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About this text (5 notes on this issue)

- `[word?]` is a best guess; `[illegible]` means unreadable. Line-end hyphens are joined. Misprints are kept as printed; letters judged to be broken type are written as intended but listed among the misprints (marked “broken type”).

- p1-p2: Croasdale's "Politics and Anti-Poverty" is signed. McGlynn's address starts at the foot of p1 c6 and runs on to p2, followed by Huntington, McGarvey and Post ("Mr. Post" only in the text). [73,000?] on p1.
- p6: the bridge figures ($2,500 as ten per cent; six per cent on $80,000) do not compute; kept as printed.
- p7: the preface extract is transcribed; German (Fraktur) advertisement. Line ends of the United Labor Party notice did not print (best guesses, one [illegible]).
- p8: previously acknowledged 1,919 87 plus $41.10 gives $1,960.97 against the printed $1,960.47 (a worn 8 or 3). Two faded lines (c2, c4) carry [illegible].

[Running head: THE STANDARD. VOL. II.-NO. 21. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1887. PRICE FIVE CENTS]

p. 1, col. 1

POLITICS AND ANTI-POVERTY.

The party now known as the united labor party polled at the late election nearly 75,000 votes in the state of New York. Though this is a large vote for a new party in its first campaign in behalf of a principle new in our politics, it is, nevertheless, true that it fell far below the party's expectations. The more than 68,000 votes cast for Mr. George in this city the year before had been confidently counted on as a nucleus of the new party's growth. Looking back, enlightened by our recent experience, it seems singular that we allowed ourselves to rely so implicitly on that vote as a basis for calculation. We have never known by whom it was cast. Though the number of enrolled members of the party was much larger this year than last, it never included an eighth part of the 68,000 votes of the previous year. For aught we know to the contrary, an actual majority of those voting for George in 1886 may have been members of the old party organizations. A republican or a democrat could then vote for our candidate and still account himself a good member of his own party, he having scratched but one name on its ticket in a local contest in which party lines were not closely drawn.

Furthermore, the new party entered the canvass this year with full knowledge of the fact that it had deliberately thrown away the five thousand or six thousand votes of the socialists. and[sic] with a suspicion, since verified by experience, that, while it was heartily supported by many of the leaders of organized labor and thousands of members of labor organizations, the sympathies of those wedded to old methods had been alienated.

These facts, now so apparent, were forgotten in the heat and enthusiasm of a contest that was all aglow with the hope inspired by a great principle. That principle, and the hope inspired by it, remain, and they sustain us in the disappointment that we have experienced of expectations founded on false premises. They also cause us to rejoice that we took the action that drove out the socialists and deprived us of all support based on mere class prejudice. We now have a party built upon a rock and its upbuilding henceforth must be sound and enduring.

The cardinal article in our creed is the declaration that the land of the country belongs to the people in common and that private possession is a privilege granted by society, for which the holder should pay a full and exact equivalent into the public treasury. The party therefore aims "at the abolition of a system which compels men to pay their fellow creatures for the use of God's gifts to all, and permits monopolizers to deprive labor of natural opportunities for employment." Those of us who now constitute the new party see that the enforcement of this simple rule of equity will solve the labor problem and abolish involuntary poverty. It will enrich the community, giving it the enormous values that the community creates through the mere growth of population. It will put an end to the monopolization of land by speculators, and render it unprofitable for any man to hold land for any other purpose than use, thus throwing open to labor and capital all unused natural opportunities now held idle by speculators. It will relieve industry and enterprise of the fines and burdens now laid upon them by a system of taxation that discourages and punishes the creation of wealth; for the ground rents now taken by private

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

individuals, in return for no service rendered to society, when once turned into the public treasury, will vastly exceed in amount the total sum now gathered by a vexatious and profligate mixed system of direct and indirect taxation.

As incidental to and a part of the new system. the platform[sic] declares against the further alienation or farming out of the people's governmental powers, and demands that the federal government shall issue all money without the intervention of banks, and take absolute control of the railway and telegraph systems, and that our municipalities shall supply their inhabitants with water, light and heat. In short, the platform demands for the community that which the community, as such, receives as a free gift from God, and the values that it creates, leaving to each person absolute freedom in possession of whatsoever is created by his individual skill or exertion. This is our remedy for social wrongs, and we see clearly that labor, unfettered by taxes and free to employ itself, will never work for wages lower than it can earn by self-employment, and that capital, shut out from the opportunity to bury itself in the ground or hide itself in land and mortgages, will be eager to co-operate with labor on just terms.

Seeing all this plainly, and clearly asserting the absolute control by the individual of the product of his own labor, the Syracuse convention deliberately denounced the un-American idea of state socialism, and at the same time declined to commit itself to the nostrums so long urged by ignorant though well meaning men. It announced the one and only sufficient remedy, and merely recommended as measures of relief, pending the application of the true remedy, legislation tending to reduce the hours of labor, to prevent the employment of children of tender years, and so on. It also–"since the ballot is the only means by which in our republic the redress of political or social grievances is

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to be sought"–demanded the adoption of the Australian system of voting.

That a party standing on such a platrorm[sic] should have polled more than 70,000 votes in its first state campaign is a most remarkable and encouraging fact. That a platform looking to the ballot as the sole means by which redress of grievances is to be sought, and drawing the line with such positive clearness between public rights and functions and individual rights and liberties should not merely repel but enrage socialists and anarchists, was to be expected. That a platform which relegates to a subordinate place the great mass of incongruous measures advanced for years in the name of the wage workers should at first fail to attract leaders of organized labor, is not to be wondered at. Hence, there is no just cause for surprise in the facts now apparent that the socialists made alliances with the capitalists to defeat our ticket, and that many of the labor organizations, as such, did nothing for it.

Yet all of this gives assurance of our party's solid growth in the future. It is purified as though by fire from all taint of socialism. It is relieved of the appearance of a class organization appealing to class prejudices rather than to the reason and conscience of all honest men. It is none the less truly a labor party, for it proposes a radical and final solution of the labor problem, but it does not propose to elevate one body of men by pulling others down. This fact has been made plain to thousands of wage workers who, while acknowledging the usefulness of trade organizations in resisting or palliating existing evils, see that they offer no other prospect than that of a perpetual contest between classes whose true interests are identical. Thousands of such men have not only voted with us, but they will henceforth be busy in propagating the new idea among their companions and shopmates. And with them have voted other thousands of business and professional men who have overcome some prejudice against a title that is a misnomer in order to vote for principles that assure the promotion of the general welfare.

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

The party is, then, in better position than ever before to appeal to the intelligence and moral sense of all fair minded men. It can afford to accept no accessions. it can[sic] make no alliances that are not such as to advance its main idea. To it the proposal to abolish all taxes on industry or its products and substitute in their stead a single tax on land values is not merely a cold economic proposition, but the enforcement of a great moral principle that will accomplish and guarantee that equality promised in the Declaration of Independence and the objects recited in the preamble to the constitution of United States'[5].

On the other hand, our party cannot afford to fall into the pit that the prohibitionists and the greenbackers have fallen into. In order to propagate its principles it must not segregate itself from human kind and cease to be a factor in public affairs. It must lend active assistance to every effort to advance any of the principles to which it is committed. There now appears to be no doubt that the monstrous bribery and corruption of the late election will cause a serious effort to pass a bill establishing the Australian system of voting in this state. Perhaps, as a preliminary to that, a committee will be appointed to investigate the cost of holding elections under the existing system in this city. Our people should most cordially co-operate in such a movement.

Again an effort will doubtless be made in congress this winter to authorize the building of telegraph lines by the post office department. This is one of our measures, and we should not only assist the effort by petitions, but watch carefully the action of members of congress from this state on the question. We must, while holding fast to our principles, fight for each step forward and make our strength the sure dependence of every man who seeks to strike a blow at monopoly or vested wrong.

As to how that strength may best be utilized next year, my own mind is not yet clear, but my impression at present is that it would be folly to name a presidential ticket. For us there is little, if any, choice between the old parties, but in the din of this final conflict between them any appeal to reason, any advocacy of principle, would be lost. Our fight, it seems to me, should be concentrated on legislators and congressmen. In the present condition of politics half a dozen men may easily hold the balance of power in the house of representatives. They would there find plenty of men eager to fight some form of monopoly, though not ready to attack that parent of all others—the monopoly of land. At the polls, too, we should find allies not now with us. All sincere free traders begin to see that tariff tinkering is a picayune business unworthy of the efforts of brainy men and incapable of exciting popular interest or enthusiasm. Such men are rapidly acquiring the courage of their convictions, and the moment that they do so and begin to advocate the abolition of custom houses, they will recognize their duty to propose an alternative for tariff taxation. Though some of them still fall back on an *income* tax, *theoretically* fair, but practically impossible to collect, the more advanced among them see, with Thomas G. Shearman, that the one alternative to tariff taxation is a land value tax. Thus, by a different path, guided by economic considerations only, they arrive at the same conclusion that we have reached,

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and become, for a time at least, our natural allies.

Our party, while maintaining its own high purpose, must not hold itself so far aloof from all not yet educated to its idea that it will refuse their aid so long as we are both advancing toward the same end. We want first of all to transfer all taxation to land values and relieve industry and its products from existing burdens. He who aims at this is with us for the present, even though he frankly tells us that he will part company with us when we propose to increase the rate of taxation to the full rental value of land. Merely because of this prospective difference we have no right to reject assistance in the first step of our great reform. The new party must maintain itself in a position to take advantage of all opportunities to advance its principles. That is the only reason for its existence.

Sic in the original; probably “accessions; it can”.
Sic in the original; probably “of the United States (word omitted)”.

Those of us who left old parties to join in this effort did not do so because we desired to form a new party as a thing desirable in itself. We have rather reluctantly taken up the burden, because we saw that the old parties had neither the ability nor the disposition to grapple with the new and grave problems that have arisen since their habits of thought and prejudices were formed, and that there was, therefore, nothing else to do but to form a new party that would offer an adequate remedy for the evils that threaten the state and menace society. We have been accustomed to have our votes, our voices or our pens count for something in public affairs, and we wish to still hold a place in the arena ready to strike a blow at monopoly whenever it shows its head. This, I think, should be the attitude of our party as a whole.

The republican party was the outgrowth of the anti-slavery agitation, but for years it refused to acknowledge its parent. The most sensible of the abolitionists joined it, however, though it only proposed to restrict the growth of slavery, and rather went out of its way to declare that it would take no steps toward the extirpation of the system where it already existed. We all know the result. It became, in time, permeated with hatred of chattel slavery, and when opportunity came it overthrew the system at a single blow. In its earlier days any proposition to liberate the slaves without compensation to their masters would have been rejected with indignation by the great mass of republicans. It may be that we shall have for a time to listen with patience to the advocacy of the imposition of the single tax on mere economic grounds and number in our ranks men who would indignantly protest against taxation to the rental value as "confiscation," which, despite its innocent etymology, has come to be a word of evil omen. I hope this may not be so, but nevertheless we must face all possibilities in attempting to forecast the future.

Should such be the case, we shall not be without a great moral helper and an inspiration to high purposes, such as the true abolitionists in the republican ranks had in the anti-slavery society. Our Anti-poverty society has all the zeal, enthusiasm and directness of purpose that marked its predecessor in the work of emancipation. It will ever bold aloft[sic] the pure white banner of the new crusade, and looking neither to the right nor the left, march forward toward that final victory which alone will satisfy its high purpose and emancipate all men from the injustice that now enslaves them. It is the custodian and defender of the very heart of our creed. For it there can be neither hesitation, fear nor the shadow of turning. It has taken the cross of the new crusade and set its face toward the promised land. It is the chosen defender of the faith that all of God's children are the equal heirs to their Father's bounty, and that the sweeping away of the obstacles interposed by ignorance and greed will restore the disinherited to their own and open wide the doors for the coming of God's kingdom on earth, where His will shall yet be done as it is in heaven.

Whatever the mutations of politics, and however much of dross may even yet come to be mingled with the pure gold of our principles, the Anti-poverty society must remain the soul and conscience of our movement, ever spurring it to nobler endeavor and always checking its impulses to yield to the temptation of immediate success ignobly won. The society must spread and grow. It should permeate this great city, and branches should spring up in every city, town and hamlet in our land. It must be the missionary force of our movement, and the prospect before it is an alluring one, for it preaches anew the glad tidings received eagerly of old, and it finds that this gospel to-day bears the stamp that proved its genuineness in the beginning; that is, the common people hear it gladly. Never before was the need of the devotion and enthusiasm that has marked the Anti-poverty society from the beginning of its existence so great as now, and happily, never before was its zeal so unflagging and its hope so high.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

Sic in the original; probably "hold aloft".

A Suggestion.

NEW YORK, Nov. 16.–Would it not be a good idea for Mr. Dana to issue in pamphlet form his "White Slaves of New York" for the benefit of Mr. Depew and other "saviors of society" who make the statement that "never before in the history of the world has wages been so high and the purchasing power of money so great as in the United States to-day?" I admit that the purchasing power of money is greater than ever. We had conclusive proof of that in the late election.

FOSTER.

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THE PARTY IN MISSOURI.

An Attempt to Stifle the Land Doctrine Fails–A National Conference Proposed.

KANSAS CITY, Mo., Nov. 19.–The convention called to meet in this city for the purpose of perfecting a state organization of the united labor party in Missouri convened at Turner hall Wednesday, Nov. 16. Thirty-seven duly accredited delegates, representing nearly all the congressional districts in the state, were present. A permanent organization was effected by electing H. Martin Williams of St. Louis chairman, and J V. Jackson[sic] (colored) of Ray county, F. G. Johnson of Kansas City vice presidents, and Pearl Michael of Kansas City and J. C. Williams of Richmond secretaries.

On taking the chair H. Martin Williams made a rousing speech on the movement for the suppression of poverty and was repeatedly cheered. He said it was not a class movement, intended to better the condition of only those who earned their bread by manual labor, but those who in any trade, calling, vocation or pursuit earned their bread by brain or hand were included in the anti-poverty movement.

A committee was appointed on platform and resolutions and the convention adjourned until ten o'clock Thursday morning, when the committee made the following report:

"In view of the fact that steps are being taken for the holding of a national conference of the united labor party in the near future. this convention[sic] does not deem it wise or expedient to formulate a new declaration of principles in advance of the meeting of such a national conference. Believing the platform of principles adopted by the united labor party of New York at Syracuse, September 23, 1887, to be a sufficiently comprehensive and clear statement of the fundamental principles upon which the new party movement is being organized, we hereby adopt it as the platform of the united labor party of Missouri, and extend an earnest invitation to all citizens of the state who believe that the governmental reforms which are of such pressing importance to all classes of workers and producers cannot possibly come through either the democratic or republican parties, to unite with us in extending and perfecting a thorough organization of our forces throughout the entire state, to the end that the hosts of labor may present a solid, unbroken front to their opponents in the great national contest of 1888. In presenting the Syracuse platform to the voters of this state, we ask for it the thoughtful, considerate attention of intelligent people of all classes, and ask them to study the reforms therein proposed before condemning them."

Sic in the original; probably "J. V. Jackson".
Sic in the original; probably "future, this convention".

After a warm discussion on the report of the committee a motion to refer it back to the committee, with instructions to strike out the single tax plank, on the plea that it would not receive the support of the farmers, was lost.

H. Martin Williams then said, in support of the report, that "the earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof, and the sons of men are entitled to the benefits of it. Do you propose to send out to the voters a hodge-podge, crazy-quilt platform? Rats! I have been following Jack o' lanterns long enough. I have my eyes fixed on the grand polar star. I have entered the straight and narrow way. I want to go on until I stand in the broad sunshine and enjoy the life-giving warmth of the god-given promise. The earth is for all the children of God, not a few of them. I was at Cincinnati, and the convention was presided over by as great a land grabber and monopolist as ever lived, A. J. Streator of Illinois. I am here to oppose any change in the platform regarding the grand, central, all important land theory. I will fight this thing to a bitter end, and will use every parliamentary device and all my slight intelligence to defeat any change in the land tax clause. I wish to God we could have a million men converted as Saul was converted. I have seen the cat, and I wish every one else here could see it."

Mr. John S. Crosby of Kansas City offered the following as a substitute for the report of the committee, which was unanimously adopted:

"We, as delegates of the united labor party of Missouri, in convention assembled, respectfully submit to the candid consideration of the people of the state the following declaration of principles:

"That the legitimate function of government is to provide for each and all equal protection from the fraud or violence of any and equal security in the enjoyment of natural rights, and of those opportunities for the pursuit of happiness that nature has made common to all men.

"That whenever the power of government is used for any other than this legitimate purpose it must inevitably be to the advantage of some and to the corresponding disadvantage of others; that government has no right to interfere with and can not abrogate those natural laws which govern man's relation to the earth and his fellow men; that whenever government, with or without consideration, grants special privileges to any of the people, it is at the expense of the rest of the people; that such privileges are equally unjust whether recently granted or clothed with the respectability of age.

"That the free soil party of the United States were right when, in their platform of 1852, they declared 'that all men have a natural right to a portion of the soil; and that as the use of the soil is *indispensable to life*, the right of all men to the soil is as sacred as their right to life itself;' and that a single tax on land values is admirably adapted to the securing to all men their right to the soil *without injustice to any*.

"That all such monopolies as have been built up by the assistance of the government through the grant of special privileges, and necessary enterprises exceeding the power of *individual ability*, should be owned and controlled by the government as the postal system now is.

"That the Australian system of voting should be adopted in order to secure some approximation to independence in and purity of elections." Mr. F. G. Johnson offered the following resolutions, which were adopted:

"Resolved, That this convention considers the holding of a national conference of the united labor party at the earliest practicable day for the purpose of extending and perfecting its organization in every state and territory of the Union to be a matter of the first importance. To this end the state committee appointed by this convention is hereby instructed to immediately confer with the state executive committee of the united labor party of the state of New York, and such committees of our party as may be in existence in other states in respect to the matter of calling such national conterence[sic].

"Resolved further, That this convention favors the selection of the city of St. Louis as the location for the holding of such national conference, by reason of its central

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location and ease of access from all sections of the Union."

The following plan of organization was also adopted:

1. The member of the state committee from each congressional district shall be the organizer of his district. As such it shall be his duty to call and attend meetings of the voters of the united labor party, and all who may be in sympathy with its principles and aims for the purpose of securing county organizations by townships.

2. Each member of the state committee shall be the chairman of the organization in his congressional district, and it shall be his duty to call a district convention for the purpose of nominating a candidate for congress or such other purposes as may be deemed expedient.

3. Land and labor clubs and anti-poverty societies shall be organized in every county and township as far as possible, and the work of disseminating land and labor literature shall be actively carried forward.

4. It shall be the duty of the state committee to arrange for as thorough a canvass of the state by united labor and anti-poverty speakers as the means at its command will enable it to do.

5. As our party has no other means of raising the necessary funds with which to carry forward the great work in which it is engaged than the voluntary contributions of its sympathizers, we call upon all who hold its principles above all other political considerations to give as generously as possible to defray the expenses that must necessarily be incurred in sending out tracts, literature and speakers.

The state central committee was then selected by congressional districts as follows:

First district—J. G. Edwards, Bevier.

Second district—George B. Snyder, Moberly.

Third district—J. C. Williams, Richmond.

Fourth district—W. H. Blake, St. Joe.

Fifth district—W. J. Reese, Kansas City.

Sixth district—E. T. Behrens, Sedalia.

Seventh district—Peter Rothernel, Wellsville, Montgomery county.

Sic in the original; probably "conference".

Eighth district—C. W. Bovard, 520 Pine street, St. Louis.

Ninth district—E. Clifton, Hotel Rozier, St. Louis.

Tenth district—H. J. Todd, Ironton, Mo.

Eleventh district—Charles Opel, Jefferson City.

Twelfth district—John Bates, Lamar.

Thirteenth district—Fred Lipscomb, South Greenfield, Dade county.

Fourteenth district—Ewell G. Munn, Poplar Bluff, Butler county.

Ed Clifton, of St. Louis, was selected chairman, with power to appoint his own secretary.

The convention then adjourned sine die.

On Wednesday evening an enthusiastic public meeting was held, which was addressed by W. J. Reese, John S. Crosby and H. Martin Williams.

A Touching Letter from an Earnest Man.

READING, Pa.—Allow me to tender you my congratulations upon what I would regard as a great victory won for an important principle in the recent election held in the Empire state. When, several years ago, I had read the last page of your great book, 'Progress[sic] and Poverty," I felt that many years of persistent agitation would be required, and a great deal of the "'ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer" would have to be resorted to before such a result could be made possible. I looked forward to about the year A. D. 1950, or perhaps A. D. 2000, as the time when the people might be persuaded to incorporate those principles with the laws of our land. I now feel, however, that within the next twenty or twenty-five years industrial slavery in this country shall have had its doom. I am sick—dying of pulmonary consumption—and therefore unable to do much in the way of propaganda, but I feel that I have done something in behalf of the cause. I have made a favorable impression on some of my friends and acquaintances by direct talk, and by sending out the copy of THE STANDARD that I have received weekly at one of our news stands. I think I have sown some seed that will come to fruition. I shall die all the more peaceably and contentedly with the assurance that I have done some good toward that "consummation so devoutly to be wished." Good cheer! Forward, march! On to victory!

FRIEND.

No Discouragement in Binghamton.

Mr. H. H. Freeman, writing from Binghamton, in this state, says: "We are all growing happier and happier over the result, in view of the circumstances. You can almost pick out a united labor party man on the street by the springiness of his step and the clearness of his countenance. Ours is the true winning party."

Sic in the original; probably ""Progress (single opening quote, double closing)".

Mr. Freeman also sends us a programme of an "Anti-poverty dime social" held in Binghampton[sic] on Friday evening, Nov. 18, which may prove useful as a suggestion to anti-poverty societies elsewhere. The programme included intrumental,[12] music, anti-poverty songs, a ten minutes' reading, a short address, music and a question box. Then followed an "Anti-poverty lunch," and the exercises closed with singing "Hard Times Come Again No More." Anti-poverty societies in other places much smaller than Binghamton might readily thus combine social entertainment with instruction, and thus spread the light.

A Challenge to Pro-Poverty Debaters.

Mr. Robert Cumming of Braceville, Ill., challenges any socialist or pro-poverty advocate to meet him in Braceville or Gardner, Ill., in oral debate, or to discuss in the columns of any local or other newspaper. the remedy[sic] proposed in "Progress and Poverty," namely, the taking of the "unearned increment" of land values by a single tax in lieu of all other taxes, and the control by the government of such things only as are in their nature monopolies. Mr. Cumming will maintain that this remedy is just. and,[14] that it will, without prejudice to existing institutions, give equal success,[15] to all to the bounties of nature and abolish poverty. He offers to take the affirmative, and, in case of oral debate, pay half the cost of the hall.

What the Feeling is in Maine.

AUBURN, Me.—Land and labor club No. 2 has passed resolutions indicative of the spirit of its members in view of the New York election. The resolutions declare that the vote is a gratifying verdict from [73,000?] enlightened and courageous men; that the members reassert their unswerving fidelity to the principle of striking at land speculation through a tax on land values; that active and increased work shall be done henceforth in circulating in Maine tracts and books relating to the cause, and that an invitation is extended to all believers in Henry George's philosophy to join the club.

F. W. BEALS, Secretary.

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ANTI-POVERTY.

THREE NOTABLE ADDRESSES AT THE THIRTIETH MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

Rev. Edward McGlynn Speaks of the Methods of Politicians and the Partisan Press—Rev. J. O. S. Huntington Appeals to the Religious Sentiment of the Audience—M. W. McGarvey on the Miners' Strike and the Single Land Value Tax.

The thirtieth meeting of the Anti-poverty society was held on last Sunday evening in Steinway hall, as previously announced. The meeting was as crowded as usual, many of the audience being unable to find seats.

Sic in the original; probably "Binghamton".
Sic in the original; probably "instrumental".
Sic in the original; probably "newspaper, the remedy".
Sic in the original; probably "just, and".
Sic in the original; probably "equal access".

On the platform were several of the leaders in the movement. Prof. David B. Scott, of the College of the city of New York, presided. Dr. McGlynn, accompanied by James Redpath, Prof. Scott, John McMackin and James P. Archibald, entered the hall at eight o'clock. Their appearance was the signal for an outburst of applause.

The meeting was opened with a hymn by Miss Munier's chorus.

Dr. McGlynn was the first speaker. After the prolonged cheering had ceased he said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—

Thank God we are not here without a divine purpose, a divine inspiration, a call from heaven which has induced us to band ourselves together in this anti-poverty society and write at the very head of our declaration of principles a profound belief in the Almighty Creator and Father; and in a slightly different form we repeat not merely the faith of all the Christian ages, but the prayer that has gone up from the human heart in every land, in every age, "I believe in God the Father Almighty, Creator of heaven and earth." Our society is therefore necessarily a religious society, and so far from desecrating the sanctity of the day consecrated to hearing the word of God and speaking and singing His praises, we feel that we are but protesting our faith in Him, that we are speaking His praises, and we are doing that which the poet says is the best evidence of love for God, in showing our love for man. (Applause.)

Therefore could we smile, were we not too sad and too full of pity at the croakings and crowings of those who, because of mere trifling incidents in a recent election, seem to speak of this society as if it were already on the decline, as if it were nearly time for it to disband and to sell out its effects. Little do they know the faith that burns so brightly in the minds of the thousands who have banded themselves together in this holy brotherhood: little do they know of the magnificent enthusiasm for humanity that has seized upon their minds and hearts. They count all loss as gain; they count suffering, martyrdom, battle and even defeat as only triumphs, because of the perfect faith in the omnipotence, the omniscience and the infinite mercy and benevolence of Him who is the soul of the universe; of Him who is overruling the history of men for His own divine purposes, the one simple rule and measure of which is the brotherhood of men, the rule of justice.

These great and consoling truths, dear friends, are opportune; the time calls for the rebearsal[sic] of them, and it is well that we should here to-night pledge ourselves anew, more forcibly if possible, to a still more enthusiastic love of justice, to a sterner pursuit of its holy ends, that we shall not permit our hearts to be embittered at the revilings of those brethren, who by their revilings give evidence of the great work that is yet before us to do; and so far from giving us occasion to desist from the work, the indignation and disgust should but stimulate us to go on the more to undo the injustice that is so powerful, so prevalent, so widespread, that not merely the debased and degraded poor, for whom we have always expressed so much sympathy, are selling themselves to perpetuate it, but the cultivated, the learned, the intelligent, too often men who sit upon the judicial bench, men who are called ornaments of the bar, men who preach from Christian pulpits and ministers at Christian altars, and those magazine mentors and monitors, and instructors of the press are actually in league with injustice, are actually on the side of Satan and all his hosts, practically if not avowedly, in reality if not consciously, denying the fatherhood of God as they so strangely and persistently in practice deny the brotherhood of man. (Applause.) One of these, a little more frank than the rest, whose name was charitably suppressed by the journals, but a week or so ago said that the recent election had practically done away with all this nonsense of the brotherhood of man. They talk of "vested" rights. Rights that are not God-vested can never be vested, because they are against that eternal right, that essential equality of men laid down in the magnificent Declaration of Independence, that men are made by their Creator equal, and endowed by Him with rights which, for the simple reason that they come from Him, are

Sic in the original; probably "rehearsal".

unalienable, so that no power can ever deprive men of them. (Applause.) They have too long been cruelly disappointed in the sad failure of their expectations; and it was intensely pathetic a year or so ago for me to hear a man of much learning, in a discussion at the Nineteenth Century club in which I took amicable part, tell of the bitter disappointment of the world in the failure of what be called[17] the magnificent promise of Christianity. He said that Christian nations had been but too often misled in the name of Him over whose manger had been pronounced the benediction of peace on earth, and that that message seemed almost to be a literal declaration of war, as Christians had so long, in the very name of the Prince of Peace, betrayed, burned, exterminated one another. (Applause.) And to-day, in all the Christian nations we may safely say, without exception, justice is actually defeated and injustice rules supreme. There is not equal law for the rich and the poor, and even in the gilded and marble temples dedicated to the worship of Him, injustice is extolled and justice pure and simple is denounced and accursed (applause); and so vast multitudes of man[18] are compelled by their bitter disappointment to come to the conclusion that the best church is out of doors. (Applause.) They are forced back upon that rock that never shall fail any child of God; they are forced back into the arms of the everlasting Father, and in spite of the false religion of churchmen, in spite of banded might and wealth and influence and learning, in spite of injustice, they can look up and say, "Our Father who art in heaven," and believe and feel and know that the teaching of the immortal Declaration of Independence is the very truth of God, that it is in perfect conformity with the teachings of the Christ. Therefore the man who works for some great cause need continued on p. 2 →

Sic in the original; probably "he called".
Sic in the original; probably "multitudes of men".

p. 2, col. 1

[continued from page 1]

← continued from p. 1 never fear defeat, even if the cause of justice to which he has sworn allegiance shall at times appear to be irretrievably trampled under the feet of the conquering hosts of iniquity.

And, therefore, dear friends, I think it is well that we who have so magnificent a banner, may without irreverence be permitted to emblazon upon it the very sign of the Son of Man; we who have this perfect assurance that God is on our side can surely omit to notice the sneers and misrepresentations of those who have enlisted in the service of Satan, and who must necessarily in their opposition to our cause give evidence of the spirit that inspires them. You can always judge of the tree by its fruit; and the peculiar malignancy and the villainous inconsistency of the attacks upon this cause have stamped them with the sign manual of the father of lies. It seems to me, therefore, that it is only in our weaker moments that our blood boils and we are filled with indignation at the calumny, the perversion of the truth, with which our movement is constantly met; yet in our calmer moments all bitterness goes out of our hearts; then we have only pity for our misguided brethren.

Therefore, I say we should feel but the more pity for those brethren who have sold themselves for wretched gain, for momentary political success, or for the sake of reclaiming a rapidly declining circulation for their newspapers. These very papers that are so serviceable to the cause of evil, call some of us slanderers because we have said what everybody knows and what they themselves know better than most people, that the late election, the so-called "vindication of principle," was simply a matter of purchase and sale. (Applause.)

We are told, on what seems very respectable authority, that nearly a million of dollars was expended for the election in this city, and I think you need no assurance from me that very little of that million dollars was spent by our party. (Applause.) This is a poor but virtuous party. This party did, it is, true[sic], have to spend a small amount for halls, election boxes and other such expenses. We know further that the actual legal expenses which were paid by public authority at the election amounted to at least $212,000. It will thus be seen that nearly three-quarters of a million of dollars in round numbers was said to have been expended by the two other parties in the late election here in New York city, and it is notorious that by far the greater part of that was spent by the democratic party to achieve the magnificent "vindication of its principles." (Applause.)

