, now only partially met by present modes of taxation. With various kinds of land tenure, much land was held under the Roman government, the title to which was vested in the state, and not allowed to pass elsewhere.

Legally, in England, all land is held that way, although the rate is nominal, and practically the landholders give no adequate return for their use of the property of the commonwealth. In Bengal, before British changes, the land paid a tax to the monarch, which met all the ends of the government without rackrenting, which almost immediately followed the changes made by the British conquerors.

Professor John B. Minor, in his "Institutes," asks how title to land became vested in individuals, and answers the questions[sic] by saying, "By the actual or implied sanction of the state." Now, as this is coupled with the right to tax that land at any rate the state pleases, how can any one deny the right on the part of the state to raise her revenue from that source alone?

There are four types of citizens with regard to holding of land values:

1. One having no land values. (2) One having land values less than his other property. (3) One having land values equal to his other property. (4) One having land values in excess of his other property.

In the city in Virginia in which I live the tax is forty cents on the hundred dollars, or four-tenths of one per cent on all species of property liable to taxation.

Let us see what would happen under the just method of taxation. Suppose we tax only land values and double the rate, making it eighty cents on the hundred dollars, or eight-tenths of one per cent. The man holding no land would pay directly no tax. The man holding land value less than his other property would pay less than under the present system. The man holding land values equal to his other property would pay exactly the same as under the present system. The man holding land values more than his other property would pay more than under the present system.

Now, but one class would complain under the new system—the class with excess of land values. Many of the landless being relieved by taxation on all products of labor, could obtain some land, and thus become direct taxpayers. On studying the question historically, one will invariably find in the origin of the present system instances in which land tenure was technically and sometimes actually based on the principle that the land belongs to all the people.

THETA.

Will Reorganize for Political Education.

WAPPINGER'S FALLS.—Our town polled ninety-two votes for our state ticket, and would have done better if we had workers at the polls like the other parties. Our votes were mostly taken from the republicans. The party managers stand in dread of the presidential election next year, in which fight the labor vote here will be a very important element. The party leaders who sneered at us before election now believe we have a principle, and not a small one at that. We expect to reorganize a permanent society for political education soon.

HENRY C. TOWNSEND.

p. 5, col. 6

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

OUR FUTURE RECRUITING GROUND.

Until the full official returns are printed it will be impossible to make any close analysis of the result of the recent election in this state. In one of the early numbers of THE STANDARD I made an analysis of last year's vote which, though it has been frequently criticised, was, I believe, substantially correbt[sic]. At that election the great body of our voters voted for candidates for the court of appeals in accord with their old party predilections. Doubtless there was some scratching on both sides, but it was too nearly balanced to affect the general result.

I then found that Roosevelt's vote fell 18,551 short of that cast for Judge Daniels, republican, and that Hewitt's fell 41,821 votes short of the vote cast for Judge Peckham, democrat. In addition to these votes there were 6,376 cast for mayor alone. I assumed in that calculation that this last figure substantially represented the socialistic vote, and that it, added to that drawn from the old parties, constituted the George vote. I doubted then, and still doubt, the general assumption that a large republican vote went to Hewitt, and I think that this year's figures demonstrate that the assumption was unfounded.

Taking my last year's calculations as a basis, I find, by comparing them with this year's figures, evidence of a startling change in the composition of our vote. Last year it was cast by 18,551 republicans and 41,821 democrats and about 6,000 socialists, the proportion drawn from the old parties being something more than two democrats to one republican. This is not true of the vote cast this year in this city.

The vote cast for Grant is substantially the same as that cast for Roosevelt, but the vote cast for Cook is 20,729 greater than that cast for Hewitt and falls but 21,069 short of Peckham's vote of last year.

Of course there may be individual changes that make no show in these figures. Some democrats not with us last year are known to have voted with us this year, and the same is true as to republicans. I have no doubt at all that there has been a very great change in the personnel of our vote, and that thousands of new men voted with us this year and other thousands returned to the old parties. So far as these changes balanced each other they would make no showing in the returns.

But the final result of all this changing back and forth does show plainly in the returns, and the figures demonstrate that about half of the vote that we drew from the democratic party last year has gone back to that organization, while our votes then drawn from the republican party, or an equivalent number of new votes, remain with us. There is no doubt that 20,729 men who voted for George a year ago voted for Cook this year, leaving 21,069 who remained with our party. The republican defection of 18,551 last year continues and the socialistic vote, like Dundreary's bird, has "flocked all by itself." The addition of 21,069 democratic votes to 18,551 republican votes gives a total of 39,620, which, allowing for the falling off in the total vote, is just about equal to the vote for George this year. Thus we see that instead of being drawn in the proportion of two democrats to one republican from the old parties, our vote is now drawn about equally from both of them.

In Brooklyn the New York *Times* says the politicians of both parties confess themselves astounded at the heavy vote for our candidates polled in republican wards. The democrats were at first jubilant over this, but they discovered later that an even heavier vote for our candidates had been cast in the strong democratic wards. In the only one of the latter wards the vote in which is analyzed by the *Times*, the democratic vote increased and the republican vote fell off, showing that even there the new vote came largely from the republican party. From the state we have no figures sufficiently full to throw any light on the sources of our vote, but the individual opinion of our workers there is that we drew about equally from both of the old parties.

This is a matter of grave importance to the old parties, and of even greater importance to ourselves. My own opinion has heretofore been that in the final struggle between the people and monopoly the present republican organization would be our antagonist. It looks to-day as if this would not be the case. The general opinion is that the result of last Tuesday assures the renomination and re-election of Mr. Cleveland. It is questionable if these constituting the new party have any reason to prevent Mr. Cleveland's re-election. If it is not prevented, then the republican party is doomed to permanent exclusion from power until some new and all important issue shall come into politics.

I must say that I should like to watch the result of placing the republican party in that attitude. It would be an interesting situation. It is led by mere spoils hunters, and its rank and file are given up overmuch to foolish sectional prejudice and stupid laudation of our burdensome tariff. The organization has also been the chosen instrument of the great monopolies that acquired power during its long domination. On the other hand, the party is on the whole composed of brighter people than the democrats and of people accustomed to respond to moral appeals. It ought not to be difficult to educate the mass of such people up to an understanding of "the promise and potency" of the system of placing all taxation on land values.

One thing is absolutely certain. One of the old parties is going to smash in next year's elections. Our only interest in the matter is what might be called a post-mortem one. We want the party smashed whose wreck will offer us the best recruiting ground. I have been [accustomed?] to regarding the democratic as that party, but it is apparently drifting into the situation that will attract to it all of the great monopolies and the whole [plutocracy?]. When that happens, the present republican leaders will climb over the shoulders of the [mugwumps?] in their rush to get into the fold.

The education and moral uplifting of the elements remaining may prove to be the first great duty that will fall to us. The matter is at least one for curious speculation, and I hope that the readers of THE STANDARD will think it over. Let no man imagine that the party standing on the Syracuse platform has ceased to be a factor in politics. We are the only people in this country who really believe in anything, and in about twelve months from now there will be a demoralized party around making frantic search for a belief.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

Tracts Doing Better Work Than Years of Oratory.

HORNELLSVILLE, N. Y.—Our vote here was light (fifty-six), but it does not represent the real growth of the principle. On every hand from unexpected quarters, I am continually being astounded at the knowledge thoughtful people have of our fundamental principle, and many who have not voted our ticket are stanch defenders of the justice of the proposed change in the laws governing taxation. The tracts that have been distributed like falling leaves all through the state are doing a silent but effectual work that years of oratory could not accomplish. Our repulse should but nerve us on to more determined effort. Our cause is just; let us not flinch.

GEORGE H. VAN WINKLE.

Sic in the original; probably "correct".

Page 6 of 8

p. 6, col. 1

OUR SCOTTISH FRIENDS.

How the Good Cause is Advancing in Auld Scotia.

GLASGOW, Scotland, Nov. 5.—Each week I greedily devour the items in THE STANDARD which tell of your contest against the case-hardened forces of corruption and injustice, and my heart leaps with joy at every sledge hammer blow that you and your inspired colleagues deal in leveling down the hateful edifices which these forces have reared in the midst of our civilization. Mingled with this joy is an occasional pang of regret that I am unable to be in that fight of yours as one of the hewers of wood and drawers of water. Still, even at this distance, it is a great satisfaction to read the weekly record of how our brethren in America are battling for labor against idleness and plunder. THE STANDARD brings to us here refreshing draughts of encouragement which nerve us on to keener activity in the work of spreading the principles of our cause. As you will perhaps remember we had a very exciting propaganda in Scotland in the years 1884 and 1885. Toward the end of 1886 I feared that a period of inaction and indifference was about to set in. At the opening of 1887 came THE STANDARD, "with its words that burn," among us firing us up afresh and calling us again to battle, and now the fight is raging fiercer than ever on this side. There is not a corner of Scotland to-day but is being sown with the good seed, and we look forward to an abundant crop at no distant day.

Here in Glasgow we have just come through some election contests with flying colors. The question of taxing land values was put to the test in three divisions of Glasgow and in two of these divisions the advocates of the land tax have been returned to the city council. Equally important was the fact that even the defeated candidates went in for our principles when appealing to the electors. In the third contest our president of the land restoration league, Mr. Peter Burt, attacked the seat of the strongest man in the city, a man who has for eighteen years represented the division at the city council and who consequently has a very strong hold on the electors. We were opposed by all sorts and conditions of people and by all manner of weapons. Mr. Burt was charged with being a bankrupt, a thief, an imposter, a socialist, and of every form of crime which malice could invent and liars urge. Several city councilmen and city magistrates came to the help of their colleague, our opponent. Yet withal, out of a total vote of 4,500 no less than 1,860 were polled for Mr. Burt. Our candidate could have won the seat if he had put into his programme and platform speeches general party political issues, but this he firmly declined to do. His main object was not on this. the first occasion[sic], to win a seat, but to plant the doctrine of the single tax in the heads and hearts of the people. and he therefore,[47] absolutely ignored personalities and every issue of whatever kind except the one. To this one he devoted twelve speeches as able as those usually delivered to the fortunate frequenters of the Sunday meetings of the Anti-poverty society at your Academy of Music. The first result of this contest in which we were defeated this year, to succeed next, was manifested at a public meeting of the land restoration league on the night following the election, when two members of the council publicly declared their adhesion to the land tax policy. Thus you see we have in these contests scored a great success, and now that we have tasted the first young fruit of our sowing and found it pleasant and palatable, you may look out in expectation of finding us

Sic in the original; probably "on this, the first occasion".
Sic in the original; probably "people, and he therefore".

in November having a rare feast in fresh fields of the enemy. Within a year or two we shall have the land tax imposed upon all ground values in Glasgow, and with this, the second city in the empire, as an example there will immediately follow some fine land value hunting by the tax gatherers of Scotland.

These municipal elections afford a rare and ready to [hand?] machinery for forcing into practical operation our platform. The members are elected by the householders of the borough, and they have the fixing of the various local rates and taxes[sic] for all municipal purposes. The election expenses are levied on the rate payers, and therefore we can put forward our candidates at a mere nominal outlay. A persistent and well directed propaganda among the working classes, whose interests are so deeply involved, cannot fail to win seats at each election. Political parties have no sort of standing in these contests, and therefore the term *liberal* or *tory* goes for nothing. A majority in these councils can impose the tax upon land values, and that majority, so far as Glasgow is concerned, is close at hand.

Some time ago you said in one of your letters to me that America would shoot ahead of us in the race; but I am not prepared to admit that you are correct in this anticipation. Certainly in THE STANDARD for an organ of your party, and with such intellectual giants as Dr. McGlynn, Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, Judge Maguire, Colonel Calhoun, Messrs. John McMackin, W. T. Croasdale, Louis F. Post, H. F. Ring and others at your side, I admit you have a great advantage over us, and that the competition, like most competitions, is an unequal one; but it won't be the fault of our men on this side if you pass us in the race for victory. In devotion, energy and earnestness we have men a match for any of you. Never in any public movement[sic] were there a band of men more faithful to a great principle or men more imbued with the self-sacrificing spirit than those who sustain our flag here in Scotland. The names of a few who deserve special mention are Peter Burt, David M'Lardy, Finlay Bell, J. M. Cherrie, John Ferguson, W. R. Thomas, John Murdoch, John Macleod, John Wright, Robert Barton. George Poton[50], John Millar, Rev. J. M. Cruickshank, and Rev. Alexander Webster. Yet there are many others. Some of those named are known to you as being in at the start of the movement in Glasgow. They are all engaged night after night in pushing the work ahead, in one form or another. But there are two of them who never address any meetings, and who deserve to be singled out even from the others. John Wright is a man of sixty years of age, engaged daily in the ordinary employment of a working man. Night after night he may be found at the entrance doors of social or religious or political meetings with a stock of our literature, handing out leaflets, manifestoes or pamphlets to all who enter. He is seldom, if ever, found inside any meeting listening to speeches. His work lies in giving to each of those who attend meetings a quiet, unobtrusive but revolutionary little scrap of paper which sets its possessor on the inquisitive for more light on the question of the single tax and what it involves. These remarks apply equally to Robert Barton. His work, cut out by himself, lies in the same direction. By the work of such men our literature has found its way to every part of Scotland, and the truth has penetrated every social and political body, honeycombing them with adherents to the cause.

RICHARD M'GHEE.

Propaganda Work in Washington County.

FORT EDWARD, Washington County.–The skies are clearing, and we know now where we stand. Could the campaign have lasted

p. 6, col. 2

Sic in the original; probably "taxes (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "movement?".
Sic in the original; probably "Robert Barton, George Poton".

two weeks longer we should have had a larger vote in this part of the country. Here in Fort Edward we polled 116 votes for our state ticket. We must fight on, fight ever. We need tracts to distribute the whole year through.

The local organization will probably hold fortnightly meetings this winter and conduct debates to keep the question before the people. If we can keep them thinking the work will progress and our followers will increase.

In New York you are now clear of all encumbrances and entangling alliances. Let the good work go on.

W. W. VAN DENBURG.

HOW THE GOSPEL IS SPREAD.

A Case Which Illustrates How Old Men Engage in the Work of Propaganda with the Enthusiasm of Youth.

The following is an extract from a letter received by Thomas Brothers of Toronto, Canada, from his father, Mr. W. Brothers, at Dover, Del., a man sixty years of age, who was made a convert to the doctrine of the single tax by reading THE STANDARD:

DOVER, Del., Oct. 30.—I received the sample copy of THE STANDARD from you, and also a regular copy from THE STANDARD publication office, and am much pleased with it. I called on my newsdealer a few days ago and got a number of copies, and started out to use them to the best advantage. The first man to whom I offered one was the son of an ex-governor, and a land speculator; but he did not want it. He "knew enough of Henry George already!" The next man was a lawyer, who sat beside the first man. He opened out on me and delivered a tirade against the whole movement. When he paused I took my innings in the presence of many leading and influential men, showing how he entirely misunderstood[sic] our principles and motives. After that I presented the paper to three lawyers, one congressman, three ministers, three merchants and four farmers, all of whom received it with interest and thanked me. It is surprising to see how men will listen to our propositions if only they are presented in the right way.

