The Standard

Vol. III, No. 3 (Whole No. 55), January 21, 1888

Draft transcription · as of 2026-11-10 · henrygeorgethestandard.org/1888-01-21

Transcribed edition · henrygeorgethestandard.org/1888-01-21

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About this text (5 notes on this issue)

- `[word?]` is a best guess; `[illegible]` means unreadable. Line-end hyphens are joined. Misprints are kept as printed; letters judged to be broken type are written as intended but listed in the misprints (marked “broken type”).
- **Page 4, column 1** begins mid-sentence (“not before resigning, removed from office Mr. Le Barnes…”). No earlier page in this issue has the opening, so it may be missing from the scan; check the original.
- **Page 2, Anti-Poverty Society Treasurer’s Statement:** the worn figures don’t add up (receipts as read total $16,924.72; disbursements $16,808.75 against the printed $16,803.73). Check another copy.
- **Page 8 recruiting fund:** “S. C. Reeves” in the list, “S. C. Reese” signing the letter above.
- **Page 1 masthead:** a subscriber’s address label covers part of “VOL. III, NO. 3” and one headline word.



p1_fig1

[Display nameplate: “THE STANDARD” in large heavy display capitals]

THE STANDARD

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NO. 55—VOL. [obscured by pasted address label]O. 3. | NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1888. | PRICE FIVE CENTS

p. 1, col. 1

FREF LAND AND [word obscured by pasted address label] TRADE.

The correspondence, of which THE STANDARD has now published so much, with regard to the policy of presidential nominations by the united labor party has developed the fact that there are among our friends quite a number who while favoring the nomination of national candidates think it both unnecessary and inexpedient that we should take any ground upon the tariff question. Their notion seems to be that leaving the two old parties to “bark and bite” over the question of more protection or less protection, and invoking a plague on both their houses, we single tax men should make our fight on the lines of the Syracuse platform, on which, to some extent at least, both protectionists and free traders stood together in the late state campaign in New York. Dr. McGlynn, for instance, says in the letter which we published last week:

> When we shall have entered as a distinct party into the presidential contest on the lines of our Syracuse platform, I should feel recreant to a clear duty if I allowed myself to be diverted by any issue of tariff tinkering, or even by a contest for absolute free trade, from exclusive and unswerving support of our fundamental reform.

And one of the resolutions adopted by the county general committee, while it was waiting for a report last Thursday night, declared, after reaffirming the Syracuse platform, that—

> We are unitedly determined not to be diverted by any issue of tariff tinkering from exclusive and unswerving support of the fundamental reforms set forth in that platform.

Mr. Victor A. Wilder, our late candidate for state comptroller, in a letter, which will be found in another column, seems to think that the Syracuse platform was a compact between protectionists and free traders to ignore the tariff question in favor of the larger land question, not merely in a state campaign but in the national campaign which was expected to follow. THE STANDARD has also received a number of communications from friends who

insist that the tariff question ought to be left alone until the land question is settled, and who ask why it is not much more true that free land will lead to free trade than that free trade will lead to free land?

In all this there seems to me to be a very important fact ignored—the fact that we have two distinct governments and two distinct systems of taxation, viz., the national government with its tariff and excise taxes, and the state governments with their taxes upon property. Thus there are two distinct lines on which we must work to the accomplishment of our end, the concentration of taxes on land values. In state politics our line is to work for the abolition of the taxes now levied on personal property, improvements, etc.; and in national politics our line is to work for the abolition of tariff and excise taxes—at least so far as these are levied for other purposes than the promotion of health and morality. And as national elections alternate with state elections and national politics blend with state politics, we cannot without great waste of time and effort ignore one line of reform until we have been successful on the other. What our friends who talk of going into the national contest while yet ignoring the tariff question are thinking about, is in reality the making of a national fight on state lines. What they propose to do, if I correctly understand them, is to emphasize their desire to abolish taxes on personal property and improvements, and to take in taxation the full value of land, by voting for a president. But under our system as it exists to-day, the president has nothing to do with taxes on personal property and improvements. If we were by some miracle to elect a president upon a no-tariff-issue platform, what would be the very first question which he would, unless he were a wooden president, have to address himself to after taking office? Would it not be the tariff question?

The Syracuse platform states clearly the principles of the single tax—the principle of equal rights and equal freedom. In its declaration of what government ought to do, and what it ought not to attempt, as well as in its declaration against the taxation of industry and its products, it states this principle in a way that shows it to be utterly inconsistent with protective tariffs. That the platform did not in terms take ground against protection was not, as Mr. Wilder seems to think, the result of any bargain between protectionists and free traders to sink any differences that might legitimately have divided them in a state campaign, but of a general feeling against unnecessarily provoking dissension and opposition. There was no bargain or compromise, because, although there were a number of protectionists who spoke against any mention of the tariff in the platform, there was no free trader present that I know of who was in favor of going any further at that time than the general statement of principle. For the campaign to which we were addressing ourselves was one in which only state officers were to be elected, and in which only that line of our work that involves the abolition of

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axes on personal property[sic] and improvements could directly be followed. When we were moving on the direct line of concentrating taxation on land values, which our state system of taxation permits, it would have been worse than useless to have accentuated any difference which might exist between our friends as to the less direct line of national politics. But I for one did not see then any more than I see now, how it would be possible for us to formally enter national politics without a more explicit declaration upon the tariff question; and that such a declaration was involved in the Syracuse platform I never had the slightest doubt.

It does not seem to me that any one can fully realize the harmony and beauty of the simple scheme for restoring to men their natural rights in land by appropriating for public use the values which attach to land by social growth and improvement, without also seeing the falsity of the protective theory. But I also know that men generally see the truth by degrees and not at a flash, and I am perfectly conscious that there are many who are now in favor of applying the single tax principle within the domain of state legislation who are opposed to applying it in the domain of national legislation, or who at least would postpone it until state legislation can be secured. In state politics there is no reason for provoking any difference between such men and those who would move toward the single tax through national as well as state legislation as opportunity may offer. But when it comes to the field of

Sic in the original; probably “taxes on personal property”.

national politics, the only way in which the two could keep together would be for them to agree together to virtually keep out of the fight. And to run a candidate for president on the line of state measures while a national contest over the question of federal taxation was going on would virtually be to keep out of the fight. We might take that occasion to hold meetings and make speeches in favor of the application of our principles to state legislation; but for this a presidential election would be not an opportune, but a most inopportune, occasion. Under our system of government, national politics very largely dominate state politics, and it is comparatively easy to bring national issues into state campaigns, but correspondingly difficult to bring state issues into national campaigns.

As for those of our friends who think we ought to leave protection undisturbed until we have succeeded in taking land values for public benefit, and those who express the same underlying thought by asking why free land will not lead to free trade much more naturally than free trade will lead to free land, it seems to me that they can hardly fully realize the great object which is to be attained by the single tax, nor yet the practical means by which the adoption of this single tax is to be secured. Like those who oppose us, or at least fail to go with us from sheer inability to see how the taxation of land values can abolish poverty, their mental gaze seems to be concentrated on what we propose to do, ignoring what we propose to do away with. The great benefit of the appropriation of land values to public use would not be in the revenue that it would give, so much as in the abolition of restrictions upon the free play of productive forces that it would involve or permit. It is not by the mere levying of a tax that we propose to abolish poverty; it is by "securing the blessings of liberty."

The abolition of all taxes that restrain production or hamper exchange, the doing away with all monopolies and special privileges that enable one citizen to levy toll upon the industries of other citizens, is an integral part of our programme. To merely take land values in taxation for public purposes would not of itself suffice. If the proceeds were spent in maintaining useless parasites or standing armies, labor might still be oppressed and harried by taxes and special privileges. We might still have poverty, and people might still beg for alms or die of starvation. What we are really aiming at is, to use the language of the Syracuse platform, "the freedom of the individual to use his labor and capital in any way that may seem proper to him and will not interfere with the equal rights of others," and "to leave to the producer the full fruits of his exertion." To do this it is necessary to abolish land monopoly. And it is also necessary to abolish tariffs.

What we should strike at first is not a matter entirely within our own selection. If we had but one government and but one system of taxation, and could of ourselves force a political issue, it might be best to concentrate all efforts on the exemption from taxation of personal property and improvements. But since we have two governments and two systems of taxation it seems to me clear that while we should in state politics follow that line which relates to state taxation, so we should in national politics follow that line which relates to national taxation. And especially is this true when a question of taxation becomes a general issue, as is likely tu be the case[sic] in the coming national election.

What as to method seems to be ignored by our friends who would have us refrain from attacking protection until we have abolished land monopoly by taxing

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land values, is this:—that what we have practically to do to attain our ends in taxation, is not to impose but to abolish. In our states, where we already raise part of our taxes from land values, all we have to do to reach the point where all revenues shall be raised from land values is to get rid of one tax after another. As these are abolished, the tax on land values must increase. In our general government, the same policy of abolishing the taxes now levied, will first reduce that part of the cost of federal taxation to the people that now goes into private pockets or is utterly wasted. Next, it will reduce the extravagant and unnecessary revenues that are the cause of

Sic in the original; probably "as is likely to be the case".

extravagant and demoralizing expenditure. And finally, if we can keep up the process of tax abolition, it will force the federal government to have recourse for the small revenues it really needs, either to a direct apportionment among the states, to the taking of some proportion of land values, or to some independent taxes which would at least not check production and foster monopolies.

But while there are two lines of tax abolition which we may follow as state taxation or national taxation comes uppermost, yet what we may do on the one line to awaken thought and arouse discussion tells on the other line as well. We cannot advocate the abolition of state taxes on the products of labor and their concentration on the value of land, without in reality undermining ideas which support protection, although some of those who are drawn to us may not at once see it; nor yet can we show the fallacies of protection and advocate the abolition of tariffs, without also furnishing reasons for the abolition of all taxes that put a fine on industry and hamper the production of wealth.

And provided the question of tax abolition gets into practical politics in such a way that the great body of the people will be forced to take sides upon it, it matters little how small be the reduction upon which issue is nominally joined. An actual struggle in state politics between the great parties over such a proposition as that made by Mayor Hewitt to exempt personal property from taxation in the city would do more in one election for popular education than could be done by a long course of such campaigns of propaganda as we made in this state last year; and protection has more to fear from any proposal of tariff tinkering which would make an issue between the the great national parties than it has from any advocacy of the entire abolition of tariffs outside of practical politics. For when even a small part of a large principle can be bought into the issue[sic] of practical politics, the heat and stimulation of the contest is certain to carry men far further than they in the beginning dream.

Mayor Hewitt has explained to a reporter that his opinions upon the subject of the exemption of personal property from taxation have been in no wise affected by our agitation, but have been held by him for many years. This is quite true, and Mayor Hewitt is also on record as expressing very radical ideas on the subject of the unearned increment of land values. What our agitation has accomplished is to pave the way for bringing such ideas into practical politics, and this we hope Mayor Hewitt will lend his great influence to do. He has already received many letters of congratulation and indorsement, and even the *Sun* has this to say:

> Mayor Hewitt has the right idea about taxation.
>
> The rule of statesmanship is that taxes should be so imposed as to fall with the greatest possible equality upon the whole people, and so as to interfere the least possible with the establishment and the prosperity of every sort of business.
>
> The more strongly capital and business are attracted to a place, and the more active and prosperous they are in that place, the better it is; and, as we say, it is the duty of statesmanship so to arrange taxation that it shall not drive away business or capital.

So great reforms progress. First, as has been said, an idea is preposterous, and not even to be noticed. Second, it is against religion. Third, "everybody knows that!" Are there not signs that the single tax idea is already emerging from the second and beginning to enter the third stage?

A great meeting of the young men's Catholic societies of New York was held in Chickering hall on Monday evening. The archbishop was present and many of his clergy, as well as the newly elected supreme court judge, Morgan J. O'Brien, State Senator Ives and other influential Catholic laymen. Significant of the temper of the

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Sic in the original; probably "can be brought into the issue".

gathering was the display of a magnificent papal flag, the emblem of the temporal sovereignty of the pope, and the honors accorded to a number of the survivors of the papal legion, who years ago went to Rome for the purpose of shooting down Italian patriots struggling for the unification of their country. These veterans of the cause of divine right as against free institutions were decked out in the papal uniform and occupied front seats, being accorded as great honors as though they had been soldiers of liberty. The most notable speech was that in which Senator Ives denounced our public schools, declaring that there can be nothing more pernicions in a country[sic] with a

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popular form of government than purely secular schools.

The truth is just the reverse of this. Nothing can be more pernicious in a country with a popular form of government than religious schools; and this not because they teach religion, but because, necessarily, and totally irrespective of what is taught in them, they foster bigotry and engender prejudice. The great merit of our public schools, and the great necessity for public schools in a country like ours, is that they bring together children of all creeds and classes and thus wear away the prejudices that must inevitably arise where children of one creed or class are kept from association with children of other creeds or classes. People hate each other and despise each other just in proportion as they are kept separate from each other; and the most important lesson which many a boy and girl learns in our public schools is that children of other faiths, which the narrower teachings of home and Sunday school might lead them to despise, are just as intelligent, just as conscientious, just as kindly, and just as lovable as anyone else. To our public schools more than to any other of our institutions is due the growth of that spirit of tolerance between various creeds which is so marked in the United States. And the effect of religious schools may be seen in Ireland and Canada, where the line of creed marks a clear political and social distinction, and religious prejudice is almost if not quite as rampant as in the days when men burned each other for religious differences and murdered each other for the love of God. The great political weakness of Ireland to-day is the religious prejudices which have been largely perpetuated by the separate education of religious schools. Had it not been for the feud between Protestant and Catholic, England could not have kept Ireland in subjection; and this feud is at the present time the great force which enables the British oligarchy to deny home rule to Ireland. So in Canada, the distinction of religion fostered by separate schools, which also perpetuate a distinction in language, constitutes the greatest political difficulty of the present and the greatest political danger of the future.

The evil of religious schools lies not in the religious teaching. Neither in Catholic schools, nor in Protestant schools, nor in Jewish schools, does the religious teaching given inculcate prejudice against those of other religious beliefs. But the evil lies in the separation of children of one faith from children of other faiths; in the promoting of that segregation which causes the spontaneous generation of prejudices, and in the restraint upon that intercourse which is the best solvent of prejudice. If we were to maintain separate schools for red headed children, white headed children, and brown headed children, they would infallibly give rise to a certain amount of red headed, white headed, and brown headed clannishness and prejudice, and perhaps at length to red headed, white headed, and brown headed politics. How much stronger, then, are the clannishness and prejudice which arise from the gathering into separate schools of children of different religious beliefs?

As for the notion that children are to be made religious, or even moral, by getting doses of religion with their reading, writing, arithmetic, and geography, it is preposterous in theory and disproved by fact. Creeds, catechisms, prayers and Bible readings mixed up with study and play, and forced on children when they are in no mood for them, have the effect sought in those curative establishments where to disgust the drunkard with liquor everything he can eat, drink or smell is flavored with it. And it is in clannishness and prejudice, in enmities of race and nation and locality and class and creed that despotism always finds its best tools. Here is the depth of Christ's

Sic in the original; probably "nothing more pernicious in a country".

teaching that men should love, not hate, one another. For it is through their hates that men have everywhere been enslaved.

The honors paid to the flag of the temporal sovereignty and the survivors of the papal legion at this meeting, which, ostensibly held in the honor of Pope Leo XIII, was virtually a demonstration against our public schools, are significant. There can be no doubt that the great majority of American Catholics are opposed to the temporal sovereignty of the pope, and would be to-day in sympathy with the demand of Italian patriotism for the unification of Italy. They are constantly put in a false position in this respect by hierarchical authority and the small but active ultramontane faction. It is the same influences which are constantly stirring up Catholics to war against our public schools.

But, on the other hand, the bigotry of Protestants has largely aided the Catholic hierarchy. Here in New York, for instance, the spirit of our institutions and of religious fairness is violated by the rule which requires the reading of a chapter from the Bible at the opening of the public schools. This is a relic of Protestant Bibliolatry that ought to be suppressed. The Bible has no more business in our schools than has the Koran or the Book of Mormon. The grand lessons and inspiring truths that are to be found in its pages fall

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flat and meaningless when read by an indifferent teacher to careless pupils; and it serves but as a stumbling block and rock of offense to those who prefer another version or do not believe in the Bible at all. The state ought to have nothing whatever to do with religious observances, and religion will be all the purer and all the stronger the less it is meddled with by the state.

Alfred Russell Wallace[sic], the distinguished naturalist, and the president of the British Land Nationalization Society, who passed through this country last year on a lecturing trip, has since his return home delivered a lecture, entitled "Land Lessons in America," which has been printed in tract form by the Land Nationalization Society. Mr. Wallace sees very clearly, and has stated with much force in his books, pamphlets and speeches, the essential injustice of private property in land and the gross evils which result from it. He has never, however, fully "seen the cat," as Judge Maguire would say, and while failing to realize how the simple measure of appropriating land values by taxation would secure equal rights in land, has always been hampered with the idea that it was necessary, before doing anything, to compensate present owners. Consequently, he and the society of which he is president have advocated a scheme of nationalization, the main features of which consist in state purchase of the land from its present owners and its allotment in small portions to occupying tenants.

What Mr. Wallace saw in America has very properly convinced him that such reforms as the abolition of entail and primogeniture, complete registration and simple transfer of land titles, etc., will avail nothing whatever in abolishing land monopoly. But the strange thing is, that he adds to this list of inefficient remedies the complete taxation of ground rents, and in support of this makes the following astounding statement:

> Now this complete taxation of ground rents exists in America to a most thorough and complete extent. Every particle of land under private ownership is taxed on its full selling value, and the American owner very often thinks it *is* taxed above its value. Whether it is built on or cultivated, it does not matter, the land is taxed to its full value, and you must remember that the land and property taxes there are not as they are here, a mere fragment of the taxation of the country, for there they practically comprise the whole taxation of the several states. . . . Consequently ground rents are taxed to their full value.

"The results," Mr. Wallace naively says, "are very curious." What he considers results would indeed he very curious[sic] if they flowed from the cause he assigns. Thus he states them:

Sic in the original; probably "Alfred Russel Wallace".
Sic in the original; probably "would indeed be very curious".

> Land speculation, which we think is bad enough with us, is but a trifle here compared with what it is in America. In America land speculation is everywhere excessive. It is the great mode of making money, and it exists more or less all over the country wherever land is for sale and is not monopolized by great capitalists. This taxation on full values, however, usually causes very rapid changes of ownership. Men buy land on speculation for the purpose of selling it again quickly. They will not hold it long, because if it is not used the taxes will eat it up. Then somebody else buys it and sells it again pretty quickly, and thus land is continually changing owners until it is used for occupation or cultivation or for building. But the result of this rapid change of ownership—of each person trying to make a profit—is that land very rapidly acquires in America a price as high as in old settled countries like England and very often even higher. I was perfectly amazed to find the enormous prices which land brought in America, not only when in the center of great cities, but even in the smaller places which are surrounded by a comparatively unpopulated country.

Mr. Wallace goes on to give some examples of the enormous values at which land is held in this country in spite of the great areas yet unused; to note the rapidity with which agricultural tenancy is making its way in the United States, and to speak of the impression made upon his mind by the closeness of our city building and the absence of gardens and yards to our city houses. The English hearers and readers of Mr. Wallace may well wonder at these "curious results" of the complete taxation of ground rents in America, and this testimony of the president of the Land Nationalization Society will doubtless be extensively quoted on the other side of the Atlantic as proof positive that the taking of land values in taxation would do nothing to remedy the evils of land monopoly.

It may, therefore, be worth while to say, for the benefit of English readers of THE STANDARD, that nothing like the complete taxation of land values exists in the United States, and that the intensity of land speculation which Mr. Wallace takes for the curious result of this taxation is, indeed, the conclusive proof that it does not exist. The scintilla of truth that Mr. Wallace has got hold of, is that our laws call for the *assessment* of land at its full selling value. Even if this were carried out it would not amount to "the taxation of land to its full value," or to the "complete taxation of ground rents," but would, under our system of taxing improvements and personal property, still leave to individuals a sufficient portion of the "unearned increment" to promote speculation and encourage monopoly. But the fact is, that our laws in respect to full assessment are a dead letter, and that all over the United States the practice is to assess land values, when the

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land is built upon or improved, at a much higher rate than the value of similar land is assessed when the land is not built upon or improved. The difference in the assessment of used and unused land ranges from a difference between two-thirds and one-half in some places, to a difference between full value and a mere nominal fraction in other places. For in spite of the fact that our state laws call for the equal assessment of all property at its true selling value, the false notion that the taxation on property ought to be in proportion to the income the owner is deriving from it has so far dominated public opinion as to justify our assessors in practically disregarding their oaths and nullifying the laws.