Some journals say that if instead of making these vain assertions of corruption in Albany about the purchasing of legislators we would give the names of those engaged in such work that they would then be entitled to some weight, when, as a matter of fact, we have only to turn to previous numbers of these very journals to find the most complete evidence of the truth of our assertions, and even the names of the lobbyists whose profession it is to procure legislation. These same journals are the ones that are now asking for the names of the wrong doers and are sneering at statements because they come from this platform. They now stand avowed defenders of the immaculate purity and virtue of our legislators, ignoring their own editorial denunciations and ignoring the fact that their columns have within the past few weeks been teeming with new revelations of the rascalities committed.

Sic in the original; probably "it is true,".

While we are called slanderers when we talk about the joke of purchasing elections, the papers have teemed with similar jokes: the joke, for instance, about the "vindication of the principles" of the grand old party by the carrying of the state of Indiana. A banquet was actually given at which the great lights of the party were compelled to be chained to the car of triumphant villainy. At that banquet, that good natured, estimable gentleman, Chester A. Arthur, congratulated the gentleman who had been chief manager of the successful campaign; he was in very good humor; it was during "the feast of reason and the flow of soul." He said, when in that happy mood, that his party had captured Indiana by an admirable supply of ——, and then in parenthesis, as it appeared in some of the papers, "long protracted laughter." But it was not a plentiful supply of "long protracted laughter" that carried the campaign in Indiana. Some of the reporters, with more acute imaginations, caught from the vice-president's *lips, or invented*, the word "soap." It has gone into some versions of history as "a plentiful supply of long protracted laughter," and into other, and I think more correct, versions of history it has gone "a plentiful supply of soap." Certain revelations afterward told us what was the nature of the "soap." To change the nature of the metaphor, it was not soap at all, but it was "principles" (laughter), and by this "diffusion of principles," in the shape of new, crisp two-dollar bills, the republican party was vindicated. (Laughter and applause.) And it was a matter of notoriety at the same time here in New York that certain well known leaders, or "heelers," in the immediate neighborhood in which I used to live were giving five dollars for a vote for Mr. Garfield in order to vindicate the principles of the grand old party. (Applause.) It is equally notorious that the same thing went on here Tuesday before last, and it is a huge joke to see the solemn faces with which these editors talk about the "slanderous imputation" that the election was carried by money. (Laughter and applause.) It would be very funny, if it were not so serious, to see how many people there are who think the greatest thing is to be on the winning side, and believe that there is nothing so successful as success, and who, no matter how the victory has been gained, are only too ready to throw their caps in the air and shout for the party for which they voted. How long will our so-called liberties endure under the mere forms of republicanism if our elections are to be controlled by such means! Where, then, would be your united labor party? Decreasing in the same proportion, next year it might be expected that we would poll only eight thousand votes, and the year after that we would be twenty-two thousand votes worse off than nothing.

Where was the Christian religion the day after Christ was crucified? Do you remember the story told in the gospel of the evening of the first Easter day, when two of the disciples of Christ were on a brief journey to a village near Jerusalem, and their hearts were heavy? They had hoped to see the literal fulfillment of the professions of the seers, when the yoke of Rome should be broken, and all the nations should bring their tributes to the holy city, and it should rule the world; they had interpreted literally the spiritual teachings of Christ, of the future world wide brotherhood which some are still striving and dying for, in the hope that it shall some day bless the world. Therefore, they had lost all hope; and the Master, already arisen, is said to have joined them by the way and explained to them the meaning of the prophesy[sic]. Their hearts became warm with new love; their minds were gladdened with a new light, and they began to take on a clear vision of the glories of the spiritual kingdom, when Christ would be the redeemer of Israel. But afterward, becoming disheartened, they said now He is dead and buried; He is almost forgotten; His followers are inviting and accepting invitations to dinner;

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they are engaging in their usual petty squabbles for office, for place, for pelf.

Where was the church of Christ when Peter was put into prison and James was killed and Paul was condemned? Do you remember the inscription that has been discovered in Spain, reciting that "the divine Nero" had deserved the honors awarded to him by Romans, when they were living under the forms of republicanism, still endorsing their laws with "the senate and people of Rome," and saying that they had actually in their adulation of the monster erected a monument to him in Spain, to glorify him for having finally extinguished Christianity? So

Sic in the original; probably "prophecy".

according to that monument, which like all other monuments, "can't tell a lie," Christianity was actually extinguished all over the Roman world by Nero in the year 60 or so; but it is still a pretty lively institution, after having been "extinguished" some eighteen hundred years ago.

Now, it may be asked, where is the united labor party? It is just as lively as the Christian church was after it had been extinguished by Nero. (Great applause.) It would be a capital thing for somebody to put in a heremetically[sic] sealed glass case several copies of some of these journals that are gloating over the extinction of the united labor party, in order that some future antiquary may be able to amuse his audience in some hall that will be built in a couple of thousand of years from now by telling them there was an editor in this city, which was then called by the compound name of New York, who actually flattered himself, on the 9th of November, 1887, that the united labor party and all its principles had actually been totally extinguished Would[22] not the editor of that journal, if he could hear that lecture, be somewhat overwhelmed to find that these principles were prevalent and had been for the last fifteen hundred or eighteen hundred years! (Applause.)

In one of these sheets there is a demand that "the surplus" shall be spent on fortifications to protect us from somebody. What would the future antiquary think of that? What savagery there must have been in those days! Against whom did they have to protect themselves? Against their brethren and sisters! If that editor could then view things as they were, would he not be a very much amused editor when he saw that iron clads and fortifications and such warlike things were practically as extinct from human society as the ichthyosaurus, which is now only found in the museums?

When we come together to condole over our recent disaster it is in order for us to say, if it be a disaster, it is fraught with all sorts of compensation, and we can very speedily reenforce our lines, and we have already begun; there is no hesitation, there is no doubt as to our plans, still less is there any doubt as to our objects.

One fellow, who was practically a traitor during the late election, tried to find an excuse for it, and so he said that now he thought he was going to devote himself more to the question of "labor proper," as if heretofore he had been devoting himself to labor improper. (Laughter and applause.) We are going to do in reality what this fellow is thinking of doing; we are going to devote ourselves to the question of labor proper, and that means this: That labor is the law of life and therefore is a duty, that properly understood it is one of the chief tenets and holiest examples of Christ our Master, and because, whether we labor by brain or by hand, it is the means by which we are fulfilling the word of God, by which we are doing what we can to learn His lessons and to fulfill His tasks, and we are thus working out the magnificent plan of the best of fathers by making the kingdom of God here on earth so that it shall be the nursery of plants that He shall in His good time transfer to His heaven beyond. (Applause.)

We therefore have nothing to retract, nothing to regret, except it be the misery, the degradation of not a few of those who were with us in the election of a year ago and were not with us in the election of a few days ago, for the reason that so many of them yielded to the offers of their tempters and wholly forgot for the moment the magnificent promise of a glorious future and miserably sold their birthright for but little more than a mess of pottage. (Applause.)

We shall go on preaching this "nonsense" of the brotherhood of man, and we shall go on asserting the same obsolete, antiquated and to not a few dangerous doctrine of the Declaration of Independence.

Do not such avowals of corrupt politicians on the one hand, and this contempt for God's truth on the part of these journalists, all go to show that it is high time that the Word of God shall be professed and preached from the stages of theaters, from the tails of carts, especially since it is professed so half heartedly at Christian altars and

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Sic in the original; probably "hermetically".
Sic in the original; probably "extinguished. Would (period missing)".

Christian pulpits? Is it not high time that a party shall arise in this country—and, thank God, one has arisen—that should begin to give new significance and new practical interpretation to our Declaration of Independence? We shall go on to preach, if possible, with still more vigor and zeal and hopefulness the dogmatic religion that God is, that He is all-wise, all-good, all-merciful, all-powerful; and the correlative of that is that perfect goodness and duty are but one and the self-same thing. None can surpass me in allegiance to all the tenets of the Christian religion and in reverence for the sacraments of the Christian church, yet I am called to go out and teach to the whole world, what I have been taught in the schools of the Christian church, that all the dogmas must have their purpose in the building up of the great eternal truth; that white sacraments[sic] have a most excellent purpose, yet at the same time the very essence and the core of all religion, to which these things are but the means, consist in knowing God, in knowing something of His purposes and in loving Him with all our hearts, and loving, in spite of their too frequent unlovableness, because of His image stamped upon them, all our brethren. And, therefore, must we rise to that exalted stature of not merely natural religion, to be able with outspread arms to say, "Father, forgive them; they know not what they do;" and count it an unspeakable gain to be permitted to lose repute and happiness and life itself, if by making every sacrifice we save our brethren. (Applause.)

But a moment ago there entered upon this platform a man whose presence here to-night is full of the truth that I have been trying to preach, whose presence here to-night is evidence that this is something more than a mere political platform. I myself have said time and again that I stand upon this platform because it is not merely a political platform, but because it is so largely a moral and a religious one. But at the same time some of you might say, "Well it is a good deal of a political platform, but small blame to him for standing on it just now, for the reason that he does not happen to have any pressing ecclesiastical engagements, and if he should begin to have them probably then he would not be seen quite so often upon that platform; perhaps there would not be so much occasion for it." But to answer that doubt here comes a man (turning to Father Huntington) who, by his very garb, shows that he is not an unfrocked priest. (Applause.) He is here, I believe, after finishing a church service in some part of the city, and I mention it as a very happy illustration of what I am trying to teach.

Now, then, let us take heart of hope, sing-

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ing the praises of the Most High, thanking him for the moral victory of the late election while declaring the immoral victory of those who won it. (Great applause.)

Father Huntington's appearance was the signal for an outburst of applause. When it ceased he said:

Since I last spoke to you from this platform the movement to which we have given heart and soul has been through an ordeal, has been put to a test, and I think it has come out unscathed. So far from having to score a defeat, we consider that we have in the most emphatic way vindicated the principles for which we work. We have shown what the method is that we intend to pursue, and have proved by the action of all on our side that we mean what we say.

It would be very natural for many people to think that the religious element in this movement was an adventitious thing, that it had for a basis a certain sentimentality, that it was introduced to please a few individuals, and that though these individuals might be humored by allowing it place for a time, that yet it was not a real factor in the movement, and did not belong to the platform. It has been shown that that is not the case; that if religion has formed a part of this movement, it is because it is an essential part, because it could not be got rid of, because it belonged there, and had come to stay, and that if religion were out of it the movement itself would be at an end. (Applause.)

Sic in the original; probably "while sacraments".

We have said, and I think we have said with increasing earnestness, seeing more and more clearly what the words mean, that this is the cause of God. That is a tremendous thing to say of any movement, for it gives assurance of ultimate victory. But we must realize also that, if this is the cause of God, then a very great responsibility rests upon every man and woman who believes in it. Why? Because if that be true then we are engaged not in a mere temporal struggle, not in a transitory movement that is to again pass away in a little while, not in a popular craze, but in the great fight that has been going on through the ages between the light and the darkness, the power of God and the power of the enemies of the truth. You and I are entering half blindly, perhaps, not realizing how much it means, but we are entering in not as spectators, but as actors into another phase of that conflict which has filled the history of the world, in which all the power of purity and goodness is wrestling with all the power of hatred and crime and sin, in which each one has his part to play, and by the part he plays must be judged at the bar where all men shall stand to confess which side they took in the warfare, under what banner they have fought. If that is the case, then a share in the work of this anti-poverty society becomes not merely the indulgence of a pleasing sentiment; not merely the holding of an interesting theory; not merely the participation in a cause in which it is a matter of indifference whether you engage or not; but you are put on your mettle as men; you are called upon to show what your worth is and whether you are true men on the side of right, of justice and God, or whether you are on the side of selfishness and cruelty and misery and sin. That is a test that the anti-poverty society puts before all of you who profess its principles and believe the truth it teaches.

I shall not say to you that if this is the cause of God we are bound to use only such methods as God Himself approves. I shall not say that because I am intensely convinced that you don't propose to use any other methods, and that if there has been, here and there, a doubting soul only just entering into the work that has fancied that we were acting on ratner[sic] too high a plane, that we were attempting the impossible, that we had better fall back on less exalted lines, and that we could afford to take the devil's tools to do the Lord's work with, then we may take it as one of the blessings of our late "defeat" that such souls have either dropped out of our ranks or found a new courage, and that to-day we stand pledged afresh to God and to those methods that God Himself will bless. That is why, when I read in the last week's STAND- ARD, "Good is never begotten by evil; it is good that begets good," I said a prayer of thanksgiving, because I could see in those unfaltering words the key-note of this movement. (Applause.) And now, just because we are beginning to realize more and more the moral grandeur of our cause, I ask you to consider what is supremely necessary in order to carry it forward, what we must do to fulfill our mission, to take part in this crusade of the cross. There are three things that I submit to you are most necessary. The first of these is faith. Remember that the battle we are fighting has been fought over and over again; it was fought by a society not so very unlike this, with principles that had a singular likeness to, or rather an identity with our own, a society that fought this battle some seventeen or eighteen hundred years ago, fought it against a despotism more awful than any the world has ever seen since, against old, long standing abuses, against the utmost power of monopolization, of capital, of wealth, against material force and enormous physical strength; a society which in that struggle was abused, persecuted and charged with favoring those who would upset the state; a society in which if a man entered he must look out for excommunication from the only respectable community of the time; a society that was hunted from one place of meeting to another; a society that was composed very largely of the ignorant and the poor, of the slave and the outcast; a society which never lifted its hand to strike, but which moved on steadily, unflinchingly through death and torture, never giving back blow for blow; a society which was pledged to believe in the fatherhood of God, and therefore in the brotherhood of all men, whether Roman procurator or Christian slave; a society which went on and on until against that tremendous massed force of brute wealth and power and crime it had broken through and won the day, and the cross of shame became the standard of a regenerated world.

What was the moving spirit of those men? It was intense faith; they believed what they said and they lived it out; and we must have in this movement something stronger than reason, something more powerful than philosophy,

more potent than arguments, something that goes down deeper and lays hold of the very root of a man, a conviction "that this thing is true and therefore it must and shall succeed." We must use such means as we can to strengthen that faith, for upon that faith depends our share in winning the victory of this movement; just so far as you believe that you are right and that God has put yon[sic] where you are and given you this work to do; just that far will you be hastening the day of better things, of purer lives, of an ennobled society; there is another thing needed besides faith, and that is repentance. What do I mean by that? I mean that we, as honest men and women, must be ready to acknowledge that we have not always been true to this movement, that we have at times been disloyal to its high principles, false to its spirit of justice and purity. It is sorry work throwing blame upon those who, believing as we do, sold their votes in the late election, unless we are ready to acknowledge to ourselves that we have deserved a share in the blame by every act of meanness or dishonesty of which we have been guilty. A censure of a neighbor may be necessary, but it is not the most press-

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ing duty; the first place where the tribunal should be set up by each of us and judgment begin and sentence be pronounced is in his own personal life. We shall make but little progress in calling upon others to repent of their greed and injustice and cruelty of selfishness until we confess that the roots of those sins are in our own souls, and give them an example of the repentance we ask them to practice. Surely this is reasonable and fair. Surely we must agree that we are not ready to fight the battle of God until, in a perfectly honest and manly fashion, we own that we have at times been untrue to God, until we see where we have been disloyal to the standard we are trying to follow.

> Thou to wax fierce
> In the cause of the Lord,
> To smite and to thrust
> With the heavenly sword!
> Anger and zeal
> And the joy of the brave,
> Who taught thee to feel,
> Sin's slave?
>
> The altar's pure flame
> Consumes as it soars,
> Faith meetly may blame,
> For it serves and adores.
> Thou warnest and smitest,
> Yet Christ must atone
> For a soul that thou slightest—
> Thine own.

Without this, which we call personal repentance, we shall very soon begin to fall out with one another, to call bad names, to lay the blame of any ill success on this side or on that, to think that we are all right and others are all wrong, and so in mutual recriminations and internal dissensions and abuse this movement will break up, as many another noble movement has broken up in the past, and we become an open shame to our enemies, a very scorn and derision unto them that are round about us. But to get down to the fact of the case and see where the fault

Sic in the original; probably "rather".
Sic in the original; probably "put you".

really lies, and so condemn ourselves before we condemn others, this will keep us in mutual trust and respect and in that fellowship and good-will in which in large measure lies our strength.

And the third requirement is straightforward obedience, not to the immediate demands of this movement alone, but to everything which you recognize as a command of God. He would not be reckoned as a trustworthy soldier who should obey one command of the general with great alacrity while openly disregarding plain orders calling on him for less agreeable duties. The cause of God is to be promoted by those who are living in obedience to God. Every time that you and I are mean and selfish, every time that we act dishonorably or basely, every time that we indulge impurity in thought or life, then, though we may vote the correct ticket and applaud at Anti-poverty meetings, we are holding back the coming of the kingdom of heaven on earth, we are traitors to the God of truth, holiness and love.

More than this; your responsibility comes home to you in a yet more moving way. You have taken—by a sort of instinct, but an instinct confirmed by a deliberate choice of which you have given evidence in the song that has just been sung—you have taken the cross as the symbol of this movement. Why that emblem, unless in the face of whatever doubt and perplexities may beset you, you believe that the cross stands out as the witness to the deepest and most complete as well as the most awful suffering on the side of truth and right against fraud and oppression and wrong? And if so, then, in some way, that suffering gathers up into itself all the suffering of the world under injustice and cruelty, on behalf of righteousness and love. If, then, believing this to be the cause of God, you dare to turn back, you are false to the great self-sacrifice, you are arraying yourselves on the side of those forces of evil which nailed Christ upon His cross, which are crushing down those multitudes of tortured souls that are crying out to-night in sore distress. My brothers and sisters, you are most of you removed somewhat from the sight of those peculiar forms of suffering which the tenement house districts of this city present. You can shut out yourselves from the sight and sound of the misery in your pleasant homes, ano if[sic] the echo of it reaches you even there, through the daily newspaper, you can lay the paper down and take up the latest novel. Some of us are not so situated. We cannot shut our eyes to these pathetic faces, or our ears to this bitter cry. If we would do our work we must go up and down these rickety stairs, in and out of these pestilential courts. We have to look into these hundreds of childish faces and know the future that awaits them if they are to live in New York. Men and women are doing what they can to stay the tide of wretchedness and sin, but what chance have they in that great maelstrom of life that is surging and tossing on the “east side?” What can you accomplish by gathering children into schools for a few hours a week and then sending them out to live in the pit of hell for the rest of the time? Will you turn away from a movement which proposes to bring light into that darkness, to open a way for those little feet to walk without going down into the depths? A while ago I was speaking with one who has been working in that district for years; who has talked with thousands of the women and girls; who has sat up night after night with sick children in tenement house rooms. She spoke of a young girl who was working in one of those tailor shops where a train of fierce competition and cruel injustice produces its last effect in the utmost possible crowding down of wages. I know the shop. It is in a basement below the level of the street, where the women bend over their work with such hopeless diligence that they do not even lift their heads as one goes in to ask a question. They work far into the night, even on Saturdays, and sometimes the whir of the machines can be heard behind the close shutters on Sunday morning. The young girl had been working in this place, but was now breaking down with an illness that nothing but rest would cure, when rest meant starvation. One alternative was ever before her, one prospect of ease “in a trade that is never overstocked.” I asked if nothing could be done to get the girl a better situation; the answer was, “Why is she to be more pitied than the hundreds of others who would gladly take the place if she should leave it?”

What, then, is to be done? I have not the least hope of anything except it be the cause of God, but because I believe this is the cause of God, therefore I plead with you from this platform that you will have pity on these

stricken souls, these cramped bodies, these darkened lives; that you will not help to grind them under the iron wheels of Mammon, but that you will be loyal to the principles of God, which will make the golden rule the rule for this city and for all the world, and give to every one of these children a chance of purity here and of Heaven hereafter.

Mr. McGarvey, from the Lehigh mining region, was then introduced by the chairman. He said:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen—My excuse for appearing before the Anti-poverty society to-night in behalf of the miners of the Lehigh region who are now affected by the strike is because I recognize that our cause is one with yours. I recognize—and upon this I base my assumption to come here—that it is the private ownership in land that has caused the strike in the Lehigh coal region, and if the principle on which the Anti-

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poverty society is founded were recognized and accepted, there would be no strikes in the Lehigh valley or in any other region.

In the anthracite coal regions there are employed about ninety thousand wage workers in and about the mines. In the Lehigh mining region about fourteen or fifteen thousand wage workers are employed. Only the Lehigh region is at present on strike, but the interests of all the other regions will be affected by the success or defeat of this strike.

Under the present system of land ownership consumers pay a royalty of ten millions of dollars a year, all of which goes into the pockets of those who claim to own the land. There are thousands of acres of coal land in that region that are undeveloped and that pay no tax, and the consequence is that by this system of land taxation which we now have those who claim to be owners of the idle lands are enabled to open up just what they please from time to time and overstock, by importation or otherwise, the labor market in that quarter.

The Lehigh region now on strike embraces a territory of not more than twenty miles from a common center. It consists of some thirty-nine or forty towns and villages or mining hamlets and three boroughs. In the ordinary course of things if the labor of the anthracite coal regions was justly dealt with there would be to-day just sufficient labor in the anthracite and Lehigh coal regions to mine all the coal that is necessary. But the native labor is supplanted from time to time by imported labor, and especially has this been so in the Lehigh region during the last twelve years. During that time the leading employers have been importing pauper labor of Europe under contract.

In those thirty-nine or forty towns and villages everything is owned and controlled solely by those who claim to be the land owners, and the miner is not only compelled to work for small wages, but is made the victim of abuse and oppression in every part of his every day life. He is abused not only by his employer, but by the storekeeper, and his wife and children suffer likewise. He enjoys indeed the privilege of living; but it is the life of a slave. He enjoys the right to the pursuit of happiness, but it is the pursuit only—the employers have all the happiness.

My friends, I do not appear before you as a coal miner filled with foreign ideas. I happen to be a native of the city of churches, not of the city of brotherly love. I went to the anthracite coal region when I was six years of age. I have been there very nearly all the time since. I have a wife and four children, and as a friend of mine said, they are all boys but three. I don't fear for that one boy; there is some hope for a man, even though he be born in the Lehigh coal region, but for a girl I don't see any. I fear for those three girls; for if there is anything worse than being a Lehigh coal miner to-day it is being a Lehigh coal miner's wife; and in the natural order of things I don't see any other fate in store for them.

Sic in the original; probably "and if".

I have been an active labor reformer in my own county of Carbon for seventeen years. My first vote, when I knew nothing, was a democratic vote. I have long ago asked God to forgive me for that. (Applause.) But the latest phase of the labor reform movement is the anti-poverty movement, and this gives me hope. If I have lived with some hope in the past, I am warranted in living in still further hope.

I have not come here to ask you to go down into your pockets. I want you to take these thoughts home with you and into your churches, and I don't believe you could carry better subjects there, and in the spirit that your cause is ours, and in behalf of the miners of the Lehigh region who have entered upon these strikes, I appeal to you for such aid as you can give. (Applause.)

Owing to the lateness of the hour, Mr. Post endeavored to excuse himself, but amid shouts of "Post! Post!" from all parts of the hall, his endeavor was unavailing. He said:

In view of what the last two speakers said, something has just occurred to me which I imagine will astonish you. You heard what Father Huntington said of the tenement districts in New York, and you heard what Mr. Mr. McGarvey[sic] said of the misery in the Pennsylvania mining districts. In view of that I will tell you something that I am sure will astonish you, and that is that the great American government is engaged every day in "protecting" American industry. (Laughter and applause.) (A voice: "Where did you hear that?") I just happened to remember it; that is all. (Laughter.)

They talk of protecting American industry! They have got the thing down so fine that they protect plum pudding to the extent of twenty per cent to protect American industries. You all know what kind of industry that will protect. If a man has to pay $1.20 for a dollar's worth of plum pudding, he will be more apt to encourage his wife in home industry. What does encouraging home industry mean? It means more work for less wages; it means just what it has done for the sewing woman and the miner.

Is it not about time that we make battle upon this enemy, for it is an enemy? They have talked of protecting American industry so long—protecting it in this way, that really a great many people have got to believing in it, and even those miners in the Pennsylvania regions, imagine they are protected. But what, in God's name, does that protection consist of? It is protecting American monopoly—not American industry; that is what it is. (Applause.)

Do you recall that fable of Æsop of the wolf and the goat? The wolf was browsing on the edge of a high cliff—no the goat was browsing on the edge of a high cliff–I have reversed things just as the protectionists do, the goat was browsing on the edge of a high cliff and the wolf was at the base of the cliff; the wolf did not want to climb up there and he looked up to the goat and invited him to come down. "There is plenty of grass here, and it is a great deal sweeter than that grass up there and will make you a better dinner," he said. The goat looked over and answered: "No, I thank you; you must excuse me; it is not for my dinner that you are inviting me down, but for your own." (Laughter.) That is protection in a nut shell.

We must get right behind all that; we must get right down to first principles; we have got to recognize that the land belongs to all the people and that all revenues must come from values, and then we will not need any protection by way of revenue or revenue by way of protection. (Applause.)

Take the state of Pennsylvania. While those men are not permitted to work, except for starvation wages, there are hundreds if not thousands of acres of Pennsylvania lands, the richest coal land probably in the country, absolutely closed to labor and paying an agricultural tax.

All the mines of Pennsylvania are not open yet; they are not all worked. But if a good sized land value tax were put on them, they would be opened very soon. (Applause.) If there are only a few mines and a good many people who

want to work in the mines wages will go down to a bare meagre living, which the miners must have or starve. In nature there is ample opportunity for remunerative employment, and the reason that the unemployed don't get it is because some men lock it up.

Now, it seems to me that about the first strike we should make is to wipe custom

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houses off the face of the continent and collect our national revenue from the values of land. That of itself will make more opportunities for work because the tax on land values, being higher, there will be more land in the market. Land in cities, agricultural land, mining land, land generally, will come more into the market, because the tax will be a little too high to make it profitable to hold it, and so we shall have more opportunities for work at once; and with more opportunities for work will come better wages; with better wages will come more and varied and better consumption; with that comes better business, and better business reacts to benefit wages.

But this movement must not stop here; this is the place to begin. We must go on and on until every man has an equal right to the land of the country in which he is born (applause); until every man who has a better part of the surface of the earth than other men shall pay for its greater value into a common fund, and until land that is not in use, whatever kind it may be, shall be open to anybody who wants to use it, free of price, free of rent, and free of tax. When that time comes we shall have free men, and with free men peace and plenty and justice will reign. (Long continued applause.)

DR. M'GLYNN'S PARISHIONERS.

They Collect in Two Weeks More Money for Him Than His Former Annual Salary Amounted to.

The same enthusistic[sic] gathering as of old filled seats, standing room and entrances of International hall on Friday night of last week. Chairman John R. Feeney, assisted by Edward McConnell, George Norman and Mrs. Margaret Moore, spent the first hour or so in entering and acknowledging the various envelope contributions to the personal fund for Dr. McGlynn. Some of the letters and comments excited much amusement and applause. The total amount collected in envelopes was $314. The basket collection was $79.82. Total for the evening, $393.82, which, added to the balance of amount collected the week before, $419, makes a total of over $812 collected in two weeks. Dr. McGlynn's former salary was $800 a year. Mrs. Moore then delivered a witty and effective address on the recent election, ending with a graphic picture of the misery and degradation which the doctor and his fellow workers were bound to abolish. She was followed by George Smith of Greenpoint, Mr. McDermott of St. Stephen's parish and Frank Ferrall.

The oil painting of the doctor, which formerly hung above the platform, was sold at the Anti-poverty fair. A handsomely draped engraved likeness has been put in its place.

The Church and the New Political Economy.

The November number of the *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, a high class monthly journal, published under the sanction of the archbishop of Dublin, contains the following letter, with the title, "The Economic Doctrines of Mr. Henry

Sic in the original; probably "Mr. McGarvey (doubled"Mr.")".
Sic in the original; probably "enthusiastic".

George." The "two propositions" referred to are (1) that private property in land is unjust and (2) and that[sic] the land of any country belongs to the people of that country.

SIR:—I rejoice to find Mr. Henry George's doctrine discussed in your pages. Nothing can well be more interesting and important than the doctrine itself, and the man is inspiring so much enthusiasm in New York that he may possibly be elected secretary of state before the year is out. It seems unwise, therefore, that there should be such profound silence here about the man himself and his teaching. The mere papers of news, the Irish national organs, and the religious journals, are alike empty of either criticism or information. Let thanks then be given to you, sir, and to "Economist."

But, would not your contributor have done better to begin at the beginning? He makes our mouths water for all those millions of revenue, and yet has nothing to say about the lawfulness of the system—which would give them to us. Ought he not first to examine principles, and then come to practice and details? Let him attack those two propositions named in the end of his interesting letter. His views about the second of them I should be very eager to study. Does the land of a country belong in his opinion to the angels? Or to the *pecora campa*[sic]*?*

If we do leave, like "Economist," the consideration of what may be philosophically true, or theologically lawful, for the consideration of what may be politically prudent, I am sure most people would be of opinion that it would not be expedient to make the national government the direct administrator or "agent" of the land of the country. I think Mr. George does not use the word "nationalization" throughout the whole book, "Progress and Poverty." I am sure that his proposal in the region of practical politics is the "single tax" system; that is to say, a tax on land values (not on land, which would be different). And the word "parochialization" or "baronialization" would better express his meaning than "nationalization." This is worthy of special note by "Economist," who will perceive that the present enormous expenses of tax gathering would be done away with by the single tax system. Of course the revenue from customs and excise would be needless. Lastly, if I may say it without seeming very wild, I would ask "Economist" not to take it for granted, either that there is an obligation to pay off what is called the national debt, or that those who now live on it would need to continue to live on it in more prosperous time:

A PRIEST IN ENGLAND.

Courage!

To those at a distance, looking calmly on and appreciating the difficulties of the situation with only the power of truth in unselfishness indistinctly seen by the masses on the one side, and the organized forces of error, corruption and greed, backed by all the power of individual and corporate wealth not only of the great city and state of New York, but of the nation, on the other, the results in the meagerness of the vote are not surprising. On the contrary, they are quite encouraging.

Truth pitted against the influence of such forces as were at work in your late election never won an easy victory. Among the twelve was one apostate, one doubter and one faint-hearted. The Judases you are well rid of. The Thomases and the Peters will be convinced and strengthened, and will yet, when converted, strengthen their brethren.

If our religion means anything, and our civilization is worthy of preservation, the great truth that has been on trial before the people of New York and the nation recently must ultimately prevail. It may take years, it may take

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Sic in the original; probably "(2) that (doubled"and")".
Sic in the original; probably "pecora campi".

generations, as other great truths have, but it will prevail in the end. Courage, then. Forward. Work, write, print, speak. Victory is sure.