W. BROTHERS.

Speak to the People that They Go Forward.

EAST NORTHPORT, L. I.—Though the results of the election have been less favorable than we had hoped, the principles we advocate are as important, the evils we seek to eradicate are as baleful, the remedy we propose is as firmly based on truth as ever.

Our forefathers suffered a terrible defeat in their first battle after the promulgation of the immortal Declaration of Independence. As some private soldier of the patriot army, who in his small corner had tried faithfully to do his duty on that memorable day at Brooklyn, felt during the painful retreat which followed, so I feel—grieved, disappointed, but not discouraged. We can imagine the chagrin and heart sickness with which Lincoln saw his announcement of the intended emancipation proclamation followed by the crushing defeat of his party at the succeeding elections. Yet the independence for which Washington fought, the emancipation proclaimed by Lincoln, have long since passed into history.

Sic in the original; probably "misunderstood (broken type)".

Let us take a lesson from these examples. Have false friends deserted our cause? There were deserters from the cause of Washington and of Lincoln. Have we met defeat in the beginning of our movement! So did the advocates of independence and emancipation. Our cause is far greater than theirs. If we but equal their courage our triumph will be as complete and the results of our victory infinitely more beneficial to humanity.

"Speak to the people that they go forward." Urge each of the 75,000, who, in spite of sneers, bribery and bulldozing, voted on Tuesday for the equal right of all men to the use of the earth, to become a missionary in this new crusade. Let us begin at once the campaign of 1888.

J. K. RUDYARD.

Corruption at Newburg.

NEWBURG, N. Y., Nov. 10.—In this historic city, famous in the struggle for freedom and the spot where Washington refused the crown, at the present time one-third of our voters are Arnolds of the worst description. On election day liberty took her departure from this city at 6:30 a. m. and freedom shrieked under the shadow of the temple of liberty now in course of erection at Washington's headquarters. So unblushing was the display of bribery by both old parties that honest men turned away in disgust. I have not the ability to describe it. There is nothing in history that I can compare it with except the declining days of Rome. Men who claim to be the very cream of our society were around the polls with the boodle, not in their pockets, but openly in their hands, $3 for every man who would become a traitor to his country, himself and his family.

Mr. George is quoted as saying that we have met a Bull run. I think he is astray. We have some 50,000 men who can't be bought. I firmly believe that but for the influence of money at the polls, Mr. George could safely count on being the next president, for the ignorant and degraded, no matter how well they like a man or his principles, can't resist money. Let us go to work to stop bribery. I think we could depend on the assistance of the temperance people in this effort. The universal cry among all honest people here is one of disgust. Hosts of tramps and bums swore in their votes, got their money and left. The George men now have the balance of power in this county, and, if possible, they will try and crush this rattlesnake of corruption.

JOHN J. MULLEN,
Member state committee, U. L. P.

Twenty-third Ward, Brooklyn.

At a meeting of the Twenty-third ward association of the united labor party of Kings county, held at No. 133 McDonough street, Brooklyn, on Sunday afternoon, Nov. 13, the following resolutions were passed:

Resolved, That the Twenty-third ward association of the united labor party hereby pledges itself to a firm adherence to the principle of taxing land values, and promises renewed vigor in the effort to carry that principle into our legislation;

Resolved, That we advocate an immediate agitation for the adoption of the Australian system of voting.

The report of the president showed that after meeting bills to the amount of over $120, the total expenses of the campaign, there remained a balance of $2.70.

Committees were appointed to make arrangements for a public meeting to gather into the organization all the voters in the ward who cast their ballots for Henry George for secretary of state.

Notice to Louisville Readers.

Readers of THE STANDARD in Louisville, Ky., willing to support the principles of the Syracuse platform, are informed that land and labor club No. 1 of Kentucky will meet in the small hall in Liederkranz building, on Market, between First and Second streets, on Wednesday, Nov. 23, at 8 o'clock. The time and place of weekly meetings will then be fixed. All supporters of the new crusade in Louisville are invited to lend their aid in building up the clu[sic]

p. 6, col. 3

FIRST LAND, THEN WATER.

A Great Syndicate Secures Control of the Water Supply of Several Cities.

It has frequently been declared by the orators of the new crusade that, if it were practicable, designing men would monopolize not only the land, but the water, the air and the sunshine. A part of this prophecy has already come true. The *Herald* of Sunday devotes a column to a description of the semanner[sic] in which a wealthy syndicate has secured power to levy a heavy tribute on several thriving cities in New Jersey.

Years ago these men fixed their avaricious eyes on the watershed of northern New Jersey, which they and every one else saw must eventually be looked to to supply Jersey City. Newark, Paterson, Passaic, Orange, Montclair, Hackensack and numerous other cities and towns with pure water. They accordingly sought to obtain from the New Jersey legislature legislation authorizing a monopoly of the whole watershed. The indignant protests of the proposed victims caused the defeat of the bills, and the people of the several cities breathed more freely.

Their sense of security was short lived. "Had the people looked in a different direction," says the *Herald*, "they would have seen something going on that was of great interest to them. The watershed was rapidly passing into the hands of the very men who had sought to gobble it at one gulp through the legislature. The latter had refused them the right to condemn lands, but there was nothing to prevent them from buying the lands.

"Newark and Jersey City occasionally cried for better water. The water furnished these cities was polluted, not only by the sewage of Paterson and the manufactories along the Passaic river, but the tide drifted some of Newark's sewage past the pumping stations. The authorities of these cities indulged in excursions toward the headwaters of the Passaic river and spent hundreds of dollars in having maps made of the property that ought to be obtained in order to secure a supply of pure water. The state geological bureau also devoted a great deal of time and money to this project, and in its annual reports attention was called to natural reservoirs in the mountains which would one day have to be used to supply northern New Jersey with water. That is as far as the authorities went.

"Then the syndicate of water storers stepped in. It sent out secret agents, who bought up for a pittance vast tracts of mountain lands which were almost worthless, except for the water that ran through them and the springs they contained. Then Macopin lake and Dunker pond were bought. These extensive purchases attracted attention, and the price of real estate went up. It was then said that the lakes and lands were wanted merely for the purpose of

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

storing ice. To carry out this deception the syndicate built a railroad to Macopin lake from the New York, Susquehanna and Western railroad and put up a lot of large icehouses. This insured an immediate return for the money invested. The property owners were assured that this was all the syndicate wanted, and so the price of property went down and the syndicate bought up more property. Then it blossomed forth as the West Milford water storage company—a queer name for a concern engaged solely in the ice business.

"Propositions were then made to Jersey City and Newark to supply fresh and pure water. The people opened their eyes and declared they would have none of it. The right to the water from the clouds and the springs ought to be a public right, and the people did not propose to buy from any syndicate. The latter replied that they owned the headwaters of the Passaic, and really had a mortgage on the clouds. as no one could use the water that fell in their domains without paying them for it. The people decided to wait and see how this process agreed with the men who were so anxious to sell water. Water stock went down in the estimation of the people, but none of it was put on the market; the owners were fully able to hang on to it, and awaited developments. But several hundred thousand dollars had been invested in real estate, and the ice from Macopin lake did not pay a sufficient percentage on the investment. The syndicate was anxious to fasten its grasp on northern New Jersey, and so it reversed the programme. The original plan was to induce Jersey City and Newark to buy water by the gallon. Having thus established itself, the syndicate proposed to supply the smaller cities. As the big fish would not bite, the syndicate baited its hooks for smaller ones."

The *Herald* then goes on to give the details of the process by which the syndicate captured Montclair and Passaic, acquiring a controlling interest in the stock of the companies legally authorized to supply those places with water. Paterson and Newark are the next victims, and finally Jersey City will be seized on and its people taxed for one of the necessaries of life by this private corporation.

Before the process is complete the cities across the Hudson will awake to a realizing sense of the evils of land monopoly.

What a Protestant Clergyman Thinks of Dr. McGlynn.

This letter was crowded out of our last issue, but will be read with as much interest now:

18 CORTLANDT STREET,
NEW YORK. Nov. 1[sic], 1887.

On last Sunday afternoon I was requested by the president of the Manhattan temperance association, to make a twenty-minute address in Cooper union on the occasion of the debate between the Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn and the Hon. John Lloyd Thomas.

I there took occasion to express the high regard and appreciation I entertained[sic] for the dignity and sterling qualities of the Rev. Dr. McGlynn, his character, life and work. I have since been informed that some of his people misunderstood me, and thought that I was applauding him only in view of his present relations to the authorities of his church; but such is not the case, and I desire, through your columns, to correct this impression. I am a priest of the Protestant Episcopal church. at present,[56] without a parish; was for six years rector of the Church of the Mediator in this city, located at Eleventh avenue and Fifty-first street, in the midst of a densely populated district of poor and working people, and, therefore, know somewhat of their trials and sufferings which enables me to

Sic in the original; probably "NEW YORK, Nov. 1".
Sic in the original; probably "appreciation I entertained (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "church, at present".

sympathize and co-operate, as far as possible, with Dr. McGlynn in his work, for I feel that I know his heart. Besides this, residing for ten years on Lexington avenue and Twenty-seventh street, in the parish of St. Stephen, gave me the opportunity of knowing Father McGlynn as the indefatigable, self-sacrificing friend of the poor and afflicted and down-trodden.

Protestants as well as Catholics can testify with me that his life, from the commencement of his priesthood to the present time, has been a fertilizing moral stream, blessing everything in its course. It is because he has always been the priest of the poor that he is so eminently fitted for his present work; he is a devoted son of his church, the same now as ever; a Catholic Christian, a good citizen, an honest man and an example of singular purity and consistency. I have attended many meetings of the Anti-poverty society (unknown to Dr.

p. 6, col. 4

McGlynn) and rejoice in them; am a believer in the land value tax, and working for the united labor party. It seems to me that the time is not far distant when the heads of the Roman Catholic church will recognize the mistake they have made in interfering with his rights as an American citizen, and the injustice with which they have treated him, and will be led to see him in somewhat of the light in which God sees him, and will restore him to his altar; angels will light the candles, and the face of the Most Highest will shine on the host.

JOHN OWEN BACHE.

Some Suggestions.

NEW YORK.—The 37,000 are with you because you represent a principle—because they see the truth and believe it can be made effective. They must now redouble their efforts, and bring into the campaign of 1888 a living principle, forcing men to take sides for or against it. You can count on my energies being devoted to your cause, no matter what happens, and I know scores who feel the same way about it; and every one of us is good for ten converts before 1888; converts not for boodle or office, but who will stay with you until right is victorious.

I want to make one or two suggestions. First, can we not have a change of our party name now? “United labor” is altogether too narrow, and is inaccurate. We want something comprehensive. Dr. McGlynn’s suggestion of “commonwealth party” is good. The Pittsburg name of “commoners” is good. But wouldn’t the “land resumption” party be good? That’s what we aim at—to resume ownership of the land now unjustly kept from us, the people.

And as a means of reaching the more intelligent and leisurely class, I suggest for one thing that a small hall in some central part of the city be hired permanently, and that lectures and debates on the land theory take place there every night, year in and year out. Let questions be answered by the speakers, and let the thing be advertised as one of the regular entertainments of the city in the press. Music or any other attractive feature might supplement the debate. My idea is that it should have for its principal object the answering of questions, so that any one desiring it could go and put his question and get an answer without having to read a book. I believe that if you and Dr. McGlynn should give as much of your time as convenient to such a platform, and besides that have a regular “lecturer” at it every night you could make thousands of converts in the course of a year, and such converts will stay and make others. The expense for rent of hall, salary of lecturer, etc., could be guaranteed in advance by subscriptions. If every member of the Anti-poverty society, for instance, should promise to pay twenty-five cents a month, I should think that would cover the entire expense, and many outside the society might subscribe. I would, for one, subscribe many times that amount, and I think others might, so as to make up for those who don’t feel able to subscribe anything. I have thought this over considerably, and hope it will strike you favorably. The chief thing is to explan[sic] the theory, to answer questions plainly and promptly, as you did after your country speeches.

W. T. LOPER.

Will Fight It Out if it Takes Ten Years.

SENECA FALLS, N. Y., Nov. 10.—We polled 109 votes in this village for the cause of anti-poverty. Of this number I do not believe four votes were Catholic, as Catholic prejudice was aroused against us by unscrupulous politicians. The fact that we got 109 votes after so short a canvass is proof, however, that we will gather in converts as fast as prejudice is allayed and ignorance enlightened.

Many men who voted our ticket were bitterly opposed to us only a few weeks ago. I have in my mind now a man who has a marble shop here. In the beginning of the campaign he opposed us bitterly, and downed me a good many times (before I got fully posted); but last Saturday night he came into my place, and without saying a word of his intentions, filled his vest pocket with our tickets. On Tuesday evening he came in again and said he had used eight of them in his shop and two outside. He does not belong to our club. but[sic], like all other Scotchmen, he is as firm as the granite which he works up into monuments. We are not disheartened in the least. The members in Seneca Falls will increase. Our principles are right, and there are stout hearts and strong hands to uphold them here. We believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, natural rights and equal justice, and on this line we will fight it out if it takes ten years.

R. S. GANOUNG.

Up and Doing in Ohio.

DEFIANCE, O., Nov. 9.—I write the morning after election. The Associated press dispatches report not quite as large vote in New York as expected. Though the morning's pro-poverty editorials announce the collapse of the George party, and predict that it will not be heard from again, the George men here are very well satisfied with what has been done under the circumstances. We have deferred organizing here until after this election, not wishing to embarrass the union labor party, but now we propose to organize for 1888, with no fear but that the right will prevail eventually. A meeting is called for Defiance, O., Monday evening, Nov. 14. We propose to make up in activity what we lack in numbers. We will be proud to show the numbers later. We hope the campaign will be opened and continued in every village and hamlet throughout the Union. We must neither expect nor desire a mushroom growth, but a healthy development of political sense and moral principles. A merely class labor party may not have hopes of success on American soil. We propose to have a people's party, a producer's party, as against a monopolist or gambler's party.

GEO. T. ALPRESS.

An Influential Nicodemus Bears Testimony.

NEW YORK, Nov. 10.—I just want to say that I am one of the fifteen thousand Brooklyn men who voted for the principles of the united labor party on Tuesday. I am as proud of it as a survivor of the old guard was of Waterloo. But this is, as you have well said, not a Waterloo for us. There are enough of us left to enter another campaign. There are still thousands of men into whose lives has come the sunshine of your teachings, who will stand by you

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Sic in the original; probably "explain".
Sic in the original; probably "club, but".

and work for you, no matter how great the opposition. By birth and education I am a member of the "upper" class, the "pro-poverty" class, the class of the "society saviors," and I serve the richest and most relentless monopoly on earth. But I believe in the single tax theory, and will work for it always. To see the great mass of the wage workers of New York city and Brooklyn deliberately vote for lower wages and higher rents last Tuesday was simply awful.