Mr. Wallace's lecture, though marred by this queer blunder, was an interesting one. He was forcibly impressed, as every European must be, by the vast area of our country and the energy of its people, especially as shown by what is best described as the "go-aheadativeness" of the smaller and newer towns. But the very rate of our material progress is, he clearly sees, forcing upon us faster than upon any other people the problem of the distribution of wealth.

"Progress and Poverty," translated by P. L. Le Monnier, and "Protection or Free Trade?" translated by Louis Vossion, have recently been issued in Paris by the publishing house of Guillaumin et Cie, 44 rue Richelieu. Both are beautifully printed, as are, in fact, all the European editions of my books. Our New York printers say they cannot do such work, except on very expensive books, because they have not the paper, our tariff duties on paper and paper stock condemning them to the use of inferior material. The price of these French editions is nine francs

each, or $1.80 of our money. As the duty on them is twenty-five per cent (which I am obliged to pay even on the complimentary copies sent me by courtesy of the publishers) they will cost here about $2.75.

"Progress and Poverty" has been pretty extensively reviewed in France. But the first French review of "Protection or Free Trade?" I have seen is in the *Journal des Economistes* for December. The reviewer, Sophie Raffalovich, who is a free trader of the Cobden club sort, is evidently in total ignorance of my former works, and has gained from newspaper and magazine comments a vague idea that I am some kind of an American communist, who advocates the cutting up of the land into little equal pieces, the destruction of machinery and the general division of property; and she is evidently astonished that in the work which she has happened to read I have so well concealed my leveling and destructive propensities. She says:

> Mr. George's last work is also his best. In reading it one has difficulty to understand how it is that the same writer has heretofore advocated so many errors—that he is the advocate of the nationalization of the soil, the enemy of machinery and of progress; that he has accepted as his own the ideas of Proudhon and has pushed those ideas with so much hardihood and vim as to make them seem almost new.
>
> Mr. George by no means renounces his anti-economic doctrines; the last part of "Protection or Free Trade?" proves this; but on the question of free trade Mr. George talks like an economist. He defends the good cause with the same talent which he has heretofore used in advocating false theories. It would be impossible to present the arguments in favor of free trade better, or to show better the inconsequence of the arguments of the protectionists and the evil results which follow the application of their doctrines. All of the book which is devoted to free trade (the first 300 pages) is really remarkable, and it is by no means a small triumph to have succeeded in writing an original and strong work upon a question so much debated, and to say something really new and really true after the great champions of free trade, Cobden, Bright, Bastiat, De Molinari and Sumner. This is really a triumph, and Mr. George has gained it.
>
> He takes up one by one all the old arguments brought forward by the protective theorists, and exposes all their sophisms. But what gives greater interest to his argument is that he has been converted by his own reflections to a knowledge of the many evils of the system which he attacks. He commenced by being a protectionist, and for this very reason he understands the better all the arguments on which protectionists rely so much.

Mlle. Raffalovich quotes approvingly a number of extracts from "Protection or Free Trade?" but what especially excites her astonishment is that I should actually endeavor to show that "middlemen" render services in production; that "the trader is not a mere 'useless exchanger,' who 'adds nothing to the real wealth of society;' but that the transporting, storing and exchanging of things are as necessary a part of the work of supplying human needs as the growing, extracting or making;" and that I should even include in the category of useful laborers, the investigator, the philosopher, the teacher, the artist, the poet and the priest. "Who," she asks, "could expect to hear this from the author of 'Progress and Poverty?'"—

> He who by any exertion of mind or body adds to the aggregate of enjoyable wealth, increases the sum of human knowledge or gives to human life higher elevation or greater fullness—he is in the large meaning of the words, a "producer," a "workingman," a "laborer," and is honestly earning honest wages.

In conclusion Mlle. Raffalovich says:

> Mr. George's book is not unworthy of such a dedication [to the memory of Quesnay, Turgot, etc.] There is in it so much truth, so much elevation of mind and eloquence, that continued on p. 2 →

[page 1 ends here mid-sentence; continuation page not stated]

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[continued from page 1]

← continued from p. 1 the only regret of the reader will be that the author did not stop with the discussion of "Protection or Free Trade?" and leave the last one hundred pages for another volume. In that case there would have been no fault to find.

And, she might have added, there would have been no use in writing the book. It would certainly have been unworthy of its dedication to those true free traders, the illustrious Frenchmen who in the last century proposed the removal of all restrictions upon production and exchange by the adoption of the single tax. What makes "Protection or Free Trade?" the most thorough and conclusive work on the tariff question yet published is the hundred pages which Mlle. Raffalovich would omit. It is impossible to fully understand the tariff question or to thoroughly expose the fallacies of protection without referring to the land question.

Of M. Vossion's work of translation, Mlle. Raffalovich speaks in the very highest terms, as being a faithful rendering into French of the spirit and style of the original, and is even inclined to pardon the "excessive enthusiasm for the other doctrines of Henry George" displayed by M. Voisson in his preface[sic], because "had he not been a little blinded the translator might not so well have accomplished his task." The personal matters mentioned in this sympathetic preface I am not responsible for, nor is it necessary for me to speak further than to say that Mr. Parnell might justly object to being called a close friend of mine; and Mr. Powderly, to the manner in which M. Voisson has coupled him[8] with Dr. McGlynn and myself as an advocate of the single tax.

The San Francisco *Star*, which is doing good and earnest work for the single tax principle, seems to think from what I had recently to say about Mr. Powderly's advocacy of a postal telegraph that I do not think that measure in itself a good one. This is a mistake. I believe that the reasons for government carrying of telegraphic messages to be as strong as the reasons for government carrying of letters. But while I am glad to see the leaders of the Knights of Labor urging the postal telegraph, I do not want to see this measure used to call attention from more important matters.

An association called the United States Postal Improvement Association, of which Herbert Myrick of Springfield, Mass., is secretary, has been formed for the purpose of circulating petitions to congress for the improvement of the postal service. It seeks—

1. A reduction in the postage on seeds, bulbs, plants and coins.

2. A reissue of fractional currency, for use in the mails.

3. Abolition of the present unsafe and inconvenient postal notes.

Sic in the original; probably "M. Vossion".
Sic in the original; probably "M. Vossion".

4. Provision for the issuance of postal money orders in sums of $5 or less for a fee of three cents.

Any individual or business firm may become a member of this association upon payment of five dollars, and blank petitions will be sent to those who wish them, upon application to the secretary. The objects of the association ought to be pressed on congress. The rate of postage on seeds and bulbs, etc., was only 8 cents per pound up to 1874. The doubling of the rate in that year was simply a job of the express companies, and this job ought to be undone. The Canadian rate for seeds, plants, etc., is only 4 cents a pound and the English rate is only 6 cents, or 12 cents for three pounds. The reduction in the fee for small postal orders would also be a move in the right direction.

As for the postal notes, they are simply a very bad substitute for the fractional currency that was called in and destroyed. Both postal notes and postal orders require from the man who sends them and the man who receives them a journey to the post office, which, to the majority of our citizens is a great inconvenience. Fractional currency, which can be passed from hand to hand, is the most convenient possible way of sending small sums. The objection made to fractional currency on the score of filthiness is not in reality an objection to the currency itself, but only an objection to the way in which it was managed by the government.

We could have a clean fractional currency just as readily as the people of Great Britain have clean Bank of England notes. All that is necessary to do is to adopt the same system. The Bank of England never reissues a note. Whenever one is received, it is destroyed and a fresh one is issued, and so the fractional currency, or at any rate such of it that is in the slightest degree soiled, should be destroyed as soon as received at any government depository and new currency issued in its place. This is a mere matter of paper and printing, and the profit to the government from the currency issued and never presented again would much more than pay for the printing.

Another improvement which is much needed is the adoption of an international postage stamp, which could be used in any of the countries of the international postal union. This would greatly facilitate intimate intercourse between the people of the civilized world, and thus tend to the destruction of those national prejudices which maintain standing armies and protective tariffs.

And so with international newspaper postage, our present rates are far too high. THE STANDARD can be sent all over the United States and Canada at the rate of one cent a pound, but it costs one cent for each copy to send it to England and two cents for each copy to send it to Australia.

The Australian system of voting is

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steadily growing in public favor. Several bills embodying more or less of its principles have been introduced in the legislature of this state. In the Kentucky and some other legislatures bills have also been introduced.

As there is much demand for information about the Australian system, City Chamberlain William M. Ivins has placed at the disposal of the readers of THE STANDARD a number of copies of his pamphlet entitled “Machine Politics, and Money in Elections in New York City,” in which a full account is given of the Australian system of voting, and the gross evils in our politics which it would remedy are vividly portrayed.

Such of our readers as desire a copy of this pamphlet can procure it by forwarding a two cent stamp to the STANDARD office, for postage.

Blank petitions to the New York legislature in favor of the Australian system of voting can also be obtained by application to this office.

HENRY GEORGE.

Anti-Poverty in Chelsea, Mass.

CHELSEA, Mass.—Last Sunday evening our Universalist minister, Rev. S. W. Sample, gave a regular anti-poverty talk to his congregation of several hundred people. His subject was "The Problem of Poverty," and he mastered it in manly fashion. Mr. Sample was among the first to send a "God speed" to THE STANDARD, as your early numbers show. He clearly expounded the land value tax principle, showed its justice, and maintained its absolute necessity as a co-worker with the spiritual and moral development of man from the poverty stricken condition in which he is becoming every day more engulfed. The outlines and principles adopted by the mother anti-poverty society were read in full, and I can assure you that the idea of red flags and robbery were dispelled from his audience. He advised the people to carefully read the "new economy" on the subject and not judge from newspaper talk with its wild misrepresentation and cowardly ridicule. Be assured you have a good worker and preacher in this reverend gentleman, earnest, bold and strong.

THATCHER.

Government Ownership of Railroads.

BRENTWOOD, N. Y.—The united labor party, now but in the early days of its childhood, is leading men to understand wherein the machinery of our government is rusty. In advocating that the railroads should be under the fostering care of the government it has undertaken the emancipation of hundreds of thousands of industrial slaves. Under government control rates could be lowered, passenger fares, where now three cents per mile, no doubt going down to one and a half. Thousands of the residents of large cities, now confined to the narrow quarters of tenement houses, could remove to the suburbs and live in a home of their own. The reason of the opposition to government control of railroads lies in the fact that legislative bodies usually bow to the will of the moneyed magnates of the country. There should be a general demand by the people upon the state legislatures to overthrow the power of the railroad kings by putting the roads under the control of the people. An oligarchy has no place in a republic.

THOMAS E. BOLAND.

Mr. Pentecost in Brooklyn and Newark.

Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost preached in the Criterion theater, Brooklyn, last Sunday afternoon, to an audience that filled the house. His subject was "The Teaching of Jesus or of the Creeds, Which?" In the evening Library hall, Newark, was crowded in every part, and Mr. Pentecost preached a sermon relating in the main to the question as to whether church organizations could be dispensed with. The success of Mr. Pentecost both in Brooklyn and Newark in creating a good impression was such as to greatly encourage his numerous well-wishers.

FACTS FOR MONSIGNOR PERSICO.

English Single Tax Men Address Him on the Cause of and Cure for Ireland's Misery.

The executive committee of the English Land restoration league has addressed the following letter to Monsignor Persigo[sic]: "Monsignor—We learn that you have expressed a desire to receive general information as to the cause of the distress which exists among the Irish peasantry. Our society has devoted much attention to this very subject, and after having carefully considered every phase and feature of this grave and important question, we have been unable to come to any other conclusion than that the appropriation by land holders of land values in the shape of rent is the sole and ultimate cause of the evil which we all sincerely deplore. The only value which the 'owner' of land can confer upon it consists in his improvements, but unimproved land in the center of a community acquires a value which is proportional to the civilization, industry and thrift of that community. Now, if landlords be allowed to receive this increased value in the shape of ground rent, the public revenue must be derived from taxes on houses, improvements and other products of industry, a course which cannot fail to discourage the employment of labor. The more numerous and the more wealthy the community, the more can its members pay for the use of the land without business being brought to a standstill. On the principle that a man will give his skin to save his life, he will, therefore, give more rather than be deprived of his means of subsistence by being obliged to leave the land. The result of this policy is very clearly seen in Ireland. The more the people of Ireland have thrived. the more rent,[10] have they been called upon to pay and the landlords, not the people, profit by any change for the better. The present system of land tenure fosters the belief that landlords are entitled to treat the land as though they themselves, and not God, had made it. It would surely seem a more rational as well as a more just plan that land values or ground rents which increase in proportion to population and civilization should belong to the public for public requirements, which naturally increase in the same proportion. Had the Irish people only been permitted to retain even a moderate share of the produce of their industry, ease would long since have replaced distress and enterprise discouragement. The Irish are naturally an industrious people, but the courage for work has been stamped out of them by centuries of rack renting. The rapacity of landlords is not confined to the appropriation of the increased land values, but by an ingenious though nefarious arrangement they further appropriate whatever improvements the tenant may have made, on the falling in of the leases. Such, monsignor, is the present unhappy condition of Ireland and the Irish. An iniquitous system of land tenure, enforced with rigor and carried out with brutality, has alienated their affections and made a rebellious host of a God fearing and peaceably disposed nation. We pray you to investigate this momentous question with impartiality, and we feel convinced that you will join with us in looking forward to a brighter and more prosperous era when these economical wrongs shall have been redressed."

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UNITY CONGREGATION.

REV. HUGH O. PENTECOST'S FIRST SERMON IN MASONIC TEMPLE.

A Goodly Audience and an Eloquent Discourse—True Rationalism Defined and Illustrated—Think for Yourself, Do Right and Love Your Fellow Men.

The large hall of the Masonic temple, Twenty-third street and Sixth avenue, was fairly filled last Sunday morning at the first assembling of the Unity congregation, over which Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost will hereafter preside. At least six hundred persons were present. The weather was extremely disagreeable, the skies dark and lowering, and

Sic in the original; probably "Monsignor Persico".
Sic in the original; probably "have thrived, the more rent".

the walking execrable. Had it not been for these drawbacks the seating capacity of the hall would probably have been taxed to the utmost.

The exercises were extremely simple. They began with a few remarks by Mr. Pentecost, in which he stated the purpose and defined the limits of his proposed work. A hymn was then sung by the congregation, after which congregation and minister joined in repeating the Lord's prayer. A few verses of scripture were read by minister and people alternately, and a second hymn was sung. Then the sermon was preached, the collection was taken up, and with a final hymn, a few sentences of scripture, the first meeting of the Unity congregation came to a close.

In his preliminary remarks Mr. Pentecost stated that the meetings of the Unity congregation would be open to all who might choose to come to them. There would be absolutely no organization, and no one need feel under the slightest obligation to attend the meetings any longer than he might feel pleasure in doing so. All would be welcome to come or go, and, above all, no man or body of men should have authority to tell the preacher that *he* should stay away. The movement had no assured support save the pledges of a few persons who had undertaken each to pay a certain sum each week. There would be no begging for money. No self-respecting person would come week after week without contributing something if he was able; if he should not be able to do so, he would be just as welcome, however.

"The *Christian Union*," said Mr. Pentecost, "a religious paper of this city, which I highly admire, said recently that this would no doubt soon become a platform for the teaching of certain doctrines in social economy, and the congregation will then pass away, as all such organizations have passed away. The latter part of this may be true, and as to the first part, if at any time I choose to express myself with reference to a doctrine of social economy, I shall certainly do so. My religion has more to do by far with this world than it has to do with any other world."

THE SERMON.

The title of Mr. Pentecost's sermon was "An Idea of Our Mission." He chose for his text the first verse of the twelfth chapter of Genesis:

> Now the Lord said unto Abraham: Get thee out of thy country, and from thy kindred, and from thy father's house, unto the land that I will show thee.

These words, said Mr. Pentecost, are filled with pathetic significance, for though they are few they contain the story of a soul's growth from the religion of his childhood and his father's into one of his mature thought and ripe convictions; from a traditional to a rational faith. To an earnest nature, one which seeks the highest religion, this is a terrible experience. It is apparently easy for some persons to cast away a former religion and henceforth pitilessly assail it and those who hold it without adopting for themselves a better faith and nobler life. The wide fields of liberalism offer an easy refuge for many from the absurdities of creeds and the restraints of the straight and narrow way. But he who seeks no freedom except to think honestly and live according to his highest convictions will not break with a traditional belief and adopt a rational one as men go forth on a holiday excursion. It will be a profound and painful though satisfactory experience to him.

My text for this evening[sic] declares that Jehovah called Abraham away from his country, and his kindred, and his father's house, into a strange land that he would show him. This means that Abraham, whose father and kindred and countrymen were idolaters, began to think and ask questions, and, as a result, soon saw that idol worship was unreasonable and untrue, and instead of there being many gods there can be but one. He began, therefore, to do what his reason and conscience dictated—to worship the one true God. This naturally led him away from his friends, for traditional religions have no place in them for the unkindred exercise of reason[12] and conscience.

Sic in the original; probably "this morning (?)".

There are certain legends which have come down to us in ancient books which exhibit the temper ot the Abraham[sic] in whom the Jews believed. They may or may not be true. In either case they serve our purpose just as well, because they are true to human nature if not of him. One of these stories is as follows:

Terah, the father of Abraham, was a maker and dealer in idols. Being obliged to go from home one day he left Abraham in charge. An old man came in and asked the price of one of the idols. "Old man," said Abraham, "how old are you?" "Sixty years," answered the old man. "Sixty years!" said Abraham, "and you would worship a thing that my father's slaves made in a few hours? It is strange that a man of sixty should bow his gray head to a creature such as that." The man, crimsoned with shame, turned away. Then came a grave looking woman bringing an offering to the gods. "Give it to them yourself," said Abraham, "you will see how greedily they will eat it." She did so. Abraham then took a hammer and broke all the idols except the largest, in whose hands he placed the hammer. When Terah returned he asked angrily what profane wretch had dared thus to abuse the gods." "Why[sic]," said Abraham, "during your absence a woman brought yonder food to the gods and the younger ones began to eat. The old god, enraged at their boldness, took the hammer and smashed them." "Do you mock your aged father?" said Terah. "Do I not know that they can neither eat nor move?" "And yet," said Abraham, "you worship them and would have me worship them too."

The story adds that Terah, in his rage, sent Abraham to be judged by the king for his crime.

Nimrod said to Abraham–"You will not adore the idols of your father: then pray to fire."

Abraham–"Why may I not pray to water, which will quench fire?"

Nimrod–"Be it so; pray to water."

Abraham–"But why not to the clouds, which hold the water?"

Nimrod–"Well, then, pray to the clouds."

Abraham–"But why not to the wind, which drives the clouds before it?"

Nimrod–"Then pray to the wind."

Abraham–"Be not angry, O king–I can not pray to the fire or the water or the

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clouds or the wind, but to the Creator, who made them; Him only will I worship."

On another occasion it is said Abraham left a cave in which he had dwelt, and stood in the midst of the desert. And when he saw the sun shining in all its glory he was filled with wonder, and he thought: "Surely the sun is God, the Creator," and he knelt down and worshiped the sun. But when evening came the sun went down in the west, and Abraham said, "No; the author of creation cannot set." Now the moon arose in the east and the stars looked out of the sky. Then said Abraham: "This moon must indeed be God, and all the stars are his hosts." And kneeling down he adored the moon. But the moon set also, and from the east appeared once more the sun's bright face. Then said Abraham: "Verily, these heavenly bodies are no gods, for they obey laws. I will worship Him whose laws they obey."

Sic in the original; probably "the unhindered exercise of reason".
Sic in the original; probably "the temper of the Abraham".
Sic in the original; probably "to abuse the gods. "Why,"".

The stories all show that Abraham threw off the traditional faith for a rational faith. It is my purpose to make each one that listens to me a rationalist in religion, politics and faith, in all matters subject to human thought. (Applause.) This is one thing upon which, while I live on this earth, I hope to expend what power I have.

What do I mean by the word "rationalist?" I do not wish to convert you to the belief of the so-called "rationalists." What I mean is that I wish to encourage you in the habit of thinking for yourself, and whatever you believe, believe it because you have worked the thing out. (Applause.)