RICHARD SPENCER.

Burlington, Ia., Nov. 14.

For the Campaign Fund.

The publisher of THE STANDARD acknowledges the receipt of 50 cents for the campaign fund from Harry C. Ager, Brooklyn, N. Y.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

What to Do with the Tax.

CHICAGO.—Will you please explain (1) what you would do with the taxes that would be raised under the laws proposed by the Anti-poverty society, and (2) how a person would know what a fair tax would be!

R. O'NEILL.

1. Pay the ordinary expenses of government and for public institutions.

2. By the market value of the land that was taxed.

Incomes and Ground Rent.

LOUISVILLE, Ky., Sept. 22.—I have been a laborer ever since I was eight years old. I worked in the "tobacco patch" when I was so small the leaves of the plant would reach my hair and "gum" it so that nothing but mother's application of hot water and soap would enable me to comb it. I have swung a hammer in the mines of the Rocky mountains day after day alongside of the best miners. I have a right to consider myself a working man. Six months ago I began reading your writings, believing you a dreamer whose theories could not be put into practice. To-day I indorse nearly all your published opinions. I wish you to answer me two questions:

1. Is there any reason why incomes should not be taxed!

2. I have seen it stated that a reasonable ground rent on the land of the United States will only produce four hundred millions of dollars annually; whereas the present rate of United States, state and county taxation produces eight hundred millions every year. I think the trouble with this statement is that the first part of it is false, but have no means at hand to disprove it.

J. S. DE JARNETTE.

1. Is there any reason why an income honestly earned should be taxed. When the rental value of land is taken in taxation an unearned income would be impossible. and until it is taken a tax on incomes would not prevent the acquisition of wealth unearned by the possessor. (2) The land values of New York city alone are now worth more than $100,000,000 annually, while the present tax levy is $32,000,000. Moreover, if land values alone were taxed, some of the most expensive machinery of government would be abolished[sic],

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Sic in the original; probably "abolished.".

A Tax Upon a Tax.

AUGUSTA, Ga.—Is it not true that land is worthless until man by his labor has utilized it, and that the market value of unoccupied land is due to its possibilities of production when utilized by the labor of man! That is what the *Constitutionalist* says, and I would like to know wherein it is wrong.

YANKEE.

It is evident that a temperance reform is needed in Augusta. If the market value of unoccupied land is due to its possibilities of production, how can it be said by a sober man that land is worthless until utilized by labor?

Some land is worthless until labor has utilized it. but when the value attaching to it is wholly due to labor the land itself is worthless after labor has utilized it as well as before. The value in that case is a labor or improvement value, which should be exempt from taxation.

Other land has a value, though not utilized—a value that is due to its possibilities of production. It may be an unopened mine or a vacant city lot. That value is not a labor or improvement value, but a price for the privilege of using the land. Whoever gets that price from labor gets something for nothing, for the "owner" of the land did not make it nor did he give to it its possibilities of production. It would be there all the same, and offer the same possibilities of production if it had never been owned. This value which attaches to land on account of its possibilities of production is a fit subject of taxation. It takes nothing from any one that he has produced, but only takes from him in taxation for public use what he has taken from some one else in taxation for private use. It is a public tax upon a private tax, and the nearer the public tax comes to absorbing the entire private tax the juster it will be.

Selling Value and Rental Value.

BOSTON, Mass.—Here is a question for THE STANDARD. As I understand it, the basis of estimating the rental value of land would be by taking a percentage of its selling value, but as more and more of the taxes were laid on land values, the selling value would decrease; but would the rental value decrease in the same proportion! For illustration, we will suppose a piece of land with a selling value of $10,000 and the rental four per cent of that, or $400; suppose the taxes absorb $300 of this, causing the selling value to fall to $2,500: would four per cent of that be the rental value on which to levy the tax? If so, the rental value would soon fall to nothing with the selling value.

E. LUCAS.

As the selling value decreased the rate would rise, and the occupant would pay the higher rate so long as it did not exceed the rental value of his land. Ultimately there would be no selling value, and then taxes, instead of being levied on selling value, would be levied directly on rental value Rental[sic] value would not decrease with selling value, although it would be subject to some, perhaps to considerable temporary decrease, due to the releasing of vacant land now monopolized for speculative purposes.

Referring to your illustration, when the selling value had declined to $2,500 the tax could be raised to twelve per cent on that value without making any difference to the occupant. He would still get a rental of $100 more than the tax.

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

Would He be Better Off?

NEW YORK.—Say I am a man advanced in years. Having saved enough; I invest the little I have in a house and lot, and rent it out to a storekeeper and a family in each of the two floors above, drawing therefrom a revenue of one thousand dollars per annum. I myself live in cheaper apartments.

I am too old to betake myself to any productive pursuit or enterprise. I have only the revenue derived from my real estate to live upon. Now, in what condition would I find myself were your plan carried out! Would I be as well off as I am now! Would I be more helpless in my old age than I am now! Or would my condition be improved as compared to what it is now?

TRUTH SEEKER.

Your condition would be improved; and what would be even better, the condition of many other old people, men and women, who through no fault of their own are much worse off than you, would be improved, too.

So much of your thousand dollars as is the rent of the ground you own, you would lose; but you would retain all of

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your income from the building, and as you would not have to add improvement taxes to your rent, you could find tenants more readily and certainly than now, because you could make the same profit on a lower rent. Besides, you would have an interest as a citizen in all the land values of your community.

Your condition would not be so much improved as if you were a worker, for you could not get the benefit of higher wages, but it would be better than it is now, and you would be spared the misery of others, which, unless you are a singularly selfish man, must detract from the comfort of your present condition.

Raising the Rent.

NEW YORK.—A owns a lot upon which he pays, according to our theory, $100 tax; he puts a house on it worth, with the land, $1,000 a year. B rents the building. What is to prevent A from putting the land tax on B, making the rent on B $1,100!

ANTI-LANDLORD.

According to your figures the house is worth $900 a year, and on account of the location B is willing to pay $100 more, or *$1,000 in all. But he will pay no more,* because if he did he would be paying a higher price for the location than it was worth. Read tract No. 37, Land and labor library.

Natural Rights and Colonizing.

NEW YORK, Nov. 7.—Kindly answer the following questions in the columns of your paper:

1. Does the unearned increment belong to the township, the county, the state, the country, the race or mankind?

2. Have not all things an interest in land as well as man!

3. If the unearned increment is confined to the state, why should the immigrant of yesterday have the benefits of the native!

4. What is the objection against setting apart a part of the public domain to experiment on and see how it will work, as socialistic colonies have done, and let the enthusiastic spirits of the "new crusade" work and show how it is feasible, and then the community may take up their ideas in politics!

G. N. RUTHERFORD.

1. The "unearned increment" belongs to the community whose presence creates it.

2. Man's right to land may be expressed in a syllogism as follows: Man is entitled to life; but life is impossible without land; therefore man is entitled to land. If we concede the major premise in favor of all animate things, then all animate things have a right to land.

3. When the single tax is enforced, the immigrant of yesterday is, other things being equal, as much a taxpayer as the native, for like the native he must use land, and if the land is of the same value he pays the same tax. He has the same right to the benefits of the tax fund as any other contributor. You make the mistake of supposing that the "unearned increment" is an increment. It is not; it is only a capitalization of current rental value, which is caused as much by the immigrant of yesterday as by the native of a generation, as you will realize if you consider what would be the effect upon land values in a long settled village of a large immigration.

4. It would require almost as much agitation to try the experiment as to amend our tax laws, and when accomplished the colony would have none of the advantages of free exchange, one of the most important features of production, and would be like a naked prisoner surrounded by cannibals.

An Unphilosophical Ph.D.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Some time ago I was talking to a Ph.D. who has much respect for your position as a reformer and philanthropist, but who said that he could not indorse your land tax theory because it is so "abominably unjust" to the farmer. He said that the wealthy men of the cities have only about one-fifth of their wealth in land, whereas the farmers have three-fourths of theirs in their land. Consequently the single tax on land would let the rich off with very little taxation, and make the poor pay a comparatively large part of it. Again, the enormously valuable railroads of the country are built for the most part on land of little value and not much of it. They would escape taxation under the land tax scheme. He would tax wealth. not land, and in order to keep the wealth from evading taxation he would have the general government impose a progressive tax on stocks, bonds and mortgages sold in amounts over a given sum. The general government could make the people who have these things show up, and a tax of this sort would compel the billionaires and bondocrats to show up and shell out, and relieve the workers of taxation.

1.

Your Ph.D does[sic] not understand our "land tax" theory, or else he knows nothing about the value of farm land. We propose to tax land values, not land, and as the value of ordinary farm land is from thirty per cent down to no per cent of the value of the farm, the farmer's tax on his farm would be in most cases less than now; besides, the great burden of indirect taxes he now pays when he goes to the store would be lifted from his shoulders. Whether the

Sic in the original; probably "Ph.D. does".

wealthy men of cities have only about one-fifth of their wealth in land we do not know, nor does your Ph.D.; but this we do know, that in cities thousands of acres, any one of which is worth more than whole farms, are not improved at all, while thousands more are only slightly improved. We also know that much of the wealth of wealthy men in cities which is called personal property is in reality an interest in land, such, for example, as mining stock. We know, too, that if labor were liberated, so that men could make free contracts for the sale of their labor, those incomes of wealthy men which consist of profits on labor, would rapidly tend toward the dimensions of a geometric point. Ask your Ph.D. why it is, if the single tax would make the poor pay most taxes and let the rich off with very little taxation, that the rich are so bitterly opposed to it. Is it because the rich are grieved even unto anger at a proposition to shift their burdens upon the poor?

The land value tax would not wholly remedy the railroad monopoly, because that monopoly has a double root—land and government franchise. We therefore propose as to railroads that the government should no longer farm out its functions to corporations, but should resume its sovereign power over highways as a public institution.

To your friend's proposition to tax wealth there are several objections. It easily evades taxation; the tax payer

p. 3, col. 3

shifts the tax to the consumer, it is expensive and inquisitorial, it tempts to perjury and consequently tends to give the dishonest man an advantage over the honest one, and, above all, if the wealth is honestly acquired, it is confiscation. Of course, your friend has not in mind honestly acquired wealth. He thinks only of the vast fortunes that grow out of bad social adjustments. But it is not our purpose to allow fortunes to grow in that way and then to tax them; we would kill them at the root by removing what at once causes poverty on the one hand and great fortunes on the other.

The philosophy of your Ph.D. needs a little doctoring.

Three Practical Questions.

EASTPORT, Me.—(1) In conversation with a gentleman not long ago he raised the following point, which I did not consider myself far enough advanced in George's scheme of taxation to answer satisfactorily. He had been a resident of Deer island, N. B., and after marriage found himself unable to rent a house to live in or even to buy a piece of land on which he could build. Understand, he had money enough to do either, but could get no chance. At last, after a two years' residence, he came across a man who was willing to sell him land enough whereon to build a house, which he did for the sum of $40. Now, this was absolutely the only piece of land he could get there. The island is a small one, and as he was well known there, every one knew of his desire to build, but nobody would sell but this friend of his. The land was worthless for any other purpose, so worthless, indeed, that had he desired it he might have had twice as much for no extra charge, but he did not want it. The point he raised was how to determine the value of anything. Here this man had him. He knew that my friend must have this land, as he could not go on living the way he was. Had he charged him $200 or even $500 for it, he would have paid it. "But," he said, "either of these sums would have been far in excess of the real value, and if the man who sold had charged either of these sums, according to George's theory I would have been taxed on that amount." This, he claims, is not just, because it makes it possible for a man who getsanother[sic] in a tight place to have imposed upon him a tax heavier than he ought to pay.

1. Another objection he had was this: That there would be a great many people who would not buy a piece of land, and consequently would escape taxation under the single tax. They could hoard up their money or invest it in such a way as to reap all the profit, while the land owners paid all the public bills.

Sic in the original; probably "gets another".

2. Still another objection to the single tax, put to me the other night, and which I could not answer clearly: One of my brother knights owns a piece of land and the house and all improvements. "Now." said[sic] he, "the whole business is not worth $800, but ten times that amount would not induce me to sell it. I was born there, and my father and mother worked hard to procure it as a home for themselves in their old age. Now, the single tax would make it easy for some man, either from spite or self-interest, to raise my tax from the present value of the bare land to any value he had a notion to raise it to. Thus, if George's theory was in operation to-day, I should, instead of paying a tax on an assessed valuation of $450, merely pay a tax on about $50, the value of the bare land. That would be very nice, but to-morrow you might come out, and either from a motive of spite or because you really wanted the place, raise the basis of my tax from $50 to $500. Now, I don't want to sell, not because the place is intrinsically worth more, but because I place what might be called a"sentimental" value upon it. But under the George idea I must either sell under the circumstances or be willing to pay a tax far in excess of what I pay under the present system."

SAMUEL R. SHAW.

1. Your friend of Deer island could not have been got into the tight place of which he complained if land values had been subject to full taxation. The land of that island was monopolized. It would not have been monopolized if every one had been compelled to pay a full value tax on what he held. If he had been compelled to pay $500 for his lot, as he says he was willing to rather than go without it, it would have been because he could not get any suitable land for less than that, and would have shown that land equally well situated was worth $500 a lot. Consequently, not only your friend, but the man he bought of, and every other owner of similar land on the island would have been taxed on that basis. But if the land was not really worth so much, a good many owners would soon be anxious to sell rather than pay the high tax, and in trying to sell would bring the speculative value down, and with it the tax, until your friend would pay taxes on only the real value of the land, instead of on the blackmail price he would have paid. He would then have nothing to complain of but the big price he paid. but if the land value tax had been in force before he bought, land values would have been at a normal level, and he could have got his lot for what it was worth. So long as there is so much good vacant land as there is, no man could get another into the tight place which your friend fears if the land value tax were in force. It can be done under the present system of low land value tax, but not under the proposed system.

2. Although a great many people would not buy land, every one would use land, and in the ground rents they paid would contribute to the public revenues. If any one hoarded his money he would get no profit, for money in a stocking does not increase. If he devoted it to productive purposes he would be contributing to the general prosperity and ought not to be taxed.

3. No one could from spite or self interest raise your friend's tax on his home. It is not proposed to tax "sentimental" values, but market values, and your friend's tax would not be increased unless the *market* value of the land increased. However anxious that mythical man of spite and greed might be to increase your friend's taxes by bidding solid cash against sentiment, he could not succeed unless the *market* came to his aid, and the market, you know, is very business like and is seldom affected by sentiment or spite, even if it does respond to greed. If the bare land on which your friend's house stands is worth $50 other lots similarly situated are worth the same, and though the spiteful man offered your friend $5,000 his taxes would not be on that basis unless that was the market value of the land, in which case the market value of the other places would be as much and the tax on them would increase too. If your friend

p. 3, col. 4

Sic in the original; probably "Now," said".

found a rich deposit of gold ore in his lot its value would be greater than that of the other lots and he would have to pay a higher tax, but in that case he would be willing to.

Notes.

HYMAN STAROSELSKY, New York.—You say that a man has "a right to plant a tree and have that tree grow by the aid of natural forces." I infer, therefore, that you concede the right of ownership of the grown tree. If you do, by what process of reasoning do you conclude that, though the man owns the tree and is exclusively entitled to all its benefits, yet if he sell it he must not take the value of the grown tree, but only the value of the labor he has expended on it—that he must surrender the difference in value to the buyer without consideration? That difference in value is interest. Some one will get the benefit of it. Whom should it be, the man whose labor has given direction to natural forces resulting in a grown tree, or the man who has done nothing toward giving that direction to these forces?

E. T. HUDSON, Brooklyn, N. Y.—Your suggestions are kindly received, but you have evidently not prepared yourself, by a clear understanding of what you criticise and the reasoning on which it is founded, to make them. Read "Progress and Poverty" and write again. Because landholders have been allowed to tax you in the past, and to buy and sell the privilege of taxing you in the future, is no reason why you should feel that justice requires you to submit to the operation. If dealers in the privilege of taxing you have miscalculated your endurance, they may lose in the speculation; but they will have the satisfaction of knowing that opportunities for labor have been made so plentiful that they can recover their losses by work.

JOHN REA, N. Y.—The inspectors who qualified and offered to serve on the first day of registration, and did serve on the day of election, are entitled to full pay if they are entitled to any.

J. W. BROWN, Grand Rapids, Mich.—Your idea is a good one. You can get a compilation of tariff duties at the law book stores or of a custom house broker, or at the treasury department at Washington.

LOUIS F. POST.

"TAX THE AREA."

Under this title the John W. Lovell company publishes a new solution of the land problem, by Kemper Bocock. Mr. Bocock has made the somewhat remarkable discovery that a tax on land values "is a tax on the improvement and a hindrance to the productive capacity of the land itself," and he proposes "that specific taxation be substituted for the ad valorem taxation of land by applying to each unit of measurement (an acre or a square foot) a tax of a definite sum of money." It does not require a very profound intellect to understand that such a system would allow the occupant of the best land to pay as low a tax acre for acre or foot for foot as the occupant of much poorer land, and Mr. Bocock hastens to explain that he "does not mean to impose the same tax rate on one acre as on another acre differently situated." He proposes to classify land for taxation by defining boundaries as voting or police precincts are now defined, fixing one rate per foot or acre for land lying within certain boundaries and another rate for land lying within other boundaries. In other words, Mr. Bocock does not intend to tax area after all, but in a bungling manner to tax values. He would classify Broadway and Wall street for a high rate and the suburbs of Jungletown for a low rate. Why? Because the former is a desirable location of high value and the latter is not. But the market value of the land in those two places determines relative desirability with much greater accuracy than any tax assessor could. Indeed, if the classifications were made with any regard for fairness at all,

the man who made them would first have to ascertain the values of the separate lots before he could make any average of the value by areas. Thus it would be much simpler to impose a uniform rate on the varying values than to district the land according to value and impose a varying rate on the area.

Mr. Bocock would himself see this readily enough if he knew what land value is. He concedes that "an acre of land which is favorably located for purposes of improvement ought to bear a much higher tax than an acre the location of which suggests no improvement at all," and he would no doubt agree that taxes on land lying between these extremes ought to pay a higher or lower tax, according to its location. But, ignorant of the nature of land values, he fails to see that they distinguish not only the most favorably from the least favorably located lands, but every grade between. That Mr. Bocock is ignorant of the nature of land values is no mere inference from his reasoning. He confesses it almost expressly when he says, speaking of the land value tax, "that the farmer who takes up some wild land, clears it, fertilizes it, makes it worth something, is taxed or fined for so doing." Mr. Bocock confuses improvement values with land values. In the case he supposes the farmer might make a valuable farm, but he would add nothing to the value of the land. Wild land similarly located would still be worth nothing if any of it was unappropriated.

The truth is that any system of taxation by area, unless it was in effect a tax according to value, would encourage land monopoly, and if the system were in effect a tax according to value, to make it so in fact would be as much better as the natural is better than the artificial. Mr. Bocock's book is simply an addition to crank literature—the book of a man too conceited to realize his own ignorance and who rushes into print before taking time to think.

A Bit of Telegraph History.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The fact is not generally known that the first line of electric telegraph established in this country was built and supported by the United States government. This was a single wire from Washington to Baltimore. The appropriation was $30,000, and $8,000 was afterward voted to keep it in repair and pay expenses. The act passed congress in December, 1843, and the wires were put up and got into working order in time to send as the first dispatch the announcement of the nomination of James K. Polk for the presidency by the democratic party in session at Baltimore. This was at the end of May, 1844.

In 1845, February 28, the general appropriation bill being under consideration in the senate, Mr. Barrow of Louisiana moved to insert the following instead of the appropriation of $8,000 per annum for keeping up the telegraph between Washington and Baltimore:

"That the postmaster general be and hereby is authorized and directed, in concurrence with the proprietors of Morse's electro-magnetic telegraph, to contract for the construction of said telegraph from the city of Baltimore to such point in or opposite to the city of New York as may be found most practicable, for the exclusive use and direction of the United States; provided, the same shall consist of a line of six wires and

p. 3, col. 5

shall not exceed the cost of $461 per mile, inclusive of all necessary instruments for establishing telegraphic communications to and from the city of Washington and Baltimore, in Maryland, Wilmington, in Delaware; Philadelphia, in Pennsylvania; Trenton, in New Jersey; and the city of New York respectively, to be paid out of any moneys in the treasury not otherwise appropriated; and the same, when constructed, shall be assigned and made appurtenant to the postoffice department, under the superintendence of Samuel F. B Morse[sic], and under such regulations and tariff of charges for communications made thereby—for private or governmental purposes—as the

Sic in the original; probably "F. B. Morse".

postmaster general shall institute and until congress shall otherwise order And[37] the sum of eight thousand dollars is hereby appropriated out of any money in the treasury not otherwise appropriated to be expended together with the unexpended balance of the former appropriation, under the direction of the postmaster general, for the care, repairs and superintendence of said telegraph, with power to adjust and pay all outstanding demands thereon."

Mr McDuffie[sic], Mr. Benton and others objected, threw cold water on the proposition, on the ground that it was not called for by petition or otherwise by the business public. And so the gallant and far-seeing Mr. Barrow was forced to give it over for the time. There was no braver or truer man in congress in 1845 than Alexander Barrow. Representing a slave holding state on the border of Texas, he voted against the joint resolution for the admission of that republic into the Union; and, unlike other southern whigs who did so, he declared that he would not vote for annexation in any form, whether by treaty or otherwise. His liberality was strikingly shown by this proposition, which was to begin the system of a national telegraph by its extension to the great commercial cities north of Washington.

DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

SUGGESTIONS AS TO FUTURE WORK.

MARLBOROUGH, N. Y.–Let THE STANDARD readers give their earnest consideration to agitating against vote buying and send in their suggestions. I suggest the following: A public agitation against corruption at the polls and in favor of the Australian system of voting. The means: The publication in form of a land and labor tract, of a complete and plain description of the Australian system; the necessity for its adoption; what it will accomplish and how it can be effected through the legislature. Then let petitions to the legislature asking for the adoption by the state of this system be distributed for signatures. I have no doubt hundreds of thousands of names could be obtained, and a pressure great enough to compel its adoption by this state be brought to bear upon our law makers. Honest men of all parties, disgusted with machine politics, are ready to fall in with us to accomplish this first and necessary reform.

C. H. BAILDON.

126 HERKIMER STREET, Brooklyn.–It has struck me that it would be a good idea to form at once in this city, New York and perhaps at other points, lyceums for the study and discussion of the live economic questions suggested in the Syracuse platform. We should aim to have a membership of bright young men who will undergo a course of careful study, and who, by frequent speeches and replying to questions in the meetings, will qualify themselves for the stump or rostrum. If this idea is carried out, by next fall we can have scores of intelligent speakers and no doubt some first-rate orators. What do you think of this suggestion? It will be like drilling men before taking them into battle.

ALFRED R. CALHOUN.

ASHTABULA, O.–Why not organize a lecture bureau? Let all lectures be free. Take up a collection at each for the general fund. We can put 1,000 men into the field within six months. Some can go for expenses and some cannot.

A. D. STRONG.

Sic in the original; probably "order. And".
Sic in the original; probably "Mr. McDuffie".

KANSAS CITY, Kas.—We have arranged with a member of our club to establish a labor news agency in connection with his other business, where all of Henry George's publications will be kept for sale. All the copies of THE STANDARD that remain on his hands each week the club agrees to purchase and distribute where they will do the most good. We are receiving letters from friends of the cause in every portion of the state calling for a state convention as soon as possible, and organizing on the Syracuse platform.

We will be glad to hear from all other sympathizers in this state who have not corresponded.

F. M. P. DONNELLY,
Secretary land and labor club.

HOUSTON, Tex., Nov. 13.—We have perfected a plan for organizing the state and have drawn up the by-laws of a tax reform association, by which we propose to carry on the agitation all over the state in a quiet but effective manner. Our organization is based on clubs of from three to five members each. The clubs are to hold meetings weekly and report monthly to county executive committees. The reports are to be made on blanks prepared for the purpose, showing number of meetings held by the club during month; number of persons approached on the subject of tax reform; number of set interviews had for the purpose of thoroughly explaining the doctrine, with name, post-office address and voting precinct of those to whom the doctrine has been thoroughly explained, name, postoffice address and voting precinct of every man ascertained since last report to be a tax reformer; number of personal letters written on the subject and number of subscriptions to tax reform papers obtained since last report, etc[sic] , including number of tracts distributed The[40] county executive committee are to send, on blanks prepared for the purpose, a monthly summary of the work accomplished in the counties to the state executive committee, who will, monthly, prepare a report showing the aggregate amount of work accomplished in the entire state since the last report was issued, a copy of which will be mailed direct to every club in the state. As soon as three temporary members are added to a full club of five members a new club will be organized. The expenses of the state executive committee in compiling and publishing the monthly report issued by them will be met by assessments for amount needed from time to time on the clubs. In this way we not only believe that a thorough and systematic organization of the entire state can be speedily accomplished, but that every true believer will be encouraged to put forth his best personal efforts by the knowledge of what others are doing and of the steady progress made, as shown by these monthly reports. The by-laws have been drawn so that the organization may become a national one should no better plan, in the opinion of our friends in New York city, be be[41] suggested.

H. F. KING[sic].

PORTLAND, Me., Nov. 20.—I am fully satisfied with the result in New York and elsewhere at the recent election. I should, of course, have rejoiced to know that a greater number had seen the light, but we had no right to expect so many in so short a time. One thing we need, and that is thorough organization. Let all who have seen the light begin to organize a house to house canvass, or in any other way that will insure the best result. We have much to encourage us. Let the wise ones take council together and see if there is not some common ground on which all workers can stand.

S. T. TAYLOR.

p. 3, col. 6

Sic in the original; probably "etc.,".
Sic in the original; probably "distributed. The".
Sic in the original; probably "be".
Sic in the original; probably "H. F. RING. (probably; cf. H. F. RING, Houston, p7)".

IN NEW SOUTH WALES.

What the Newspapers Say of the Land Question and What the Church Does Not Say.

SYDNEY, Oct. 19.–The present attitude of New South Wales with regard to the land question is in many respects a peculiar one. So far as the press is concerned, the great majority of writers appear wofully ignorant of the rudiments of the subject, though it is now admittedly of such importance that at least an occasional reference to the existence of Mr. George is necessary for every journal that desires to be abreast of the times. Hence, we have articles written by men who regard the matter in all kinds of erroneous lights, and their errors invariably assume forms which prove that the writers have never comprehended the principles they attempt to criticise, nor even read the books in which those principles are set forth.

We have, of course, our own tory press, of which the Sydney *Morning Herald*, the oldest and wealthiest daily in the colonies, may be taken as a type. This paper meets every demand for reform with the remark that "it is too much," and comments on every concession made, with the observation that "it is enough." If ever a journal adopted as its motto the doctrine that "whatever is is right," calmly oblivious of the principles which Charles Dickens pointed out was involved therein, viz., that "nothing that ever was was wrong"–that journal is the Sydney *Morning Herald*. When the news of the McGlynn demonstration in New York came to Sydney, the only mention the *Herald* made of the affair occupied about two inches in their American letter. The notice may be condensed as follows: "This question will no doubt be fought out in America. Let us in the colonies wait and see how it eventuates there. The American issue of the struggle will be a safe guide for the colonies to follow." The idea of judging the movement by the standard of truth and morality, and of supporting it if it were right, and opposing it if it were wrong, never seems to have entered the editorial head.

The Sydney *Daily Telegraph*, the other morning paper, is inclined to be somewhat piebald in its principles. Those who are "in the know" affirm that the editorial department is under the control of two men holding antagonistic views, and that these men edit the paper alternately. The only difficulty in the way of accepting this explanation of the curious mixture of advanced and fossilized ideas which find their way into the *Telegraph's* columns is the perplexing fact that sometimes the contradictions appear in the same issue, and occasionally in the same article–a thing which occurred several times recently during the period when the papers were intoxicated with royal jubileeism. To put the matter in a religious form, the creed of the *Telegraph* seems to be "God is good, but the devil's not a bad sort after all."

The *Evening News*–poor thing!–has not yet ventured an opinion, and unkind people say that it hasn't got one to venture.

Of the weekly papers, the most popular and powerful without doubt, is the *Bulletin*. But the attitude of the *Bulletin*, to a true student of the works of Henry George, is excessively perplexing. It did a tremendous educational work when "Progress and Poverty" first came out and supported the principles of land nationalization to the utmost. Week after week leading articles appeared in favor of Mr. George and in defence of his theories against the attacks of the ignorant and unscrupulous. But when "Protection or Free Trade?" appeared this sweet music ceased, and in the last electioneering campaign, when the issue put before the electors was "Free Trade or Protection," all its great influence was exerted, though without avail, on the side of the protectionists. If the *Bulletin* could be converted to the cause of true free trade the victory for the land question in New South Wales would not be far off.

The churches have as yet maintained a solemn silence on the subject. Bishop Barry, the head of the Anglican body, has had his intellect employed too fully in the discussion of the advisableness of removing a Reredos from over the altar of St. Andrew's cathedral to spare time for so trivial a subject as the land question. While the chief metropolitan Congregationalist, Dr. Jefferis – a successful land speculator, by the by–airily disposes of the whole

question in five minutes' insolent and patronizing twaddle, and straightway proceeds to lecture to his flock on "How to be merry and wise."

But, leaving the scribes and pharisees, there is a strong and growing party who are fired with an intense enthusiasm for the new cause. There is an element of inquiry and discontent with "things as they are," and a growing murmur which, could all who join in it be collected together, would soon swell into a roar. A visit from Mr. George, Dr. McGlynn or the Rev. Hugh Pentecost, would collect and cement all these scattered sympathizers, and make them a great power in the land. Like the man from Macedonia, we cry to the apostles of the new crusade, "Come over and help us."

JUDEX.

"The Land Question in America" in the "Westminster Review."

Edward J. Shriver, the new treasurer of the Anti-poverty society, contributes to the November number of the *Westminster Review* an admirable article on "The Land Question in America." The growth of sentiment in favor of the single tax theory is sketched, and due importance is given to the effect of last year's vote for Mr. George on a land tax platform in this city. Mr. Shriver truly says that success in that election could have had no direct effect in advancing the doctrine, and that "the whole campaign, in fact, was designed as a *magnificent* demonstration, like a mass meeting or a procession; and it was for this purpose an unqualified success." Of course Mr. Shriver wrote before the recent election, but despite the disappointment of our friends and the elation of our enemies, there was nothing in the result of Nov. 8 to impeach the accuracy of his statement. But for the "magnificent demonstration" of 1886 it would have been impossible to poll nearly [38,000?] votes in 1887 for the principles enunciated in the Syracuse platform. We are glad to find so clear a statement of the principles and growth of our movement laid before the English people in the pages of the great liberal review. All the indications now point to a speedy and grave consideration of the land question by the radical element that is so rapidly becoming predominant in the liberal party, and from which that party seems predestined to take its leader when in the [fulness?] of time Mr. Gladstone shall cease from his labors.

