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About this text (4 notes on this issue)

- `[word?]` is a best guess; `[illegible]` means unreadable. Line-end hyphens are joined. Misprints are kept as printed.
- **Page 8, United Labor Party table:** two delegate counts ([35?], [33?]) don't add up to the printed total of 384.
- **Page 2:** transcribed by Opus; the Sonnet version is kept separately for comparison.
- **Misprints kept as printed** (for footnoting): p1 c4 "allududed" (alluded); p1 c6 "the the October"; p2 c1 "cf" (of); p2 c2 "tue" (the); p4 "Credit Mobiler", "fradulent", "distributon", "mismangement"; p6 c3 "are are"; p6 c5 "between the church and the church"; p6 c6 "In 1876" (perhaps 1886); p7 c1 "cf" (of). Pages 3–8 were checked automatically against two separate OCR programs; one misreading (p3 "mines" → "miners") and one silently corrected misprint (p7 "cf") were found and fixed. A few more may remain.

THE STANDARD

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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[faint library stamp at upper right corner, illegible]

p. 1, col. 1

SOME CONSIDERATION[S]

The communications received by THE STANDARD with reference to the policy of presidential nominations by the united labor party shows great interest taken in the subject. Although among them there have been a number which assigned weighty reasons for keeping out of the contest, the majority have favored independent action. But through most of these declarations in favor of entering the national field there seems to me to run two questionable assumptions. First, that to refrain from going into the presidential contest would be to abandon the cause; and, second, that the party is a unit upon the tariff question or could ignore the tariff question.

It is natural for men who have taken an active part in organizing a party for the purpose of advocating a great principle, to begin, perhaps to a large extent unconsciously, to think that success of the party and success of the cause are synonymous. We all feel the impulse of organization, and our contests are apt to develop in us an affection for our own party and an enmity for other parties that may at times warp the judgment of the coolest. It is well, therefore, to remember that parties are but organizations of men, and are of themselves neither good nor bad, further than their policy or their conditions may attract good or bad men to them. No matter how high the principle to support which a political party is formed; no matter how pure the motives of the men who cluster under its banners while there is no possibility of using it for personal ends, yet, under existing political conditions, just as it advances toward success, so will corrupting influences enter into it. The republican party, noble as was the impulse that led to its formation, and rapid as was its growth, did not reach power without having become as thoroughly corrupt as the democratic party, which it displaced. And so would it be with the united labor party, or the prohibition party, or any other party. "Where the carcass is, there will the eagles be gathered together." This is no reason why we should shrink from political action, for it is only through political action that we can improve conditions which produce corruption; but it is a reason why we should always bear in mind that parties are but means to ends, and that it is not well to let either our affections or our enmities engage themselves to mere names. The men, of whom there have been several, who have written to THE STANDARD that they had resolved never again to vote either a democratic ticket or a republican ticket are themselves, though they show it reversely, still under the influence of that spell which has been such a potent cause of political corruption, by leading honest men to blindly follow any ring or gang who could capture the regular organization of *their* party.

What we owe fealty to is not party but principle. And for the advancement of principle we are dependent upon no party—not even upon the party we may have organized for the advancement of that principle. What is needed for

the advance of a great truth like that embodied in the platform of the united labor party is to arouse thought, to provoke discussion, to familiarize with it the minds of men. This may sometimes best be done by bringing it directly into politics, and gathering around its standards those who are willing to cast their votes for it, no matter how hopeless may be the chance of winning an election. At other times it may best be done by refraining from direct politicai[sic] action, and urging on one or the other of the great political parties, or by leaving those who believe in it free to mingle with the adherents of those parties, and among them sow seeds of the truth. But at no time can the men who are bent on advancing a great truth fail to find opportunities to do so. Whether they be gathered into one party or scattered in several, the truth will compel those who see it to become its missionaries. To think the refusal of the united labor party to go into a presidential campaign means the abandonment of the cause of which it is an instrument, is not merely to accept the assumption that this would necessarily destroy it, but it is to assume that the organization is more than the principle, that the life of the soul depends on the life of the body. The united labor party might not merely decide not to go into the national field in this election—it might definitely and forever disband, without any one who had really felt the impulse of the cause abandoning the cause. Such men as Dr. McGlynn, Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, Father Huntington, Judge Maguire, and hundreds of others whose names are familiar to the readers of THE STANDARD, would continue to preach the truth and to find opportunities to preach the truth. The tens of thousands of men and women between the Atlantic and Pacific who are now thoroughly imbued with our principles, and are working day and night as quiet missionaries in our cause, would go on with their work; our tracts would still circulate; the discussion we have started would continue, and the people whom we have already set to

p. 1, col. 2

thinking would perpetuate the impulse and pass on the torch. We should still have our anti-poverty societies and our land and labor clubs, and our friends would still continue to work in other organizations. Abandon the cause! We could not abandon the cause if we tried to. And if we could, and did, that cause would still march on and find new advocates. Every one, man, woman, or child, may do something to help forward a cause such as ours; but it has now so far advanced that we all together could not more than delay it a little. It has passed our power to stop.

Whether the united labor party ought or ought not to go into the presidential campaign is purely a question of policy, on which men of equal devotion to the cause may honestly differ, as the columns of THE STANDARD show that they do differ.

Many of our friends (especially those in the west) who have most strenuously urged that we should as a party enter the presidential campaign are, I am inclined to think, under the impression that we could enter that campaign without developing any serious differences among us on the tariff question. There are others who think that we could practically ignore the tariff question, and saying to protectionists and revenue reformers “a plague on both your houses,” leave them to fight out their own battles, while we continued to advocate the single tax. Both assumptions are, to my mind, clearly erroneous. There is, I think, no question that the great body of our friends are thoroughgoing free traders. We are indeed THE free traders, the successors, a century after, of that school of great Frenchmen who began the free trade movement in modern times, and like us, advocated the single tax, and from whom Adam Smith and the Manchester school took only so much of the free trade doctrine as was palatable to British capitalists, and thus degraded the glorious name free trader by attaching it to half hearted revenue reformers. But, nevertheless, although our doctrines as to the relations between land and labor lead to full free trade, and cut the ground from under protectionist fallacies as the mere revenue reformers never can cut it, there are many among us who have not yet fully seen the connection. These men are well represented by our recent candidate for comptroller, Victor A. Wilder of Brooklyn, who contributes to THE STANDARD of this issue [a?] suggestive letter. They are with us on the direct line of abolishing state and municipal taxes upon labor and the products of labor and concentrating them upon land values. That is to say they are with us in state politics, but would not be with us in national politics, when the tariff issue assumed prominence. Their position is, that they

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Sic in the original; probably “political”.

are willing to accept free trade after we get all taxes save those imposed by the tariff abolished; but until that time they are protectionists. This is, in national politics, and at the present time, an irreconcilable difference. Such men as Mr. Wilder and myself, while we could act well enough together in a municipal or state campaign, could not possibly agree upon a common platform in a national campaign when the tariff question is in issue. Is not the best thing we can do, then, to agree, with mutual respect for each other, to disagree in national matters, and to unite upon purely state issues?

That the best loved man among us all, the man who has made the greatest sacrifices for the cause, and whose services have been equal to his devotion, should be among those who think that we could enter a national campaign without taking sides upon the tariff question, is sufficient, if there were nothing else, to entitle that view to grave consideration. But highly as I esteem Dr. McGlynn's judgment, I think that in this he is mistaken. Free trader as he is, I do not believe that Dr. McGlynn himself, no matter how much he tried, could find any platform which could keep him from taking part in a tariff controversy such as there is every indication will rage in the next presidential campaign, any more than the typical Tipperary man could keep on playing the fiddle while a discussion with sticks was ringing about his ears. And if it should be possible for some of us to hold this negative position, it seems to me certain that the great majority, whatever we may think now, would, as the contest became warm, be certain to be drawn or forced to one side or the other.

But further than this, and more than this, I for one, cannot feel that it would be right to keep out of such a contest. It is true, as Dr. McGlynn said on Sunday night, that in "Protection or Free Trade?" I show (what is, of course, involved in the reasoning of "Progress and Poverty") that free trade, even to the utter abolition of custom houses, though it would enormously increase the production of wealth, could, no more than any other improvement, permanently better the condition of the working class, unless its principle were carried further, to the point of abolishing that greatest of all impediments to production and that fundamental cause of unjust distribution, the monopoly by some, of those natural opportunities intended for the use of all. But my purpose in writing that book was not merely to prove that the logic of free

p. 1, col. 3



AN OBJECT LESSON IN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

p1_fig1

[Cartoon: five numbered panels. 1: a laborer with spade stands beside his single sack labeled “BARE LIVING” on open land, a distant figure behind him. 2: the laborer with his “BARE LIVING” sack beside a top-hatted “owner” holding a sack labeled “RENT”. 3: the laborer with “BARE LIVING” beside the owner stooping over three “RENT” sacks. 4: the laborer with “BARE LIVING” beside the owner and four “RENT” sacks. 5: the laborer with “BARE LIVING” and the owner with a long row of sixteen “RENT” sacks, beside a sign. Signed by the artist at lower right.]

1. ON LAND FREE TO USE, LABOR MAY OBTAIN A BARE LIVING.

    1. LAND ABOVE THAT GRADE IS “OWNED,” AND LABOR MUST SHARE WITH THE “OWNER.”

    2. AS PRODUCTION INCREASES, THE SHARING GOES ON, MUCH TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE “OWNER.” — Balloon: *Whose will not work shall not eat? Nonsense, Sir!*

    3. WITH THE RISE IN LAND VALUES THE INJUSTICE BECOMES MORE PLAIN. — Laborer’s balloon: *God made the Earth for the equal use of all men?* — Owner’s balloon: *Bosh!*

SO THAT LABOR IS REALLY NO BETTER OFF ON THE BEST LAND (WHICH IS “OWNED”)—THAN ON THE POOREST, WHICH IS FREE!

    1. Balloon: *Injustice, you call it? Rot*

Sign: FOR SALE—BY A PRIVATE “OWNER” / A LOT IN HEART OF BIG CITY / PRICE $150,000 per Acre. / (Value made by Population.)

Sacks: BARE LIVING (laborer, every panel); RENT (owner, 1, 3, 4 and 16 sacks in panels 2–5).

Signature: [J W Bengough?]

AN OBJECT LESSON IN POLITICAL ECONOMY.

trade leads irresistibly to free land, but to show, what up to that time had never been shown—the real cause of the wide acceptance of the fallacies of protection among the class to whom it falsely appeals in the United States on the ground that it “protects American labor.” The main purpose of that book, and it runs through it, from introductory chapter to conclusion, was to point out to those who had really at heart the emancipation of labor that the true side for them to take upon the tariff question was the free trade side. “This,” I said in conclusion, alluding to a simile used in the opening paragraph, “is the way that the bull must go to untwist his rope.” And what made me anxious to write that book was that I foresaw that the coming into political issue of the tariff question would, unless they could be brought to clearly see the relation between the tariff question and the land question, “place in political opposition to each other those who are at one in ultimate purpose.”

I am perfectly aware that no settlement of the tariff question can of itself settle the labor question, and as I have phrased it in “Protection or Free Trade?” the tariff, important as it is of itself, is only one of the minor robbers that strip labor of its earnings, while land monopoly is “the robber that takes all that is left.” But I have always believed, and yet believe, that we cannot ignore this minor robber, and that to fairly get at the greater robber we must fight the little one. For the protective tariff I care very little, but in the protective idea I recognize the greatest obstacle to our progress. Until men get past the notion that labor is a thing that must be protected, they never can fully see how much it will gain by freedom. Thus I not only think that a thorough discussion of the tariff question would have a most important educational effect upon the American people, including many of those who are disposed to act with us on the direct line, but that any breach that can be made in the lines of protection will make it easier to undermine and overthrow the whole linked system of robbery.

The principle of free trade was enunciated in the Clarendon hall platform of 1886 and again in the Syracuse platform of 1887, not merely in declaring that all taxes upon labor and the products of labor ought to be abolished, but also in the declaration that "we aim at the abolition of all laws which give to any class of citizens advantage, either judicial, financial, industrial or political that are not equally shared by all others," and in the declaration that "we do not propose that the state shall attempt to control production, conduct distribution or in any wise interfere with the freedom of the individual to use his labor or capital in any way that may seem proper to him, and that will not interfere with the equal rights of others." It was not necessary to make any more explicit declaration in a municipal or state campaign; but the moment we enter the national field the great question which confronts us is the tariff question, for it is by means of the tariff that the greater part of the revenue of the federal government is raised. Unless we can take clear and decided ground upon this question then it seems to me that we have, as yet, no business in the national field.

It is, perhaps, yet too early to decide what our policy should be, as the political situation is not yet clear. But it is well that we should coolly and carefully weigh all considerations, that when the time comes we shall be able to agree all the

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more firmly or to disagree without ill feeling.

I allududed[sic] in this column recently several letters asking me to reply through THE STANDARD to an address delivered by Rev. Dr. Bates before the Cleveland land and labor club and told the members of that club that they ought to answer Dr. Bates themselves. This suggestion was not needed, as at the succeeding meeting of the club, two members, Mr. John Benton and Mr. Franklin H. Smead, came forward with replies to Dr. Bates's criticisms. Mr. Benton's reply has since been published in full by the *Plain Dealer*, and the same paper has given a synopsis of Mr. Smead's. Both answers are courteous and sound. They show that the Cleveland land and labor club need not go out of its own ranks to find advocates of our principles able to meet any one who may attack them. The opening sentences of Mr. Benton's address have the true ring:

> I know several members of this club question the propriety of inviting gentlemen who are opposed to us in this movement to come here and argue the question from their own standpoint. Now it is certainly going contrary to the ordinary course pursued in such matters, and if we were a republican or democratic club it would certainly appear absurd. But we have got to bring this question into public discussion. We have everything to gain and nothing to lose by that discussion. We must arrest the attention of thinking people. We, who have been in this movement for any time and tried to convince others of the justice of it, know that the hardest thing to do is to first get persons interested, to get them to think on the subject. So I contended that the club did right in asking Dr. Bates to deliver the lecture he did at our last meeting, and I feel that sure that[sic] the measure of good or harm that lecture will do us is in the use we make of it. We are not afraid to fight this question through against all opposition. And I say let us, as soon as we get through with Dr. Bates, invite another gentleman from the opposition; we don't care how strong he is; some of us can answer him, and when we get through with the giants we can make short work of the small fry. And it should be a source of gratification to us to see so able a man as Dr. Bates—and he is unquestionably an able man—make so poor an argument for the side he takes.

That is just it. Nothing more is needed to convince many people of the truth of our principles than to let them see how weak are the arguments against them.

At the recent meeting of the Woman's Christian Conference of this city Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell read a paper on charity organization, which is reported in last week's *Christian Union*, and which, as might be expected from the

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Sic in the original; probably "alluded (a word such as 'to' also appears to be missing before 'several letters')".

intimate knowledge of the subject possessed by the author, is exceedingly interesting and suggestive. The Charity Organization Society of the city of New York, incorporated in 1882, is, as Mrs. Lowell told her auditors, part of a great organism, of which the London Charity Organization Society, started in 1869, is the parent, and which now numbers some sixty societies in Great Britain and fifty-two in the United States. The purpose of these societies is not directly to give relief, but by affording a means of intercommunication and co-operation, to enable the various relief societies to work more intelligently and effectively and with less risk of rewarding imposture and fostering pauperism; and at the same time to endeavor directly "to promote the general welfare of the poor by social and sanitary reforms and by the inculcation of habits of providence and self-dependence." The society in this city receives reports from and furnishes information to 44 general relief societies, 7 national societies, 18 medical charities, 13 institutions, 53 Protestant Episcopal churches, 31 Presbyterian, 16 Methodist, 2 Lutheran, 10 Baptist, 11 Reformed Dutch, 3 Congregational, 3

p. 1, col. 5

Unitarian, 3 Universalist, 15 miscellaneous churches and chapels and 4 confraternities of St. Vincent de Paul. This is a list that, incomplete as it is, and, exclusive of both municipal and individual charities, gives an appalling idea of the vast amount of dependence that exists in the American metropolis. The other branch of the work of the society which Mrs. Lowell describes as "to help the poor *cure* distress, diminish poverty and destroy pauperism," is carried on by eight district committees (a ninth is to be organized), composed of 109 gentlemen, besides about 100 ladies who compose auxiliary committees and act as "friendly visitors to the poor."

What is particularly noticeable in Mrs. Lowell's address is the deep sense which her long experience in the work of organizing and directing charity has given her of the evils of indiscriminate charity and of the utter inadequacy of even intelligent alms-giving to deal with the problem of deep poverty. "The *seen* results," she says, "are often very good."

> We find fellow beings who are hungry; we feed and clothe them. Of course this, the seen result, is good; and had they only physical natures, and had we unlimited stores of food and clothing to supply them with all the rest of their lives, and were there no one in the world but ourselves and them[,?] the results might continue to be good, in a certain sense. We should supply the food and clothes; they would eat and enjoy themselves; and we should all die and be annihilated together. But none of these supposed conditions exist.
>
> They, as well as we, have moral natures. Courage and energy and industry and self-dependence are all parts of the moral nature, and cannot be left unexercised without dying out and leaving the human being poor indeed. By supplying food and clothing to those who can and ought to secure them for themselves, we sap the very foundations of their moral nature. We find them poor in material goods, we make them poor in spiritual goods; we destroy the very means on which their ability to help themselves depends. We let them lie down and trust to us for the necessary supplies of life, and thus we weaken their characters and let all their strength die for want of exercise. Having done this, and completely unfitted them for an independent, self-respecting life, we fail them—either our patience or our money gives out, and we leave them actually in greater physical suffering even than we found them in.
>
> Further than this, however, the unseen consequences extend. Other men and women, seeing the reward offered to those who give up the struggle and sit down to be fed by others, in their turn relinquish the ceaseless labor required to keep themselves and their children from want, and they, too, fall into the ranks of those who have been ruined by alms-giving, and they, and their children, and their children's children, are the victims of the carelessness and ignorance of well meaning people who look only at the seen consequences of their acts.

Sic in the original; probably "I feel sure that".

This regard to the unseen consequences is absolutely essential to any wise and efficient charity, for we shall often find, if we only look far enough, that, even where the results, both seen and unseen, are good for the few individuals who are directly reached, yet there may be unseen bad effects upon hundreds of people whom we never know and never think of. A familiar example of this fatal truth is presented in the effects of relief given to enable people to eke out a living upon insufficient wages. While such relief may, and often does, save those who receive it from much suffering, it is an absolute wrong, which reaches out and injures sometimes thousands, for by enabling a few individuals to work at low wages we render it possible for employers to force others also down to the same level, and so a little relief given to a few hundred people may be the means of taking the bread out of the mouths of ten or twenty times as many. However helpful to the few, this wrong to the many is done by any and all kinds of outside help which enables some individuals to work for less than the usual wages.

I do not wish to be misunderstood. In speaking thus of relief giving, I am, of course, referring to casual, indiscriminate relief to those who can and ought, as I have said, to maintain themselves. I know and you know that there are people who need very much more help than any one ever thinks of giving them, but these are exceptional cases and are to be treated as such. Another fact is that giving relief destroys the possibility of an equal and truly human relation between us and those we desire to serve. We think of them entirely differently if we go to them as givers of "relief" or as friends who are to sympathize with and consult over their difficulties and try to help them as we would a brother or a sister. In the first case we feel as if they were destitute of possibilities as well as of actual material advantages; we do not look to their future with hopefulness and so inspire them to new hope, but we become demoralized into regarding them as hopeless and helpless dependents on our bounty. The fatal mistake in charity, as indeed in everything else, is made when physical and temporary ends are sought in place of moral and eternal ones. Since charity is commonly supposed to deal with physical and temporary evils, this may seem a foolish and extravagant statement, but it is a fact that even physical ills are best removed by moral means.

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, and all these things shall be added unto you."

It is a lesson we need to learn for others as well as for ourselves, and it is a lesson which experience as well as scripture teaches. Physical help without moral help is nothing, and worse than nothing. In London, in the hard times of 1867, when the suffering was unparalleled, an east end clergyman said in despair: "The poor starve *because* of the alms they receive." If people are hungry and naked, they must, of course, be fed and clothed by some means, but if it has to be done by charity, it should be done incidentally, as it were, merely as a means to an end. "Indiscriminate relief"—that is, relief without any object beyond and above that of remedying physical suffering, has been found always and everywhere not even to relieve the physical suffering it is especially aimed at, while it creates much that but for it would never have existed. What do these contradictions mean? What except that the moral part of us, being the important, in fact the real, part of us, if allowed to perish, drags down with it the accessory physical portion; while, on the contrary, if the moral part is lifted, all the nature, and all the physical surroundings, are raised with it? The soul is more important than the life; a man's character

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is what makes him a man; and when, to save his life, his soul is degraded, when, to keep him alive, his character is destroyed, his life becomes useless, and he had better be dead. But, then, what will help them?

There is only one way, and that is through personal influence. The machinery of the Charity organization society is a necessity: the investigation and registration are necessary; but why? Because they clear the way; because they make possible and prepare for the work of the individual visitor, by whom the real influence for good is brought to bear on the individual poor man or woman. . . . What is needed is that those whom we desire to help should be approached as men and women, that their needs and their weaknesses should all be

> considered; that their faint hearts should be cheered, their failing courage revived, their weak wills strengthened, their neglected duties held up before them, and that, where they are suffering because of the neglected duties of others, these others should be reminded of their obligations.
>
> All this cannot be done by "machinery;" this must be done by individuals, by men and women who will seek to carry to their suffering brothers and sisters not only material but moral and spiritual help.

"But where shall we find these men and women?" asks Mrs. Lowell almost despairingly. This is "the great deficiency," the "bitter need" of the work, she says as she calls on the churches to send such men [and women?] forth.

> All around us are [those who?] need this help; day by day we hear of those who "faint and are scattered abroad, as sheep having no shepherd." It is the old cry: "The harvest truly is plenteous, but the laborers are few. Pray ye therefore the Lord of the harvest that he will send forth laborers into His harvest."

Convinced by experience of the utter failure of mere material help to deal with the dark problem of poverty, Mrs. Lowell thus calls for moral and spiritual help. "If it were possible to place every family needing help under the immediate care of a friend belonging to the same church," she says, "an incalculable influence for good would be assured from the first."

Is not Mrs. Lowell turning from broken reed to broken reed? Where, indeed, shall she find them, the men and women of whom she dreams—the strong, sweet, humble souls, who can bend down without condescending and help without seeming to help. Some there doubtless are. Angels have walked the earth, and yet do walk it. But were they many instead of few, what in the nature of things could even they do?

In another column we reprint from the the[sic] October number of *The Forum* part of a thoughtful article by Professor Thomas Davidson, which in this connection is peculiarly apposite. "I have known hundreds of excellent men and women nurtured in the lap of affluence who were earnestly desirous of sympathizing with people of all grades," says Professor Davidson, "but I never knew one who succeeded any further than to be able to play Lord Bountiful or Lady Charitable with discriminating condescension." And this, as Professor Davidson shows, is in the nature of things. Between Dives and Lazarus even on this earth, so great a gulf is fixed that if one would help the other in the way that equal may be helpful to equal, he cannot. What, from one in like conditions, would be to the poor man words of cheer and help would from the rich man seem patronage or mockery.

The evils that attach to alms-giving do not arise from the nature of the material things thus given. There is nothing in itself injurious in food, or clothing, or shelter, or money. Nor yet is it the getting of these things without working for them that is in itself injurious. It does not degrade the child to receive from the parent, without return, or relative to receive from relative, or friend from friend, where the motive is love and affection. It does not degrade the shipwrecked mariner to be fed and clothed and forwarded on his way. Nor yet does material assistance from those who might in their turn need and receive such material assistance from us, debase and degrade. What makes alms-giving injurious is not the things given, nor yet the getting of them without work. It is that it involves on the part of the recipient a confession of inferiority that wounds, numbs and finally destroys self respect. Having accepted a status which he instinctively feels to be unnatural, for, save in certain relations and circumstances, such as infancy, old age, accident and the like, nature has intended men not for dependence but for interdependence—a status which in relation to those who can of themselves get a living "without being beholden to any one," is something like that in which the dog stands to man—and losing hope of ever being able to get more than a [bare?] living, there is nothing to make him prefer the irksomeness of work when the animal needs can be

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Sic in the original; probably "the".

satisfied without it. [Fragments of type from another sheet (“ma-”, “with”, “in-”, “lied”, “n or”, “ven”, “to”) are printed over the right edge of these lines.]

Now, would not, in most cases at least, this same assumption of inferiority which goes with material help attach also to “moral help?” Does not the difficulty of which Mrs. Lowell speaks, of finding friendly visitors among those who are ready enough to give money, arise largely from a feeling that that is all they can give? And would not the placing of every family needing help under the immediate care of some church member who should mix moral with material assistance be in the vast majority of cases but to make charity more galling and degrading—but to add to the assumption of social inferiority a yet continued on p. 2 →

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[continued from page 1]

← continued from p. 1 more degrading assumption of moral inferiority?

A woman bearing a name linked with struggles of freedom, a woman of bright intellect and tender heart, who has made a life work of the effort to do good, sends a letter regarding the charity woodyard that "Hagan Dwen" recently made the subject of one of the vivid sketches he is writing for THE STANDARD. Of the irony, which, with the touch of a master, "Hagan Dwen" threw into this sketch without resorting to a word of comment, our correspondent seems unconscious. Turning away, like Mrs. Lowell, from the evils that attach to alms-giving, she sees in this giving of work as a substitute for giving commodities a method by which deserving poverty may be somewhat relieved without the injury that comes from charity of the usual sort, and thus describes it:

> "The Woodyard Association" is carried on by a few earnest men who hope by degrees to do away with the temptations now held out in this city by relief societies and benevolent (as opposed to beneficent) people, to men to live by begging instead of working.
>
> The association does not wish to interfere with any regular industry, and it therefore chooses the making of kindling wood for the occupation of its men (this work being usually done by machinery), and it sells its wood at exactly the market prices for machine made kindlings. Neither does it wish to tempt any man to come into the city or to leave any regular work in the hope of being employed in the woodyard, and it therefore pays only fifty cents a day, or supplies two meals and a lodging to homeless men, for a given stent of work, and it employs only men who bring tickets previously issued by the association.
>
> The object of the association is to make it possible for the relief societies and for the benevolent persons aforesaid to have at hand a means of testing men who come to them for help, and also to prove to all able-bodied men that it is no longer worth while to come to this city in the hope of living at ease without work.
>
> Unhappily such misplaced "charity" as the St. Andrew's coffee stands, which you mentioned as supplying one cent meals, not only counteracts the efforts of the Woodyard Association, but is educating hundreds and thousands of the boys cf[sic] our city to believe, with your California tramps, that "the world owes them a living and that they may as well get it without work as with work."
>
> That such men as these boys will become are neither desirable nor safe citizens of a republic can scarcely be questioned, and I hope you will not cease to draw the attention of your readers to the importance and to the dangers of this subject, so lightly treated by the daily press.

The "Woodyard Association," she adds, is in its fourth year, but is not yet self sustaining, since "it cannot make expenses, even though paying the men so little."

Sic in the original; probably "of".

From Scylla to Charybdis! So must we be driven so long as we try to cure the evils of injustice by anything less than justice. In this woodyard charity is the same essential taint of evil as in the coffee stand charity. *It is the giving of alms in another form* and that a form which does not prevent, but if anything adds to and embitters the degradation.

Mr. John W. Keyser—against whose "appeal for the homeless poor" the officials of the Charity Organization Society, the Association for Improving the Condition of the Poor, the City Mission, the Woman's Branch of the City Mission, the Children's Aid Society and St. John's Guild, have issued a joint protest—has been giving away food for nothing. The St. Andrew's coffee stands give food, not for nothing, but for less than its market value. The Woodyard Association gives food and shelter or (to married men) money, for less than its market value in labor. There is here a difference in degree, but what difference is there in principle? And if there is any difference in the injury to the self respect of the recipients it is certainly in favor of the coffee charity, even if not in favor of the free soup charity, as against the make-work charity.

For a man has to become a beggar before he can get this charity work. To get him the privilege of sawing and splitting seventeen sticks of cord wood he must present a ticket which he has begged from some member of the society. And then what he gets is not really work. It is toil, and extremely hard toil to many of those who are forced to beg for it; but it is not really work. It does not bring to the man who does it the consciousness that in doing it he is doing something needed by others, and therefore giving a full equivalent for what he is to receive from others. It is toil that is not needed—work that, as work, can be done, and is done, much cheaper and quicker by machinery. It is toil as consciously and bitterly degrading as the digging of a hole and the filling of it in again, or the carrying of stones from one place to another and then carrying them back. It is not work in which the worker gives a market equivalent for what he receives, but a degrading test as to whether he is a fit subject for a charity dole—a test that makes him a pitiful and contemptible being in the eyes of the "boys of the ward," who loaf around and [illegible]ke at him. Mr. Keyser's soup may breed pauperism, and Mrs. Lamadrid's coffee may give boys the idea that the world owes them a living; but it is hard to think of anything better calculated to inspire contempt for honest labor, and to make the "relieved" at once worthless and bitter than being compelled first to beg a ticket and then to do such charity work.