Mr. Pentecost illustrated his meaning by explaining the belief held by Roman Catholics in the immaculate conception of the virgin, the infallibility of the pope, and the Protestant doctrines of the fall of man, the atonement and the trinity. Why do you believe all this? he said. Because it has been told you or because you have satisfied your reason that it is true. Understand me, I do not wish to say anything against these doctrines. I merely say that if you believe in these things I want to encourage you to have a reason for believing in them. I wish to tell you that the man who tells you these things are to be believed and not investigated, that man is the enemy of the human race. There are no mysteries in the world of mind, matter or spirit that it is not the duty of man to probe to the bottom. The human mind should leave nothing undiscussed. No priest, preacher or church has the right to say, "Thus far shalt thou think and no farther." I wish to say to you that instead of being a sin to doubt in the generation in which we live, it is a sin not to doubt. (Applause.) The doubt I mean is that spirit of inquiry which shall lead you to the truth. In this sense it is my desire to make doubters of every one of you.

Another part of our mission is to encourage people to do right. I also want to use my influence to help others to grow better and to become better myself. There is great necessity that men should be better men and women be better women than they are. An Episcopalian friend of mine in Newark to whom I had been for some time trying to make it plain what I desired to work for and preach about, said to me at last, "Oh, I see; you are not trying to make men Christians, you are simply trying to have them be good men." I replied, "That is just the idea." If your reason makes you a Roman Catholic, a Protestant, an atheist, an infidel or an agnostic, you will be equally respected and welcome here; but in any case I want to have you be good men. I am persuaded that the reason there is so little happiness in this world is simply that you business men fail to do those things which you know are right and do those things that you know are wrong. When you see a thing is wrong, don't do that thing. When you see a thing is right, do it. I think that a man can do nothing better in this world than say to all, judges, cardinals or whoever they may be, "If you are doing wrong you are a *bad* man." I wish this to be a place for perfectly free expression of thought, but I wish to avoid the apparent lack that there is to my mind in what is known as liberalism, which is often just as bigoted, just as dogmatic as the teachings of any church. I have been charged with eulogizing Ingersoll. I have said that I believed Colonel Ingersoll to have spoken as much truth as any one other man that is now speaking to the American people, and that he is doing one of the best works in certain directions that is being done in this country to-day. If that is eulogy, I give it with all my heart. But there is one thing I always feel a little hungry for when I read his published writings or speeches—I fail to feel that intense moral impulse that I feel when I read the words of Jesus Christ. Somehow or other, he does not stir my blood and make me want to go forth and be a good man. And what I want to do is to supplement the work of Jesus and inspire men to be good. Now what you believe about Jesus Christ is not my business; I think all honest persons will agree with me in believing that the reason of Christ's power is not because he is said to be the Son of God, or that he made water into wine, but because he always did what was right as he understood it. He disliked privation and dreaded death as much as any of us, but every time that trial came he did what was right and took the consequences fearlessly. That is the reason of his power, and I want you to go forth into your daily life and be as much like him as possible in moral grandeur.

Another idea that this pulpit stands for is the brotherhood of man, and though that is another one of the platitudes of the day, yet it seems to me that it is necessary for some one to keep insisting upon it that all men are

brothers. The church says that all men are brothers, but she don't live up to the doctrine. She makes a very great difference between the rich and the poor when they knock at the door, and she draws wide distinction between the intelligent and the ignorant man. The time was when this country stood for those doctrines of equality. It stands for them no more. I have no fear of being contradicted when I say this. I know it will be repeated as being to my discredit; but it is true. Society does not recognize this doctrine of the brotherhood of man to-day. Men say there are no classes here, and while they say it they talk about the better class, the working class and the poorer class. There are classes. These are distinct working classes, and you can make up your mind that that means there are idle classes too. The time was when on a farm the master and man worked together and consulted together, and the master asked the advice of the man who worked for him. The relations were those of man and man.

That time has gone by in this country. The master has ceased to be a man; he is a corporation. The employe has ceased to be a man; he is a "hand." There is too much of a disposition among us to glory in the fact that we are Americans. This patriotism, which has been so lauded and glorified by poets, is a false thing. There is something better than patriotism—*that* is selfish—there is the brotherhood of man. I cannot forget that my being an American was purely an accident, something over which I had no control, and I ought not to be specially vain of it. I want to use my power in teaching that an Irishman, an Englishman, a Russian, an Italian or a Chinaman is a member of the human family. Instead of appealing to national pride and hatred I shall say, "Forget all about classes and nations and come into the sense that all mankind is one family." And of this family

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all the members should have their work to do. If it be on the one hand a tramp and on the other hand the idle millionaire (the only two kinds of aristocrats that we have in this country), I shall always feel it my duty to say to those people, You are violating the highest principle of true religion; you are injuring the family of men.

These are the three things: To think for yourself, to do right and to love your fellow-men. These are hard things to do. But they are what I shall preach, and you who come here and feel that you have been helped by what I say, come again.

Mr. Pentecost was frequently applauded. He closed by saying that the financial affairs of the congregation would be made entirely public. An account would be rendered each week of all receipts and expenditures, such as was published in the Newark papers in the case of the congregation there.

What a Pro-Poverty Apostle Thinks of It.

New York Evening Post.

The Reverend Pentecost opened his anti-poverty church in Masonic temple yesterday morning, and Henry George was present to see how it worked. It was announced at the start that the services would be held every Sunday morning as long as the amount of the collections warranted their continuance. This, as we understand it, is the fundamental doctrine of the anti-poverty creed—a good collection. No poverty can be abolished without that. Mr. Pentecost, in order, probably, not to cut off the collection at the academy in the evening, will call his society the "Unity congregation." He said that he does not propose "to make Christians, but good men," and that "agnostics, atheists, infidels, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, all," were welcome to come and submit themselves to the process. Yesterday the work was helped forward by an organ and a cornet, and the preacher declared that he was convinced that neither the Christian church nor the country lived up to the "doctrine of the brotherhood of man," that the relations of capital and labor, the class distinctions between the rich and the poor, and the condition of the universe generally "were all wrong, and this pulpit would so preach." It is to be hoped that the collections will

continue large, for the Rev. Pentecost has no less a task on hand than the reformation of the world, and it would be a pity to have that fail through lack of funds.

ANTI-POVERTY.

The Society's Testimonial to Miss Agatha Munier—A Crowded House and an Enthusiastic Audience.

Before eight o'clock last Sunday evening the Academy of Music was filled to the top row of the gallery. It was Miss Munier's benefit night, and New York anti-poverty people showed their appreciation of her indefatigable efforts on behalf of the cause in a most satisfactory way. It was a most sympathetic gathering that received the efforts of singers, players and speakers with hearty enthusiasm.

The stage was more crowded than usual, Mr. McAuliffe's orchestra occupying the space in front of the Concordia chorus. The young ladies of the chorus took seats on the stage at eight o'clock, and were followed by the male members of the chorus and Mr. McAu- liffe and his orchestra. Miss Munier's appearance was greeted with hearty and long continued applause.

Messrs. Alfred Barnes Myers and S. B. Mills were absent, the former on account of sickness, and the programme as rendered was as follows:

1. Overture—Morning, Noon and Night.....Suppe Orchestra, under the direction of Mr. McAuliffe.
2. Opening remarks by the chairman— Mr. William T. Croasdale.
3. Chorus—Unfold Ye Portals.....Gounod Concordia Chorus.
4. Solo—Killarney..... Miss Munier.
5. Trio—Ti Prego O Padre.....Nicolai Mme. De Carlo, Miss Munier and Mr. Duzenci.
6. Piano Solo—Scerzo (b minor[sic]).....Chopin Mr. Paul Pfaff.
7. Address— Rev. Dr. McGlynn.
8. Selections—National Airs. Orchestra, under the direction of Mr. McAuliffe.
9. La Preghiera.....Donizetti Miss Munier.
10. Violin Solo—Concerto, G minor.....Bruch Mr. Carl Hauser.
11. Adeste Fideles.....Novello Soli, Concordia Chorus and Orchestra.
12. Address— Mr. Henry George.
13. Tenor Solo—If With All Your Hearts...Mendelssohn Signor Duzenci.
14. Duo—Quis Est Homo.....Rossini Mme. De Carlo and Miss Munier.
15. Xylophone Solo—Popular Airs— Mr. Nausbaum[sic].

Sic in the original; probably "Scherzo (B minor)".
Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Nussbaum".

16. Inflammatus.....Rossini Mme. Di Carlo[sic], Concordia Chorus and Orchestra.

Miss Munier herself has never sung better at the Academy than she did last Sunday, both in her two solos and the trio and duet. Her singing of "Killarney" was familiar to many of those present, for she has sung the air to different words before at the anti-poverty meetings. With the original words, however, she brought out the full beauty of the ever popular song. Donizetti's "Prayer," No. 9 on the programme, a selection requiring a highly cultivated voice to do it justice, was sung exquisitely by Miss Munier. She received several floral gifts during the evening.

Madame DeCarlo, who sang with Miss Munier in the trio and duet, and took the solo parts of the "Adeste Fideles" and the "Inflammatus," delighted the audience. Her superb soprano voice, with its strong and sweet upper notes, did much to make the concert a success.

Mr. Pfaff, the accompanist, who has played at the meetings for several months, took Mr. Mills's place at a moment's notice, playing, of course, without notes. He played Chopin's concerto[sic] with great expression, and in response to continued applause, gave a nocturne by Liszt. Mr. Pfaff also accompanied the other singers and the chorus in his usual good style.

Signor Duzenci has also appeared before at the meetings. He sang the somewhat uninteresting tenor solo with his usual power, and sustained his part in the trio very efficiently.

Mr. Hauser, who played Bruch's G minor concerto (the last part of it), and was accompanied by his brother at the piano, and Mr. Nussbaum, the xylophonist, both received much applause for their well rendered selections.

Mr. McAuliffe's orchestra played the overture very well indeed and had to repeat part of their other selections. The choral selections, however, would probably have sounded better without the instruments.

The Concordia chorus, to whom the society owes so much and on whom Miss Munier has spent so much time and attention, sang their three selections with taste and expression. It is really remarkable to any one who has attended the meetings from the first to observe how the chorus have improved since they first started. The improvement is partly due to the additional voices which have been added to it from time to time, but mainly to the efforts of Miss Munier, whose ability as a musical instructor and leader has long been recognized.

The concert concluded with the chorus, "The Cross of the New Crusade," to the air of "John Brown's Body," the audience joining in the singing.

At the conclusion of the piano solo by Mr. Paul Pfaff, Mr. Croasdale announced the col-

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lection, and added: "Last Sunday evening a good many of you heard some wholesome talk (applause) about the interference in the general politics of the world of a gentleman for whom, either personally or in his official capacity, all of us, whether Protestant, Catholic or agnostic, have due respect, but for whose interference in politics we have the utmost disrespect; and we listened with delight to the denunciation of it from this platform. On next Sunday night the same subject will be brought nearer home (applause) and Dr. McGlynn will on that occasion deliver an address on the ecclesiastical machine in American politics." (Applause.)

Dr. McGlynn and Henry George also delivered brief addresses appropriate to the occasion. Dr. McGlynn alluded beautifully to the civilizing and ennobling power of music, and spoke of the occasion as the prototype of the blissful age to come, when men shall dwell together in harmony with each other and with their Creator.

Sic in the original; probably "Mme. De Carlo".
Sic in the original; probably "Chopin's scherzo (?)".

The evening was in every respect a most enjoyable one, and will dwell long in the memories of all who were fortunate enough to be present.

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.

Treasurer's Statement, from Organization to December 31, 1887.

Receipts.

Tickets sold for meetings.....$6,100 56 Collections taken at meetings..... 5,508 97 ——— [$11,609 53?] Less rent of halls and ushers.....$6,132 50 Less Sundry meeting expenses (including printing, programmes, tickets and music books; janitors, doorkeepers, etc.)..... 2,337 84 ——— [8,470 34?] Net receipts from meetings..... 3,139 19 Net receipts from excursion of August 13..... 893 15 (1) Net receipts from fair..... 9,945 00 Initiation fees..... 1,802 00 Regular subscriptions..... 658 00 Occasional contributions..... 479 21 Miscellaneous receipts..... 8 17 ——— Total.....[$16,924 73?]

Disbursements.

Publishing and issuing tracts.....[$3,907 68?] Expenses of parade, June 18..... [533 00?] State committee, for missionaries..... 100 00 State committee for campaign..... 9,945 00 County committee for campaign..... 548 15 Cost of membership certificates..... 119 00 Cost of office furniture and fixtures..... 280 99 Office rent, salaries of secretary and assistant and current office expenses 1,006 02 Printing and stationery..... 282 81 Sundry expenses..... 86 10 ——— $16,803 73 ——— Balance on hand December 31, 1887..... [$120 99?]

1. The accounts of the fair are not quite closed yet, there being some of the articles still unsold. The amount given above is the net profit, as received up to December 31, and turned over to the state committee.

The Cathedral.

I saw a mighty city, With miles and miles of woe; Huge tenements, like earthly hells, All festering, row on row.

The good seemed full of sadness, And cried, "What shall we do?" A low voice said, replying, "This is the thing for you:

"Build you a vast cathedral, Glorious with light and glow; With richest carvings of rare woods, And marble white as snow.

"With pillars high, and arches, And windows stained like wood, Whereon a man, in coarse attire, Goes about doing good."

Then some said, "Let us build it;" But others did not know Whether the voice came down from heaven, Or upward from below.

"And will that grand cathedral Remove thee miles of woe[sic]: These tenements, these earthly hells, All festering, row on row?"

Sic in the original; probably "Remove these miles of woe".

Alas these men so good and wise, The truth found hard to know; For each one had his happy home, Whereto at eve to go.

But a widow, in her cold, bare room, Stooped by the embers low, Her children hungering at her side, And, weeping, said: "I know!"

Germantown, Pa. HENRY PETERSON.

A Prophecy by Harriet Martineau.

BURLINGTON, Ia.—In reading the autobiography of Harriet Martineau, one of England's greatest writers on political economy, I came across the following gem written by her in 1855, which I do not recollect having seen in print elsewhere. She was writing of probable changes in the form of government and society in Europe before the close of the present century:

> Of course none but a prophet could be expected to declare what the new idea will be. It would be rational, but it is not necessary here to foretell what it would not be or include. But . . . the leading feature of any such radical change must be a deep modification of the institution called property, certainly in regard to land and probably in regard to much else. Before any effectual social renovation can take place men must efface the abuse which has grown up out of the transition from the feudal to the more modern state, the abuse of land being held as absolute property, whereas in feudal times land was in a manner held in trust, inasmuch as every land holder was charged with the subsistence of all who lived within his bounds. The old practice of man holding man as property is nearly exploded among civilized nations, and the analogous barbarism of man holding the surface of the globe as property cannot long survive. The idea of this being a barbarism is now fairly formed, admitted and established among some of the best minds of the times, and the result is, as in all such cases, ultimately secure.

J. R. NICHOLAS.

A "Close Student's" Conclusion.

NEW YORK CITY.—Mr. George Gunton has written a book called "Wealth and Progress." He describes himself as "for twenty years a close student of economic questions." The following is his estimate and description of the land tax theory:

> When we examine the facts we find that the rent from the land in this country, if equally divided among the people, would, according to the returns for 1880, give about two cents a day per head. What would that do toward abolishing poverty? Simply nothing. It would only be equal to reducing the taxes one-half. Any proposition, and this is the most rose colored one yet heard of, which will only increase the wealth of the masses two cents a day can hardly be worth the effort as a measure for the elimination of povertry[sic].

Sic in the original; probably "poverty".

When so close a student as Mr. Gunton dismisses Mr. George's theory in this style on the third or fourth page of his book, he can hardly blame me for not reading the remaining three hundred pages.

1.

Work in Canton, O.

CANTON, O.–The advocates of the single tax on land values are beginning to be pretty numerous here, and include many who for a time belonged to the union labor party. One of our friends here, Mr. A. J. Kintz, has had a correspondence with the *Stark County Democrat*, in which he ably defended the single tax principle. We are about to form a club, and shall work during 1888 more actively than ever.

A. E. KINSELY.

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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1888. 3

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GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE!

"The people have been willing enough to cry, 'God save the queen!' Now let the cry be also heard, 'God save the people.'" So says the London *Christian Commonwealth.*

The Liverpool financial reform association computes that during her reign £20,000,000 ($100,000,000) has been paid to the queen, £5,000,000 to the rest of the royal family, and £10,000,000 more expended upon residences, parks, packets, yachts and other conveniences, making a total of £35,000,000. There have also been supported in the higher offices of the public service 520 relations of dukes, 626 relations of marquises, 3,390 relations of earls, 963 relations of viscounts, 2,492 relations of barons, or 7,971 relations in all. To help to maintain them the workers paid last year £4,531,667 taxes on tea and coffee, £498,100 taxes on dried fruits, £9,388,444 taxes on tobacco, and £9,187,000 taxes on beer. Humble traders, known as hawkers or peddlers, had to contribute by paying £2 and upward last year for their licenses; confectioners had to pay £5 5s. each, and small dealers £1 5s. In addition to this £21,582 was paid to "lords in waiting," a "mistress of the robes," and a "master of the buckhounds;" and 400 other officials, supposed to be necessary to the queen, were maintained at further expense, although "that person keeps no court." There were eight "ladies of the bed chamber," each of whom got £500 a year; eight "bed chamber women," who received [£306?] apiece, and seven "maids of honor," to each of whom the nation paid £300, and will present £1,000 on marriage.

Surely God saves Queen Victoria and all of her extensive household; and well may the *Christian Commonwealth* cry "God save the people!" For the registration of the unemployed in London by the Law and liberty league shows that there are 17,000 workers, with 40,000 dependents, idle and starving. Another count, conducted by the socialists, makes the number 30,000. But both of these counts fall far short of the real number, because of the difficulty of getting at the people and because their distrust of the efficacy[sic] of "relief work." Moreover, many feared that to consent to work for 4d. per hour at temporary charity employment would tend to reduce wages permanently to that level, and so they shrank from being registered. "In one case, fifty men came to the office, sent in a deputation of one to inspect the census sheet, and then upon hearing his report, marched away again." But, nevertheless, there were thousands willing to do "anything to keep from starving," and London *Justice* is probably not far from the truth in estimating the number of unemployed at 130,000.

But London's lord mayor is equal to the occasion and has come forward with a magnificent proposal. "I have for some time past," says he, "been in consultation with a committee composed of large employers of labor and leading representatives of the trade unions on the one hand, and clergy of all denominations, poor law guardians and others specially conversant with the condition of the poor, on the other, in regard to the unemployed question." And he made the important discovery that work could be provided for idle hands at 4d. (eight cents) an hour. However, in order that funds should not be wasted, it was decided that "no work should be undertaken unless it is useful and desirable for its own sake. Laborers should be employed as far as possible on the same terms

Sic in the original; probably "because of their distrust (?)".

on which they would be engaged in the open market. The work must not be a mere temporary job, to cease as soon as the fine weather comes on, and to be taken up again *de novo* next winter, but must throughout be connected with and lead up to other remedies of a permanent character."

With this introduction he suggested that "thirty acres of land in the metropolis be taken in hand at once and converted into gardens and pleasure grounds for the use of Londoners." It is true that only 1,300 men can be employed, but then the expenses will be heavy and it will require £30,000 to do even this much. The lord mayor does not intend to furnish this money himself, however, but has issued an "appeal to the public for subscriptions."

"Men will be employed by the Metropolitan public gardens' association," he remarks, "for the full week and for as many weeks as the job lasts. They will be in charge of experienced foremen and gangers, and will be paid not less than four pence per hour, being, of course, subject to instant dismissal if they are unpunctual or idle or careless."

To be sure, the pay is small for such hard labor, which is likely to be particularly severe on men who have been accustomed to indoor work, but did not the archbishop of Canterbury (£15,000 a year and two palaces) only recently exhort toilers to be "content with their wages?"

As a safeguard against "impostors," who might otherwise take the bread out of the mouths of the "deserving poor," "every man will be required to produce satisfactory evidence of character."