A NICODEMUS.

The Society to Befriend Working Girls.

The society to befriend working girls, of which J. S. Ehrich is president, is an institution organized for the purpose of helping deserving women of all denominations who are in need or out of employment. A few more applicants can be accommodated at Primrose house, 356 West Thirty-third street.

p. 6, col. 5

THE MOVEMENT IN TEXAS.

The President of a County Farmers' Alliance Lecturing to Tillers of the Soil.

GREENVIEW, Tex. — Robert A. Whatley, president of the Washington county farmers' alliance, lectured here last night on "The Single Tax Theory." The people present manifested their interest by ordering through the speaker several copies of Mr. George's works, with the view of further investigating the "theory," which was entirely new to them. The speech lasted over two hours. Among many other things he said: "If I were going to preach a sermon, and the farmers' alliance was my subject, I would take for my text the first purpose, as laid down in our constitution, which is to labor for the education of the agricultural classes in the science of economic government, in a strictly non partisan spirit.'[sic] Why was this laid down first in the declaration of purposes? Because the founders of this organization knew that the study of economic government and the enactment of wise laws was by all means the first thing to be done, that without which our social and financial betterment was impossible; yet this feature is more ignored by the alliance than anything else.

"There is no other class treated to so much 'buncombe' as the farmers When[sic] a company wants to build a new railroad its promoters do not want an institution on which they may issue 'watered stock,' but they want to open up the country for the benefit of the dear farmers. When monopoly appeals to the consideration of the farmer to maintain 'things as they are,' it does so with the full assurance of getting a favorable hearing; but monopoly knows only too well that it is not appealing to the consideration of the farmer, but to his ignorance, for the farmer is often ignorant of governmental affairs, not because of any mental inability, but because he is so isolated and mingles little with his fellow man. His opportunities for exchanging ideas are few and far between. He is made to believe that he is an independent producer, and the condition of the mere laborers has nothing to do with his prosperity. He is rather encouraged in his effort at co-operation, and takes the letion[61] prepared by the plastic hand of greed. Yet the farmer is dissatisfied. The readiness with which he enters into industrial organizations demonstates[62] that fact. As to co-operation—which is the 'alpha and omega' of our efforts—let me say, with all due respect to the opinion of those who believe that co-operation will solve the present labor difficulties, that so long as railroads or telegraph lines and other like monopolies which require a public franchise to exist are owned and controlled by private individuals for private gain; so long as our currency is controlled in like manner, and is

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Sic in the original; probably "'the first purpose ... spirit.'".
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Sic in the original; probably "lotion".
Sic in the original; probably "demonstrates".

contracted or expanded to suit the caprice or fill the coffers of a few private bankers, and so long as the values accruing to land by reason of the growth of the community are taken by a few planet owners in the shape of 'rent,' we may co-operate, and still the rich will continue to get richer and the poor poorer. 'The gulf between Dives in hell and Lazarus in Abraham's bosom' will grow wider and wider. The first two of these abolished will accomplish little or nothing so long as the land, which was created by God for the benefit of all His children, and from which alone all must live, is treated as the private property of the few."

The lecturer, at the close of his remarks, dwelt upon the formation of the united labor party, its purposes and aims. He showed conclusively that a tax on land values was the only method of obtaining equality in natural opportunities, and vividly pictured the condition of society with those principles of justice to all put into practice.

ANON.

Renewing the Fight in Erie County.

BUFFALO, Nov. 11.—The battle is over, and the result, so far as the new party is concerned, in Buffalo is most gratifying to the pioneers of the movement in this section. When we consider that at the time of the Syracuse convention there were not, perhaps, more than a dozen of us all told, and that we polled a vote of about 1,000 last Tuesday, so far as I can now learn, we have reason to congratulate ourselves on the progress made thus far, and to look hopefully into the future. This brave band of men who had the moral courage of expressing[sic] their honest convictions through the ballot, in spite of the jeers of corrupt politicians and the scowls of ignorant fanatics, are not likely to be deterred from their purpose and will yet triumphantly bear the cross of the new crusade over the enemies' ramparts.

On last Thursday evening at our headquarters the city committee of our party was organized. with[sic] C. M. Kinsky as chairman, R. H. James as secretary and John Winchester as treasurer, three of the most earnest workers in the cause. There was also formed an anti-poverty society to serve as the handmaid of our party in Buffalo. The officers are: C. M. Kinsky, president; John Winchester, vice president; Charles Whittimore, secretary, and Robert White, treasurer. We are now considering the advisability of starting a weekly paper to advocate and defend the principles of our party in this section. We felt the want of such an organ during the late campaign, and the indications are that at no distant day we shall have a journal of our own to voice the true sentiments of the new party in this city, as does THE STANDARD in New York.

J. A. RONAYNE.

Land Tenure in Provincetown, Mass.

KEARNEY, N. J.—The talk of our opponents that "absolute ownership in land is necessary for safety or prosperity" can be easily refuted. Provincetown, Mass., is a town of 6,000 people. About 1643 one-half of the town site was set aside as a reserve for the fisheries, and the other half granted to the eight proprietors of the town of Truro as a wood lot, and divided by them into eight lots for themselves, by the Plymouth colony. Thus the town was divided in two parts, one in public and the other in private ownership. The soil is sandy, and has no natural value, but a value is given it by being near a fine natural harbor. The people settled, as suited their convenience, on the reserved or province land, paying nothing for it. Those who settled on the allotted land of the proprietors of Truro

Sic in the original; probably "courage of expressing (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "organized, with".

paid for it and received deeds to it. Those who settled on the province land sell and exchange it with the same freedom and for the same relative value as the land held by deeds in the other parts of the town. The land in the reserve has a higher selling value, as the water in the harbor is deeper near the shore in that part of the town. The land a mile from the harbor is of no value, and of course, having no claimant in either part of the town, laid waste for over two hundred years. A few years ago a vessel loaded with cranberries was wrecked on the coast, and in carting the berries into town a team was stuck in a swamp. The load was scattered over the ice in the swamp, and in a few years a fine cranberry bog, worth thousands of dollars, was started. This happened to be on a line between the two lands. People of the town soon staked out lots in the swamp all over it. Now comes the question of vested rights. Everybody asked, "Who was my grandfather?" The courts soon rerun the lines as best they could, and the squatter was

p. 6, col. 6

driven off the lotted land, but his title held good on the province land.

During the war the state built a fort on the province land, and the (squatter deed) owner is now claiming compensation from the state, though the land was not then in use and has not been since the fort was taken down.

One-fourth of the people do not know how the land is held. Many years ago the people of the province land were given a town charter, and the people on the lotted land, who always belonged and paid taxes to Truro, were granted the right to join the province people under the name of the town of Provincetown.

If a man uses a part of the province land he pays a tax on it according to its market value. If he holds a piece of land he pays a tax; if he removes his stakes another can use it. This is in practice, and has been so for over 200 years. It works well, and there are no poor[sic] in the town.

C. G. C.

ANOTHER CHRISTIAN MINISTER GAINED.

Rev. W. M. Goodner of Larned, Kan.. Bears[sic] His Testimony.

LARNED, Kan., Nov. 7.—For a number of years my mind has been much distressed at the unpromising or gloomy prospect, as it has seemed to me, for the future of the laboring masses; but for a few weeks past your paper, THE STANDARD, has been kindly sent me, and the revelation of truth its teaching has given me has been a joyous one. Indeed, to my mind, your land theories are no less than an external part of the Lord's own teaching. I had been led, from all I had heard as to "Henry George's vagaries," to regard your land theories as some new and profitless sophistries, and hence, until I began to read and study them in THE STANDARD, I had no proper conception of your teaching. I now thank the Lord for giving to the world, through your instrumentality, a knowledge of fundamental principles which, in their adoption and application in our governmental affairs, must revolutionize and correct most, if not all, those gross abuses that now so oppress, enslave and threaten almost to exterminate the entire toiling masses of mankind.

Write me down as another thorough convert to your land theories.

Sic in the original; probably "no poor (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "Kan., Bears".

I believe these theories will readily commend themselves to the honest laborers all over this country whenever they are permitted to see them with unprejudiced minds.

I intend to try to induce the keeper of our news stand to keep THE STANDARD on file.

W. M. GOODNER.

Building the City of God.

Clare Aspinwall.

> Ah, my Utopia, wilt thou then descend
> On earth, even as the new Jerusalem,
> And straight, indeed, from God? The cry of them,
> Who in the wilderness prepare the way,
> Is mournful in its strength; the wild ways wend
> Through thorny tracks toward thee. We shall stray
> In our long pilgrimage, for thou dost stand
> Upon the heights of Justice—hard to climb
> By erring feet. And yet, O Holy Land,
> Yet we will win thee; going hand in hand,
> And slowly build thee up through all our time,
> Build thee with pain, and fears, and hopes sublime,
> Build this true City of God, and never cease
> Till its high laws shall gain the nation's peace.

Inconsistencies of Taxation in Michigan.

DETROIT, Mich.—The total assessed valuation on real and personal property in the state of Michigan for 1886 was $945,450,000; the amount of state tax raised upon this valuation was $1,202,161. The harvest of pine trees in Michigan in 1886 amounted to 6,500,000,000 feet, board measure. The price paid by consumers to the owners of those pine trees was $1 per thousand feet as they stood in the forest without any labor ever having been expended upon them, or a total of $6,500,000 stumpage. A single tax upon land values would have compelled the owners of these six and a half billions of pine to pay a tax on a valuation of about $48 per acre; as the average of pine per acre is about 8,000 feet, the number of acres would be 812,500. The best farming county in the state does not possess so many acres that are valued at more than $20 per acre, exempting the improvements, while under the present system of valuing farm land with all the improvements in some of the best farming counties farms are valued as high as $70 per acre for the purpose of raising a tax, and this same pine forest is not paying a tax on a valuation of $10 per acre. Suppose the state of Michigan had been wise in her young days and reserved her rich natural gifts, her copper and iron mines, and her pine forests, from the sale of them by the ton and thousand she could have paid all her expenses and had enough of a surplus to pay the whole national debt.

J. M. MCGREGOR.

Reason for Gratification and Hope.

HOMEWOOD, Ill., Nov. 10.–I am highly gratified to see that our men are not in the least disturbed at the result of the late election. And why need they be!

They might well feel satisfied if they had but one thousand true men and women in New York state possessing the tremendous reserve-power that always accompanies the supporters of truth and justice; cheered with a "sublime augury," and slowly but surely "striding from experiment onward to a foreseen law[sic]; but many times one thousand in New York, and many more thousands scattered all over our broad land who have faith in the reforms we advocate, and who will see to it that the methods we suggest are fairly presented to the people.

J. C. HOWE.

An Anti-Poverty Composer.

The music to William Cullen Bryant's "Exultation Hymn," which was sung by the Concordia chorus for the first time on Sunday, Nov. 6, at the Academy of Music, is by Jason Waters, and is dedicated to Miss Agatha Munier. It is unquestionably one of the best pieces of music Miss Munier's chorus has sung, and the ability of Mr. Waters as a composer is equaled by his good judgment in devoting his talent to the new crusade. As yet, only a small author's edition of the hymn has appeared, but it will probably be published and offered for sale hereafter.

Another Good Song.

We have received copies of "Labor's War Cry," a stirring song arranged as a solo. the words by Edward Mortimer, author of "Soggarth Aroon," the music by George Mainey. It is dedicated to Henry George and Rev. Dr. McGlynn. The music is well adapted to the words, and should become popular.

Converts in Pennsylvania.

AIKEN, Pa., Nov. 8.–I have just returned from the polls, where I voted for the cause of labor. I will from this out vote in this way. and in our town[sic] of forty voters more than a dozen will do the same. Inclosed find order for $1.25, for which send me your estimable paper THE STANDARD.

D. C. BARBER.

Sic in the original; probably "foreseen law";".
Sic in the original; probably "way, and in our town".

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Door Yards.

TAMPA, Fla.—(1) Suppose I build a house on a piece of land, have I not a right to will it to my children, or to whomsoever I may wish? Is not the land mine by virtue of the improvements made by me upon it?

1. Suppose I desire to have a yard connected with my dwelling, the benefits of which are many and obvious, both to myself and society, will not your proposed system of taxation tend to abolish such rights, and I may say blessings?

WM. CLINE.

1. You have the right to will the house, and, nominally, to will both house and land. But you have no right to will the land free of taxes. The community has the power to tax the property, and, under existing laws, it taxes both house and land. What we propose is to abolish so much of the tax as falls on the value of the house, and make you and those to whom you will it pay taxes on the value of the land alone, according to its value.

In the sense of absolute ownership, the land is not yours by virtue of the improvements. The right of possession is yours but not a right of ownership. You might as well claim ownership of the ocean by virtue of having sailed a ship upon it.

(2) No. The single tax would make land cheaper by making it unprofitable to speculate in land. It would probably discourage large door yards on Wall street or Broadway, but not in the less densely settled parts of a city. Do you not think that the existing system interferes very much with the many and obvious benefits of door yards?

A Mortgaged Home.

PHILADELPHIA.—(1) What effect would the introduction of the new tax system have upon the deposits in savings banks?

1. A buys a house to-day valued. with lot[sic], at $3,000. He pays $1,000 cash down. Next year your system enters. Supposing the land on which the house was built to have been worth $1,000, is A's money lost?

Sic in the original; probably "valued, with lot".

Would he then pay rent to government on $1,000 and interest to mortgage holder on $2,000? Or what would be the state of things if not this?

1.

1. Having better opportunities for production, depositors would withdraw their accounts, and unless the banks were willing to pay higher interest. they would[sic] have to liquidate. Banks that had loans out on unimproved land would lose their security.

2. A would pay no taxes on two-thirds of his property, and higher taxes on the other third. He would have to pay interest on the mortgage; he has to now, besides paying an improvement tax that would be abolished. If he wanted to sell his lot. he could[sic] not get as much for it, but he could trade it for another lot on just as good terms as now. and if[72] he kept it, it would be just as useful to him as it is now. At present, if he loses his property, he must pay another thousand dollars for another lot; under the single tax, if high enough to take the entire rental value, he would get another lot for nothing.

Try to remember that the single tax is to be applied generally, and not to A alone, and when you are tempted to pity A for what may seem a loss to him as a land owner, ask yourself if he does not gain something as a member of the working community.

An Industrious Landlord!

BALTIMORE, Md.—If the state takes at one time the "unearned increment" from the idle landlord, will it at another contribute to sustain the industrious landlord against the decrease?

SOLOMON.

An industrious landlord is, as a landlord, an anomaly. A man may be at one time both a landlord and an industrious man; and so much of his income as is due to his industry we would exempt from taxation, but so much as is due to his mere ownership of land we would tax away from him.

You are a fair specimen. Solomon, of the gentlemen of owlish wisdom who criticise the land value tax in the newspapers, and I half suspect that your inquiry is only a clipping from some pro-poverty paper.