Missionary Work in Iowa.

F. S. Stewart of Ottumwa, Ia., is a worker as well as a believer in the good cause. In a letter, inclosing $1 for recruit subscriptions he says: "In my travels I find the good work going on surely, though I often think too slowly. Here many eager hearts and hands are enlisted in missionary work, and they are preparing the ground so that when the time thence to the Golden gate."

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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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.

THE LAND QUESTION ABROAD.

The existing alliance between the Irish nationalists and the English liberals is having on the latter an educational influence that must in time broaden and clarify the views of the Irish people. The November number of the *Westminster Review* has a leading article on Lord Hartington that abounds in forcible expressions, showing the tendency of the liberal party toward radicalism. While denying to Lord Hartington any just claim to the name of statesman, it freely accords that title to Mr. Morely[sic], the radical leader. It rejoices in the defection of the whigs, because it gives greater weight to the radicals in the counsels of the liberal party. It intimates that a continuous policy of obstruction by the house of lords may lead to the destruction of the political power of that body.

All of this is significant, and none the less so because it has become so common that it no longer excites surprise. But the remarkable thing about this article is its clear recognition of the fact that the present struggle is one between the people and the landlords. Speaking of Lord Hartington, the writer says:

> The history of the family of the Cavendishes is not great in our national life; they have always had a great affinity to the church, to the land, and great mansions. A family that owns 193,322 acres in fourteen counties and has the patronage of forty-two livings and seven manorial seats, and the chief landlord of two great towns, can hardly be expected to take much interest in the people. It would be acting contrary to human nature were it to do so. He is, in fact, a great trades union leader of landlords, and this is the sole burden of the journal of which he is the patron.

Here is a clear recognition of the fact that the privilege claimed by landlords, as such, is in direct antagonism to the rights and interests of the people. The assertion of the supreme importance of the land question is even more clear and emphatic when the author treats of the effects expected from home rule in Ireland. He says:

> We are trying more or less to deal with the Irish land question; *that is a matter for the Irish people*, and should be dealt with in their own parliament, because *our parliament of landlords* cannot appreciate its crucial importance and legislate upon it. Lord Hartington ought to have seen, as Mr. Gladstone did, that it is *a great agrarian social revolution*, brought about by causes which the nation did not produce, and which, as in other countries, must be faced by the wisest men.

Here is a clear statement of Ireland's rights and of the one great Irish problem. The *Westminster Review* demands that its settlement shall be the first work of the liberal party after its restoration to power. It insists that it is the duty of the radical party "to become more radical than ever," and that "English and Irish democracy must join to the common end." No one can read such expressions in a magazine of such character and standing and fail to see that at last the true solution of the Irish question is at hand, and that it will be so accomplished as to set at rest forever all reasonable fear of disunion, but rather in such fashion that a union will be cemented between the common people of the two islands that will cause the tories to regret that they did not promote the secession of Ireland, and thus prevent the further participation of its representatives in British legislation.

Sic in the original; probably "Morley".

Nor can the rapid advance of opinion on the land question among their English allies fail to exert a powerful influence on the Irish people, in causing them to throw aside the pettifogging and transitory scheme of peasant proprietary in order to establish a system of land tenure in accord with their ancient history and traditions. They need not go from home for teachers and leaders. Bishop Nulty and other Irish ecclesiastics have laid down the only true principle of land tenure, and Michael Davitt has, from time to time, when free from political pressure, urged the only permanent solution of the great problem that the first Irish parliament must grapple with.

The soil of Ireland belongs to the whole people of Ireland. The curse of the country for centuries has been that its soil has been held by a few men empowered to tax others for living on it. Justice to all cannot be done by taking it away from the few who now hold it and giving it to others who will still be a minority of the people, leaving the majority disinherited. Let the new division come, if need be, but maintain the common rights of all by taxing the possessors the rental value of their holdings for the general benefit. If Ireland sets this example the English radicals are

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rapidly becoming prepared to extend the system to their own country.

THE COST OF ELECTIONS.

The *World* undertook last week to make an approximate estimate of the cost of conducting the recent election in this city. It credits the united labor party with receiving some $20,000, $10,000 in contributions and $10,000 from the Anti-poverty fair, which is substantially correct, but says that "adding carriage hire and car fares of Henry George and Dr. McGlynn, which they paid out of their own pockets, the expenses of the campaign and election cost the united labor party at least $31,000." This is a curious calculation. Dr. McGlynn and Henry George did pay their carriage hire and car fares out of their own pockets, but they certainly did not spend $11,000 in this way. Neither did the local candidates spend $29,000 out of their own pockets, thus warranting the *World's* estimate of $60,000 as the total expenditure. The local candidates were generally men who work for a living, and they had no such sum to spend. We doubt if all expenditures, including those of the local candidates, amounted to $30,000 in the city and state.

When it comes to figure up the expenses of the old parties the *World* has precedent to guide it, and its figures are probably more nearly accurate. For instance, it estimates the assessments on judicial and other candidates at $728,000, the official payments by the city at $216,200, and concludes that personal expenditures by candidates would bring the amount nearly to a million. It apparently leaves out of account the enormous contribution that the liquor dealers were forced to make to the democratic campaign fund, and the very large private contributions made to both of the old parties. Had it included these, its estimate of a million dollars as the total cost would seem low. In fact, it is a common opinion that the democrats alone spent very much more than half a million dollars on election day.

Be the sum more or less, such expenditures are not merely disgraceful—they are in the highest degree demoralizing and dangerous. It is impossible that results accomplished in this way can have any moral force. It is impossible that laws made by legislators chosen in this fashion shall command any respect other than that inspired by force in the minds of the miserable wretches whose bought votes have given the law makers their seats. All the anarchists in the world could not, by their united action, do so much to bring law and government into contempt as was done by the corrupt politicians of this city on the 8th of November by their wholesale and shameless bribery of voters.

The *World* need not confine itself to guessing at the cost of the job. It has ample facilities for getting at the facts if it will consent to use them. Some of its contemporaries are so bound up with the idea of re-electing President Cleveland that they are ready to condone anything that contributes to that result. The *World* claims to be a fearless and untrammeled newspaper. Why does it not print the news about that election? Anything like a complete exposure of the sickening villainy of that day's work would force an almost unanimous demand for the passage of a law establishing the Australian system of voting before another election is held.

A CRYING EVIL.

Some six weeks ago or more a certain incorporated society of this city bargained with a long established dealer in coal for the winter's supply. Soon after the coal began to be delivered the janitor had reason to suspect that the carts brought short weight. He at once mentioned his suspicions to one of the trustees and was told to weigh one of the tons by barrel weight as well as he could. He did so and found a shortage of nearly 300 pounds. The further delivery of coal was then postponed, twenty-seven tons, according to the dealer's tickets, having been put in the cellar. A licensed weigher was employed and all the coal in the cellar weighed. The weigher's figures on the completion of his work were twenty-two and three-quarters tons. The difference between the dealer's tickets and tne[sic] weigher's was, therefore, four and one-quarter tons. Call it only four tons and we have a difference of fifteen per cent, equal to a loss of seventy-five cents per ton, reckoning coal at $5.

Thereupon the trustee went to the coal dealer and quietly handed him the weigher's statement. The coal dealer at once thankfully paid the weigher's bill, amounting to $24, and then deducting the difference of weight from the amount stated on his own tickets, humbly receipted for the balance. His only defense was that the weight was all right when the coal left the yard. Comment on such a transaction is unnecessary.

There are few housekeepers who have not had more than a latent consciousness that in this matter of coal they are constantly and grossly cheated in weight. But they are helpless. The re-weighing of coal is a costly operation, is well nigh if not altogether impossible after it is once put in, and with limited quantities is not to be thought of; and so they go on from year to year, grumbling, perhaps changing the dealer, only to find that their cause for grumbling does not seem to cease.

As with nearly every iniquity in trade. the false weight presses most heavily on the poor. Next to food and clothing, coal is a prime necessity. For four or five months of the year the want of it means to many thousands in our city the most heartrending misery. Families in comfortable circumstances may, indeed, grumble at light-weight, but it deprives them of no

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other necessity, cramps them in no enjoyment or luxury. To the poor the robbery of *seventy-five cents or* even more a ton is so much drawn from the common daily capital, often painfully little.

Is there no way by which the community, poor as well as rich, can be protected from such barefaced stealing? The candle is burned at both ends—the coal monopolist in Pennsylvania sets fire to one, the coal dealer in New York to the other. Meanwhile a great outcry is made against the danger of paternal government. "We must not be governed too much. This destroys individual activity and enterprise!" Well! but suppose there are enterprising thieves against whose robberies individuals are powerless, what then? The very thing for which society exists is mutual support and protection, and the great object of all government is to govern well, whether it be much or little. A municipal government exists especially and particularly for the protection of the individual—in the street,

Sic in the original; probably "the".

in the market and in his home. In protecting the individual it should guard alike his pocket and his person. It holds power only on such conditions; on no other has it any reason for existence. It is grossly negligent of its great trust when it permits dealers of any kind with false weights and measures to pile up their ill-gotten gains under the very eyes of its officials. Mayor Hewitt's ear is heavy with complaints. He pricks many sores. Here is one that will stand a good deal of pricking. In such a surgical operation the mayor will have God on his side, equal at any time to both county democracy and Tammany united, and, moreover, he will have the prayers of every honest citizen. Let him hear what the old Hebrew book saith: "A false balance is abomination to the Lord; but a just weight is His delight."

DAVID B. SCOTT.

The proprietor of a famous road house of upper New York, who was buried last week, once said to a clergyman who suggested the questionable character of his calling—that of selling alcoholic liquor—that he would be glad to quit it if there was anything else he could get to do. There is a lesson in this for our prohibition friends. It is usually not a preference for the business that makes liquor sellers, but the opportunities it offers to make a living. It is an easier business to get into than any other, and more certain to be successful. This is so because of the demand for liquor and because manufacturers find it so profitable to set men up in the retail business that they are willing not only to supply stock, but also to provide a location. Consequently, almost any one with a reputation for honesty, however small his capital, can find an opportunity for business in the retail rum trade when he might starve before he could find an opportunity in any other trade. Manufacturers of hats might be as willing as brewers to give him credit for stock, but not so willing to secure his rent. When opportunities for employment are freely open to all, the greatest attraction that the liquor business now holds out will be gone.

The *Tribune*, in advocating the establishment of the Australian system of voting, makes the excellent point that the state now requires that printed ballots with a certain style of type shall be used, and yet it neglects to provide any such ballots. If it were not for private expenditures, we could have no such thing as a legal election. Thus the state fails to provide for the enforcement of one of its own laws.

The difficulties suggested by some papers as likely to be encountered by voting for a long list of officers on a single ticket are not inevitable, nor are they such as occasion difficulty elsewhere. In many states the voter casts but one ballot, which contains all the names of candidates, from a list of presidential electors down to the alderman of a ward or county constable. Neither can we see any objection to having the tickets so printed as to designate the party to which the various candidates belong. That, too, is customary elsewhere, and in some states it is made a misdemeanor to print any names but those of the regular candidate under a party name. If mixed tickets are printed, they must be so headed, and any one wanting to scratch must do it with pen or pencil.

The truth is that little effort will be required on the part of our people to adapt themselves to the new system, and any anticipated difficulties can readily be provided for in a law the framers of which desire shall succeed. The main points to be kept in view are, first, that all ballots shall be furnished by the state, and, being once furnished, that the voter shall be permitted to make his choice in secret and put his ballot in the box before he again communicates with any one outside the polling room. This will put an end to "workers" and their boxes, reduce expenses, stop frauds in bunching and put an end to bribery and intimidation. The man who is low enough to sell his vote is too low to be trusted, and no one will pay such a fellow for his vote if he cannot watch him carry his

ballot to the polls and there see him cast it. There is no difficulty in passing a law to accomplish these objects; that every voter will easily understand.

Last week a man attempted to commit suicide by jumping off the East river bridge. He was not seeking notoriety, but escape from starvation. An investigation proved that his wife and children were in absolute want, and that from lack of work he had been unable to provide for them. Think of it! In a great city, a

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center of civilization, where powers of production are at the highest point of perfection, a man anxious to produce and capable of producing is forbidden to satisfy his wants by exercising his powers until, in desperation, he seeks relief in death. Alms he might have had, but it was not alms he wanted. He asked the right to make a living, not the degrading privilege of begging one. Of that right, conferred upon him by nature in power to work and boundless opportunities for work, he had been divested by an institution that makes natural opportunities for work private property, to be bought and sold and speculated in. Master of one factor of producing wealth, labor, he was made dependent on the self interest of fellow men for the other factor, land; and as helpless as if manacled he stared starvation in the face until death by drowning seemed a boon. His case is one of thousands which escape general attention because they lack the sensational feature in which his culminated; and in the same community are other thousands of men who neither work nor have occasion to work, because they live upon the price of the very opportunities for work of which this man was deprived.

The *World recently* did a work similar to that of the *Sun* in exposing the misery of the Pennsylvania miners; but like the *Sun* it, too, overlooked the fundamental cause of their misery. In charging inhumanity upon employers, it shut its eyes to the simple truth that it is private owner ship[sic] of mines which, by restricting opportunities to work, enables if it does not compel employers to oppress the men who do their work.

The *Sun* is doing well in bringing to public attention the awful condition of the "white slaves" of New York—the sewing women who work early and late for a pittance that cannot possibly afford any approach to a decent living. But in blaming employers for this, the *Sun* does not shine in the right place. Employers must sell cheap or stop selling, and if the cost of production can be reduced at any point, that is the point they must attack or a competitor will attack it and undersell them. The weakest point of attack is notoriously the price of labor, because there is so much labor constantly seeking employment. Consequently, in the fierce struggle for business existence, the price of labor is forced down. The employer's benefit from this is temporary at best. Such benefit as there is is ultimately appropriated by the owners of land. It is not inhuman employers that grind down the sewing women, but unemployed labor, and unemployed labor is due to the artificial scarcity and high prices of land. To blame employers is, to resort to a simile adapted to the plane of the *Sun's* orbit, like attributing a rat slaughter to the terrier rather than to the confinement of the rats.

The Cincinnati *Christian Advocate* notes the case of a man who died of starvation in Cincinnati a few days ago and offers no other comment than that the case "had only to be stated to bring swift relief, and the relief would have been given before if the facts had been communicated to those in charge of our charities." What times are these when starving people, able and willing to work to supply their wants, must appeal for food to a charity or die?

Sic in the original; probably "ownership (line-end hyphen missing)".

The religious press should understand that righteousness is a more important factor in the social problem than charity, and begin to inquire why it is that from the class which makes food comes those who, though able and willing to make either food or things that exchange for food, suffer for want of food; and why it is that people who make neither food nor anything else have no occasion to appeal for charity. There is something unrighteous about a condition in which, in a community with ample opportunities for work, men are forced, for want of work to do, to die or beg.

If it were not for the price of Cincinnati lots, which repels enterprise, there would be such a demand for workers in Cincinnati that charitable institutions would be useless except to the aged and infirm; but so long as some of Cincinnati's citizens are permitted to grab that part of the planet on which Cincinnati stands, others of her citizens will have to die of starvation for lack of work to do, or surrender their manhood by throwing themselves upon public charity.

The *World* has discovered a mare's nest. Wearied of the monopoly of the reports of misery that come up from the tenement districts, it has commissioned a reporter to investigate the pitiable condition of Fifth avenue vacant lot owners. Its philanthropic enterprise has been rewarded with the discovery of many instances of people who are regularly contributing large sums of money to the city treasury without reward or hope of reward, except an approving conscience for good deeds done. There is one Mrs. Hamersley, for example, who has actually paid toward the maintenance of our city government in the past ten years the comfortable sum of $11,201 without any return. She has possession of a trifling area of vacant land on the northwest corner of Fifty-fifth street and Fifth avenue, which she might sell for $110,000, but actuated by that public spirit which characterizes owners of vacant land, she foregoes interest on that large sum, besides paying an average of over $1,000 a year in taxes, just to prevent the building trades from erecting a nuisance in the shape of a dwelling house on the ground. And yet those wicked anti-pov-

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erty people would deal so unkindly and ungratefully with this estimable lady as to put so high a tax on that lot that she would be compelled either to build upon it or let somebody else build upon it.

But Mrs. Hamersley's grievous case is not the only one the *World* has unearthed. There is one Mary G. Pinckney, who serves the community not only by keeping 138 lots in the Twelfth ward out of use, but by actually paying every year a tax of something like a tenth of one per cent on their market value by way of gratuity to the people of the city! Several similar cases are found; but why itemize them? Everyone knows that our impoverished vacant lot owners contribute annually to the cost of government large sums of money, and everyone knows, without being told by the *World*, that these contributions are wholly philanthropic in character, for vacant lots yield no income. But after all would not the people of the city be better off if the vacant lots were thrown open to industry, even if the annual good-will offerings of their present owners were thereby cut off? Would not more work and more house room with a lean public treasury be better than scarcity of work and business stagnation with a fat treasury?

The truth is that owners of vacant lots pay these trifling taxes and forego interest because they expect the growth of the city to so increase the value of their lots that in the end they will make a profit over all. In so securing the

privilege to withhold the lots from use they limit industrial opportunities and impose oppressive burdens on their fellow citizens. If they were required to pay the annual value of the lots, as in honesty they ought to be, and assured of freedom from taxation on any improvements they might make, as also in honesty they ought to be, these lots would not long be vacant and industry would not be so cramped.

In Chicago there is a paper called the *Western Rural*, to which is due the startling discovery that "any one can make land." When called to account by a correspondent, it explains that "in Chicago it is done with garbage and old boots and tin cans and bottles and broken dishes and ashes and street sweepings," forgetting that unless these various components of "land" have a foundation to rest upon, they will fall through. Making land with garbage is like making a lake with water; neither can be done unless nature furnishes a bottom. The bottom is land.

A. G. Sullivan has issued, through McHale, Rohde & Co. of 9 Courtlandt street, New York, a pamphlet of twenty pages bearing the title, "The Primary Elements of the New Political Economy; or, the Henry George System of Taxing Land Values in a Nutshell." Mr. Sullivan makes a succinct statement of the leading principles enunciated in "Progress and Poverty," and presents them with a clearness and brevity that cannot fail to be gratifying to those wish[sic] an answer to the common query, "What is it all about?" without taking time to give any close study to the subject. His pamphlet, we think, will do excellent service in clearing away misapprehension and in leading many to make a more careful study of the whole problem.

"Let there be no barren tables on Thanksgiving day" says the *World*. Multiply that prayer by 365 and give Heaven a chance to grant it, and the Anti-poverty society will no longer worry the unregenerate.

We have received a specimen "credit check" from a miner who asks us not to publish his name. It reads as follows:

"Braceville coal mines. Credit check. No. (here a high serial number is written.) $10.00. Date, Jan. 3, 1887. W. C. Sheppard & Co. The uncancelled amount of this credit is payable on demand in merchandise to (here appears the name of our correspondent.) Not transferable. Signed, W. C. S. & Co. [pointing hand]"Preserve this for reference."

Of these credit checks our correspondent writes that while the miners are only *requested* to buy them, it is a significant fact that a miner who does not buy loses his job. It is by such methods that the slim wages of the miner are depleted through the helplessness to which mine ownership reduces mine workers.

Horace Greeley on the Fourth Commandment.

From Greeley's "Hints Toward Reform."

"But God expressly commands men to labor six days of every seven, and has made obedience to this command a vital condition of healthful and comfortable existence. (Alas, that one man should obey and another enjoy the reward of his obedience!) Here, in a state or county, are 50,000 persons able and willing to labor, with an abundance of arable land to employ them all constantly and reward them generously. But the land mainly belongs

Sic in the original; probably "those who wish (word omitted)".

to a few dozen or hundreds of this population (or, still worse, absentees), who *virtually* say to the 20,000 or 30,000 would-be laborers who own no land, 'You can only be allowed to work here on condition that you will allow us (in the shape of rents, price of land or depressed wages) one-half to three-fourths of the entire product of your toil.' Is not here a heavy tax levied by man upon obedience to the laws of nature and of God? Who does not see that labor is discouraged and idleness immensely increased by this exaction, and the power vested in the few to impose it? Yet the most appalling feature of our present system of landholding is the manifest tendency of its evils to become more and more aggravated and intolerable—nay, the inevitable necessity that they should become so, if the system itself be endured."

The Truth Goes Marching On.

VINCENNES, Ind., Nov. 8.—We have been repulsed, but the great truth goes marching on. Our day of triumph is merely put off. I am not discouraged. I have made two converts to-day that will stick, and now we must open the campaign for '88.

W. W. BAILEY.

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STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

Cities, as things stand to-day, are the battle ground of partisan politics—as they are the hot-beds of fraud.—[Kansas City Journal.

Whether Henry George is right or wrong, he deserves an honest hearing, ahd[sic] the man who would sneer down his arguments only shows up his own weakness of character.—[Mills county, Ia., Journal.

The subject of the government owning and controlling the telegraph system is engaging public attention, as it ought to have done long ago.—[Brackett, Tex., News.

An episode like that of the Haymarket goes a great way toward restriction of the liberties of the people, for it prepares the public mind to accept restrictive legislation that other wise[sic] no lawmakers would dare to suggest. [Pittsburg Labor Tribune.

The fact that there are no tramps where men can get work to do is sufficient evidence of the cause of the tramp nuisance, and the idea that tramping and starving and freezing is a pleasantry is too ridiculous to think of.—[Chicago Labor Enquirer.

We are not stating the case too strongly when we say that in the direction of personal protection of society these two things—the club of the policeman and the spy office of the detective—are the evolutionary results of the civilization of the nineteenth century.—[Kansas City Journal.

A land boom struck Victoria in 1862. It would have been better for the place if a western cyclone had swept over it. The losses would have been less severe, the misery less acute than that which resulted from the feverish speculation of that period.—[Victoria, B. C., Colonist.

Sic in the original; probably "and".
Sic in the original; probably "otherwise (no hyphen at line end; the line ends near the fold, so a hyphen may be lost)".

English lords are turning English, Irish and Scotch tenants from the soil that London may have more paupers, and filling the land with game parks. Thousands of acres have gone this way in Scotland, and it has driven thousands of brawny Scots and happy Irishmen to starvation and perdition. It would seem that the land question is very close to the surface in English politics.—[Brockwayville, Pa., Record.

It would be a blessed thing if we could have elections which would not need any inspectors on the part of any party, and we could if we had a really secret ballot. As it is, the claim is made that the "two great political parties have the thing all in their own hands," and no third party has the least "chance of securing a fair show." If this is so the sooner the legislature provides for what is called the Australian ballot the better.—[Albany Press and Knickerbocker.

Under the land value system of taxation the tax on an average Kansas quarter section farm would be about three dollars a year, while the farmer would escape entirely the $125 per year of tariff and other indirect taxation which he now pays. The very central idea of the George system is to throw taxation on the things which now make millionaires, and take it off of business and industry. Are farmers ignorant and stupid! We doubt it.—[Enterprise, Kansas, Anti-Monopolist.

The principle which is at the foundation of all Mr. George's arguments is unexceptionable. We accept it as unqualifiedly as he does. The principle, stating it in our own terms, is simply this: Social wealth—the wealth created by society as such rather than by direct application of labor and capital—should be made to bear public burdens so far as possible, and should be appropriated for the common good to such extent as the times and customs of the country or community make convenient and suitable.—[Minneapolis Tribune.

There are several very important reforms that should take place in matters of taxation. All money, bonds, mortgages, notes and other forms of indebtedness—in fact, all personal property, should be freed from taxation. It is a fallacious idea to suppose that this would in the end make the burden any heavier upon the real estate owner. It would merely equalize the burden, the mortgaged real estate paying a double burden. To free money from taxation would result in making it cheaper to all classes of people.—[Greenpoint, L. I., Star.

The farmers of America are not ignorant, but, as a class, intelligent and well read; and always ready to improve their condition. I had the pleasure of speaking to one of this class who owns over four thousand acres of land not very far from Kansas City, and he complained of the unjust taxation that is imposed upon him. Not for his land values, but for his improvements. The more he improves his land and buildings, the more he is taxed, and, using his own words, "If I only add another shed, I am taxed for it."—[Correspondence Kansas City Journal.

The single tax on land values would not give rise to an enormous army of tax gatherers, but the reverse. With only one tax to be collected, that on land values, we should largely reduce the number of these generally unwelcome visitors. In most towns we have a town collector and a school collector, and in villages a third or corporation collector is added to the list, as well as a corresponding quota of assessors. All these would be wiped out, save a single set. We should have no custom houses with their myriads of office holders, all fattening on the public and producing nothing.—[Middletown, N. Y., Advance.

But the Question You Will Not Stop to Discuss is the Very Thing that Lies at the Root of the Whole Matter.

Exchange.

Pennsylvania is not behind any other state in providing for the wants of the laboring classes in so far as it is possible to meet those wants through legislative enactment. A list of the mere titles of the laws intended to protect the interests, guard the rights, and secure the personal safety of those who toil would fill several columns of space, while the details would make a large-sized volume.

During the last session of the legislature nearly a dozen different laws were added to the already long list of the class referred to. Among these are the following: To prohibit the employment of any child under the age of twelve years, by any person or firm. to work in any mill, manufactory or mine, or any work pertaining thereto; to require any partnership or corporation, requiring from persons in their employ, under penalty of forfeiture of a part of wages due, a notice of intention to leave such employ, to give notice of intention to discharge, under penalty of a sum equal to the amount of said forfeiture, except for incapacity or misconduct; to limit the hours of labor of conductors, drivers and employes of cable or horse car companies to twelve hours a day; to require wages to be paid semi-monthly, in money; to secure laborers within the commonwealth the benefit of the exemption laws, and to prevent assignment of claims for the purposes of securing their collection against non-resident laborers; giving mechanics and laborers a lien for labor done on buildings where the claim is not less than $10, and to encourage and authorize the formation of co-operative associations.

Whether these several acts will meet the purposes intended, or only add so many more pages to the statute book, we shall not stop to discuss. The fact ought to be apparent to all who labor that any reasonable demand they choose to make upon the state legislature is sure to be granted.

A Good Description of the Species.

Toronto Labor Reformer.

The London *Advertiser* is engaged in a herculean and pretty successful effort to prove that it doesn't understand Henry George's land theories. Most people when in ignorance of a subject prefer to study it before writing about it. Not so the *Advertiser*. Our contemporary writes away as contentedly as can be; attacking, refuting and ridiculing, not George's theories, but some wildly absurd conceits of its own. The Chatham *Banner* is trying to hammer sense into the head of its London contemporary, and to point out the difference between the doctrine of land nationalization and the *Advertiser's* crude conception of it. We are afraid our Chatham contemporary has undertaken a task beyond its powers. Life is too short and the space at the disposal of an ordinary newspaper too valuable to waste in attempting to enlighten such self-satisfied ignorance as that displayed by our Forest City contemporary.

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STATE OWNERSHIP OF RAILWAYS.

Steady Progress Toward Government Control on the Continent of Europe—The Beneficial Effects in Belgium.

The inter-state law is destined to advance the principle of the acquisition of railways by government more than volumes of print and years of discussion. The workings of the law have already produced a demand that the government should purchase all car[sic] railways. There is every indication that we have entered upon an industrial struggle in this country in which we shall need to use all our advantages if we mean to hold our own. Is it not therefore high time that we should take stock of our position? The worst course which can be followed in the interests of all parties is that of drifting. Delay is dangerous to the shareholders and prejudicial to the whole community. But before state purchase can either be accepted or neglected, fuller information than is ordinarily possessed by the public is wanted.

Government activity in the acquisition of railways has very much advanced in recent years on the continent of Europe, and it is well for our people to know it.

In 1875 there were on the continent 69,246 miles of railway, of which 14,268 miles, or about 20 per cent, belonged to government. Seven years later the mileage had risen to 88,782, of which 32,563 miles, or about thirty-six per cent. were in the hands of government.

Further acquisitions since 1882 have placed about fifty per cent of the continental lines under the management of the state. In Germany the transfer of the entire railway system to the government is nearly complete, and in Belgium it is only a question of time.

This statement, however, does not explain the full extent to which foreign governments have provided facilities for transport or the grasp they have upon the railways. Private companies have everywhere been assisted by government guarantees and subvention. The great engineering works under the Alps, the vast lines which connect the Black sea and the Baltic, and open up the far east to commerce, have been constructed with government aid. In every country except our own the revision[sic] has been secured by the state, and the people will succeed to a valuable inheritance by effluxion of time. Their position becomes more favorable every day in case it is found desirable to take the railways under their own administration. The more money the companies spend the better in the long run will it be for the people. Here our position is exactly the reverse. The larger the capital charge piled up by the companies, the more will the people be taxed in the form of rates to meet the swollen interest thereon.

Among the states which own and manage its own railways, Belgium has had the longest experience, and has obtained the best results, and we are able thus to form an opinion how they affect industry over a series of years under fluctuations of commerce. As joint stock railways have also been in operation there for many years, and

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Sic in the original; probably “our”.
Sic in the original; probably “reversion”.

have been allowed much freedom by the state, we are also able to determine which system is suitable to a nation of traders—a mixed manufacturing and agricultural country—as Belgium confessedly is.

The experiment has another value. It has been carried out gradually, tested thoroughly and adapted by degrees to the demands of industry. Both systems have had a fair trial. The state has not forced the hands of the companies, or set up an arbitrary standard of management, or driven them out of the field by excessive competition. If eventually the government obtain entire control of the system—as it seems certain it will do—it will be because the community is convinced that state management is more advantageous in the long run.

The balance of ownership between the state and the companies has varied from time to time. In 1850 the state possessed 388 miles of line, against 166 miles belonging to the companies. In 1865 the proportion was reversed, the companies having 950 miles, against 469 miles belonging to the government. In 1884 another change had occurred. The state owned 1,931 miles, compared with 780 miles belonging to the companies. The conclusion is irresistible that, notwithstanding the advantages conceded to industry, the state railways must have been a fair financial success, as otherwise the companies would not have been able to compete for half a century against an antagonist which had the state purse to pull upon.

In 1864 the government first used its power to do exactly what our merchants and the railway companies do without success—they leveled the rates down all along the line. The minister stated that the results surpassed all expectation. The increase of traffic in half a year was equivalent to the average increase for three years. The increase of tonnage in the eighth year of the experiment was 106.32 per cent. This addition was practically on the same mileage, the government having acquired only fifty miles extra line.