Frederic Harrison recently stated "that nearly one-third of the annual increase in the population of London is due to immigration," and that "while those who have means are perpetually trying to get away from London, those who are destitute are always trying to find their way to it." Rev. G. S. Reaney supports him with the statement that "if nothing is done to stop the influx of foreigners, in five years the government will be confronted with a social difficulty very much greater than Trafalgar square." Not only foreigners, but farmers and farmers' sons, driven out of the agricultural regions, come flocking into the towns and underbid the townsmen for employment, until the secretary of the Law and liberty league, upon analyzing the registration lists of the unemployed, has found that by far the greater part of the idle men are those who have "lived in London five, ten and fifteen years."

In requiring "every man to prove at least six months' residence" before work is provided, the lord mayor, therefore, takes a not unwarranted precaution. Otherwise the unemployed elsewhere would come trooping into London. Goodness knows, things are bad enough. Just the other morning James Henry Southgate, 25 years old; William Kennedy, 45; John Pepperel, 45; Julius Boarch, 38; James Melly, 37, and Edward Richards, 60, were brought into the Thames police court and charged with having been found "sleeping in the open air in Frederick street, St. George's, without having any visible means of subsistance[sic]." All the men were in a wretched and pitiable condition.

"Why don't you go and ask for relief at the work house?" the justice asked Southgate.

"I would rather lie in the gutter than go there," the man answered.

The justice held that he had no right to do that, and sent him to prison. Constable 24 HR., who made the arrests, testified that "some nights thirty or forty men slept in Frederick street," and that he was afraid that "they might be frozen to death."

But the lord mayor is not alone in the work of philanthropy. Lord Shaftesbury is patron of a fund which enables "any poor, honest woman to borrow sufficient capital to start, say, a baked potato barrow or a chestnut stove, when flowers and water cresses are out of season," and when they are

Sic in the original; probably "subsistence".

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deprived of the privilege of getting their stock of 3d. (six cents) [worth?] of blossoms by going to Covent garden in the chill of early morning and awaiting their turn in a line. Lord Shaftesbury is glad to report that these girls and women seldom neglect to pay back the money they have borrowed. Another public spirited gentleman has suggested that "vegetarianism should be practiced among the unemployed," and a third declares that a a far-reaching remedy would be "a light, wholesome dwelling, with a cooking range by which we can turn out a decent dinner." Miss Octavia Hill is working with great energy for the public purchase of 265 acres of land at Hampstead heath, where crowds may go "on Saturday afternoon and enjoy a brief respite," beholding "a little vision of that scenery where skies are purely blue, where birds sing and where nature wears her fairest garb." The owners of this tract of land have agreed to sell it to the people of London for £305,000, with the sky and the birds thrown in, and although this money might go far toward appeasing the hunger of the unemployed and of the poor wretches who are called "impostors," Miss Hill wants to close the bargain at once, for fear that the price may be increased. And the probability is that the "genuine unemployed" and those who are not "genuine" may hope soon to have the pleasure of standing on Hampstead heath with empty stomachs, viewing the scenery which public cash has bought and paid for.

And so wags the world. The heir apparent is busy with the cares of state—opening churches, applauding pugilists, providing for the protection of pet cats and dogs, shooting game and contributing to racing cups. Her majesty, too tired with the weight of jubilee cares to open parliament, graciously condescends to permit her ministers to tell the people about the prosperous condition of her kingdom and of her peaceful relations with foreign powers, while at Osborne she plans the more important business of packing away those jubilee presents from the lustful eyes of men. And now and again relaxing from this pleasant but fatiguing occupation, she orders "my lord" or "my lady" to sing and caper for her august refreshment or play in tableaux vivants. By degrees the mind is rescued from the worriments of the world and sinks into serene contentment, when suddenly breaks in the hum of discordant voices and the roar of trampling feet. The multitude pours through the narrow streets of the metropolis, bearing to the grave the body of its dead comrade, [Linnell?], stricken down by the police. The sounds swell on the breezes, mingling strangely with the peaceful chimes in great St. Paul's. Then comes a lull, and there rings out the clear tones of the people's singer, prophesying wondrous changes in the land.

We asked them for a life of toilsome earning, They bade us bide their leisure for our bread, We craved to speak to tell our woful learning, We come back speechless, bearing back our dead.

They will not learn; they have no ears to hearken. They turn their faces from the eyes of fate; Their gay lit halls shut out the skies that darken. But, lo! this dead man knocking at the gate.

Not one, not one, nor thousands must they slay, But one and all if they would dusk the day.

HENRY GEORGE, JR.

A Good Idea.

WINFIELD, Kan.—Please send me ten copies of the issue of THE STANDARD for Dec. 10. That number contains two entertaining articles—one by Mr. Pentecost, in which he describes how he received a copy of "Progress and Poverty," and how he proceeded to (not) show its fallacy; the other from W. H. Van Ornum, in which is shown his experiences among the clergymen of Chicago.

I have thought that it would be an interesting experiment to send THE STANDARD containing those articles, marked, to some clergymen whose names I know to see whether the kaleidoscopic view of the subject as given by the article entitled "Among the Ministers," and the piquant statement of Mr. Pentecost, who, instead of being able

to show any errors of statement or reasoning in Mr. George's book, became himself an enthusiastic supporter of its principles, would not excite in their minds some curiosity or interest to know what all this is about. Possibly, if they have any preconceived notions in opposition to the subjects treated of, they may gather enough interest to try if they themselves may not be the parties who are able to show the fallaciousness of the reasoning in "Progress and Poverty."

If their minds should happen to be "built" in the same way that some other men's minds are, the subject, called to their attention in this way, may develop in them a curiosity and interest that will induce them to look into it.

I drop this hint, hoping it may be suggestive to others as a good way of approaching the ministers on the subject of the anti-poverty crusade.

THOMAS HUNT.

Sound in Law, as in Morals.

TORONTO, Can.—The Osgoode literary and legal society of Toronto, a society of the students belonging to the law society of Upper Canada, discussed "Land Nationalization" in connection with the Georgean system of taxation, on Saturday night, the 7th inst. After a very spirited debate, in which all of the many leading legal authorities on real property, such as Blackstone, Williams, etc., were freely cited, the debate was awarded to the advocates of Mr. George's theory, and this notwithstanding the usual amount of misrepresentation by the opponents as to its being veiled socialism, etc.

At the close of the debate the critic of the evening very highly complimented the speakers on the care they had taken in the preparation of the arguments, and said the debate was the more enjoyable to him, as it was on a subject in which he took a very great interest. It augurs well for the success of "land nationalization" when Mr. George's works are bearing fruit even on such conservative and barren soil as is afforded by the legal profession of the law.

R. A. W.

He Sees the Cat.

ALEXANDRIA, La.—I will send a renewal of the subscribers you have here and get more if I can. I'm with you for the single tax, for free trade and the government to manage the telegraph and the long railroads at any rate. I have seen the cat. I have been a prohibitionist for years and years, but your reform comes first now. One of your subscribers here is a protectionist. He takes the *Irish World* and will vote for Blaine next year if he doesn't change; but as for me, if I cannot vote the united labor party ticket I will vote for Cleveland, as he is going our road a piece at any rate. I am not a Nicodemus.

A. HILTON.

Gaining Ground in Cleveland.

CLEVELAND, O.—On Sunday, Jan. 8, another Henry George club was organized in this city on the west side, and still another will soon be formed in the southern part of the city.

J. QUINLAN.

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THE COST OF TRANSPORTATION.

Reference was made editorially in a recent number of THE STANDARD to the opportunity that the government's acquisition of the Pacific railroads would give for officially and authoritatively ascertaining the actual cost of railway transportation. In that article there was an allusion to the estimates made by Alfred Cridge of California.

I have now before me a pamphlet issued by Mr. Cridge some years ago that is highly interesting and possibly equally important. Mr. Cridge quotes a declaration made by Hon. Josiah Quincy to the Boston board of trade in 1866 that in the course of a thorough examination into the railway systems of America and Europe he found ONLY ONE INSTANCE "in which the manager of the business of a railroad company entered fully into the details of expenditures and receipts, thereby showing the actual cost to the company of conveying coal on its road."

Mr. Cridge insists that this policy of secrecy is designed to prevent the public from obtaining accurate information concerning the true cost of transportation, and he complains that railway commissioners have practically done nothing to defeat this policy of concealment. In order to get at the facts thus covered up he makes a careful analysis of information furnished by Mr. A. N. Towne, general manager of the Central Pacific and leased lines, in September, 1883, to Mr. Foote, a California railway commissioner.

From this information it appeared that for the moving of a train of fourteen freight cars there were then required an engineer at $135 per month, a fireman at $75, a wiper at $60, a conductor at from $85 to $115 (say $100), and two brakemen at from $65 to $80 each, giving a total of $580 per month. Taking 200 miles of road, and adding to the wages for two days the cost of coal, wood and grease, and accepting Mr. Towne's estimates as to the proper allowance for depreciation, repairs, etc., Mr. Cridge finds the actual cost of moving 140 tons of freight 200 miles in 14 cars is not more than $125, or at the rate of 89 cents per ton for the whole distance, or less than half a cent per ton per mile. With a train of 20 or 30 cars, which could be run with about the same force of men, the cost per ton per mile would be about four mills.

Mr. Cridge next analyzes Mr. Towne's statement as to the cost of maintenance of track, station and miscellaneous expenses, and arrives at what appears to be a clear demonstration that the total cost per mile for moving freight is a trifle over six-tenths of a mill; while in the case under consideration the Central Pacific company was found to be charging four times that much.

A similar analysis of Mr. Towne's figures concerning passenger traffic showed that with a three car train 120 passengers could be moved 200 miles at a cost of $78.62, and with a six car train 240 passengers could be moved the same distance for $99.78—that is to say, from something more than one-fifth of a cent per mile for each passenger on the longer train to about one-third of a cent per mile for each passenger on the shorter train. Adding expenses of maintaining tracks, stations, etc., the cost per mile is slightly increased, so that it would range from about 23 hundredths of a cent per mile on the longer train to 36 hundredths of a cent per mile on the shorter train for each passenger. The aotual[sic] charges in the instances cited were more than seventeen times the cost as thus ascertained.

Taking these figures as a basis for calculation, Mr. Cridge argues that a train of six car loads, carrying 240 passengers, could be moved across the continent from San Francisco to New York at an actual cost of $1,440, or

Sic in the original; probably "actual".

$6 a passenger, whereas the charge now ranges from $75 to $140. He insists that a charge of $10 a passenger would afford the companies ample profit if the passengers could be had, and he is doubtless right in assuming that the roads could be kept busy with fares at anything near the price suggested.

Mr. Cridge next enters into an analysis of the cost of construction of the two Pacific railroads, and arrives at the conclusion (the truth of which is completely demonstrated by the recent report of the Pacific railway commission) that the present holders of the two roads obtained them for nothing, and got a large bonus in land and money in addition. Under these circumstances there need be no consideration, so far as these roads are concerned, as to the amount of profit to which the "owners" are justly entitled. They are, as Commissioner Pattison justly declared, "legatees of a gigantic fraud," and they will have abundant cause to congratulate themselves if they escape criminal prosecution and retain their remaining booty after the government has resumed possession of the roads built with public money.

Until government ownership of railways becomes general, however, the question of profit on capital invested must be considered, and under any circumstances some addition must be made to Mr. Cridge's figures for the cost of general management; but if his estimates are accurate, his declaration that people could be carried across the continent for less than six dollars each would justify his conclusion that $10 would be a liberal fare, affording a profit sufficient to pay a good interest on the real value of the roads and meet all the expenses of efficient management.

My purpose in calling attention to these figures is not to offer them as accurate or conclusive. My knowledge is not such as to warrant me in making any such assertion. But neither has the general public any knowledge that will enable it to deny their accuracy. About the actual cost of one of the most important of human concerns under the conditions of modern civilization, the people who support the railroad companies know absolutely nothing. In a vague way they comprehend that they are compelled to pay interest not only on all money now invested in railroads, but on all that has in the past been squandered through the rivalry, rascality, extravagance and incapacity of their managers, and they also see that in some way railways have been made a potent agency of the process by which the proceeds of the labors of the many are transferred to the pockets of the few, but how it is done is not known and the extent of the robbery cannot even be estimated.

Here is a man of manifest ability who declares that the actual cost of railway transportation is less than a fourth of the minimum price fixed anywhere by restrictive legislation; and his assertion, whether true or false, demands examination, but the people, who are the parties most concerned, are absolutely without any means for either verifying or disproving his statements.

It is true that we have under the interstate law national railway commissioners, but they only concern themselves with the maintenance of a certain uniformity of charges on a basis fixed by the companies themselves, and this basis, for all the commissioners or the public know to the contrary, is from five to fifteen times higher than the actual cost. In order that the commissioners may have a proper standard for judgment in the performance of their duties it is absolutely necessary that there shall be at least one stretch of road publicly owned and operated, the accounts of which shall show the real cost of carrying freight and passengers

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in order to meet the actual expenses of maintenance, operation and management.

Aside from all other facts and looking no further than the immediate future, this necessity for a true standard of value in transportation should be sufficient to cause a popular pressure on congress that would put an end to all thought of compromise with the so-called owners of the Pacific roads built by public money. I am sorry that THE STANDARD should stand almost alone in demanding that these roads, built with the people's money, shall be restored to their real owners, for such an opportunity may not soon come again if the scheme of compromising

with robbers recommended by the majority of the commission and upheld by a press that cares only for the interests of the rich shall be enacted into law. Every newspaper that pretends to any interest in honesty or claims to be a defender of the people's rights ought to join in denouncing a proposition that congress shall pass a law compounding felony, confirming men in the possession of stolen goods and cheating the American people out of their own property.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

A Hallelujah Chorus for the New Year.

How my heart is thrilled with gladness, when I hear the grand refrain, "Glory be to God on high and peace on earth to men," And my soul aloft is borne where the angels wake that strain, On fancy's golden wing. Chorus.— Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria in excelsis Deo, And peace on earth to men.

"Go give the greater portion," the prophet thus was told, "Unto the greater number, and the fewer the less shall hold;" "But the land is mine," the Lord saith, "and it shall not aye be sold;" While the heavenly choirs did sing: Gloria, etc.

Press onward, oh, my brothers; yours is God and nature's plan, All in sin are equal born, equal rights should mark life's span— Teaching God, the common father and the brotherhood of man— What a gospel of peace you bring. Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria in excelsis Deo, Gloria in excelsis Deo, And peace on earth to men.

WILLIAM FITZGERALD.

TENEMENT HOUSES AND IGLOOS.

Lieutenant Schwatka in the *Independent* gives an interesting account of the Esquimaux snow house, or *igloo.* Speaking of the usefulness and comfort of these primitive dwellings, Mr. Schwatka says:

The idea of conducting an expedition of twenty-two persons and forty to fifty dogs continuously throughout the Arctic winter and living off the country, would have been deemed insanity. With the help of *igloos* and reindeer clothing it was done with less discomfort than the average twenty-two workmen of New York city will endure in going through a severe winter. With the help of the *igloo* (which necessitates the employment of Esquimaux skilled in their construction, of course) the matter of cold, preposterous as the statement may seem, becomes almost entirely eliminated from any Arctic problem, instead of being the pivot on which they seem to swing and against which the greatest precautions are taken.

It appears, therefore, that, in the opinion of a competent judge, a house of snow, without any fire, is preferable as a winter shelter to a New York tenement house with coal at a varying price per pail. Why doesn't some philanthropist organize a society, with patrons, life members, salaried officers, handsome quarters and all the rest of it, to assist the unemployed of New York to emigrate to the Arctic regions, where snow banks are free and every man can build his own *igloo?* This might solve the labor problem and the Arctic problem both at once, and it would certainly afford a magnificent excuse for a fashionable ball.

Another Michigan Worker.

STURGIS, Mich.—I have just finished reading "Progress and Poverty," "Social Problems" and a copy of THE STANDARD, and I cannot refrain from writing to you. But first let me introduce myself. Your correspondent is a house carpenter; his back is bent, his hair is growing gray, his frame is getting weak with bearing heavy burdens; but it has cost the government so much to protect him there is nothing left for the support of old age, and he must work on and feel grateful, too, if the lords of creation "give him leave to toil" for his daily bread. The reading of your books was like a visit of an old familiar friend. The problems discussed and some of the conclusions reached have, though unexpressed, been filling my mind for years. Your correspondent has been one of the army that have prostrated forests, bridged rivers, laid the iron pathway for the iron horse, reared cities, built mills and manufactories, farm houses, cottages and mansions, and he has spent the past forty years in helping develop a wilderness. For all this he has received enough to keep him in condition to serve his master from day to day. The rest has gone to the landlord and "protection." There is a rich field in this section of country, and the grain is ripe for the reaper. But our work must be carried on in an inexpensive manner. Our friends are among [the?] poor, but they have votes. Capitalists, rich farmers with bank accounts, manufacturers with large mills to be protected while "they grind the face of the poor" upon their stone that goes by steam power, in fact all who are "fixed" care nothing for your reform. I am going to see what can be done with an "anti-poverty" club at our place, and would gratefully appreciate any suggestions you may be so kind as to make.

RUFUS SPALDING.

Benefiting Property.

NEW YORK CITY.—I have been reading the advertised appeal of Messrs. Work, Rockefeller and others for a "drive for speeding horses from Fifty-ninth street, west side, in Central park, to 110th street," which the advertisers say will be a great benefit to property and to the public and damage no one a dollar.

If this pretty scheme to procure a driving park for these modest gentlemen "would greatly benefit property" it would be very certain to resolve itself into a command to tenants to move on farther from the center of population. The history of "benefiting property" is the history of injuring all non-land holders.

There is yet to be seen a plan for "benefiting property" which does not inure to the damage of the many, for all such plans aim to concentrate population at given points and appropriate the "unearned increment." Then fast horses can be bought and an attempt made to steal a park in which to "speed" them.

BURCH.

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"OUR FATHER."

In the creed of the Anti-poverty society, the Lord's prayer occupies, and rightly, a prominent place. The ascription of fatherhood appeals to the human heart. When we were children we were free from care, light hearted and happy. Care we did not know. As the lambs on the hillside, so we sported, because we had a father—a father on whom we rolled our cares; a father at whose table we sat, and where brother helped brother with no sense of degradation, because, as Mr. George so well showed us in last week's STANDARD, we were all dependent on a common father, and though there may have been diversities among us, we were all recipients of a common love and providence. Now, that the great number of us have cares and responsibilities on our own shoulders, and no

earthly father to help and counsel us, how comforting the thought that we have a Father still, "Our Father"—one who does provide for us, one who causes his sun to shine and his rain to fall, that there may be abundant provision for our needs; a Father, who has inspired many of his children to work out problems on both mental and physical worlds, that the labors of their brethren might be lessened, and their comforts and enjoyments increased.

The fatherhood has been and is recognized, but do we emphasize sufficiently the "our?" He is not my father, not my family's father, not my church's father, not my country's father, but Our Father, the father of all men, the father of the republican American, the monarchical Briton, the despot trodden Russian, the ghost ridden Chinaman, "the father in whom the whole family in heaven and in earth are named." In the light of this prayer, which Christ himself taught us to pray, where then stand our protection theories, our discriminating laws against foreigners and foreign goods?

One would have thought that a doctor of divinity, as one of our social economists is, would have hesitated to condemn Adam Smith in his "Wealth of Nations" as being too far reaching and embracing. The study of the nature, character and attributes of the divine being that is supposed to be the aim and life work of divinity doctors, one would think would also lead to the knowledge that he has made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and that no scheme can be successful that aims at the exaltation of one nation to the detriment of other nations. Would not one naturally think that he in whom there is neither Jew nor Greek, Scythian nor barbarian, bond nor free, would have so contrived all things that the advance of one must mean the advance of all the rest? And yet R. E. Thompson, D. D., of the University of Pennsylvania, in his text book, called "Social Economy," which he uses for study in that institution, makes exclusiveness, the we-be-Abraham's children spirit, the all absorbing, grasping, greedy, I, me, mine, the foundation of his argument. Take that thought out of it and it is a house of cards falling down about our ears. If this nation is to be great, if it is to extend its civilization to every other nation—and this is the only excuse for the life and existence of higher, richer, more endowed nations as well as individuals—if we ourselves are to grow, we must recognize the "our." What gave England the immense stride and increase in material wealth and power over the thought of the world, but the faint recognition which she has given to the brotherhood of man? What has increased our own strength and wealth but our actions, belying our creed, and the free access we (I am sorry to say have) have given[sic] to every brother under the sun to come here and partake of our Father's bounty?