The Revenue.

WAYNE JUNCTION STATION.—In discussing your single tax I am met by this invariable question: Will your theory of a tax on land values alone raise sufficient revenue for the necessary expenses of government? As I cannot recall ever having seen a calculation as to what sum a tax so levied would amount to, will you kindly tell me through the columns of THE STANDARD?

JAMES L. ENTON.

Sic in the original; probably "interest, they would".
Sic in the original; probably "his lot, he could".
Sic in the original; probably "as now, and if".

The same objection is frequently made. There is only one other probably which is made so often, and that is to the effect that the land value tax would raise such an enormous revenue that public officials would be tempted to greater corruption than they now indulge in.

Land values, like public expenses, increase with the growth of the community. In a small community land values are low. and so[sic] are public expenses; but in all, land values will be found to keep pace with public expenses. It must not be forgotten either that public expenses would be greatly reduced in many ways by the adoption of the single tax.

No calculation has been made as to what sum a single tax on land values would amount to. In New York city it would amount to more than a hundred million dollars, or three times the present tax levy. Read tract No. 13 of Land and Labor library.

The Poor Man's House.

NEW YORK.—Suppose a poor man owns a lot in a sparsely settled locality and builds thereon his house, say with $1,000. In the course of ten years, by reason of increase in population, the lot is held at a far higher valuation and more costly buildings are erected all around him. Now, the question is, will he have to pay an increased ground tax, so high, indeed, as to force him out of it, compelling him to sacrifice his house and abandon the land, assuming, of course. that no[sic] one would want such a common house among so many fine ones? What compensation does he receive under such circumstances for his original outlay?

EARNEST INQUIRER.

A poor man could, as he cannot now, build a home in a sparsely settled district without paying anything for the privilege and without being taxed. As the community grew and his land acquired value a tax would be laid on that value. He could pay the tax or not, as he chose; if he paid it he might improve his house and be taxed no more. If he did not pay it the property would be sold, and the difference between what it brought and the tax would be

p. 7, col. 2

given to him. In most cases, the poor man, who, by the way. would[sic] not be a poor man unless he was a lazy man, would retain the lot and improve his house, and even if the tax took the entire rental value of the land would be able to pay it, and find it beneficial to do so. He would be much better off than he is now in every respect, except that he could not profit at the expense of his fellow citizens by putting into his own pocket a ground rent that in justice and good morals belonged to the whole community.

The Whim of Employers.

HOPE VALLEY. R. I[sic].—Your proposition that land is the common heritage of the people, and that whosoever holds or occupies a portion of land should pay rent to the community, is, to my mind, perfectly just and practicable. But that the putting of this principle into practice would abolish poverty and mitigate the evils of wage slavery is more than I can fully accept. For instance, to illustrate what seems to me an objection: I will state that I am a machinist, located in a manufacturing village, in the employ of a large and wealthy firm. Now, whether

Sic in the original; probably "low, and so".
Sic in the original; probably "course, that no".
Sic in the original; probably "by the way, would".
Sic in the original; probably "HOPE VALLEY, R. I.".

I pay my rent to an individual or to the state will not alter the fact that my stay in this community depends almost entirely upon the whim or caprice of *one or two men.* If *my* employer should take a notion to discharge me, I must leave this place and seek another employer elsewhere. It makes no difference how strong my local attachments, or how endeared to me by ties of association and kindred this place may be to me, I must leave it if refused occupation.

GEO. H.

We do not believe that "whosoever occupies a portion of land should pay rent to the community." If the land has value its value should be disposed of for the benefit of the community; if it has no value it should be free to any one. The land value tax would accomplish this.

Your stay in the manufacturing community does not depend "upon the whim or caprice of one or two men," but upon the number of men anxious to take your place. If all unused land were open to *occupation* your employers would be far more afraid that you would leave them than you could be that they would discharge you.

Live Within Your Means.

ILION, N. Y.—We have an armory here assessed, we will say, at $50,000, the value of the land it stands on being $20,000. There are about six hundred houses here, and. I should suppose[sic], about forty vacant lots. Now, how are we going to raise the local tax if taxes on buildings are abolished and the farmers are not taxed so high as now?

E. B.

If your land values are not sufficient to pay your public expenses you will have to reduce your public expenses. A community as well as an individual should live within its means.

The Farmer's Tax.

FONTHILL, Ont.—I am not sure I understand your position in regard to dealing with the land of farmers. To chop, clear, fence and stump average woodland costs, say, $30 an acre. As I understand it, under your system the holder of the land would pay no taxes upon the property to that extent, it being just as much improvement as a house would be. Am I not correct?

E. F. MOORE.

You are correct. The only value that we propose to tax is land value—that is, the value of the mere privilege of occupying any particular part of the earth's surface. The privilege of building a house in some parts of New York city commands a high price, while the privilege of making a farm in some parts of the country commands a low price; these prices measure the different land value. You will see, therefore, that the owner of a farm would pay a low tax, while the owner of a city lot would pay a high tax.

Sic in the original; probably "and, I should suppose".

Income Taxes.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—I believe in the tax on land values because it prevents holding land for monopoly or speculation; because it places an equal tax on all holders of land, and because it opens an avenue of escape to labor. But why should not the capital of the trader and the manufacturer pay an income tax over a certain sum?

GEORGE BROWN.

A tax on the trader and the manufacturer is a tax on industry, and tends to depress industry. If land values were taxed so that everybody who occupied land was forced to put it to its best use, there could be no accumulation of vast fortunes. The demand for labor on the one hand and the available free land on the other would be so vast that no one could get a greater share of wealth than he earned. That being so, it would be confiscation to put a tax upon any man's income.

You are mistaken in supposing that danger or *oppression* lies in great fortunes. Great fortunes are only the upper millstone; land monopoly is the nether. Abolish land monopoly. and the[sic] resulting freedom of labor would make it impossible for any man, however rich, to oppress another man, however poor; and with the power to oppress gone, great fortunes would pass away. A corner in great fortunes is like a corner in this year's food, which is disastrous when it can be traded for the source of all future supply, but would be only a temporary inconvenience if the source of future supply could not be alienated.

Timber Land.

OBERLIN, O.—With a single tax on rental value of land how are we to estimate the rental value of a very valuable forest of timber land, the value of which may all be swept off in a short time?

P. J. R.

While it has a great value, tax it at that value; when its value is swept away, stop taxing it—indeed, you will have to stop taxing it then. for no one[sic] will pay any tax for it. There should be no more difficulty in determining the value of valuable forest land than of any other kind of valuable land.

Free Trade.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—I readily recognize the advantage of free trade and also the justice of the proposed land value tax; but if the land value tax were adopted and protection abolished would not the American workman be placed in direct competition with cheap foreign labor?

N. MORTON.

Read Chapter 19 of "Protection or Free Trade?" No. 40 of the Land and labor library.

Sic in the original; probably "monopoly, and the".
Sic in the original; probably "then, for no one".

The Mortgaged Farmer.

MEMPHIS, Tenn.—Becoming engaged in a discussion with a friend on the merits of the land tax, the following point was raised: A farmer owns a farm valued at $10,000, of which a very small portion consists of improvements. The farm is mortgaged for

p. 7, col. 3

$5,000; the single land tax is established, and the value of the farm sinks, say, fifty per cent, but the mortgage remains the same.

Now, my friend claims that the mortgage could be foreclosed, as the farm would be mortgaged for its full value; or that the farmer would be obliged to pay the full value of the farm, which would be equal to buying a new one. He also claims that a majority of the farmers throughout the north and east are so mortgaged, and consequently the land tax would fall with crushing effect upon the farmers; though he admits that the country at large would be benefited.

INQUIRER.

A farmer who owns a farm worth $10,000, of which a very small portion consists of improvements, is less a farmer than a land speculator: The[sic] principal value of farms is usually the improvements. Your case. therefore,[81] is not a real case—certainly not an ordinary case.

But to take it as you state it. So far as existing mortgages are concerned, the mortgagee should be treated as a joint owner of the land to the extent of his interest in it. Half of the tax, therefore, would be paid by him. The mortgage could of course be foreclosed when due, just as it may be under the present system of taxation; but the advantage to the farmer under the new system would be that, though he lost everything, he could get a new farm without mortgaging himself for the land; whereas now, when a foreclosure takes everything, the farmer is hopelessly stranded.

The Surplus[sic].

DOYLESTOWN, Pa.—If taxes all told amount to $50 and the rental value amounts to $500, what are you going to do with that $450, which I understand you to say belongs to the community?

AMOS MARTIN.

Make more public improvements—water, gas, electric light, street cars, libraries, common halls, and so on, and provide for the widow and orphan.

Notes.

WILLIAM E. SPENCER, Edwardsdale, Pa.—The lot owners in your borough would be benefited by the land value tax in this way: They might improve their lots as much as they pleased without paying any higher tax than if they were shiftless, and all those taxes which they now pay on their food, clothing, and so on. would be remitted[sic]. If

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Sic in the original; probably “speculator. The”.
Sic in the original; probably “Your case, therefore”.
Sic in the original; probably “Surplus (broken type)”.
Sic in the original; probably “so on, would be remitted”.

you want a more definite answer, you must give[84] more definite figures.——J. R. Perry, whose contribution to the Wilkesbarre *Record* you forward, exhibits so much ignorance of the subject that we cannot afford the space for an answer. If you know him, get him to read "Progress and Poverty," and he will answer himself. His idea of taxing away from a man the wealth he has "acquired by honest and fair work" by a tax so graduated that it would be unprofitable to produce by honest and fair work any wealth above fifty thousand dollars, is, to say nothing of the confiscation involved in it, about as impolitic a scheme as a community that wants wealth could adopt.

LOUIS F. POST.

STRIKING ILLUSTRATION.

How Labor and Capital Are Hampered in Production.

DETROIT, Mich.–A large copper smelting works and rolling mill is being erected at Dollar Bay, Portage river, Mich., far removed from any of the large business centers. It will employ several hundred of hands, who will have to move hundreds of miles from any labor market to a part of Michigan where there is about six months' winter, and be dependent upon this one corporation for employment.

But though the disadvantages attaching to this place are very great, they are not so great as would be the disadvantages elsewhere. The curse of land monopoly has made land in the vicinity of the manufacturing centers exceedingly costly, and municipal taxes, which are assessed principally on improvements, falling upon this concern would amount to a small fortune each year in Chicago, Buffalo or any of the lake cities. The land this corporation now occupies with the mining privilege reserved, costs but a trifle. It is claimed that the saving in taxes alone will more than compensate for disadvantages attaching to the location. Thus production is forced into unprofitable channels because dogs in the manger are permitted to call their private property, and to hold vacant, land which was intended for the use of all. If our people would destroy the system which is denying both labor and capital the opportunity to engage in producduction, let them join us in the movement to place all taxation on the value of all land, whether used or unused, and abolish all fines upon improvements.

A DISCIPLE.

From Chautauqua County.

JAMESTOWN, N. Y., Nov. 10.–The campaign is over, and the victory is won. The result is satisfactory to me at least (and I know I have worked like a beaver for our cause.) A vote of 73,000 in the state is not a small vote, especially when we consider how short a time our principles have been before the people. I take it that the greater part of the 68,000 voters that voted for you last year voted simply for the philanthropist, philosopher, political economist and eminent writer, Henry George. But the vote this year was cast purely for the land principles, regardless of men. So I, for my part, consider the vote in New York city this fall an immense gain for "the land for the people" movement. And through the country districts is an enormous gain. Just think of it, 40,000 adherents in the country districts in this one state gained in one year. And, besides, all the followers gained in the other states during a year. Next year for the same districts there will be four times 40,000.

Dr. McGlynn and Judge Maguire have rendered excellent service to our noble and holy cause, and have everywhere where they have been made friends, converts and admirers. Be Dr. McGlynn excommunicated or be

[84] Sic in the original; probably "you must give (broken type)".

he reinstated, may he always remain in the movement for the "land for the people!" But may never he, nor any one else, ever try to couple any church with this land movement.

This city, last Tuesday, gave about two hundred votes for your principles. Next fall we will see if it won't be eight hundred instead.

F. G. ANDERSON.

Horace Greeley on the Declaration of Independence.

From Greeley's "Hints Toward Reform."

Man, having a conceded right to live, has a necessary right also to a reasonable share of those means of subsistence which God has provided for and made virtually necessary to the whole human family; having a right to liberty, he must have consequently the right to go somewhere on earth and do what is essential to his continued existence, not by the purchased permission of some other man, but by virtue of his manhood; having the right to pursue his own happiness by any means not inconsistent with the welfare and

p. 7, col. 4

happiness of others, he has the right to do so somewhere, and to be protected and justified in so doing. In short, the terrestrial man, possessing the well known properties of matter as well as of spirit, can only in truth enjoy the "rights of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," by being guaranteed some place in which to enjoy them. He who has no clear, inherent right to live somewhere, has no right to live at all.

A Day Laborer's Sum in Proportion.

Twenty six working days a month, at $1.50 a day, makes..... $39 00
Less wet days (four)..... 9 00
Monthly pay..... $33 00

December, January. February[sic] and March nothing to do, outdoor work having mostly stopped.

Average, eight months a year, at $33 a month, makes yearly.....$264 00 $264 a year would make, per week..... 5 04 House rent, per week..... 2 00 Leaving..... $3 04 a week for food, clothing, fuel, light, doctor bills, birth, death, recreation, education, and whatever is needed in the human family. Suppose the family to consist of two adults and four children, it would be just fifty cents per head *per* week.

Is it any wonder so many try to solve it in the whisky bottle?

LABORER.

THE AUSTRALIAN SYSTEM.

New York Correspondence Kansas City Star.

Sic in the original; probably "December, January, February".

I lived in Australia for a number of years and voted several times under its method, which varies but slightly in the several Australian colonies. The general principle is the same, which is to secure perfect freedom from intimidation for the voter and practically to put a stop to bribery. The Australian system derives its name from its having been introduced into the colonies of South Australia and Victoria simultaneously in 1856. New South Wales, the parent colony of the group, followed shortly afterward, and the method is now in general use throughout the British empire.

Let us suppose that a man is a duly qualified Australian voter. The scene is laid in Sydney, a city of 250,000 inhabitants, in the province of New South Wales. It is election day. There are four members of the house of assembly for East Sydney to be elected. The nominations have been made by letter to the proper authorities. My name is on the registry list. I have not put it there. The government has sent round its collectors to every house to obtain the names of duly qualified voters[sic], and few errors are made which are not easily rectified. I give my name and address to the sworn polling clerk. He hands me a ticket on which is simply the number opposite to my name in the register list. I pass into the inclosure and there encounter another sworn polling clerk, who hands me a half foolscap size single voting paper which is issued from the government printing office and bears an official stamp and number. It contains all the names, perhaps sixteen, of the duly qualified and regularly nominated candidates in alphabetical order. I then go into a compartment with a swing door where there are red chalk pencils and cross off all but four names—those I wish to vote for. I pass out with my folded ballot into the presence of the deputy returning officer, who, in company of the sworn agents of the different candidates, sits in front of a table in which is a large heavy iron box, locked and sealed. He satisfies himself from its outward appearance as I drop it into the slit that it bears the official stamp, although it would not be counted if it did not. I pass out of the inclosure, and I have voted. The polls close at 4 o'clock. The boxes are opened in the presence of the returning officer of the district and the sworn scrutineers, and the result is soon after declared. There was nothing to prevent my "plumping" or scoring out all the names but that of my one favorite candidate, and thus throwing the others back.