The minister thus sums up the general result of eight years' working: (1) The charges on goods have been lowered on an average by twenty-eight per cent. (2) The public have dispatched 2,706,600 tons more, while they have economized more than $4,000,000 on the cost of carriage. (3) The public treasury has realized $1,156,200 more, after having paid the cost of working and interest of capital.

The prosperity of which this experiment was the foundation is exhibited in the development of succeeding periods. In the next seven years (1864 to 1871) the goods traffic rose from 5,251,000 tons to 11,294,690 tons—that is to say, it more than doubled. In the following twelve years, down to [1883?], it reached 22,033,347 tons—that is to say, it doubled again.

The reduction in rates was so successful that the public opinion demanded the extension of the principle of passenger fares. The legislature therefore delegated to the executive the power to make limited concessions. No alterations were made for short distances—that is, up to twenty-two miles. Provisional decreases were made in the intermediate stage, between twenty-two and forty-nine miles, and large and definite reductions were made for longer distances. In the last stage the first class fare was reduced from 1.24d to 0.46d per mile, or on a distance of 155 miles from from[sic] 16s. to 6s.—that is, from $3.84 to $1.44. The second class was reduced in like proportion.

In the year after the reduction in Belgium the increase of passengers in the zone where no change was made was 2 per cent, the increase where the provisional reduction was made was 20 per cent, and where the larger and definite reduction was made it was 92 per cent. Subsequent alterations had the effect of reducing the average fares, of increasing the number of passengers and increasing the profits. The passengers on the state railways rose from 43,032,882 in 1880 to 50,465,943 in 1884.

Sic in the original; probably "from".

The advocates of state railways are entitled also to take credit for the fact that, side by side with state administration and the successive reduction of fares as well as rates, the country has developed a degree of material prosperity unequaled by any other nation of similar area, population and resources in the world.

In the face of these facts, we are confident

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that, when the best application of national means to national ends is clearly apprehended by the masses, railways will be regarded as the beasts of burden of the nation, and they will no more think of using them for direct profits than the head of a family now thinks of debiting each member with the hire of his conveyance every time it is used.

Our strength in America is as yet unimpaired; our superiority in productive power is unquestioned and unequaled, but it is not on that account wise or prudent that we should neglect to look ahead and gather what useful lessons we may from the experiennce[sic] of other nations.

ALFRED L. ROYCE, U. S. N.

They Will Misrepresent Anyhow, as Long as They Can.

NEW YORK.—I have been many years heartily in favor of the principle you advocate, holding it the first measure needed to rescue the people from the grasp of sharper plunderers; and I shall do all in my power to sustain the party that works for this. I believe that misunderstanding of the matter by the masses is the chief obstacle in the way of its rapid success. I want to suggest what seems to me an inperfection[sic] in your naming of the idea, and which leaves the monopolist's papers power to misrepresent and keep up the mistaken view that they have given the farmers. The principle you advocate is really the taxing of land-location values—the values which our industrial system gives to places in or near our business centers; this to be taken by the public, which creates that value, and used for the public benefit. Very poor land is of great value in such places, while farms of the best land, which cannot become city or town lots and are not accessible as city or village surburban[54] residence, nor near the markets, railroads or other conveyances to market, will rarely sell for what improvements costs—what would make of wild lands such a farm—or rent for more than a small per cent on the price of improvement. I know of many such farms within fifty miles of New York city. I believe that three-fourths, if not nine-tenths, of the farms of our country, if the improvements were exempt, would have no tax, or far less than the land and improvements now have. This should be kept constantly before the farmers, and though your explanations show all this to those who carefully study them, yet too few do this, and it seems to me that if you constantly used the term "land-location values" it would forestall the misrepresentations with which capitalistic papers deceive farmers.

CALEB S. WEEKS.

They'll "Fight It Out on that Line."

LOS ANGELES, Cal., Nov. 8.—Acting on the the[sic] suggestion of Dr. McGlynn in a late issue of THE STANDARD, that associate anti-poverty societies be formed wherever possible, the following sympathizers in this place, R. W.

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

Ready, Major Isaac Kinley, M. Street, Mr. Brown, master workman of K. of L. local; Rev. Ely Fay, Rev. Mr. Cantine, Rev. Dr. Cox, Mr. Baily, myself and others, have been working for two weeks past to organize a society. We have interested many other ladies and gentlemen, have secured the promise of a large meeting hall, and of a number of voices for a choir. The executive committee of the party here is organizing for an active fight during the coming year on the lines laid down in the Syracuse platform.

Three weeks ago I asked the booksellers here who sell THE STANDARD to get twenty copies more than they were getting, guaranteeing sale for them. I paid for what was unsold, and distributed them in the labor organizations; and the next week asked each of the three newsdealers to add twenty more copies, guaranteeing sale for them, as before, and last week, seeing an increasing demand for THE STANDARD, I asked these newsdealers to get 100 copies each on my account. Two of them say they have ordered 100 STANDARDS each more than they had been getting, with one dozen display cards.

W. H. DODGE.

Addressed to Men who Shrink from Discussion.

"The Right of Free Speech." Section 3 of Herbert Spencer's "Social Statics."

For there are invariably some—and not a small number, either—who regard the discussion of every question that comes uppermost with dread, and predict all kinds of disasters from its continuance.

Old women of both sexes working themselves into a state of great tribulation over the terrible vaticinations of a *Standard* or the melancholy wailings of a *Herald* would fain have put down the free trade propaganda; and if their "sense of security" had been duly consulted, they should have had their way. Religious disabilities, too, ought, for the same reason, to have been still maintained, for the proposal to repeal them was productive of extreme consternation to multitudes of weak-minded people. . . .

Well, here was a woful loss of the "sense of security," and therefore the authorities ought to have stopped the movement for Catholic emancipation by gagging all its advocates, fettering its press, and preventing its meetings.

An Honest Adversary Convinced.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—I am a German by birth, and a member of the Methodist Episcopal church. We have here what we call a Young people's society, the object of which is literary and musical advancement. The pastor of our church is our president, and he shares your views on the land taxation question. Recently he asked one of the young men to give us your views on the land question, which the young man did. I did not then share your views, and, therefore, asked the chairman if it would not be a good plan to have some one state to us why your ideas would not work to-day; whereupon I was told to prepare for and answer that question. For three weeks I read your book in my spare moments, and wrote page after page, which, I at first thought, knocked your views in the shade. But when I read on and on, it gradually dawned upon my mind that I was wrong and you were right. Instead of ridiculing your ideas, as I intended to do, I upheld them, to the great surprise of everybody. I am putting in a word for this great cause wherever I can.

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

W. LICHTWADT.

What Her Bible Tells a Young Girl.

NEW YORK, Nov. 15.—I have heard the pro-poverty people say a great many times that to attempt to abolish poverty would be wicked and contrary to the will of Providence. Christ's words are quoted: "The poor ye have always with you, even unto the end of the earth." It was a great pleasure to me when, the other day, I came upon a Bible verse, which I think is a good argument on our side of the question, and I should like all anti-poverty people to know it, so I decided to write and ask you to publish it in THE STANDARD. Psalms, chapter ix, verse 18: "The needy shall not always be forgotten; the expectation of the poor shall not perish forever." Any one having a reference Bible will find several more to the same effect.

H. G. B

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IN WESTCHESTER COUNTY.

How the Cause Takes Hold of the People—The Men Pushing the Movement.

PEEKSKILL, Nov. 19.—During the last five days I have been traveling through Westchester county doing missionary work and learning the condition of organization. In all the places I visited the land and labor clubs were active; meetings have been held since election day, the machinery of the organizations has been strengthened, and fresh plans for the propagation of the faith have been adopted. Our men hereabouts are up and doing, and talk of the future with enthusiasm.

At Yonkers, which was the first point visited, there is a club of over forty members. A meeting was held a few days after election and four new names were added to the roll. It was decided that the work of education should not be confined to Yonkers, but that measures be taken to scour the country around and supply the farmers with tracts.

Alexander Sutherland, who represented the county in the state committee, and who was very active in organizing during the recent campaign, was in the best humor possible. He contended that although Westchester county had polled only 1,601 votes for the state ticket, Yonkers giving [548?], such were the powerful influences arrayed against the new party that none but men strong of purpose and thoroughly imbued with the principle of the single tax dared stand up and vote our ticket. Every one of these 1,601 men, he believed, could be relied on for missionary labors, not to mention the work which would certainly be done by men who had embraced the faith, but who, for fear of losing their situations, or of being ostracized, or from unwillingness to "throw away their votes," had failed to show the courage of their convictions. So far from being downcast at the apparently small vote, he said that all rejoiced that in the face of such odds so many men should have been found willing to sever their allegiance to the old parties and accept the doctrines of the new one.

Alexander Sutherland's three brothers and his father, Joseph Sutherland, are all hard workers in the cause. The father, a mason and building contractor, who has reared his sons to the same calling, has long been in the harness of reform movements, and has made not a few converts to the theory of the single tax.

Matthew K. Couzens, candidate on the united labor ticket for state engineer and surveyor, is a quiet but effective worker, as is also Dr. W. N. Southworth, a son of Mrs. Southworth, the well known novelist; and Augustus P. Stone has played no unimportant parts in advancing the cause.

The perception of the great truths on which the new crusade is founded rouses men ordinarily unobtrusive and forces them into the thick of the fight. It is told of Thomas Nichols, a member of the Yonkers land and labor club, who is a man of retiring nature, that during the recent campaign he found himself one Sunday morning, while off on an organizing expedition, in the town of Greenburg, and seeing a church door open and hearing the music, he slipped in and took a seat. At the conclusion of the service he took his place at the door and handed tracts to the members of the congregation as they passed out. The pastor came along last with his wife on his arm, and he got a tract, too, and took it with good grace. Many clergymen, I have been informed, are manifesting much interest in the principles of the anti-poverty movement, and a Catholic priest was named who is a regular reader of THE STANDARD, and who has announced his sanction of the cause and his hearty sympathy with Dr. McGlynn. However, there are yet some few clerics who are profoundly ignorant of what all this activity is about, and who take every opportunity to parade their ignorance.

Spencer Sutherland, who owns the home in which he lives in Yonkers, presents a striking instance of the injustice of the present system of taxation. His plot of ground, measuring twenty-five feet by one hundred, is valued at $1,000 and his house at $2,000. Within a few feet of his lot is a large piece of unimproved land just as good as his. Three lots, twenty-five by one hundred, cut out off this piece would sell for as much as his house and lot together, namely, $3,000; but whereas he pays on his $3,000 taxes amounting to $42.50, his neighbor pays in taxes upon the $3,000 in the value of the vacant lots on $7.50[sic], a discrimination of 466⅔ per cent against Mr. Sutherland, who had worked hard, economized and improved his land, and in favor of the owner of the unimproved land, which lies in a bare and neglected condition. This is an instance of how land speculation is fostered. Valuable land as this is it is assessed as farming land, but the moment a brick or piece of timber is laid upon it up goes the assessment and the land is appraised as urban land–"improved" land. All through and about Yonkers are to be seen vacant lots and tracts of bare land well adapted for residential or manufacturing purposes; but such are the excessive prices asked that few save the rich can afford to buy. Land in that city has become a luxury, and the surprising and dismaying spectacle of several families to an ordinary three-story house is not infrequently met with. Yonkers is just thirty minutes' ride by an express train from the Grand Central station. It is beautifully situated on hills on the east bank of the broad Hudson. Business men may live in Yonkers and get down to the postoffice or the Battery in New York city in the morning almost as easily and speedily as if they resided in Harlem. This makes Yonkers a very desirable place to live in, and of late years there has been a boom in land speculation in and about the place. Farmers have grown rich by dividing their land into building lots and selling them to wealthy New Yorkers, who have built beautiful villas along the river bank for a distance of perhaps a mile and a half. One old farmer counts his gain in this way at a quarter of a million dollars. The projection of the New York City and Northern railroad from the metropolis through Yonkers, and the rapid extension of the elevated railroad from New York, have given a fresh incentive to land speculation in the anticipation of added transportation facilities. This speculation is particularly noticeable in the southern part of the township, where small building lots in the locality known as Ludlow range in cost from $1,000 to $6,000 each, notwithstanding the fact that at present there are only a few buildings in the place. The choicer sites reach all sorts of fancy figures. I was told, for instance, of how the celebrated Steinway piano firm had vainly endeavored to obtain a small strip on the water front, including a pier, for less than $55,000. They had to abandon negotiations, and build elsewhere, thus losing to the village of Yonkers the business and prosperity which a great manufacturing concern like that would undoubtedly have given.

In Tarrytown I found a little band of determined land and labor men headed by John Cahill, James Murphy and Mr. Mullin. Several meetings have been held since election day at which encouraging reports were rendered. These men are in earnest. They intend to make an offensive campaign by running candidates in the local election next March in order

Sic in the original; probably "lots only $7.50".

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to arouse a public discussion of their principles.

The Sing Sing club is in good shape. James Mahon is president and is full of enthusiasm. Michael Hyams, candidate for school commissioner in the late contest, is a conspicuous member and is well known in the village. He came to this country five years ago without a dollar, and, as he explains, being fortunate enough to strike an opening, which nowadays seems to be growing more and more difficult, he worked his way up until he now has a substantial grocery business, a tobacco store and a modest bank account. He believes his prosperity not due solely to his own merit, but largely the result of fortunate circumstances, and he has entered the ranks of the crusaders to endeavor to increase the opportunities of other men. He made his first public speech on the Sunday prior to election day, at Verplanck's point, situated a few miles north of Sing Sing, on the Hudson. A large number of brick burners there have been out on strike for a year past, but until Mr. Hyams went among them they had heard little or nothing of the anti-poverty doctrine. Mr. Hyams made a speech of an hour's duration, after which he distributed tracts. The result was that ninety-seven votes were cast for our state ticket, as against one hundred and three for the democracy and sixty-nine for the republicans. F. J. McGuire has since written to Mr. Hyams that a much heavier vote would have been cast at Verplanck's point had there been more time to think about the doctrines which the majority had on that occasion heard stated for the first time.

O. J. McCabe, a young man who did considerable organizing work in the county during the campaign; John G. Mccouch[sic], nominee for assembly; John E. Egan and Lawrence Davis and a number of other men are steadily engaged in "spreading the light" and making converts in Tarrytown.

A few miles north of Sing Sing is Croton, a rather small place, chiefly concerned in brick burning. Several large estates have brick making establishments, which combined can turn out more than 200,000 bricks a day. Lately a new concern, the Croton company, has discovered an economy of transportation in digging the clay from the river bottom when the water is shallow. Thus is the privilege of private property extended to the very bottom of the river.

A year ago William H. Daly moved from New York into Croton. He was the only man in the town who knew anything about the theory of putting all taxes on land values, and he began at once to teach it to others. He soon gathered a few earnest men around him, and though they have not succeeded in drawing out many votes for the united labor party, they remain undaunted and are working as zealously as ever. Sanford Dent, Chester A. Weller, A. Herzig, Abe Anderson, Brooklow Anderson, Michael Walsh, Abe Anderson, jr., John Anderson, John Ryan, James Lynch and Mr. Manchester are all fast enlisted in the anti-poverty crusade. Mr. Daly reports that though a New York resident for many years, he never saw such flagrant violation of the election laws as he witnessed in Croton on the 8th inst. Money was openly passed in the polling place after the ballots had been deposited, and men were marched from the brick yards to the polls like so many prisoners, voting a bunch of tickets which had been put in their hands, while the foreman stood on watch at the door.

Similar reports of shameless corruption at the polls I heard on arriving at Peekskill yesterday afternoon. Money influenced the deciding ballots in the contest, and men who might otherwise have remained in the ranks of the old parties turned away in disgust at the violation of the rights and duties of the franchise. The adoption of the Australian system of voting is advocated by the members of the land and labor club with increased fervor, and the measure is finding stalwart adherents among well intentioned men, irrespective of party affiliations. And the other reforms which this club has at heart have come into wider and more general discussion in the press, and in stores, workshops, meeting places and homes since election day, when 262 Peekskill men recorded their votes for

Sic in the original; probably "McCouch".

those doctrines. There are now many Nicodemuses in the place who in their heart of hearts have taken up the cross of the new crusade and are spreading the knowledge of the gospel in a quiet way.

John Butterly is chairman of the Peekskill land and labor club and his son, William, is treasurer. Henry Lounsbury is secretary and George W. Conklin and B. Frank Sylvester are active members of the executive committee. The club is more defiant and aggressive than ever, and intends to put a straight ticket in the field in the spring local election in order to bring its principles into fuller discussion. No opportunity to plant seed is ever permitted to pass unimproved. Mr. Sylvester keeps an assortment of tracts in his little shoe shop close to his hand, and John Butterly points out "the cat" to anybody who comes for a load of door frames or window sashes to the planing mill where he is employed.

Peekskill, like nearly every other town, furnishes plentiful illustrations of the way in which the present method of taxation encourages land speculation. For instance, an acre of land situated in the very heart of the village is appraised and assessed as farming land, save a small portion consisting of three lots, which have been measured off, and upon which buildings have been or are being erected. Upon the land comprising these three lots, irrespective of the tax upon the improvements themselves, the burden of taxation is greatly increased. Mr. Chauncey M. Depew, I am informed, holds a similar but much larger piece of unused land in the southern part of the village, and though it is notoriously very valuable, and would sell, as building lots, for a small fortune, it bears the light assessment of "unimproved farming land." This unjust discrimination between improved and unimproved land, though side by side and presenting the same natural advantages, is readily perceived, and it is only a step further to see how, if all taxes were shifted from improvements to the value of land, Mr. Depew would find less inducement to keep his land vacant, and would either put it to use, thus giving employment to labor and capital, or would throw it into the market, to be taken by somebody who would use it. And thus it would be with all land now held for speculation, and the result would be that rents would depreciate as this land was forced into use, and wages would rise as increasing opportunities for labor lessened competition for employment.

Cases of this kind are everywhere prevalent, and are being pointed to with telling effect.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

A Christian Without Knowing It.

ATCHISON, Kan.—The result of the campaign in New York is to me very encouraging. Seventy-three thousand votes cast in a single state in support of a great principle is, it seems to me, a grand showing and an assurance of ultimate success.

I shall commence aggressive movements at once, and expect to see a well organized united labor club in Atchison at an early day.

My heart is in this movement. Though not a Christian, I can still see in this crusade a grand reform movement along the line of liberty and justice toward a grander, purer and more intelligent humanity than the world has heretofore dreamed of.

C. H. ALLEN.

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THE SPINGLER FARM.

The Splendid Incomes Derived by a Family that Has Done Nothing for the City's Prosperity.

The New York *World* recently printed a gossipy article about three old houses still occupied by eccentric old people in this city, and situated in the midst of business buildings. The fact that these people, because of their neglect to put the ground they occupy to the best use, and that they are because of this permitted to escape the measure of taxation falling on their more enterprising neighbors, has probably never occurred to the *World*. It is, nevertheless, a situation that would not be likely to exist if all taxes were laid on land values.

In the course of its article the *World* gives an interesting description of the Spingler estate that even more directly bears on the land question. After describing the double brown stone mansion at No. 23 West Fourteenth street, occupied by Mrs. Vanbeuren, it says that the old lady is the oldest living representative of the great Spingler estate, which it thus describes:

"The Spingler estate is the remains of what once was the Spingler farm, whose acres spread westward from what is now Union square. As the city grew to the northward the land, of course, became more valuable, and taxes and assessments upon it became frequent. To meet these disbursements lots were occasionally sold out of the farm land, and the integrity of the farm as it first stood has been therefore impaired to a certain extent; but the Spingler estate now covers practically the four blocks bounded by Thirteenth and Fifteenth streets, Sixth avenue on the west, and University place and Union square on the east. It comprises such houses as Tiffany's, Brentano's, the Manhattan Club, and two or three of the large dry goods houses on the west side of Fourteenth street. It does not include Macy's establishment nor the property immediately opposite, and on the north side of Fourteenth street it does not extend further west than the Presbyterian church. All this property is leasehold property—that is to say, the Spingler estate have no present interest in the buildings which are erected on the land. They have simply leased the land itself to people intending to build on leases running twenty-one years, with the understanding that if the lease is not renewed the building shall be bought in by the estate on a proper appraisement of its value. It is noted by all real estate agents as a fact worthy to be noted that in no case has advantage ever been taken of the people who put up buildings or made other improvements on the land. In the case of one large $100,000 building on West Fourteenth street, it was built about three years before the termination of the lease. How large the Vanbeuren family income from these land rentals is can[sic] be approximately estimated. As already mentioned, the more valuable fronts on Fourteenth street, Fifth avenue and Union square are rated at $3,000 to $5,000 a lot, and on Thirteenth street $1,000 a lot would be about the figure. At this rate it is obvious that the income of Mrs. Vanbeuren and her immediate family runs up into the hundreds of thousands of dollars, and must necessarily be increasing all the time. The estate is regarded among real estate men as one of the finest and most desirable in the city because of the fact that the land lies all together and is not distributed in a dozen different directions."

There is a story that the original owner of the Spingler estate mysteriously disappeared and that Spingler, his gardener, came into possession of it merely as its custodian. The owner never appeared and the old gardener passed on the custody to his heirs, who have become its legal possessors through mere continuance of tenure. Be this as it may, it is clear, even from the *World's* narrative, that they have done nothing but hold on to it and have contributed nothing whatever toward that wonderful growth that made Union square for years the very heart of New York until the continuous movement of population and business northward made Madison square the new center of the city. But though they have contributed nothing to this movement, the heirs of the Spingler farm have profited by it enormously. Under a just system of taxing land values this annual increase would have gone into the

Sic in the original; probably "rentals is (or: rentals can)".

public treasury instead of into the pocket of this estimable old lady, who persists in occupying space for a mansion in one of the most crowded thoroughfares of our city.

The facts as stated by the *World* also answer a question frequently raised by those who object to the single land tax theory, and that is: Who would erect costly buildings on such a tenure? Here it is stated that within four years of the expiration of a lease on this Spingler property a tenant erected a $100,000 building on it, trusting to the traditional fairness of the owners of the estate in dealing with their tenants. Is this a tenure to be compared in permanency with a freehold subject to a tax equal to the rental value of the property to be levied by public officers elected by the people, who would have a personal interest in keeping taxes from going so high that property would be forced out of use?

The little sketch in the *World* is an object lesson in the single tax theory. What would have happened had a just system of taxation prevailed in this city from the beginning? Simply this: The people who occupy the property between Union square and Sixth avenue would have paid their ground rents into the city treasury instead of into the pockets of the Spingler heirs. This would not have been so pleasant for these heirs, but it would have been vastly better for the people of New York.

ANTI-POVERTY OUT OF TOWN.

Following are extracts from letters received during the week at the Anti-poverty society's office, 30 Cooper union, and at THE STANDARD office:

WILL WORK ALL THE HARDER.

BROOKLYN.—I have no doubt we shall ultimately succeed. I know the seed has been well sown, and that in due time the harvest shall come. Feeling confident of our ultimate success, I am not much cast down by the result of the election. Inclosed find my semi-monthly subscription.

FELLOW CHRISTIANS ARRAYED AGAINST A COMMON ENEMY.

CINCINNATI, O.—A lady to whom I read your letter made me explain our whole movement to her, and I know she will be a reliable co-operator in future. Our pastor, I expect, will oppose us, but if he says anything in the pulpit against us, I'll challenge him to a debate on the matter. You ought to hear me lecture to my Bible class on "Consider the lilies of the field" or "Lay not up for yourselves treasures on earth," or strengthening their faith by "According to your faith be it unto you," or showing that mammon is persecuting true Christians as much to-day as was done by the rack or flames in the early days of persecution, and introducing the name of Dr. McGlynn (God bless him!) on cross bearing. I presume by your name (referring to the secretary of the Anti-poverty society) that you are a Catholic, and it is a constant

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source of joy to me that I can now look on Catholics, not with suspicion and dread, as formerly, but as fellow Christians fighting a common enemy for the glory of God and the love of man. Before coming into this movement I learned broad things[sic] and good concerning Catholicism, but now I can triumphantly point to Dr. McGlynn as the greatest preacher of the purest gospel that I have ever heard or read.

R. W. HARRISON.

Sic in the original; probably "bad things".

THREE-FOURTHS OF HIS NEIGHBORS CONVERTED.

WACO, Tex[sic]—I certainly shall distribute the tracts where they will do most good. I keep a supply on hand always. We have held Henry George meetings here and there was enthusiastic interest in the work. Three-fourths of my neighbors are now all right. made[61] an address in Waco to the Workingmen's aid society. It was well received. Please send me necessary papers and instructions and we will organize an anti-poverty society.

I. L. CALDWELL.

HELPING THEM TO SEE.

HIGHBRIDGE, N. Y.—Your tracts received. God helping me I will do my best to help others to see what I see. Hoping to see more,

J. H DRUMMOND[sic].

THEY WILL WORK RIGHT ALONG.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 12.—When we think of the impending financial crisis we feel like rejoicing that we were not immediately successful, for then, as was said in THE STANDARD, we would have been pointed at as the cause. And the only victory any intelligent man can see in it is a victory for corruption, and how dare respectable people rejoice in such a victory? We have begun a systematic ward organization of the city preparatory to the campaign of 1888, and propose to work right straight along with might and main through to the end. We propose at once to send a speaker or two throughout the state to arouse the people and organize clubs. We want to be much more aggressive than we have been in the past and will be only too glad to get a few hints now and then from our veteran fellow soldiers of the cross of the new crusade in New York.

JOHN F. HALBACH,
Treasurer Philadelphia A. P. S.

A GREAT MEETING IN ST. LOUIS.

Euterpe hall in St. Louis was packed on the occasion of Judge Maguire's visit, Sunday evening, Nov. 13. The judge's address was received with great applause, and is spoken of by the St. Louis press as an eloquent one. He said that from an analysis of the vote of Nov. 8 he believed that 35,000 adherents had been gained since the election of last year to the grand principles of the new party. The vote for Mr. George in the mayoralty contest was a protest not based upon a well defined cause, and standing for no clear cut conviction or well established principle. This fall the situation was changed. A new party had been born; a principle had been set forth, and those who were not for that principle were arrayed against it. He regarded it as encouraging to know that the new movement was represented by nearly 40,000 in New York city and 35,000 elsewhere in the state. He remembered ten years ago when George could only summon three men who had examined his theories and accepted them.

At the conclusion of Judge Maguire's address, H. Martin Williams made a speech that well reflected the hopeful and determined attitude of the audience.

THE NINTH REGULAR MEETING IN BOSTON.

BOSTON, Nov. 21.—The Boston Anti-poverty society held its ninth regular weekly public meeting at Horticultural hall last evening. The president, Mr. J. R. Roche, occupied the chair, and addresses were made by Mr. Andrew

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Sic in the original; probably "WACO, Tex.—".
Sic in the original; probably "right. I made".

Garbutt, president of land and labor club No. 2 of Boston and Mr. Samuel Brazin of Birmingham, Eng. There was a fair attendance. A collection of $17.80 was taken up. After the regular addresses a sort of "experience" meeting was held, at which an able expounder of the doctrine of the land for the people was discovered in the person of Professor Hamlin Garland of Boston. Professor Garland will address the tenth meeting, to be held at the same hall next Sunday evening.

"The Standard" in the National Park.

G. L. Henderson, writing under the date of Oct. 30, from Yellowstone park, says that THE STANDARD is finding appreciative readers in the heart of the Rocky mountains. William C. Douglass, a subscriber, has passed his copy around until it is read by twenty people beside himself. Mr. Henderson says: "Dr. McGlynn has now become the ideal American priest, and his sermons are read around the camp fires of soldiers, miners and hunters. The proposition to abolish poverty from the earth at first seems so startling that a vague fear arises that there is a tinge of insanity in the minds of those who indulge the hope. Dr. John P. Newman, while on his way through wonderland, was interrogated concerning the new crusade. He conceded that Dr. McGlynn had an excellent record. He had been loyal to the government when its enemies sought to destroy the Union; he had been loyal to humanity in favoring the abolition of slavery, and he had been loyal to universal education in his defense of the common schools. Dr. McGlynn had done well, and he deserved the good will and gratitude of all good men, but in attempting to abolish poverty he was seeking an impossible utopia. Dr. Newman was asked if he had any faith in the possibility of realizing that portion of the Lord's prayer, asking that God's will shall be done on earth as it is in Heaven. He declared that this would be accomplished, but not in the way that man anticipated."

A Clergyman who Nails His Colors to the Mast.

FREDONIA, Kas.—I wish to express my delight at the spirit in which the united labor party accept their first reverse.

The great parties say they have slain and buried our principle once and forever; but we know that no great truth can be thus destroyed. Let us continue to study and to spread our doctrines. If they are false, we want to find it out; if true, then they will advance and overcome all opposition, for truth is omnipotent.

My plan for the future is to induce people to give the subject study and thought. To this end I shall spread anti-poverty literature and discuss the question in private and public. I do not think that any line of thought has ever aided me more than this. How many difficulties it takes away from the mind of the Christian, and what an inspiration it is to his hopes! Yours truly,

(Rev.) T. SHERK.

What's Preached in New South Wales.

Lithgow, New South Wales, Enterprise.

Sic in the original; probably "J. H. DRUMMOND".

Let us not be misunderstood. We are certain that we know the true method of dealing with the land question to the greatest good of the world, and we are certain that we can prove what we assert. But to do this we shall give the fullest scope to the opinions of those who differ from us, and the more they differ, the more willingly will we give them ample room to say their say. Our position is this: "That no more land will be absolutely sold; that a progressive tax be put upon all land already *sold*, which will gradually divert the whole value of it from the pockets of private owners into the coffers of the state; and that no taxation shall be on anything whatsoever except land." In the observance of these conditions lies hidden the solution of the problem of human poverty and suffering.

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LETTERS TO A WAYNE COUNTY FARMER.

I.

My Dear Cousin: Your letter received. It calls to mind the following lines, which I once read in an old book. They were printed beneath the pictures of a king, a soldier, a priest and a farmer:

> The king proclaims, “I govern all;”
> The knight maintains, “I fight for all;”
> The priest declaims, “I pray for all;”
> The farmer exclaims, “I pay for all”–

which he is represented as doing with a very wry face.

You state that you are determined to sell the old homestead and engage in some other business, giving as a reason that “farming doesn’t pay.”

Doesn’t pay? Do not seed time and harvest follow each other as in the years gone by? Do not your orchards blossom and bear fruit, your fields change with the seasons their brown to green, and later on to golden waves of grain under the kindly influence of the summer’s sun and rain! Are not your granaries filled to overflowing after the threshers have come and gone?