The lady who writes of the charity woodyard incloses in her letter the following quotation from "Professor Wayland of New Haven." Whether this is the platitudinarian of the "political economy" and "moral philosophy" which were, and, I presume, still are used as text books in many of our schools, or whether he is some other Professor Wayland, I do not

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know. But all the same, this is a good illustration of the mental condition of so many, "who, having eyes, see not:"

> Do not be deceived. Do not say that a piece of bread, an old coat, a pair of cast-off shoes, a hat of archaic pattern, can do no harm. If the person so helped is able-bodied, and he received the article without having earned it, positive mischief has been done. Because the very moment that any man, woman or child has taken the first lesson in the art of living without labor, that moment the first step is taken in a downward career. For he who has discovered how to live without labor on the labor of other people is on the direct road to living by appropriating to himself the property of others and graduating from the pauper class into the criminal class.

It is not necessary for me to point the moral which the man who wrote this and the people who approvingly read it do not perceive. The object lesson which we reproduce this week from the Toronto *Grip* does that. The full-fed pauper in the illustration, who has discovered how well "to live without labor on the labor of other people," is

liable at any moment to steal a railroad, get up a trust, or go to lobbying for a protective duty. He may become as wealthy as Jay Gould, and then like Jay Gould help to support a "woodyard association!"

My correspondent can hardly have considered what is involved in the principle of relieving the poor by making work for them. If this is the way to relieve poverty—by having cordwood sawed and split by hand instead of by machinery—then not only is all labor saving machinery injurious, as the Chinese think it, but the man who "makes more work," by setting fire to a building or lighting the fuse of a dynamite bomb, is, whatever else may result, doing more to help the unemployed than a hundred "woodyard associations." And if it is a good thing for rich men to form associations for employing the poor by thus making work for them, why should not the whole community resolve itself into a much stronger and wider association, and by means of state employment offer an opportunity to every one who cannot now find work to do?

Those who support the woodyard association may answer these questions to their own satisfaction, but they will not answer them to the satisfaction of those who feel the pressure of that competition for employment that steadily tends to press wages down—to the satisfaction of those who know, as experience only can teach, what a terrible heart-sickening thing it is for a man unable to support himself except by work to see busy multitudes around him and yet be unable to find opportunity to work.

The *Christian Union* says:

> THE STANDARD has certainly read the *Christian Union* to very little purpose if it supposes that the *Christian Union* believes that specific acts of generosity by the wealthy to the poor can compensate for social injustice wrought into an industrial system. No kindness by a slave holder toward his slaves could take the place of emancipation, even though emancipation might bring to those particular slaves less comforts and greater hardships. We have stated this over and over again, and we will say it once more if need be. What gives us hope in the present industrial situation is not that my Lord and Lady Bountiful are to be found among the wealthy; they have been found there in all epochs and in all social systems, including some of the worst. What gives us hope is that men of wealth, as well as men of brains, are giving their energies to the solution of the problems presented by modern society, are trying not merely to alleviate the miseries of individuals who are wretched, but to elevate and educate the entire class who are suffering quite as much from unthrift and ignorance as from inadequate compensation. We do not believe that Mr. George himself is any more consecrated to the improvement of what are called the laboring classes than are scores, if not hundreds, of wealthy employers who are engaged, not in the easy task which we editors have of proposing and discussing theories, but in the far more difficult task of putting plans for the practical improvement of humanity into actual operation. They are not merely generous; they are endeavoring to work out a higher and truer justice in industrial organizations. There were few or no such men among the Bourbon aristocracy of France, and we think it would be difficult to find any among the Roman patricians. Largesses of corn and entertainments to make the poor contented with their lot give no hope for the future. Libraries, plans of industrial education, movements to give the workingman a share in the profits of his industry, give a great hope for the future; because they create a noble discontent and inspire to a nobler manhood.

Hopeful as they create a noble discontent! Yes; that I freely concede. Everything that increases knowledge, develops taste, lessens drunkenness and opens glimpses of a fuller and more varied life, is among the working masses a revolutionary agency, in that it increases discontent. The ideal "work people;" the "work people" among whom such a social state as ours could rest secure, is that which Mr. J. B. Johnson, writing from Shanghai, described in THE STANDARD of last March, as having been made possible by the discovery of the Chinese

scientist, Wang Sao Chuen, that there exists in the human brain an organ of discontent, which can safely be removed by a surgical operation.

Readers of THE STANDARD will remember how Wang Sao Chuen described to the Rev. James Henderson his reason for engaging in the long and difficult course of experiments which the liberality of the Viceroy Li Hung Chang made possible to him:

> My studies in biology and physiology have been prompted by my love for a far higher science—the grandest to which man can devote his mind—tue[sic] science of sociology. During my stay in America I observed with astonishment how the production of wealth was checked and impeded by the turbulent discontent of the lower classes. I saw great factories closed, and business paralyzed, and merchants ruined by combinations of workingmen, and while American college professors and newspaper editors were vainly speculating as to the causes of these things
> p. 2, col. 3
> and devising first one remedy and then another, I solved the problem in my mind.
>
> Discontent exists among the working classes simply and solely because they have the same feelings, the same order of intelligence, the same ambitions as those above them. They are not a true working class, but a set of men the same as other men, whom society sets apart and orders to become a working class; and, just as you or I would do in their place, they rebel and struggle.
>
> I said to myself: "I will end this. I will create a true working class. I will bring into existence a class of men who shall work contentedly and be happy in their work; who shall be amply satisfied with a bare subsistence, and shall conduct themselves at all times with that reverence and obedience toward their betters which is enjoined by true religion."

Whatever leads in the opposite direction to that sought by Wang Sao Chuen makes more and more impossible the continuance of "things as they are." In this the *Christian Union* is unquestionably right.

But the danger now is not in the want of sufficient discontent with existing conditions. It is in the want of intelligent understanding as to how those conditions can be changed so as to remove all legitimate cause for discontent without checking civilization, disturbing good order, or doing violence to the rights of property.

In what I said of the *Christian Union* I did not deny or belittle the wealthy employers, who are building club houses and opening libraries, and trying experiments in profit sharing. What I pointed out was, the utter hopelessness of thinking that "the labor question" could be solved in this way, and the danger of talking as though it could. What I objected to in the *Christian Union* was what I last week objected to in the rosewater socialism of Professor Ely in the *Independent*—that while shutting its eyes to the real cause of the industrial enslavement of labor it is teaching the false and dangerous doctrine that there is a conflict between capital and labor, and that the cause of the injustice which workingmen so bitterly feel lies in the relations between employer and employed. I said:

> What is the theory of the *Christian Union* but an amiable version of the theory of men who believe that the social reformation is to be wrought by dynamite bombs? Both hold that it is within the power of a certain class of people, sometimes called capitalists and sometimes called employers, to make life easier for the masses of men. The *Christian Union* would persuade them into doing this, the advocates of bomb throwing would frighten them into doing it. The difference is a wide one, but it is still only a difference of method.

Sic in the original; probably "the".

The *Christian Union* criticises Dr. McGlynn and the Rev. Mr. Pentecost for having left their pulpits to advocate from the platform a political movement. Yet in the same article it says of the work of the preacher, "His business is to bring the great principle of Christianity to bear upon all problems of to-day, and to teach all things Christ has commanded."

Now what Dr. McGlynn and Mr. Pentecost have done is not to become politicians or engage in politics in the ordinary and degraded sense of those terms, but simply to advocate the bringing to bear of the great principle of Christianity upon the greatest and most pressing of all problems of to-day. And what I most object to in the treatment by the *Christian Union* of this momentous problem is that in all its utterances it seems to assume that there is no principle of Christianity, and even no principle of natural religion, that can light men to any clear solution. The *Christian Union* believes in an intelligent and beneficent First Cause of all that is. Does it really believe this to be such a world that the only way for all of those who find themselves in it to get employment—the only way in which wages of the great mass of men who do find employment can be raised above the level of a mere subsistence, is to patiently wait for benevolent employers to make experiments in profit sharing? I honor the public spirit of the rich men who endow schools and libraries, and the sympathy of the employers who, in such ways as the *Christian Union* makes so much of, endeavor to improve the condition of their employes. But it ought to be the office of the Christian journal and the Christian minister to point out a better way, as Dr. McGlynn and Mr. Pentecost are doing.

Before it again comments on the course of these gentlemen I would like to ask the *Christian Union* whether it thinks that their Master would have been allowed to fill the pulpit of any prosperous synagogue in Judea?

On Sunday night Dr. McGlynn read as cabled to the *Tribune* an utterance of Cardinal Manning, who, the *Tribune's* correspondent declared, had astonished his friends by announcing himself a convert to the teachings of anarchy. This horrible utterance so flabergasted the *Times* that it immediately cabled to London to know if the cardinal had been correctly reported. It got back the exact words of the passage, which is from a recent article of the cardinal's in the *Fortnightly*, in which he argues that "the recognition of the right of property involves and rests upon an admission of the right to live." The words are:

> The obligation to feed the hungry springs from the natural right of every man to life and to the food necessary for the sustenance of life. So strict is this natural right that it prevails over all positive laws of property. Necessity has no law, and a starving man has a natural right to his neighbor's bread.

"A starving man has a natural right to his neighbor's bread!" The *Times* says that it seemed incredible to it that such a revolutionary utterance should proceed from a prince of the Roman Catholic church, and heads its cablegram in big letters "DR. MCGLYNN'S NEW ALLY," the

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Tribune having headed its, "AN ANARCHIST CARDINAL."

It is sincerely to be hoped that the cardinal archbishop of Westminster—a man who in appearance and life is really worthy of the title "venerable"—has indeed become an ally of Dr. McGlynn's. That the *Times*, however, should have thought such an utterance on the part of a Catholic prelate incredible, is because it mistakes for Catholicism what is only Corriganism—the vicar general of which latter faith, by the bye, took occasion last Sunday to promulgate a new dogma, viz: that all Catholics must vote as the pope (including of course archbishops and vicar generals) directs—a matter on which as related to Catholic theology, Dr. McGlynn may find occasion to say something next Sunday night.

But the doctrine that the *Times* thinks so revolting, and that the London press, as we learn from its cablegram, denounce as so mischievous, is, in reality, but a commonplace of Catholic text books of moral philosophy. And what is more, it conforms to right reason. On a raft in mid ocean, or in a beleaguered city, one man has bread that he will not give but is only willing to sell. Other men, his companions or neighbors, are starving for want of bread, but have nothing to buy it with. Will they commit theft if in such circumstances they take his bread? Is there imposed on them by moral law an obligation to starve to death rather than do so?

To this the *Times* would unquestionably answer in the negative, for that under such exceptional circumstances the right to life rises superior to the right to property no one could deny. But the case becomes a very different one, when in ordinary circumstances, and in great cities whose warehouses are glutted with supplies, and whose communications with all the world are open, thousands and thousands of men, women and children are at all times hungry—are at all times starving, by faster or slower degrees.

In such case—and it is of such the *Times* is thinking—what is under extraordinary circumstances so obviously true that no one could question it, is, indeed, a most revolutionary doctrine, and comes in full conflict with what we all must feel to be under ordinary circumstances an absolute right—the right of the individual to the exclusive enjoyment and disposition of what his labor produces.

What is the reason of this conflict? Is a man bound to starve more patiently under ordinary circumstances when plenty of food is to be had than under extraordinary circumstances when there is but little food? Is not the answer, that the moral law never contemplates the starving of men under ordinary circumstances? Is it not true that when in such cities as London or New York there are men who are compelled to choose between starvation, theft or beggary, the cause of such conditions must be some violation of the moral law, from which, and not out of any real contradictions, such seeming conflicts of equally obvious principles of right must arise?

What is that violation of the moral law? No one can fail to see it if he will really look for it.

There are vicissitudes and accidents in which the right to life rises superior to the right to property, and under which charity may be asked on the one side and given on the other without degradation or danger.

Under normal conditions no one can rightfully claim the produce of another's labor, or even demand that another should employ him. Under such conditions the right to bread is not equal. The industrious man has an absolute right to the bread his industry produces, and the lazy man, who will not work, ought to starve.

But all men have equal rights to the use of the natural elements from which bread is produced.

The wrong in our social conditions is the denial of that right.

And the difficulty which besets all attempts to make charity in any of its forms even palliate the evils that injustice surely brings in its train, is that in the very nature of things charity cannot take the place of justice.

Mrs. Lowell gave the Women's Christian conference and the *Christian Union* a text worth their pondering when she quoted to them that saying of Christ:

"Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you."

On Christmas day I heard Father Huntington's boys sing, first in the receiving hospital on 120th street, and then in the Convalescent home of the Guild of St. John, next door. They had come up for the purpose of singing Christmas carols to the sick and suffering, using to pay their fare the savings of the little society which Father

Huntington has got them to form. Mrs. Lowell has seen such sights, but I wish she had been there, too. She would have seen something of the helpfulness of which she speaks, in Father Huntington singing amid these children of the poorest tenement houses, and Brother Gilbert handing down to them from a little Christmas tree which he had prepared as a surprise, the few little candies and popcorn hung upon it; and pulling out from under it the gum boots—a pair for each boy—which a good angel, known here by a name notable in the annals of New York, had provided for them. Professor Wayland to the contrary notwithstanding, I don't believe those gum boots will hurt those boys.

As for the singing it was not, of course, as good as that of Miss Munier's choir or that which may be heard at Father Ducey's church—St. Leo's; and the verses may have been rather quaint doggerel than poetry. But as sung by the boys there was something in them that produced the highest effects of poetry, that of touching emotion and rousing imagination. A carol that I wish might be sung in all the churches ran thus:

Our Lord, he was a carpenter,
Who wrought with saw and plane,
And did in Nazareth, thirty years
A working man remain;

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But while He wrought, His heart and thought
Were ever with the Lord,
How He might best construct His church,
And preach the glorious word,
Then working men, be brave, be strong,
To serve the Lord alway;
Remember what Augustine said:
"To labor is to pray."

It might in various ways be a salutary thing for Christianity to keep in mind that its founder was a carpenter, but there is one question which the Christians of the *Christian Union* and *Independent* and Johns Hopkins university, to say nothing of the woodyard association and Mrs. Lamadrid and John W. Keyser, and the many churches which maintain charities and report to the organization society, might with profit ask themselves: If the way to relieve poverty is by charity and profit sharing, why did Christ choose to come on earth as a poor carpenter and not as a rich employer?

To be sure, it may be answered that he told the young man of great possessions to sell all that he had and give it to the poor. But was not this rather that the young man might get rid of what prevented him from coming into sympathy with his fellows than for what it might do to mitigate poverty? Does not the carol that Father Huntington's boys sung, with its lament for the rich young man, rather than for the poor, give the right interpretation?

A rich young ruler came to Christ,
"Lord, I will follow Thee;
The ten commandments I have kept,
What lacketh yet to me?"
"Give all thy wealth to feed the poor,
And thou shalt win the crown."
Alas! he could not rise to that,
His riches held him down.

Then working men, be brave, be strong,
To serve the Lord alway;
Remember what Augustine said:
"To labor is to pray."

Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you.

I think the real meaning of this saying is concealed to many minds by the special sense that has gradually attached to the word righteousness and that gives to the text something like the signification, "Seek first to be converted and then all these things shall be added unto you." But the Douai version has it, "Seek first the kingdom of God *and its justice* and all these things shall be added unto you."

In the kingdom of justice—that kingdom which the Master taught his disciples to pray might come on earth—is it not true that there could be no pauperism and no need for alms? Is it not clear to whoever will consider the productive forces that to-day go to waste that the promise, that if men would but do social justice there would be no more need why they should worry about food and raiment than do the fowls of the air and the lilies of the field, was something more than an oriental fancy?

HENRY GEORGE.

Those who for months past have enjoyed the singing at the meetings of the Anti-poverty society will shortly have an opportunity to testify their appreciation of the service which Miss Agatha Munier has rendered in the organization and management of the Concordia chorus. The complimentary concert tendered to Miss Munier by the society will take place on Sunday evening, January 15, and there is every indication that it will attract a crowded audience. Tickets are on sale at the Anti-poverty society's rooms in Cooper union and at THE STANDARD office.

A Speech which the Mayor Did Not Make.

New York Herald.

This is a notable speech from Mayor Hewitt, whose gifts of eloquence should not deaden him to the value of silence:

> When a body of men sitting in secret arrogates to itself the powers of the common carrier and says, "Thus far shalt thou go and no further," that, I say, is an attack upon the foundation of the social order. They are worse than burglars, worse than highwaymen, for, instead of taking the property of the citizen, they rob the whole community. It takes away from the fireside the fuel which is necessary for cooking the dinners of the workingman. It takes away from the manufacturer the power which gives bread to the workingman. It stops the exchanges. It paralyzes human industries. It destroys the very foundations of society.

This is good, angry talk—short sentences and plain English. But the mayor was undoubtedly angry, and he would have made his speech more telling if he had continued in these words:

> When a body of men in secret arrogates to itself the powers which the constitution reserved and cherished for the people and says: "Manhood has no rights which capital is bound to respect," that, I say, is an attack upon the very foundation of the social order. They are worse than burglars, worse than highwaymen, for, instead of robbing an isolated resident or belated wayfarer, they rob the whole community. They tax every ton of coal that cooks the workingman's dinners to pay interest on swindling bonds. They tax the manufacturer to add to their gigantic fortunes as railroad directors and managers and make dear the bread of the workingman by their watered stock and other knavish expedients. To amass these fortunes they own judges, buy legislators, subsidize weak and immoral newspapers, eat up the savings of women and children, paralyze human industry, bring discredit on the national fame and compel us to plunge into some dreadful chasm of general bankruptcy to remove evils when those evils become too great to be endured.

This is the speech the mayor did not make. There would have been as much truth if he had made it as in his severe criticism upon the Knights of Labor. We do not reach the heart of this question by permitting rascality after rascality in railway management to congeal, as it were, into respectability, by allowing the shameless robberies of one decade to become the unchallenged investments of another decade, and by dealing with every protest against this iniquity as "war upon society." No, there is a cause—a deep, infamous, burning cause for this unrest! It will be found in Washington, in Harrisburg and Albany; in Barnard-Cardozo judicial decrees, Credit Mobilier votes, lobby swindles, repudiated bonds, watered stock, railroad "values" lost in robberies, railroad fortunes that represent the proceeds of these robberies.

Yes, there was a good deal of truth in the mayor's angry speech. But, as our readers will see, he was angry. If he had only kept his temper he might have gone into his theme with coolness and candor, as the *Herald* now suggests, and with happy effect.

Anti-Poverty in Boston.

The Boston Anti-poverty society held an unusually large meeting in Horticultural hall on Sunday evening, January 1. Dr. O. P. Gifford, an eminent Baptist clergyman, delivered an address, in which, while carefully avoiding any indorsement of the principles of the society, he expressed himself as in hearty sympathy with its objects, and determined to make a thorough study of its principles.

Brooklyn's Tenth Ward Association.

BROOKLYN, Jan. 3.—At the last meeting of the Tenth ward association of the united labor party, the following officers were elected for the coming year: John B. Muir, president; John Donnelly, first vice president; Joseph F. Flynn, second vice president; Peter Dalton, financier; Robert C. Utess, recording secretary; Thomas S. Tintle, treasurer; Chas. Makin, sergeant-at-arms. Five delegates to

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the county committee of Kings county wer[e] also chosen. The members have arranged t[o] have discussions on Thursday evening of each week on the tariff question, and on Tuesdays on the land question. All interested are invited to come to the headquarters, 358 Sackett street, which are open every evening.

R. C. W.

Hugh O. Pentecost's New Church.

On the morning of Sunday, January 1, Mr. Pentecost opened the services of the new Trinity congregation in Library hall, Newark. The hall was crowded with what must have been largely his old congregation, for the Belleville avenue church, where they formerly listened to him, was on that morning almost empty, less than fifty people being present. Mr. Pentecost preached on rationalism in belief, holding that in matters of religious conviction it is necessary for a man t[o] use all the brains that God has given him, an[d] believe only what his reason tells him is worthy of belief. His desire was, he said, t[o] get men to think for themselves and to teac[h] the brotherhood of man. He wanted to hav[e] belief and practice go hand in hand.

A New Radical Association in London.

There has recently been organized in London an association entitled "the Libera[l] League," for the purpose of advocating home rule, female suffrage, reform in the elective system, payment of elected legislators, abolition of hereditary legislators, moral purity in political lif[e], equal laws for men and women, land law r[e]form, religious equality, free education, sta[te] acquisition of monopolies and a number o[f] other much needed reforms. Miss Helen Taylor, step-daughter of John Stuart Mill, is on[e] of the foremost workers. James Drake Digby, whose office is at 18 Cockspur street, London, is secretary.

Land and Labor in Hartford, Conn.

HARTFORD, Conn.—At the last regular meeting of Land and labor club No. 1 of Connecticut the following officers were elected for the ensuing six months: President, Mr. Clymer; vice president, J. J. Dillon; recording secretary, J. A. Martin; treasurer, Dr. Simmons; financial secretary, M. J. Mehegan; industrial secretary, J. A. Martin; executive committee, Robert Pyne, J. Daigneau and F. Orth. The club meets weekly at Good Templars' hall, 27 Main street, and is open to all comers to visit and take part in the discussions.

JAMES A. MARTIN, Secretary.

The American Farmer in Dakota.

From a Dakota Newspaper Correspondent.

Where (the great wheat farms) are established trade languishes, towns cease to grow, merchants are forced out of business, and school houses are empty. There are no children in that land. For a month in the spring and for forty days in the summer and fall the air hanging over the bonanza farms resounds with the hum of industry. Then all is silent and the country is desolate until the next spring. But wheat has been produced cheaply, though no happiness has followed, as it legitimately should, to the men who tilled the soil.

Where do the men who handle these immense crops of wheat come from? That question cannot be answered accurately. Casselton is a squalid frontier town. It consists of one main street, which faces the railroad, and which is built up on one side only. A back street runs parallel to the main street, and there are two or three short and weed-grown cross streets. Casselton is dirty, and when I first saw it two weeks ago it was full of dirty idle men.

Americans, Scandinavians and Irishmen swarmed its main street and congregated in foul smelling crowds around the doors of saloons, where empty beer kegs afforded seats. This crowd of ragged, dirty, half drunken men were migratory harvest tramps, who were waiting to be hired. Where they come from and where they go to is unknown to man. As harvest approaches they crawl out of freight cars which stop at Casselton. They are seen walking along the dusky, hot highways which lead to this town. They arrive during the night. They slouch into town by day. It matters not how or when they arrive, they are, with the exception of the Scandinavians, almost invariably dead broke, dirty and hungry. About 800 of these migratory people arrive at Casselton in time to assist in harvest or thrashing, which lasts about forty days. They are paid $2 per day, so they earn about $80 each during the Dakota harvest. They, again excepting the Scandinavians, almost to a man, leave Casselton dead broke. They mysteriously disappear. They are agricultural tramps.

The Landowning Workingmen of Maine.

Rockland, Me., Opinion.

The Lewiston *Gazette* says: "Henry Georgism makes little headway among the intelligent workingmen of Massachusetts. The mechanics and operatives of that state know what it is to own land—and so do the mechanics and operatives of Maine." A precious sight the working people of Lewiston know about the delights of land ownership, or the business men either for that matter. Pretty much all the land that is of any good in Lewiston is held by a corporation, composed mostly of Massachusetts men. A considerable part of it they will not sell at any price, and those who desire to use it must lease and pay in rent all their business will stand. All the mill privileges and water powers are monopolized. Some of the less desirable house lots are sold to those who are able to put down handsomely for them, but the great mass of the "mechanics and operatives" of Lewiston are packed like sardines in a box into tenement houses and boarding houses, or crowded out of the city altogether and forced to find homes across the river in Auburn. And all this time are seen any quantity of vacant lots, land held out of use by these incorporated dogs-in-the-manger, right in the heart of the city. Business men are not allowed to use it, workingmen are not allowed to live on it. But both classes have to work like the devil, be content with small profits and low wages, and hand over the lion's share of their industry, applied to the wonderful natural resources of Lewiston, to the landlords. It may be that "Henry Georgism is making little headway" in Lewiston as well as in Massachusetts, but it isn't because the "intelligent workingmen" don't have their noses put to the grindstone by land monopoly about as closely as any people on earth. And let the *Gazette* ask the fortunate few who actually do "know what it is to own land," how much they had to pay the corporation for it in capitalized rent, and how much they are taxed on it after they have built their houses as compared with the tax paid by the corporation when it was held unimproved, and some additional points in favor of a tax on land values instead of on industry and houses will probably appear.

Evidently This Editor Thinks the Wisest Thing He Can Do for His Daughters is to Put Them to Work in a Store or Factory.

Scranton, Pa., Truth.

It is not easy to find a more cheerful picture than the bright eyed, alert, intelligent working girls one meets on sidewalk or in street car these chill, murky mornings, hurrying to their various avocations in store or factory or wherever employment awaits them to keep hand and brain busy during the day. The working girl is a wholesome

study as she hurries to her tasks. The fierce jealousies that often burn their way into the heart of the fashionable world have no place in her pure breast, and there is no deceit in her smile. Like Longfellow's "Village Blacksmith" she "looks the whole world in the face," and an heiress might envy the luster which shines through her candid eyes.

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ANTI-POVERTY.

DR. McGLYNN'S ADDRESS AT THE THIRTY-SIXTH PUBLIC MEETING.

Mr. Croasdale on Henry Watterson's Threats of Force—Dr. McGlynn Thinks It the Duty of the Party to Go Straight Ahead Without Stopping to Discuss Protection or Free Trade.

A cheerless and wet New Year's evening, together with the social engagements of the day, contributed to lessen the numbers present at the thirty-sixth public meeting of the Anti-poverty society last Sunday night. But those who attended made up in enthusiasm and in generous contributions for the decreased numbers. The Academy of Music was about three-quarters full. Miss Munier and her choir were greeted with the usual applause as they took their places upon the stage.

Mr. Croasdale presided, and after the chorus had sung the hymn, "Let Our Choir New Anthems Raise," made a few introductory remarks. He said they could all join in wishing each other a happy New Year and a career of greater usefulness than ever for the Anti-poverty society. Within ten days every member would receive his or her certificate of membership. The members were to be divided into small groups according to localities, so as to become acquainted with one another, and be ready for more active work in their neighborhoods. He dwelt upon the great good that could be done individually in spreading the principles of the society, and showed how public opinion had been already affected. He spoke of Henry Watterson's article in *Harper's Magazine* in which the latter maintained that the anti-poverty society had an idea which demanded consideration, but could never be put into practice without a bloody revolution. If this meant anything it meant that the monopolists would resist by force any legislation looking to the proposed remedy. To this it might be replied that once before a class had attempted to resist, by force, legislation to abolish slavery when it was against their interest, and had been put down; and that law and order would be sure to triumph again.

Dr. McGlynn came in at the close of the chairman's remarks and was received with cheers. Mr. Croasdale immediately introduced him and he commenced his address.

Dr. McGlynn's opening words were a clear enunciation of the essential truths of religion and justice involved in the new crusade. In glowing language he pointed out the evils that threaten our civilization with a doom of dissolution, and showed how only by the restoration of those equal rights guaranteed to man by the fundamental principles of divine and human law, could the impending catastrophe be averted.

The closing of the year that has just ended, said Dr. McGlynn, may well remind us of the beginning of this society. Eight months ago this society was inaugurated in Chickering hall, on a Sunday evening, on the first day of May. We seem to have lived very much in those brief eight months. That first of May in Chickering hall seems to me already as if it were ancient history. The human mind does not measure its time so much by the revolution of the earth as by the multitude of thoughts and events that crowd upon it. We have lived many years in these eight months. (Applause.) Let us thank God for the good things that He has done for us and for this society during these

eight months. We may thank God that He has permitted us to preach His truth and to do something to inaugurate a movement that can never take any backward step till it shall have triumphed, not merely over this land, but throughout the world. (Applause.)

The truth that we are to preach is wonderfully simple, as all great truths must be. The work that we have to do is simply this—to make all men confess and reduce to practice the doctrine that all men are equally entitled to life in this world because they are equally children of God. God has placed us here as in a goodly school, to learn His lessons, to perform His tasks, and it were unjust on our part to exclude any one of our brethren from the promised reward for the fulfilment of these tasks. It is no exaggerated patriotism to say that this land of ours, by a singular providence of God, is called upon, more perhaps than any other, to solve the great social problems, to be a beacon light to the down trodden and discomfited of other lands.