The safeguards against fraud under this system differ in many places, but they are all equally effectual. No vote is recognized unless it is on the official voting paper issued by the government at its expense. The peddling of tickets is unknown. In one or two of the colonies the returning officer used to stamp each paper before giving it to the voter, the die of the stamp being only finished on the morning of election. By this means what was known as the "Tasmanian dodge" was prevented. The corrupt voter placed in the box a non-official voting paper which a corrupt agent marked for his candidate and gave so marked to corrupt voter No. 2, the agent thus obtaining some security for his bribe. In England and in most of the colonies of Australia a mark is put on the right hand opposite the name voted for. The paper before being given out is marked by the presiding officer on both sides with an official stamp which is kept secret and cannot be used for a second election within seven years. The paper is marked on the back with the same number as the counterfoil of the paper which remains with the officer. The counterfoil is marked with the voter's number on the register so that the vote may be identified on a scrutiny, and a mark on the register shows that the voter has received a ballot paper. The voter holds the paper so as to conceal his mark, but to show the stamp to the officer and deposit in the box, which is locked and sealed and so constructed that papers cannot be withdrawn without unlocking it. Papers inadvertently spoiled by voters may be exchanged, the officer preserving separately the spoiled papers. If a voter is incapacitated by blindness or other physical cause, or inability to read, the officer causes the paper to be marked as the voter directs, and keeps a record of the transaction. A voter who claims to vote after another has voted in respect of the same qualification obtains a green paper which is not placed in the box but preserved apart as a "tendered" paper. He must, however, declare his identity and that he has not already voted. The presiding officer at the close of the poll has to account to the returning officer for the papers intrusted[sic] to him, the number being made up by (1) papers in the box, (2) spoiled

Sic in the original; probably "qualified voters (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "intrusted (broken type)".

papers, (3) unused papers, (4) tendered papers. During the voting, for which school rooms and other public rooms are available, in which a separate compartment must be provided for every 150 voters entitled to vote at a polling place, agents of candidates are allowed to be present, but they, as well as the officials, are sworn to secrecy as regards who have voted, and they are prohibited from interfering with the voter by inducing him to show his vote or attempting to ascertain the number on the back of the paper. These agents are also present with the returning officer when he counts the papers and the votes rejecting those papers: (1) Which want the official mark on the back. (2) On which votes are given for more candidates than the voter is entitled to vote for. (3) On which anything except the number on the back is marked or written by which the voter can be identified. (4) Which are unmarked, or so marked that it is uncertain for whom the vote is given. The counted, rejected and unused papers are, in parliamentary elections, transmitted by the returning officer to the clerk of the crown in chancery, who destroys them at the end of one year unless otherwise directed by order of the house of commons or some court having jurisdiction on election petitions, disputing the accuracy of the returns on the ground of wrongful rejection or wrongful admission of papers. Under the ballot acts forging or fraudulently defacing or destroying a paper or the official mark, supplying a paper without due authority, fraudulently putting in the box a non-official paper, fraudulently taking a paper out of the polling place without due authority; destroying, taking, opening or otherwise interfering with a box or packet of papers then in use for election purposes, are offenses which are punishable in the case of officers and clerks with imprisonment for two years with or without hard labor. In other cases the term of imprisonment is six months. In some places the officer takes the paper from the voter and deposits it in the box—this is considered as a security against double voting or carrying away the paper.

Nothing can be more unwieldy and primitive than the method of voting in this country.

p. 7, col. 5

It has all the evils of open voting and none of the safeguards of a secret ballot. The spectacle of a voter being buttonholed by a heeler or peddler of tickets on election day is not calculated to make a man entertain profound respect for his privileges as a free and independent American citizen.

B. B. VALLENTINE.

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CURE FOR THE DEAF

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

[Advertisement] POPULAR EDITION. PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

POPULAR EDITION.

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

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

By HENRY GEORGE.

One Volume, Paper Covers.

PRICE, THIRTY-FIVE CENTS.

Now in press and ready for delivery September 12.

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

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

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

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p. 7, col. 6

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Sic in the original; probably "reforms".

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[Advertisement] UNITED LABOR PARTY.

UNITED LABOR PARTY—Citizens of the following named states who indorse the principles of the United Labor Party and desire to lend active aid in the movement, are requested to communicate with the State Organizers of their respective states, as follows:

California—Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco. Connecticut—Robert Pyne, [284?] Asylum st., Hartford. Indiana—Warren Worth Bailey, Vincennes. Kentucky—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box [406?], Cincinnati. Louisiana—Jere. J. Sullivan, [77?] [Fulton?] street, New Orleans. Massachusetts (Berkshire county)—S. Harvey Lincoln, box 115, Zylonite. Maryland—T. H. Garside, [556?] West Lexington street, Baltimore. Minnesota—Central Committee, United Labor Party, 42 Third st. south, Minneapolis. New York—John McMackin, [28?] Cooper Union, New York city. Ohio—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box [406?], Cincinnati. South Carolina—Benjamin

Adams, Charleston. West Tennessee, Eastern Arkansas and Northern Mississippi—Land and Labor Club No. 2, Rooms, 9 and 10, Cotton Exchange, Memphis, Tenn.

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

[Advertisement] ALL READERS OF THE STANDARD IN favor of a united labor party in the First assembly district

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

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

JOHN SALMON,

415 N. Eutaw st., Baltimore, Md.

Page 8 of 8

p. 8, col. 1

PUBLISHER'S[sic] NOTES.

The campaign of '87 in the state of New York is over. The questions at issue between the two factions of the great party that upholds poverty have been brought to the arbitrament of a popular vote, and are for a time settled and put aside. The judgeships at $20,000 each, the seats in the assembly at $5,000 to $10,000, the aldermanic titles at $2,000, the various other offices, each at its well ascertained and settled value, have been duly paid for and delivered, and the bargains ratified by the necessary number of ballots. An enormous number of American citizens have received and spent the money value of their voting franchises. The "principles" of one faction have been indorsed; the "principles" of the other faction have been rejected.

We know all this because we've watched the doing of it and read about it in the newspapers, apart from which testimony we might look in vain for any evidence of the slightest political change or prospect of it. Still around the free gifts of God to us His children the cruel fences stand high and strong; still against those barriers are pressed and beaten a writhing, struggling mass of free born American citizens, fighting desperately among themselves for the mere privilege of life; still the tramps swarm along the roads; still the tenements and slums are packed with vice and squalor; still the workhouse and the brothel and the jail are filled to overflowing; still the men who have secured the blessed privilege of work are forced in self-defense to combine to prevent their fellow men from working also; still each man's hand is raised against his neighbor, and treachery, deceit and fraud remain the potent factors of "success in life." The freemen of New York have gone through the mockery of an election, and, except that the names of a few officials are to be changed, all things are as they were.

Yet not quite as they were. Not quite. For on November 8 73,000 citizens of New York stood forth and said, "These things must stop, and God helping us, we mean to stop them!" A small matter to the eye of the politician, busy with his sales and purchases of offices and votes, but a mighty matter to whomever can read in the actions of men the handwriting of God. For the ballots of those 73,000 voters were the death sentences of land monopoly as surely as were the blazing characters upon Belshazzar's wall the token of the downfall of the Babylonist[sic] king.

Seventy-three thousand of us, every man strong of purpose, full of zeal, constant in action, with truth, justice and religion on our side and the future before us, can we not afford to laugh though all the world were arrayed against us? For the advantage of a cause backed by truth is that, however slowly it may advance, still it *must* advance and advance faster and faster all the time. It draws toward itself a steadily increasing number of converts and it keeps all it gets.

No! the campaign is far from ended. The voice of the politicians and the shoutings may be over for the season; but the battle for human freedom, the struggle against the theft of God's gifts from God's children, has but just begun, and will go forward, waxing fiercer and fiercer, until the giant wrong shall be, once for all, undone, and the kingdom of God shall be established upon God's free earth.

Sic in the original; probably "PUBLISHER'S (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "Babylonish".

What more efficient work can you do for the cause you have at heart than to secure subscribers for THE STANDARD? To make a convert of a neighbor—to bring him to an absolute knowledge of the truth, so that he in turn may go forth and testify to it—may be a lengthy task; but to enlist his interest sufficiently to make him anxious to hear what there is to be said on your side is a comparatively easy matter; and when you once get him to that point there should be little trouble in inducing him to subscribe for THE STANDARD for three months, six months, or a year.

See to it, too, that the tracts are made to do their full share of work in your neighborhood. If you have not had a full set as yet, get them at once, read them carefully, see which will be most likely to produce the best effect among your neighbors, and supply yourself with those. Keep them in your sitting room or your office, where every one who comes to see you may have his attention attracted by them; hand them out to your friends, inclose them in your letters, scatter them like seed wherever an opportunity offers, and rest assured that they will bring forth fruit in season. Remember, all we need is to excite discussion, for out of discussion comes thought, and thinking leads to truth.

PLAINFIELD, N. J.—I inclose again $5 for the recruiting fund, assuming that you intend to go straight forward in the work of organizing for another year. I enlist now "for the war." The reconnaissance of the 8th has merely brushed aside camp followers and feeble folk and brought out clearly the existence of that sterling element on which alone a party must rely—that solid nucleus of intelligent conviction to whose steadfastness defeat and victory are alike indifferent. All honor to the 37,000, twice tried now in the fire, on whom devolved the duty of withstanding the first shock, and with whom henceforth rests the lofty consciousness of having founded a great party—a party based upon eternal justice and pervaded by a feeling of humanity broad as the world!

S. H. R.

What a work these recruit subscriptions have already done! What a power they are for future good! They serve to force the subject of the great reform upon the minds of men who otherwise would remain cold and careless in the future as in the past. The majority of men are not willfully blind. They do not shut their eyes with a determination not to see. But their vision is clouded by the mists of prejudice, of association and of false ideas. They don't reject the truth, but simply accept the current falsehoods as truth, and rest content. To men in such condition a six week's[sic] course of THE STANDARD is like an operation for a cataract. They glance at the paper carelessly at first, more to see how easily its ideas may be confuted than anything else—a heresy so vast, so ridiculed by the press in general, must be at most laughably absurd. But somehow this argument attracts attention—that illustration appeals to them—in this particular case there certainly is something to be complained of. Here is an objection answered, there a misrepresentation swept away. Little by little the truth dawns upon them, that here is no elaborately intricate scheme of reform, no utopian system of paternal government, no proposal to take one man's wealth for the relieving of another's poverty, but simply an urging to one simple act of justice, the undoing of one gigantic wrong to which the sin of poverty is clearly to be traced. Thus little by little the scales fall from their eyes, and they see not as through a glass darkly, but face to face.

Keep up these recruit subscriptions, friends. Utilize them at home and abroad, in your own neighborhood and elsewhere. Every new name you send us is that of a possible apostle. Every STANDARD you thus send flying through the mails is a messenger of peace on earth, good will to men. How soon the harvest shall be reaped is for a

Sic in the original; probably "six weeks'".

higher power to determine. Let us be thankful for ability to sow the seed, and sow it diligently, knowing of a surety that the promise shall not fail, that "God giveth the increase."

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

p. 8, col. 2

To any two addresses for 50 cents.

To any five addresses for $1.

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The recruiting fund, too, is a grand missionary weapon. It furnishes tracts to earnest men and women who are willing to distribute them but lack the means to purchase. It supplements the recruit subscriptions by supplying STANDARDS to those whose names are sent us by people anxious that their friends should see the light, but too poor in this world's goods to pay for doing it themselves. It has already accomplished a noble work, and its field of usefulness is widening every hour. It rests with you, readers of THE STANDARD, to say whether its operations shall be extended or diminished. Every dollar you put into it hastens our triumph. Every call upon its resources that must remain unanswered for want of funds delays the coming of the day when justice shall have sway on earth. You have supported it nobly in the past; you ought to support it better in the future. For sure it is that if among the readers of THE STANDARD every one would but give to the measure of his moderate ability the contributions to this fund would be measured, not by tens or scores of dollars weekly, but by thousands. Think, ah, think, of the work that *might* be done, the converts that are ready to be gathered in, the blinded eyes that are waiting for the light, the stricken millions that are dumbly waiting for the lifting of the oppressor's yoke, and see if from your superfluity or by the practice of some self-denial you cannot find the wherewithal to aid the cause of whose justice you are convinced.

The following are the receipts for the recruiting fund during the past week:

Joseph Dalgaron, Detroit, Mich..... $1 00

T. E. Lindsay and Miss E. Lindsay, Belfast, Ireland..... 10 00

S. H. R..... 5 00

A. R. Wootten, Westerville, Ind..... 75

$16 75

Previously acknowledged..... 1,902 62

Total to date.....$1,919 37

WORDS OF GOOD CHEER.

Renewed Pledges of Devotion to the Cause from Correspondents of "The Standard."

CORNING, N. Y., Nov. 13.—We are not downcast. On the contrary, it is an encouraging fact that in the face of great opposition—for Corning is the home of the chairmen of both of the old parties—two hundred men should stand up here and boldly espouse the principles of the united labor party; for these men who voted with us voted on principle and will vote with us again. Ninety-four votes were polled in a district largely composed of Irishmen and Catholics. We have the hearty co-operation of all true hearted Irishmen who believe not only that Ireland was made for Irishmen, but also that what is good for Ireland is in like measure good for America.

DWIGHT M. DE SILVA.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y.—Bribery was unprecedented in Schenectady on election day, and from all reports must have flourished elsewhere. Though we expected more votes than we received, the faithful will not swerve from their duty. Our club will continue its meetings and now enters a fresh campaign. Every man who voted with us is now an instructor, a missionary.

MARTIN S. KELLY.

HOOSICK FALLS, N. Y., Nov. 14.—The land and labor club of this village held a very enthusiastic meeting on Wednesday evening, Nov. 9, and added several new members to its ranks. They were men who were disgusted with the corrupt methods used by both old parties on election day. We are hard at it again. The upright and honorable conduct of the members of this club and the absence among them of the usual vices of political workers, such as bribery, drunkenness, etc., and the fact that not one of them entered a saloon or place where intoxicants were sold on election day, produced a profound impression of respect for the party in this village. We are in high feather, and the good work will be conducted with greater vigor than ever. Our vote was, taking all things together, very good.

F. S. HAMMOND.

ALBANY, Nov. 12.—If all others in the state who this year enrolled themselves under the anti-poverty standard will but continue the good fight with the same zeal as those in Albany county, the future will be secure.