Why is it, then, that farming doesn’t pay? Is it not because your wages—the wealth that you have drawn from nature’s bosom—are filched from you by those who profit and grow fat upon the proceeds of the toil of others? The farmer rises with the first faint glimmer of the dawn in the east; he labors on with aching back and blistered hands till the shadows fall and the stars come out in the evening sky, grudging even the sacred day of rest from the hurrying season.

As I write, the vision rises before me of the old farm, with its broad fields, the orchards laden with fruit, the wood lot crimson in its October glory, the quaint old farm house, built when honest work and lasting materials were more thought of than the gaudy veneer of modern country house architecture; the great barns and cattle sheds with their high mows, where once we had rare sport practicing gymnastics on the soft hay. And it seems to me that on such a spot good luck should empty out her horn of plenty at the feet of industry, and that the farmer’s sons would never care to leave the old home and its comforts to take their chances in the struggle for existence among the crowds that gather in the vanity fair.

The truth is you do not get all that your labor produces nor a fair return for the capital you are obliged to invest in purchasing a spot on God’s earth on which to employ your labor.

I propose in this and other letters to show you how you are robbed, by whom and what can best be done to prevent it in the future.

There is a robber who ever lies in wait at your door, and as your labor and industry creates wealth, rises up to demand a portion, levying blackmail upon your enterprise, putting a fine upon your production and punishing you for thrift as though it were an offence against public morals.

Tax is the name of the robber. Sometimes he openly demands a part of what the farmer produces, but frequently he takes by indirect means, exacting a far greater portion than the farmer would yield upon a direct command to "stand and deliver." The drain on the farmer's resources from direct taxation, and the still greater drain from the pocket-picking style of the indirect form, make what is left so pitifully small that the purchase of labor-saving machinery must be deferred[sic] The boys must stay at home from school, and wife and daughter must work harder and dress poorer than do factory girls in town and city.

Let us look into this matter of taxation, observe the manner in which taxes are levied on the farmer and compare it with the method of the assessment upon the property of others. The farmer is assessed at from sixty to eighty per cent of the selling value of his farm and improvements. On this he must pay in direct taxation state taxes, county taxes, town taxes, road taxes, school taxes, and from time to time some special tax. His property is all out of doors, in plain sight of the assessor, who couldn't miss it if he tried; so down it goes on the assessment roll for every penny it is worth. If the barn is painted or a few rods of fence built, if the old house is remodeled to make it more comfortable, if a stump lot be cleared or a swamp drained, up goes the assessment and down he must pay the increased taxes—the fines levied upon him by the town, county and state for his enterprise and industry.

He thinks it hard that he should be thus taxed on the evidences of his labor and thrift, and he asks himself whether his fellow citizens in general pay the same proportion of taxes that he does. If all pay alike, he thinks, it is fair. But do any escape their share of the burdens? Do assessors assess value uniformly? If he, with small possessions, pays so large a percentage in taxes, what enormous sums must be gathered from wealthy men and corporations!

Here is a farmer who has scraped money enough together to pay his taxes. Let us see what is likely to occur on his trip to town in visiting the tax gatherer. He hitches up the old horse and sets out from home. On the way his mind naturally turns toward the subject of taxation, and he wonders what his neighbors pay. As he draws near to the village he comes to the farm of an acquaintance, who, though an unsuccessful farmer and a far from industrious man, seems to have been born with the traditional silver spoon in his mouth. His friend steps out from a knot of workingmen, and, laying down a surveyor's chain, climbs the fence, proffers a cigar, and enters into conversation. The farmer finds his friend can only talk on one subject—real estate—and he listens in open-mouthed wonder at the figures that drop so easily from the speculater's[sic] tongue.

"This farm cost me a hundred dollars per acre five years ago," says the speculator, "and I had a pretty hard time getting along, with interest, taxes and so on to pay. But one day they decided to run a railroad along here, and they built the depot over there[sic] on one corner of my farm. Then things began to boom. I bought for a hundred and sell for a thousand dollars per acre. Pretty good profit that," he continues, puffing away at his cigar, and glancing complacently from the farmer's faded clothes back to his own fashionable suit. "I gave away a lot or two just to start things, sold some more, and lent the fellows that bought them the money they paid for the lots to build with, taking a mortgage on the whole for security. Pretty good that."

And he laughingly says good-by, and goes to meet a prospective customer he espies coming toward him.

The farmer drives on with, I am afraid, a little envy rankling in his heart as he thinks, with a sigh, of the days and months of toil, the economy and self denial he must practice before he can save as much as the land speculator

Sic in the original; probably "deferred.".
Sic in the original; probably "speculator's".

will make in that afternoon's sale. He thinks how his boys long for a college education, how much his girls must be deprived of, and why he didn't have the luck to have a railroad run through his farm, dropping a depot and a growing town near by.

"Well, he must have a pretty penny of taxes to pay," thinks the farmer, as he pulls up in front of the tax collector's office. He walks in, pays his taxes, and as he folds up the receipt inquires in a casual way how much his friend of the building lots pays. Imagine

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his astonishment when he learns that he pays little if any more than he himself, that they are both assessed as owning farming land of about the same value. While in reality the farmer is assessed at about seventy-five per cent of what he would gladly sell his farm for. the speculator[sic] is assessed at only from ten to twenty per cent of what he will get for his land. He inquires of the collector. who says[67]:

"We have to draw the line somewhere and so we stop at five acres. All over that we assess as farming land, and all less as building or village lots."

"Then you assess that ten acres over there as farming land, and if it is divided into ten lots and sold, each purchaser must pay taxes on a building lot?'

The collector is forced to admit that to be the truth. The farmer pursues his inquiries and finds that the vacant lots are assessed at a much lower percentage of their real value than is improved property; that the vacant lot worth two or three hundred dollars is assessed at from a hundred and fifty to two hundred dollars; that the vacant lots that lie near the center of the town and could not be bought for thousands are assessed still as vacant lots worth only two or three hundred dollars, while the brick block adjoining is taxed for from two-thirds to three-fourths of what it is worth. He inquires the reason and is told that as the vacant lots don't produce any income to the owner, it isn't fair to tax them too much; that the land speculator's land is taxed at what it would be worth if used only for agricultural purposes, and so made to yield an income; that as he don't get any income from it now, it ought not to be taxed any higher. This is a poser to our farmer, who drives off wondering if the man who bought for a hundred and in five years sells for a thousand dollars per acre doesn't get a rather larger income than he could if he had stuck to farming. He pulls up again at the store where he "does his trading," unloads a jar of butter, and while making his barter with the storekeeper enters into conversation upon the subject of taxation with him.

The farmer has already found out, first, that he pays on about double the assessment in proportion to value that the land speculator does; second, that the owner of a cheap building lot pays on a higher proportionate assessment than the owner of a valuable lot; thirdly, that the owners of improved property pay on a higher proportionate assessment than the owners of unused land.

It begins to look to the farmer as though there couldn't be a better plan devised to punish industry, enterprise and thrift, or to benefit the rich at the expense of the poor. But he has gone into the store, and before he comes out will learn that this is only one way in which the farmer is robbed.

WM. C. WOOD, M. D[sic]

Gloversville, Nov. 13, 1887.

Sic in the original; probably "there.".
Sic in the original; probably "for, the speculator".
Sic in the original; probably "collector, who says".
Sic in the original; probably "M. D.".

AMONG THE FARMERS.

There is no field of labor which promises better results for recruiting the ranks of the united labor party than the rural districts. Our American farmers as a class are honest and conscientious, and when once convinced of the truth of a great principle, they will stand by it, work for it and vote it. Many of them improve their leisure during the long winter in reading and study, but unfortunately their papers and periodicals come mostly from the opposition press. They have been misled and prejudiced against the land theories of Henry George, and made to think that the burden of taxation would fall upon their already overburdened shoulders; but I find that a plain statement of our principles soon disabuses their minds of this error and wins them over to our side.

I have been holding public meetings in rural villages in Indiana the past week, and my audiences were composed largely of farmers. They listen eagerly, ask questions, and almost to a man acknowledge that they had been misinformed on the subject. Many come out at once and declare their conversion and adhesion to the single tax on land values. They say that they are taxed on everything directly and indirectly; taxed almost out of farm and home. A brief explanation enables them to understand the distinction between taxing land and taxing land values. They see that the latter tax. the only one[sic] proposed by us, would fall chiefly upon city and village lots and mining districts, and that farmers would have comparatively but a light tax to pay when all improvements, which in the majority of cases constitute three-fourths of the worth of farms, are exempt from taxation.

I am making my home with an old acquaintance, Mr. William B. Mohler, while speaking through this country, and he has become so much interested that he goes with me from meeting to meeting. He is a farmer and an active greenbacker. I found him very suspicious of the "Henry George theory." At the close of my first meeting he said to me, "You are right. Give us the single tax and we'll be better off. We farmers are taxed, taxed—taxed on everything till there is nothing left to show for our hard work." He went on to say that he had a good farm, worth at least $60 per acre. Forty-five dollars of the sixty dollars of value is due, he said, to improvements—to clearing off the timber, grubbing out the stumps, ditching and tilling, and to buildings and fences and orchards. He says he is now taxed, not only on the whole value, but on everything he produces. Once a year the assessor comes around and questions him as to every item of produce he possesses, and he is taxed on them all. "How many horses?" "how many cattle?" "how many hogs?" "how many chickens, geese and ducks?" "how much wheat and corn and rye and hay and potatoes?" "how many wagons and harnesses and plows and cultivators and reapers and mowers?" are among the many questions asked and items taxed. He is fined for keeping a sewing machine, an organ, a faithful watch dog and an old heirloom ("grandfather's clock") which stands in the corner and ticks on monotonously forever in the farmer's ear the solemn words, "Tax, taxed; tax, taxed; tax, taxed."

Farmers are taxed more greviously[sic] than any other class in the United States, and no class would be more directly benefited by the general adoption of the new land system and the single tax than they. And they are not slow to see it when the subject is properly presented. Greater effort should be made to spread the light through the rural districts.

LEO MILLER.

Rushville, Ind., Nov. 18, 1887.

Sic in the original; probably "tax, the only one".
Sic in the original; probably "grievously".

The People Give the Elevated Road Its Franchise, and the Landlords Reap the Benefit.

Brooklyn Blade.

No one will dispute the fact that property in the upper wards almost doubles in value with each succeeding year. In many locations of tue[sic] Eighteenth ward, the value of lots has increased so rapidly that property which sold twenty years ago for from $500 to $1,000 per lot, now sells from $1,200 to $2,800. In 1885 the *Blade* predicted this advance in real estate prices, at the same time stating that lots in the Twenty-first and Twenty-fifth wards would increase at the same ratio, which is now proven by the sales reported in the *Real Estate Record* and other journals. Again the *Blade* intends to prophesy that "present real estate values will double before 1889." Thus it will be plainly seen that the sooner an investment is made, the better for the investor . . . This is one chance of a life time, now that the new elevated road is almost completed, and should be taken advantage of.

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THE "GOOD OLD TIMES" IN TRADE.

Last week, happening to be in an inland town, I met a friend of mine. a commercial[sic] traveler, who is also an anti-poverty man. We were to go out on the same train in half an hour or so, and he proposed we should walk to the station, as he wished to have a final word with a customer on the way.

We found the merchant serving a woman who laid out two dollars in necessaries as carefully as if she were buying a farm. Next, a small boy, who wanted a dollars' worth[sic] of gray cotton "for Uncle Ed's Mary, and book it," was identified. Then my friend finished his business, and the conversation turned on the hard times, the dull trade and ruinous competition, as compared with the good old times.

"Well, yes," said the merchant, "when I first started on my own account times were good. Why, I used to take in $250 and $300 cash day after day right along. Everybody had money or money's worth, and if you trusted any, you were sure of your pay. Too much competition now—ruinous competition. We'll never see the good old times again[sic].

"What do think[sic]," asked my friend, "is the cause of the change in the times, and of the ruinous competition in trade?'

"Well," admitted the merchant, "I don't really know. People rush into trade without sufficient capital or experience, and then the competition among your wholesalers is so great that it seems as if any one can get goods on credit. Then the slaughtering begins. Of course we have to keep in the market and hold our customers, hoping it won't last long, and it don't generally with any particular one; but there is always a fresh man ready to step in, and sometimes two of them, and it goes on. We have to handle more goods, credit more goods, and at greater risk and with much smaller profits, if any at all. The bulk of the trade is in the staples or necessaries, and most of them are sold, as you know, without any paying margin. I tell you, it's all one can do to hold his own these times."

Sic in the original; probably "the".
Sic in the original; probably "friend of mine, a commercial".
Sic in the original; probably "a dollar's worth".
Sic in the original; probably "times again." (closing quotation mark missing)".
Sic in the original; probably "What do you think".

"At the time you speak of," ventured the traveler, "when the times were good, were not wages also good, and was not work plentiful?"

"Yes, that's so," replied the merchant. "Any man could get work. Of course this place was then comparatively newly settled. It's true work was plenty and wages good, and men were scarce, too. Why, if you had a good man working for you then you couldn't be sure of him. He'd no sooner have a few months' savings ahead than he'd be off and take up land in the Big flat."

"That's just where you lay open the secret of the change in the times," said my friend. "While men could readily employ their labor on land there was an established minimum wage; but to-day, when this opportunity is lost to them, the minimum wage sinks almost to the starvation line. Now," continued he, "do you not think that if to-day we could make the opportunities for men to work plentiful again times would improve. That is, if by any means we could have two jobs looking for one man, in place of two men looking for one job, would not competition be relieved and would not trade boom again where every man would, by being able to become a producer, be able to be a more liberal consumer too, and if—"

"Yes, yes," broke in the merchant; "that's all correct. No doubt if—"

"Well, hold on; I'm coming to that," said my friend, confidently, "and there is really no *if* about it. Let me see, we have agreed that if we can make plentiful the opportunities for men to apply their labor profitably that it would relieve competition, and that's one important point reached. Competition comes up from below, begins with the struggle of laboring men impelled by fear of want and suffering to themselves and to their families to underbid each other for wages, and as there are not enough of these opportunities to work for all, some must be at the starvation line all the time. This makes the cleverer laborers crowd up and compete with mechanics, and they again, without experience, rush into trade. Now you do not have competition in trade from ministers, doctors and the other professions, but I see the professions are complaining that merchants, and farmers' sons are run though college[sic] in great numbers, and that they are crowded."

"Well, well; no doubt that's about the way it is," said the merchant, "but how on earth do you propose to mend it? How are you going to make work plentiful and wages good again—two jobs looking for one man, as you say. There's the rub!"

"Just coming to that," continued the drummer; "and I think I can show you, and plainly, too, that this much to be desired result can be brought about simply by a readjustment of our assessment for taxation. Simply stated: Make site value of land the sole basis of taxation, relieving all other values from taxation entirely. For instance, this store, if I remember rightly, cost you about $4 000[sic] to build, and its building was a great improvement to the street, to the town, in fact, and every vacant lot became more valuable on account of your improvement. But under the present system of assessment you have for several years, and will as long as the building stands, have to pay to the community an interest of one and a half to two per cent per annum on this capital, because you have been enterprising and public spirited enough to erect a building that is a credit to the town. That vacant lot next you is not assessed for one-quarter of what you have to pay on, I'll warrant you."

"You're right, it isn't. Old Forty Per Cent is only assessed for $900, and he has been offered twice that, but won't sell, as the lot is getting more valuable all the time, and he can afford to hold it."

"And who, pray, is making it more valuable?' asked my friend.

Sic in the original; probably "through college".
Sic in the original; probably "$4,000".

“Who? Why—why—not he, any way. Why, it’s the general growth of the place, but he never improves anything—won’t even repair the old, tumble-down places he rents to the poorest people.”

“Indeed? And is that why the town pays him a bonus in the shape of low taxation, while it fines you for making improvements—really compels you to pay the town an interest annually on capital invested in improvements that are of a perishable nature compared with town lots, and frequently in need of expensive repairs—your investment depreciating, his appreciating, in value every day?

“Now, under the proposed plan of taxation of site value of land only, you would be assessed for no more on this store than he for the vacant lot, which would of course reduce the total of assessment for taxation, even though his lots were assessed up to their true value. This would necessitate an increase of the rate—perhaps double it. You can readily see that while your taxes would be reduced, the favored citizen you speak of as Old Forty Per Cent would find his share of the taxes doubled—and justly, too—for have we not seen that vacant lots absorb a good deal of the value of all improvements? This would soon result in his selling out, or in some way making the idle land productive. In either case labor would

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be employed. And just so it would be with the idle land he holds in the county. That hundred acres of his in the flat just beyond the station, I’ll venture, does not pay as much taxes as the twenty-five acres of orchard and market garden just beyond. Now assess the orchard, less the value of improvements, and the hundred acres at the same tax per acre, how long do you suppose that fine piece of land would lie idle? The first tax bill would start him out to look for labor to begin improvements. And just so it would be with all the other used and unused land in the county. Land users would pay—and justly pay—less taxes than they do now; and land monopolizers would pay more, and enough more to very soon have two jobs looking for one man, as it was in the good old times, but with this very important difference, mark you, that the better new times would have come to stay.

“Well,” said the merchant after a pause, “I believe they would, but I never thought of it that way before. I believe your plan would be only fair play, too, and I would like to see it tried. By the way, though, Banter Brosman told me the other day that you were a Henry George socialist. I wouldn’t go that far with you.”

“It’s very easy to call names,” my friend replied, “and nothing can be farther from socialism, as commonly understood, or be simpler than the Henry George proposition. Only just this, make the site value of land the sole basis of taxation. This, of course, involves the perfect freedom from taxation not only of improvements, but of all other values. Perfect free trade in everything, the products of man’s labor, whether of his hand or brain, for to tax the product of labor is to discourage the employment of labor. Why, they clap on more taxes if a man only paints his house!”

“That’s a fact,” said the merchant quickly. “They jumped the assessment upon my house when I painted four years ago, and the taxes have cost me more than the painting did. The worst is, the paint has worn off, but the taxes have stuck.”

“Last longer than paint, eh?”

“Well, indeed they do,” continued the merchant, “and my wife wants the house painted again, and I’d almost bargained with the painter before I thought about it. Poor fellow, I was sorry to refuse him, too. He’s a chap that takes jobs of painting on his own account, has a large family, and been a customer right along, too, and always pays up when he can get work. He told me that he would have lots of houses to paint only people were afraid to improve.”

"Yes," said my friend, "that's just the way the present clumsy, stupid and unjust system of assessment works. Why, I know a farmer who had borrowed money at five and a half per cent to build a needed barn and make other improvements, and who found his loan really costing him eight per cent when he reckoned his extra taxes, and another farmer who has very stony land and has made himself an old man at fifty by hard work trying to clear his fields till his stone fences are four to six feet broad. Well, he tells me that for every field he clears he incurs the increasing penalty of a perpetual annual fine. They'll both vote for the better new times the first chance they get, they will."

The rumble of the omnibus could now be heard coming along the street, so we bade the merchant farewell and made our way to the station.

JOHN F. BAKER.

A STRATEGIC POINT.

For immediate results, the weakest point in the enemy's line is just now the moribund protective tariff. Little as it pleases them, our invertebrate representatives at Washington must in a few weeks deal with the problem of how customs duties shall be modified. Intent chiefly on smothering any real issues that may upset existing political combinations, there is hardly a man among them that has any real conception of more than a mere question of expediency. The republican party is willing, even anxious, to maintain and intensify a system of taxation that has protected thousands of workingmen into poverty and hundreds of manufacturers into bankruptcy. The democratic party can see no moral principle involved or anything higher than a mere question of how to dispose of the surplus revenue. Only the new party of emancipation is fit to deal with the subject logically.

We must awaken the conscience of the American people; must show them that a protective tariff is wrong, because it creates injustice, because it has utterly failed in the past and will always fail in the future to advance wages or develop industry. We must teach them that even that modified form of protection, a tariff for revenue, is the worst possible method of raising taxes; that, so far as it goes, it hampers production and makes heavier the toll which the nation pays to its landlords. While congress is pottering over the details of tariff revision and studying which protected class can most safely be ignored and which one has too much political power to be disturbed; while timid tariff reformers, afraid to avow their principles, are endeavoring to explain away their own suggestions and find out for themselves where they stand, let us strike the clear keynote of political morality and educate the people to an abolition of the tariff because it is wrong as well as inexpedient.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

In Other Words, the Granting of a Railway Franchise is Simply the Granting of a Power to Collect Taxes and Keep Them.

West Virginia Democrat.

There are certain economic propositions, which although not as yet expressed in language that reaches the popular heart, are rapidly working their way to the understanding of the masses. For example, the body of the people constantly see a syndicate of bankers get possession of the management of a railroad; to build and equip it costs, say, $5,000,000; presently, without a dollar of additional expenditure, the company sells $10,000.000[sic] of new securities—in other words, by simply printing bonds and stock, this syndicate creates for itself ten millions of wealth—and this method is called "watering the road;" it means that the stream of commerce flowing along this highway will be taxed (viz, subjected to a toll) sufficient to pay interest on the ten millions of fictitious wealth.

An illustration will make this matter still plainer. The state authorizes individuals to construct a bridge, and gives them the right to collect toll. The theory is that the amount of toll shall be in proportion to the capital expended, that is, the amount collected shall be sufficient to compensate for the capital invested. If the bridge costs $5,000, the tolls are fixed to yield a revenue of, say, $2,500—ten per cent. Presently, as the population increases, the line of travel doubles, and the same rate of toll yields $5,000, or six per cent on, say, $80,000. Thereupon the bridge company issues $75,000 of new stock; this new stock is sold, and the individuals composing the company pocket the money. In other words, a line of travel which ought to be taxed to pay interest on only $5,000 is taxed to pay interest on $80,000. This example illustrates probably the least objectionable of the methods by which colossal wealth has been suddenly acquired within the last twenty years by quite a number of men; and, disguise it as we may, the body of the people are waking up to the necessity of changing conditions so unfavorable to the common welfare. The politicians and place hunters do not act aggressively in this matter because unwilling to bring against themselves and their party the opposition of the railroad influence.

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WANTED—CRUSADERS.

Those who voted our ticket this year did so from conviction; they are all with us until the end, be it near at hand or in the distant future. From now on let us devote ourselves to convincing people of the eternal justice which is the foundation on which our demands for legislation are based. A few thousand votes more or less makes no difference in the truth of what we are working for, and the fact that that great truth received the support of only half as many voters as we thought we had secured, only shows that there is twice as much work to be done.

Now, how to do it. Every man and woman who has seen the full beauty of this great light must work without ceasing to bring others to see it. No matter how few may be our acquaintances, we can at least talk to them, induce them to read some of the literature on the subject, and, what seems to me best of all, try to gather together those who are beginning to be interested, and discuss some particular point which is troubling them. This can easily be done without any trouble about formal organization, and will, I think, reach many who, if argued with singly, would feel bound to uphold their pre-conceived opinions.

This work can be done by all of us, but there are many places all through the country where the idea of the land for the people has not even a footing, and if we would succeed in writing this great truth upon our statute books all these places must be reached.

The suggestion, of "Crusader," in your paper of Oct. 15, that a corps of young men be raised to go through the country and preach the principles of our party, depending upon the people to whom they preach for support, seems to me the best way of accomplishing this end.

Such missionaries should, I think, go out in couples, and they should follow the example of St. Paul, who, when he went to Corinth, lived there working at his trade as a tent maker and preaching the gospel. To-day but little can be

accomplished by long range firing in public speeches. We must go among the people in a neighborhood, work with them and stay among them until we have two or three earnest workers started there, and then go on to the next place. In this way only can we hope so to spread the light as to make all men see it.

We must all see that it is not best to make such tremendous efforts to secure a large vote here or there.. If our efforts are concentrated, so will those of our opponents be, and therefore our hope must be in teaching the whole people wherever we can touch them, and thus produce such a profound public sentiment throughout the country as shall reach above all trickery and corruption, and although it may be years hence, triumph most gloriously over all our foes.

In starting such an agency as this army of preachers, great care must necessarily be used to insure against the danger of men who will offer their services from a vain desire to thrust themselves before the public and to be prominent in the movement.

I do not think we need exact any pledge from them. Let them be free to go as they think best, and where it seems to them they can do the most good. It is such a novel method that no exact rules can be laid down; we must trust to the discretion and tact of those who are willing to devote themselves to the work.

I would only suggest that all such workers keep in communication with some headquarters, from which they can be supplied with tracts, STANDARDS, and the names of our people in the places they may propose visiting.

There are two of us in this town who, although not entirely free from responsibilities and family ties, still intend to do a great deal of just such work this year through our own neighborhood, and as far as we can reach through the state. In all our work let us remember that it is conviction of the justice and truth of our principles, and not merely votes that we must seek.

And to all those who are willing to devote themselves to this work I say, “Forward, in God’s name, and fear nothing,” knowing that “only that good profits which we can taste with all doors open and which serves all men.”

JAMES LAWRENCE DUNHAM.

Sharon, Conn., Nov. 15, 1887.

A NATIONAL RELIGION.

Among the many true words spoken by Father Huntington there are none truer than these in his late letter to the London *Church Reformer*. He says: “As a nation we present a strange spectacle to the student of history; we are a people without a religion. . . . One feels that a change must come.” That the change has come no one will doubt—that is, no one will doubt it who is imbued with any serious desire to discern truth; no one will doubt it who cherishes any hope for mankind; no one will doubt it who in his heart believes that Christ came on earth for some nobler end than to receive a tawdry homage or the mere lip promise of carrying out His will. If Christianity means anything, it means fellowship. If human society means anything in this land of democratic promise, it means also fellowship. Whether he formulates it in speech or not, the intelligent workingman is convinced of this. In the bottom of his heart every man not actuated by some base political or ecclesiastical expediency knows that Christ had but one errand on earth, and that was to forever destroy ecclesiastical pretension and forever exalt the dignity of human nature. In fact he glorified it in His own person. It is therefore feeling this truth, that workingmen have

Sic in the original; probably “$10,000,000”.

not been influenced by the churches, and that in their conventions "an allusion to the church is hissed, and the name of Jesus is greeted with wild enthusiasm." The great heart of the American republic knows that the function of democracy is the one of realizing a perfect society or fellowship on earth—of exalting every valley of inequality, the abasing every mountain of privilege—so that all flesh from the smallest to the greatest shall experience the unobstructed action of God's mercies here below. Why is it that this passionate cry for the recognition of man by man ever goes up? the cry which nothing on earth can stifle. The reason that this passionate rebellion against the existing order occurs, and is bound to keep recurring, is simply because it is getting to be more strongly felt that the brotherhood or equality is the legitimate state of man. The existing order by perpetuating privilege denies this feeling, and so long as it continues to deny this feeling lawless men like the anarchists will dash themselves against the walls of political and religious prejudice and selfishness. Let them throw themselves not alone in dozens, but by battalions, so long as they assail the *nation* which insures them a remedy for wrong by the use of the ballot, they will accomplish nothing. Every true man's hand will be raised against them. We may be moved to pity by the sight of unreasoning devotion to an ideal—the unreasoning sincerity which gives itself up to an ignominious death—but we all know that progress is not grounded in unreason. Progress is grounded in the patient search for the causes of wrong, and the causes are discovered by the patient agita[sic]

p. 6, col. 6

tion which must now become more and more a feature of the *anti-poverty movement*.

The 73,000 votes in New York state attest what? They attest the fact that a national religion is about to be founded. I do not mean a religion which satisfies itself with building churches and allows 115,000 children under fifteen years of age to be at work in Pennsylvania factories, but a religion which concerns itself with insuring to these children some hope for life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness—a religion which recognizes that all men have but one source—God. Any religion which does less than this is a sham. We may keep on ejaculating, "Lord! Lord!" if we will, and building cathedrals to the tune of $7,000,000, as it is proposed to do in New York city; so long as those children go untutored, half fed and half clothed, God's house will be built in vain. If democracy means anything, it means fraternity among men. No man can be truly himself so as inequality[sic] exists between him and his fellow. For every man has an essential equality with all other men—an equality in God—because they all have but one source—God. If human government keeps on increasing the inequality of man with man by perpetuating laws which compel the subjection of the many to the few—human government confesses itself imperfect. So long as this is, just so long will man incessantly agitate society, incessantly urge it onward, until at length it realizes its own ideal by the legislative destruction of all privilege, or by the extension of an equal subsistence and an equal education to all its offspring.

AN AMERICAN EPISCOPALIAN.

PUBLIC SCHOOL TEACHERS AND THE NEW PARTY.

Why are the employes of the board of education so badly underpaid as compared with the employes of all other municipal departments, and why does the profession not possess that rank and influence which it, of all other professions, ought to have? The answer comes readily enough. The vast majority of teachers (the ladies) have no vote, ergo, they have no influence, ergo, the question of increased salaries, or of giving equal pay for equal work, is not so pressing as it is in—the police department, for instance.

Sic in the original; probably "agita-".
Sic in the original; probably "so long as inequality".

In view of the revelations of legislative investigating committees, from which we learn of the scandalous waste of money in the different branches of the public service; when we hear and know that there are scores of positions in the various departments which are practically sinecures; when we know that there are hundreds of others of which the labors, duties and responsibilities are not equal to those of the lowest teachers in a primary department, and yet whose salaries are twice and thrice as great, is it not time to direct attention to the pleasing contrast afforded by the department of instruction, and to expect some adequate appreciation?

While the cause of public education is one nearest the heart of the people; while they are ever ready to stand up against any one who would assail the common schools or belittle their inestimable value, yet the burdens and duties of those employed in them are of all things least understood or appreciated by the general public.

If the employes in the other departments of the city government were as capable and as poorly paid, as hard worked and hard working: were they as much superintended and held to as strict accountability for their work and its results as the public school teachers, the affairs of the city would be conducted with a maximum of ability and a minimum of expense. New York would then become a Utopia of good and economical government and there would be no use for periodical investigating committees to discover the leaks in the municipal treasury, only to lose sight of them again and evolve no means to prevent them.

When we consider the grave responsibility of the teacher's task—the management and direction of the human mind, the most delicate and complicated machine in existence—surely the question of adequate compensation should be treated, at least, justly.

These facts being so, how shall we find a remedy. At the hands of the old political hierarchies? (for they cannot be called parties) Surely not, for their appreciation is determined by the number of votes, and their sense of justice by "inflooence." There is, however, a new party in the field, which promises equal rights to all—exactly what we need. It is an old promise, but it has been given a new meaning by the party aiming at the emancipation of labor and the restitution of natural rights. Here, then, is the party to which the teachers are most nearly affiliated, and from which we may expect justice. And when we consider the principles upon which that party is founded, the mere question of compensation is swept aside and gives place to incentives for supporting it which appeal with peculiar force to teachers.