If we shall do what we can to solve these problems we shall have have[sic] done more than any political or social reform, save that blessed introduction of our holy religion, has ever done to elevate mankind. We shall have taken gigantic strides toward the fulfilment of the prayers and the prophecies of the prophets of Israel and of Him whom we revere as our Lord and Master—the prophecy that man should learn to war no more and should convert the instruments of warfare into the implements of peace. We shall have done not a little to break down the barriers between man and man, and without stopping to discuss the comparatively trifling issues of protection *or free trade* (applause) we may rest assured that when the happy day shall have come, when all the races of men shall form a universal commonwealth and their disputes shall be decided by the parliament of man, then surely there shall be no imaginary lines separating man from man, no need for custom houses between the brethren. (Great applause.)

Think of the enormous savings to humanity by the abolition of the useless standing armies. Think of the millions and millions of men to-day taken from the very flower of the youth of nearly every country to rot in barracks, to be demoralized themselves and to demoralize the community. Think of the enormous drain and strain upon the rest of the community—the children, the aged, and the women toiling in the unseemly work of the field, sweeping the streets and literally carrying the hod in order to make up for this terrible defection of the very bone and sinew of a nation from the glorious army of labor. (Applause.) Think of the enormous improvement in morals, the rapid increase of population, the enormous saving of waste. Think of the enormous increase in the production of things useful and ornamental if standing armies were abolished, if instead of being the drones of society the flower of the youth of every country should be founding families, founding for themselves positions in life, adopting professions, doing something to contribute to the wealth of the whole community. Think of the enormous gain that would come to science and art if this frightful drain were stopped, if all the energies of men were to be devoted to the blessed arts of peace, if the only rivalry between man and man and between nation and nation were the rivalry to outstrip one another in universal benefits. And when men shall accept as the cardinal doctrine of political economy that golden rule which the Master taught, when they shall recognize the wisdom of the maxim that an injury to one is an injury to all (applause) all these blessings I have outlined will be the necessary result. (Applause.)

As we look back over the year that has

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just closed, we can see very much to be thankful for in the good work, the great work, the widely-reaching work that has been done by this society and by the united labor party. (Applause.) We cannot forget what has hardly yet become, even for me, ancient history—the recent political campaign. We have very much to be thankful for as we look over that glorious campaign. It gave occasion for members of this society, and friends of this society, to go

Sic in the original; probably “have”.

out unto the whole of this great state of New York, with its five to six millions of people. and[sic] in every city and hamlet, to speak on the great doctrines of this society and of the party. Surely this was a great missionary work, a wondrous work; and as we look back we cannot fail to wonder at how much was accomplished in so short a time and with such ridiculously slender means. (Applause.) But we need not complain very much of our slender means, for thus it has been ever. The teaching of the truth does not depend upon a plenteous treasury. It finds but little aid from standing armies. The favored halls in which the truth is preached are not the reception rooms of royal or imperial palaces. The favorite audiences of the first preachers of a great truth are the poor, the simple, the lowly, the outcast, the down-trodden, the disinherited, the poor in spirit, those who with but little earthly knowledge and with still less earthly power or possessions have the clear vision of great, simple, eternal, spiritual truths. And so it was, because we went out with a consciousness of possessing a great truth, not seeking ourselves, but truth and justice, that with slender means and with but few helpers we have been able to fight so magnificent a battle. And while our opponents talk of a victory we can claim the great moral victory and leave to them the wretched glory of one of the most immoral. (Great applause.)

And now because the platform of our principles did not receive as many votes as in our too sanguine anticipations we had hoped, shall we be discouraged? Shall we not rather be exceedingly thankful that amidst such corruption, in spite of such enormous power of monopoly, of iniquity and of all kinds of wickedness, 70,000 men dared to stand up and be counted on the side of God, of truth, of justice? (Great and renewed applause.)

There is no thought of discouragement in our minds. We shall go straight on. We have no new article to add to the creed of this society. We have no change to make in the array of our front of battle. We shall march straight on by the road upon which we have entered. (Applause.) We shall not, if we can help it, permit our counsels to be distracted by the discussion of the advantages or disadvantages of any other policy; because great as may appear to be the advantages of mere policies we have learned that the advantages, whether of protection or free trade, would be simply nugatory, if, after having escaped the minor robbers, we are destined to be robbed of all that we have, except barely the clothes on our backs, by the one gigantic robber—the monopolist of the natural opportunities. (Cries of "hear! hear!" and great applause, twice renewed.)

I am in the habit, my dear friends, of taking you very much into my confidence (applause), and so I will tell you that I personally am an absolute free trader (applause) and that I have been so as far back as I can remember that I had any opinions whatsoever on the subject one way or the other. I am by instinct, by nature, a cosmopolitan, a citizen of the world, and I would, if I could, to-morrow—I, personally, with my little pen, if I could write a decree to that effect, I would abolish all the custom houses in the world. And so, when I read Henry George's (applause) work "Protection or Free Trade?" I was simply, if possible, more and more confirmed in my convictions and saw more clearly the reasonableness of them. And, to take you still further into my confidence, I may say that I have been taught by Mr. George, as I never before had seen before for myself, the comparative uselessness of even the great advantages of free trade because of the iniquitous distribution of wealth which must continue as long as the monopoly of natural opportunities is permitted. (Applause.)

Now, there are honored members of our society, members even, I believe, of its executive committee, and no doubt not a few general members of the society who are, or think that they are, protectionists (laughter), and who are more or less persuaded by the arguments in favor of protecting these infant industries of ours, some of them a hundred years old. Puny, wretched infants they must be if, after a hundred years of government pap (laughter), they have not got over the condition of infancy! (Laughter.) There are, I say, a good many who have been persuaded by arguments in favor of protecting these infant industries. And still more there are who, I may say, theoretically can see a good deal in free trade, but are afraid of disturbing things too rapidly. But what I am going to say now is this: We have all learned from Mr. George, in that admirable book of his, the comparative uselessness

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

of even the magnificent advantages that would come to a country in the enormous increase of its wealth and the facilities of exchange, if we permit the radical, fundamental and gravest of all injustices to remain, in the private ownership of natural opportunities, of land. (Applause.)

Now, then, it strikes me that it is very desirable for us, while men are talking about protection and free trade, and the supposed advantages of the one or the other, not to be cowardly in the matter of giving out our own opinions as individuals; but to say to the man who is a protectionist, or thinks he is a protectionist, "Well, I don't believe that protection has produced these good things that you say. But suppose it has, in the wealth of a portion of the country, it is the obvious, painful fact that in spite of all this protection you have the working people, in these protected industries, suffering the most abject poverty and misery. (Applause.) Protection has made strange work of protecting the coal miners of Pennsylvania. (Applause.) Protection has done a strange kind of work in protecting the cloak makers, the shirt makers of this very city. (Applause.) What has our American protection done for those women who are making shirts at thirty five cents a dozen? And when our free trade friends say:"But free trade—if we only had free trade, the kingdom of heaven would come on earth and we should have that ladder extending from earth to heaven with the angels running up and down." (Laughter.) We have to say to them: Look at Great Britain. The united kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland may be said to be a free trade country. And yet is not England, the acknowledged wealthiest country in the world. also[sic] the country most cursed with pauperism? We were reading in the newspapers to-day that there are about eight hundred thousand paupers, avowed paupers, receiving pauper relief in England and ninety thousand in the city of London. The paper in which that statement appears to-day makes a kind of little side argument out of it as against free trade. I simply say that if protection does accomplish anything in increasing wealth surely it does not increase the proper distribution of wealth for those who actually produce the wealth, as in the coal miners of Pennsylvania or in the cellars and garrets of the wretched tenements of New York. How about these

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mighty strikes on the part of the workers in those protected coal and iron industries! How about the pauperism, the degradation, the waste of human life, the misery of Great Britain and Scotland, the horrible depopulation of Ireland, the incredible horrors of Irish famines in a free trade country? I am a free trader, an absolute free trader. I would abolish all custom houses now if I could; but I say the advantage that would come from free trade in the increased wealth of a country would accrue in a very short time to the privileged few and the masses of men would continue to be paupers as before. (Applause.)

And while I can hardly bring myself to believe that there are any advantages whatever in so-called protection—I do not care to argue that with you, my dear friends—but I do wish to say that if protection does increase the wealth of a country it will speedily be swallowed up by the man who is permitted to own the natural opportunities out of which and by which only can wealth be produced at all. (Applause.)

The only solution of all these difficulties is in radical justice. I, for one, therefore, would not postpone the discussion, the constant agitation, the eternal fight to bring about this radical justice, for the discussion of any question of free trade or protection. (Applause.) In a sophomorical kind of a way I am willing enough, if you choose, to talk about free trade and its advantages, but I was taught by Henry George, in that magnificent work of his, "Protection or Free Trade?" that the effect of free trade in England, with all its increase of wealth, is to increase the wealth of the privileged classes, of the monopolies, of the owners, of natural opportunities. Now, then, let us, all the more because of this clear vision of practical truth, stimulate ourselves to abate not a jot of our determination to go on, simply and single-mindedly, reiterating our programme, constantly making this demand upon the politicians and scaring them as far as we can with this eternal clamor of ours, till they shall be compelled

Sic in the original; probably "world, also".

to find it good policy to put this doctrine into their platforms (applause); and I for one would have no partnership, no alliance, no part or parcel with them until they shall have put this cardinal doctrine into their platforms (applause), and at the very head of their platform; and I will go so far as to say that if any one of our most honored friends here, if Mr. Croasdale, for instance, should be put—my dear friend whom I love and admire so much—that if he were to be put up as a congressional candidate by either of the old parties, it would not take very much for me to run against him myself (great applause and laughter), if I could manage to get two or three men together in a convention to nominate me, simply on the platform of this Anti-poverty society and upon the Syracuse platform. (Applause.)

So you see I have been taking you very largely into my confidence to-night as to my political aspirations and hopes. Now what shall we do? Go straight ahead the way we have been going. And while I invite you to come here every Sunday evening, I particularly invite you to come here this night twelvemonth, on the first Sunday of January, 1889, that we may rejoice together and congratulate one another over the steady, persevering, unflinching work that we shall have done, both by preaching, practicing, working, printing, traveling and by political conventions, by political agitation and by all lawful means to propagate the doctrine of this Anti-poverty society and of our united labor party as stated in the Syracuse platform. (Applause.)

But we have to make a good many converts before we can fill the halls of legislation of the various states and of the United States and the presidential chair with men of our minds. We got some seventy thousand votes in the state of New York out of about a million. How many we may get in other states is yet quite an unknown quantity, since in other states our platform has not yet been put to the same test as in this. We have to make converts. And so each member of this Anti-poverty society and each member of the united labor party and all our good friends and well wishers should feel called upon to become missionaries, to preach the word in season and out of season, to be constant in so doing, to give the world and the country no rest. That is the way in which a doctrine is propagated. We have an example in the anti-slavery societies. We have a very encouraging example in the recent history of our country, in the rise and growth and triumph of the party that after a few campaigns actually controlled the congress of the United States, nearly all the legislatures of the northern states and for a whole generation nearly held the presidential chair of our country. Now we with such an example before our eyes may well take heart of hope and believe that some of us who are pretty old are not so very old (laughter) as Othello says of himself, may actually live to see the day when a united labor party president shall take his seat in the chair at Washington (great applause) and a majority of united labor party men or men holding the united labor party principles shall shape the legislation of all our cities as well as of the United States, and with the aid of united labor party governors sitting in the various gubernatorial chairs, or with a two thirds majority over their veto, shall be able to incorporate in the laws of all our states the programme of this Anti-poverty society, the platform of the united labor party. (Great applause.)

When that day comes, if not before, I shall do everything that I can short of utterly sacrificing my principles or my conscience to please the pope and the archbishop and the vicar general (great laughter and applause, renewed several times), and with their gracious permission, before St. Stephen's altar or any other altar, whether in New York or in Middletown (laughter) it won't matter which, I shall put on the best cope and the best surplice and the best stole that I can find at hand, and I will clear my throat and sing my best *Te Deum* and *Magnificat* and all the glorious psalms that I can think of before that altar for this magnificent triumph of justice. And last of all, then, in all sincerity, I shall be ready at the foot of that altar to sing the *Nunc Dimittis*, "Now lettest thou, O Lord, thy servant to depart in peace. Because mine eyes have seen thy salvation."

Tremendous applause and cries of "Hear! hear!" and renewed cheering followed as Dr. McGlynn sat down. The applause continued for some moments, during which the doctor was speaking with Mr. Croasdale, who sat beside him. Then he arose again with a piece of paper in his hand, and said:

Through the courtesy of the press, for which I have, as you know, a very great regard and affection (laughter)—that is not altogether a joke—we have a dispatch here, which is said to be an extract from a speech made to-day by Cardinal Manning (great applause) as received by cable from London: "Every man has a right to life and a right to the food necessary to sustain life. So strict is this right that it prevails over all the laws of property. Necessity has no law. (Applause.) A starving man has a right to his neighbor's bread." (Applause.)

I think we may after that, almost without offence, send Cardinal Manning a magnificently engrossed certificate of membership in the Anti-poverty society (laughter) and, as you know, there is nothing mean about us, we

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should send it to him without charging him the dollar initiation fee.

Applause followed and a voice cried "three cheers for Cardinal Manning!" which were given with a will.
Mr. Croasdale then announced that at the next Sunday night meeting Dr. McGlynn would deliver the principal address. There was an arrangement for the discussion of the Australian system of voting from the standpoint of all three political parties, but the date had not been definitely fixed. "*The Cross of the New Crusade*" was then sung by the choir, the audience joining in. After the exercises closed many of the audience went upon the stage and waited at the theater entrances to wish Dr. McGlynn a happy new year.

THE LESSON OF WICHITA.

WICHITA, Kansas.—I have just finished reading "Progress and Poverty," and it has been a revelation to me.

Here, in the city of Wichita, are to-day probably not less than three thousand vacant lots with an average value of one thousand dollars each. Ten years ago their average value did not exceed one hundred dollars. This increase of value is due entirely to demand created by the growth of population—the building up of a city of 40,000 inhabitants.

Besides the $2,700,000 that has been thus added to the value of vacant land within the city limits, at least another million has been added to the value of unused adjacent land within a radius of five miles, making a total increase of $3,700,000 on unimproved land, and at least an equal amount has been added to lots on which improvements have been made over the cost value of the improvements.

The average population of Wichita during the ten years in which this value has been created has certainly not exceeded 20,000, of whom 5,000, or one out of every four, have been active producers. Now, bearing in mind that there is no possible way in which capital can be created or increased, save by the exertion of labor, can anything be more plain than that during the last ten years these five thousand working men have been taxed to the amount of $7,400,000, or $1,480 per head, for the benefit of the land owners?

Add to these the necessary profits of employers, and at least one of Wichita's causes of poverty among the toilers is no longer a mystery. It is by pointing out the remedy for this state of things that "Progress and Poverty" has been a revelation to me. And, though I cannot honestly say that I fully share your confidence as to the extent to which the single land tax would overcome this great evil, yet I am persuaded that it would do much in that direction.

For some time I have been an interested reader of THE STANDARD, which I procure regularly from our newsdealer, and am trying to get others interested also. From what conversation I have had with my fellow workmen upon the subject I feel sure that there is here a rich field in which to plant the seeds of truth. Let the

struggling army of the new crusade in the east but be constant to its trust and it will yet find a strong and faithful ally in the west.

C. L. JONES.

Mr. Jones makes a strong presentment of the case; but he doesn't state the whole case by any means. The crime of landlordism against the people of Wichita is not merely that it levies a blackmail upon their earnings and exacts a crushing tax from them without any return; its most cruel effect is that it bars them out from the workshop of nature, and to a great extent forbids them to utilize their labor in the production of wealth on any terms whatever.

The Parties to "The Blunder."

NEW YORK CITY.—In discussing the moral phase of the question of compensation for taxing land values, Professor Ely says: "If we have all made a mistake, should one party to the transaction alone bear the cost of the common blunder?" I would like to ask Professor Ely what is the date of the confessedly blundering transaction, and how he would define a party to it, or set about classifying the present population of this country into parties of the first part and parties of the second part?

I am a young man thirty years old. I was born in this country. The blundering land system was in vogue when I first opened my eyes. Unless the being born under the system constitutes one a party to the transaction creating the system, I was certainly not a party to "the blunder" which had been made hundreds of years before I came into the world. I grew up among people all of whom apparently were dealers in land values as they were dealers in flour, pork, dry goods and other products of labor. No one suggested a distinction between property in land and property in the products of labor, and consequently I never thought anything about the right or wrong of private property in land until about four years ago. Did my failure to discover the great economic principles which Professor Ely concedes make me a party to "the blunder?"

Up to the time I read "Progress and Poverty" I had neither bought nor sold a piece of land. I had done nothing more to acquiesce in land ownership than to pay some fellow a large portion of the results of my labor for the privilege of living somewhere. Am I, therefore, a party to "the blunder?" I began to protest against the wrong in my poor way as soon as I discovered it, and I am still protesting that private ownership of land is wrong, and should be abolished. For that reason have I become a party to "the blunder," and therefore justly condemned myself to perpetually slave for others, unless I should be fortunate enough to acquire enough land to compel others to labor for me?

No, sir! I have not been a party to "the blunder," and there is no sort of doubt that the overwhelming majority of the people of this country belong to my class. We have not all joined in the mistake, by a large majority, and are therefore, according to Professor Ely's own reasoning, not morally bound to share the cost of "the blunder," much less are we bound to thrust the cumulative cost of it upon our children.

At the present time there is but one party morally responsible for the blunder, because there is but one voluntary party to it. That party is the class who have acquired "vested rights" in the labor of their fellow men and insist that such "right" shall never be disturbed.

P. V. JONES.

From Our Late Candidate for Comptroller.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Before Mr. Cleveland issued his somewhat unique tariff message the only pivot upon which to swing the argument as to whether or no the united labor party should make a presidential nomination at the

coming election was the ability to initiate and carry on a campaign in so broad an arena as the nation. The logic of this message is free trade, and should the democratic party stand by its logic then, undoubtedly, we shall have the issue of Free Trade vs. Protection. The leaders of the united labor party who have so far said anything have for the most part said it on the side of no tariff. I would not presume to enter the lists in defense of the seemingly modest tariff

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members of the new party, but Mr. Croasdale's brave words in one of his communications to THE STANDARD, in which he avers that he would not make the least compromise with the men in the united labor party who are for protection, but would unceremoniously show them the door by putting a square declaration for free trade in the platform, and further, even would not invite such men to a conference of the party, is a challenge that I for one feel ought not to go unnoticed. I am a protectionist and the son of a son of a protectionist. I like Blaine's word better than I do Cleveland's word. Yet am I a loyal member of the united labor party formed at Syracuse on the 17th day of August last, upon a declaration of principles to which I firmly believe this free nation will eventually hitch the car of its destinies, and in which declaration of principles no word of free trade or protective tariff was said. The ultimate of the single land tax is free trade. Granted; but I prefer just now to deal with immediates rather than with ultimates. The cry that free trade means "free land" is a pleasant euphemism, sounds well, means little, and has less of real hopeful, helpful fact in it. I no more believe that free land is to come out of this free trade hocus pocus than the Jews believed the Christ would come out of Nazareth. A jewel in a pig's snout would not be more out of place than would "free land" in the average free trade platform. It might not, indeed, more appropriately adorn the average protectionist structure.

The men who met at Syracuse, recognizing these two facts, avoided the thing altogether, and left the ultimate, which appears to trouble Mr. Croasdale, to the future. They did well, in my opinion, since there is nothing in free trade or protective tariffs with which to solve labor problems.

The wretched family without blankets to keep bodies warm, over which Mr. St. John the prohibitionist sheds tears, and longs for free trade, so these poor folk may buy cheaper blankets, will not get blankets any more, for free trade will not increase the opportunities in America for such people to earn blankets; perhaps may, for the time being, even lessen opportunities. The evils that exist in our industrial life are not because of protective tariffs, but in spite of them. The talk of monopolies created by protection will not hold water. You will not by free trade throw one single ray of joy into the coal breakers. You will not make our factory life purer and sweeter; women won't get so much as a penny more or a minute less of grinding work to get what now they get from shirt making; possibly, almost certainly, all this will be intensified under free trade. I believe in holding on to all the hope and light we have, as little as it is. I prefer a leaky roof to no roof at all.

Yes! I for one have "seen the cat" in the single land tax. We all saw it, Mr. Croasdale. We protectionists in the united labor party are not dull fellows, and this "cat," this ultimate "cat," isn't such a terrible beast if you will only keep it out where it belongs, on the back fence, where a bottle may be shied at it without endangering the furniture and bric-a-brac, and where it in retaliation may harmlessly howl of nights galore.

Some men there be love not a gaping pig; Some that are mad if they behold a cat.

For one, however, much as I dislike the free trade cat, still was I not mad, I protest, but tranquilly observed the brute and found no liveliness in her. The point I desire to make is, that while I may not object to the ultimate "free trade cat" when free land comes, I do object to taking up with the nuisance first and then, perhaps, get no free land at all. And all this leads me to a brief conclusion, suggestive, rather than positive, in character: If the united labor party should nominate a presidential candidate, in the almost certain event of the great political issue between the old parties being directly upon Free Trade vs. Protection, would it have to take sides? If it did not, could it get its

voice heard in the din for its peculiar views upon taxation? If it took sides, on which side would it stand? If it stood for free trade, what would become of the protective tariffites? If it stood for protection, what would become of the free traders? This issue may not be of the real warp and woof of the labor problem, but it blends its coloring in some degree and somehow with it.

I recognize the difficulties of the case, and I see how beautifully Mr. Croasdale has cut the knot. Under his plan the protective tariff men would go out of the party; that would leave Mr. C. and the free traders free to do most anything except to have a united labor party. Of course they would change the name, but what they would call it heaven only knows, and what object there would be in having two free trade parties the devil himself could not tell. I do not like the way this gentleman cuts the knot, however much I might feel inclined to compliment his abilities in the direction of solving difficulties. I should very much enjoy being at a convention of the party where Mr. Croasdale proposed such heroic measure. I favor, if we are to commit hari-kari, that we do it not with a meat ax.

V. A. WILDER.

Brooklyn Residents Should Support It.

Several residents of the First ward in Brooklyn have decided to organize a local club for debate and discussion of the single tax reform, the protective fallacy and other important questions. Suitable rooms will be secured and a library and reading room established as soon as possible. It is hoped that voters and other residents of Brooklyn will give the club the support to which such an organization is entitled. Communications may be addressed to A. L. Voorhees, 106 Livingston street, Brooklyn.

But Taxing the Community for the Benefit of Individuals?

London Echo.

The commissioners of sewers required certain property in Fenchurch street and Lime street. This property was part of a larger property purchased by the vendors in 1885 for £16,870. The total area was 1,374 square feet, so that the company paid for it at the rate of £12 5s. 6d. per foot. The commissioners sought to acquire for street widening 560 feet, and for this the company asked £25,000, or at the rate of £44 12s. 10d. per foot. Their estimate was that the land which had been bought for £12 5s. 6d. per foot in 1885 had now become worth £16 per foot, and that the difference between that and the sum asked was reasonable compensation for compulsory purchase. The valuers on the other side held £11,700 to be a fair price, and the special jury has decided that £11,400 is sufficient. Even that will leave the company a very handsome profit on their purchase, a good deal more, in fact, than the ten per cent supposed to be allowed for compulsory purchase.

Yes! But Suppose the Title Isn't Good?

Pittsburg, Pa., Times.

Look the world over, it will be found that the origin of a large majority of all great fortunes was real estate. Good selections originally and a patient holding have made more men rich, and with less trouble, than any other line of investment or kind of business. Minors whose parents died the poor possessors of a little real estate, on coming of age have found themselves rich solely because the property was by will or otherwise withheld from sale.

Buy real estate, young man! Work to pay the taxes and buy more real estate. But be sagacious in making the selection and be certain the title is good.

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WHOM THE TARIFF BENEFITS.

Edw. J. Shriver in Political Science Quarterly.

. . The consumer commonly consoles himself for the increased expense of living by the pleasing reflection that he is at least assisting to develop infant industries, or to maintain those already established which, while useful or even necessary, seem yet to be unable to stand alone. The truth of the matter—which he rarely understands—is this: that in our present stage of progress every dollar taken from his pocket to pay for more than a natural cost goes simply through the manufacturer's hands to the man who produces raw material, and is neither divided among operatives as higher wages nor retained by the employer as an extra profit which must be given him to induce him to carry on the manufacture. If the article purchased is one of the manifold forms of that typical protected product, iron—whether it is a casting direct from the crude pig or a bar from the puddling furnace or a steel rail from the Bessemer converter—it costs a higher price than it would in free trade England; but the difference of cost does not benefit the furnace man, the mill owner, or even their hands, for none of them earn more for each ton they turn out than they would in like pursuits abroad. The real beneficiary of the tariff on all these forms of iron is the mine owner from whose land has come the ore and the coal out of which the finished iron has been evolved. When we compare the selling prices, here and abroad, of such highly finished goods as nails, stamped ware, elaborate castings, agricultural implements, and the like, we find but little difference. But the nearer we come to the raw material, the closer is the correspondence between the rate of duty and the higher range of domestic prices. Analyze the various items which go to make up a ton of pig iron—the first crude manufactured stage—and the mystery is solved. The ore, the coal, and the limestone, which are the only elements entering into the cost of a stove or a kettle that nature gives, and whose quantity cannot be increased or diminished by any fiscal policy, are sold to the furnace man who smelts them into pig iron for just as much more per ton of iron that they will produce, as he will receive for that same ton in comparison with his competitor abroad. Or if it is a wooden house that the consumer wants to build, or a chair or table that he has to buy, an extra toll must be paid because there is a tariff duty on lumber. Yet the operator of the saw mill or the furniture factory—the manufacturer, in short, whose business protection is supposed to assist, and whom it should thereby aid to pay higher wages—does not earn larger profits than he would in some other line of trade. It makes no difference practically whether he rents timber land and pays the owner a royalty, or whether he buys his logs already cut; for in either case he must pay directly or indirectly for his material all the extra price that the tariff helps him to charge for his goods.

These two great industries, iron and lumber, are in so large a degree the foundation of nearly all our manufactures, if not as materials, then as buildings or plant or tools, that enhanced price for either or both those two articles must inevitably be added to their indirect products; and if our boots or shirts are dearer than they should be we can trace it back in most cases to the pocket of the mine or forest owner, who is the monopolist that uses a long chain of manufacturers as collecting agents. Some of the prominent protective duties are on confessedly agricultural products, such as tobacco or sugar, and do not even masquerade as developing manufactures. Distinct again from all others is the wool tariff, which may with equal correctness be considered either an iniquity or a folly, since there are only a few wool raisers, and those the men who range great flocks on public land, who get more for their wool through the working of the tariff than the same tariff forces them to pay in the cost of their carpets, blankets and woolen clothes. Even these men, veritable monopolists, and land monopolists at that, may easily lose their gains made in this way through counterbalancing losses from low prices consequent on diminished demand; because much of our wool, being worthless unless mixed with wool that can only be grown abroad, must be sold sufficiently low to make up for the premium added by tariff charges to the price of the foreign stuff needed for admixture.

But what is the reason that the duties on iron, lumber and their products (together with those on articles which are raised in price mainly because dear iron or lumber enters into their cost) no longer encourage manufacturers by means of unusual returns to invest their capital and energy? It cannot be denied that this was accomplished by the protective system fifteen or twenty years ago, and that thus the strictures of free traders or subsidized monopolies were justified, and on the other hand the claims of protectionists that a diversity of industries was effected were warranted. Protectionists are right when they say that there can be no monopoly in a business which all are free to enter and pursue on equal terms; but even if we put aside the industries which are confined to a few by the patent laws, and pass over the question how far combinations of those already established can exclude new competitors by a commercial warfare, there still remains the serious difficulty that a natural monopoly exists in the sources of raw material. All forms of iron and lumber are derived from certain natural advantages which cannot be increased by any laws or by increase of demand. While manufactures are really in their infancy there is little competition to buy raw material, and an extra price added to the finished goods is mostly secured by the manufacturer, thus affording a bonus actually paid by the community for the maintenance of the industry; but as more factories are built they not only press on each other as sellers of goods, but even more as buyers of material; and so the cost of the material gradually creeps higher, always proportionately and often absolutely, until the point is reached where we stand to-day, when the capital, skill and labor engaged in transforming this raw material into manufactured goods is paid with the smallest percentage that will keep the industry alive, while the consumer is supplied at no lower price. For men who have iron or coal quietly lying in mines, or, what is even safer, forests that add daily by growth to their own value, can so much better afford to wait that it is not surprising to find them dictating terms more effectively than the consumer, who must have the necessaries of life. In exact proportion to the number of establishments that have grown up under protection in any given district has this process gone on; and as fast as manufactures increase in each state and county that now has few, the number of users of raw material increases, and the manufacturers find their share of the spoils passing over to those who own the land from which the material must come.

Gaining Ground.

WALTHAM, Mass.—I work in the watch factory here and speak a word for the cause whenever possible. THE STANDARD sells well on our news stands, and we have numerous friends here, among others the ablest clergyman in the place.

[PRYOR?] FULTON.

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THE STANDARD.

[HENRY?] GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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[Communications?] and contributions are invited, and [will?] [be?] attentively considered. Manuscripts not found [suitable?] for publication will be returned if sufficient [stamps?] are sent for return postage. No notice will be [taken?] of anonymous communications.