ROBERT A. WOOD.

ILION, N. Y., Nov. 14.—Our land and labor club has elected officers for the ensuing year, rented permanent rooms and elected a town and village committee. We propose to place a copy of "Progress and Poverty" in the hands of every man in Ilion, and a copy of THE STANDARD also; and we would like to see every club in the state do the same thing.

CHAS. W. ROSE,

Vice-president Henry George Club.

LOWELL, Mass., Nov. 14.—Had the Australian system of voting been in vogue, more than 73,000 votes would have been cast for our principles. Men then would not have voted against their convictions. However, the truth that underlies this cause, once entered upon the mind, can never be effaced. It illumines the darkness, and he who has once received it cannot, if he would, reject it.

SAMUEL QUINN.

CLEVELAND, O., Nov. 15.—Not only what is to be, but what ought to be, will be. Right is might in the long run, and no real principle can fail of triumph in God's good time. The Spartan phalaux remains intact, faithful and fearless, and around them will gather the cohorts of the new crusade and go forward to victory.

JOHN F. HART.

NEW YORK, Nov. 14.—A highly intellectual lady, who was beside me when I read the news of our setback the morning after election, said quickly, "There is no defeat—there can be no defeat for truth. We are only in the shadow now. Soon we shall step out into the sunlight."

N. CASSELY.

TROY, N. Y., Nov. 10.—Now, Phœnix like, let us rise from the ashes of defeat and show the old parties that the principle enunciated by Henry George, when understood, can never die. I, for one, will never advocate any other principle, for it is truth, justice and equity. I sincerely trust that our friends all over the country will not tire of well doing, but redouble their energies to turn the tables in 1888.

F. W. M.

MARLBORO, Mass., Nov. 13.—The glorious fight you made on Tuesday will send us onward, arouse discussion and bring men to see the great truth.

G. A. E. REYNOLDS.

ELIZABETH, N. J.—The executive committee of the united labor party of Union county have begun in earnest the campaign for 1888. This past year we have been quietly organizing, and, in various ways disseminating our principles. We have abstained from taking any part in "practical politics" this year, but we have determined to place in the field next year a full ticket. To this end we are mapping out an extensive campaign.

EUGENE C. GIBNEY.

Kill the Monster Bribery.

MARLBOROUGH, N. Y.—But for undisguised corruption, our ten votes for the labor candidates would have been at least forty. First of all, let us devise means to kill this monster, bribery.

C. H. BAILDON.

p. 8, col. 3

ELECTIONS AS THEY ARE.

Since the election the newspapers have been drawing solemn philosophical deductions from the returns. We have been assured that the figures have demonstrated a number of results, more or less consistent, among others the following: That the people have denounced Boss Platt; that Cleveland's popularity is well established and his re-election assured; that mugwumpery has been rebuked; that the independent vote is the controlling factor; that "Georgeism" is dead, and that the American people have set the stamp of their disapproval upon the "land tax lunacy;" that the labor movement in politics is a thing of the past, etc., etc., etc.

It would be supposed, from a perusal of the newspapers after election, that an election was in fact what it is in theory, a choosing by the people for offices of persons who represent certain political principles of the majority.

What, in fact, is an election in the city of New York? Is it a process from which any of the results enumerated could reasonably be deduced? Let us examine the facts.

There are upward of eight hundred election districts in the city of New York. In each of these districts there are hired a large number of so-called "workers." The number varies according to the size of the "boodle" to be distributed. This year the number was unusually great, running in some districts as high as seventy or eighty.

The average vote in a district is less than three hundred, and the proportion of "workers" to voters will probably average as one to six.

These "workers" constitute a vast army of mercenaries. No one would be more amused than the "worker" himself at the idea that he was animated by any principle whatever. His bribe for the day's "work" is from five to ten dollars, according to his capacity for "work."

The low priced men are hardly expected to do more than vote the straight ticket. Let us consider the nature of the work which he does, when he does any.

When the voter who is to be worked makes his appearance, he is surrounded by a detachment of workers. Do they argue with him upon questions of finance, the tariff or civil service reform? Well, hardly. The first thing to be done is to get him into a rum shop. This is the locality where the work is to be done, the headquarters of the "workers." Having coaxed, wheedled or shoved their victim into the "work" shop, his virtue falls a more or less easy prey to their devices. These devices are many. Money and rum are of course the commonest, but threats, temporal and spiritual, turn thousands of votes.

But in order to secure the greatest possible result from this army of mercenaries, it must be, and is, completely organized. In each election district there is a captain, selected for his superior audacity and unscrupulousness. He has the handling of the money. He receives a greater reward than the rank and file, and often has an additional fee contingent upon the result of his stewardship in the district. This contingent reward sometimes consists in small patronage, such as the power to nominate for a clerkship in the custom house, or in some of the city departments. Next in rank above the district captain is the sub-boss of the assembly district. His responsibilities, pay and criminal capacity are, of course, superior to those of the district captain.

Over this vast corrupt and corrupting organization there reign the great party bosses, who in conclave dictate nominations and arrange deals and trades.

It is not unreasonable to suppose, indeed, it is almost susceptible of proof, that the united democratic organizations, at the last election, through and by this horde of corruption, polled 80,000 votes.

But this regular army of "workers," in addition to its rank and file and line and field officers, has its staff departments, which add enormously to its efficiency, and chief among the staff officers ranks the "boodle raiser." The boodle raiser's office is a *sine qua non* of the organization, without which, indeed, its armies would melt away like snow under a warm sunshine.

Let us contemplate him curiously, for upon him rests the heaviest responsibility for the corruption of the ballot.

For the poor, degraded men who take the bribes and do the filthy work of their masters we may temper our reproaches with pity, but upon the "boodle raiser" the traitor's fate might justly descend. He befouls the very fountain of political power of the republic. He strikes the deadliest blow at government of the people, by the

people and for the people. His performances degrade the masses and by their results make anarchistic efforts fruitful. Is the boodle raiser for these reasons regarded with contempt and aversion by "society." *Far from it*[sic]. He is generally a man of high social standing and receives the greatest political rewards. Such is the importance of his office that when he achieves distinction among his kind, by raising a great boodle for some particular election, the bosses and satellites of his party vie to do him honor, sometimes by a public dinner and again by the reward of a senatorship, cabinet portfolio or foreign appointment.

The last election was of such vital importance to the democratic bosses that it became urgently necessary to recruit their army of mercenaries to a war footing. To provide means for this extension of the forces, the services of several chief officers in the boodle staff department were utilized, among them, if rumor be well founded, the chief of them all, a cabinet officer from Washington, whose office is said to have been the reward of services in his line rendered and promised.

These distinguished gentlemen, by their genius and experience, were enabled so well to do their assigned work that the ranks of of the army were filled, and it performed the "work" in the manner and with the results which have been described.

These facts are well known to the editor of every newspaper in the city of New York, yet with them in mind they write of the results of the election as if it were the expression of the judgment of the majority.

Of course such results as these ascribed[sic] cannot be drawn from such a process as an election is in fact in New York to-day.

There are, however, some reasonable deductions which may be made, albeit widely different from those which have been drawn.

It is certain, in the first place, that a nation in which the controlling forces are such, is a republic in form only; that the form without the substance, under modern conditions, cannot long endure, and that those "respectable" people, who, posing as "saviors of society," give their aid and comfort to the system as it is, are the most dangerous public enemies.

GEORGE A. MILLER.

Vote Buying in Greenpoint.

GREENPOINT, Nov. 14.—I[sic] never knew what "practical politics" really meant until last Tuesday, in the Second district, Seventeenth ward, Brooklyn. We polled 157 votes for the state ticket; Cook, 203; Grant, 36; Rheinhardt, candidate for sheriff, 191, or 155 more than Grant on the same ticket. All can form their own opinion from these figures. 'Tis a heart-rending sight to see to what state poverty brings the human family. I saw one man

p. 8, col. 4

take twenty-three men to the polls to vote the democratic ticket, and another man take thirteen to do the same. Of course there was money paid, for we heard the night before election there were $1,000 sent to buy votes in the first three districts, but we could not see any of it. If there was no money our party would get those thirty-six

Sic in the original; probably ""society"? Far from it.".
Sic in the original; probably "those ascribed".
Sic in the original; probably "Nov. 14.—I".

votes, and instead of Cook's 203 votes he would have 197[sic], and instead of the labor ticket's 157 we would have had 193.

It is safe to say the same thing was done in every district in Brooklyn to more or less extent.

J. M W[sic]

Unsurpassed Corruption in Albany.

ALBANY, Nov. 12.—The election demonstrated that there is room for and need for a party of principle which will remove all necessity for class legislation. Observations of the situation here demonstrate that all who were well grounded in "the land for the people" stood manfully for their convictions, while many who had been attracted by the glitter of a "labor" party succumbed to the influence of the bribe giver and sold their manhood at prices ranging as high as $15 a head. Albany is a notoriously corrupt county, and this year corruption went to greater lengths than ever before. Yet over 1,600 citizens not only thought aright but voted as they thought. Another evil we had to contend with was the influence of the employer and the boss. Our doctrines had taken firm root among the employes of the New York Central car shops at West Albany. Superintendents, foremen and bosses went among the men and told them they would miss it if they voted the united labor ticket, using all the influence their positions gave them to break our men down. Fully 300 from that very shop, however, showed that they were not cattle, but men, and stood true to their principles.

ROBERT A. WOOD.

Two Hundred Purchasable Voters Added to the List in Schenectady.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Nov. 14.—Keep at the agitation for the Australian system of voting. There can be no honest election in this state without its adoption. I am informed by those who have the "list" of purchasable voters in this city that over 200 new names were added last Tuesday, making over 1,500 men who sold their votes this year. I am a member of the prohibition party, but there is no call for us to antagonize the other reform party. Let us rather educate each other in our respective issues and unite in this: A demand for an honest system of voting. The legislature of this winter can be forced to adopt it if THE STANDARD, the *Voice*, the *Times* and the independent press will demand it.

H. B. SALISBURY.

Congratulations from the Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Society.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Nov. 14.—At last night's meeting of the Anti-poverty society in Philadelphia, at Knights of Labor hall, 814 Girard avenue, Mr. J. C. Frost presided, and addresses were made by Messrs. Hugo Bilgram, Herman V. Hetzel and A. H. Stephenson. An earnest and enthusiastic tone pervaded the meeting.

The Anti-poverty society of Philadelphia, in public meeting assembled, send their congratulations to the Anti-poverty society of New York for the noble stand its members have made in their first campaign for the

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Sic in the original; probably "167 (203 less 36)".
Sic in the original; probably "J. M. W.".

extermination of poverty; and resolved that in our opinion 73,000 thinkers are worth more to our cause than any majority that monopoly can temporarily control.

J. H. M.

Just for a Handful of Silver.

NEW YORK, Nov. 14.–I had some business with a young lawyer in a city over in New Jersey on election day, and not finding him at his office, I sought him at his mother's house. But she told me that I would not be able to see[sic] him that day, as he was electioneering for Judge ––– and Mr. –––, as one of these parties had given him $100 and the other $50 to purchase democratic votes! This the poor woman told me in the utmost simplicity. Then I heard from another source that the custom was there (and nothing thought of it) for a man to sell his vote for $2, although a fifty-cent piece wrapped up in a piece of paper would suffice for the poorest men!

N. CASSELY.

Judge Maguire at Vincennes.

VINCENNES, Ind.–We are pressing forward with unabated enthusiasm. Judge Maguire had a good hearing and he made a deep and lasting impression. Our business now is to push work in Indiana. We need to make ourselves active in this state because it is pivotal, and because a gun fired here will attract more attention and enlist more thought than a whole battery would in Ohio or Mississippi. You can scarcely imagine how afraid the politicians are that we will beat up the bushes in this state. Don't you think that, on this account, Indianapolis would be about the best *place to hold our first conference*[sic]? I am certain that the effects would be stimulating to our cause.

W. W. BAILEY.

The Triumph of Corruption.

BATAVIA, N. Y., Nov. 14.–While I saw for more than a week before election that all that money or threats could avail would be most unscrupulously used against us, I did not want to believe that the triumph of corruption could be so sweeping. Yet I am neither dismayed nor disheartened. We have 75,000 earnest, honest men. With new zeal, tempered with knowledge gained by past experience, inspired with deeper enthusiasm, grander conceptions of the justice of our cause, encouraged by the grand progress already made, let us go on with the work. Who can doubt that sooner or later victory will be gained, and that this land shall be in very deed the land of the free?

A. J. ROSE.

Sic in the original; probably "able to see (broken type)".
Sic in the original; probably "first conference (broken type)".

Seventy-four Thousand Honest Votes.

ALBANY, N. Y., Nov. 15.—Allow me to congratulate you on receiving something more than your opponents, viz.: 74,000 honest votes. Ignorance and money swayed the men who should have been your main support. Success yet awaits the cause.

JOHN E. DUGAN.

Dr. McGlynn Not "Isolated" Yet.

At a meeting of the St. Stephen's parishioners, held on Friday night of last week, a subscription of $200 was announced from the Plasterers' union, and more than a like sum was raised on the spot as a testimonial to Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn.

Bribery in Schenectady Unprecedented.

SCHENECTADY, N. Y., Nov. 12.—The battle is fought and the result proclaimed by the pro-poverty press as an expression of the people's will. But it is not an honest expression of the people's will. More votes were bought here last Tuesday then ever[sic] before. Bribery was open and degrading.

MARTIN S. KELLY.

An Appeal for the Needy.

As Thanksgiving day approaches the treasurer of the relief fund of the Bowery branch of the Young Men's Christian association, 243

p. 8, col. 5

[Advertisement] SPECIAL FOR NOVEMBER. BRAHAM'S

SPECIAL FOR NOVEMBER.