Can we go on praying "Our Father," and at the same time put up barriers against our brother's labor, which we ourselves need, and which we can in turn repay to him with labor which he needs? Can we shut the door in our brother's face when he comes with the superabundance of our father's gifts to him, asking in exchange some of the superabundance which we have received? If we do, shall there not then be waste—waste to others and waste to us, and shall not the proverb hold true, "Willful waste makes woful want?" Our nation will only be truly great as we value among ourselves and among surrounding nations the brotherhood that projects itself so boldly in this "our."

Then let us pray that come it may, As come it will for a' that, That sense and worth o'er a' the earth, May bear the gree and a' that, For a' that and a' that. It's coming yet for a' that, That man to man the world o'er, Shall brothers be for a' that.

FREE TRADER.

Sic in the original; probably "(I am sorry to say) have given".

A RHODE ISLAND OBJECT LESSON.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The advantage of having natural opportunities free to all is well illustrated in the case of a large class of men who get their living from the waters and along the shores of Narragansett bay.

The right of every person in Rhode Island to catch fish, dig clams and gather quohougs and scollops has been acknowledged for a great many years. The legislature has made laws to govern the fisheries in Narragansett bay; but subject to those laws every person in the state has an equal right to all the the products of the bay[sic] below high water mark. At various times individuals owing land along the shore,[26] have claimed the land as far as the low tides left it uncovered, and have brought suits to restrain people from digging clams, but the courts have invariably overruled such claims, so that now there is no dispute as to the right of the people to take clams and other shell fish except bedded oysters anywhere in the bay. In consequence of this common right hundreds of people get a good living by taking the products out of the bay.

Along Narragansett bay there are a great many shore resorts (so-called) to which thousands of people go every day during hot weather to enjoy a sail on the salt water and have a shore dinner. To furnish all the people with shore dinners it is necessary to have thousands of bushels of clams daily, besides large quantities of fish and quohougs. All these are taken from the bay, and many people along the shore get a good living by taking clams, etc., and selling them at the shore places.

In the early fall, when the law permits the taking of scollops, hundreds of sailboats can be seen on different parts of the bay being loaded with those luscious bivalves which are shipped to New York by car loads every fall. Besides the men who make a living along the shore many farmers and others go and get a mess of shell fish whenever they feel so disposed, while some make a practice of drawing seaweed away to put on their land.

It will be readily seen that if the land along the shore of Narragansett bay between high and low water mark were reduced to private ownership, it would be held upon the same conditions as agricultural lands, and he who wanted to dig a bushel of clams would have to give some land owner a part of them for the privilege of digging them, just as he now has to give a part of the potatoes, corn, etc., that he raises for the privilege of raising

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them, if he rents a farm. If the shore was private property the clam diggers, who now have all they produce, would be compelled to share it with some landlord, and instead of working for themselves would be compelled to work for others at such wages as they could get.

As the shore is held, so could all the land be held, and as the clam digger has all the products of his labor, so should other men. None of the people that I have been speaking about are rich, yet none are miserably poor. All are comfortable except those who are unwilling to work; and so highly do they value the shore privileges that I believe they would rebel rather than surrender them.

JOHN WASHINGTON.

Sic in the original; probably “all the products of the bay”.
Sic in the original; probably “owning”.

A MISSIONARY CAMPAIGN.

Preaching the New Crusade in Kentucky—Some Protected American Labor—A Priest Surprised—Editorial and Other Nicodemuses.

OWENSBOROUGH, Ky.—I have been hard at work making converts since leaving Evansville, Ind. I spent two weeks in Henderson, Ky. There is no labor organization in that town, but, nevertheless, we held a meeting in a school house. I explained the single tax to them and they were all satisfied, and many of those present stated to me that if we should nominate and run a candidate on such a platform they would gladly vote for him; but their condition is deplorable.

Many of those whom I met live in houses owned by the cotton mill company. The fathers are forced to stay at home in idleness while their children are working in the mill for barely enough to keep body and soul together. Those fathers state to me that it is impossible for them to get employment at any wages; and when I proposed the formation of a club for the advocating of our principles, the reply was, "If we form a club we will be evicted out of our houses and our children will be turned out of the mill." I distributed tracts among them and gave them "Social Problems" to read. Eight or ten of the number are now working privately for our cause. The seed is planted and in time the harvest will ripen. Some of them intend to send for THE STANDARD.

Mr. Hagg, the editor of the Henderson *Gleaner*, the most popular and ablest weekly in the county, is a strong believer in the doctrine, and is doing some splendid work for humanity. He tells me there are a number of students throughout the state that are with us.

At St. Vincent I called on Rev. Father Hogarty, who said: "Henry George wants to divide up everything." I asked him who told him so. He answered, as many others do, that he had seen it in the papers. But when I properly explained our mode of taxation, he asked: "Is that really Henry George's doctrine?" I said it was. "Why," said he, "there does not seem to be anything wrong about that. It would be a good change." I gave him some tracts to read, which he gladly accepted, and he assured me that he would give it some study. I will send him the books to read in time.

On my return to Evansville I called on our friend Charles G. Bennett, secretary of our club. He is by profession a bookkeeper, and is doing good work in the way of making converts.

There are a number of converts in Evansville who have not as yet joined our club, some of them being wealthy, others holding government positions. I understand the editor of the —— is with us, only our cause is not popular enough for him to come out. And I am certain it is a bread and butter case with many who believe in our principles privately. Mr. ——, a government official, is also in favor of our doctrine, but thinks the democratic party will carry it through.

There is talk of the formation of a free trade club in Evansville. I find the majority of our people are heartily in favor of a national campaign. I also favor the running of a candidate for president in '88. In my travels I find men that have never heard of our movement who state they are tired of the old parties and are looking for a new issue to vote for.

P. H. CARROLL.

A Practical Illustration.

HENDERSONVILLE, N. C.—Right here in Henderson county, North Carolina, where I am spending the winter, I understand that the principle of the land value tax has been tried on a small scale with good results.

There is a little place here called Flat Rock, consisting of fine residences, whose owners, with few exceptions, spend only the summers here, their homes being in Charleston or elsewhere in the "low country." When these people come up for the summer they bring their own furniture, their own horses and carriages and their own servants, and even their groceries are bought at wholesale in Charleston. Fresh meat, vegetables and fruit are all they need to buy here, and to a great extent they have fruit and vegetables raised on their places.

But besides their summer residences and beautiful grounds, most of these people hold idle, on speculation, large tracts of the "Mud creek land," the best in the county. While these lands are assessed at a nominal figure, land back on the mountains, probably inferior and certainly farther from market, is cultivated and assessed at nearly its full value.

However, a year or two ago the county authorities assessed at something near their real value the idle lands of one Flat Rock gentleman; consequently he sold much more land than usual during the year.

Who can be surprised that when I told some of the mountaineers of the united labor party and its proposal to tax land values and nothing else, they were eager to read all the single tax literature I could give them, and hopeful of the speedy success of a party with such a platform?

N. H. WHITNEY BROWN.

In Brooklyn's Twentieth Ward.

Readers of THE STANDARD in Brooklyn's Twentieth ward should know that there is a very live organization in that ward devoted to propagating the principles of industrial emancipation. The second of the monthly educational meetings of this association will be held this Thursday evening, Jan. 19, at Adelphi hall, corner of Myrtle avenue and Adelphi street, when there will be provided, besides an excellent musical and literary entertainment, a short address by Louis F. Post. Persons wishing to join this club should address Secretary John F. Keenan, 392 Myrtle avenue, or President C. O'C. Hennessy, 8[illegible]5 Vanderbilt avenue.

The Third Assembly District Officers [for?] 1888.

At a well attended meeting of the united labor party Third assembly district, held at 185 Grand street on Tuesday, Jan. 10, the following officers were elected for the ensuing year: Chairman, Wm. Osborn; vice chairman, Thomas Morrow; recording secretary, Daniel Bree, jr.; financial secretary, John J. Shine; treasurer, Thomas Kelly; sergeant at arms, Thomas Hewitt; county general committee—Patrick Doody, Thomas Morrow, John J. Shine, Wm. J. Lougheed, Daniel Bree, jr., Louis P. Howe, Michael J. Weldon, Alphonsus A. Foy, Thomas Kelly, Francis Ficke; county executive committee, Patrick Doody.

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not before resigning, removed from office Mr. Le Barnes, the law clerk of the general land office.

This act was, even more than the forcing of Mr. Sparks's resignation, an evidence of a deliberate plan to prepare for a radical change in the policy of the department under the direction of Mr. Vilas. Mr. Lamar had had some disputes with Mr. Sparks, but Mr. Le Barnes had held his position during the whole of Mr. Lamar's incumbency, and he had no difficulty or dispute of any kind with his chief. He was an authority on all questions relating to public lands, and as such was constantly consulted by members of congress interested in those questions. Mr. Holman, chairman of the committee on public lands, bears high testimony to the capacity, knowledge and devotion to the public interests displayed by Mr. Barnes[sic]. General Weaver of Iowa and Mr. Springer of Illinois gave similar testimony, and General Weaver says that Mr. Le Barnes "has for years done his utmost to hold in check the whole gang of land sharks. He knows their schemes and artifices like a book and has defeated many of their wicked plans of plunder. The land grant magnates have been after his scalp since he exposed their crookedness before the senate committee several years ago."

What does the summary dismissal of such a man on the very last day of Mr. Lamar's incumbency of office mean? It can have but one meaning, and that is that it is made in preparation for such an administration of the interior department by Mr. Vilas as will make the presence of Mr. Barnes among his subordinates inconvenient. The deliberate preparation for such a change indicates a complete change of front by the administration. That portion of Secretary Lamar's report for 1886, which defined the public land policy of the administration, was written by this same Mr. Le Barnes, and accepted by the secretary, who thereupon asked the same gentleman to write that portion of the president's message which dealt with the same question. The request was complied with, and the paragraphs thus written were incorporated with and became a part of the president's message as delivered to congress. Now, without a single change being made, and in preparation for a change in the head of the department, the clerk who had actually formulated the declaration of the policy of the administration on the public land question is summarily dismissed. What can this mean but that the policy thus announced is to be reversed?

Nor is this all. The land grabbers, whose dishonest schemes he has opposed and sometimes defeated, have for years been determined to drive out of the land office this obstacle to their success. They tried it during Mr. Arthur's administration. They brought influence to bear on Mr. Lamar as soon as he became the head of the department, and on more than one occasion the secretary was about to order Mr. Le Barnes's dismissal. He was dissuaded from so doing by officers more familiar with Mr. Le Barnes's abilities and services, and finally, as has been said, actually came to such an appreciation of these abilities that he asked the clerk to prepare a portion of his own annual report and to write a paragraph of the president's message. Mr. Lamar is therefore fully aware of the influences that sought the clerk's dismissal, and up to the time that he forced the resignation of Commissioner Sparks he was personally in accord with the policy represented by that gentleman and Mr. Le Barnes. That is to say, as secretary of the interior, he upheld these subordinates in their stubborn resistance to the aggressive

Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Le Barnes (?)".

schemes of the land thieves. As he is retiring from office, for the accommodation of his successor, he gets rid of both men. Is there any conceivable explanation of this but his knowledge that it is not the purpose of his successor to fight the land thieves?

Mr. Cleveland has recently justly earned credit for sense and courage by his message urging tariff reform. But he cannot afford to supplement this by taking two speculators from the northwest into his cabinet and permitting them to reverse his former policy with regard to the public lands and to make corrupt alliances with the corporations, rings and syndicates already too powerful in that section. In itself, the removal of the law clerk of the general land office does not appear to be a matter of great national concern; but taken as a part of a deliberate preparation for a surrender to land grabbers and other monopolists it is of the gravest importance. Mr. Cleveland ought not to permit the matter to rest where it does.

After a very bitter fight made on silly partisan grounds Mr. Lamar has been confirmed and it is a significant fact that two of the republicans who voted for him were Senators Stanford of California and Stewart of Nevada. During the whole contest not a single allusion appears to have been made to the valid reasons for objecting to all of these nominations. The appointments of Mr. Vilas as secretary of the interior and of Don M. Dickinson as postmaster general were confirmed without opposition, and it is these appointments, rather than that of Mr. Lamar, which indicate a surrender by the administration to the western rings and land grabbers.

The first meeting of the Unity congregation in New York was in all ways a success. Though the streets were in the morning covered with a sheet of ice, more than [600?] men and women were present at Masonic hall, and listened with eager attention to the really remarkable address delivered by Mr. Pentecost in explanation of the movement that he recently [started?] in [Newark?], and which has [since extended?] to [Brooklyn?] and to this city.
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Should the weather be at all propitious the hall will doubtless be crowded next Sunday. Mr. Pentecost's courage and conscience have well earned the welcome he has received to his new field of labor.

The president's message transmitting to congress the reports of the Pacific railroad commissioners is a somewhat inconclusive document. After reciting in vigorous language the reasons why the roads should be held to strict accountability for the manner in which they have abused the public bounty, it goes on to condemn the only means by which restitution can be secured of the immense values which have been literally stolen from the people. The president says:

> It is quite time that the troublesome complications surrounding this entire subject, which has been transmitted to us as a legacy from former days, should be adjusted and settled. No one, I think, expects that these railroad companies will be able to pay their immense indebtedness to the government at its maturity. Any proceeding or arrangement that would result now or at any other time in putting these roads or any portion of them in the possession and control of the government is, in my opinion, to be rejected—certainly as long as there is the least chance for indemnification through any other means. . . .
>
> While the plan presented by a majority of the commission appears to be well devised and gives at least partial promise of the results sought, the fact will not escape attention that its success depends upon its acceptance by the companies and their ability to perform its conditions after acceptance. It is exceedingly important that any adjustment now made should be final and effective. These considerations suggest the possibility that the remedy proposed in the majority report might well be applied to a part only of these aided railroad companies.

A trustee of any estate who should begin negotiations with a fraudulent debtor by declaring his unwillingness to foreclose the mortgage which constituted the only security for the debt, would scarcely be fulfilling his duty to the interests in his charge. Yet this is virtually what the president advises should be done with regard to the Pacific roads.

The Philadelphia *North American*, commenting on a free trade lecture in the city of Brotherly Love, remarks that the lecturer used a variety of "threadbare arguments." When it becomes necessary to argue that twice two are four, the very nature of the case requires "threadbare arguments."

Miss Munier's benefit was a grand success. The music was excellent, the audience large and enthusiastic and the financial results were, we presume, in keeping with the general success. The fact that so great an audience should be gathered in the academy when fifty cents was the lowest price for admission demonstrates not merely the society's regard for Miss Munier, but its strength. The audiences that gather at the academy on Sunday evenings are not mere curiosity seekers, but earnest men and women, who can, upon occasion, show their devotion to the cause that they have espoused.

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A Brooklyn Organization Discusses the Tariff.

At a meeting of the Nineteenth ward association of the united labor party of Brooklyn, on Friday, Jan. 6, Mr. Joseph McGuinness read a paper on James G. Blaine's *Tribune* "manifesto" on the tariff.

Mr. McGuinness's application of the term "American workmen" would be, he said, not only to Americans but to all foreigners seeking homes in America, bent upon bettering their condition, and using the sacred trust of citizenship to help perpetuate our free institutions. Mr. Blaine had asked, "How are we to manufacture cheaper than they do in Europe unless we get cheaper labor than they have in Europe?" and then had gone on to say, "Whenever we can force our carpenters, masons, iron workers and mechanics of every department to work as cheaply and live as poorly in the United States as they do in Europe, we can of course manufacture just as cheaply as they do in England and France."

"Regard for American labor," says Mr. Blaine, "should compel us to sleep only under American made blankets and to cover our backs in the garments made only of American cotton and wool." Regard for American labor has not prevented the employment of Scandinavians and Hungarians in the Hocking valley mines—in which Mr. Blaine has a considerable interest. To-day the miners of Pennsylvania are largely Welsh and Hungarians working at a dollar a day. In the great protected mills and factories of New England British operatives, brought to this country by the shipload, are working.

The speaker was acquainted with the working people in a Brooklyn factory producing "protected" goods whose wages when on full time was [$9?] a week, and who were put on half time several months a year. In the New England mills, when male and female operative married[sic], both kept along at work, and as soon as their children grew old enough they, too, were obliged to help augment the pittance earned by the parents. Referring to the "balance of trade," which Mr. Blaine warned his countrymen to watch, "that dollars should not flow out from here while only dimes flow in," the speaker said, "If, in this inclement season, I am tramping about in shoes having holes

Sic in the original; probably "operatives".

on all sides, and I have a snug two dollar bill in my pocket, what is the most valuable thing to me, a pair of new shoes or the two dollar bill? Yet, according to Mr. Blaine, if I purchase the shoes the balance of trade is against me."

The Harlem Branch of the Anti-Poverty Society.

Mr. Jerome O'Neill presided at a meeting of the Harlem branch of the anti-poverty society on Friday evening, January 13, at Mount Morris academy. The meeting was called for the purpose of organizing the branch so that the members might become better acquainted with each other, and that by means of gatherings at the homes of the members and occasional lectures and entertainments, they could more effectively propagate the principles of the anti-poverty society.

The following permanent officers were elected: Secretary, Miss Lizzie Battle; treasurer, Miss Cassidy; managing committee, W. O. Eastlake, W. J. Vitt, Dena Ochs, Sarah A. Corrigan, Mary O'Neill, M. Battle, Ellen C. Wall, J. Hamilton Dillon, Jas. Bingham, Mrs. Clara [Hunke?]. The committee proposes to [inaugurate?] an active propaganda of anti-poverty [doctrines?] in [Harlem?].

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ANTI-POVERTY IN CINCINNATI.

The Third Public Meeting of the Society—Dr. Houghton Compares the Two Forms of Slavery.

CINCINNATI.—The third meeting of the anti-poverty society of Cincinnati was the best attended of the series. Dr. R. H. Thornton of Newport presided, and in his introductory remarks said: "Emancipation is not half done. The good work must go on. The outworks have been carried; the citadel remains to be stormed. To free labor we must free land. Will the old abolitionists return to their unfinished work, or will the new abolitionists have to complete it for them?" Vocal solos were rendered by Miss Dee and Miss McCrea, and the singing of the jubilee choir was much enjoyed. Mr. R. W. Harrison spoke on the subject, "The Messiah and Poverty," and in commenting on Luke, chapter 4, verses 16 to 19, said: "Here are the Messiah's first public words, his inaugural address. In the solemnity of the occasion he recognizes poverty as a prime factor in producing sin, and as his mission is to eradicate sin, his first work must be to do away with poverty." Mr. E. T. Fries recited a telling selection from the St. Louis *New Order*, which was received with applause. Dr. R. Houghton of Newport, Ky., delivered an address, in which the following passages occurred:

"Anti-poverty is virtually anti-monopoly. Land monopoly is the most fundamental, far-reaching and enslaving of all monopolies. In this country it could be easily and peacefully abolished by taking ground rent for public purposes, were it not for the thoughtlessness, ignorance and prejudice of the voters. Here are the mountains that time, faith and work must remove.

"A comparatively short study of the proper writings will convince any fair minded man that private ownership of land is a great social wrong, and that real estate titles originated in military conquest, with force of might, not right. To grant the right to own land is to give the power to keep it out of use, on account of security of investment and certainty of rise in value (sometimes rapid and enormous), in a country where population and production are increasing; or to give the power to charge, tax or fine others—for what? For producing, manufacturing and exchanging the necessaries, conveniences and luxuries of life. In other words, for creating wealth. The greater the production and the wealthier a country the larger becomes the rent or portion of the landholders, and the smaller

become the wages of labor, and the interest of capital. The more the wealth producers make the more the wealth takers or land pirates get or seize. The wage serf gets so little, because the idle, proud and mighty landlord gets so much.

“Chattel slavery, or property in human flesh and blood, has indeed been abolished, but industrial, wage or indirect slavery continues, and must grow worse and worse under our present system.

“Conceding the superiority of the white race and the great advantage of a right to vote (if intelligently used), is it not a question whether the southern negro before the war was not, in many respects, better off than the average wage worker of the north is to-day? Did he have, or need to have, any anxiety or fear of getting food, clothing, shelter and medical attention for himself and family? No. His master’s pecuniary interest, if nothing else, forced him to provide these. Was he not more contented and happy, free from perplexing present cares, and from doubt and uncertainty as to the future? He had neither want nor the fear of want.