[Contributions?] and letters on editorial matters should [be?] addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, [and?] all communications on business to the PUBLISHER [OF?] THE STANDARD.

[THE?] STANDARD wants an agent to secure [subscribers?] at every postoffice in the United States, to whom [liberal?] terms will be given.

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[Sample?] [copies?] [sent?] [free?] [on?] [application?].

SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1888.

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

PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY.

[Adopted?] at Syracuse August 19, 1887.

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

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

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

We call upon all who seek the emancipation of labor, [and?] [who?] would make the American union and its [component?] states democratic commonwealths of really [free?] [and?] independent citizens, to ignore all minor [differences?] and join with us in organizing a great national [party?] on this broad platform of natural rights and equal justice. We do not aim at securing any forced [equality?] in the distributon[sic] of wealth. We do not [propose?] that the state shall attempt to control production, [conduct?] distribution, or in any wise interfere with the [freedom?] of the individual to use his labor or capital in [any?] [way?] that may seem proper to him and that will [not?] [interfere?] with the equal rights of others. Nor do [we?] [propose?] that the state shall take possession of [land?] and either work it or rent it out. What we propose is not the disturbing of any man in [his?] holding or title, but by abolishing all taxes on [industry?] [or?] [its?] products, to leave to the producer the full [fruits?] [of?] his exertion and by the taxation of land values, [exclusive?] of improvements, to devote to the common [use?] [and?] benefit those values, which, arising not from [the?] [exertion?] of the individual, but from the growth of [society?], belong justly to the community as a whole. This [increased?] taxation of land, not according to its area, but [according?] to its value, must, while relieving the working [farmer?] and small homestead owner of the undue [burdens?] now imposed upon them, make it [unprofitable?] [to?] hold land for speculation, and thus throw open [abundant?] opportunities for the employment of labor [and?] [the?] building up of homes.

[While?] thus simplifying government by doing away [with?] [the?] horde of officials required by the present [system?] [of?] taxation and with its incentives to fraud and [corruption?], we would further promote the common weal [and?] [further?] secure the equal rights of all, by placing [under?] [public?] control such agencies as are in

Sic in the original; probably "distribution".

their nature [monopolies?]: We would have our municipalities supply [their?] [inhabitants?] with water, light and heat; we would [have?] [the?] general government issue all money, without [the?] [intervention?] of banks; we would add a postal [telegraph?] system and postal savings banks to the postal [service?], and would assume public control and [ownership?] [of?] those iron roads which have become the [highways?] [of?] modern commerce.

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

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

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

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

A REVELATION OF ROGUERY.

The majority and minority reports of the commission appointed to report on the [management?] of the Pacific railroads and [their?] indebtedness to the government of the United States were by order of [the?] [president?] made public last week. Both of [them?] are shocking revelations of long [continued?] frauds defiantly persisted in by [men?] of great prominence in the business [world?], one of whom to-day holds a seat [in?] the United States senate.

[The?] majority report shows that the [Union?] Pacific company has persistently [neglected?] the obligations it assumed [toward?] the government, and that until the [advent?] of the present Adams [administration?] in 1884 the rule was rascality and [mismangement[sic]?], the result being that the [company?] was on the very verge of [bankruptcy?] when Jay Gould retired and Charles Francis Adams, jr., became [president?]. The operation by which Jay Gould and Russell Sage acquired [possession?] of [the?] Kansas Pacific road and [unloaded?] its depreciated securities on the

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Union Pacific at a profit to themselves of over twenty millions of dollars is described, but, on the whole, the report appears to sustain in a general way the policy that enabled Mr. Gould to unload on the Union Pacific company

Sic in the original; probably "mismanagement".

numerous branch roads, the purchase or building of which absorbed money that, had it not been thus diverted, would have gone far toward meeting the obligations of the main line to the government.

In dealing with the Central Pacific the majority report is at once more explicit and more severe. It shows that Directors Stanford (now senator for California), Huntington, Hopkins, and Crocker held almost from the very beginning a majority of the stock of the company. As directors of the company they made an extravagant contract with themselves as the firm of Charles Crocker & Co. to build the road. The commissioners believe that the books of this firm have been destroyed to prevent investigation of this fraudulent construction account, and the report shows that C. P. Huntington must have testified what he knew to be false before the Wilson committee when he declared that his share in the profits of this transaction was only $1,000,000, since Stanford's testimony shows that each of these men made $13,000,000.

These four men have continued down to the present time to use their votes as directors to their personal advantage, while they have authorized the expenditure of large sums of money, for which they refuse to account, which sums, the commissioners declare, are shown by the evidence to have been expended for corrupt purposes in connection with legislation. The majority report by Messrs. Anderson and Littler is certainly not one that those concerned in the frauds exposed can read with pleasure.

The minority report of Mr. Pattison, ex-governor of Pennsylvania, is far more thorough and severe than the majority report. He shows that the government issued in behalf of the aided roads subsidy bonds amounting to $64,623,312[sic], the interest on which for thirty years amounts to $114,261,247. The land grant to the companies was 26,000,000 acres, from which the companies have by sales realized $39,479,213.71, and lands worth $26,000,000 still remain in their hands unsold. Mr. Pattison also estimates the money paid from year to year by the government as interest on the subsidy bonds and he calculates that at the maturity of the bonds the several roads will owe to the United States the enormous debt of $447,729,470.54. That the companies will ever be able to pay such a sum no one pretends, and the Central Pacific people say frankly that their road is not to-day worth the government lien upon it. The majority report ignores the items of interest on the government's advances and expenditures for branch lines, and estimates the amount of indebtedness to be funded at but little more than $100,000,000.

The most startling revelation of the minority report is the evidence of the utterly fraudulent and illegal organization of the companies, and of the outrageous watering of the capital on which dividends are demanded. The law providing for the building of the road specifically required that money only should be received for stock. This was an entirely reasonable demand in view of the great assistance extended by the government in bonds and lands. Yet there was scarcely a decent pretense of compliance with the plain letter of the law. The Union Pacific received but $400,630 in cash and the amount of stock issued was $36,762,300. The Central Pacific received but $760,000 in cash and issued stock for $54,283,190. The central branch received $868,700 in cash and issued $980,600 in stock, and the Kansas Pacific issued $4,822,500 in stock and received no cash whatever. Altogether the four companies received less than $2,000,000 in cash and issued stock amounting to over $97,000,000, and the officers of the corporations actually swore that the amount had actually been paid in. In addition to this lawless and fraudulent issue of stock a large number of bonds, since made a first lien on the road, were issued, the result being that though through corruption and extravagance the cost of the roads was made to appear $95,955,347[sic], the bonds and stocks of the companies represent $268,302,462.

The monstrous injustice to the public in this scheme of robbery is made clear by one fact to which no one reading the minority report can close his eyes, and that is that, putting aside all consideration of the fraud by which the

Sic in the original; probably "$64,623,512 (as in the table that follows, which sums correctly)".
Sic in the original; probably "$96,955,347 (as in the table); neither figure gives the printed $33,146,378 71 difference".

construction account was swollen, it is clear that the government could have constructed and owned the roads absolutely for less than it loaned or gave to the companies. Here is the evidence of this:

Bonds loaned to the companies	$64,623,512 00
Public lands given and since sold	39,479,213 71
Public lands still unsold, worth	26,000,000 00
Loans and gifts by the government	$130,102,725 71
Actual cost of roads including cost of proven extravagance and corruption	96,955,347 00
Value of loans and gifts over cost	$33,146,378 71

The plain truth is that the Pacific railroads were built entirely out of funds derived from the government of the United States, that the men building them made first an enormous profit by overcharging for the cost of construction, that in addition to this they pocketed a balance of over $33,000,000 of the government bonus, and that in addition to the stocks and bonds representing these amounts other stocks and bonds representing nothing except a paltry $2,000,000 paid in were issued to the amount of over $139,000,000. It has been simply a gigantic conspiracy of robbery from the beginning, and the stock, by whomsoever held, represents

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nothing but stolen property and fictitious values.

Mr. Pattison's report goes on to show that the power thus fraudulently acquired has been remorselessly used by these roads to oppress the communities dependent on them for transportation facilities. They have discriminated against individuals and communities, they have participated in election contests, and they have cheated the United States out of millions of dollars by means of overcharges and false reports. As a reward for all this, while neglecting to provide for the interest on the subsidy bonds, they have divided among themselves profits amounting to over $287,000,000, while four men, Stanford, Huntington, Hopkins and Crocker, have by means explained in the majority report divided among themselves the enormous sum of $142,000,000.

It is needless to continue the recital. The majority commissioners do not attempt to dispute the most damaging statements in the minority report, but they betray their own animus by sneering at Governor Pattison's indictment as based on the ideas that form "the stock in trade of all those who oppose what they call 'monopolies' at all times, at all hazards and under every circumstance." The majority say that the actions of these companies, as companies, does not differ from that of all other railway corporations, which is true enough, more's the pity. This divergence of sentiment and opinion is manifested in the opposing recommendations of the two reports. The majority proposes to ignore the fradulent[sic] beginning of these companies, to condone the crimes of fraud and perjury that have marked the growth of their fictitious capital, and to lend them the credit of the government for fifty years to enable them to pay the debt, security for the performance of the new obligations of the companies to be taken in a blanket mortgage on the main lines and all branches secured by an assignment to two trustees, one appointed by the president of the United States and one by the companies, with the president's approval. It also provides for the purchase by the government of rights and liens, subordinate to the government lien upon the companies, held by others, and authorizes the attorney general of the United States to bring civil suits or criminal actions in the name of the companies against any one who has *in an official* capacity defrauded them. The company is authorized also to sell back to the government any lands it cannot otherwise more profitably dispose of at the

Sic in the original; probably "fraudulent".

uniform price of $1.25 per acre. The estimate of the commissioners that the new three per cent bonds thus issued will amount to $50,757,000 for the Union Pacific and $49,331,003.99 for the Central Pacific.

Governor Pattison insists that the proposed extension of time is impracticable, and he points out that, even if successful, it would not cause the stockholders to really pay the debt, but merely authorize them to levy for half a century extortionate taxes on the people of Kansas, Colorado, Nebraska and the Pacific states to pay interest and dividends on a fictitious capital that was fraudulent from the very beginning. He asks, "Would it not be an abuse of its power for congress to give more consideration to stockholders who are legatees to a gigantic fraud rather than to the people who are forced to ship over the road and who have been taxed for eighteen years to sustain that corporation?" The whole question, he says, is one of protecting so-called innocent stockholders against the consumers who pay $26,000,000 a year to the Union Pacific alone. Governor Pattison proposes the appointment of a receiver, the immediate winding up of the affairs of all the companies, the retirement of the government from all partnership in the enterprises, and presumably the sale of the roads at their present value to a new company that will be under no necessity of forcing up rates to pay dividends on fictitious capital and fraudulent values. He recommends further the criminal prosecution of all directors and others who have betrayed their trust or engaged in fraud.

Of the two proposals that of Governor Pattison will undoubtedly commend itself to the great majority of our people, but nevertheless there is no question that a very large proportion of the business men and politicians will approve the majority report. There is a marked disposition among business men who are apparently honest in their private transactions to accept financial success without inquiring into the means by which it is achieved; and any proposition to subject wealthy thieves to the legal pains and penalties imposed on poorer rogues arouses a maudlin sympathy for the victims and evokes a cry of "persecution." If old fashioned sentiments of honesty still prevailed in business circles the general sentiment would be one of amazement, not that men whose rascalities are revealed in these reports should still stand high in business and political circles, but that they should be able to keep out of the penitentiary. Yet reputable newspapers that pose as organs of high moral ideas suggest that no time shall be wasted in criminal prosecutions and insist that the weak and washy majority report shall be accepted in the hope that the government may save something out of the wreck.

But there is a better way open to the government than that recommended in either of the two reports. These roads are continental public highways built by public funds drawn from the people by taxation or through the sale of their public lands. The nominal owners are not their

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real owners and they have never contributed toward their construction or maintenance. They are, as Governor Pattison puts it, "legatees to a gigantic fraud." Their title to this property is no better than that of an innocent receiver to stolen goods. The great majority of them are not innocent holders, since the Credit Mobiler[sic] investigation gave warning years ago of the rascally character of the claim of the men then holding the stock to any property in these roads. Every contract ever made by the companies in their corporate capacity has been repeatedly violated by them, and they are to-day as hopelessly bankrupt as they will be in 1895, when their bonds fall due. Every dollar paid out in dividends is stolen from their creditors, and the Central Pacific is still openly engaged in acts of fraudulent bankruptcy. Let the government as principal creditor force them into the hands of a receiver, as is proposed by Commissioner Pattison, and then let it buy them in. It can readily do so, since no one would offer for them a sum sufficient to cover the first mortgage bonds held by private parties and the second lien held by the government. This might work a hardship in a few instances, but it is just such a hardship as people are constantly subjected to because of unfortunate investments. If the government would press its suits against the

Sic in the original; probably "Credit Mobilier".

wealthy conspirators who have robbed it it could easily recover more than enough to pay off the first mortgage and to get back the more than $33,000,000 that it paid over and above the cost of these roads.

It is very desirable that the government of the United States should own a great railway. Its constitutional right to do so is questioned, but in this case that question could not easily arise. If the government has a constitutional right to hold a mortgage on a property, it must by necessary implication have the right, possessed by every other mortgage holder, to protect itself, in case of default, by making absolute the provisional title it has already acquired. With the road once legally in its possession its right to operate it as a post road could not be questioned. Here is an opportunity actually thrust upon it to do something highly necessary.

Congress has already in the interstate commerce bill asserted the right of the federal government to regulate these great highways of interstate commerce. Public opinion will demand that it shall go forward rather than backward in that work. The great difficulty is the utter lack of any stable standard of value for the service rendered in the transportation of freight and passengers. An intelligent Californian, Alfred Cridge, who has made a study of railway reports in that state, insists that the actual cost of moving a ton of freight one mile, including labor, full track and station maintenance and wear and tear of machinery, is but about six-tenths of a cent, and that the cost, with similar allowances for transporting a passenger one mile, is less than half a cent. This may be too low an estimate, but we shall never absolutely know what the actual cost is until the government operates a road of its own and the actual cost is set forth in official reports. Even if the government never owned another mile of road the question of cost of transportation would be settled, and thenceforth the people would refuse to stand inordinate transportation charges to support extravagant management or to pay dividends on watered stock.

There is perhaps little reason to hope for any such action now; but the people and congress will probably be ready for it before 1895, when the indebtedness of the Pacific roads will fall due, and hence every sincere friend of cheaper transportation should resist to the uttermost any effort to pass the bill suggested by the majority report authorizing the Union Pacific company to tax the people of Kansas, Nebraska and Colorado, and indirectly the whole American people, to enable it to pay dividends on fraudulent stock and interest and principal of the debt it owes the government.

IRISH AND AMERICAN TENANTS.

Every American politician who has a proper appreciation of the value of the Irish vote is righteously indignant over the wrongs inflicted on Irish tenants by their English landlords. He can talk glibly of “rack rents,” and the mere mention of “eviction” fills his soul with horror. Here in free America, he says, such things are unknown. American landlords are philanthropists who do not seek to make money out of their tenants, and if one of the latter is unable to pay his debt the landlord has no power, under the free institutions of this happy land, to deprive the luckless tenant of a home. The politician does not say this in so many words, but unless all this be true it is difficult to account for his indignation against Irish landlords. Now and then, it is true, some one declares that landlordism in Ireland does not differ materially from landlordism in this country, but this calls forth an indignant denial from our politicians; and some months ago a number of them accentuated their sense of the difference between the two systems by persuading Mr. William O’Brien to refuse a welcome tendered him by New York workingmen unless they would strike out a resolution declaring that landlordism is the same the world over.

The rage of these people against England will doubtless be greatly augmented when they read a speech by Mr. Balfour, chief secretary for Ireland, delivered on December 14 at Manchester, England. In the course of his address Mr. Balfour said:

> In order that you may understand what is the position of the oppressed Irish tenant, consider the case of a man who leaves his

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> holding in Ireland in consequence of "that b——y tyrant, Balfour" (laughter and cheers), and flies to a happier home in the great republic of the west. There he also becomes a tenant, but he finds that whereas in the holding he left in Ireland the rent was fixed by an independent tribunal, in America he has got to pay full competition value for any land he takes. ("Hear.") He finds that whereas in Ireland it was the common practice to give the tenant a year, two years, three years, in order to pay his arrears, in America "business is business" (laughter), and he has got to pay up to the day. (Cheers.) He finds that whereas if he had arrears in Ireland which accumulated through no fault of his own, a court—an independent court—had power to distribute those arrears over any length of time it chose, and to make as small a sum as it chose payable in any one year—he finds in America that if he goes to his landlord and says "I am very sorry I cannot pay my arrears, not through any fault of my own," the landlord would reply to him, "My land is mortgaged—if you do not pay your arrears I cannot pay my mortgagee—through no fault of my own. (Laughter and cheers.) What's sauce for the goose is sauce for the gander, and if I let you stay on, and letting you stay on, am prevented from meeting my legal obligations, why then I think the sooner you go the better." He finds still further that whereas in Ireland he had the power to stay on in his holding, so long as he pays his rent, to all eternity, his American landlord will turn him out as soon as he thinks he can get a better tenant.

If the politicians will quiet their anger and calmly set about refuting these statements as tory lies by a blasted Englishmen[sic] they may find that they will have their hands full. In America a tenant must pay "full competition value" for land, and any landlord who failed to exact it would be regarded as a fool, while any proposal to restrict a landlord's power to enforce such a demand would be savagely denounced as an invasion of the sacred rights of property, savoring of agrarianism, communism and anarchy. It is likewise true that a tenant falling in arrears has to make whatever terms he can with his landlord, who has the power, in some states, to strip him of everything he has, and who has, even where household goods and tools are exempt from seizure, the power to eject the defaulting tenant. Perhaps the American politician, who must know these facts, thinks that eviction is something very different from ejection, and includes hanging, drawing and quartering.

Such an utterance as that of Mr. Balfour ought to do some good, even if no more than to direct attention to the wretched hypocrisy of those politicians who welcome Irish patriots with banquets at $12 a plate and express their sympathy with Irish tenants, while they denounce any criticism of the system of land tenure in this country as revolutionary or treasonable. It is true that the persistent agitation and protest of the Irish tenants has compelled legislation by the British parliament that ameliorates the condition of all but the poorest class of tenants, and it is equally true that in no part of the United States does the law throw similar safeguards around tenants or impose equal restrictions on the rapacity of landlords. Mr. Scully, for instance, would not dare attempt such rack renting in Ireland as he practices freely, with the full sanction of law and custom, on his lands in Illinois. Of course there is no parade of constabulary or soldiery at Mr. Scully's evictions in Illinois, but that is only because his victims know the hopelessness of any attempt at resistance. If they were to rebel the local sheriff would have to summon a posse to put them down. If he failed to do so the governor of Illinois would be required to call out the state militia to enforce the landlord's rights; and if, in turn, the militia failed, the governor or legislature of the state could and would call on the president to exert the whole military power of the United States to suppress the insurrection. Furthermore, Mr. Scully, if he chose, could take a shorter cut to his purpose and hire a private army of mercenaries in Chicago to execute his royal will and shoot down his rebellious subjects at his command. It is true that there is no law to warrant this high-handed proceeding, but thus far it appears there is no law to prevent it.

Sic in the original; probably "a blasted Englishman".

Nor does the parallel end with the tenant farmers. The worst Irish landlord that can be named never had power to evict his poorest peasant tenants in such cruel and summary fashion as is prevalent in the Pennsylvania coal regions, where families have been again and again driven shelterless into the world on twenty-four hours' notice. Here, too, the principal difference is in the attitude of the victims. The Irishman at home fights, but here the Irishman, as well as the American, accepts his fate unquestioningly, knowing as he does that these protected coal barons have always at their disposal the coal and iron police, a body of armed men given by law the powers of a state constabulary, but in the pay and under the command of the landlords. A proposal to extend such a system to Ireland would shock even the English tories.

But though Mr. Balfour makes out his case he does not accomplish his object. The wrongs done by landlordism in America do not justify the wrongs done by it in Ireland. The tory minister who demonstrates their similarity only helps extend to the world at large the lesson taught by Irish suffering and resistance. By proving that the system is even worse in the United States than in Ireland he does not justify his own purblind policy nor arrest the march of events in that unhappy island. He merely sets British tenants to thinking, and helps turn all that is genuine and sincere in the American expression of sympathy for Ireland toward practical measures for remedying the evils of landlordism here. The movement for the restoration of their inheritance to the people in this country has from the start

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found among the most thoughtful and intelligent citizens of Irish birth or descent many of its most earnest supporters. Such lessons as that taught by Mr. Balfour's speech will but confirm these men in their faith and add to their number. Ireland's oppressor becomes unwittingly a teacher of the true cause of Irish suffering, and by proving that cause to be world wide he merely helps to array against himself and his class the democracies of all the nations that will some day constitute the federation of the world.

CANUTE WATTERSON.

Mr. Watterson in his tariff article in the January *Harper* takes great care to insist that the tariff reformers propose to go no further than to substitute a low tariff for a high one, and that they are as much opposed as any one to a proposal to attain to absolute free trade by shifting all taxation to land values. It is a matter of the least possible importance where the present tariff reformers intend to stop, for their intentions will have nothing to do with fixing the stopping place. Their business is to overthrow the false pretense that the tariff promotes prosperity and protects labor, that it is a human improvement on the plan of the Almighty for extending His bounties to His creatures. When they shall have accomplished this they will have stripped this rich beggar of his sanctimonious disguise, and a tariff for revenue only will follow as a natural consequence. This will not, however, settle the question as to whether an indirect tax on commodities is the best tax, and those who contend that it is not will be able to use on a people already half converted to the truth the very arguments that the revenue reformers have already effectively used. In a controversy as to whether a tariff or some other form of taxation for raising the funds necessary to the carrying on of government is the better, every argument now advanced in favor of lowering the tariff will be equally strong in favor of its entire abolition. That controversy is coming, and whether Messrs. Watterson, Carlisle and the other tariff reformers take part in it or not is a matter of concern to themselves only. Good causes never lack advocates, and they never cease to go forward because some leaders grow weary, become fossilized, or die.

But even in this preliminary stage of the controversy, despite their intentions, the revenue reformers cannot escape the land question. Their insistence on free raw materials is nothing but a demand for access to a wider area of land. When Mr. Watterson says that if interest is high "there is a corresponding decrease in the reward of labor,"

he states that which history and experience show to be false; but when he says that "if the price of raw material is high labor's reward must be low," he tells the truth and says, in effect, that if access to the land most productive for the purpose in view is costly the reward of labor must be small.

But it is not only by implication that Mr. Watterson demonstrates the impossibility of leaving land out of any discussion of the tariff question. He quotes Senator Beck as declaring that after the panic of 1873 the country was full of tramps, but that this calamity turned out to be a blessing in disguise, because those men, when driven from employment and on the verge of starvation, settled on the wheat fields of Dakota, Minnesota, Montana and elsewhere "and became rich and prosperous in spite of protection." This, says Mr. Watterson, "clearly illustrates the way our great centers of population are drained of their surplus labor;" and he goes on to declare that "the wages of labor in the United States are fixed by the wages of the unprotected farm hand" and that "it is cheap land, not protective duties, that produces high wages."

In further proof of this assertion, Mr. Watterson quotes from Daniel Pidgeon's "Old World Questions and New World Answers" a demonstration of the fact that, compared with the wages of their competitors in the old world, the wages of our unprotected agricultural laborers are higher than those of men engaged in the protected industries. Mr. Pidgeon says:

> Wages, like water, seek a level, and labor will quit the field for the work shop, or the work shop for the field, as this or that pays best. Thus agriculture is the pay master whom American manufacturers must outbid, and agricultural wages are determined in this free trade market of the world. . . . His wages are high, because the grade of comfort to be obtained from the land by a little labor is high, and the artisan's wages must follow suit if the immigrant is to be tempted from the field into the work shop.

Mr. Watterson comes back to the idea in another way when he declares that it is protection that "has wrought the result of making work a boon, so that in spite of the escapes and reliefs afforded our work people by cheap lands, discontent among them is universal." Considering the resolute determination of Mr. Watterson to have nothing to do with a theory of land tenure which he describes as "a dream possible of realization only through a bloody revolution," the frequency with which he comes back to the land is at once amusing and instructive. The truth is that it is not in the nature of things that he can get away from the subject in such a discussion, and he practically admits as much. At the outset he declares that he predicts no millennium as the result of free trade. "The truth is," he says, "that protection in America as little as free trade in England has wrought what was claimed for it and expected of it by its partisans—to wit, the extinction of pauperism," and later on, when dwelling on the burdens of a high tariff, he says:

> Except for our vast area of cheap, fertile and unoccupied lands we should have had far greater want among our work people continued on p. 5 →

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← continued from p. 4 than they have ever known, and when there are no more such lands open to occupation, who shall say that the load we have put upon ourselves will not be heavier than we can bear?

Mr. Watterson has a keen appreciation of existing evils and a somewhat gloomy apprehension as to their possible results. He advocates a partial remedy, which he admits has been proved to be inadequate, and at the same time declares that beyond that partial remedy he will never consent to go. The true remedy, which is likewise the logical outcome of the partial remedy he advocates, is ever present in his mind, but he puts it aside on the plea that any attempt to put on land monopoly for the benefit of the people the taxes now put on the people for the benefit of that and other monopolies will be resisted unto bloodshed. We hope not, but fail to see in such a threat any reason for not putting taxes where they belong.

We hope that Mr. Watterson's vision will clarify and his courage increase. Meanwhile we pledge him our hearty sympathy and support in the effort to lower the dyke that keeps out the flood of wealth with which the protectionists say we are threatened. If at any stage the revenue reformers want to play Canute and command the flood to stop, we shall go ahead urging the free access of our people to natural opportunities that will eradicate their discontent and enable them to produce the wealth that must flow out in exchange for that which will flow in when the whole absurd dyke shall have been swept away.

At the last meeting of the diocesan synod of Dublin, Archbishop Plunkett, who is, by the by, a lineal descendant of the patriotic orators of the last century, spoke of the 100,000 Irish churchmen of his diocese as not desiring to be looked upon as English settlers or as a foreign garrison, but as being Irish to the heart's core. He also told the synod that the ascendancy of the Catholic church in Ireland was not to be dreaded; but that what was really to be dreaded was the ascendancy of secularism and infidelity. And in order to war against this he counseled his clergy as an important portion of their pastoral duty to "arm themselves with knowledge by a study of books such as Henry George's and works of that class, so as to know what it is they have to say."

"Right Here in Cincinnati."

The following parody on the famous Jackson campaign song, "The Hunters of Kentucky," was recited by Charles H. Fitch at a recent meeting of the Cincinnati Anti-poverty society.

We've done with platforms made of wind, With false pretense and shying; We're going to put a question now – Which none can dodge replying; And in the breath of God's own air, With words that do not flatter; We take our stand on God's own land For right in Cincinnati.

We have no puzzle in our creed, Our question is no other Than this—not—will you theorize? But—should you rob your brother? And stand ye still in robber courts, Where hirelings jest and flatter— Come out—God's justice reaches there; God judges Cincinnati.

Ye gentlemen and ladies kind Who grace this goodly city, Pray lend your patience to my rhyme— It is more true than witty. When Cincinnatus left the plow He plowed a weightier matter, And Truth must turn a furrow now Right here in Cincinnati.

How long will incense idly rise And empty prayers be offered, While man to man his right denies And grievous pains are suffered, While ever leaner grow the lean, The fat grow ever fatter, And dangerous is the gulf between Men's lives in Cincinnati.

Preaching the Gospel in Louisville.

C. H. Fitch of Cincinnati lectured under the auspices of the land and labor club of Louisville, Ky., December 28, on "Opportunities for Making Fortunes." The lecture, which was enforced with pictorial diagrams, was attentively received and apparently produced a profound effect.

It so happened that the lecturer was detained some three hours at the Louisville and Nashville railway station waiting for the return train to Cincinnati. By way of occupying the time profitably Mr. Fitch unrolled his pictures and diagrams, hung them on the wall of the waiting room and delivered an impromptu discourse on the single tax to some two dozen belated travelers.

The land and labor club of Louisville has had its strength impaired by the removal of some of its most zealous members from the city. Those now remaining, Messrs. Sparks, Petrikovsky and others are making laudable and self-sacrificing efforts to keep the all-important issue before the people. Liederkranz hall was rented on this occasion, and although the bitter inclemency of the weather prevented a large attendance, interest was apparently aroused in the pictorial representations and in the earnest and eloquent appeal with which Mr. Sparks concluded the exercises of the evening.

Land and Labor in Denver.