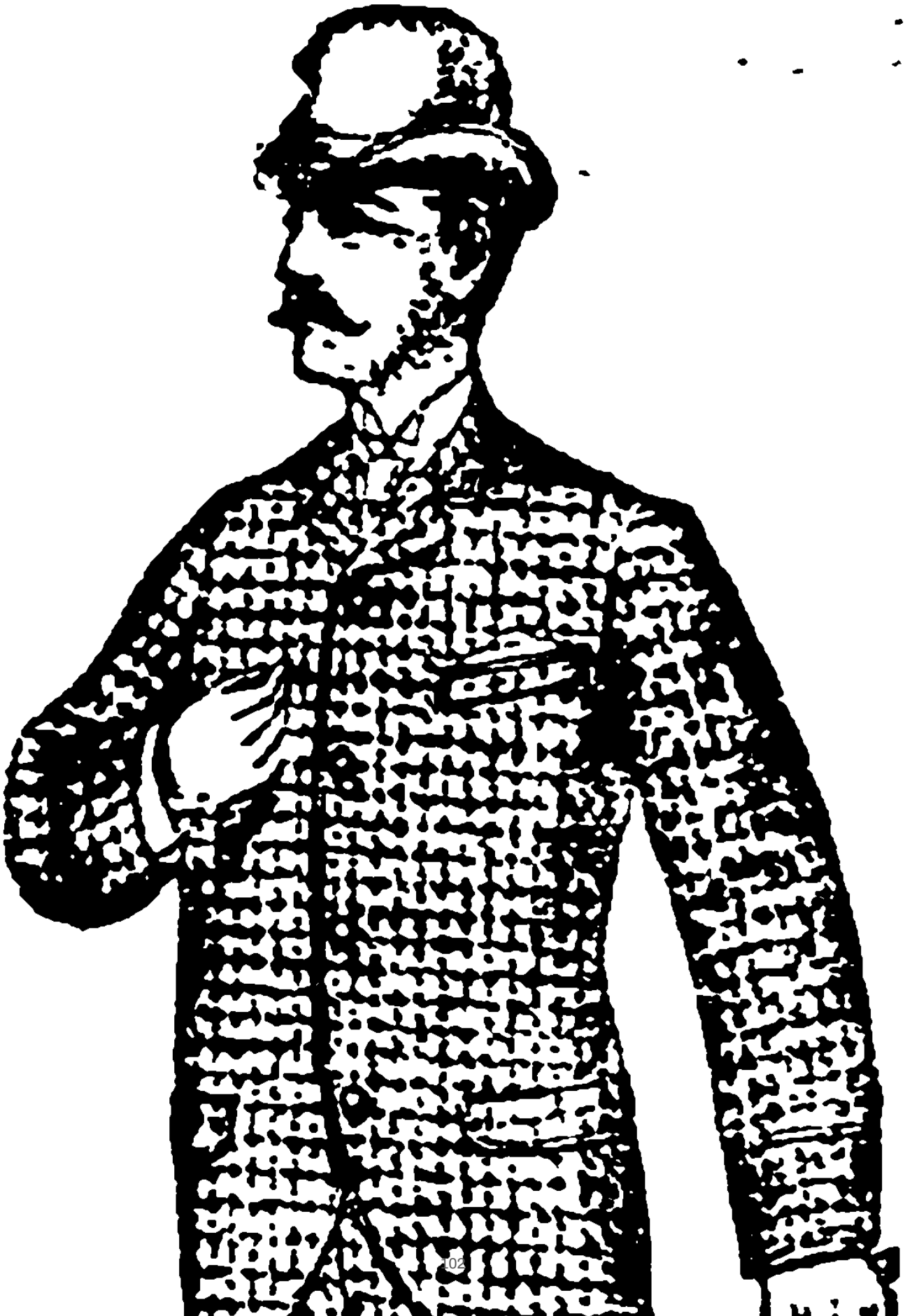
THIS STYLE SUIT TO ORDER $13.50

TROUSERS 3.50

OVERCOATS ..... FROM 14.00

Sic in the original; probably "than ever".

[Illustration: man in a checked four-button sack suit and bowler hat, holding a cane]



This style represents the Four-Button, Round Cornered, Straight Sack, popular for business wear, made with flaps on pockets, double stitched on the edge, three-eighths of an inch apart. For a man five feet eight inches, the average length is twenty-nine and a half inches.

Vest—Made single-breasted, no collar, and has four outside pockets.

Trousers—Good dressers are wearing them quite wide, but the majority prefer a medium width, say about eighteen inches at knee and seventeen and a half inches at bottom. Style of pockets optional.

Samples and Self-Measurement Chart mailed on application. Please describe, as nearly as possible, what is desired, as we can only mail about a dozen Samples.

BRAHAM'S,

212 BOWERY, NEW YORK.

Bowery, finds that he has not sufficient funds on hand to meet the many pressing appeals of young men in need of temporary relief. This branch furnishes to worthy, destitute young men plain food, lodgings and employment. Each case is registered and references investigated. The relief fund is used only for these purposes. Checks should be made payable to C. N. Talbot, Esq., treasurer, 111 Broadway.

The Campaign Fund.

The campaign fund at the date of the last issue of THE STANDARD amounted to $3,943.72. Arthur Groves, Laduc, Henry county, Iowa, has sent $5, making the total to date $3,948.72.

What will Occur when Profits Disappear?

Real Estate Record and Guide.

The business situation continues good. There is a large consumption of goods going on, and the west-bound traffic of the railroads was never so heavy. It is said, however, that the movement is unnatural, for it is not based on large crops or good prices for our agricultural products, but on fictitious values due to the land speculation now raging in the west. The Kansas City, Denver, St. Paul and other western merchants are supplying goods for a community which thinks it is richer than it really is, and whose paper profits are likely to disappear at any time. With only an average cotton crop—with a diminished corn and wheat crop—with pasture and potatoes a failure over large sections of the west, there is no justification for any expectation of a large consumption of goods in the agricultural states.

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.

REV. EDWARD McGLYNN, D. D., PRESIDENT.

The thirtieth public meeting of the society will be held at

STEINWAY HALL

(next block to Academy of Music) and

IRVING HALL

SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 20.

Addresses by

REV. DR. M'GLYNN,

LOUIS F. POST,

PROF. DAVID B. SCOTT

and

HENRY GEORGE.

Singing by

CONCORDIA CHORUS,

Under the direction of

MISS AGATHA MUNIER.

Admission free to both halls, except reserved seats at Steinway. Reserved seats, 25 cents and 50 cents.

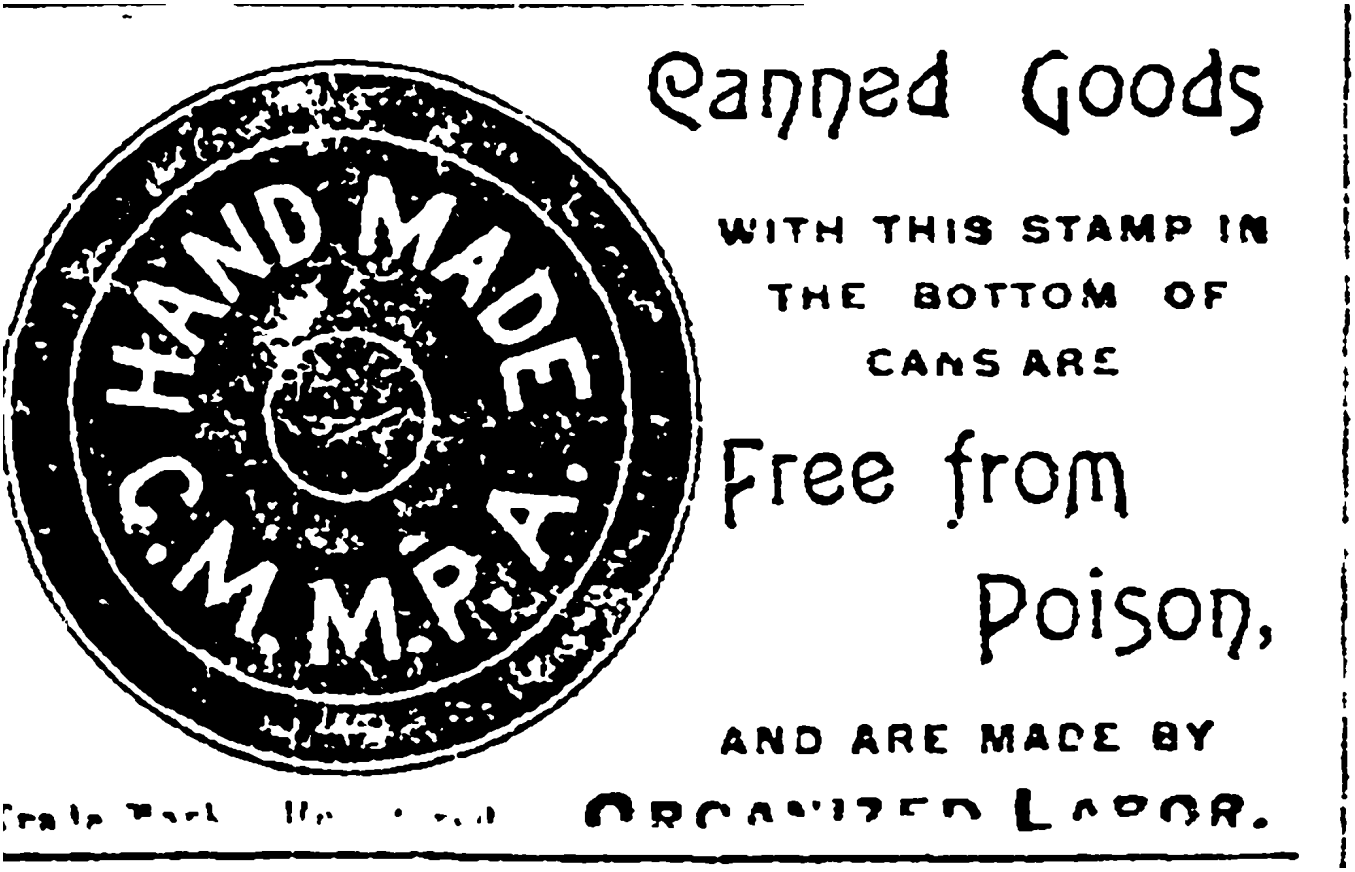
Box office at Steinway hall open at 6.30 p.m. on Sunday.

Tickets on sale from Thursday to members, or to persons introduced by members, at the Anti-Poverty Society office, 30 Cooper Union.

NOTE—The Academy of Music having been let to other parties for Sunday, Nov. 20, and Sunday, Nov. 27, the change above indicated is made necessary. The executive committee is in communication with the proprietors of the Academy with the view of securing the hall for the society's meetings after Nov. 27.

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

[Illustration: circular trade mark stamp lettered HAND MADE C.M.M.P.A.]



Canned Goods

WITH THIS STAMP IN THE BOTTOM OF CANS ARE

Free from Poison,

AND ARE MADE BY ORGANIZED LABOR.

Trade Mark [Registered?]

[Advertisement] AUTOCOPYIST

EXCELLENT BLACK COPIES of *anything written or drawn with any* Pen (or Type Writer) by the Patent

AUTOCOPYIST

Only equalled by Lithography. Specimens Free.

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

[Advertisement] A LOST FRIEND.

Address wanted immediately of Thomas I. Dean, by his old friend, Wm. H. Hannaford, 49 Windsor street, Cambridgeport, Mass. Last heard of at American Exchange Hotel, Sansome street, San Francisco, Cal.

[Advertisement] ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMONERS.

ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMONERS.–NOTICE–The regular meeting of the "commoners" will be held on Friday evening, Nov. 19, 1887[sic], at 7:30 o'clock sharp. The place of meeting is our hall above the bank on the corner of Fourth and Wood streets. Free discussion on land and taxation.

W. J. NESBIT, Secretary,

142 Market street, Allegheny, Pa.

[Advertisement] RUPTURE.

RUPTURE. NEW TRUSS. Holds any case. Heavy lifting cannot force the Rupture. It is the workingman's friend, and a comfort to the aged and feeble. Only $5. Advice free to all. PEET & CO., No. 113 West Sixteenth street, New York City. Open daily and evening till 9.

[Advertisement] CHARLES E. SCHAIDNER,

CHARLES E. SCHAIDNER,

PHOTOGRAPHER.

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

Children's Photographs by instantaneous process a specialty

[Advertisement] JAMES BOGAN,

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

Sic in the original; probably "Nov. 18, 1887 (Nov. 19, 1887 was a Saturday)".

[Advertisement] PRINTING. CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY

PRINTING.

CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY (Ld.)

47 and 49 Center st., N. Y.

BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.

p. 8, col. 6

[Advertisement] $38 GOLD WATCH. The Keystone Watch Club Co.

THOUSANDS OF THE BEST

$38 GOLD WATCH

EVER MADE ARE SELLING IN OUR

CO-OPERATIVE CLUBS.

This is the Best. Cheapest[sic], Most Convenient,

And *only* co-operative System of selling watches. The watches are American Lever Stem Winders, containing every essential to accuracy and durability, and have, in addition, numerous patented improvements found in no other watch. They are absolutely the only *Dust and Dampproof Movements* made in the World, and are jeweled throughout with *GENUINE RUBIES*. The *Patent Stem Wind and Set* is the strongest and simplest made. *They are fully equal for appearance, accuracy, durability and service, to any $75 Watch.*

Our Co-operative Club System brings them within the reach of every one.

We want an active, responsible representative in EVERY CITY and TOWN.

Heavy profits guaranteed on limited investment. Write for full particulars.

The Keystone Watch Club Co.

P. O. Box 928, Philadelphia, Pa.

Sic in the original; probably “the Best, Cheapest”.

[Illustration: keystone-shaped trade mark with a pocket watch, lettered THE KEY STONE WATCH CLUB CO]



REFERENCES:—Keystone National Bank, or any Commercial Agency.

AGENCIES:

New York, N.Y.

Chicago, Ill.

Pittsburgh, Pa.

Boston, Mass.

Philadelphia, Pa.

Detroit, Mich.

Harrisburg, Pa.

Denver, Col.

Baltimore, Md.

St. Louis, Mo.