“The average laborer in the north gets about three hundred dollars a year, certainly a meager support for himself and family; but work is uncertain, hard times are not infrequent, and the labor market is generally overstocked. He can quit work and go on a strike, but cannot be certain of readily getting another job. He is subject largely to the whims, caprices and ill will of his employer, who can easily supply his place, often for less pay, and who cares little, if at all, what becomes of a discharged”hand.” It is, however, true that before elections the wage worker may be soothed and flattered by glowing pictures of the horrid condition of the pauper labor of Europe, and the vastly superior condition of labor in this country, which is boldly and impudently attributed to the benefits of protection, instead of to its true cause, less density of population. And hundreds of thousands, alas! actually believe by the government adding to the price of imported goods, and thus, by enabling the home manufacturer to do the same, they are benefited. How? By having to pay as much more for what they consume.

“The overseer of the chattel slave was responsible for his support, work or no work; while under the so called free or competitive system the employer is only responsible for the wages, after work done. The latter system is clearly better for the employer, as has been fully demonstrated in the south.

“It would not be safe, however, to argue from this that the blacks should try to get back into their former condition and that white laborers should join with them. Employers would not buy them, even if they should be willing to sell themselves. Rather let both unite to free themselves entirely. Emancipation is not half done. The outworks have been carried, the citadel remains to be stormed. To free labor you must first free land.

“Will the old abolitionists return to their unfinished work, or will the new abolitionists have to complete it for them? As sure as the sun shines and waters run it must come. We may not live to see it, but the destiny of this people is onward and upward. They were cradled in the spirit of liberty, and they shall yet see free land, free trade and true freedom.”

What the Railroad Has Done for Aspen.

ASPEN, Col.—In 1879 indications were discovered that the country hereabouts contained veins or deposits of silver and lead. At that time the nearest white man’s cabin was forty miles away across the continental divide, and town lots and quarter sections were valueless. Now we have a population of 3,000 or 4,000, while the valley below is fairly well settled with ranchmen. Town lots are worth from $500 to $5,000, and ranch land is assessed at $10 an acre, whether it is five or twenty-five miles from market.

Until two months ago we had no railroads and everything but native produce (hay, oats, potatoes and turnips) was freighted across the divide, a distance of fifty miles, by mule teams. Now we have two railroads. Before we had them many were looking for their arrival with great expectations. Now the majority of people cannot see that they have been of any benefit. With the railroads came an influx of men seeking work and creating an uneasiness among miners here that wages would be reduced in the near future. One of the local papers even circulated a rumor that January 1 had been set for a reduction, and the general feeling is that it is but a question of time for the reduction to be made. Workmen find it as difficult as ever to secure work and ranchmen get less for their produce. On the other hand mine owners get lower freight rates on their ore, which means their [property?] is worth more and [rents?] are rising.

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There are plenty of vacant lots and plenty of people who need houses, and plenty of unemployed labor willing to be employed, yet one must pay now twice as much for house rent as he did three months ago.

Truly the railroad is a great benefit—for some.

M. LORENZ.

Follies of the Ancients.

Toronto Grip.

Come, listen, my son, while I tell you what I know Of some singular people who lived long ago In a far-distant country, whose ways were so queer That I'm sure you'll be glad there are none of them here.

These people, like us, lived by labor and toil, By working the mines and tilling the soil; If no one had worked they would quickly have died, For only by labor their needs were supplied.

This being the case, anybody might think That those who worked hardest whould have meat and drink[sic], Good houses to live in, good clothing to wear, And be free for their lives from all trouble and care.

But these curious people had curious ways, Though the blessings of labor full loudly they'd praise, Yet those who worked hard for long hours every day Were forced to exist upon very poor pay.

They were sometimes half starved, and the fact must be told, They even have perished with hunger and cold; For the most part they lived on from cradle to grave, Enjoying but little, nor able to save.

But many of those who did no work at all Had fine houses, fine coaches and servants at call; In pleasure they lived on the fat of the land, For the products of labor were theirs to command.

Some other strange laws had this nation of yore— If a man killed another or plundered his store, The shedder of blood on the gallows was hung, And the robber in jail for a season they flung.

But the man who made killing a regular trade, And marched out with others for battle arrayed, Was reckoned a "hero," got money and fame, The more that he killed, why, the greater his name.

And he who by smartness was able to steal Not one dollar, but millions, by some tricky deal, Was honored, respected and hailed with applause, And sometimes elected to help make the laws.

Sic in the original; probably "should have meat and drink".

I couldn't begin to tell all the strange ways Of the people who lived in those barbarous days; Their customs and laws were decidedly queer. Now, isn't it good we have none of such here?

The New York County General Committee

The united labor party's general committee of New York county for 1888 met for the first time on Thursday evening, 10th inst., at Clarendon hall. Of the 384 members, 340 were present, and the spirit displayed was by no means that of men disheartened by defeat. Very few of those prominent in last year's committee failed to be returned as representatives for this year, and many of the new members are men who have lately gained prominence through their support of the Syracuse platform. John J. McGrath was elected temporary chairman and Fred C. Leubuscher temporary secretary. Protests were received from members of the Seventh and Fifteenth assembly district organizations, declaring irregularities in the election of delegates, and two delegations contested for the seats allotted to the Eighteen district[sic]. The hearing of the three cases before the committee on credentials occupied more than two hours. While awaiting the report of the credentials committee resolutions were passed, as follows: Protesting against the manufacture of cigars in tenement houses; protesting against the proposed repeal of the half holiday bill; reaffirming allegiance to the Syracuse platform; asserting a determination not to be diverted by any issue of tariff tinkering from exclusive and unswerving support of the fundamental reforms set forth in that platform; declaring for the Australian system of voting; and thanking the Anti-poverty society for its assistance in the last canvass. The report of the committeee on credentials,[31]—that the sitting delegates of the Seventh be recognized, that a re-election be had in the Fifteenth and that the Eighteenth district be reorganized—was then adopted. John McMackin was re-elected chairman, receiving 304 votes. Each district announced the name of its member of the executive committee, and adjournment was made to the call of the chair.

Believes in Concentrated Effort.

Reading William Schwalb's indorsement of J. Z. White's suggestion to capture one state and then go on further, I heartily indorse it, because I believe it to be practicable. For a long time this has been my idea of the way to success.

Now the question is, what state shall it be? I will emigrate to any that may be selected and do what I can to help on the good work. New York would be the best state for us to get, but can we not find a smaller one that we can get in less time? Some of the New England states have discovered the advantage of exempting new manufacturing industries for a term of years from town taxes. The single tax enlarges the advantage, and it may be we should find one of these states easy to control. Though if we could teach all the workingmen we had better take either New York or Pennsylvania.

Let us decide on the state and then go to work and carry it. If we have a compact body of voters we can compel the recognition of our aims, so far as state affairs, by allying ourselves to the party that will pledge itself to carry out our plan of taxation and thus compel an early trial of the single tax. When once tried it will remain. When we have the control, which we shall attain in due time, we will take the railways, telegraphs and telephones and run them in the interest of the people, not of any monopoly.

Sic in the original; probably "the Eighteenth district".
Sic in the original; probably "committee".

What state shall it be?

H. R. S.

Anti-Poverty at a Clergymen's Meeting.

At a recent meeting of "liberal ministers" in Minneapolis, Minn., C. J. Buell, president of the local anti-poverty society, read a very able and carefully prepared paper on "The Moral Aspect of the Land Question." The paper called forth an interesting discussion, in which Rev. M. D. Shutter, Rev. L. G. Bowen, Rev. K. Jansen and Mr. Simmons took part. The remarks were partly favorable, partly adverse to the views of the speaker. Mr. Buell spent some time in answering the objections raised.

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A LETTER FROM VICTOR A. WILDER.

BROOKLYN.—In reply to Mr. I. I. Barnard, who asks how I understand the Syracuse platform as saying "no word of a protective tariff or of free trade," I would at once for ocular proof as to the literal truth of my assertion refer him to that document. But of course his mind is running on what he thinks is the spirit of that declaration; he is reading between the lines and he discovers "free trade." His question in this direction demands an answer which I will endeavor to give. There is the best of reason for coming to a clear understanding upon this point, for it seems to me to involve a plain question of common, every day honesty. Did the declaration made at Syracuse mean free trade? And by free trade I do not mean the thing that is to come under different conditions than now exists, but the "free trade" that is a principle as against the protective principle. If the single land tax will yield sufficient revenue there is, under the Syracuse platform, to be no longer any tax on the products of labor; that is clear. Then of course there would be free trade; there would be no tax on rum or tobacco, All this[sic] we understand. And yet I am right in the assertion that neither in spirit nor letter is the Syracuse platform a free trade document, just as I am right in saying that it was not a document such as to warrant the assertion that we were as a party in favor of no rum tax. In spirit—since it was a deliberate omission, after thought and conference, a fair bargain between men who differed upon the question of free trade and protection as they differed upon many other questions—to sink their differences in the presence of that fundamental issue of the single land tax. In letter, as I before remarked, as the context of the document shows. The spirit is quite as important as the letter, true; but is such cases as this[,33] a pretty strict construction is allowable. There was a spirit, too, in the fact that no mention was made of free trade or protection in the Syracuse platform. It was a spirit for which I feel a very great respect. It was the spirit that sinks petty issues in the presence of grave concerns. To that spirit and the compact born of it I to-day have a profound loyalty, so deep that were the united labor party to make a presidential nomination on the Syracuse platform, demanding of me to elect between throwing away my vote upon its candidate and electing by that vote James G. Blaine, for whom I have the greatest admiration, and in whose principles of protection to American industries I am a strong believer, I would unhesitatingly annul my vote and stand with the men of Syracuse. I would keep the compact I made with those men, whatever the consequences.

I do not attempt to deny the ultimate of the Syracuse platform; but I do assert, and to the spirit and the letter of the document I appeal, that free trade or protection was left undeclared, for good and sufficient reasons and by fair agreement. Others may violate it who wish; I will not. I claim no right that it be enlarged in the direction of

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Sic in the original; probably "tobacco. All this".
Sic in the original; probably "but in such cases".

protective tariff declarations, and I deny the right of free traders in the party to urge any additions in the way of free trade.

Mr. George says, referring to the protectionists in the party, "they are with us in state politics, but would not be with us in national politics." Before accepting such a statement I really think it would be proper to define as to who is meant by "us." Is it the united labor party or the free traders? If the former, would it not be more truthful to say "it is the free traders who would not be with us?" And in this direction allow me to say that the Syracuse platform was not a declaration upon state issues. It was a declaration as broad as humanity. It was a garment that fitted the nation as well. If free trade was an essential principle of the party at that time we should have stated it so to be. We were there to formulate a political creed, not to elect some one to office through compromises and ambiguities. Why did not Mr. George and the free traders declare then, as they now declare, that the differences upon free trade and protection were so fundamental that an honest, complete statement of principles was impossible, and hence our duty was to disband?

To Mr. Bernard[sic] I would say that the strongest possible way the men who met at Syracuse could declare (to make somewhat of a bull) that neither free trade nor protection were issues was by silence. I leave it to him if the silence was not somewhat profound. The free trade issue is an after thought. I leave to those who have raised it the responsibility. I simply record my protest against any attempt to force the men in the united labor party to swallow free trade as a first step to free land, any attempt at least based upon any declaration in the party platform. I would record the same protest against any attempt to make protective tariffs a necessary step to the same end. We agreed to commence the fight for free trade by sinking our[,35] differences upon protection and free trade; we accepted the *status quo*. I stand upon the Syracuse platform, but that does not necessarily make me a free trader. Many advocates of free land believe in keeping the tax on rum, but "wet damnation" is a product of labor. They are good land men, however. I would retain the tax on importations where they compete with the product of our home industries, not because I believe it the proper way to collect taxes, but a good deal as Father McGlynn would put a tax on dogs, to get rid of them.

It is not the logic of the Syracuse platform you say; yet it is, for the true logic of that document is this: The supreme question in our industrial and civic life are land, transportation, money and the elective franchise, not free trade, protection, prohibition or civil service reform. I trust I have made myself clear. Pardon my long intrusion upon your columns, but I feel there should be no misunderstanding as to the real spirit of the work done at Syracuse as many of us honestly see it.

V. A. WILDER.

Mr. Post's Class in Political Economy.

The class in political economy recently formed under the leadership of Mr. Louis F. Post is holding meetings weekly in the small meeting room of the Cooper union. The average attendance is about one hundred, the roll bearing the names of one hundred and fifty men and women. While the members of the class are deeply in earnest, its sessions partake somewhat of the character of social reunions, the readiness and wit of Mr. Post being often matched by the bright things said by members of the class. The study of "Progress and Poverty" is now taking up the sessions. A review of the work gone over will soon be had. The class meets on Wednesday evenings at 8 o'clock. The fee for the entire course is one dollar, which goes for rent and gas.

Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Barnard".
Sic in the original; probably "the fight for free land (?)".

Sewing Seed in Maine[sic].

WOODFORD, Me.—Brother Gordon, who lives here and does business at Portland, and myself are doing what we can by talking and distributing tracts and papers. Some of those we approach are indifferent, some appear to be waiting for the cause to become popular before they come out.

I believe the calling of a national convention and nomination of a full ticket will put us on the high road to success. As for the party name let it remain as it is.

SAMUEL BUTTERFIELD.

Sic in the original; probably “Sowing Seed in Maine.”.

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WHAT THEY SAY ABOUT IT

STANDARD READERS DISCUSS THE QUESTION OF A PRESIDENTIAL NOMINATION.

A Batch of Letters Reflecting Earnestness and Thought—Some Want a Conference Called, Some Demand a Nomination and Some Believe in Keeping Out of National Politics for the Present.

Want of space has prevented THE STANDARD from publishing in full many of the letters which have been received during the past few weeks on the subject of the proper policy to be pursued by the united labor party. The extracts given below will suffice to convey an idea of the interest that the subject is arousing and the general trend of thought regarding it:

There is not wanting evidence of a change in the drift of opinion on the question of a nomination. While the earlier letters to THE STANDARD were almost unanimous in their advocacy of an entrance into the field of national politics, those received during the past week indicate the growth of a feeling that such a course would be impolitic.

Dennis Joseph O'Leary, Columbus, O.—What is the use of talking about nominating a candidate for president? It costs much more money to hold a national convention than the advocates of the single tax can spare. There are not enough members in eighteen congressional districts in Ohio to pay the expenses of one delegate. If Ohio can be taken as a sample of the strength of the united labor party in the majority of the states, and it probably can, there will be no national convention of single tax advocates this year. There is therefore no necessity for this heated discussion about the tariff. If the single tax will eventually result in free trade, what is the use in making free trade take such a prominent place just now? The majority of mechanics and laborers of the northern states are protectionists, and it is from this class that the majority of the united labor party in Ohio is formed. However, they will be well satisfied with free trade when accompanied with free land.

George Waterson, Brooklyn.—Although I regard the thought of protection as infernal from its center to its circumference, because it calls for "protecting" the few at the expense of the many, yet the question of free trade, minus the single tax, has ceased to be (in my opinion) worth fighting for.

Bron H. Butler, Brockwayntie, Pa[sic].—We should force the fight with a candidate. Even if the democratic party did not stand knee deep in chill water, afraid to plunge deeper, the republicans in our ranks would not indorse a democratic candidate. Early loves are strong. We can better spread our doctrines from the front end of our own little procession than from the rear end of the democratic procession. I am for a candidate, and my choice is Judge Maguire of California.

S. Butler, New York.—We should have a candidate and give every voter an opportunity of declaring for our principles by casting his vote with us.

Sic in the original; probably "Byron H. Butler, Brockwayville, Pa.".

William J. Mahoney, Kansas City, Mo.—I am in favor of exerting our force at every opportunity. Expense seems to be the only cause for hesitation in making a nomination.

Frederic A. Hall, Lawrence.—We should not leave the democratic party to untwist a turn or two of the bull's rope, but we should untwist the whole of it. We should not fail to take a determined stand on our convictions and enter the campaign demanding absolute free trade, unhampered production and equitable distribution.

Leopold Hoffman, Cleveland.—We hold that no other tax should be collected than one on land values. Therefore, what is the use of advocating free trade? The Syracuse platform covers sufficient ground. Nor is it necessary to have free trade in our platform, nor need we discuss that question. We can better afford to leave protection and free trade to the old political parties to fight over. Neither protection has nor free trade[sic] by itself will abolish poverty. We should have a national ticket standing on the Syracuse platform.

Resolutions by the Henry George club of Parkersburg, W. Va.—Whereas, Any hesitancy on the part of our leaders to come forward in the coming contest will, in our opinion, tend to discourage and dishearten the now growing army of true reformers; be it

Resolved, That the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost voices the sentiment of this club in his declaration favoring the nomination of a presidential candidate in 1888.

Edwin A. Curley, Brooklyn.—We should nominate a president. I am a free trader, but I am so thoroughly impressed with the importance of free land that I must needs vote for a presidential nominee of our own party. We would doubtless poll a smaller presidential vote than we should if the questions of revenue or protection were not in issue, but every vote would tell a tale of stern conviction. Discussion of principles would be the wider and the fuller for our entering the field. All thorough free landers, whether their second choice is democrat or republican, will stand up to be counted if a candidate is named.

William E. McKenna, New York.—I entirely disagree with those who think the party is in duty bound to nominate a national ticket. I cannot see how state, legislative and congressional nominations would help discussion. The money necessary for a national campaign could be used to greater advantage in a narrower field. We should concentrate our efforts on whatever state promises the best results—New York, I presume.

Most of the single tax men I know are, like myself, ex-democrats who voted for Cleveland. If Cleveland and Blaine shall be the candidates for '88 I am pretty sure most of those votes will go as they did in '84. I am not prepared to say that mine will not. If Mr. Blaine should be elected, where will tariff discussion and the economic discussion which might flow from it be for the next four years?

There are apparently some protectionists in the united labor party. I cannot understand by what process of reasoning they can bring themselves to accept "Progress and Poverty" and reject "Protection or Free Trade?" Silence on the tariff question or the protection question seems to me much more like an abandonment of principle than a failure to nominate a ticket. Such protectionists as voted for Mr. George for secretary of state will hardly vote for a united labor candidate for president, running, as I think he should and must, on an absolutely free trade platform.

Mr. Post's idea of nominating congressmen, I think, indicates the proper course in every district in which there is no candidate believed to be really in favor of tariff reduction.

J. W. Bailey, Monmouth, Ill.—I say with Mr. Pentecost, Warren Bailey and hosts of others, organize at once a national party and nominate for legislative and executive offices,

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Sic in the original; probably "Neither protection nor free trade".

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state and national. But avoid county contests.

L. P. Gouyette, Rochester, N. Y.—Let us show that we have the courage of our convictions by nominating a full ticket fiom president down[sic]. The prohibition party has done this, and has enlisted the hearty sympathy of many men who otherwise would not have been attracted toward it.

F. G. Johnson, Chairman Executive Committee of the united labor party of Kansas City, Mo.—The executive committee is of the opinion that it would be suicidal to neglect to put a national ticket in the field.

William Jackson, Middleport, N. Y.—Those who supported the united labor party in this section are composed largely of the "old guard," who have been greenbackers from the first; who are in the labor movement to stay, and who wish to have candidates for president and vice president. All stand fast by Henry George. We have come out from the old parties, and don't propose to be further tempted by either of the devils.

Jeremiah Sullivan, New York.—Free traders are our natural allies because free trade is a natural conclusion from our promises[sic]. But this is no reason to assume that we should let that hobby even for a moment throw our glorious movement into a secondary position. We have the truth and we must push it to the front. I will not support any party or the candidate of any party unless its platform proposes a step in our direction. Free trade is not a step under present conditions.

David Ralph, Pittsburg, Pa.—Nominate a presidential ticket and make a fight. That is the only way to bring our principles properly before the people. It cannot be done by merely making a fight on legislators and congressmen, for the reason that it would be a hard matter to organize in every district, and isolated adherents would have no chance to vote as they wished.

W. C. Wood, Gloversville, N. Y.—Let us nominate a candidate for president on the Syracuse platform and let the land question be our battle ground. I realize the truth of Henry George's words that "the tariff question has the land question beneath it," and I say go to the bottom. Let us keep out of this tariff fight, which I verily believe the thoughtful leaders in the old parties have begun in order to turn men's minds away from the land question. With the tariff fight we have nothing to do until we have brought home to the hearts and minds of men a knowledge of the great truths, to forward which we have organized our party. The land question is the root of the tree of monopoly. Let us strike at that, for so long as it lives it is useless to hack at the branches.