DENVER, Col.—The third meeting of the Denver land and labor club was held on Friday evening, December 23, at the Lyceum, corner Fourteenth and Lawrence streets. Charles G. Buck, the speaker of the evening, read A. T. Rice's bill adapting the Australian system of voting to our institutions, and also that of H. J. Clinton, providing for compulsory voting, section by section. A discussion followed, several members taking part. Both bills were unanimously indorsed, and the club has determined to have them introduced for passage at the next session of the Colorado legislature.

We are now thoroughly organized, with the following officers: John H. Croxton, president; John H. Lloyd, vice president; Dr. B. A. Wheeler, treasurer; Charles G. Buck, secretary. Weekly meetings will be held at which good speakers, irrespective of party or creed, will select subjects bearing upon the doctrine of the land for the people, while tracts will be freely and judiciously distributed.

CHAS. G. BUCK, Secretary.

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ARISTOCRACY AND HUMANITY.

Professor Thomas Davidson in the Forum.

. . . The worst effect of the present thoughtless distribution of wealth is not that it makes some rich and leaves others poor, but that, by placing one class in the power of another, to be used as means to its ends, it destroys all truly human relation between them, fills the one with pride, vanity and cruelty, the other with servility, envy and hatred, divides the nation against itself and defeats the ends of humanity.

"Affluence breeds insolence" is an old and often repeated observation, and there can be no doubt, unless all history be a lie, that wealth which relieves men from labor is an evil and not a good, and the desire for it a low desire. Man's spiritual interests demand that he should labor, and whatever relieves him from the necessity of so doing places him in an unnatural attitude toward life, and becomes a curse, not only to those who are compelled to labor for him, but perhaps even more to himself; for that man who treats another inhumanly is more damaged than the other who is so treated. It is not easy to be rich and remain long truly humane, scrupulously careful of the rights of others. Riches, in so far as they are desirable, mean, for the possessor, exemption from needful labor, by virtue of a claim upon other men's labor, and no one can long be so exempt without pressing this claim in a thoughtless or reckless way. I say "needful labor," because needless labor, undergone for the sake of power, luxury or vanity, is no less dehumanizing than idleness, as we plainly see in the case of our hard gambling millionaires.

It is not in human nature to be just and humane, when robbed of its due experience of life's fundamental conditions. Whatever narrows a man's experience narrows his sympathies, and whatever confers on him irresponsible power tempts him to abuse it. Now, riches do both these things. Whatever exceptional experience they may provide, they certainly withdraw their owners from much that must always enter into the life of the large majority of human kind. These must always anxiously labor and be content with moderate means. Between life conditioned in this way and life free from labor and anxiety there is fixed a gulf which sympathy could hardly cross, even if it would; for it is chained on the one side by pride and on the other by envy. Sometimes, indeed, if a man has risen to riches by his own efforts, he may so far remember his life of poverty as to retain a certain sympathy for those whom he has left behind him in it; but this is rare for three reasons: First, men caring enough for riches to be willing to devote much time to the acquisition of them are usually of a somewhat low, material, and unsympathetic nature. Second, in their ascent to riches, after the first few steps, they have to use other men as stepping stones; for no man, unless he have a monopoly talent, like Raphael, can rise to riches otherwise. Nearly all great fortunes are made up of profits caught in labor traps. Such using of other men solely as means leads to forgetfulness that they are ends, hardens the heart and destroys sympathy. Third, men who have made their own fortunes—self-made men, as they are wisely called—have usually a great deal of respect for their maker, and a proportionate contempt for those who, having less cunning than themselves, have remained in the ranks of poverty. Thus it frequently happens that self-made men are among the less humane of aristocrats. And the case is even worse with their children and with all persons born to wealth. These lack altogether the experience that would enable them to sympathize with the ordinary, natural human life of labor and narrow means. Raised above it, they cannot comprehend it. I have known hundreds of excellent men and women, nurtured in the lap of affluence, who were earnestly desirous of sympathizing with people of all grades; but I never knew one who succeeded any further than to be able to play Lord Bountiful or Lady Charitable with discriminating condescension, which, at best, is but humanity's fallen counterfeit. Riches, by an evil education, had deprived them of the best part of human culture, the power of simple sympathy, and placed them in a position wherein that source of all human virtue was unattainable for them. Their heads were civilized, but their hearts, whence were the issues of life, were condemned to essential barbarism.

And how, indeed, could they be otherwise? Education in the haunts of riches is, almost of necessity, education in unsympathy, inhumanity, aristocracy. Hardly has the child of rich parents come into the world when the trouble shirking, pleasure seeking mother, reckless of the duties imposed upon her by nature and humanity alike, intrusts it to the care of a menial, lacking some of the most essential qualities of motherhood, notably authority tempered with natural affection. As its intelligence grows, it readily learns to distinguish between its nurse and its mother, and when its will comes in conflict with that of the former, it learns the sad lesson that she is a menial, and cannot claim the same consideration as its mother. From that moment the poison seed of aristocracy begins to germinate and to grow. In following years, when the fundamental convictions establish themselves, such a child learns in the slow, effective way of habitual attitude, that human beings are divided into two classes, a well dressed, well housed, untoiling, commanding class, and a poorly dressed, poorly housed, toiling, serving class, and that he belongs to the former. He learns to give orders which, whether reasonable or not, have to be obeyed. He learns the comfort of commanding, with no opportunity to estimate the discomfort of serving. No matter how good and tender he may be, or how carefully his parents may warn him to be thoughtful of nurses and servants, the distinction between him and them hourly forces itself upon him, until it seems to him, as it did to Aristotle, a part of the order of nature. Thus he comes to think that there is a class of people existing mainly, if not solely, for the benefit of him and his class. And this is the spring of the spirit of aristocracy.

This will happen to some degree even in the best cases. Rarely, indeed, does the child of rich parents feel that a servant or an employe has a claim on him for anything more than kind treatment, the same which he would accord to a horse or dog. He cannot conceive that the lower or working classes, as he complacently terms them, should have the same claims upon him as his own; that each member of them is an end in himself. Of course the case is still worse where parents are proud, reckless and overbearing. Then we have unsurpassed, self-advertising training schools in aristocracy and inhumanity. Here a sharp line is drawn between master and servant, and everything done to make children observe it. Servants are spoken of as a necessary evil with little claim to consideration; they are derided and made the butt of every caprice. Their wishes and convenience are disregarded; they are considered impertinent and presuming when they claim to have any rights at all.

The value of riches lies solely in their use,

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and there are but four uses to which they can be put: (1) charity, (2) personal culture, (3) pleasure, (4) acquisition of fresh riches. Against the first two of these uses little need be said, although they may, in certain cases, promote the spirit of aristocracy. Charity, when exercised picturesquely, without knowledge and in a spirit of condescension, may do much more harm than good, only covering a multitude of sins that had much better be exposed and condemned. And even personal culture may be a curse and a snare, when, instead of being a training in wisdom, humanity and modest usefulness, it is mere polish, social, literary or æsthetic, applied to a ground of natural selfishness. Such charity and such culture rank with pleasure. Unfortunately, only a small part of riches is ever devoted to genuine charity or culture. The greater portion is used either as wealth, for pleasure or as capital. In either case irresponsible power is conferred and the aristocratic spirit fostered. In either case the owner of riches uses other men for his own ends, and, under the influence of the aristocratic spirit already cultivated, generally with little or no regard to their true interest. In the best cases he treats them kindly, as he would animals necessary for his pleasure or profit. Rarely, indeed, even at the present day, do we find a rich man who looks upon his servants or the employees who co-operate in the production of his riches, as his equals, or as ends in themselves. Rarely do we find one striving to encourage in those dependent on him the spirit of independence and self respect, by affording them every opportunity for culture, providing for their health, associating with them on equal terms. To him they are merely so many “hands,” which he would gladly, if he could, replace by machines, feeding on water, coal and grease. They have no claim upon him for anything but wages, and he thinks he has done his whole duty by them when he has paid them the lowest market rate of these.

. . . . . .

We are wont to look upon riches as a blessing, and to envy their possessors. Sometimes, no doubt, when worthily earned and worthily expended, they are a blessing; but far oftener they are a curse and their possessors deserving of pity. For who deserves pity more than the man who is deprived of the experiences essential to the highest spiritual culture, to true humanity; who is reared in the spirit of aristocracy, and condemned to life-long selfishness? And is not the poverty of the many, in large measure, the consequence of the riches of the few? Is not the wealth-bred spirit of aristocracy the chief cause of our present deplorable economic condition? Would not the true spirit of humanity, if it could but have free course, soon put a period to this condition? Who can doubt it?

If we could effectually and permanently put down the curse of riches without incurring equal or greater evils, I think there can be no doubt that it would be our duty to do so. Certainly riches are a much better subject for prohibition than strong drink; for the evil they cause is far more fundamental, pervasive and dehumanizing. But neither in the one case nor in the other is prohibition the true remedy. Prohibition is a two-edged sword, maiming liberty as often as it stabs wrong. We must look for the remedy to two sources: (1) to such legislation as shall secure to every citizen the conditions requisite for making a free contract in all matters affecting needful labor, and (2) to moral education.

. . . . . .

Such equilibrium as our present world possesses is the precarious balancing of a pyramid of opposing selfishness upon an apex of wealth-begotten aristocracy. The science of this equilibrium is our orthodox political economy, the most dismal of sciences with the most dismal of subjects. The human world will never stand solid until it rests upon the broad basis of simple humanity whose apex is moral worth. So to place it is the task of our epoch.

A New Year Greeting from Rochester.

ROCHESTER, N. Y.—A happy and prosperous new year is the greeting of the Rochester united labor club to their fellow workers throughout the state. As we enter upon a new year we leave one behind us which, though it brought disappointment and disaster to many, yet to the world as a whole has marked another step in the progress of civilization, and men to-day are nearer the millennium of brotherhood than they were twelve months ago.

Though our vote here (about 900) fell short of our expectations, yet when we look back and consider the general lack of knowledge regarding our principles and the personal bitterness which was introduced into the campaign, the wonder is that we did so well; and when we consider the total vote of the state and remember how long it took the republican party to poll as many votes in the United States as we did in one year in one state it is no wonder that we are full of hope.

We have recently leased new and comfortable quarters at 15 and 17 Wilder's arcade, which are centrally located, and we have decided to have at our regular meetings, which are held every Friday evening, a reading and an address or a debate on our principles. We believe that discussion, like the first blow, is half the battle, and to stimulate public opinion we expect to arrange a series of lectures, in which it is hoped that prominent speakers will participate. We also intend to take part in the municipal election which is approaching, and though we cannot be too confident of electing, yet we intend to make a vigorous campaign against all that is corrupt and demoralizing in our local politics.

JOHN J. HAYES, Secretary.

A Lesson from Pittsburg.

PITTSBURG, Pa.–There is a good lesson for those who will study it in the following paragraph from the Pittsburg *Leader* of Dec. 26:

When Carnegie Bros. & Co.'s iron business was started twenty years ago, eight acres in the Fifteenth ward were leased from Mrs. Denny's agents at an annual rental of $4,200, with the privilege of releasing at such rates as might prevail when the agreement terminated. Upon its termination this year the agents of the Denny estate put the rental at $24,546 per year. Mr. Carnegie refused to pay it. Court proceedings were instituted, but at Mr. Carnegie's request it was referred to B. F. Jones, John R. McCann and M. W. Watson as arbitrators. The case is now before the arbitrators.

The ground referred to has been improved principally by Carnegie's mills. The surrounding buildings are, for the most part, "skin houses" erected by the Denny estate to rent to the "poor people who work." The Dennys are the parent branch of the Schenleys, and originally received this land from our Uncle Samuel as a gift.

The land upon which Carnegie's mills are erected was swamp, unfit for cultivation, and I have been informed never was cultivated until Carnegie planted upon it. The rent asked by the Denny agent fixes the rental value of this piece of ground and the rate of increase in land values in this goodly city of Pittsburg during the past twenty years.

There are many persons who will ask Mr. Carnegie and the workmen in his mills, "Who created this additional value?" "Who gets the benefit, and by what right?" "Who will pay the rent in the future, etc?"

N. W. BROWN.

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WHAT MIGHT BE IN ST. LOUIS.

The St. Louis *New Order* of Dec. 24 contains the full text of a very able speech delivered by John G. Hummel, [a?] well known cigar manufacturer of St. Louis, before the Anti-poverty society of that [c?]ity, on the evening of December 18. After [de?]scribing the principles and objects of the society, Mr. Hummel proceeded to show how the transfer of taxes from products to land values would affect St. Louis.

"Well," said Mr. Hummel, "if we had things our own way, probably the first thing we would do here in St. Louis would be to take stock. We would have an exact and correct valuation made of all the land on which the city stands; then, when the year for which the various license taxes for permission to do business had expired, they would stay expired, and there would be no more licenses or any other taxes whatever levied on the right to do business in St. Louis. The deficit so caused would be covered by a slight increase in the tax on the value of all the lots–improved and unimproved alike. The result of this would be to take a heavy burden from the thousands of laborers who earn their living by keeping stores, restaurants, or shops, by driving wagons, pushing hand carts, or peddling fruit, and would permit them to enjoy many a little luxury or pleasure they must now forego, and in many cases permit them to raise the wages of, say, some favorite clerk or workman. It would be found that the world still moves after this. The next step would then be to abolish the taxes on personal property, wares, merchandise, animals; to abolish the taxes for the use of water, and again cover the deficit so caused by an increased levy on the value of improved and unimproved lots.

"Now, let us stop here a moment and imagine how many people in St. Louis would be ruined by such a high handed socialistic proceeding as this. Surely not the business men, for who ever heard of any one being ruined by having his expenses reduced, nor the workingmen. And for that ideal workingman we read about, who by working for a dollar a day has saved enough to buy himself a house and lot, what difference does it make to him if his taxes are assessed on his furniture, tools, etc., or on the value of his lot alone? He would notice no difference just yet except in the form of his tax bill.

"But those fellows who are holding a lot or two or more idle, or those who have 'improved' them with ramshackle, tumble down shanties, for which they collect high rent, would begin to build, thus giving work to those engaged in the building trades. By this time I think would be noticed a decided improvement in all branches of business.

"But, ah! says our objector, the landlords will raise the rent, and you won't be any better off than before. But, ah, if the landlord can raise the rent he will do it right away; he will not wait for the single tax. It gives him no more power. He charges all the traffic will bear already, and, though with a wry face, he will have to pay the tax out of his own pocket.

"Then the last step would be to take all the taxes off houses and other improvements; and the deficit so caused would be again covered by an increased tax on the value of all the various lots, whether improved or vacant. This tax would be very heavy in the heart of the city and would shade off toward the outskirts, till those parts were reached where land has only a value for farming purposes, where the tax would be merely nominal. Then we would begin to see things hum; just about one tax bill would be enough for those owning vacant lots, and by the time the next one came due there would be a house on it. And wouldn't the builders, the masons, the bricklayers, the hod carriers, the brick makers, the carpenters, the painters, and the various trades that are employed in the putting up of buildings, wouldn't they be hustling around? Why, they wouldn't need to strike for more wages, for the bosses would call around evenings, trying to steal men away from each other. And those who have clothing, and hats, and shoes, and shirts, etc., to sell, would have more custom than they could handle; and the cigarmakers—why no self-respecting building trade man would think of smoking a five cent cigar; $9 jobs would be a thing of the past; $15 seed and Havana jobs would be the rule and mold work would go, too. And the boarding house keepers—well, stop—they would suffer to some extent, for thousands of young men who now pine in lonely bachelorhood would take them a wife, and the gaps in the ranks of wage workers thus caused would have to be filled with men. And the women now wasting their God given powers in dreary soul killing drudgery in factories would become happy wives, crown jewels of man's most sacred possession—a happy home.

"But, says our objector again, if wages are so high in the city, then the men will flock in by thousands from the country, and wages will be again depressed.

"Oh, no! the farmer boys do not flock to the cities because they would rather work there; they do not leave their homes because they prefer the pleasures and dissipations of city life, but because the land is all fenced in and they must mortgage the labor of years before they can get a chance to begin work.

"Were the vacant land taxed back into the public domain, these farmer boys could get land to till subject only to the annual ground tax, and they would find it more profitable to go into the business which they understand; they would become farmers, free and independent, with the fruits of their toil, able to satisfy their wants; they would become consumers, able and willing to buy the product of factory, mill or work shop, and so making a still greater demand for what the workers in the city produce."

Mr. Hummel's address was listened to with marked attention; and when, at its conclusion, he invited questions from the audience, the number of inquiries showed what interest he had excited.

Make No Nomination, but Force the Discussion of the Tariff Question.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—I think we shall do best not to nominate a candidate for the presidency. Until recently I believed we might be able to force our doctrine of the land for the people into national politics, because there was no other dividing question before the people, and campaigns had become mere scramble for office. But now comes the president and changes the whole situation with his message. The next campaign will be fought with the protective tariff for an issue, and there will be no need of bringing up anything else; in fact, there will be no chance to do it. If the politicians attempt to sneak out of a full and free discussion of this question we must keep them to it, and if we cannot do this, it would be folly to nominate for the presidency. The protective tariff question must be settled before we can ever accomplish anything, and the discussion that will arise in this fight will be such an eye opener for those who are now densely ignorant on economic questions that they will more easily and quickly see what we aim to teach them.

No man can go into a discussion of the protection or free trade idea without going further than he expected or intended. I found this out during the last presidential

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campaign when I got into a debate with a leading attorney of this city at an entertainment given by a certain club. The men stopped dancing and formed a ring to listen to the discussion, and before either of us knew it we had, from talking about the tariff drifted into the social question and were talking about private ownership in land. Then like a flash it went through my mind that we could best open a breach for the entrance of our principles by breaking down the stupid protective tariff fallacy.

The position occupied by the mere "tariff for revenue only" reformers seems to me the same as that occupied by those opponents of the slave power who recognized the evils and wrongs of that system and therefore wished to restrict it as much as possible. It was an American institution and certain industries would be ruined if it were entirely abolished, but they wanted as little as possible, just enough to keep those industries which depended on it in a healthy condition. Yet see what that discussion led to! So it will be with a discussion of the tariff as a question of condition only. It will end in the destruction of the protective idea. Free trade leads to free soil, and free soil makes free men, and there you are.

JOHN G. HUMMEL.

The Great South Bay.

SUFFOLK COUNTY, L. I.—The article in your issue of the 24th in reference to the Great South bay was one of the most striking illustrations of the advantages of the principle of common over private property in land that I have ever seen, and is especially interesting to those who, like myself, live on the shores of that bay.

What first opened my eyes to the truth that it is the monopoly of natural oportunities that is the root or cause of the great and growing inequalities existing among men was an incident connected with the ownership of the bay.

There has existed for many years a controversy in Suffolk county between a family by the name of Smith and the town of Brookhaven with reference to the ownership of the bottom of a portion of the bay and the waters covering it. The Smith family claim to own it by virtue of a grant made to their ancestors by one of the kings of Great Britain. This claim the town resists, itself claiming jurisdiction and ownership in conformity with numerous declarations which limit original grants to the dry land only.

In his argument before the court when the case came up for trial, the attorney for the Smith family sought to prove that it was against public policy to allow the bay to become common property, inasmuch as it made it extremely difficult for the farmers and other employers of unskilled labor to get their work done at prices that they could afford to give, because with the opportunities of the bay open to all more money could be made by unskilled hands than could be made on the land.

That argument proved much more than the learned attorney intended, although in quite a different direction. I never saw the subject of land monopoly in so clear a light before, and so it must have appeared to those thinking men who heard the argument.

P. J. WICKS.

What Strikes Cost.

NEW YORK CITY.—The third annual report of the United States commissioner of labor, a synopsis of which has just been published by some of the New York papers, contains information that should be of interest to those people who regard strikes, and strikers as the great obstacles in the way of the millennium. The commissioner finds that during six years about 1,600,000 employes have been engaged in strikes—say 270,000 per year, If[sic] all these strikers came under the census classification of persons employed in manufactures and mining, about ten per cent of the persons so occupied would have been on a strike yearly, and that would be equivalent to each of the persons so occupied going on a strike once every ten years. We are told that the strikes examined lasted on an average twenty-three days each.

The loss of wages to each striker during the six years is said to have been about $40, or say $7 per annum, or less than two cents a day. Let us call it two cents a day, as it is important that the imprudence and extravagance of these misguided people should not be underestimated. It is hardly likely that the employes who did not strike lost any more than the strikers did through the stoppage of production caused by strikes. If they lost as much they also were out two cents a day.

Is it not evident that the paralysis of industry caused by the fact that the average American laborer takes a three weeks' vacation every ten years, or more, is at the bottom of the labor question? If our work people would work instead of striking, would they not be prosperous and happy?

WM. E. McKENNA.

They Regard It as a Duty.

NORTH ADAMS, Mass.—At the last regular meeting of land and labor club No. 5 of North Adams it was unanimously resolved "that, in the opinion of this club, it is the duty of the united labor party to place a presidential ticket in the field for 1888." It is not a question of policy with us here in the Old Bay state, but a vital question of principle. It seems to us that Thomas B. Preston covered the ground of expediency as well as of necessity in the issue of THE STANDARD of Dec. 24. It is well enough to argue that the democratic party are going our way; but in our humble opinion that party can never offer any voter who thoroughly believes in the

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

principles laid down in the Syracuse platform sufficient inducement to again embark in their leaky old boat, calked up though it may be with a few rags of tariff reform.

ANDREW PAUL, } Committee. B. L. MYERS, }

From a Worker Among the Indians.

I am a new convert, and though too old to hope to see the single tax applied, I am not too old to appreciate the beauty of it. My work lies wholly among the Indians, and I am now putting the universal sign language into shape for use in printing books, etc. I hope to translate some short tracts of the land and labor library into "sign talk."

I am sorry that the government means to force the Indians to take their lands in severalty. I have been forty-two years among them, and I know how much evil that measure will produce. The white people now among the Indians will have all the best of the land, and there is a horde of land seekers round every reservation, ready to move in at a moment's warning.

LEWIS F. HADLEY, or IN-GO-MOM-PA-ZHI, the Irrepressible One.

Pushing Things in Youngstown.

YOUNGSTOWN, O.—Our land and labor club here is growing. Last Thursday we had an address from the Rev. C. M. Morse of Newcastle, Pa., on the single tax. The lecture was well attended and has had a good effect. Next Thursday night a sermon by Rev. E. P. Foster of Cincinnati on the text Leviticus xxv, 23, will be read.

We want a nation[al t?]icket. We are for the single tax. Count us. BILLY RADCLIFFE.

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STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

The towns pay for those who might get profitable employment in the country were it not that the rent exacted for the land will not suffer them to live. High rents in the country mean many unemployed poor in the city.—[Glasgow, Scotland, Mail.

In England the agricultural labor employed is merely an adjunct to land and capital, as here under the tariff the mechanical labor is simply an adjunct to capital with monopoly privileges. In both cases the laborer gravitates toward subsistence wages.—[Galveston News.

At last the most respectable public journals of the country have taken up the question of election expenses with the view of having something done which will have a tendency to abolish them entirely or keep them within legitimate bounds.—[Albany Press and Knickerbocker.

Labor is "protected" in this great and grand country. But the unfortunate sewing women in New York who get $1.50 a dozen for making trousers, 15 cents a piece for vests, and 12 cents a day for crocheting shawls, do not want to be "protected" any more just at present.—[Philadelphia Record.

It is not worth while to seriously discuss a plan of taxation in which personal property is exempt; a plan by which the half acre on which an artisan raises a few potatoes for winter use, as a profitable investment of his surplus labor, would be rated at neither more nor less than the half acre on which the palace of a millionaire was built.—Chicago Inter-Ocean.

Mr. Peter Redpath lives in a beautiful palace in England. A large portion of the profits of one of the Montreal sugar refineries is regularly transmitted to him to defray his expenses. This makes an export without any import to balance it. If Canada could only show enough transactions of the same sort how rich her people would become.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.

I have seen a long railroad train struggling to climb a grade with the prospect of being stalled, when a brakeman discovering a set brake loosens it, and immediately the train rushes on as if drawn by irresistible Titans. Mr. George has discovered a brake set on the wheels of industry in the form of a tax (fine) on production, and he is trying to remove it.—[G. E. Willetts in Lansing Sentinel.

If governmental authorities held the title to all lands it would not give them a more perfect control than they have now. The power of unlimited taxation constitutes said control and is equivalent to ownership. This cannot be denied; and if true, all that is necessary to carry out Mr. George's views is to make radical changes in the laws governing the taxation of real estate.—[Hampton, Va., American Liberty.

If money is to be more abundant and enterprise more successful and wages better and employment steadier, it will be because all unnecessary friction will be removed, because man's energies will be freed and each member of the community will add to its wealth by his own labors instead, as now, by law transferring the profits of one class to another to make good its losses.—[Louisville Courier-Journal.

Because Manitoba has a big yield of wheat a government paper declines to admit that the province suffers from monopoly. The conclusion forced by this argument is that the organ believes the government has power to fetter the productiveness of the soil. But this is simply faith nourished by subsidy. All the government does is to appropriate the bulk of the earnings of the men who till the soil.—[Toronto Globe.

Mr. George's doctrines are such as cannot fail to increase in public acceptance and importance, and a few years hence the principle will assuredly be admitted that the land belongs to the people. It is simply a question of time. Mr. George's theories regarding property in land are making the most extraordinary progress, and a very large number of the most thoughtful men have given in their adhesion to his doctrine.—[Bobcaygean[sic], Ont., Independent.

There is a lumber trust, a sugar trust and a salt combination. A Michigan salt producer puts his product into the hands of a pool that sells it for him and divides the money among all the members. The Maine minnow in its can is not squeezed so badly as is the person who pays money into the sardine combination. Flour bags are in the hands of a trust, and so is lead. The cattle on a thousand prairies tear their hair on barbed wire sold by a pool. We look through window glass doled out by a combination that is protected by the tariff, and then, when workmen strike, imports Belgian glass.—[Detroit News.

How do we manage to crowd the Swiss and English watch makers out of Europe, and the English locomotive builders out of Australia, and the foreign agricultural implement makers out of half the new markets of the world? The truth is, instead of wages being, as Mr. Blaine pretends to think, the whole question, it is only one factor of the cost of production, and by no means the most important. Energy, ingenuity, efficiency, are the things that

Sic in the original; probably "Bobcaygeon".

count. American push and machinery, with high priced labor, can produce cotton cloth more cheaply than the starved labor of India.—[San Francisco Examiner.

It is notorious that manufacturers prefer to locate their works in a city where personal property is not taxed to establishing them in cities where such a tax is imposed. It is also worthy of attention that the large real estate owners of Boston would, almost to a man, prefer to have the tax imposed solely on real estate, because they foresee that such a change would so stimulate the business interests of this city as to bring about a large increase in the value of their property. With all of these arguments in favor of a change in our tax system, how long will the legislature continue to compel us to hold to our old and elsewhere discarded method.—[Boston Herald.

The Hon. Thomas Playford has made a discovery. He says "that there is no fair tax in the world." The very thing we have been preaching for years. But why does "Honest Tom" support the infliction of unfair taxation upon his native country? Appropriating rents or land values for common purposes is not taxation. It takes nothing from anybody. Land values are created by natural advantages of fertility and situation; they are increased as society develops by the increase in population, the division and co-operation of labor, and our progress in the arts and sciences. They are the result of the united action of the whole community, and thus form a natural revenue for common purposes.—[Adelaide, Australia, Our Commonwealth.

As in New York, So in Texas.

Houston, Texas, Labor Echo.

> Those who think that there is nothing substantial about Houston's boom, should make a note of the following: Charles J. Hull of Chicago bought a piece of property in the Fifth ward in 1874 for which he paid $1,700. The property has recently been laid off in lots, which are selling at $[2?0] per lot, giving the owner a profit of nearly $20,000 in a period of fourteen years.

The above is an item that was handed to an *Echo* reporter, and while it speaks well for Houston's prospects and progress, it teaches another lesson which we would like to bring to public attention, and that is that for fourteen years the business and laboring portion of Houston's population have been striving with might and main to advance the city's interests by the employment of both capital and labor, while this Chicago speculator has been reaping a rich harvest in the constantly increasing value of his Houston property. Twenty thousand dollars drawn from the energy and enterprise of our people by a single individual on an investment of only seventeen hundred, and that without effort on his part. It is just such unearned profits as this that the single tax theory is designed to wipe out. Has the Chicago individual above mentioned contributed anything toward the development of Houston, or done aught to make the city desirable as a place of residence or business? Certainly not, but he has drawn his enormous profit from the capital, brains and labor employed by Houston's 40,000 population, something to which he could not establish any just claim under heaven's blue canopy.

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"A RICH MAN'S WAR AND A POOR MAN'S FIGHT."

"I can tell you when the real downfall of the confederate cause began," said General Floyd King of Louisiana as we sat at breakfast a few Sundays ago; "it was when the men of the southern army got it into their heads that it was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight."

"That was a strong expression," I remarked. "When did it first become current?"

"I will never forget the time when I first heard it," continued General King. "You know that I was an artillery officer and entered the service when I was a mere boy. At first some of the men did not like me because, perhaps, of something in my manner. In time that wore away. I and my men had marched together, suffered together and fought together. I was always with my command and careful to see that their wants were attended to. The men were very kind to me, and when we encamped they always built me a comfortable hut of their own free will and without orders. They also acquired a habit of sitting around the door of my hut, discussing the situation in a friendly way and asking me the news.