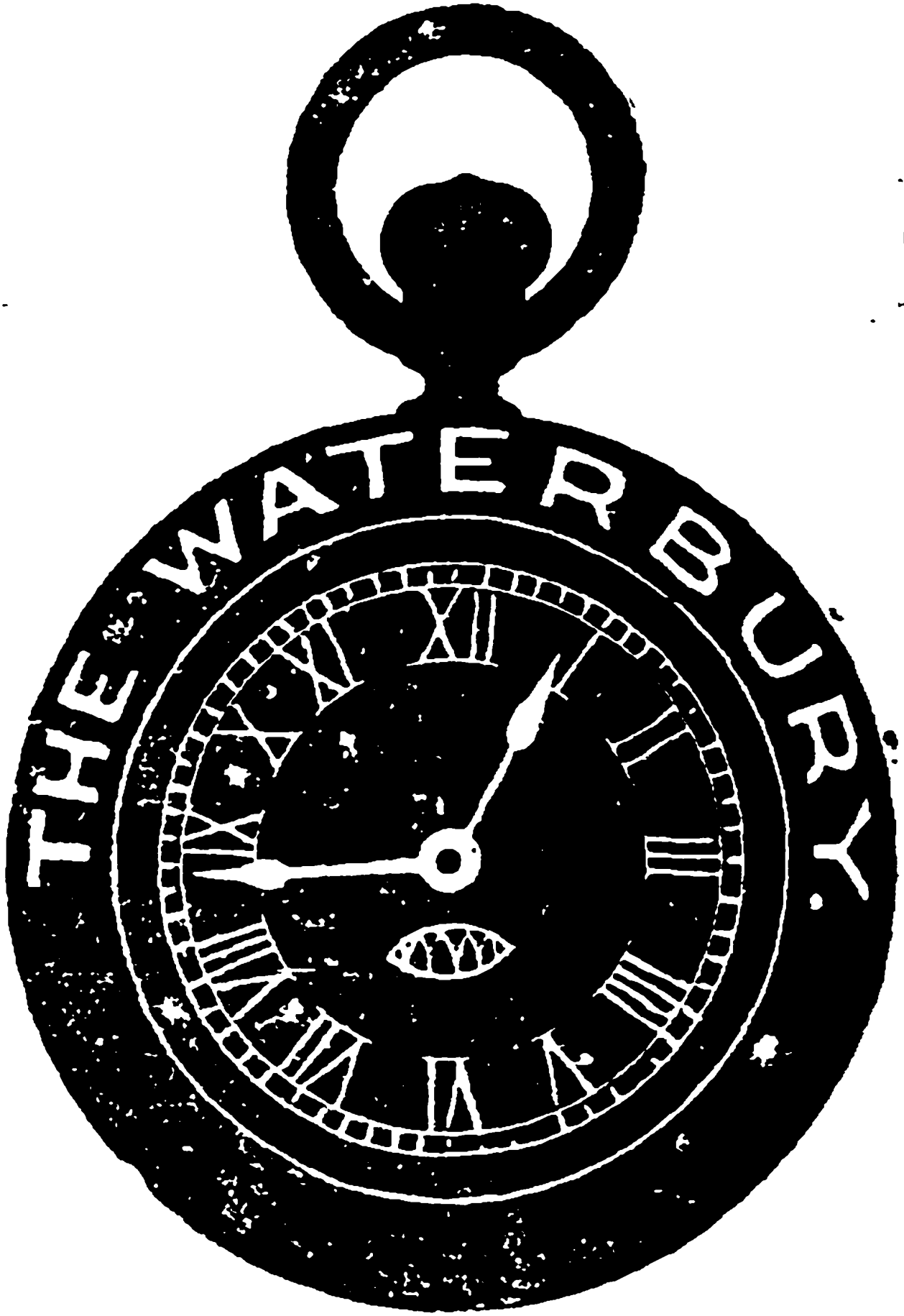
Wilmington, Del.

Etc., etc.

[Advertisement] AN AMERICAN WATCH (The Waterbury)

AN AMERICAN WATCH

[Illustration: pocket watch with Roman-numeral dial, lettered THE WATERBURY.]

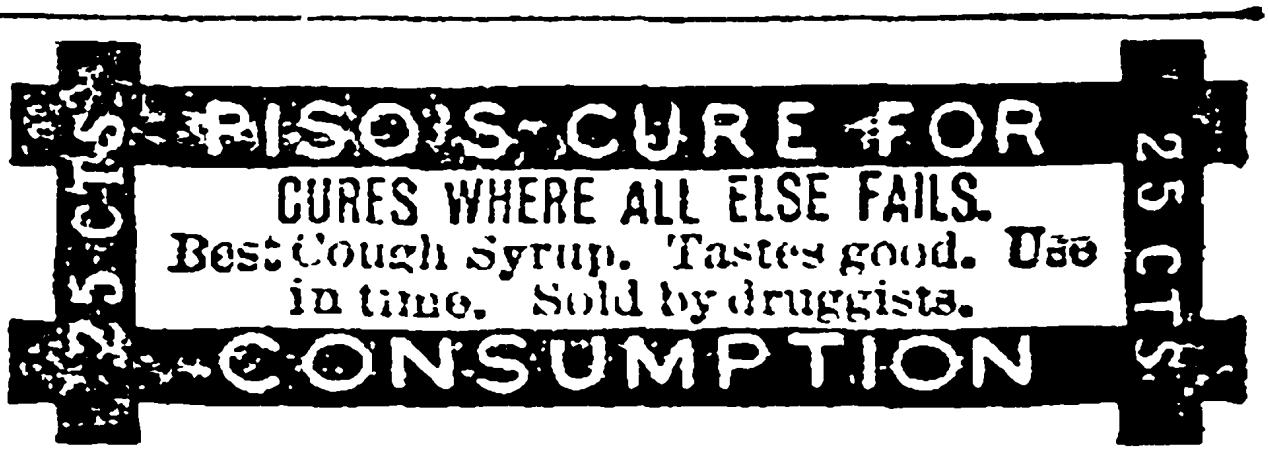

THE WATERBURY

A PRESENT FOR $2.50.

FOR SALE BY RETAIL WATCH DEALERS.

[Advertisement] PISO'S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION

[Display heading: white letters on a black frame, with 25 CTS. at each side] PISO'S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION 25 CTS.



CURES WHERE ALL ELSE FAILS.

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

[Advertisement] HOLLAND'S

HOLLAND'S

COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS,

[135?] Fourth avenue,

Bet. 13th and 14th sts.

[Advertisement] GOOD NEWS TO LADIES. The Great American Tea Co.

[Illustration: T-shaped black panel lettered THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA COMPANY]



GOOD NEWS TO LADIES.

Greatest offer. Now's your time to get orders for our celebrated Teas, Coffees and Baking Powder, and secure a beautiful Gold Band or Moss Rose China Tea Set, Dinner Set[sic], Gold Band Moss Rose Toilet Set, Watch, Brass Lamp, Castor, or Webster's Dictionary. For particulars address

THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA CO.,

P. O. Box 289.

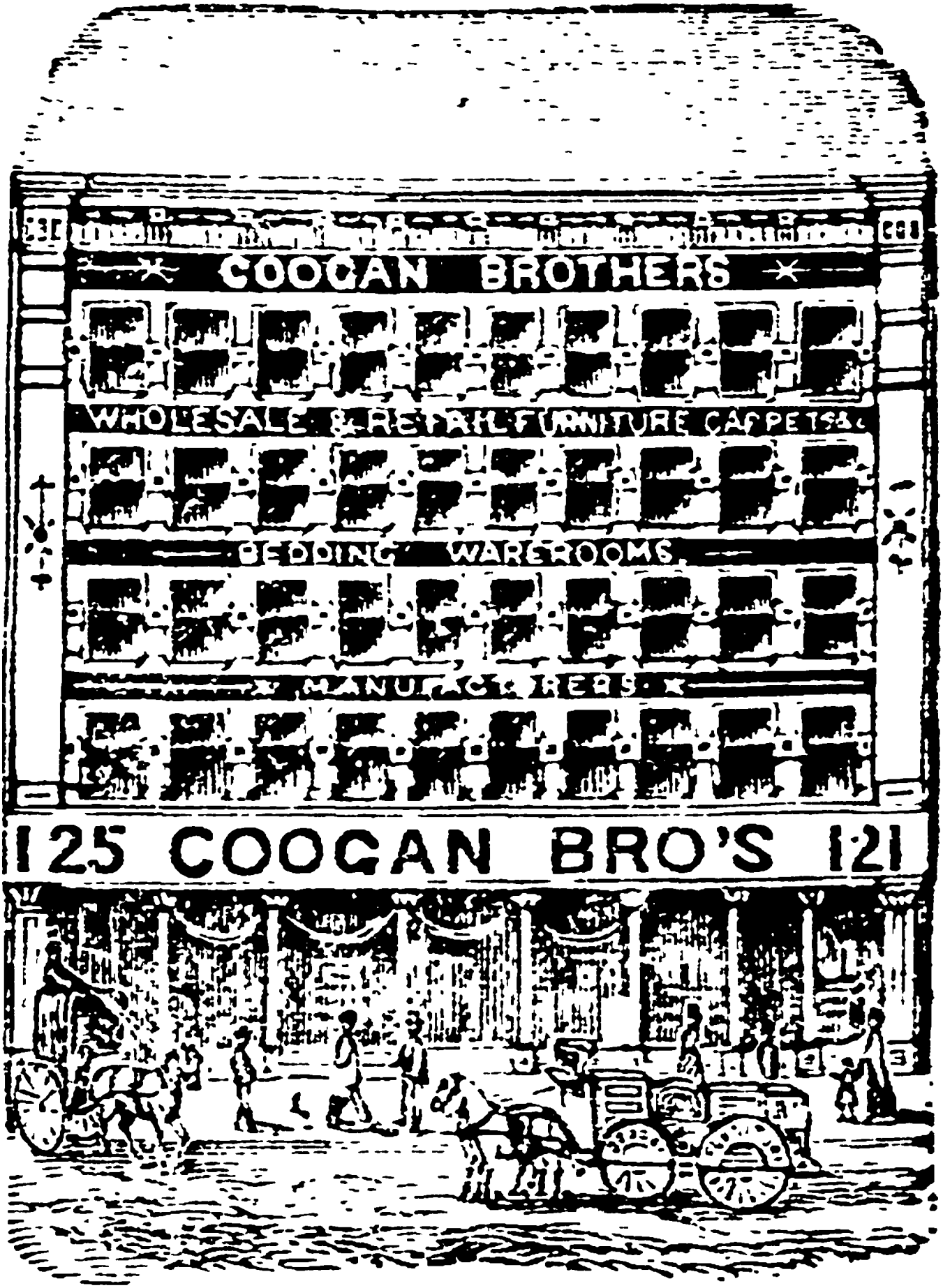
31 and 33 Vesey St., New York.

Sic in the original; probably "Dinner Set (broken type)".

[Advertisement] COOGAN BROS.

[Illustration: street view of the Coogan Brothers store building, signs reading COOGAN BROTHERS, WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE CARPETS &c., BEDDING WAREROOMS, MANUFACTURERS, 125

COOGAN BRO'S 121]


COOGAN BROTHERS
WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE CARPETS &c
BEDDING WAREROOMS
MANUFACTURERS
125 COOGAN BRO'S 121

COOGAN BROS.,

CARPET AND FURNITURE DEALERS,

COR. BOWERY AND GRAND STS.

Damaged type restored

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

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
1	The Onset.	joy	joy (broken type)
1	[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 8: the danger of habituation t	intelligent	intelligent (broken type)
1	[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 10: the American people themse	This	This (broken type)
1	[THE CHICAGO TRAGEDY, section 11: ominous signs]	familiarilzed	familiarized
2	ANTI-POVERTY. Nearly Six Thousand People at the Academy and	Goreuch	Gorsuch
2	ANTI-POVERTY. Nearly Six Thousand People at the Academy and	of	of (broken type)
2	ANTI-POVERTY. Nearly Six Thousand People at the Academy and	understand	understand (broken type)
2	ANTI-POVERTY. Nearly Six Thousand People at the Academy and	achieved	achieved (broken type)
2	ANTI-POVERTY. Nearly Six Thousand People at the Academy and	cease	cease (broken type)
3	Congratulations From the Hartford Land and Labor Club.	Congratulations	Congratulations (broken type)
3	The Missionary Work Shall Go On.	crowns	crowns (broken type)
3	OUR GLORIOUS DEFEAT. How Triumphant Democracy Won an Ignoble	brought	brought (broken type)
3	OUR GLORIOUS DEFEAT. How Triumphant Democracy Won an Ignoble	supreme	supreme (broken type)
4	A VICTORY FOR LAND GRABBERS.	subordinate.	subordinate,
4	A VICTORY FOR LAND GRABBERS.	aggressive.	aggressive,

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
4	[Editorial note: the politics behind Sparks's removal]	Lamar	Lamar (broken type)
4	THE OLD FAITH RENEWED.	gro tesque	grotesque
4	THE OLD FAITH RENEWED.	Dr McGlynn	Dr. McGlynn
4	"A MORTGAGE ON THE CLOUDS."	anu	and
4	"A MORTGAGE ON THE CLOUDS."	enable	enable (broken type)
4	"A MORTGAGE ON THE CLOUDS."	value given	value given (broken type)
4	"A MORTGAGE ON THE CLOUDS."	editors.	editors,
4	A WORD TO THE PHARISEES.	to mend it.	to mend it. (broken type)
4	[Editorial note: the sham Labor Unionist]	Lubor	Labor
4	[Editorial note: R. G. Horr on the pioneer farmer's rights]	justiy	justly
5	THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS. Judge Maguire's Opinion of the Justi	Judge	Judge (broken type)
5	THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS. Judge Maguire's Opinion of the Justi	commend	commend (broken type)
5	THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS. Judge Maguire's Opinion of the Justi	and others by	and others by (broken type)
5	THE CHICAGO ANARCHISTS. Judge Maguire's Opinion of the Justi	revenge	revenge (broken type)
5	[SOME FACTS ABOUT TAXATION, section 2: the assessor and the	Something	Something (broken type)
5	OUR FUTURE RECRUITING GROUND.	these constituting	those constituting
6	OUR SCOTTISH FRIENDS. How the Good Cause is Advancing in Aul	corruption	corruption (broken type)
6	OUR SCOTTISH FRIENDS. How the Good Cause is Advancing in Aul	we have men	we have men (broken type)
6	OUR SCOTTISH FRIENDS. How the Good Cause is Advancing in Aul	great principle	great principle (broken type)
6	OUR SCOTTISH FRIENDS. How the Good Cause is Advancing in Aul	two of them	two of them (broken type)
6		from the others	

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
	OUR SCOTTISH FRIENDS. How the Good Cause is Advancing in Aul		from the others (broken type)
6	OUR SCOTTISH FRIENDS. How the Good Cause is Advancing in Aul	same direction	same direction (broken type)
6	Propaganda Work in Washington County.	Washington County.	Washington County. (broken type)
6	Speak to the People that They Go Forward.	There were deserters	There were deserters (broken type)
6	FIRST LAND, THEN WATER. A Great Syndicate Secures Control of	property that ought	property that ought (broken type)
6	FIRST LAND, THEN WATER. A Great Syndicate Secures Control of	Then Macopin	Then Macopin (broken type)
6	FIRST LAND, THEN WATER. A Great Syndicate Secures Control of	West Milford	West Milford (broken type)
6	ANOTHER CHRISTIAN MINISTER GAINED. Rev. W. M. Goodner of Lar	news stand	news stand (broken type)
6	Building the City of God.	The cry of them	The cry of them (broken type)
7	The Farmer's Tax.	The privilege of building	The privilege of building (broken type)
7	Notes.	Progress and Poverty," and he	Progress and Poverty," and he (broken type)
7	STRIKING ILLUSTRATION. How Labor and Capital Are Hampered in	producduction	production
7	HENRY GEORGE'S SOLUTION OF THE LABOR PROBLEM	Congregational	Congregational (broken type)
7	TAX REFORMER.	TAX REFORMER.	TAX REFORMER. (broken type)
7	VOTERS OF MARYLAND	desirous	desirous (broken type)
8	[Publisher's Notes: the recruit subscriptions]	blind	blind (broken type)

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
8	[Words of Good Cheer: Cleveland, O.]	phalaux	phalanx
8	ELECTIONS AS THEY ARE.	of of	of
8	Unsurpassed Corruption in Albany.	thought aright	thought aright (broken type)
8	Canned Goods	ORGANIZED LABOR	ORGANIZED LABOR (broken type)
8	CHARLES E. SCHAIDNER,	Photographs	Photographs (broken type)
8	PISO'S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION	Use in time	Use in time (broken type)