The teacher as a type and model of moral and intellectual development to the younger generation, as one who is in a measure responsible for the future condition of that generation, should be the first to inform himself of the merits of any reformatory movement which proposes to improve that condition, knowing, as we do, that more than half the pupils of the public schools are compelled to leave before reaching the upper classes. Knowing, as we do, the dire necessity which compels them to leave when so poorly equipped for the battle of life, it becomes our peculiar duty to uphold any party which, by political means, proposes to bring about such a state of affairs that the children of the poor shall enjoy the full fruition of our common school training. This the united labor party proposes to do. It is the only party founded on a living principle. It is the only party worthy the intelligent consideration of intelligent men. It combines in its platform elements of ethical, social and political regeneration that should draw to its support the earnest advocacy of every true teacher. Its principles must succeed, for they are founded in truth, which is eternal.

MAGNUS GROSS, JR.

Waste Land Assessed Low, but Valued High.

Correspondence South Side Observer, Rockville Centre, Long Island.

A few examples from our own town will show the justice of the [land value taxation] theory and the necessity for a change. In Freeport there is a tract of land in the heart of the village which, in its present condition, is a disgrace to the town. It is assessed for $200. Owing to improvements in which its owners have no share, it is probably worth $6,000—"the owners do not care to sell."

Another piece of property, worth, perhaps, $4,000, is only assessed at $1,200, while a piece of recently improved property, reclaimed from the wild woods, is assessed at the same figure.

In Rockville Centre a similar condition of affairs exists. The growth of the place is retarded by a large plot of land which the owners refuse to part with because it costs very little to hold and is being constantly improved by the owners of adjoining property.

At Pearsalls the transient traveler is at once disgusted with the tract of waste land opposite the depot.

At East Rockaway much of the otherwise available land is wholly unimproved, solely because "it costs nothing to hold it."

The villages on the Rockaway branch are suffering from this "dog in the manger" policy even more than the stations on the main line. It is a common saying in Hempstead and Jamaica that there will have to be several first class funerals before there can be any great improvement.

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RELIEVE THE FARMER.

Under the George system, the government will no more own and control land and "rent it out to the highest bidder" than it does now. Land, under his system, will continue to be owned by individuals precisely as it is now. It will descend to heirs and be devised to legatees precisely as it is now. Not a single law relative to land ownership and control now upon our statute books will be changed in carrying out his doctrines to the fullest extent. A man's right, under the present system, to enjoy the exclusive possession of a tract of lane[sic] is conditioned upon the payment of a tax upon its value. And so it will be under the George system, without the slightest change in the machinery now in use for the assessment and collection of taxes on real estate.

Henry George simply proposes to reform our present absurd and barbarous system of levying taxes, a system which discourages enterprise and thrift and encourages monopoly and greed.

Take the case of a young man here in Texas, who, we will say, by working on shares, has finally saved up a little capital, and who now proposes to become the owner of a farm of his own. He is going to get a piece of wild land, break it up, grub it, fence it and cultivate it. He has a wagon, a pair of horses, a few household utensils, a wife, plenty of children and little money. He does not dream of getting rich; he merely hopes to secure a competency by faithful work. He looks around for a location. He naturally desires to settle near town, where he will be handy to market, and where his family can enjoy the society of neighbors and tne[sic] benefits of church and school privileges. He finds just such a town. He finds tens of thousands of acres of vacant land all around this town and close to it. Just the kind of land he is looking for. No one is using it, and it lies there idle, waiting for the hand of industry to be applied to it. But he finds that the speculators have got there ahead of him. They are keeping it for an increase in value. In order to get hold of a hundred acre tract of this land he must mortgage himself to some speculator. He must bind himself to pay over to a speculator all that he can possibly save in excess of the barest possibilities of life for a term of years. He feels that the land is already above his means, so he turns away, drives out twenty miles and buys a hundred acres out of a thousand acre tract held by another speculator, for which he pays $200, and then settles down in the wilderness.

His children can scarcely get to school at all. It is miles to any church. He has to haul his cotton five miles to the nearest gin. He wastes a great deal of time on the poor roads between his home and the town where he does his marketing, hauling his produce over thousands and tens of thousands of acres of land just as well adapted to raising it as that which he has been compelled to select so far away. He works to far greater disadvantage than he would had he been permitted to settle nearer town, hence he produces less, and therefore must buy less.

Now, why have the speculators seized this vacant land and taken it out of the reach of this industrious farmer? Do they propose to use it? Do they propose to do anything with it by which labor can be employed, and the sum total of the world's wealth increased? Do they propose to invest a dollar in the cultivation and improvement of this

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

land? By no means. They propose that some one else shall do the work and have the worry, and take the chances of the crops failing. Yet they propose, nevertheless, to get rich out of this land. How? By holding it in idleness, by driving labor off from it, and compelling labor to pass it by and settle on far less eligible and desirable tracts. One of these speculators paid $1,000 for a piece of this land. It is now worth $5,000. Whose labor has put an additional value of $4,000 upon this piece of vacant land? Not the labor of the present owner, nor the labor of any previous owner, because no one has ever done a stroke of work upon the land. It has resulted from the increase of population. It has been put there by the community. The speculator sells the tract for $5,000 and thus makes $4,000. He has not, however, increased the sum total of the world's wealth one iota by the transaction. He has simply drawn to himself $4,000 worth of wealth which other people have produced—wealth which labor has been compelled to pay over to him for the bare privilege of access to one of the gifts of nature.

Well, our young farmer, after a year's hard work in fencing, breaking the sod, and putting up buildings, has added $300 worth of improvement to that hundred acre tract of land. By the sweat of his brow he has actually increased the sum total of the wealth of the world to the extent of $300. What happens now? Why, the tax collector comes around and fines him for it by taxing these improvements. He has to yield up to the government in taxes on these improvements a portion of the fruits of his individual industry. He is robbed on account of taxes on these improvements of a portion of the values produced solely by his individual industry. The community did not put this additional value of $300 upon his land. He put it there by his own hard work. But who is putting values yearly on the vacant land adjoining, which the speculator is holding in idleness? Is it not the community that does it? Now, why should our young farmer be taxed any more for using his hundred acre tract of land and giving employment to labor on it than the speculator is taxed for holding in idleness a tract of equal value and preventing labor from using it? Which act conduces most to the prosperity of the country? Why should not the speculator pay at least as much tax for the privilege of excluding labor from a hundred acre tract of land as the farmer has to pay for the privilege of employing labor on a tract of equal value?

Under the present taxing system our young farmer must pay the government say one per cent taxes on his land and improvements, amounting to $4 a year for the privilege of the exclusive possession of his hundred acre farm. If he doesn't pay it his farm will be sold for taxes. The speculator from whom he bought, however, only pays $1 a year tax on the adjoining hundred acres of equally as valuable land. Has the farmer hurt any one by improving his hundred acre tract? If not, why should he be fined for it? On the contrary, by settling on one hundred acres of that thousand acre tract he has made the nine hundred acres more valuable, and when other hard working farmers settle in the neighborhood, they, by their labor, by their common energy and enterprise, will add yearly to the value of the speculator's holdings. But will they get any advantage from this enhancement in the value of his land, which they themselves have caused? Will he give them any portion of this unearned increment which they themselves have produced? On the contrary, should one of these farmers desire to increase the size of his farm, or to settle one of his children on adjoining land, he will have to paythe[sic] speculator for the very enhancement in the value of the land which has resulted from the application of his own labor upon his own land.

The first step in carrying out the George doctrine in Texas is simply exempting by law

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all personal property and improvement on land from taxation, and requiring taxes to be levied on land values alone. Such a law would be a direct benefit to every farmer in the state.

Here in Harris county, at least six-sevenths of the land is wholly unimproved, and probably one-third of the lots within the corporate limits of the city of Houston are vacant. On an average all over the United States about one-

Sic in the original; probably "pay the (space missing)".

half of the taxable values of a community are in personal property and improvements on land, while the other half is in the land itself.

In Harris county we must raise say $200,000 a year to cover state, county and municipal taxation. Now, in order to raise this sum on one-half the present taxable values in the county, as would probably be necessary were we to exempt personal property and improvements on the land from taxation, we should of course be compelled to double the tax on land values. This would double the tax now paid on any tract of vacant land. It would, however, reduce the taxes on farms and residences from fifty to five hundred per cent. A hundred acre farm in Harris county, the assessed valuation of which is $1,000, pays a tax of $10 a year. Now, what is the assessed valuation of wild land in the neighborhood similar in quality to such a tract, and which is likely enough owned by a non-resident speculator? Is it more than a dollar an acre? Is it more than one-tenth the assessed valuation of the improved farm? To the owner of such an improved farm I say, if the first step even in carrying out the George doctrine were adopted, the assessment of the speculator's land would be doubled, but your farm would be assessed at precisely the same valuation as his land adjoining of equal value with your own, regardless of the improvements. You would thus be assessed at $200 instead of $1,000, and your taxes would be $2 a year instead of $10, a reduction of taxation in your case of five hundred per cent. Yet people say that the farmers will never be such fools as to adopt the George theory. Time alone will show.

Henry George teaches that the more farms that are opened up and improved the more machinery, buildings and factories are erected, the more coal beds and mineral deposits are developed, the more residences are built, the more will labor be in demand and the better wages will the laborer get. The more wages the laborers get the more will they have to spend, the more will they buy and the better will times be all around. Why, then, should the man who improves land, who builds a residence, a storehouse, a factory or a tenement on land be fined by a tax gatherer on account of his enterprise and his willingness to do something with his money which gives employment to labor? If any one is to be fined, why should it not be the man who, instead of putting his money into productive enterprises, attempts to forestall labor by buying up the vacant land, the undeveloped coal bed and mineral deposit, with the purpose of extorting blackmail from labor, a bounty for the bare privilege of making nature useful to mankind?

By taxing improvements, buildings, tenement houses and factories, we discourage the investment of capital in productive enterprises which give employment to labor. By taxing land values alone, by increasing the burden of taxacion[sic] on land values, we do not lessen the amount of land, but we cheapen its price, we make the speculator who is holding it in idleness a little more anxious to sell, we make the land owner a little more anxious to improve. A tax on land values alone, therefore, instead of retarding enterprise, stimulates enterprise.

Now, suppose this first step had been taken when our young farmer went forth seeking land for his own farm. If it had cost speculators twice as much in taxes to hold vacant land around that town would they have been as eager to buy it up in the first place? Would they not have been a little more shy about investing in it, and hence would not its price have been considerably less? and hence could not our farmer have got just as good a piece of land for the same price a good deal nearer town? and hence would not his family have had more social advantages and better church and school privileges? and would he not have saved a good deal of time in going to mill and market, and would he not have worked to better advantage in a great many ways, and therefore have produced more and hence have been able to buy more? and if his merchant were relieved from the payment of taxes on his store house and stock of goods, would not this lessen the cost of his doing business, and hence lessen the selling price of his goods, also to the farmer's advantage?

H. F. RING.

Sic in the original; probably "taxation".

Houston, Texas.

Sure Enough, Why Doesn't It Discuss It?

Rockland, Me., Opinion

The Lewiston *Journal* admits that Mr. Henry George has made out his case so far as the evils of land monopoly are concerned, but it thinks it can name a remedy that would be an improvement on that proposed by the distinguished social and economical philosopher. All it thinks necessary is to prohibit alien ownership of land and to limit the quantity of land that may be held by any one citizen. Neither of these measures are new, and those who have advocated them have failed to show how they would or could effect any real improvement on our present system of land tenure. As to the first, the evils of land monopoly would be just as bad whether the monopolists were Americans or foreigners. Take, for example, the case of Mr. Scully, the Irishman who owns vast tracts of improved farming lands in Illinois, and runs them on the same rack renting tenant system that is practiced in Ireland. Suppose the *Journal's* proposed law were in force and Mr. Scully should come over here and declare his intention to become an American citizen, and so continued to rack rent his tenants, would the system be any less objectionable and dangerous? Obviously it would not. The evils of landlordism would be just as bad with American landlords as with foreign ones. As to limiting the quantity of land that may be held by one person, that would be entirely impracticable, as the *Journal* will soon find if it attempts to perfect the details of such a plan and put it in the form of a law. To forbid any person owning above a certain number of acres would prevent some persons having all the land they could use, which is not desirable, and would permit land to be kept out of use, which is the very essence of the evil aimed at. Suppose the limit were placed at 100 acres, it would prevent the carrying on of agricultural operations in the most profitable and efficient manner, and still permit the land monopoly that causes abject poverty, ignorance and crime. The remedies advocated by the *Journal* seem miserably cumbersome and ineffective as compared with the simple, just and radical expedient of a single tax on land values proposed Mr. George[sic]. By the way, the *Journal* fails to indicate what it conceives to be the objection to that. It says the subject is an important one that should be discussed. Why doesn't it discuss it?

If That's So, What's the Good of a Duty?

Ohio State Journal.

The American consumer pays but little, if anything, more for European goods than if they were admitted free of duty, for European manufacturers and merchants know what the traffic will bear, and if the duties were remitted they could, and unquestionably would, advance prices to the highest mark consistent with liberal consumption. That is a law of trade which has been observed and acted upon ever since commerce was invented.

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FROM PARISHIONER TO PASTOR.

A Former Parishioner of Dr. Strong Addresses to Him an Open Letter that Calls for an Answer.

To the Rev. Josiah Strong, D.D., Secretary Evangelical Alliance for America:

Sic in the original; probably "proposed by Mr. George (word"by" omitted)".

I have just returned from listening to your eloquent sermon on "The Signs of the Times," and gratefully acknowledged the largeness of heart which gave birth to such splendid utterances.

As one of your former parishioners, and a sincere admirer of you because of your personal worth, I do not forget while criticising your modes of thought and work the debt which I owe to you, in the great impetus you have given to thought, not only in myself, but also in the communities within reach of your utterances.

You are considerably ahead of most of your ministerial brethren in the acknowledgment of the religious bearing of the social situation. In your pulpit utterances, and in that able work, "Our Country," you always desire to see the poor and downtrodden brought into the church. You acknowledge the evil in the great inequality of the distribution of wealth, you deplore the evils of tenements and the growth of pauperism, but the whole process by which you arrive at your proposed remedy is unsound, as is also the remedy itself.

The unsoundness of the spirit which prompts the remedy is very clearly indicated in "Our Country," in which you begin by showing the greatness of the country, present and prospective, and at once launch out into perils—perils —perils—one peril after another, and all the real perils have social wrongs at their root. And, because the church is losing its hold on the masses, and because the existence of the nation is threatened, we must get the artisan into the church and pat him on the back and teach him that his condition is the will of God, at the same time looking forward complacently to the time when, with a dense population, labor will be as cheap here as in Europe ("Our Country," p. 14). Justice, in its fullness to the artisan, is not considered as being within the range of the gospel or gospel workers.

In various places you admit by inference that the minimum of discontent existed and that progress made its greatest strides in this country before the effect of land monopoly had made itself felt. Yet you ignore the fact that perils great and many grow from our land customs and laws; even beneficent labor saving machinery is looked on with suspicion; deeming that man taking advantage of God's laws in new ways is a source of danger to the community, while the glaring injustice in the administration of God's land is not given any weight, and no distinction is drawn between wealth which God gives directly to mankind and wealth that men produce from God's direct gifts in considering the rights of property.

Furthermore, your thoughts on "the competition for existence becoming sharper," don't harmonize very well with your showing of the tremendous increase of national wealth, or, "His tender mercies are over all his works," or, "He satisfieth the desire of every living thing."

The remedy proposed is the application of the gospel, *i. e.*, the bringing of the discontents into the church, and the mode of the application suggests some thoughts. The plan is, whereas, "There is no way to bring non-churchgoers into the church, except by personal contact." "Let every church member, beginning at his own Jerusalem, preach the gospel to as many as he can reach."

The street car company director, or stockholder, and his wife will make a tour of the street car drivers' and conductors' homes on Sunday evening after the cars have been run in, and preach to these wicked Sabbath breakers that he who works on Sunday breaks God's law, and other doctrines equally consistent from the preacher.

The pious, leisure loving bondholder will have large opportunity to visit the homes of the artisans, whose possible savings are taxed 83 per cent, the benevolent visitor being supported by that tax, and he being in turn only taxed 3 per cent on his possible savings (see Shearman's "Distribution of Wealth"), will be well able to show forth the evil of laying up treasure on earth.

The large manufacturer will rent pews in the church around his own family pew for the men whom [he has?] treated like so many dogs all week, while his wife's silks will harmonize nicely with her servants' cottons beside her.

The landlord will, of course, attend to his Jerusalem (the tenement house), and preach such doctrines as he can about the right use of God's gifts, and the sending of blankets and top boots to the Fiji islanders, with an occasional reminder that "the earth is the (land) Lord's and the fullness thereof."

This sort of thing reminds one of putting a poisoned poultice on a boil, because poultices are generally recognized as being good for boils. Make the tree good and the fruit will be good. If the church truly followed Jesus, your elaborate plans would be superfluous.

Wherever the leaven has originated, whether it has been in the church or the world, both are thoroughly saturated with mammonism; and there is no chasm between the church and the 30,000,000 non-church goers, in the matter of the worship of the "almighty dollar," for both offer a perpetual sacrifice to that deity; that leaven has worked its way completely through the whole lump, and the church can under the circumstances teach no added lesson, except it be to cant about dead formula, dead because based on injustice. The gospel! Jesus intended a real godspell to the poor, not the existing devilspell of, "every man for himself, and the devil take the hindmost," which is the ruling principle in our social system, and practiced constantly by the church.

If the Evangelical alliance wants to do a worthy thing, let it clear its skirts of the responsibility for land monopoly, and social injustice generally, and the artisan will not have to be coaxed back into the church, but the common people will hear it gladly.

While the battle of the emancipation of the worker is being fought, are you and the Evangelical alliance going to look on and busily prescribe formula? I hope not. Remember Meroz. (Judges, 5:23.)

But one thing must not be forgotten—that artisans will not be patronized, nor receive charities, as palliatives for social wrong, for their voice is even now heard above the babel din,

Louder than them all exclaiming,
Give us justice; we are men!

As a working man, and a believer in the divine carpenter, I would warn you of a peril you have not seen. If the churches existing to-day do not incorporate justice for all into their religion, the artisan will incorporate what is good of their religion into his justice, and God will spew the rich churches out of His mouth. (Rev. 3:16-17.)

R. W. HARRISON.

Cincinnati, O., Oct. 30.

What is True of Burlington, Iowa, is Equally True of Every Town in New York.

J. Hagerty in Burlington Evening Post.

Some fifty-five years ago Uncle Sam traded Black Hawk out of his and [his people's?] claim to the forty-mile strip along the Mississippi

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from the Missouri line to a point opposite Prairie Du Chien for some old flint locks, red blankets, beads and other good considerations. Soon after an old settler bought a few acres (in what is now nearly the center of Burlington), of Uncle Sam at $1.25 an acre, and a few years later sold out to another old settler at $60 an acre. In 1862 another old settler bought two-fifths of an acre for $250, or $625 an acre, and sold part of his purchase to another old settler at the rate of $2,500 an acre or $500 for an ordinary sized lot. During the constant rise in value the taxes appear to have remained stationary until it was discovered that the final purchasers were not speculators. They actually used the ground, built dwellings thereon, and their taxes had to be multiplied in accordance with the laws, and now average over $60 an acre, whereas the speculator only paid $1.50! The user of land must pay forty times the tax of the non-using speculator. Is it to be wondered that Burlington does not improve?

Thirty years ago the Iowa farmer owned his farm, and the Burlington workingman lived in his own house. Now the farmer is a mortgageor, the workingman is a renter, and never hopes to earn his own dwelling. A few of us seized opportunities and bought land, and we keep all others off unless they can pay us for permission to use it. We don't build because unused lots are but lightly taxed, and if we build the tax gatherer would be bound to punish us. Our young men have to emigrate because land in their native city is too dear for them to secure a home in it. In the days of hard labor one[sic] man's labor supplied a good living for a family—now, notwithstanding all inventions and improvements, child labor is required to keep the parents out of the poor house.

Business is dull because industry is oppressively taxed. One-third of our territory is hardly made use of: two-thirds idle and untaxed (or very lightly taxed)—"held for a rise." If this unused land was taxed equally with what is used we should in a short time have six houses to the acre instead of two. What a demand there would be for labor, and consequently for farm products and merchandise, and dwellings and other necessities for the workers and their families.

Abolish all taxes on industry, such as houses, crops, live stock, furniture, money and all personal property; and an equitable tax on the land values of our city will yield three times the revenue we now get from all sources. The change will benefit all—even the land speculator, for he will dispose of his unproductive property and invest in business.

We should protect American farmers and other workers by making the products of the farm and earnings of labor buy as much as possible of the necessaries and comforts of life—as much coal, shoes, clothing, groceries, etc. We should facilitate exchange between farmer and merchant, abolishing all the farmer's taxes except those on the value of the land, and those of the merchant except those on the value of the lot occupied by his buildings. This would cheapen commodities and give more purchasing power to the wages of the worker, and wages would rise steadily because of the demand for homes. The increase in the working population would increase land values, and the taxes thereon would enable the city to furnish light, water, heat, transportation and many other conveniences to the public, and keep out of debt. Other cities and other states would follow the example, and the most beneficent change in all history (since Solomon made silver to abound as stones in the streets of Jerusalem), would take place. It was not by "the best financial system," but by setting labor at work that Israel's wisest king made his country rish[sic], and *per contra*, it was the taxes on industry that turned the same region into a wilderness under the Saracens. Taxing the olives made the people cut down their trees. Taxes on the date palm made the dates disappear. Taxes and rents have about ruined Ireland, and the people of America are about making up their minds that this country shall not much longer remain the prey of the land holder and the tax gatherer.

Sic in the original; probably "hand labor one (possibly)".
Sic in the original; probably "rich".

Something for the "Evening Post's" Agricultural Editor to Read.

Cor. Dunkirk, N. Y., Observer-Journal.

Editor *Observer-Journal.*—In your issue of last Saturday you give from the New York *Evening Post* what you deemed a "hard nut to crack." Previously you gave us some from "A Dunkirk Farmer." Let me take up at present the Oyster bay nut. Mr. Oyster from Oyster bay describes himself as having a farm of 100 acres, which with buildings is assessed at $5,000, the buildings being rated at $2,500. This land is, therefore $25 land. Mr. O.'s town tax is $75. A rich New Yorker comes and buys five acres adjoining, and puts up a $50.000[sic] house, the assessed valuation of which is $30,000, on which the town tax is $450. It is a remarkable house for that kind of land, but never mind!

Oyster makes this calculation: That the New Yorker and himself are assessed on $35,000, the united tax amounting to $525. He thus reasons: "For the necessary expenses of the town $525 has to be raised from my own and my neighbor's property; consequently at the same tax percentage of 1½ my assessment must be raised from $5,000 now on both house and land to $33.300[sic] on my land alone, and my wealthy neighbor's assessment reduced from $30,000 to $1,700, that being the proportionate value to mine of his five acres. The tax collector therefore calls upon the struggling farmer (i. e., Mr. Oyster) for an annual tax of $500, when formerly he paid only $75!"

Now this is either the reasoning of an oyster or it is a very peculiar town. That town contains only two landed proprietors having a domain of only 105 acres. It must be so else that $450 taken off from New Yorker would not all come on Oyster and his 100 acres. An ordinary sized town is (say) six miles square, containing of course 23,040 acres. Now, if Oyster Bay were not so wonderfully small, said $450 would be distributed over (say) 23,040 acres, which would be something under two cents per acre, or $2 for Oyster's 100 acres. Oyster's tax therefore would be $77 instead of $75. In other words the intelligent farmer has been burdened to the extent of about 100 postage stamps!

This is in accordance with the oyster's own reasoning. I don't claim that it is the Henry George theory.

Let us suppose that New Yorker has just this season finished his grand house, and suppose he is not going to be taxed on it. How is Mr. Oyster any worse off for the building of that house? Does it make his tax any larger than it was the year before? How? He says that it has raised it from $75 to $500. Let him thank God that it was not two New Yorkers with equally grand houses, for then of course his tax would have been $1,000. And had that terrible New Yorker put up a $500,000 house the tax on Mr. Oyster, namely $5,000, would have swept the poor man's property all away!

Left to myself I should have supposed that putting up the house would have brought money into Oyster Bay, and improved the market for its vegetables and clams, to supply the host of summer friends of New Yorker, but since it is going to ruin our friend Oyster if it is not taxed, I should by all means have Oyster Bay, where oyster logic, mathematics and political economy exist, exempted from the operation of Mr. George's theory. But where the laws of nature are in operation—why it might be different.

Mr. Editor, I am not a statesman, and do not pretend to solve all the deep problems which are sure to confront the pioneer of a great reform; but if you have some more nice little soft nuts like that of the New York *Post*, be kind enough to bring them to the

NUTCRACKER.

Sic in the original; probably "$50,000".
Sic in the original; probably "$33,300".

Two Ways of Getting Rich.

Town Topics.

One is to go on making wealth by creation; the other is to allow other people to make it for you. To expand a business and pass it down to one's descendants is a fascinating idea, but there is one very variable factor in the problem. What manner of men will the descendants be? To conduct a commerce to success requires brains and application; to ruin it, a man only needs to lack one of these qualities and the chances are against him.

To let other people make your fortune is a far easier task. Old John Jacob Astor reduced it to a formula, "Buy de farm and sell de lot."

Given a city in a good commercial situation,

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and supposing a certain measure of passable government, and a fair amount of peace, and growth is certain. Men may embark in trade and ninety per cent of them come to grief, but in running their career they will have expended money, and money attracts population, and people must have land to live upon, so that the crafty fellow who sits down and absorbs his uncarned[sic] increment must get on top in the long run.

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[Advertisement] Members of Labor Organizations

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

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

Sic in the original; probably "unearned".
Sic in the original; probably "GEORGE W.".

[Advertisement] Protection or Free Trade? Popular Edition

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

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No. 1. "First Principles." By Henry George. 4 pages.

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Sic in the original; probably "reforms (initial r missing)".

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No. 6. “The Settler’s Nightmare.” By Louis F. Post. 4 pages.

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California—Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco.

Connecticut—Robert Pyne, 284 Asylum st., Hartford.

Eastern Pennsylvania—Henry George club, box 190, Philadelphia.

Indiana—Warren Worth Bailey, Vincennes.

Kentucky—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box 406, Cincinnati.

Louisiana—Jere. J. Sullivan, 705 Fulton street, New Orleans.

Massachusetts (Berkshire county)—F. Harvey Lincoln, box 115, Zylonite.

Maryland—T. H. Garside, 1507 West Lexington street, Baltimore.

Minnesota—Central Committee, United Labor Party, 42 Third st. south, Minneapolis.

New York—John McMackin, 25 Cooper Union, New York city.

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[Advertisement] Illinois

ILLINOIS.—Readers of the "Standard" in the state of Illinois, and all others interested in the great principles it advocates, are requested to send names and addresses to W. H. Van Ornum, president of land and labor club No. 1,

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Sic in the original; probably "JEROME B. HOWARD (period missing)".
Sic in the original; probably "exponent".

Room 63, [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 (First Assembly District, Albany)

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

[Advertisement] 23rd Assembly District

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[Advertisement] Voters of Maryland

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

JOHN SALMON,

415 N. Eutaw st., Baltimore, Md.

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[Running head: 8 THE[sic] STANDARD SATURDAY, NOVEMBER 26, 1887]

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

[SUMMIT?], R. I.—I know that you must receive so many letters that unimportant ones cannot be desirable. But you would excuse me for writing if you knew how dear to me has been the hope that the united labor party would win a victory in the late election, and how my heart ached when I heard it had been defeated.

I ask myself again and again, when falsehood, bribery and perjury prevail over truth and justice, on what can rest the hope of salvation for a people so immoral and government so corrupt. The blindness and stupidity of those that can see and hear and yet will not understand is lamentable. I am sure many think and feel as I do who do not express their sentiments in words.

L. INGRAHAM.

Yes, friend Ingraham, many do feel just as you do about the recent election. We have plenty of letters such as yours, letters not despondent, but regretful, voicing a wish that things might have been otherwise than as they are, lamenting that the cause we love should have had such a check, regretting that truth should have been defeated, half fearful lest after all justice should be cheated of her final triumph.

Friends, one and all, let us look this matter square in the face and settle within our own minds just what was the meaning of the election in this state of New York.

We were defeated; that is true enough. We who are urging our fellow men to assert their equal rights as God's children; we who are begging our brothers and sisters to come out of the slough of poverty and cast from their shoulders the heavy burden of greed and sin that poverty has fastened on them; we who hope and pray and work for the coming of God's kingdom upon earth and the dawn of the day when the precept that bids us love our neighbor as ourself shall be something more than a glittering generality. We were outnumbered, defeated, thrust back and borne down. But the cause for which we are battling. the truth we are urging mankind to see, is as strong and bright and powerful as ever. The sun shines on, though a whole hemisphere be turned away from its beams and lost in the shades of night. The rosy dawn, the darkling shades of evening, betoken neither victory nor defeat for the orb of day; they simply tell the motion of the earth. So truth shines on eternal, and though men may blind their eyes for a season and struggle not to see, they can quench no single ray, destroy no single beam. For truth is of God, and right is right, though a thousand million ballots should reject it.

What has the election shown! Why, simply this: that in this great state of New York there are of a surety 73,000 men who see the truth and hail it with delight. Is there anything discouraging in *that?* Suppose there were but seventy-three of us instead of 73,000, wouldn't it be joy enough for us that we see the truth and know it of a surety to *be* the truth? Ah, friends, so long as we know that the truth *is*, how can we be discouraged by any mere counting of the number who have learned to see it? Was Galileo's joy that he had read the message from the stars

Sic in the original; probably "THE".

less, think you, because a few bigots couldn't understand it? The earth moved on serenely, and the changing shadows told the story of its motion, even while the churchmen voted that it couldn't move. Though all the world should vote that two and two make five, the eternal law of God would rest unchanged, and two and two would make but four, first, last, and all the time.

In the election just over, we raised no issue to be decided. We simply pointed to a truth and invited its acceptance. Between democrat and republican there were issues to be fought out and settled. Who should hold this office or that? What boss should rule in city, county or state! To which organization should the plunder of patronage be given? These were the questions for whose decision money flowed like water, and falsehood and chicanery were rampant. And they have been decided. But the united labor party proposed no question for settlement. It pointed to an eternal law of justice, and urged men to say by their votes whether they were minded to follow it or not. And though but 73,000 voted "aye," the law is there still, unchangeable and everlasting, written by the hand of God, and waiting but for men to see and acknowledge it.