"In the winter of '64 I was a colonel of artillery and we were in camp near Richmond. I gradually began to notice that men had fallen out of the habit of gathering about my quarters. I asked one of them what it meant, but received no satisfactory answer. Late one night, when I was asleep in my hut, I was awakened by the tramp of men. The ground was covered with snow with a frozen crust and I could hear the noise of feet crunching through the crust. I listened and found that the number was constantly increasing and that all of the men were evidently gathering in front of my hut. I got up and dressed myself, wondering what it all meant. 'Can it be a mutiny?' I asked myself. For a moment I thought of putting on my pistols, but I quickly discarded that idea and stepped out of the hut obviously unarmed. There, standing together in perfect silence, was a great crowd of soldiers of my own command.

"I stood and looked at them in silence and they as silently returned my gaze. The situation became embarrasing[sic]. Presently one of the men stepped forward and cleared his throat with a nervous 'hem.' I can almost hear that 'hem' now, and I distinctly remember the soldier. He was quite a small man.

"'Weuns,' he began, 'has somethin' we want to say to you, sir. We've been with you now more'n three years. We want to say. in[sic] the beginnin', that we've nothin' agin you, and that we don't mean to git up no mutiny, nor nothin' of that sort; but we're tired o' this. We've marched with you barefoot and often without nothin' to eat. We've fit with you and aren't afeard of fightin', but we don't see nothin' in it for us. This is a rich man's war and a poor man's fight.'

"I was startled and greatly impressed by this declaration," continued the general, "and as I was known to be the owner of quite a number of slaves, and, therefore, what was then considered a rich man, I asked if this complaint was leveled particularly at me or whether it was common in the army. [sic: printed "par-/particularly[sic]"]

Sic in the original; probably "embarrassing".
Sic in the original; probably "say, in".
Sic in the original; probably "particularly".

"'We've told you,' replied the little spokesman, 'that we've got nothin' agin you. This here idea is all through the army of northern Virginia, and it's all through all the other armies. The men have been watchin' what congress is doin' up at Richmond, and we've been a-thinkin' and a-talkin' over matters among ourselves. We see that any man who owns twenty niggers is exempt. We see that rich officers git soft places if they want 'em. It seems to us that this war is all about niggers and property. Now, we don't own no niggers, and as to property, we've got mighty little of that, and so, as I told you, sir, in the beginnin',' we don't see nothin' in it for us, and we're thinkin' we'll quit.'

"I saw that the matter was serious," said General King, "and I had quite a talk with the men. I told them that so far as I was concerned I was not fighting for property. I owned negroes, but I had never left my command for a single day to look after them and I never would. They might go where they pleased, so far as I was concerned. I appealed to the men to remember the many battles in which we had fought together and not to desert me while the war continued. I was fighting for our states and not for property, I told them, and I had supposed that was what they were fighting for.

"'We thought so ourselves at the start,' replied the spokesman, 'but we don't like the way that things has been a-goin'. It looks as if we were fightin' for other folks, and for somethin' we ain't got no interest in. We've got nothin' agin you, and we know you've stood with us right along without ever gittin' a day's leave of absence. You've been with us in many a tough fight and you've taken the best care you could of your command, and we like you, but we don't like the way things is a-goin' on.'

"I again spoke to them," continued the general, "reminding them how long we had stood together and urging them to stand by me to the end, for their own sakes and for the sake of the cause. They gradually dispersed, making no promises, but as they were still with me when we all surrendered at Appomattox I think my appeal must have had some effect.

"It was not so, however, with all commands," he went on to say. "The idea that it was 'a rich man's war and a poor man's fight' spread like wildfire through the army and the desertions rapidly run[sic] into the thousands. You know how our men loved Lee. They used to half jealously speak of him as 'Ole Marse Robert,' and their trust in him was so complete that they would lie down and sleep like children, without a thought of danger, in any position to which he assigned them. 'Marse Robert knows what he's about,' they would say;

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'he'll take care of us.' So deep was their affection and respect that they would receive him in silence with loving looks when he came among them instead of greeting him with the noisy cheers accorded to some other commander. Yet even their love for General Lee could not stop them from deserting him when the idea once got firmly lodged in their brains that it was a rich man's war and a poor man's fight. That was what broke the confederacy before Grant began his final hammering of the remnant of our army."

The general sat musing in silence for a time, and then suddenly he lifted his head and asked: "What do you think will happen when the people of this country some day wake up to the fact that this is a rich man's government for which the poor man pays the taxes?"

WM. T. CROASDALE.

Sic in the original; probably "ran".

ANTI-POVERTY IN CINCINNATI.

The First Meeting of the Society on Christmas Day—Dr. A. S. Houghton Presides, and Rev. E. P. Foster and Dr. DeBeck Deliver Addresses—Future Meetings to Follow.

CINCINNATI, O.—The inaugural meeting of the Anti-poverty society of Cincinnati was held at Elks hall on Christmas afternoon, and was a decided success. Dr. A. S. Houghton occupied the chair, and in an able speech set forth the aims and objects of the society, dwelling upon the text, "God so loved the world that He gave His only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have eternal life."

The music was furnished by a chorus of ladies and gentlemen, which it is hoped will form the nucleus of a jubilee choir. Adolph Adams's "Noel" as a duet was effectively rendered by Miss Pooley and Mr. Harrison.

Rev. E. P. Foster opened his address by remarking that he had been asked to speak on the religious side of the question. For his part he could see no side of the question which did not have its religious aspects. Some people thought that poverty was a discipline to spur people on in good works, but those who advocated this idea were not usually willing to incur the same kind of discipline themselves.

We owe our Christmas with its joyous greetings to the coming of that little Jewish baby born many years ago in Bethlehem and cradled in a manger. He came as Isaiah prophesied—to break oppression, to set the captive free. He came not from the palace of Herod, nor the lofty dwellings of his courtiers, but from the lowly cavern stall. He came not for the applause of the world, but in silent self-sacrifice to bridge the gulf between God and man, to declare not merely the brotherhood of man, but that higher truth from which this brotherhood depends—the fatherhood of God. More even than this, He declared the brotherhood of God and man, a truth beside the grandeur of which earthly distinctions of wealth become insignificant, while the struggle for a share of the common good should become tempered by nobler influences.

The speaker then drew an eloquent picture of a Christmas gathering of the children of a good father at his bounteous table. Should some be turned away because their clothing was not of the finest texture? Should some because they happened to be stronger fight their brethren away from the table keeping them hungry and waiting? Or should there be a mad rush for the good things provided by the father? Would not such abuse of his hospitality grieve him? Yet is it not in just such ways that men who should be brethren behave toward each other at the bountiful table of their heavenly father?

The speaker next drew attention to the fact that half our population are non-church goers, which he attributed to the neglect of vital questions of justice on the part of the churches. On these practical matters, which are essential to true religion, all churches, Catholic or Protestant, and all religions, ought to come together upon common ground. He concluded his remarks with a picture of the condition of humanity when the religion of truth, justice and mercy should finally prevail.

Dr. DeBeck followed with a close, logical and forcible presentation of the economic elements of the question. He explained the fundamental principles convincingly, and illustrated their practical operation in the business world.

The meeting has infused us with new courage, and we ask absent friends to remember the time and place of future meetings, Sunday afternoon, Elks hall, 200 Vine street. F.

Disappointed, but Not Discouraged.

RIDGEWOOD, N. J.—We were compelled to postpone the lecture by Mr. Pentecost on account of the non-arrival of the furniture for the new hall in Midland park, in which he was to speak. We were greatly disappointed, but

hope to secure another lecture date from Mr. Pentecost very shortly. The tracts arrived promptly and part of them are already distributed.

My time is pretty well occupied, but all I can spare I am ready to give to the good cause of true reform. I was alone last spring, but since then have discovered one friend (an *Irish World* reader), and have converted three more by means of STANDARDS, etc. There are others more or less on the fence. My most valuable ally is Mr. Thomas Holt, head of the firm of Holt Bros. of Midland park, one of the two firms in America manufacturing Astrachan goods.

We have no organization now, but hope to make the lecture by Mr. Pentecost the occasion of forming one. It will probably be a political economy class. A land and labor club can come later on. E. B. CRANE.

Why Shouldn't Missouri Protect Her "Infant Industry" of Coal Mining?

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Missouri is not a coal producing state. She has coal, but it is of inferior quality and cannot be mined and delivered as cheaply as the coal from Illinois and Tennessee.

Now what I want to know is, what would the manufacturers and citizens generally of St. Louis and Missouri do if the state could and should put a duty of five cents a bushel on all the coal brought across the Mississippi into Missouri?

Yet this would be real "protection." We should then be protecting ourselves from the deluge of coal that otherwise would come over from across the river in such quantities and so cheaply as to overwhelm us and strike terror to our hearts, lest in this cold winter we should have too much coal and too cheap coal. This would be what the protectionist says it is, "protection to our workingmen."

The protective tariff is a blasphemy against God! K. PERRY ALEXANDER.

Anti-Poverty in Paterson, N. J.

The Anti-poverty society of Paterson, N. J., keeps steadily to its work. On Sunday, December 18, Everett Glackin, ex-president of Typographical union No. 6, addressed a large audience in the Van Saun building on Main street, and on Christmas day A. R. Calhoun of Brooklyn lectured before the society at the same place.

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PETER OAKES'S NEW LEASE

St. Louis New Order.

A number of firms will be compelled to move by Jan. 1, but, as stated, many of them have not secured new quarters. A vexatious turn of affairs is that rents have advanced from 30 to 50 per cent on Broadway, while on Fourth street they remain the same, and in some instances have been greatly reduced. The advance can best be illustrated in the case of Peter Oakes, the candy man, who yesterday leased the five-story building at 303 and 304 North Broadway, now occupied by Newcomb Bros., immediately north of Alexander's drug store. The present firm has been paying $5,000 a-year for the building, and their lease expiring January 1, they were asked $10,000 rent. Mr. Oakes closed a contract with J. E. Kaime for a five years' lease on the building for the sum of $8,000 per annum, after Scruggs, Vandervoort & Barney take possession of the Mercantile library building. Up to that date the rent will be at the rate of $5,000 a year. In speaking of the matter Mr. Oakes said: "There is a regular mania for buildings on Broadway between Olive and Locust, and I was afraid I would be left out altogether, but I take the entire building and will go in for pleasing my customers more than ever. My manufacturing will be done on the

third, fourth and fifth floors, and I will use the first and second floors for salesrooms. I will have a regular waiting room for ladies, where they can rest, keep warm or cool, as the case may be."–[Tuesday's Republican.

Peter Oakes is a manufacturer of candy. He has worked long and hard, built up a trade, got himself a name, and added much to the comfort, pleasure and general desirableness of life in St. Louis. He probably calls himself a "merchant," and perhaps he would not like to be told that he is a workingman, but he is a workingman all the same, and no inconsiderable portion of his profits are not profits at all, but wages pure and simple, wages for the work of hand and brain, which he, Peter Oakes, has put into the not incredible business of candy making. It is quite probable that Peter Oakes thought little, and cared less, about the desirableness of life in St. Louis during the years of his labor here. What Peter is after is high wages, and as candy-making does not, if properly conducted, injure any one else while it enriches the candy-maker, Peter has a natural right in, and should in justice be allowed to enjoy to the utmost, the fruits of his labor. All that he earns or makes is his, to keep, to give away, or destroy at his own sweet will. It matters not, then, whether Peter Oakes intended to improve the condition of life in St. Louis or not, the fact remains that as a reputable worker at an honest calling he has, by his work, made life a little pleasanter, merrier, or, to say the least, more toothsome. In his establishment (let's call it a work shop) he has a number of men and women employed, who while helping Peter Oakes to make money, have helped themselves and others. Now, it is fair to presume that Peter Oakes acknowledges his dependence upon his work people (some of them are are[sic] "sales-ladies" and "sales-gentlemen," perhaps, but "work people" is an honorable enough title if they could only be gotten to think so), and it is also fair to presume that these work-people take a proper pride in the shop and acknowledge their dependence on the boss; without Peter Oakes and capital there would be no shop, equipped with all that is necessary to make toothsome candies. Without men and women who will consent to labor for wages, the opportunities for labor being rather scarce just at present, Peter Oakes's capital invested in the machinery and stock wouldn't bring him in that part of his reward which he may properly term profits. And as Peter Oakes is entitled to wages and profits for his share, so his work people are entitled to wages as their share. After some years of labor Peter Oakes finds his business increasing, his employes more numerous, and that more extended quarters are needed. Perhaps he reasons this way–many a kindly disposed employer has so reasoned before him, and why not Peter Oakes?–"these people," the working people aforesaid, "have been with me for years; some of them began on pretty low wages, which I have increased from time to time as the business warranted. They have helped me to make money, and I realize now, when the business is prosperous, and increasing every year, that they are entitled to better wages. Go to! I'll rent me another building, where I'll have plenty of room, hire more hands, promote the present force, pay better wages all round, and together we'll make lots of money."

So reasons Peter Oakes (or so he might very properly have reasoned and done himself credit). And straightway he hies himself to the office of James E. Kaime & Bro., and desires to be informed upon what terms he can[?] secure the five-story building at [3?]03 and [3?]05 North Broadway. It does not appear from the clipping, which furnishes a text for this article, whether the Kaimes own this property or not, but that cuts no figure; they stand in the place of the owner, whoever he is; say that they own the property and let it go. Are the Kaimes "working people" adding to the city's wealth, and making life here more desirable? Hardly; their business is to deal in the opportunities for labor; they sell "real estate," i. e., town lots. If a man wants to produce candy or shoes or tin pails or any other thing of value he goes to the Kaimes, or men in their line, and asks them how much they will charge to let him begin to produce, and the Kaimes smile, and bring out a map, showing the opportunities under their control at present, and gently name the amount of the fine which they are permitted to impose upon men who want to work. It is only fair to say that we have very few, if any, land owners in St. Louis who do not do some work in connection with their land selling business. The Kaimes, for instance, build houses. They built some on Delmar avenue which bring a pretty high rent, more than they would bring if located anywhere else. This is because they are on Delmar avenue. To be sure the Kaimes sold all the other lots on that avenue, and stipulated in the deeds

Sic in the original; probably "are".

that every house built there should be a detached house, stand just so far back from the sidewalk, and be worth at least so much money; this plan secured a beautiful street. They had fifty feet left after doing all this, and straightway they built a row of three houses on it much cheaper and less imposing than the neighboring properties. On account of their location these houses bring good round rents, and it is to be presumed that the other property holders admire the "smartness" of the Kaimes in securing a good neighborhood in which to build cheap houses. Oh, yes, the Kaimes are workers—that is, they do some work, but they don't work like the Peter Oakeses and his candy makers. They are chiefly brain workers, as in the instance quoted, where by the superior fineness of their gray matter they "managed their business" in such a way that value was added to that last fifty feet—added by some one else, and promptly (and legally) taken in by the Kaimes. But all this is a digression. Peter Oakes goes to the Kaimes and is told, in effect, that Newcomb Bros., now occupying the building in question, had been "touched up" for $10,000 a year rent. Their lease was about to expire, and as they were already in the building, with a trade established, they could probably afford to pay more than any one else. But the $10,000 a year was a little too steep, and that Newcomb Bros. had decided to move. If Mr. Oakes really felt that

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he must have that property he was quite welcome to it at $5,000 a year, until Scruggs, Vandervoort & Barney moved into the neighborhood, after which date the price would be $8,000 a year. There is something very funny in this. Why should James E. Kaime & Bro. have the right to charge Peter Oakes $3,000 a year because Scruggs, Vandervoort & Barney were going to move into an adjacent building? What have James E. Kaime & Bro. done to earn that money? It looks as though Oakes ought to pay Scruggs, Vandervoort & Barney the $3,000 if their company is worth that much, and if he must pay it to some one. At any rate, on what principle of natural justice do the Kaimes claim the money? What have they done to deserve the money? Three ways to get money in this world, only three—earn it, steal it, or have it given to you. Under which head does this demand of the Kaimes on Peter Oakes for $3,000 a year come? Perhaps kindly Dick Scruggs could tell if he was asked why James E. Kaime and Bro. have the legal right to charge Peter Oakes $3,000 a year for his company. Well! well! it is funny to be sure; but then it is all legal and quite the correct thing to do. But this is not all. Oakes took the building on a five year lease at $8,000, with the company of Scruggs and the rest thrown in; cheap at $3,000 a year. But how about that advance in wages which it is supposed our good Peter contemplated? He can hardly be expected to forego his share of increased profits and wages which have come to him by enlarged sales, partly the result of his careful management, and partly the result of increase in population. Peter is justly entitled to his increase of profits, or wages, or both; but so are his hands, his sales ladies and sales gentlemen and clerks, and candy mixers and common every day laborers who wash up the dishes or keep the fires going. Peter will get a small part of the increase, which he had a right to expect, not all, and the Kaimes will get the rest. And the other workers in the candy shop, will they get a raise all round? Well, hardly. Certainly not this year. "You see I have had to pay Kaime $3,000 a year for Dick Scruggs's company and agree to keep it up for eight years; three times eight is twenty-four. No, I can't advance your wages, not with $24,000 of increased expenses." That's the song which Peter Oakes will sing, and who can blame him?

But stop a moment! Is it really Peter Oakes who pays that $3,000 a year or Peter Oakes' work people? If Oakes can't increase the wages of his hands because the Kaimes have the power to collect $24,000 from him during eight years, then its Oakes'[sic] work people who pay Kaime to let the boss enjoy the society of the firm with the long name! Well, that is funny, sure enough. If the Kaimes have no right to collect this money from Oakes, who really does receive some benefit from Scruggs' society, how much right have they to collect it from Oakes' work people? About how much is the company of Scruggs, Vandervoort & Barney worth to Oakes' employes? What possible benefit do they receive on account of it? Are they not, in fact, injured by it? Why, then, should they pay it? Is it just? Is it right? The free soil party says no. Do you see the cat?

Sic in the original; probably "it's Oakes'".

How One Infant Industry is Protected.

Philadelphia Record.

In 1877 Franklin B. Gowen consummated a scheme by which he united all the anthracite coal carrying companies for the purpose of maintaining coal prices. Prior to 1875 the Reading railroad company had bought 142 square miles of anthracite coal land—though it could not exhaust one-twelfth of that property during ten years—and the rivals of that company had obtained control of all the other tracts of anthracite coal land that were purchasable. When this scramble had ended because of the absorption of all available coal lands, the officers of these companies began soberly to count the cost of their greed. They had borrowed wherever they could. Everything rolled along merrily until the interest payments began to become due. The Reading railroad company had lost $15,000,000 in the five years from 1870 to 1875, and its officers soon realized that they would be called upon to pay the interest on $41,000,000 that had been borrowed to further their scheme of land absorption. The other coal carrying companies found themselves similarly situated and they readily assented to Mr. Gowen's suggestion of a combination. The representatives of the coal carrying companies held regular monthly sessions for four or five years and persistently ordered advances in coal prices. They increased the transportation charges to more than three times the actual cost, but they were still unable to carry the heavy loads of debt which they had shouldered. They restricted production and imposed fines, but still they found that coal consumers could not be squeezed to their complete satisfaction. When the prices of manufacturing sizes had been raised above a given figure they discovered that soft coal was supplanting the anthracite, and that manufacturers were in a measure able to resist further exactions by changing their furnace grates and burning bituminous coal. It mattered little to the large consumer of coal whether he used anthracite or bituminous. He bought that fuel which made the most steam for a dollar. In 1884 anthracite was displaced by bituminous to the extent of 800,000 tons, and it then dawned on the minds of the coal kings that their combination could not be successful without the co-operation of the carriers of soft coal, who had also combined to advance prices. For a time the competition of the two qualities of coal was maintained with vigor, but the mismanagement of the Reading railroad company and the financial necessities of the Baltimore and Ohio company brought both companies into the clutches of a powerful syndicate of money lenders, and through the discipline of that coterie of capitalists the two combinations, comprising twelve companies, have been induced to work together. Manufacturers and householders in the east pay over $40,000,000 a year in excess of the sum they would have to pay if healthy competition prevailed. They are taxed $40,000,000 a year to sustain railroad companies that are carrying hundreds of millions of watered capital.

Reductio ad Absurdum.

Detroit Evening News.

Ald. Considine was arguing against the doctrine that it would be more just to remove taxes from industry and place them entirely on the rental value of land. He could not take any stock in the argument being urged on him that a land value tax would operate to the benefit of those who worked hard and expended their money for the benefit of themselves and their neighbors. At last his own case was cited. This brought the matter home to him. He was in something of a corner. He was an industrious man, had a nice home and was certainly paying taxes for some who were less thrifty.

"Well, there's something in that," he admitted. "I know that when I took down my front fence and burned it—yes, actually destroyed some of my capital—the assessors came along and hoisted up the valuation of my property.

"'Why did you do that?' I asked them.

"'Because you had no fence in front of your place and it looked better for it,' they said.

"Yes; they actually had my taxes raised because I burned up my capital. Ha! ha!

A Triumph of Hydraulics.

Philadelphia Ledger.

For a lot of ground containing three acres in Berlin, purchased many years ago by the adherents of the water cure system for about 9,500 marks (about $2,375), there has been refused within a short time past an offer of 2,000,000 marks ($500,000), which marks a triumph for hydraulics.

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"PROTECTING" AMERICAN LABOR.

How It Has Worked in New England.

Fall River Correspondence New York Times.

Nowhere is the cry that American labor must and shall be protected louder than in New England. During a presidential campaign in New England the average workingman becomes thoroughly convinced that the country will certainly go to the dogs unless something handsome is done for him. He has heard the cry of wolf pretty often. Each time he has discovered that the wolf hadn't been in sight. He has no recollection of having received after election an unsolicited advance in wages. He has walked into the trap so often that he would probably feel miserable if he weren't taken in. Would he walk up to the rack year after year with the same discouraging result if he were an American? Hardly.

There was a time when the workshops of New England were filled by Americans, but that was a good while ago, before American labor gave the politicians any bother and when it was able to take care of itself. Then men were taken from the farms to fill the workshops. Good workmen these sturdy farmers and sons of farmers, these Americans made. They had one peculiarity; they insisted upon being paid a fair price for their work. When the manufacturers began to evince a desire to squeeze their American workmen the latter did not go on strike. They simply looked for work elsewhere, and as they were bright, active, steady fellows, they got it. . . . They either sought other fields than New England or entered some other vocation.

Europe filled their places in the New England manufactories. The change was made without any blast of trumpets, for to announce it loudly was not to the interest of the protectionist manufacturer, and the American workman, being perfectly able to take care of himself, gave it very little thought. Irishmen, Englishmen and Germans took the places of Americans, but the Irishman was in the ascendant. An Irishman doesn't lose much time in discovering his own value. He first finds out, after his seat becomes warm, the value at which his predecessor was held. In this case he found that values had decreased. He was disgusted. He may have considered himself worth more than his predecessor, in spite of an Irishman's innate modesty, but he certainly considered himself worth as much. He said as much. The manufacturer was equal to the occasion. The Irishman was told that if he didn't like his wages he could look for a job elsewhere. Sometimes he concluded to remain where he was and say no more about it until such a time as it would be difficult to fill his place. In many cases he didn't adopt such pacific measures; he was more troublesome than his American predecessor. He expostulated; that is to say, he wouldn't work and he wouldn't permit his place to be filled. So was introduced that interesting but expensive phase of business, the strike. The Irishman, having finally become convinced that he could neither get an increase of wages nor live on air, went elsewhere, like his predecessor, the American.

The manufacturer who loved protective tariff because it protected American labor looked around him. A happy thought occurred to him. Not many miles from a portion of the American border dwelt a peaceful and frugal people—the Canadian French—the habitans. The Canadian habitan was densely ignorant, so ignorant that in order to prevent the incursive and voracious potato bug from entering his fields, he planted crosses on the roadside that bordered his little farm. When he found that the potato bug had paid no attention to the crosses, but had crawled through the fence or climbed over it, or had simply "growed" on the premises, the habitan concluded that in some way he had offended his patron saint and then thought no more about it. Of paris green as an exterminator of potato bugs the Canadian habitan had never heard. Poor was the habitan, so poor that the dominion government couldn't squeeze a shilling out of him in taxes and long since gave up the attempt. The little money the habitan made by tilling his little farm after the methods of the seventeenth century he divided between the church and the church[sic]. He lived on the remainder; consequently existence was possible to him without money.

The Canadian habitan kept a couple of sheep and grew a little flax. His family wove the material of which his and their clothes were made. He made his own footgear. He grew his own tobacco—villainous stuff. He had never heard of a tariff. When he heard of a country in which people could make a dollar, perhaps more than a dollar, a day in return for the labor of the hands, he laughed in his simple way. It was, of course, impossible. But the thought that there might be such a country kept coming back, and when a stranger, followed by other strangers, passed through the little village, each of which gloried in a church with a tall, tin-covered spire that glistened on sunshiny days like silver, told how fortunes awaited the adventurous people who would leave their dull, sleepy homes in the province of Quebec and settle in New England, the habitan lost sleep. He would ask the seigneur if such a country as New England really existed. The great man of the village said it did exist. Then the habitan allowed his thoughts to dwell on the parish priest. How would M'sieur le Cure view his half-formed intention of going out into the world; not pleasantly, he feared. The habitan was right. M'sieur le Cure told him to stay where he was. What would become of the mother church if all her children deserted her? The habitan, thinking of a dollar a day, began to lose interest in the mother church. That institution, when he devoted some cold thought to it, hadn't done much for him; he had done everything for it.

He stamped his foot and tried to look fierce. He would try this new life. He might make a fortune; he could lose nothing; Jacques could take care of the farm. The whole village turned out to witness the departure. He would return; they all said so. The adventurous habitan felt like a malefactor and thought his fellows might be right. But without knowing it he was charged with undeveloped resources. In New England his wits were polished. He was patient; he was quick to learn; he could work sixteen hours a day. It cost him almost nothing to live. He knew nothing of the prices of labor; he took what was offered. In comparison with his old life the new, from a money-making standpoint, was dazzling. He prospered, and when he had worked and saved for a year he paid a visit to the old home, the little Quebec village. The stay-at-homes hardly recognized him. He even frightened them. He dared to even argue with M'sieur le Cure. While he remained at his old home he was the magnet; his old friends were the needles. He told them of the great United States—of New England. After he had taken himself off again his words were carried from village to village, slowly maybe, for the Canadian habitan is not very partial to railroads or telegraphs, but in time they were carried all over the province.

What was the result? There are to-day a half million Canadian French in New England. Are they Americans? Not a single one except in the sense that some of them have votes. In thought and purpose they are Americans not a whit more than the people of Thibet. In many places they have schools of their own in which the French language is taught. Among themselves they talk in French. Their children—and the children of a French-Canadian family generally number from one to two dozen—are taught the traditions of new France.

With every change of nationality in the labor of New England the conditions of labor have become less favorable. The more ignorant the labor the smaller is the price paid for it. When the newcomer, who has taken the place of a more experienced and a higher priced man, becomes in turn experienced he may be able to better his condition by wrestling[sic] better terms from his employer than he accepted at the outset, but he rarely secures the terms under which his predecessor worked. What becomes of the difference? The manufacturer might be able to tell if he felt so disposed.

But the experience of New England labor is

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not unique. Labor has had the same experience in other parts of the country. Take, for instance, either the anthracite or bituminous coal regions of America. In either of those sections of the country the coal mine owner is a rabid protectionist. Not in any section of the country can men be found who prate more loudly of the virtues of a protective tariff or who insist more strenuously that it must be maintained in order to protect American labor than do the coal mine owners of Pennsylvania. They detest the pauper labor of Europe during such political campaigns as may affect national legislation. What of their attitude at other times? The campaign over, they seem to have lost the ability to distinguish between the pauper labor of Europe, which they previously detested, and the American labor, on whose account they were filled with anxiety. Hungarians, Poles and Russians, the lowest and most ignorant grades of those nationalities, are received with open arms. To hunger, to cold, to privation in every form these poor wretches were accustomed in their own countries. They have been pouring into Pennsylvania for years by the thousands. Poverty to an American was wealth to them. Twenty-five cents a day was acceptable, 50 cents promised luxurious comfort, $1 meant a fortune. They live 10, 15, 20 in a room. One of them who had been stoned on his arrival in the coal region and had afterward secured work at 50 cents a day was asked two weeks after his arrival by the *Times* correspondent for his opinion of America. “It is heaven,” he said; and he meant it. It may be argued that these people failed to reduce the price paid for mining coal. They have reduced the price and to such an extent that thousands of coal miners in this country are on the verge of starvation. The pauper labor of Europe has introduced pauper labor in America by swelling the supply beyond the limits of demand. The American miner who can only get work for 200 days in the year is in a position not to be compared for comfort to that of the English or Cornish miner who works every day except Sunday. And the English miner knows it. Why does he come to America then? some one asks. He doesn’t. It isn’t he that has flooded the coal region and smash[ed?] the value of labor. He remains in free trade England. It is the pauper labor of protected Europe that has done the damage.