A. W. Sheets, Long Prairie, Minn.—The issue between the two old parties will not be the tariff question. The president advocates a reduction of the tariff to relieve the dangerous congestion of the treasury, but says, "in the readjustment of our tariff the interests of American labor engaged in manufacture should be carefully considered." He plainly indicates in this and other similar expressions that he does not believe in free trade as the true policy, and the democratic party will certainly not move in advance of the leader. If the free soilers do not conduct a national campaign next year many of its members, perhaps half, will support Blaine in preference to Cleveland, basing their preference on other questions of difference than that of the tariff.

W. H. Connell, Rockville Center, L. I.—Like Mr. Pentecost I desire to cast my vote for an electoral ticket. We need name no candidate for president. We should also try to elect members to the state legislatures, where laws regarding the ownership and taxation of property are enacted, rather than on members to congress, who may only abolish tariff taxation.

Sic in the original; probably "from".
Sic in the original; probably "premises".

F. G. Anderson, Jamestown, N. Y.—We know that our principle is right and the best way to bring it into discussion is to nominate a president.

F. W. White, Auburn, Me.—I am in favor of a presidential candidate. Any reform sentiment there may be in either of the old parties exists only from fear of our movement. The real reformers in the other parties belong with us, and hence we should have an independent ticket upon the lines laid down in the Syracuse platform.

George W. Lloyd, New Rochelle, N. Y.—There should be a conference in Washington, D. C., on Feb. 22 and platform launched.

W. H. Van Ornum, Ravenswood, Ill.—Let us have candidates for president, vice-president, congress and the various state legistures[sic]. There is great strength in always being found in the forefront of the fight. The real point of vantage is in the state legislatures.

Edmund Yardley, Pittsburg, Pa.—In renewing my subscription for THE STANDARD, permit me to express the hope that no attempt will be made to run a presidential candidate next year. I cannot but feel that the money and effort expended will be out of all proportion to the good accomplished. If we ever get the laws changed, and the single direct tax substituted for the present system, it is clear we must do it primarily through the state legislatures. Now, my suggestion is that we devote all our efforts to the election of representatives pledged to our views. If here and there we put an able man in the legislature, we will be sowing seed far more practically than by showing our strength in voting for a prosidential candidate[sic] we cannot elect, and it is practical politics we want, not sentimental ones. Our organization could in this way be kept up, and the total number of votes cast for our candidates be summed up in THE STANDARD.

We have entered on a long fight, and I for one have enlisted for the war. The customs of hundreds of years cannot be changed in a day. Indeed, I think it would be a misfortune to achieve a triumph before the public sentiment of the country was thoroughly educated up to an intelligent support of our views. For wise and able as I believe the leaders in this movement to be, it is not to be expected but that mistakes would be made if they were in power, and these would be used by our enemies to show how chimerical our notions were. But with a thorough discussion and understanding of the subject our triumph will be sure.

The single tax may not accomplish all that you hope, but I doubt not it will go a long, long way in alleviating human misery. It may be that to some few holders who have invested their earnings in land of moderate size on which they live, some form of compensation may be thought just, but these are details which need not divide us now.

In my own case you have shown me an escape from socialism, for much as I like the socialistic state on many grounds, I hate its tyranny. Yours is the cause of freedom[sic],

Thos. J. Canty.—I am not in favor of a national ticket. I do not believe in dividing the forces of reform now that we have got the ball in motion. We should cast our votes for those that are going our way.

Land and labor club No. 21, Ellenville, N. Y.—Resolved, That the party of labor emancipation should call a national convention at an early date and nominate candidates for president and vice president, to advance the principles of the single tax in the campaign of 1888.

Herbert Darlington, La Grange, Ill.—I hope

Sic in the original; probably “legislatures”.
Sic in the original; probably “presidential”.
Sic in the original; probably “freedom.”.

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no presidential nomination will be made this year. I want to vote for Cleveland upon the platform of his free trade message. I believe his success will help our cause more than agitation at a time when men's minds are on other subjects.

M. Lorenz, Aspen, Col.—I, for one, believe it is too soon to tell whether or not a national ticket should be put in the field. Circumstances may develop such a condition of things that it may be best not to do so.

Frederic W. Sanders, Rochester, N. Y.—Sharing with Mr. Pentecost the opinion that it is our duty as sincere believers in the single tax to vote steadily for that principle on any and all occasions, regardless of any question of political expediency, and bearing in mind that there are other means of advancing our views than the running of a presidential ticket, I believe that we should not enter the national arena next fall.

Although it may be safe to say that the dearest wish of every member of our party is to see the single tax established, it is nevertheless true that we are not men of but one idea. There are other truths that we would have acknowledged, other desirable ends that we would attain.

Many of us are earnest free traders. For years we have restlessly watched and waited for this issue to come before the country, bewailing the mistaken zeal of the rank and file of the republican party and the wretched pusillanimity of the democratic leaders. Moreover, as Henry George has so persistently and eloquently urged, nothing will so naturally and inevitably lead to a widespread perception of the necessity of the land reform as agitation and public discussion of the tariff question. Is it not then our duty in case the democrats this year make an honest fight for an approximation to free trade, to take advantage of the long wished for opportunity and hold up their hands, doing everything in our power to bring about a thorough discussion of this pregnant question? As men convinced of the economic truth of free trade, would we not be disloyal to our convictions, if by endeavoring to poll a large vote for men whom we knew perfectly well we could by no possibility elect, we should thereby, at this critical time, divide the free trade party (which at the best would not be any too strong) and make certain a protectionist triumph?

But aside from our position as free traders, considering only our advocacy of the single tax, our object is to substitute the tax on land values for all others, and such independent political action as we have taken or contemplated has been merely as a means to the accomplishment of that end. If, in the present stage of the undertaking that end can be better accomplished by some other means, it is our unquestionable duty to abandon such independent political action and adopt the better method. Our allegiance is not due to party, but to principle. Considering, therefore, the much larger field for propaganda that would be opened up by a thorough discussion of "protection to American industry," it seems to me that as believers in the single tax, whether individually we be protectionists or free traders, it is our interest to encourage this discussion to the utmost, and that to that end we should keep in the midst of the fray—not withdraw ourselves from it in order to stand up and be counted, and, as a result, be lost sight of in the heat of the contest between the old parties.

Of course if the old parties do not make the tariff question the issue, but, on the contrary, fight the campaign out "on general principles," as heretofore, we should make a vigorous, independent campaign, for we would then attract those who despise an ignoble scramble between the ins and the outs for the spoils of office.

W. C. Albro, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.—We ought to have a national and a state ticket, and should have nominations for smaller offices at the option of localities. But we should most decidedly go into the national field or else our movement will be accounted dead. The attempt to merely institute a gorrilla warfare[sic] by assisting one old party candidate here and electing another there, will be to make mere puppets of the rank and file of the party. These

Sic in the original; probably "guerrilla".

men have never been defeated and don't mean to back down, and they demand candidates. For economy's sake there should not be more than five representatives from each state at the national convention.

Benjamin Adams, Charleston, S. C.—Allow me to cast my vote in favor of nominating candidates for every office from president to coroner. I have noticed that as long as we are looked upon as mild reformers, expecting to carry out our views some years hence, the "pro-poverty" papers treat us with silent contempt or mild admonitions. But when we talk of politics and nominate candidates to be voted for now, tney abuse and ridicule[sic]. The quickest way to create discussion is to reach for the loaves and fishes. By nominating a presidential ticket we shall force discussion upon every newspaper in the country and arouse thought in districts that are as yet wholly unorganized, and that would not be reached by congressional tickets.

Personally, I shall be disfranchised if we have no ticket. I can not vote for the protection fraud of the republicans, and I will not vote to strengthen the democratic party, even to secure a tariff reform; that after all will not help us much on the road to free trade.

J. C. Roshirt, Albany, N. Y.—My opinion is that if we do not run a candidate for president a good many who have seen the cat will think the cat is dead.

J. H. Ralston, Hyattsville, Md.—I am a believer in free trade, but I recognize that to secure it without first moving for free land is to force an extension of our national monopolies into international ones. From being a living, growing organization, shall we dissolve into our original elements, and, while entertaining a dillettante affection[sic] for the beliefs which brought us together, fight one another upon the question of bogus free trade vs. fraudulent protection?

W. A. Johnson, Atlanta, Ga.—The party must run a candidate for the presidency and candidates for congress. We do not want free trade *per se*, for I think that it can be successfully shown that protection to labor through a tariff and private ownership of land constitute a better state of government than free trade and private ownership of land, which is the condition best suited to slavery—the very condition the south so persistently contended for before the war. What we want is free access to land and then we will take all the consequences which follow—free trade or anything else.

P. A. Capelic, Providence.—Our duty seems to me to be to put candidates in the field. We are not obliged to make an expensive campaign. We need only keep right on as we are now doing, sending out tracts, etc., and on election day vote our ticket. Nothing is to be expected from the democratic party on the line of free trade. Both of the old parties promised that four years ago. Thousands of men are tired of being bought and sold, and would vote for our candidate.

The New Crusade in Harlem.

Rev. Charles P. McCarthy will begin the series of Sabbath evening services at Arion hall, 2,233 Third avenue, on Sunday evening next. The subject of the discourse will be "Thy Kingdom Come." The exercises will be varied with congregational singing and sacred solos.

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

A SCHOOL TEACHER'S EXPERIENCE.

Miss Leonora Beck's Address Before the Chicago Anti-Poverty Society—How the Children Taught tae Teacher[sic]—The Joy of the Gospel of the New Crusade.

When I left my home in the country a few years ago and took a position in one of the schools in this city I did not know what poverty meant. For awhile the burden falls as heavily on the agricultural classes as upon any other, yet owing to the sparse population cases of absolute want of food and clothing cannot go without discovery and relief.

The first year in this city passed quickly, and I tried hard not to realize the condition of many of the families from which my pupils came. I partially succeeded, and was comparatively happy, although I very many times felt like saying with J. G. Holland in "Bittersweet:"

> God forgive me, but I've thought
> A thousand times that if I had his power,
> Or he my love, we'd have a different world
> From this we live in.

The second winter that I passed in this city was, and still is in memory, something horrible to me. Its revelations went so far beyond what I had even dreamed might be possible.

In the early part of the winter a very heavy snow fell and lay on the ground until early spring. The weather set in very cold, and continued so for many weeks. When the severe cold came on so suddenly I supposed the parents were not ready for it, and quieted my sympathies by thinking that in a few days the new warm clothes must be ready. But the days went on and the clothes were never ready. And at last it dawned upon my mind that those children could have no warmer clothes, and that the very children whom I had wished many times would remain at home on account of their scant clothing, were there in my school room very early and very regularly every day because it was warm and pleasant, and because it was not warm and pleasant in the squalid houses from which they came. So it came to be my habit to go an hour earlier than usual to let those little people in, and soon a portion of my salary went in stockings, mittens and bread for them. It seemed to me that nothing more could happen to make the situation worse than it was. But as the days went on five children, from as many different families, would come to me almost daily, some time during the morning, with their thin lips and hungry eyes, and ask me to let them run home to see if their mother had found some breakfast for them yet.

On one of the very coldest mornings of that winter, after my pupils were all in and as happy as I knew how to make them under the circumstances, I noticed during the first recitation that Celia ——, a girl of about twelve or thirteen years (who was quite lame from hip disease), had her head down on her desk. I passed quietly back to where she sat, and placing my hand on her head, said: "Celia, what troubles you this morning? Tell me." Without hesitation she raised her tear wet face to mine and exclaimed, brokenly: "Oh, teacher, mother left us so cold and hungry this morning when she went to work. I came to school and left my two little sisters and the baby in bed to keep warm. Can't I go home to them? I think I ought to go."

There could be but one answer. She went, carrying with her breakfast for them all. And never will the impression I received that morning of the great injustice of our social conditions leave me. Never can I forget the look of unutterable pain and misery on the pinched, prematurely old face of that crippled child.

A few days later the family was relieved by the city. The place they called home was one small room in a basement, where the mother with her seven children was trying as best she could to live and keep her children with her. The

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Sic in the original; probably "the".

father had been dead but a few months, and even though the mother worked every day when she could find work to do, little by little everything they had in the house had gone for food and coal. They at last sought refuge in what I would think little better than a cell, and were found just in time to save them from starvation.

What kind of person is he who would not be impelled by witnessing such misery to seek its remedy? To me the man or woman seems less than human who, while such undeserved suffering is found on every hand, questions the need of an anti-poverty society.

Later on in the same winter there came into my room a splendid bright-faced Norwegian boy. When the cold weather came on he began to come tardy in the mornings. I did not like that, so I insisted that he must start a few moments earlier from home. He did so; but I was surprised to see him come so dirty, with his face and hands looking just like a miner's. I talked with him about it, and asked him what he was doing to be so dirty. He told me was gathering coal[sic].

I let that pass by, and a few days later he left school in the middle of the afternoon without my permission. The following morning I took him alone and questioned him to find out if he were playing truant. He was not playing truant, and this is what he told me: A few months before while his mother was out with a basket hunting for coal along the tracks and under the cars, and wherever she could find anything that would burn, she had been caught under one of the cars and one of her limbs cut off. "And now," the boy said, "I have to hunt the coal." I knew then why his clothes and face and hands were so black.

A few days later I missed the boy altogether. A week or two passed and then one morning he came in looking shy and timid. He came straight to me. I asked him if he had been sick?—why he had been out so long? He could not tell me. He did not answer at all.

While I was waiting to hear what he had to say, one of my boys from the back of the room spoke out quickly: "He is a coal thief and that's what they arrested him for." And that was true. To that boy the disgrace of coming late to school was a greater crime than taking the coal from the car instead of waiting to pick it up from underneath it. He filled his basket and took it home to his mother. When he returned to continue his work the corporation—the same corporation which deliberately shortens the supply of coal that poor people may be forced to pay a higher price for it—had him arrested.

Another of my pupils was a very pretty child of about seven years. I was quite interested in her, and feeling sure that she had just as near nothing on her little body as was possible for her to have and appear clothed at all, when the weather grew so cold, I spoke to a very kind woman about her, and secured a supply of underclothing and skirts for her. When the child came the next morning I sent her into the dressing room to put them on, and in fastening the clothes for her I found I had guessed correctly. All that child had on was two thin calico slips that fell straight from her shoulders to her ankles, a very thin pair of stockings and an old pair of shoes.

A few days later, when I was about to give a language lesson, I told the children to put their heads down on the desks and go to sleep and dream a pretty dream to tell to me

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when I awakened them. They did so, and in a few moments their heads were up, their faces bright, and each in turn told such a wonderful dream of Santa Claus, and Christmas trees, and of presents they were going to give to me. But when the turn came of this same child who had received the clothes she stood by her seat and told her dream very quietly. She said, "I dreamed about God. I thought He gave me some new clothes and made it warmer

Sic in the original; probably "He told me he was gathering coal.".

out doors." I confess that I could find in myself no such sweet faith as was exhibited by that child in her reliance in the "All Father" from whom she had received such bitter neglect.

Put yourself in my place and I think you will not be surprised to learn that I grew very bitter, and failed to find anything "holy" in such conditions; and moreover I felt that if there were joy in heaven over the sight of hungry eyes and shivering little bodies, with their frozen, festering faces, ears and fingers, *I* wanted none of that kind of heaven. And I said to myself, "Anything is better—annihilation even—than the prospect of a future spiritual state under the control of the power that could leave human beings in such material conditions, where, in spite of their efforts, such suffering must be." And my faith in the accepted theological beliefs vanished never to return; and with it went my faith in the wonderful institutions of this gloriously free country of ours.

Such was my feeling when a friend suggested that I read the works of Henry George. I did so, and almost before I was aware of it I was a crusader of the most rabid sort.

When I commenced the reading of "Progress and Poverty" I had in my heart a bitterness toward a divine providence which could create a race of beings whose lives and happiness depended upon the material bounties of the universe, and then maliciously thrust in as one of its physical laws that the bounty should not increase as rapidly as the number of the beings dependent upon it. For I was no wiser than the millions of others who had unquestioningly accepted the teachings of the long line of political economists who teach the hateful doctrine of Malthus.

But what was my joy to receive from the pages of "Progress and Poverty" the message that God had not forgotten the world; that the Malthusian theory is a libel upon the creator; that it was not the design of providence to feed the children of earth with manna from heaven, or by the mouths of ravens; but that God has provided a land teeming with the means of sustaining life, and to secure its just distribution has given to his children that sweet, natural religion—"the brotherhood of man." I learned that the sad fact that the rich grow richer and the poor grow poorer, instead of being an evidence that there is no God or that he is indifferent to the undeserved suffering of his children, is rather an evidence that the human race has not yet proved worthy of the grand trust reposed in them of securing through governmental institutions a just distribution of more than ample natural bounties.

I am sure it would have been very difficult to have found a happier creature than I was when I realized the change which had taken place in my mind when I had read "Progress and Poverty." I found my old faith reviving. I took heart of hope and read again and again the gospel of the new crusade. I began to realize that it was ignorance and disobedience to the divine laws that had brought about this poverty and injustice; and that it needed, perhaps, the sight of just such misery as I had witnessed among the children of the very poor to awaken the consciences of the people to the fact that something must be done, and done very quickly, or much worse conditions must follow.

And I believe that in the work taken up by the anti-poverty society and its kindred organizations lies the only hope of averting the intensifying of conditions even now terrifying to contemplate.

To my mind the pure white banner of the new crusade is not only the symbol of the highest religion ever offered to mankind, but it also marks the only gateway of approach to that happier day when there shall be "peace on earth, good will to man."

I am not in this movement because I know so much of the details of the science of the proposed reform, for I really know very little about them. But I am in this movement because of the actual natural religion that is in it; because this reform proposes that justice shall be done to all the children of the great Father; because I believe that sooner or later, with free land and free trade, the national boundary lines must disappear and the whole round world become one grand republic, governed by the people and for the people.

Not in our time, perhaps, will all these glorious hopes be realized. But what of that? We are content to be just seed sowers and leave the reaping to those less fortunate than we. Less fortunate, I say, because they will not have had the pleasure of seeing the whitening of the dawn of the beautiful day when justice shall be done on earth.

I am very sure that I for one have got religion, and I do not propose to go in on probation either. I can remember, not so very long ago, how I used to be amused at the Methodist brethren's enthusiasm; but now I quite understand and appreciate it. For I realize that faith in our movement, enthusiasm in our movement, is the surest way to success. And I will tell you all now that, while I am not logical enough to ever be a teacher in the science of this reform, my enthusiasm is such that, like the good old brethren, I must once in a while at least be heard from in the amen corner.

May the good time hasten when this beautiful world of ours shall become as a heaven on earth—when the light of divine love shall so expand men's souls that they can be content to recognize the brotherhood of man and the fatherhood of God; when all the children of his universe can say, as did the Indian chieftain, Black Hawk, and with the same perception of the right of all men to the use of the soil: "The earth is our mother."

From an "Irish World" Man.

SAMARIA, Mich.—About seven years ago I commenced reading the *Irish World* and began to see the light. I borrowed, and afterward bought, "Progress and Poverty" and became a convert to "Georgeism." I commenced to take THE STANDARD last October, and, reading the speeches of Dr. McGlynn and Mr. Pentecost and others of the anti-poverty society, I was "born again." I found myself in the "straight and narrow way." This, after being a "hardened infidel" for years. To the man that so clearly sees "Henry George's Mistake" I would kindly say, "We are journeying toward the country of which the Lord said, 'I will give it to you; come thou with us and we will do thee good, for the Lord has spoken good concerning Israel.'" I don't suppose he will, though.

A. F. OSBORN.

The Boston Land and Labor Club.

BOSTON, Mass.—Will you please announce in THE STANDARD the fact that the place of meeting of the land and labor club of Boston is at No. 45 Eliot street, room 11, every Friday evening. The subject for discussion for Friday, Jan. 20, is "Why Do Wages Tend to a Minimum?"

E. N. WHITE.

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THE CALL OF DUTY.