And how clearly does our duty lie before us. How gloriously simple is our task. Only to turn the eyes of our fellow men toward the light. Only to make them see the truth. We have naught to do with questions of expediency; we needn't trouble ourselves as to whether this scheme will work or that expedient produce its expected result; we've got the bottom truth of all, the law of justice that flames direct from the very throne of the Father, and our only task is to urge men to accept it.

Oh! John Smith! John Smith! You can do it if you will! Your neighbors all around you are blindly groping, aimlessly seeking, fairly longing for the truth. You can turn their eyes toward the light if you will but do it. Seventy-three thousand of you in this one state, each with his circle of friends and acquaintances! What can't you do to usher in God's kingdom if you only will. How dire is the responsibility that rests upon you if you fail to do your duty. The crust of bread and cup of water for which God's poor are longing are in your hands as never before in any man's since the world was. Bethink you that the day will come when you shall be asked whose hunger you appeased and whose thirst you slaked.

Here is what a friend in Ohio writes, enclosing ten six months subscriptions to THE STANDARD:

Now that the skirmish in New York is over it is time we all settled down to work again. I have commenced my work already, going round among my neighbors and urging them for their own sakes to subscribe to our paper that they may see for themselves what there is to be said on our side, and the inclosed list of subscribers is the result.

It isn't such very hard work. In fact it's easier than it used to be to get subscribers. People round here are beginning to get curious about the matter. They want to know what it is that is making all this fuss, and they begin to see that the ordinary newspaper accounts of the single tax movement are not very accurate. One man, when he paid me his subscription, said: "I own a quarter section of land right here, and work pretty hard to make a living off it. Now if there are 73,000 men in New York state who want to take that land away from me I want to know it and get my gun loaded in time; and if they don't want to take it away why I want to know for sure just what it is they do want; so I guess I'll take your paper for six months and find out.

T. F. C——.

CINCINNATI, O.—Inclosed find remittance and list of five subscribers. We are all anxious to do what we can to spread the light, and we don't know any more efficacious plan of work than to go round among our friends to get

subscribers to THE STANDARD. It isn't very hard work, but if it were twice as hard we would do it gladly, for it's the sure way to win. I hope we shall be able to send another list before long. We mean to try anyway.

ELLEN D. HORTON.

Letters such as these, friends, point the path of duty lying straight before you. We say duty advisedly. We ask you to help to spread the circulation of THE STANDARD, not as a matter of favor to us, not as an evidence of your appreciation of our efforts to give you an interesting and inspiring paper, but as a solemn duty which you owe to yourselves, to your children, and

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to your fellow men. Every reader whom you secure for us means a fresh adherent to our cause; every new subscriber is a voter secured against the day when votes will again be counted; and more than this, there is the ever present possibility that the man whom you bring into our ranks by inducing his subscription may prove an earnest, irresistible apostle of the truth, through whose influence thousands may be gathered into the fold.

Do not forget that whether you help us by active work or remain idle, the enemy keeps on working just the same. Power, patronage, a vast ecclesiastical machine, the whole strength of the partisan press of every faction, are arrayed against us in deadly. hostility. Whatever falsehood, misrepresentation. sneers, insinuation can do against us is done steadily, persistently and systematically. We would not have it otherwise; for these things show the strength of the movement we are urging forward. But to you these attacks should be but incentives to fresh and more energetic action. Let your answer to each falsehood be a fresh club of subscribers. Stir round among your neighbors. If they already believe, let them testify their faith by supporting the paper devoted to their cause; if they are indifferent or hostile, spare no effort to persuade them to study both sides of the question, to read and investigate for themselves. It is on your efforts. readers of THE STANDARD, that we depend for strength and support. Let us not find that we are leaning on a broken reed.

PICTOU, Ont.—I have received a copy of THE STANDARD in which was given the result of the late election. If the defeat recorded there awakens in each of our STANDARD readers the determination to work harder than ever to spread the doctrine of the land for the people, as it has in me, then will the defeat be better than a victory. I regret that I am not wealthy, but there is a power in earnestness and energy that, in part at least, compensates for the lack of money.

Inclosed find postoffice order, for which please send me THE STANDARD for the next six months, together with the following books to the various addresses given below.

MRS. W. F. JOHNSON.

DUBBO, N. S. W., Australia.—In August last I wrote you to increase my order to one hundred and fifty copies weekly. I shall probably increase this order materially .by[sic] next mail.

I shall shortly travel to some neighboring towns and deliver addresses. If I have any success I shall require a large supply of STANDARDS by the December mail to enable me to bombard Sydney, our metropolis.

I am much pleased with the quality of the matter I find in THE STANDARD. I greatly enjoyed that address of H. F. Ring. In my next order I shall include a quantity of tracts, and hope to do good work distributing them.

GEORGE PLUMMER.

Sic in the original; probably "materially by".

This comes from a clergyman who, alas! writes at the head of his letter, "Don't make my name public for the present:"

I inclose remittance, for which send THE STANDARD to my two sons at the following addresses.

I have been interested in your movement since I first knew something of its meaning—perhaps two years ago—and now, since some friend has been kind enough to send me the campaign STANDARD, I have obtained a more specific comprehension of the principles of the united labor party and the feasibility of their application. I am intensely interested, and earnestly pray for the success of the movement, which I feel sure is only a question of time, and I hope not a long time. As it now looks to me, it is the system worth laboring for, compared to which there is no principle of importance before the country. Yes! the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, the solidarity of the race, is my religion.

J. —— ——,

Pastor ——.

YOUNGSTOWN, O.—We have read the news; we have heard the crowing of the two old political parties, and we answer it by starting a land and labor club here. Now is the time to show the people that we mean business, that we are enlisted in the cause for life. Let land and labor clubs be started all over this Union, north, south, east and west, and let the cry be that the party of truth and justice is here to stay.

I keep a dining hall, and have Henry George's picture in the window with a lot of tracts, and I keep the ball a-rolling here. This afternoon I go to Cleveland (my old home) and meet there to-night with land and labor club No. 9 of Ohio.

I inclose $5, for which send me a few "Land Questions," also "Property in Land." Then for $1 enroll me as a member of the Anti-poverty society, and for the balance send me land and labor tracts.

BILLY RADCLIFFE.

EASTPORT, Me[sic] —For inclosed postal note please send me THE STANDARD for six months and one hundred copies of tract No. 30 of the Land and labor library. I am poor, but am doing all I can to spread the light. When I cannot do any more, I give away the back numbers of THE STANDARD, though I prize them highly, and would like to keep them.

SAMUEL R. SHAW.

PERRY, Ia.—Your earnest appeal to all readers of Publisher's Notes, has stirred me to action. I have put a copy of THE STANDARD in my barber shop, and have ordered ten more to distribute among my friends. Could our friends not do this generally? I am making converts, and have just brought my newsdealer around after considerable argument. All goes well.

JOHN ROGERS.

Seventy three thousand that stood up to be counted in the state of New York! How many elsewhere throughout the union? Ah! if every one of them would but show the spirit of the men who write these letters—if every soldier in our great army of emancipation would but strike one downright blow for freedom and the cause he loves—how

Sic in the original; probably "EASTPORT, Me.—".

long before we should be shouting songs of victory and hailing the advent of the law of equal justice and equal rights?

A single religious organization has raised within the past year one million dollars for the support of missions—a million dollars for the preaching to the heathen of God's kingdom in heaven.

A million dollars to carry the gospel to the heathen. Is there no lesson and no rebuke for us in such a record? We are laboring to spread a knowledge of the gospel—the gospel of equality, of brotherly love, of good will, in a single word, of justice. The heathen among whom we have to labor are at our doors; they live among us in palaces, in hovels, in houses and in tenements. They perish among us by the score of thousands yearly. They struggle, and push, and lie, and crowd each other down remorselessly, each struggling to escape the doom he ignorantly believes a cruel providence has made inevitable. These men and women, our sisters and our brothers, are perishing through ignorance. They are not unwilling to see the light, they are not willfully wedded to the ways of darkness; they simply need to be shown the truth and they will accept it gladly. Is it no reproach to us that while a million dollars is subscribed to send preachers to the foreign heathen, the work of telling God's eternal law to the heathen at our doors languishes for want of funds?

Friends, the recruiting fund needs money! It needs it urgently. It needs it now. Its work is languishing for want of means; and those means it is your solemn duty to supply. Among those who read THE STANDARD are many to whom every dollar is of importance, who cannot contribute to this missionary work save by depriving those dependent on them of some necessities of life. From such nothing ought to be expected; there are other fields of [illegible] to which [illegible] find employment. But from those who can spare

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money the cause demands it in the measure of their ability. Shall it ask in vain?

The contributions to the recruiting fund during the past week have been:

H. Slocum, Wolverline[sic], Mich..... $1 00
Georgian, New York city..... 10
'Ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer..... 2 00
U L. club, Wilmington, Del..... 5 00
T. C. [Wells?], New York city..... 50
Cash..... 1 50
E., Madison, Dak..... 1 00
L. Prang Boston..... 20 00
H. L. Pieace[sic], San Francisco..... 10 00

Total for the week..... $41 10
Previously acknowledged..... 1.919 87[sic]

$1,960 47

Sic in the original; probably "Wolverine".
Sic in the original; probably "Pierce".
Sic in the original; probably "1,919 87".

THE. SITUATION IN MICHIGAN.

Tho Prospects[sic] for the New Movement Good—Unexpected Sources of Strength.

DETROIT, Mich., Nov. 21.—It is gratifying to note the determination of our friends in New York state to keep up the fight for justice and equality. Everything considered, I think your candidates received a splendid vote. Seventy-three thousand votes in the first contest of one state would be a good showing for a new party, even without the many powerful forces in politics that were brought to bear directly against the united labor party at the election which begins an epoch in the history of this country.

In this city we had a full ticket in the field, as also in nearly all the wards, and our candidate for mayor received over 1,600 votes. This, too, despite the fact that nearly all of the old-time leaders of the labor movement have been subsidized by the old parties with fat positions in the public service. The old standby, Henry A. Robinson, headed the ticket. We had no funds and couldn't begin to make what might be called a campaign. Our party machinery was imperfect and we had no systematic method of distributing tracts.

Hundreds of people in sympathy with all true efforts to benefit the laboring people scarcely knew of the existence of the movement, much less of its principles, and therefore didn't go near the places of registration or the polls. It made no difference to them which one of the old parties was successful. A great many of the working people of this city are Canadians by birth, and for the same reason did not take the trouble or go to the expense of becoming naturalized. When these two elements are imbued with our doctrines they will take advantage of the elective franchise and add greatly to our strength.

The labor paper of this city was not on the right track until just prior to election, but now can be depended upon as a "thick-and-thin" advocate of our cause.

The prospects of the party in the state generally are comparatively good. The Grand Rapids *Workman* is a champion of the cause. The Detroit *Evening News*, the most powerful daily paper in the state, is committed to all the leading planks of our platform, and is especially outspoken in its advocacy of the Henry George land doctrine and the Australian system of voting. Some of the country weeklies are pronounced in favor of our principles, or are bringing their readers step by step over to our side. I believe one of the most profitable of fields for proselyting is among the independent rural press. It is in the power of country editors to inculcate anti-poverty doctrines in the minds of their readers without the latter being even aware of it.

The socialists of this city, do not, as a body' antagonize[sic] us. Some of our leading men were formerly socialists, but have abandoned that party for the practical one. More of them still cling to the old organization, but support the united labor party as far as it goes.

The union labor party has no strength in this city and very little throughout the state. Much of that is made up of men who believe the single tax to be the only solution of the labor problem, and belong to that organization because there is no other in their particular locality.

It is reasonably certain that Michigan can be counted on in the future as a stronghold of the unite[sic] labor party. The leaders of this city have signified a determination to push on. We need one or two speeches from some of the national leaders, preferably Henry George or Dr. McGlynn, because many will go to hear either of them. through[108] curiosity, who would not go to hear others—to wake the people up. If we can secure these, together with the

Sic in the original; probably "The Prospects".
Sic in the original; probably "body, antagonize".
Sic in the original; probably "united".
Sic in the original; probably "them, through".

work of organization and education that can be done during the year and the favorable local circumstances, I have no hesitancy in saying that our strength in 1888 will astonish our foes.

On the whole the party has flattering prospects of success in the near future. Its foundation is so solid, its membership so intelligent, its motives so patriotic, its platform so well defined, its principles so just and human, its remedy so radical and far-reaching, its generalship so wise and courageous, its methods so honest and free from suspicion, and the gradual application of its public policy so practical and productive of so little jar to the industrial and business interests of the country, that its progress must be simply irresistible. It is in its nature to move like an avalanche, slowly but surely at first, gathering strength and momentum as it pushes along, finally to sweep out of existence every vestige of injustice and every taint of oppression.

THOS. A. MCCANN.

Arthur Hall Meeting, Harlem.

There was an increase in the attendance at this hall last Sunday night.

The meeting was addressed by Rev. C. P. McCarthy, Mrs. Margaret Moore and Mr. W. J. Gorsuch. Mrs. and Miss McCarthy sang a duet, and Miss McCarthy recited "The Charcoal Man" with voice illustrations which were both laughable and touching, and which were received with prolonged applause.

The meeting was brought to a close at 10 o'clock by singing "The Cross of the New Crusade."

Next Sunday evening Mr. McCarthy will be assisted by Mr. A. G. Sullivan, of Brooklyn, who will deliver an address: Subject, "The poor ye have always with you." Mr. Edelmann and others will speak.

Abundant Reason to Thank God.

SAN FRANCISCO, Nov. 11.—When we consider the fact that a little more than one in every six voters in New York and Brooklyn is to-day a true and tried land reform man, thoroughly imbued with the principles of the grand movement for the establishment of justice among men, and that he has by his acts shown himself to be such, under a pressure to which but few men have been put in the history of the world, I think we have abundant reason to thank God and take courage.

Our vote aggregates 75,000 in the whole state. Multiply that number by five, as is generally done in attempts to estimate a population by its vote, and we have a compact and united community of tried believers amounting to 375,000 souls. That is a goodly army of soldiers of the new crusade to start in with. And remember they are distributed in a [manner?] to do the most good. Again, they are not an invading army of a foreign

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power. They each have friends, neighbors and associates whom they can get at.

That this great truth should have made such *rapid progress* in one short year is a matter of amazement. The prohibitionists—and I name them because they are the only other party with a principle—have been at work for sixteen or twenty years trying to found a party in your state. They are regarded as having done remarkably well to have got 40,000 votes in twenty years. They have behind them the influence of nearly all the Protestant churches,

the organizations known as the Sons of temperance, Good Templars and Women's Christian temperance union. We have succeeded in less than a year in getting twice as *many* votes as they have been able to get in twenty years.

Now is the time for earnest, energetic and courageous effort to spread the light. We are all full of courage here, and feel inspired with new spirit to go on with the noble work.

JOSEPH LEGGETT.

Enlisted for the War and Not Discouraged Because the Skirmish Line is Driven Back.

ARCHER, Wyo. Ter.—We have met a repulse. I hoped for better news from New York. The result was a sad disappointment. Did it discourage or undo me? No; a thousand times, no. It has made me more resolute, more determined than ever. What if some weak and weary have fallen by the wayside? What if others, like cowards, have deserted us? With 73,000 picked men we can form a guard irresistible. As for me, I have enlisted in the crusade after due deliberation and reflection. With it I will remain in sunshine and in storms, in victory or defeat. But we will and must triumph. It is truth and brotherhood arrayed against error and selfishness. Let us close our ranks, let us double our determination. Forward, and a victory grand yet bloodless will crown our efforts.

A. G. GROH.

Encyclopedia Britannica.

We have received two more volumes of the popular reprint of the Encyclopedia Britannica, published by Messrs. Henry G. Allen & Co. of New York city. It has been said that a man shut up in a prison, or on a desert island, and allowed one printed volume to while away his weary hours of loneliness, would do most wisely in choosing for that purpose a volume of a good encyclopedia. Certain it is that in the age in which we live an encyclopedia passes out of the category of a literary luxury, and becomes a veritable necessity for all men of education and inteliligence[sic]. To be able to obtain this scholarly and comprehensive work for the small sum of $2 50[,110] per volume is good news to thousands of readers.

Ten Fighters Better Than One Hundred Skulkers.

BALLSTON SPA, N. Y[sic] —It is better to have ten men in an organization who will fight than one hundred who will will[,112] only run. We have a grand army, and will constantly receive recruits.

Push the Australian system of voting. Two hundred and sixty votes were brought here[sic] in one district out of a poll of 475. Think of it!

Sic in the original; probably "intelligence".
Sic in the original; probably "$2.50".
Sic in the original; probably "BALLSTON SPA, N. Y.—".
Sic in the original; probably "will".
Sic in the original; probably "were bought here (probably)".

R. FEENEY.

A Modification of the Australian System of Voting.

No. 56 of the land and labor library is "Electoral Reform; Allen Thorndike Rice's Plan for the Prevention of Bribery." It also contains the text of a proposed law to promote open nominations and provide greater security for the secrecy of the ballot. The price of No. 56 is 25 cents per 100 copies; $2 per 1,000.

Upholding the Rights of Rich and Poor Alike.

Middletown, N. Y., Advance.

Taxes are imposed for the purpose of defraying expenses of government. The man who lives in a marble palace should receive the same consideration and protection as does the dweller in a humble cottage. The rich man asks for no more and should not be compelled to receive it and pay for it. The poor man will not ask for less, and if he be a man, will willingly pay up. If we would uphold the rights of the poor and the oppressed, we can only do it by also upholding the rights of the opulent. The leaders of the new crusade are painted as demagogues and likened unto the leaders of the commune, inciting the mob to rise up in a night and destroy all before it. But they scornfully fling these insinuations back to their accusers, the "society saviors," and unhesitatingly affirm that they themselves are the really dangerous element in our land; that they conspire to keep the "common" people in ignorance in order that they may continue to plunder and to rule them.

Route of the Great Labor Procession.

Toronto Grip.

The labor demonstration in this city on Saturday was a fine success as a street spectacle, and, we trust, also a pleasant affair for all concerned. While Mr. *Grip* watched the hardy sons of toil file past, he saw a great deal more than the ordinary spectator. To him the procession was a type, in miniature, of the grand march of labor now in progress throughout America. And, for the information of those who are blind to the signs of the times, the route of the labor multitude may be here stated: From Ignorance, along Agitation avenue to Organization; thence by way of Strike lane and Boycott alley to Ballot street, along Ballot to Intelligence park, where the hosts of labor are joined by their natural allies, the forces of capital; thence the united bodies move by way of Political Power avenue to Single-Tax-on-Land-Values street; thence past Landlord cemetery to Justice place, where a grand jubilee will be held in honor of the abolition of poverty.

Isn't It Pitiful!

New York Tribune.

There was a singular scene in the City hall park east of the county court house yesterday afternoon. A heap of cinders from the furnaces used to heat the building had been thrown out in the open space, and a crowd of Italian women and girls swooped down upon the pile with the voracity of a starving wolf leaping on a plump and juicy lamb. They burrowed through the heap with feverish activity, picking out all the little pieces of coal and cinder that could still be used in stoves. It was a striking illustration of the extreme poverty of many people of this class in the tenement districts and the desperate shifts to which they are reduced in the effort to keep body and soul together.

The Rights of Tom Turnsod and Jack Shoveler.

J. Bruce Wallace, M. A., in Limavady (Ireland) Brotherhood.

We do not believe that it was merely for the duke of Sutherland and a few thousand others that God made the land. Tom Turnsod and Jack Shoveler have quite as good a right to the land as his grace or any other landlord. We do not believe that it was just for the duke of Hamilton and a few other magnates that God—ages ago—laid up stores of fuel in the bowels of the earth. The poor sewing woman that sits shivering in the fireless attic through dreary winter days and long winter nights has quite as good a right to coals as any supposed owner of coal fields. The £141,667 annually paid to the duke of Sutherland for permission to till certain portions of the earth that not he, but God made; the £114,487 annually paid to the duke of Hamilton for coals that not he, but God made; and all the rest of the £100,000,[000?] or £[200,000,000?], or [whatever?] the exact sum may be, annually paid in the

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[Advertisement] Braham's: Special for November

SPECIAL FOR NOVEMBER.

THIS STYLE SUIT TO ORDER $13.50
TROUSERS 3.50
OVERCOATS ..... FROM 14.00

[Illustration: man standing 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.

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shape of rents and royalties to landlords, for the privilege of making the earth bring forth food and of exploiting mines; all this does not rightfully belong to their graces and lordships. As gently as possible, with as slight a shock as may be, but still effectually, the landlord class must be let down from their unjust position. While houses, improvements and everything else made by individual industry and enterprise must be guaranteed to those who have made them, the land itself with all its natural treasures should be regarded as common property, and the rent of it ought to be paid into a common treasury to provide public benefits—education, sanitation, wholesome recreation, equally free to all the inhabitants of the land.

[Advertisement] Cure for the Deaf

CURE FOR THE DEAF

PECK'S PATENT IMPROVED CUSHIONED EAR DRUMS Perfectly Restore the Hearing, and perform the work of the natural drum.. Invisible, comfortable and always in position. All conversation and even whispers heard distinctly. Send for illustrated book with testimonials, FREE. Address F. HISCOX, 853 Broadway, N. Y.

Please mention paper.

[Advertisement] Anti-Poverty Society

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.

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

The thirty-first public meeting of the society will be held at

STEINWAY HALL

(next block to Academy of Music)

SUNDAY EVENING, NOVEMBER 27.

LECTURE ON MOSES

by

HENRY GEORGE.

Singing by

CONCORDIA CHORUS,

Under the direction of

MISS AGATHA MUNIER.

Admission free, except to reserved seats. Reserved seats, 25 cents and 50 cents.

Box office open at 6:30 p.m. on Sunday.

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

NOTE.—The Academy of Music having been let to other parties for 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] Just Issued: The Primary Elements of the New Political Economy

JUST ISSUED.

THE PRIMARY ELEMENTS OF THE NEW POLITICAL ECONOMY;

or the

HENRY GEORGE SYSTEM OF TAXING LAND VALUES IN A NUTSHELL.

By A. G. SULLIVAN.

12mo; 28 pages.

Prices, $4.00 per 100; $30 per 1,000; single copies, 10c.

Address

McHALE, ROHDE & CO.,

No. 9 Courtland street, New York.

[Advertisement] McGill: Cabinet Photos

DR. McGLYNN, HENRY GEORGE, PENTECOST; 3 cabinet photos, 20c.; $2.75 per 100. McGILL, 304 Henry st., New York.

[Advertisement] Canned Goods: Hand Made C. M. M. P. A.

[Illustration: circular trade mark 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

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, 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: New Truss

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 B. Schaidner, Photographer

CHARLES B. 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.

[Advertisement] Concord Co-operative Printing Company

PRINTING.

CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY (Ld.)

47 and 49 Center st., N. Y.

BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.

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[Advertisement] The Keystone Watch Club Co.

THOUSANDS OF THE BEST

$38 GOLD WATCH

S EVER MADE ARE SELLING IN OUR

CO-OPERATIVE CLUBS.

This is the Best. Cheapest, Most Convenient,

And *only* co-operative System of selling watches. The watches are American Lever Stem Winders, containing every essential to accuracy and durability, and have, in addition, numerous 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, durabitity*[sic] *and service, to any $75 Watch.*

Sic in the original; probably "durability".

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.

[Illustration: keystone-shaped trade mark with a pocket watch bearing the Pennsylvania arms, lettered THE KEYSTONE WATCH CLUB CO.]



REFERENCES:—Keystone National Bank, or any Commercial Agency

AGENCIES:

New York, N.Y.	Harrisburg, Pa.

Chicago, Ill.	Denver, Col.
Pittsburgh, Pa.	Baltimore, Md.
Boston, Mass.	St. Louis, Mo.
Philadelphia, Pa.	Wilmington, Del.
Detroit, Mich.	Etc., etc.

[Advertisement] Christmas Time: Waterbury Timekeeper

CHRISTMAS TIME.

NO TIME LIKE

THE PRESENT.

NO TIMEKEEPER LIKE

THE WATERBURY.

NO PRESENT LIKE THE

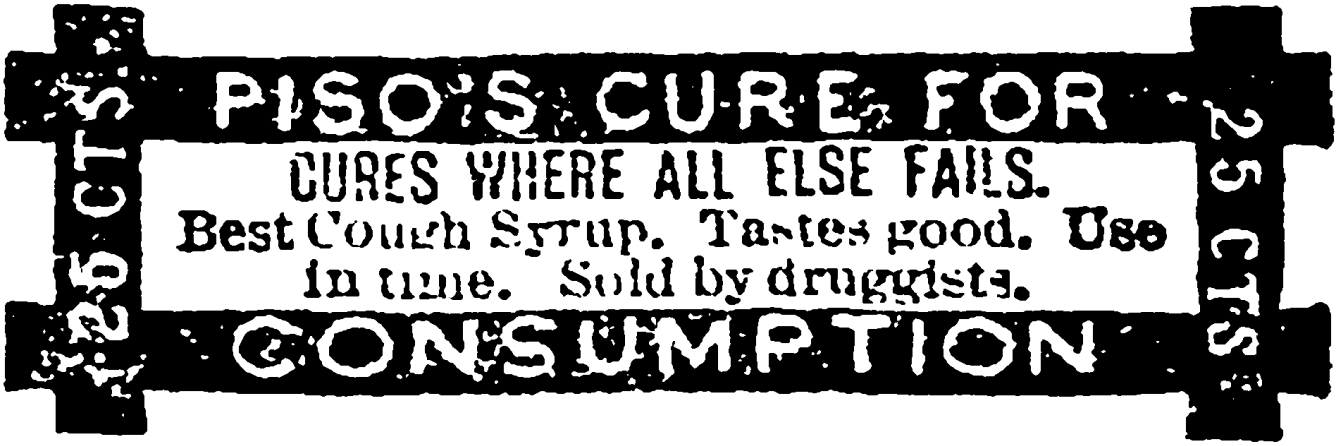
WATERBURY TIMEKEEPER

A Stem Winding Accurate Watch Sold for $2.50.

ONLY BY RETAIL WATCH DEALERS.

[Advertisement] Piso's Cure for Consumption

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



CURES WHERE ALL ELSE FAILS. Best Cough Syrup. Tastes good. Use in time. Sold by druggists.

[Advertisement] Holland's Coffee and Dining Rooms

HOLLAND'S COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS,

[125?] Fourth avenue,

Bet. 13th and 14th sts.

[Advertisement] The Great American Tea Co.: Good News to Ladies

[Illustration: T-shaped trade mark in white on black, lettered THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA COMPANY]



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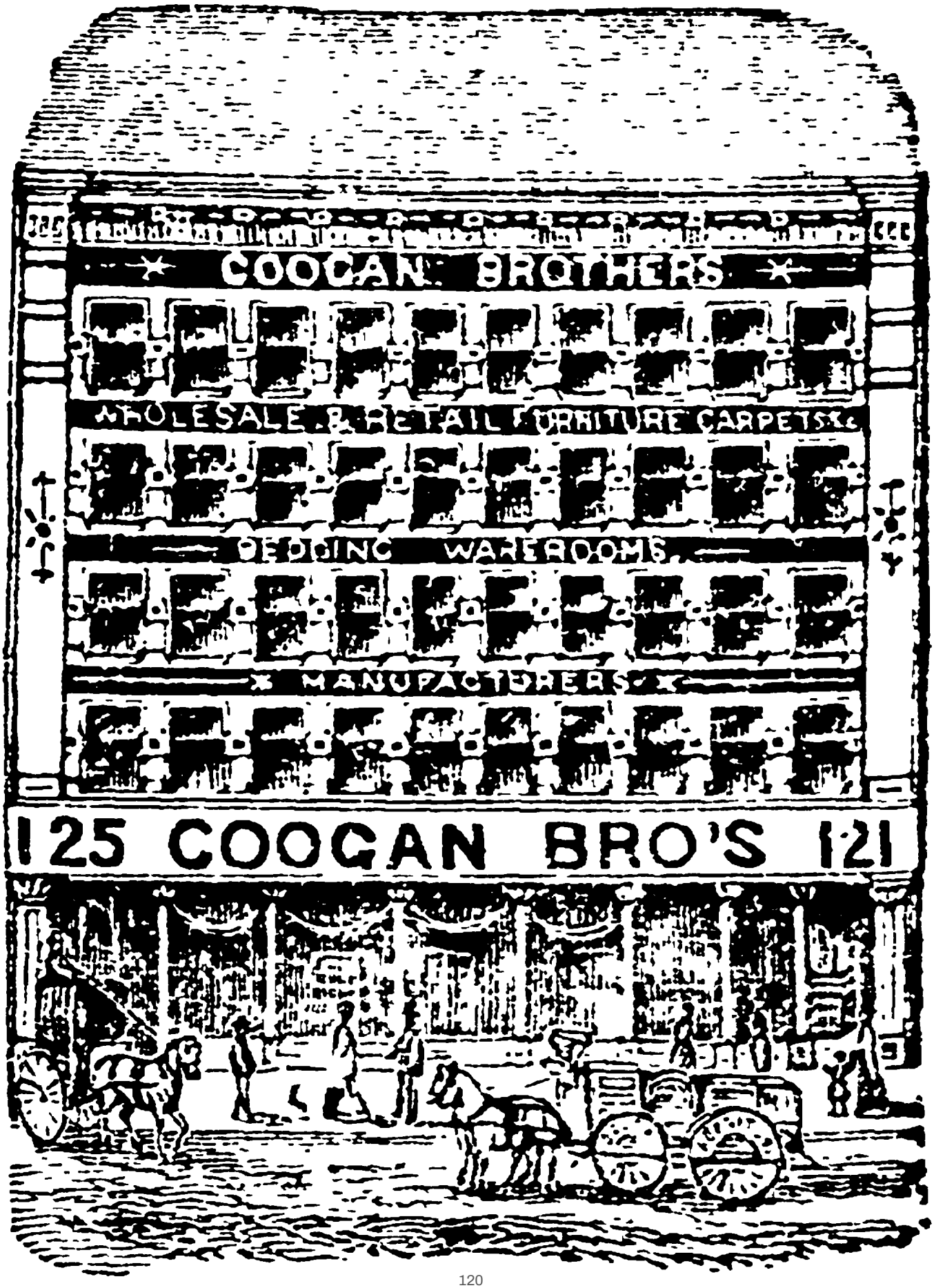
[Illustration: street view of the Coogan Brothers store with horse-drawn wagons; signs on the building read COOGAN BROTHERS, WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE CARPETS &c, BEDDING WAREROOMS,

MANUFACTURERS, and 125 COOGAN BRO'S 121]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