To those who know anything about the condition and make-up of American labor the cry that “American labor must be protected” has a very hollow sound. There is nothing in it for American labor but sound.

T. B. F.

The Gloucester Fishermen.

New York Times.

Everybody has heard of the Gloucester fishermen, just as everybody has heard, on some inauspicious occasion, that unmusical instrument, the fish horn. Between the Gloucester fisherman and the fish horn there is a deep bond of sympathy. It is a matter of common belief among those who are intimately acquainted with him that the Gloucester fisherman, in the earliest stages of infancy, preferred blowing his horn to sucking his thumb; and that he has never succeeded in outgrowing the pernicious habit is only too well known. There may be fishermen in

Sic in the original; probably “unclear: the same noun is printed twice (a word appears to be wrong)”.
Sic in the original; probably “wresting”.

other parts of New England; it matters not; they are unknown to fame. In the newspapers they always rank as Gloucester fishermen. It has been a source of continual wonder to the rest of the country why the Gloucester fisherman should be such a cantankerous person and why he should be permitted to throw the nation into a boiling perspiration in the dog days and glut the market with chilis[sic] when the ground is covered with snow. Middle state men, western men, men of the northwest, the southwest and the south have anathematized him as a nuisance, but as a nuisance they were perhaps compelled to put up with him from patriotic motives.

In a like manner the country has acquiesced in the appointment of many fishery commissions, such as the commission that is now, at considerable outlay of national cash, supposed to be engaged in an attempt to keep the American eagle and the British lion from tearing each other's vitals.

And after all, the Gloucester fisherman is a bluenose, a Nova Scotian, at least three-quarters of him is, and his nationality probably accounts for the pertinacity with which he howls for more protection from the Stars and Stripes than he has deserved for a good many years.

There isn't enough money in the business to tempt the average Yankee to enter it as a fisherman, though he may deign to own the vessels that are engaged in it. This may not have been so before New England became a manufacturing center, but since that period, the Gloucester fisherman has been an imported article and is so to-day to the extent of seventy-five per cent. And a foreigner he remains, with no desire to assume any of the responsibilities of American citizenship. The emoluments are enough for him, and these he generally manages to spend in his home in Acadia.

The Gloucester fisherman is interested in the tariff, and his nationality doesn't prevent him from screaming, about election time, that American industries must be protected. When some millions of people in this country hint that free fish would be desirable, and an echo comes back from Canada that she would be perfectly willing to throw open her magnificent fishing grounds if the American duty on fish were removed, a few thousands of bluenoses, who parade as Gloucester fishermen, and a few hundreds of Gloucester vessel owners, who are Americans, grit their teeth and howl until they are heard from Maine to California. The burden of their howl is that they can never compete with Canadian fishermen if fish is made a free article of commerce, because the Canadians can procure fishing supplies more cheaply in Canada than they can be had in the United States, and that the removal of the duty on fish would knock the life out of prices and consequently out of their business.

Not being a Gloucester fisherman, nor a Canadian fisherman either, the *Times's* correspondent is able to state facts without coloring them. The facts are against the fisherman; he has a very weak case. It has been demonstrated too often, even for a denial on his part, that the price of fish is not regulated by the duty, but by the condition of the market, by supply and demand. Two years before the expiration of the treaty under which Canadian fish was admitted free of duty "dry bank" codfish sold here at from $6.50 to $7 per quintal of 112 pounds. In 1876[sic], when there was a duty, as there now is, of a half cent per pound on codfish and one cent per pound on mackerel and salmon, the same quality of fish sold here for from $2.50 to $3 per quintal. To-day it is selling at from $4.25 to $4.50.

A great deal of the fish exported from New England is known as provincial fish, caught by Canadians and sent here in bond. Under a free tariff Nova Scotia dry bank codfish came here in bulk. It was packed here in drums and shipped to South American ports. The drums were of American manufacture, and the number required by this market netted the American mechanic not less than $100,000 annually. Under the present tariff this fish is packed in drums in the provinces, and in that shape is shipped here for export to the West Indies and South America. Comparatively nothing adheres to the American hands through which this fish passes; in fact, the

Sic in the original; probably "chills".
Sic in the original; probably "In 1886 (uncertain)".

American gets little besides the freight. The profit that was attached to the business under a free treaty is now pocketed in Yarmouth and other Canadian ports.

No Room for Alabamians in Alabama.

Selma, Ala., Journal.

A young workingman was seen by us Thursday on Broad street looking very dejected. In conversation he remarked that although he was born and raised in Selma, learned his trade here, still he had to leave. He said he firmly believed that Selma was destined to be the first city in the state, but that he and other workingmen would starve to death if they waited here for it. He would have to leave in order to make bread for his family. "The cause of the trouble is, not the lack of work, for there is plenty for a city of Selma's size, but there are too many workmen," said he.

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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1888. 7

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MY ELECTION DISTRICT.

Political New York is typified in my election district. The rich are there, and make their money felt on election day. The middle class do not count for much. The poor are numerous, and the management of their vote is a problem with the several sets of local politicians.

As an active worker for the grand old party of moral ideas I have been for some years a student of that election district, and I frequently find myself cogitating over the many nice points presented in it for settlement before it can be straightened out with the genius of our republic and the Declaration of Independence. In contemplating them I feel like a boy trying to unravel with his finger nails a bunch of tight knots in his kite cord. Probably, my friend, if I tell you of some of these things that perplex me you will set out to reform them in the city generally. If you do I promise you my moral support.

Two city blocks are embraced in my election district. Its width spans only the short block between one numbered street and the next, while its length takes in the two long blocks from one of the main north and south avenues of the city to the second one from it. The district, you see, is an elongated parallelogram.

That short side of the district which lies nearest the middle line of the city is brown stone. Its houses are four and five stories in height and elegant in appearance. Thence on both the long sides of the parallelogram, for the distance of two-thirds of the adjoining block, the houses are brown stone or pressed brick and of three or four stories. Next are a few apartment houses of a medium class. Plain red brick tenements cf[sic] four and five stories complete the rest of the figure, save toward the end furthest from the brown stone quarter, where there are livery stables, vacant lots and rough looking factories. The ground floors of the avenue tenement houses are occupied by the only stores in the district.

Three hundred and fifty citizens register in this election district. It has also among its adult male population perhaps fifty foreigners and non-voting citizens—four hundred men, in all, representing two thousand inhabitants.

One day in a year a barber shop that stands on the avenue running through the middle of the district becomes the scene of a leveling of its citizens. The polls are opened there.

At the polls, where every man counts one, dwells the spirit of democracy. In the tide of human affairs questions of public weal have arisen. Opinions have differed as to their solution. Free, equal and enlightened voters have voluntarily ranged themselves in political parties according to the views they entertain upon these live problems of state. Each party has, through delegates in convention, formulated a platform of principles and aims and opinions. Each has urged upon the mass of citizens its reasons for holding to its faith. Each has selected as candidates for office men distinguished for capacity and character. It will be the duty of those elected to legislative offices to invest in the law the measures supported so enthusiastically by the voters of the party casting a majority

Sic in the original; probably “of”.

of the votes. At the polls on election day the best judgment of the people is recorded. Then finds expression an awakened public conscience and a thoroughly informed public intelligence. This is theory.

When the wealth of my election district is under consideration it looks like a tadpole. The brown stone avenue side is the globulous head, and the tenement houses form the attenuated tail. In this country of equal rights, where merit has all its show, a poor and friendless tenement house boy is entertained occasionally by good people whose trade is philanthropy with the pleasing fiction that though he is beginning life at the very tip of the tadpole's tail he may by persevering in the good gradually move up till he becomes a part of its swelled head. Well, it is a fact that the income of each citizen of the district may be closely estimated according to the situation of his place of residence. Each additional hundred dollars in the year's gains will carry him who is struggling for the show of having a fortune, a house or two nearer the brown stone avenue. Yet, by the bye, I do not know of frequent removals nowadays in that direction.

In many of the houses of the district that are peopled by several families, there is a tapering of the wealth from one floor to another, somewhat similar to that shown in the houses along the streets—a second floor family is usually in better circumstances than one living on the fifth. In the boarding houses—my district has its full share of them, even in this city of boarding houses—the top floor rooms are the cheapest. In a genteel boarding-house, a nice young man having a salary hardly worth mentioning may find room at the top; while the lower floors house wealth. But he must be a dressy young man with a reputation for not taking off his coat while at work. Clothes that carry the stain of work are apt to introduce a man to tenement house society.

At the brown stone end of the district there are shades in social distinction, but few people there are entirely off color in the eyes of the rest. The difference in station is generally a slight matter of a carriage or none, of a profession or a business, of a flat or a boarding house. Not that people there associate with one another. They may live side by side for years and remain unacquainted with one another's names. But whatever their points of difference they can be borne without discomfort by all through the exclusiveness of all. It is in the tenement house end of the district where the widest social gulfs exist. There are packed closely together people who lack any of the elements of coherency. Irish and English are apt to have strained relations if living in one house. So, also, French and Germans. Hence an entire house is commonly occupied by families of one nationality, and, as a matter of fact, my election district might be mapped off in colored sections showing little colonies of various

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peoples. There are other lines of demarkation. Some houses are notoriously noisy or have acquired the reputation of being desirable places for folks who would have the landlord's agent blink at a squabble or a lively spree. Such a house is sure to be looked down upon by the twelve quiet families living next door, even if the latter abode be the shabbier. From some houses people move *often*; others may hold most of their inmates for a generation and expect newcomers to prove their respectability. The tenement house end of the district does not show many examples of disparity in fortune, but its gradations in caste are innumerable. The tenement house vote of the district as compared with the rest—brown stone, boarding house and apartment house—is three to one.

Now, through all these zigzag streaks of information you see beginning to peep some of the hard facts that interfere with the operation of our beautiful political theory. Conditions are suggested which may interfere with a perfect leveling of all citizens in presence of the ballot box.

In one of the finest brown stone houses on the big avenue lives a wealthy and well meaning citizen. He has studied the institutions of our country and is possessed of convictions on questions that at the present time engage the public attention. He finds it difficult to bring his views home to the public. He can express them in his club, write about them to the newspapers, get himself appointed a speaker at public meetings during a political campaign, but nothing practical follows. What can one man effect through these channels? Nothing, or nearly nothing. This

public spirited man surveys the whole field of possibilities for the advancement of his views, and the only avenue open to him he discovers is practical politics.

Likewise, around the corner, in an apartment house, lives an ambitious young man who has been inspired by a study of the lives of America's great men to strive for an honorable place among the statesmen of his own generation. He may soar high in fancy, but he finds that if he would really fly at all he must trim his wings to practical politics.

The *tenement house*, too, is by no means without its ambitions. Its bright young men quickly perceive the single road to political preferment, and consequently the tenements turn out shoals of practical politicians.

Practical politics has its claws in every election district in the city. In my district there are five sets of claws nowadays—one for each city organization. The way to enter practical politics in any party in New York is to allow the claw of your choice to pick you up and draw you in. Then, as a member of an assembly district association, you may perchance have an opportunity to influence the drift of political affairs. In the party the latest organized you may have a large influence; in the older organizations you will be a light weight in the scale.

Let it be supposed that you enter my own organization—that of the party of good old moral ideas. It has been the object of endless reforms. Everything that legislation could do for the system has been done. Abuses have been repeatedly attacked and abolished. Yet if you imagine you are going to enter our assembly district organization on an equality with all the members, originate measures there for the party's adoption and be carried along because of the known integrity of your character and the merit of your ideas, it only argues that you do not know much about practical politics. The obstacles in your way are countless.

What proportion of the voters in an assembly district are active members of the various party organizations? In the reply to this question lies a tremendous obstacle to party purification and the promotion of needed legislation. Of all those swarms of citizens who believe themselves intensely interested in the good of the nation, who fall into a fever of excitement during election times, who hotly dispute over candidates, carry torches in parades, hurrah themselves hoarse, and feel sore when their side is whipped at the polls, not one tenth have aught to say in cutting out the work of the campaign. Now, considerably more than a tenth of the voters of New York are office holders, office seekers, and dependent relatives of both. These are the men that sway practical politics.

Go into your assembly district organization of the fine old party of high toned ideas and there you will find so strong a band of men with an eye upon office that no proposal, however good in itself, will be received with any other feeling than an estimate of its effect on the office getting or office keeping of these members. This organization sets up your local candidates for you. With others like it, it declares what shall or shall not be embodied in your state platform. It sends delegates to all the conventions of your party. At its primaries it begins and finishes careers. Before it bow down leading citizens whose published utterances breathe the purest patriotism.

In the assembly district is a power that plays the voters of a party as if they were checkers on a board. That power usually centers in a boss. He is a man who electioneers all the year round. He is acquainted with all the workers for all the parties in his district. He knows the numerical strength of every nationality, the marts of the purchasable vote, the headquarters of the "gangs of the boys." Tell me, my reformer friend, how far are you likely to go in your organization with any measure that does not please the boss? With great effort you obtain a promise from half a dozen fellow members to assist you in furthering your patriotic scheme. The boss does not like it. He carries on the books of the organization some scores of names, paying the dues himself, and the night your motion comes up a crowd of men appear and vote on those names against you, and you are nipped in the bud.

Thus it is that each election district becomes merely a minor checker board on which several assembly district bosses play a game against one another. As the election district worker for the boss of our party I will take pleasure in showing you my simple plan of operations.

After the election of any one year I take

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a copy of the *City Record* containing a list of the registered voters of my district and begin preparations for the next year's campaign. First, I put a certain mark opposite the names of the brown stone voters and then another certain mark to denote their political stripe. That is about all that is necessary to do in regard to that vote, for it is usually unchangeable, and if a brown stone man ever leaves his party he does so under influences that small fry workers cannot affect. Next I attach a distinctive mark to each party's office holders and their relatives. There is something admirable in the way an office holder's relatives vote his ticket. Then I have a mark for the true blue party men in all parts of the district; one for each nationality; one for the voters who have ever sold their votes, and one for the men who may be out of work about election day. In the course of the year I complete my information as to such points as these and note whatever newcomers take up a residence in the district. As a result of this work I can tell a month before election about what proportion of voters of my district will probably support each ticket, what proportion is as yet undecided, and what proportion can be induced to arrive at a decision.

Our young men soon learn all about practical politics. As a rule they are not possessed of strong prejudices, and hence I classify them among the voters subject to inducements. They are in the habit of saying that, no matter what party wins, it makes no difference to them—the effects do not reach down to them. They seem to understand better than their fathers that politics is business. They hug no delusions as to being sovereign citizens of a free country. They observe that several sets of bosses are bidding in some way for their votes, and they think the sensible thing is to turn those votes to commercial account. Some of the more enterprising get up social clubs and use the membership to strike for office.

There are three liquor stores in my district. I do business at Kimberly's. Kimberly set up his place twenty years ago on a good corner, has kept a well stocked bar, hired bartenders who knew their art and attracted a respectable class of customers. He has bought four or five tenement houses near his store. He is now an important man in the ward. He is a good republican, but his politics never interfere with business, and if a democratic worker selects his place as headquarters Kimberly reconciles himself to the fact. During the last campaign a large amount of political business was transacted at Kimberly's. The claws of the five party organizations have but the three public houses to rest in in our district, and three of them were covered up in their fur at Kimberly's.

I told you that the rich man made his money felt with us. Suppose you were well to do, had a taste for political life, and had discovered the power of the boss, what course would you take? You would either put your ambition to sleep or you would stand an assessment from the boss, and thus get nomination for office. The boss would have your named[sic] cheered heartily at the primaries, and the convention would nominate you with enthusiasm. Then the assessments of yourself and the other high minded candidates would carry on the legitimate expenses of the election. Meetings, bands, banners, posters, boxes and ballots—these all cost something. But the election district worker must be assisted, too. His little book suggests additional legitimate expenses. Men must be hired to run the boxes on election day, and just as many ought to be hired as are indicated by a certain peculiar mark in that little book. These men can be paid off in Kimberly's place.

If I should happen to go into a livery stable and find two or three ragged fellows doing odd jobs there, washing wagons and grooming horses, and sleeping with the horses, I would give their names in my book that certain

peculiar mark. If I went into an open door tenement house late on Saturday night and on looking into an apartment saw bare floors, some sticks of furniture and an old table with a tin pail and some beer mugs on it I would use the mark. If there were any nuisances of men hanging about the liquor stores they would get their mark in the book. In the case of men out of work for a long time I would use an interrogation mark. There are men who would face starvation rather than sell—rather than be hired to work on election day for a party they are opposed to. But most men will take a few dollars from you if they intended voting your ticket. It helps them along.

The theory of our institutions is perfectly right. As I said, I know a few facts that I cannot reconcile off hand with the theory. Now is the day for the reformer who knows how to let the people themselves nominate and how to abolish the election district worker's little book.

HAGAN DWEN.

Would They Favor a Protective Tariff if it Really Tended to Raise Wages?

Alpena, Mich., Labor Journal.

There are now many idle men in this city and the lumber camps are full to overflowing with men from Canada and other foreign ports. The foreign laborers are, however, all at work, because they came here to work for whatever they can get, and this is no fault of theirs. And those who are forced to be idle through this competition with foreign laborers are mostly citizens of this place. This is nothing new; it is only a repetition of "the same thing over again" every winter. And this is one of the blessings of the "protection to American labor" that is advocated by James G. Blaine and the republican papers. While we concede the right of politicians and partisan papers to advocate whatever they please, be it ever so chimerical and romantic, we would ask them to drop for a moment that threadbare chestnut about farmer's wool—or the farmer's sheeps' wool—and answer this plain, practical question: How does the tariff on lumber raise wages in Alpena or protect Alpena laboring men in any way against competition with foreign laborers?

Manufacturers and employers of labor are all advocates of a protective tariff. This is not disputed. Now, if a protective tariff tended to raise wages and furnish employment for labor, would manufacturers and employers be advocates of a protective tariff? Is there a laborer in Alpena ignorant enough to believe such a story? We hope not; for it is such ignorance as this that has kept laboring men with their noses—not their ears—to the ground since the days of Moses. Labor's only salvation is the higher intelligence of laboring men, yet to come.

A protective tariff is for the purp[ose?] [o]f protecting m[ono?]poly—not labor—and it works like a charm[?] [line partly obscured at page bottom]

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AS OTHERS VIEW IT.

The *Christian Commonwealth* (British) has this to say in its Anti-poverty department of the New York election. It is not worth while to point out several little inaccuracies which it contains, as they will be obvious to our readers:

The anti-poverty, or united labor, party nominated Mr. Henry George as the head of their ticket and have done their best to elect him to the post of state secretary. Though success was unexpected, yet it was hoped that a large

Sic in the original; probably "your name".

vote would bring the land question into prominence in American politics. Toward the campaign expenses a large anti-poverty fair, got up by ladies, realized $10,000, and Mr. George's STANDARD has raised $5,000 more for the cause. Much more has been contributed in other ways. Rich men have been giving freely under the name of "Nicodemus." Thousands and thousands of a button with the head of Mr. Henry George engraved in the center, and initials U. L. P. around it, have been sold recently in New York. Over twenty thousand, it is said, were sold at the fair. Among the most active anti-povertyites, besides Mr. George, may be mentioned. Rev[sic]. Dr. McGlynn (who was excommunicated recently for not retracting his views of "natural rights"), Rev. Hugh Pentecost, Rev. Heber Newton, Rev. Dr. Kramer, Father Huntington, Rev. S. Anketell, Rev. W. E. Lincoln, Rev. W. D. P. Bliss, and many other clergymen, Judge James Maguire, Hon. Gideon Tucker, Hon. Samuel Williams, Thomas Shearman, the economist, Professor Thomas Davidson, James Redpath, the famous abolitionist, Dr. Wood, Dr. Alfred Houghton, Louis F. Post, etc., etc. The movement is rapidly growing very important indeed. Mr. Edward J. Shriver of New York, has contributed a very able article on this movement to the November number of the *Westminster Review*.

It must not be supposed that the 68,000 citizens of New York, who voted for Henry George as their mayor last year had all studied and approved of his economic and social views. His candidature was supported by thousands who were tired of the political machinery in the city; by many who wanted to have an honest and cultivated man at the head of the city. It was supported by the socialists, who thought they would make a convert; and by that unfortunately large section of the populace, which is always ready to support anything startling and sounding of revolution. In fact, Henry George's candidature last year was a great protest—a grand expression of discontent in very different quarters.

This year it was different. Henry George was nominated for a post very much more important than that of mayor, and though many would support him as a suitable chief magistrate they would decline to support him and his political colleagues for the state legislature. Moreover, ever since the Syracuse convention in August, the socialists have been among the most determined of his opponents; they were mistaken in thinking that they could use the late popular candidate for their own purposes. Also, as was to be expected, the simply revolutionary class, finding that there was nothing anarchical in Mr. George, have expressed their disgust by joining the socialists.

Still, it is not to be denied that the free land men are very deeply disappointed in the result of the state election. Considering all that has been undertaken during the last year through THE STANDARD, the great Anti-poverty society with its 2,000 members, through lectures and club meetings, the distribution of literature and the final campaign activity, including the fortnight's fair, a very much larger vote than 70,000 was expected in the state. Mr. Henry George, and especially Dr. McGlynn, who has sacrificed all for the cause, must feel a keen disappointment in the result.

But after all the free land movement is stronger in New York to-day than ever. With the exception of Patrick Ford, the [popish?] editor of the *Irish World*, not one of the party leaders has fallen away, whereas during the last twelve months many most valuable recruits have joined, men and women of the right sort, who have read and reread Mr. George's writings, and studied the land question in all its bearings, and who in consequence see in this movement a great moral and religious principle which is certain to prevail in time.

Seventy thousand of such men and women in New York State is a great force. Let them not lose heart. They have the ideas, and ideas are better than votes. Let them be patient in disappointment, and continue in faith and hope in their great work of love.

Sic in the original; probably "mentioned, Rev.".

Slavery and Slavery.

Boston Globe.

The wealthy land owners of Brazil are the leaders of the movement for the emancipation of the Brazilian slaves.

The wealthy land owners of the southern states were the men most bitterly opposed to the abolition of slavery in our country.

Why this difference? The interests of the Brazilian land owners must be the same as the interests of the southern planters thirty years ago. Their slaves are employed in the production of coffee just as slaves in Georgia and Texas were employed in the production of cotton. Why should Brazilian planters be for freedom where American planters were for slavery?

Perhaps the Brazilian planters are more enlightened, more humane than the American planters were? Alas! there is no reason to think so. Self interest rules.

But, perhaps, they can see economic tendencies more clearly, or, perhaps, times have changed. Could southern planters in 1860 have foreseen the economic result of emancipation they would never have fought the war. They see more clearly now. "We can hire negroes to-day," they say, "for less than it cost to support them in slavery. Abolition was a good thing for us."

So it will be in Brazil. The coercive power of want is more cutting than the driver's whip. After the emancipation the men who are now slaves in Brazil will go to the planters and beg for work at any price. They will gain something in personal dignity, little or nothing in material comfort.

The New York papers are exposing "white slavery" in the metropolis. And in the "highly protected" mining regions of Pennsylvania blacks and whites alike are living in virtual bondage. Can the condition of the Brazilian slaves be made better than the condition of these free Americans?

The slavery question, like so many others, is but one form of the great labor question.

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

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[Advertisement] NEW PUBLICATIONS. — The Land and Labor Library

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

[Advertisement] United Labor Party — State Organizers

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

California—Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco.

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

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. Sulivan[?], 7[?]5 Fulton street, New Orleans.

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

Maryland—T. H. Garside, 15[?]7 West Lexington street, Baltimore.

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

New York—John[?] McMackin[?], 28 Cooper Union, New York city.

Ohio—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box 99, Cincinnati.

South Carolina—Benjamin Adams, Charleston.

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

[Advertisement] Illinois

ILLINOIS.—Readers of the "Standard" in the state of Illinois, and all others interested in the great principles it advocates, are requested to send names and addresses to W. H. Van Ornum[?], president of land and labor club No. 1, Room 6[8?], 170 Madison street, Chicago, with a view to effecting some plan of organization for the state. Persons in Chicago not already members of land and labor clubs, as well as secretaries of such organizations, are especially requested to write.

[Advertisement] First Assembly District, United Labor Party

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

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

[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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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, JANUARY 7, 1888.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

Here is a New Year's greeting from Pennsylvania, a fair sample of many that come to us by every mail:

> [illegible], Pa.—With New Year's greetings to THE STANDARD, accept my sincerest wishes for the happiness and prosperity of all connected with it. No other journal ever exerted over me an influence so like a moral tonic. It brings to me weekly something of that lofty, spiritual cheer for which I am so deeply indebted to the works of Henry George. Under its benign influence I contemplate a social world sterile and inhospitable to me, "and a faith that was dead revives."
>
> From the subscription list inclosed you will perceive that THE STANDARD's first supporters here remain true, and are being steadily increased by new recruits. When one year ago a prospectus heralded Mr. George's reappearance in the field of journalism high expectations were awakened here among the few of us who, already conversant with "Progress and Poverty," discerned the just and virile character of the social therapeutics therein advocated. Not only are those expectations fulfilled, they are amply and grandly sustained, its tone and power seeming to appreciate, if possible, as it grows older. We regard it not only as a peerless exponent of advanced economic thought, but as a powerful advocate of the Christianity of Christ, now so repugnant to the philistine "savior of society." In my more sanguine moments I am uplifted with the sacred hope that a sordid and morally corrupt populace may yet be leavened, and led by the very quality of the men who will cluster around you, standing together for a mighty and uncompromising principle.
>
> J. F. COOPER.

We thank our friends for their commendation and good wishes. Such words are very pleasant to hear, not merely because they tell us that THE STANDARD is appreciated, but because they bring with them the assurance of the progress of the cause whose upholding is the sole motive of THE STANDARD'S existence. For surely a cause is on the road to victory which can stir men's souls to the writing of such letters as come to us.

Yes, we thank our friends all over the world who are wishing us a Happy New Year. And we ask them to remember what it is they are doing when they send that message of good will. They are pledging themselves to do all in their power to make the wish a reality; they are promising that during 1888 they will spare no effort to advance the cause of justice and equal rights; they are undertaking to go out among their neighbors, preaching, talking, arguing, distributing tracts, leaving no means untried to spread a knowledge of the truth. That is the sort of pledge that we read between the lines of every New Year's greeting. And we find the reading very pleasant.

> ARCADIA, Mich.—For inclosed remittance send me "Progress and Poverty" in English and in German, and the following recruit subscriptions. . . .

I have been a reader of THE STANDARD since its first number. Words fail to express the interest I feel in its work and in the success of the principles it advocates. I have been so disgusted with politics as they are that I have taken no active part or interest in them for ten years past; but I begin to think now that the time is coming when I can do so without being defiled or disgraced.

G. B. FARLEY.

COLUMBIA, S. C.—Inclosed I send money order for $2.50 to renew my subscription to THE STANDARD. I expect to be a life subscriber, as it is more a magazine of true political philosophy than a newspaper.

J—— ——.

GUELPH, Kansas.—I inclose remittance for continuance of my own subscription and the following recruit subscriptions. . . . I have read "Progress and Poverty" two or three times, and have studied THE STANDARD. carefully[sic], and I begin to see men as trees walking.

I am doing all I can to get men, and women, too, to subscribe for and read THE STANDARD But the almost total failure of the corn crop during the past two seasons makes many who would like to take the paper unable to subscribe. But, for humanity's sake, I hope you will not be discouraged.

—— ——.

POPLAR CREEK, Mont.—For the inclosed $10 please continue to send me THE STANDARD for 1888 and also one copy of every number of the land and labor library that may be issued during the year. Also send THE STANDARD for four weeks to the Presbyterian ministers in Michigan whose addresses I inclose. Whatever balance may be left is for the recruiting fund.

G. W. WOOD.

PARKERSBURG, W. Va.—I inclose remittance for following recruit subscriptions. . . . Also send me forty cents' worth of Ring's "Case Plainly Stated."

There are twenty-two STANDARDS taken here through three newsdealers. I do not know if any come through the postoffice or not. No one is discouraged by the falling off in the New York vote, and we are all busy working for the cause whenever occasion offers.

W. I. BOREMAN.

POCOPSON, Pa.—An increasing sympathy with a single tax on land, in lieu of the multiform system now in vogue, leads me to send a subscription to your paper. The plan of raising revenue from the land values that righteously belong to the race will burden no one, and will add immensely to the chances of the homeless. One present form of taxation which enriches one class at the expense of another is certainly unrighteous. I hail with joy the advent of goodness in politics.

C—— ——.

PACHECO, Cal.—Please send THE STANDARD to my son, whose address I inclose. I myself am in my eighty-sixth year and can do but little reading. For the additional remittance send me some tracts for distribution here. Several of us are coming to believe that in your movement lies the hope of the world.

Sic in the original; probably "THE STANDARD carefully".

AMOS BAILEY.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—Inclosed find postal note for $2.85 for next year's subscription to THE STANDARD and one copy of "Protection or Free Trade?" Besides my regular subscription I take another copy from a news dealer here. One of my copies is read here until worn out; the other is read by a friend of mine, who then forwards it to England.

GEO. E. DUMMER, Anti-poverty No. 437.

——, Mich.—With the current number of THE STANDARD my subscription expires. A year ago, when I began to take it, I stood almost alone in the belief in the "single tax" in this vicinity. During the year, although I have not done as much as some others, I have managed to awaken something of an interest, as well as some opposition, here. One of our ministers, after halting for a long time on the border land, has slipped back into the gulf of expediency. But the loss has been more than compensated by a gain in another direction. Another minister, an educated Welshman, became interested in the subject. I lent him "Social Problems" (I keep an entire set of your works for the purpose of lending), and then supplemented the book with some copies of THE STANDARD; and the result has been a series of evening lectures, in which the question was fairly presented to good audiences. So, slowly, the work progresses. Every gain is a gain for all time, and there is no slipping back

I feel that I must do what I can to spread the light. I'm one of the John Smiths who cannot afford to peril the bread for the hostages which they have given to fortune by coming out and taking a leading part in organization, but I can do some work and must do it. I have seen to it that a number of copies of THE STANDARD have found their way to parties in whom I desired to awaken thought. I have disseminated the doctrine expounded in your books, have "sowed" a number of sets of them, and we have a sort

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of reading club where they are discussed and also some members with whom we correspond. I have managed during the past year to quadruple my subscription to THE STANDARD by getting three more to take it, and I intend to keep on and do as much during the coming year. If every subscriber will do the same your subscription list will begin to swell.

A—— —— ——.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT, WASHINGTON, D. C.—Send THE STANDARD for one year to my address, with twenty-five copies of "The Tariff Question" and fifty of "the Syracuse platform." Also send "Protection or Free Trade?" to ——. You are doing a noble work. Your principles are everywhere being discussed and everywhere your ideas are gaining ground.

A. ——.

——.—I am and for two years past have been doing all in my power to help along the glorious work. But I blush daily for myself that, like so many thousands of others, I am bound in chains and dare not throw myself publicly into the cause, with word and deed, as I would and should.

I inclose $1.25, for which send THE STANDARD for six months to Judge ——, a sterling man, who certainly should be, and I believe will be, with us and whom THE STANDARD may convert. I have already sent him "Progress and Poverty."

—— ——.

ST. LOUIS, Mo.—Please send me the value of inclosed remittance in H. F. Ring's tract, "The Case Plainly Stated," including a dozen copies in Swedish.

We have formed a shoemakers' legion in our assembly, No. 495 K. of L., and shall push the work of propaganda. All the live workers in our assembly are "George men." We thought we would make a start with tracts, and we know none better than Ring's speech.

Our anti poverty society here is in good shape, has regular meetings on Sunday evenings, and will do good work. You may rest assured that the single tax has no more earnest advocates than the shoemakers of St. Louis.

C. E. TAYLOR.

SOLOMON CITY, Kansas.—While distributing the land and labor tracts I get a good chance to speak for our single tax doctrine. On Saturday I spoke for an hour on the street and answered numerous questions, gathering quite a crowd of farmers to hear me and receive the tracts which I gave out.

I inclose 35 cents for a copy of "Protection or Free Trade?" Now that the tariff issue is coming before the people we shall have more opportunity than ever to force attention to the single tax.

E. Z. BUTCHER.

BOSTON, Mass.—I have just been devouring THE STANDARD, which always feeds me intellectually and spiritually. Something in the "Publisher's Notes" impelled me to write and tell you how *I* value the paper. Since becoming acquainted with it I have ceased buying my *Sunday Herald* or *Globe* in just the same way that a man ceases to buy chaff when he can get good wheat for the same money.

My missionary work heretofore had been unsystematic, but now I intend to begin in earnest. Instead of buying single copies of THE STANDARD to send to friends I am going to utilize the recruit subscription plan and inclose you my first list of names and remittance herewith.

LOUIS F. WESTON.

ARCHER, Wyo.—Inclosed find postal note for which send THE STANDARD to the two addresses inclosed. This makes four yearly and four six months' subscriptions I have now sent you besides my own. I wish I could make it many more, but living eight miles from Cheyenne, in the country, I do not have the opportunity.

A few months ago I sent THE STANDARD on the recruit subscription plan to four clergymen in Cheyenne with the following results: The first was glad to see me when I called and was much interested in THE STANDARD and its principles. Was certain something must be done and soon. Would read "Progress and Poverty" after the holidays. Said he had plenty of poverty and wanted some progress.

The second was one of those—

Who do a willful stillness entertain, With purpose to be dressed in an opinion Of wisdom, gravity, profound conceit; And therefore only are reputed wise, For saying nothing.

> The third was not in sympathy with us. Had read extracts from "Progress and Poverty," and promised to read the book itself, which I left with him.
>
> The fourth, with whom I am acquainted, is in sympathy with the movement. Has read "Progress and Poverty" and is now reading "Social Problems." Is a warm hearted, honest man. I count on him and the first mentioned, sure.
>
> Some time ago I had a short conversation with a colored clergyman who said that the slavery question was only the beginning of the labor question.
>
> A. G. GROH.

These letters illustrate the spirit and energy with which the friends of THE STANDARD are beginning the new year, and they point the way for others to follow who are as yet only thinking what vigorous work they will do when they once begin.

Very many subscriptions to THE STANDARD expired with the close of the second volume. If yours is one of these, remember that the best service you can do us just now is to renew at once, and send the subscriptions of one or more of your neighbors at the same time.

These are our terms for subscriptions to THE STANDARD:

One subscription, one year,	$2 50
One subscription, six months,	1 25
One subscription, three months,	63

Three or more subscriptions:

One year, each,	$2 00
Six months, each,	1 00
Three months, each,	50

After the first club of three has been sent, subsequent subscriptions may be forwarded at the same reduced rates.

Recruit subscriptions, for *four weeks*, will be received, singly or in clubs, at fifteen cents each.

> SPRINGFIELD, Ill.—A few of us here who are believers in the single tax on land values as the only means for the extirpation of poverty are desirous of forming an anti-poverty society. I take this method of requesting all readers of THE STANDARD in Springfield, Ill., who are with us in the good work to communicate with me in person or by mail, as may be most convenient. We hope to complete our organization by an early day.
>
> HENRY WALKER, 1,144 North Sixth street.

> LARNED, Kan.—Every number of THE STANDARD, as soon as thoroughly read by myself and wife, is handed to some one of my neighbors with the request that he carefully read it.
>
> At the same time we leave no opportunity unimproved to call attention to the united labor party and its platform of principles.

> It is now only a few weeks since I became a convert to these principles through reading THE STANDARD, and by dint of constant ding donging on every occasion there are now a number in Larned and the immediate vicinity who are hungering for more knowledge of these teachings. Some of my neighbors are anxious to read "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade?" and "The Land Question."
>
> At the earliest practical moment I intend to organize an anti-poverty society here, and have the fullest faith that our cause will take permanent root in many minds in southwestern Kansas. I am hoping ere long to send you some funds for more STANDARDS to distribute among the people, as I believe it to be the most efficient missionary literature to be had anywhere.
>
> W. M. GOODNER.

Messrs. Walker in Springfield and Goodner in Larned are going the right way to work. There can be nothing that will do more to advance the cause than the organization and steady work of anti-poverty societies in every city and town

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and village throughout the country. Such societies serve better than anything else to keep alive the active interest of their members in the progress of the cause. They develop a spirit of emulation which urges each to do his utmost to gain recruits; they train their members in argument and discussion, and, best of all, they take away that sense of isolation which prevents so many from boldly avowing their principles. In many a place where apparently the anti-poverty gospel has never been heard there are really a half dozen or more of earnest believers, every one of whom remains silent because he thinks it would be utterly useless to talk, but who, if united in a small organization, might do a wonderful amount of good.

But our friends in Springfield and Larned are making a mistake in delaying the formation of their societies. Members are not essential[sic] to the well being of a society. Indeed, in many respects, a small membership is preferable to a large one. Three or four, or half a dozen people will be more mutually helpful and do better work in proportion to their numbers than twenty or thirty.

If there is in your neighborhood but a single believer besides yourself, seek him out, and get him to join you in forming an anti-poverty society. Arrange to meet at each other's houses alternately one evening in every week. At your first meeting lay out your work. Let each member make a list of his friends; and by comparison of these lists find out who there is that you both know; they will probably be the best men for you to begin work upon. Then get one or two of these friends to attend your next meeting. In inviting them it will often be best to avoid saying anything about your society or telling them what you propose to talk to them about; your little organization is only a means to an end, and your object is not to parade the fact of its existence, but to use it as a means for making converts.

When your friends come to your meeting be careful to avoid all formality and make no parade of books or tracts. Men as a rule are willing and even anxious to discuss economic questions, provided the discussion arises naturally, but they resent anything that has the appearance of a premeditated effort to convert them from their own views to yours. Don't force the conversation, but try to lead it naturally to the discussion of taxes or rents or wages or poverty or in some direction which will give you an opportunity of stating and defending your views. Encourage your guests to talk, get them to state their objections to the single tax theory as fully as possible; in doing this they will inevitably make it easier for you to answer them. Don't be in too great a hurry to triumph over them in discussion; bear in mind that your chief object is to make them think and to get them so interested that they will

Sic in the original; probably "Numbers are not essential".

have to think almost in spite of themselves. If you manage rightly your friends will go away with the memory of a very pleasant evening, with a new found respect for your opinions, and with a sincere desire to have some further talk with you.

Thus in the course of two or three meetings you can gather around you a little cluster of inquirers after truth. As you find their interest developing you can introduce the reading of "Progress and Poverty" and of some of the tracts of the land and labor library; you can persuade your friends to subscribe for THE STANDARD; get them to bring their own friends to your meetings; communicate the flame of enthusiasm to them and make them fully as anxious as yourself to spread the light. Thus within a very few months your little anti-poverty society will become an influential center of thought, and without making yourself disagreeably prominent you will be steadily gaining recruits to the ranks of the new crusade.

And don't forget to let THE STANDARD know what you are doing. The story of your work will spur on others to go to work also; your success will encourage them as theirs will encourage you. Just think what marvelous results may be achieved if in every town or village where THE STANDARD circulates such a society as we have described were actively at work!

The recruiting fund grows slowly. It has received the following contributions during the past two weeks:

Patrick Kearney	$ 50
Georgean	15
J. L. Shoemaker	1 00
S. H. R.	5 00
An Anti-Povertyite	5 00
O. C. Sullivan	1 00
C. C. McHugh	1 00
J. J. Vogely	1 00
G. W. Wood	2 75
Aldor Rohan	1 75
X Y Z	25
George A. Miller	1 00
McBarry	3 00
'ammer 'ammer 'ammer	2 00
Total for the week	$25 40
Previously acknowledged	$1,985 07
Total to date	$2,010 47

You all know the purpose of this fund. It serves to send books and tracts and papers to those who need them, either for their own perusal or for distribution, but cannot afford to pay for them. It needs help. There is work for it to do which cannot be done for want of money.

Avoid Hasty Action.

> BOSTON, Mass.—I advocate placing Cleveland electors at the head of our ticket. I may stand alone in this opinion and I fancy I hear the cry, "No trading with the enemy." But let us see.
>
> Probably a majority of the united labor party believe it will be a long series of years before we shall have our principles stamped upon the statute books of the country. I have such confidence in the rapid progress of our ideas that I believe we shall elect the president of the United States in 1892, and I warn the members of our party while they lift their eyes to the horizon to catch a glimpse of the rising sun of victory in the distance to beware of the perils at our feet. We must not forget that the republican party is the body and soul of monopoly, the enemy we have sworn to destroy.
>
> While I am strenuous in advocating these ideas, I deem it unwise to bind the party to any definite course of action at present. The two great parties will nominate their candidates late in June, making the campaign a long one of four months or more, giving us ample time to act, and we will be in position to act more understandingly. I believe that God is with us, and that the best way to put ourselves under the guidance of the Almighty is to allow ourselves to be governed by events.
>
> EDWARD P. FAXON.

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JEREMY BENTHAM.

The Real Author of the Australian System of Voting.

On the 6th of June, 1832, in the full possession of his faculties at the ripe age of eighty-four, there passed over a man, who was to the science of legislation what Copernicus, Galileo and Newton combined were to astronomy and physics.

To the students of Bentham's writings, his genius in that branch of science seems to have been almost omniscient. With rare exceptions, all improvements in morals or legislation which have been effected in the century now drawing to a close are to be traced to his writings; the only exception which I recall is that of the proportional system of representation, and even that was discovered by two of Bentham's disciples working independently of each other among peoples differing in laws, languages and manners. The minds of Thomas Hare of England and Dr. Andrae of Denmark had been trained in the school of Bentham, and applying themselves to the problem of providing a real representation of the people to replace our existing shams, both hit almost simultaneously and unknown to one another on the almost perfect device of the proportional system.

Among political reforms, the system of voting called the Australian system is now coming prominently to the front. Of its great merit there can be no question, but it should really be looked upon as only a part of the far more important "proportional system." To call it "the Australian system" is to deprive it of a great part of its weight by concealing its author. It is Australian only in that the colonists of Australia were the first to adopt it. The entire system will be found in all its details in vol. 3 of the collected works of Bentham in the radical reform bill (see particularly secs. 5 and 9).

In my "draft of a constitution for Colorado," published in 1875, this system of voting was provided for, but the credit of originality was expressly ascribed to Jeremy Bentham, as it has been in subsequent publications by the same author.

A curious instance of unconscious appropriation has occurred in my experience. On several occasions I have claimed the authorship of a system of nominating candidates to be found in the reformers' reform bill, published about 1865, in "The Draft of a Constitution," published in 1875, and in "Scientific Legislation Practical," published in 1887. Referring recently to the radical reform bill of Bentham I found what I believed to be my own invention set forth in that work, and recognize that the idea must have been obtained from the writings of the master.

It was well said by one of the French disciples of Bentham that his is a well of wisdom constantly pillaged, but constantly full to overflowing. Were our law schools deserving of that name, were our literary colleges worthy of support, not one of their students would ever be granted a certificate of proficiency until the aspirant for such honor had proved himself possessed of a knowledge of at least the elementary principles of legislative science—a knowledge to be acquired (at least up to the present date) only from the works of Jeremy Bentham.

In the absence of such teaching our literary colleges, and, above all, our law schools, train up their students to become pedants, generally fettered in grooves, from which few have mental capacity to escape. Few can bear "the pain of a new idea," and thus we go on from year to year adding to the monstrous pile of evil legislation, fettering human action by absurd restrictions, impoverishing and enslaving the many for the advantage of the few.

MONTAGUE R. LEVERSON.

Make Local Nominations Only.

NEW YORK.—Human progress is confronted by a stone wall built up of class and credal prejudice and private and corporate privileged monopoly. All of us agree that this stay to man's advance must be removed, and by peaceable methods. All that divides us is the question, "How?" Some advocate the throwing of our forces into national politics, a battling for the presidential chair, a solid front for principle, the winning of a moral victory even if it be a practical defeat. All this is grand and noble, and I like its ringing sound; but when a boy I learned that he who flushes the covey must be a quick shot to bag the game. The dropping of a bird here and there saves powder and makes glad the heart of the hunter.

Is not quiet educational work through our anti-poverty and labor club organizations, which are springing up all over the country, and the nomination and possible election of single tax legislators and congressmen, a more effective means of gaining our end than the entering into a national campaign in which the bitterness of partisan politics must inevitably swamp all the intelligent action on the part of the average voter which our earnestness and enthusiasm can arouse?

This seems to me the more clearly true since the late presidential message, for Mr. Cleveland's utterances must undoubtedly divide the whole forces of the two grand (?) old parties into well defined free trading and protectionist office seekers, to the total obscuration of any such interests as land or labor. Let them fight it out. They will do good work for us in teaching the people practically that there is but one true and lasting reform, but one way to abolish the grinding want, and fear of want, which to-day dwarfs, distorts and degrades all men, and that is to repeal all methods of taxation upon labor and the products of labor and tax only the rental value of land.

In my opinion it is at present wise to simply strengthen our ranks by educational club organizations, from which centers to ramify our influence as best we can, and if in any sections we act politically to do so only in municipal and state affairs, and only then in such cases as evidence good chances of success. Above all, nominate as candidates only those who are known to be thoroughly grounded in the single tax principle.

WM. J. GORSUCH.

Protection for the Infant Industry of Being a Custom House Officer.

ANNISTON, Ala.—It is easier to see the beam in another man's eye than the mote in one's own eye. A man need only travel abroad to appreciate the nonsense of protective tariffs. I went to Havana, Cuba, with a schooner load of lumber. Five custom house officers boarded the vessel as soon as she arrived and remained on board until she was unloaded. I think their wages and keep must have amounted to as much as the whole profit on the cargo. Think of hard working people having to labor to support such drones.

PATRICK P. BAILEY.

Why Should We Not Strive to Control Schools Wherever Possible?

RED BUD, Ill.—Next in importance of getting the voters of the United States to think our way is the task of getting the rising generation instructed properly and truly. To control schools as much as possible should be our aim. The fierce opposition this would make would make school elections more interesting and bring up our principles every-

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where for discussion. Do doubt[sic] many school districts could be controlled by the united labor party; no good objection could be made if as good teachers can be secured favorable to the object, and the reading matter furnished free to the pupils and kept the property of the respective school district. A child may be taught to think right on social and political problems, and even enjoy studying them. This is too much neglected, and the reading matter selected is often of the most indifferent kind, where it might as well be more useful.

LOUIS LESAULNIER.

Seed Sowing in Baltimore.

BALTIMORE, Md.—Professor F. H. Garside's recent address at Rechabite hall was a grand success, notwithstanding the bad weather. With the assistance of some friends I distributed a number of tracts, and while doing so heard many words of approval among the audience.

One man on whom I had been working for some time, and to whom I gave some tracts that night, told me afterward that Mr. Ring's Houston speech, "The Case Plainly Stated," gave him more light on the subject than anything else had done. I have a large supply of tracts left, which I shall make good use of. I have never seen one destroyed yet; but I have seen quite a number worn out with constant use.

JESSE KEEN, Rec. Sec.

Thinks Our Interest Lies in the Defeat of the Republican Party.

STONEHAM, Mass.—I do not agree with your correspondent from Troy that it is our duty to seek the defeat of the democratic candidate in the next election. On the contrary, I believe our interest lies in the defeat of the republican party, because it cannot long hold together if the pap and plunder, which is all that has kept it alive for many years past, are taken away. It shows signs of dissolution now. A few more blows will finish it; then there will be a fair field for the new party.

Sic in the original; probably "No doubt".

CYRUS MONROE.

Before the Y. M. C. A. of Cincinnati.

CINCINNATI, O.—On December 22 Mr. C. H. Fitch delivered an address before the senior department of the Young men's Christian association of this city on the subject of the single tax on land values. The present system of land tenure was principally dwelt upon as a heavy cloud on the young man's hope of achieving an honorable competence, and as an immoral force in the community, making it impossible for men to do business on Christian principles. The address was received with attentive interest and gratifying approval.

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[Advertisement] THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY

In Philadelphia will hold meetings every Sunday evening during December at Knights of Labor hall, 806 Gerard avenue. Commencing Jan. 1, 1888, at Lincoln hall, Broad street and Fairmont avenue. The monthly business meeting will be held Thursday, Jan. 5, 1888, at Odd Fellows' hall, corner Broad and Spring Garden streets. Everybody invited to attend.

By order Executive committee.

WM. J. ATKINSON, President, J. H. McINTYRE, Secretary.

[Advertisement] UNITED LABOR PARTY, COUNTY EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

Notice is hereby given that the GENERAL COMMITTEE of the UNITED LABOR PARTY of the city and county of New York will meet at Clarendon Hall, East Thirteenth street, on Thursday evening, January 12, 1888, at 8 o'clock. Delegates to said committee have been apportioned as follows:

District	Delegates
First assembly district	12
Second assembly district	13
Third assembly district	16
Fourth assembly district	19
Fifth assembly district	10
Sixth assembly district	14
Seventh assembly district	8
Eighth assembly district	8
Ninth assembly district	14
Tenth assembly district	12
Eleventh assembly district	5
Twelfth assembly district	11
Thirteenth assembly district	13
Fourteenth assembly district	13
Fifteenth assembly district	22
Sixteenth assembly district	19
Seventeenth assembly district	27

District	Delegates
Eighteenth assembly district	24
Nineteenth assembly district	25
Twentieth assembly district	18
Twenty-first assembly district	6
Twenty-second assembly district	[35?]
Twenty-third assembly district	[33?]
Twenty-fourth assembly district	13
Total	384

By order of the county executive committee.

JOHN McMACKIN, Chairman. WILLIAM B. CLARK, Secretary.

[Advertisement] UNITED LABOR PARTY, NINETEENTH Assembly District.

The election of officers for 1888 will take place at headquarters, Deubert's Hall, 122d street and Eighth avenue, on Thursday evening, January 12. All members are invited to attend.

EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE.

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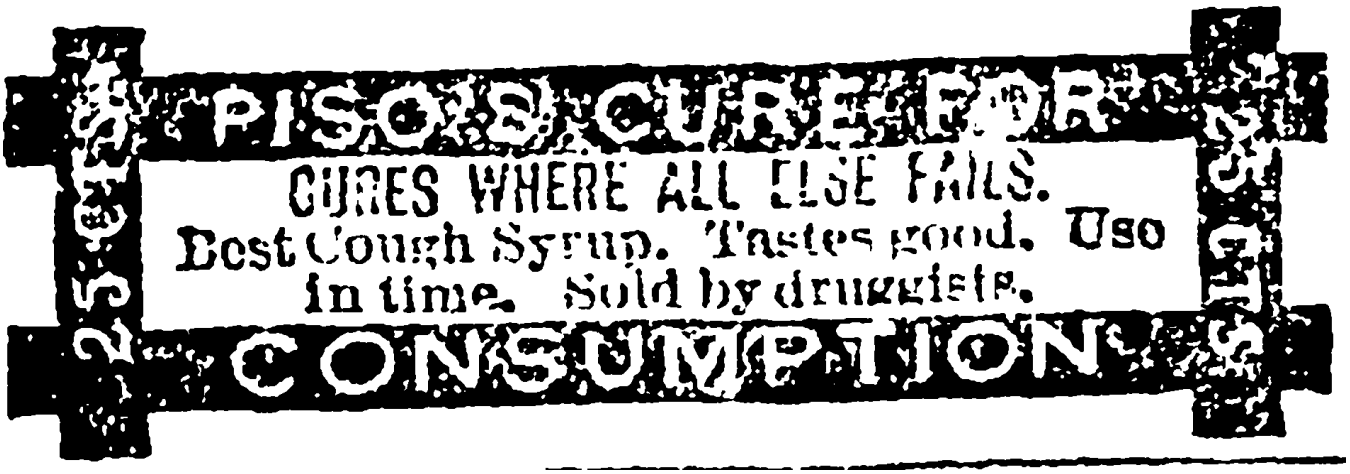
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[Advertisement] PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

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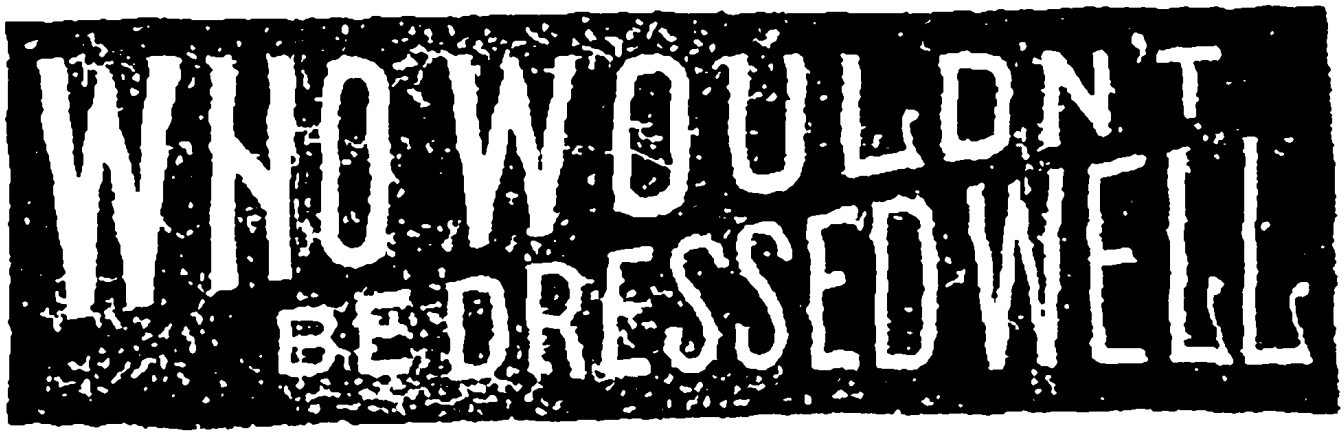
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- 1. Of method.
- 1. Protection as a universa[sic] need.
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- 1. Trade.
- 1. Production and producers.
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- 1. Tariffs for protection.
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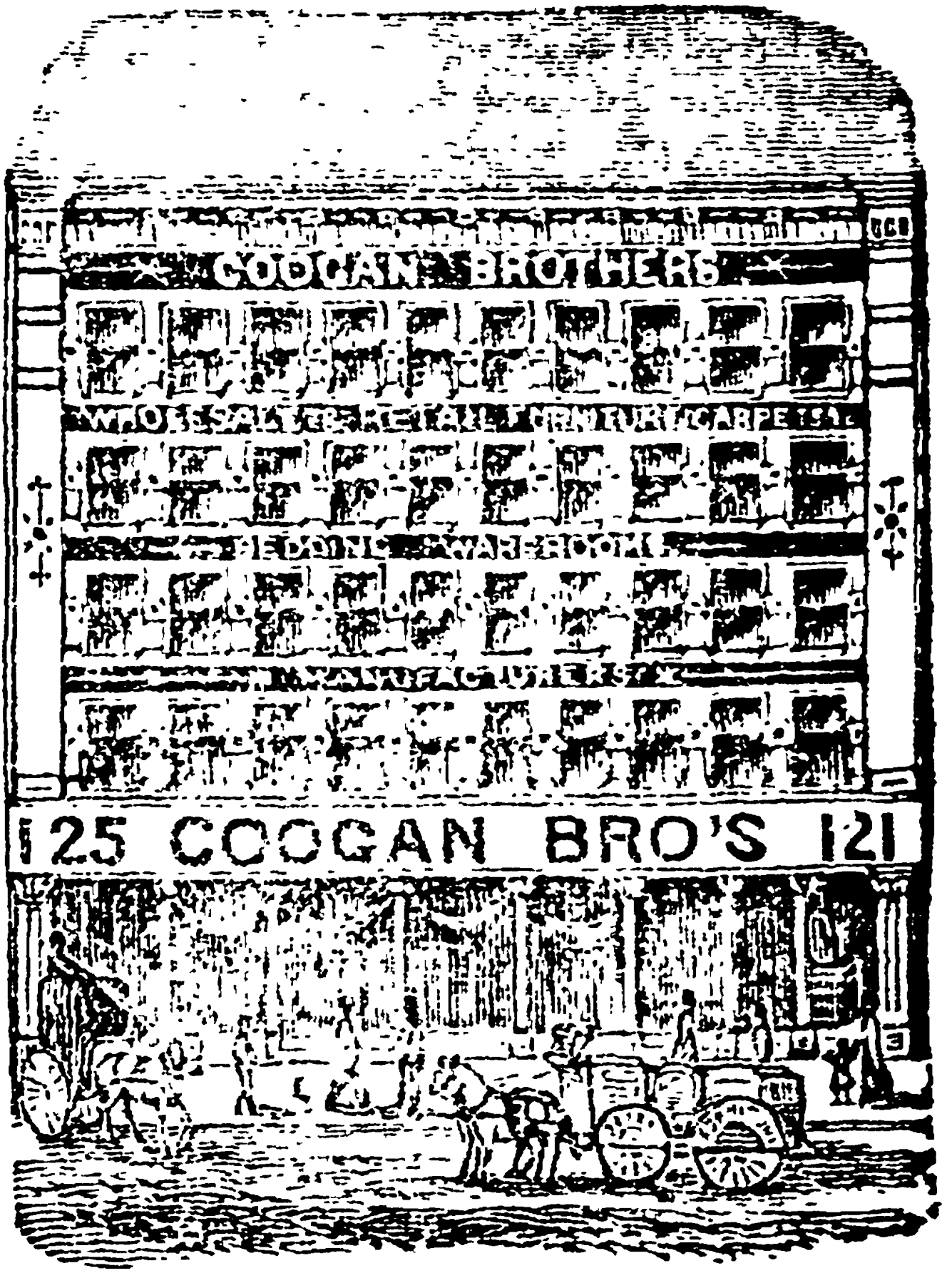


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