Rev. J. C. F. Grumbine Tells the Story of His Enlistment in the New Crusade—He Must Go Where Duty Leads Him.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Several years ago, when "Progress and Poverty" first appeared, I purchased a copy in a Cincinnati book store. But perusing it carelessly I did not digest its contents or sound the depths of its marvelous teaching. About the time of the organization of the united labor party I took the book up again and read it carefully, and with the help of the other equally valuable works of Mr. George I came to see the greatness of the problem, the soundness of the argument and the practicability of the remedy, and I vainly searched current

political science for a refutation of it. I was drawn to the author by his reverence for God and his advocacy of the rights of humanity, and I may truthfully say that I have had a greater love for the masses of mankind and a deeper insight into the law of Christianity since reading "Progress and Poverty" and embracing the political economy of Henry George than I ever had before. Instead of battling creeds and trying to please my congregation with a rosewater religion, I have made the morals of Christ and the truths of religion mean something to the thousands, who, seeing injustice and oppression around them, lose faith in a beneficent creator. I had not to go to New York or London to see poverty deepening in the midst of wealth; to find the almshouse and penitentiary flourishing with the increase of churches; to see the monopolist growing more powerful and tramps becoming more numerous, for all about me the same forces were at work.

And so, for preaching a practical Christianity; for going out to the masses to learn the reason why they, among whom Christ ministered, remained away from the church; for proclaiming to the poor their inheritance in the earth, that it was never intended that some men should be forced to beg or steal for subsistence while natural bounties lay untouched around; for urging men to vote as their consciences dictated and in accordance with that justice which they would restore to the world—for doing all this I have been bitterly criticised by a few people in my church. But despite such opposition I believe that ministers of the gospel must go out of, not into, the church to meet the people who are to carry forward the cause of Christianity. All the preaching in the church will avail nothing until we dare to preach the gospel of justice and righteousness that knows not the rich or the poor. What is by many called Christianity is but a phantasy of the brain which has done much to alienate men and build great walls between them. The claim upon us to teach the truth is just as great as it was upon Jesus, the Christ, when he labored with the abandoned classes of Palestine. Whether we are preachers or not we must stand up for justice. And if we, as ministers, are denied the right to tell the truth, whether in religion or politics, we shall go where the truth can be told, leaving the church to those few men and women who have room in their heads and hearts only for their bigotry and malice.

J. C. F. GRUMBINE.

Thoughts Suggested by Victor A. Wilder's Letter.

HUTCHINSON, Kas.—I have read and re-read V. A. Wilder's letter in THE STANDARD of Jan. 7. It has been a matter of surprise to me how any one holding our land principles could also hold the doctrine of protection. I was aware that Patrick Ford took this position, but I thought he did it more to spite English people than to help either the Irish or the Americans. I was aware that T. V. Powderly held this position, but I thought that was because he lived in Pennsylvania. It never occurred to my mind that any considerable number of those believing in the single tax could also believe in protection; nor can I believe this yet.

Free trade is freedom; protection is the opposite of free trade, therefore it must mean slavery. Now, there are various degrees of freedom and of slavery. The bull tied to a post with a very long rope cannot be said to have his freedom, but as he winds the rope round and round the post his freedom becomes less and less. When the rope is all wound round the post we may call him a slave. Let us call him in this condition a chattel slave.

If he should unwind the rope a few times we might compare his condition to that of our ancestors who were deprived of religious freedom, a religious slave. If he should unwind his rope further we might compare his condition to that of a people deprived of commercial freedom by a protective tariff. If he should unwind his rope still further we might compare his condition to those who are deprived of all right to any share in the gifts of nature and are compelled to work for others for wages, the industrial slave. If he should unwind his rope to its full length we might compare his condition to those living under the single tax, who have equal rights to natural

opportunities and are only bound not to trample upon each other's rights. If he should break the rope his condition might be said to be absolute freedom, such as is enjoyed in the Cannibal islands—no law, anarchy.

Mr. Wilder would not unwind the rope unless he could do it all at once. To be consistent he should have been opposed to liberating the southern slaves unless he could have at the same time brought about the single tax. He could easily have shown that the freedom which the colored people now enjoy could not be much improvement on chattel slavery. This actually was the strong argument against liberating the slaves. Still I presume that Mr. Wilder will admit that the abolition of chattel slavery was unwinding the rope. So the declaration of the right of free thought was unwinding the rope. Any movement that will increase our freedom to trade where we please will be still unwinding the rope.

Of course we will not be satisfied with anything less than the whole length of the rope, which will give us all equal rights to natural opportunities. We do not ask or want freedom to treat our neighbors unjustly. We want them to have the same rights and privileges we ask for ourselves and no more.

J. G. MALCOLM.

The Cleveland Land and Labor Clubs—An Address by Dr. McGlynn.

Mr. John Benbow writes that Cleveland, O., has now three land and labor clubs, with lists of members increasing every week. Land and labor club No. 9 has elected Tom L. Johnson president, C. W. Whitmarsh vice president, M. Siemon secretary, and F. L. Carter treasurer. On January 11 Dr. McGlynn delivered his address on "The Cross of the New Crusade" at the Cleveland Music hall before 1,000 persons. The audience was composed of mechanics, clergymen, lawyers and a large number of business men. The speaker was introduced by W. S. Kerruish. The address produced a good effect in Cleveland. Arrangements were made by the clubs for a reply to the doctor by the Hon. R. G. Horr. Dr. Bates's recent argument in opposition to the objects of the clubs had strengthened them, and the plan of hearing speakers on all sides of the question is recommended by the Cleveland upholders of the new crusade.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Correct.

NEW YORK.—I understand your theory as follows:

Money is a certificate that so much labor has been performed. For instance, if I work and get paid for my labor, I have my labor in the form of money, which I can exchange for other labor. Instead of buying other labor, I buy a lot for $1,000, and in the course of ten years it has increased in value to $12,000, the peopie having, you might say, each one of them put a silver dollar on the land until it is worth $12,000. Say I have spent $1,000 as a tax and $1,000 for buying the lot, I am $10,000 gainer. I meet a friend whom I have not seen in ten years, ask him how he has made out, and he says he has earned $10,000, worked hard for it, produced it, and has it as a certificate that he has performed so much labor. He asks me how I have got along. I tell him that I, too, have $10,000. He asks where did I work for it, and I tell him I did not work at all. I loafed. Now the question naturally arises, how is it that I, who have done nothing, have as much in labor value as he has? I must have some one else's labor.

I understand as that piece of property increased in value, you would have it so taxed that the value would go back to the people. Am I right?

GEORGE LLOYD.

You are right.

Adequacy of the Tax.

WEST NEWTON, Mass.—(1) If all the states should adopt a "tax on land values only" and this tax should not be adequate to pay governmental expenses, what method would be best to raise the deficiency?

1. If free trade shall exist and all modes of income to the nation cease, the states would have to pay their pro rata tax to the nation for national expenses. Is it likely the land tax will anywhere nearly suffice for town, city, state and national expenses?

2. In a rural town where there is no village, and rent or tax on land would be nothing or nearly so, how would money be raised for schools, roads, etc., there?

3. Wouldn't it be better to have the state as such to collect the whole tax and so distribute it that no district would be minus its money for expenses?

W. A. SPINNEY.

1. Succession taxes. But the land value tax would be adequate.

2. There is every reason to believe it would be ample.

3. Schools, highways and similar institutions ought to be supported by the state at large.

4. I do not think so. The state ought to pay for public improvements that are of general use or benefit; but improvements the use or benefit of which are local ought to be supported by the localities in which they are established. All this is matter of detail for future regulation. What we have now to seek is the establishment of the principle that public revenues should be derived from land values.

Did He Misrepresent?

SUMMIT, R. I.—Have I misrepresented? Not long since I was led into rather a warm argument with the master of the grange organization that has recently been formed in this place. He accused me of misrepresenting, and said that I would not see the truth because I did not want to see it.

1. And this is what I have represented to the farmers: I have told them that if the land value tax was put in operation and all indirect taxes were abolished, they would pay less taxes than they do now.

2. I also told them that the rental value was based on the selling value of the land. But on looking over some of the late STANDARDS I think I was wrong. In STANDARD No. [26?] I find this statement. That as the selling value decreases the rental value increases, and ultimately there would be no selling value. Now, when there is no selling value, what will limit the increasing rate of the rental value of land?

3. Does the rental value mean the highest rent one can obtain for the use of land?

4. In December 3 is the statement that as the rental value of land increased the selling value also would increase. Is it a contraction of the former statement[sic], or am I incapable of understanding?

5. When there is no selling value in land, will it not be rented and only improvements sold?

L. INGRAHAM.

1. The probability is that you are right. Most farmers would pay less taxes than they do now, although I cannot say whether that is true of the farmers whom you have addressed. The farmer now pays taxes on his improvements, on his stock and on everything he buys, as well as on the value of his land; it must be exceptionally valuable land that is worth annually what the farmers annually pay in this way.

Besides paying lower taxes the farmer would do a better business if the land tax were in force, for he would have a wider and more active market.

1. Rental value is not based on selling value, except that a speculative selling value has a tendency to abnormally increase rental value. Speculation eliminated, selling value is a capitalization of present rental value. If speculation enters in, selling value is a capitalization of prospective rental value.

Sic in the original; probably “contradiction”.

You have not carefully read the statement in THE STANDARD to which you refer. Rental value does not increase as selling value decreases. But a rising tax on land values might ultimately produce that result; as the rising tax would leave less and less rental for capitalization, selling values might decrease while rental values increased.

When there is no selling value the margin of cultivation limits rental value as it does now. A full land value tax would destroy selling value; but it would not affect rental value except as it raised the margin of cultivation by bringing more land into market.

1. Yes.

2. The statement is correct. Taxes on land being fixed, selling value would increase as rental value increased. It is in contradiction of the former statement as you quote it; but you do not quote correctly.

3. It is not proposed that land shall ever be rented by the government. Transactions would be much the same as now; there would be buying and selling of land and improvements, which would transfer the right of possession; but if the tax were theoretically perfect, no price would really be paid for the land. Nominally, the price would be for the land and the improvements, but in substance it would be the price of the improvements only.

The Standard of Living.

FALL RIVER, Mass.—Will you add a word

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of explanation about the "standard of living?"

1. You say (December 10): "A fall in the margin of cultivation cannot bring wages below the standard of living. But the standard of living is not fixed, and a continued low margin of cultivation may lower the standard of living." It not only may, but must, if it is to continue to determine wages. But how can the falling or low margin of cultivation act on the standard of living except through wages? And on our hypothesis that the standard of living fixes the minimum of wages, will not wages fall when they reach that point?

2. Is it not much more consistent and correct to say that a "bare subsistence" is the true economic minimum of wages? Did ever man live who would not give up his habits, comforts and most of his necessaries for his life?

3. Would a national eight hour law, applicable to all laborers, "tend to raise the margin of cultivation, and thus wages and the standard of living?"

INQUIRER.

1. A falling margin of cultivation, if it reduces the standard of living, does so through wages; but are you not confounding wages as a quantity with wages as a proportion of wealth produced? If productive power increases with the fall of the margin of cultivation, wages as a proportion will diminish, but as a quantity they will not, and consequently the standard of living will be as before; therefore it is not true that a continued low margin of cultivation *must* lower the standard of living. It is only when the margin of cultivation falls without a corresponding increase of productive power that the standard of living is affected. You will remember that Mr. George in his chapter on "The Law of Wages" reminds his readers that he uses the word wages not in the sense of a quantity but in the sense of a proportion. Let me quote him: "When I say that wages fall as rent rises, I do not mean that the quantity of wealth obtained by laborers as wages is necessarily less. but that the proportion which it bears to the whole produce is necessarily less. The

proportion may diminish while the quantity remains the same or even increases. If the margin of cultivation descends from the productive point which we will call twenty-five, to the productive point we will call twenty, the rent of all lands that before paid rent will increase by this difference, and the proportion of the whole produce which goes to laborers as wages will to the same extent diminish; but if, in the meantime, the advance of the arts or the economies that become possible with greater population have so increased the productive power of labor that at twenty the same exertion will produce as much wealth as before at twenty-five, laborers will get as wages as great a quantity as before, and the relative fall of wages will not be noticeable in any diminution of the necessaries or comforts of the laborer, but only in the increased value of land and the greater incomes and more lavish expenditure of the rent receiving class."

This explains why it is that land values have increased so enormously in the first quarter of a century without much lowering the standard of living or seriously diminishing wages as a quantity. The margin of cultivation has fallen or rents could not have risen; but as productive power has increased in as great or greater ratio than the fall of the margin of cultivation, wages as a quantity are but little if any lower, though as a proportion they are a great deal lower.

1. A bare subsistence is the economic minimum of wages in the sense that it is the lowest point at which wages can rest.

2. If observed it might for a time, unless the tendency was counteracted by the greater efficiency of workmen due to fewer hours of labor. Other things remaining the same, a cessation of work for two hours every day would lessen the demand for land and by raising the margin of cultivation raise wages as a proportion; but as production would be diminished it is impossible to tell whether or not the greater proportion would be a greater quantity. Even if it increased wages as a quantity, the increase could only last until increased efficiency and an increase of the supply of labor had again lowered the margin of cultivation.

A Little Confused.

NEW YORK.—I shall be obliged if you will give some explanation of your answers to my questions in THE STANDARD of Dec. 10.

1. You tell me you would enforce your tax by selling the property, and also that if the tax were full nothing would be realized ex- cept the value of the improvements. You must mean that the state would receive the tax from the proceeds of the sale, i. e., from the value of the improvements. Why does it not follow that no matter what you called your tax it would be in substance a tax upon improvements?

2. Again, as nothing would be realized except the value of improvements it follows, does it not, that in the case of unimproved land you would realize nothing, i. e., you couldn't sell it, i. e., your tax would not be enforced?

3. More broadly: You have stated again and again that your tax was to be on land values, not upon the land itself, not upon its utility, but upon its value. Yet now you say in effect that the very enactment of your law would wipe out land values. The differences in utility and general undesirableness which under the present system give rise to value would doubtless remain. But what simple or accurate measure of those differences would there be?

4. My fourth question, which you do not understand, may be put in another way, thus: You say that in case the tax were not full the tax sale would realize something beyond the value of the improvements and that the excess would be economic rent (less tax) capitalized. Now, who is to have that excess? Is the state to take it? Is it to be paid (after deducting from the total proceeds of sale the amount of the tax) to the former owner?

or is it to be remitted to the purchaser on the tax sale? And that you may understand what I have in mind in putting the question, I will ask another: If you say that any other disposition of that excess would be made than a remission of it to the purchaser, how would you ever afterward justly increase of the rate of tax[sic] upon that land, the purchaser having already once paid a capitalization of economic rent?

A. M. G.

1. To levy a tax on land values, and collect it in labor products, is not levying a tax on labor products. A tax on tobacco will be paid by smokers; the tobacco will be that much dearer. But a tax on the value of tobacco land will be paid by the owner of the land; the tobacco will be no dearer. This will be so whether the land

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owner pays his tax by turning over tobacco or by selling tobacco and turning over money. It will be equally so if he refuses to pay his tax and the government seizes his stock of tobacco.

Similarly of land improvements. A tax on houses will be paid by tenants; house rent will be that much higher. But a tax on land values will be paid by the lot owner; house rent will be no higher. If the lot owner pays his land value taxes with house rent, the tax will be a land value tax all the same; and if, refusing to pay, his house is seized for taxes, the tax nevertheless remains a land value tax.

Suppose houses were taxed and corn were not; would the fact that the govern- ment seized corn for a delinquent house tax make the house tax, in substance, a corn tax? If not, why should you suppose that a tax on land values (houses being untaxed) becomes, in substance, a house tax if houses are seized for delinquent land value taxes?

1. So far as collecting anything was concerned, the tax would not in that case be enforced; but so far as land speculation was concerned, it would be enforced. No one would appropriate that land unless he wanted to use it; therefore, any one wanting to use it could go upon it without saying “by your leave” to any body else. So long as a user remained in possession the tax would be collected.

2. I have never said that the land value tax would wipe out land values. I have said that if theoretically complete it would wipe out the *selling value* of land; but selling value is only one kind of land value. The tax would not wipe out rental value, and rental value, when there was no selling value, would be “the single and accurate measure” of difference in desirableness.

3. The tax not being full, any surplus over the tax realized on the tax sale would belong to the delinquent tax payer. There would be no justice in afterward increasing the rate of tax on the land value. The purchaser would have the improvements which he had bought, and the land he would take then as purchasers do now and always have taken land, subject to the right of government to increase its rate of tax.

Payment of a capitalization of economic rent does not in justice give perpetual title, much less does it perpetually free the title from taxation. A man having capitalized economic rent at twenty years and purchased on that basis from the public, might with some show of justice claim title for twenty years; but under what system of morality could he claim title forever?

Sic in the original; probably “justly increase the rate of tax”.

More About Interest.

PHILADELPHIA.—I am an earnest advocate of your land doctrine, but I cannot agree with you as to the cause of interest, which is stated in "Progress and Poverty," to arise from the "principle of growth."

1. Will you please explain the economic difference between coal, which the natural forces have produced, and which you justly claim belongs to the community, and a tree or a cow which can be produced by natural forces without the assistance of man?

2. Where a man applies his labor to aid nature, would not equity demand that he should only receive compensation for his labor?

3. In chapter 2, book 9 of "Progress and Poverty" occurs the following passage: "A new equilibrium would be established at which the common rate of wages and interest would be much higher than now." Would not this permit capital to take in interest the product of natural forces, which is rent?

A STUDIOUS INQUIRER.

1. Between a cow or a tree in the wild state, and coal also in the wild state, that is, in the mine, there is no economic difference; but between coal in the mine and a tree which has been taken from the wild state and subjected to cultivation, or a cow which has been taken from the wild state and domesticated, including the increase of such cows through all generations, there is the same economic difference that there is between coal in the mine and coal which has been mined. The difference in each case is due to human labor.

2. Equity demands that a man who applies his labor to aid nature should receive the whole produce of his labor, save the value of such natural opportunities as he is permitted to exclusively use. When Robinson Crusoe domesticated goats he applied his labor to aid nature, and was entitled to all the goats he raised. So when a man raises wheat on land that bears no rent he applies his labor to aid nature; and is entitled to all the wheat he harvests. As Adam Smith truly says, the natural wages of labor are the produce of the labor—the natural materials in the form which the labor has given to them. The wages of a fisherman are the fish he catches. The wages of a farmer is the produce he raises. If another wishes to use these fish or that produce as capital for further production, let him pay the laborer who produced them what he asks, or produce others like them, which, land being free, he can do. If interest is natural, this would not be inequitable; if it is not natural, free land will abolish it.

3. No more than it would permit labor to take it in wages. As the margin of cultivation rose, the proportion of wealth going to rent would diminish and the proportion going to wages and interest would increase. As between wages and interest, should interest rise so as to make it more profitable to produce capital than to use it, labor would turn to the production of capital until interest was brought back to the point at which it would be equally profitable to produce capital or to use it.

Mining Prospectors.

HELENA, M. T.—I am convinced that your theory is correct, but am troubled in regard to the application of it in a mining country—especially of the scarcer metals—as gold, silver, copper, etc. A prospector may spend a lifetime in hunting and developing a mine; how would he be requited for these services under your theory? It is frequently a question of chance as to whether a mining company will get back even the money spent in developing a mine, let alone any profit. There have been millions lost in such efforts. How under your system can any mining developments be expected? To expect the government to do the prospecting and the development is to expect incalculable waste and costly service.

WILL KENNEDY.

The labor of a prospector is analogous to the labor of an inventor. An inventor "may spend a life time in developing" his

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invention; "it is frequently a question of chance whether" an inventor "will get back even the money spent in developing" his *invention* "let alone any profit;" and "there have been millions lost in such efforts." But would you think it reasonable, on that account, to give the inventor a perpetual monopoly of his invention? Is there no way of adequately rewarding him without imposing a tax on everybody else for all time to come and giving him absolute power to allow the use of his invention or not? Surely Professor Morse's invention has been of as much real service as gold mines and his labor as worthy of reward as the labor of a gold prospector; but no one has doubted that a tem- porary monopoly sufficiently compensated him.

The service that prospectors, inventors and authors render is peculiar and its reward must be secured in an exceptional manner. The miner has his reward in what he mines, the machinist in what he constructs, and the printer in what he prints; but if the prospector is to have no more than he mines, nor the inventor than he constructs, nor the author than he prints, these classes of laborers will be without any reward for their most useful work—*for that work of theirs without which there would be fewer opportunities to mine, construct and print*. How to properly secure them that reward may offer some difficulties in detail, but the difficulties are slight. The present plan of rewarding inventors with a temporary monopoly is better than to reward them with a permanent monopoly; but it is not the best plan. It is intended to secure them royalties, but in practice it enables them or their assignees to deprive the public of the best use of the invention. The object of the patent law would be attained if, without creating any monopoly, it imposed some reasonable fixed tax for a reasonable period in favor of the inventor on users of the invention. A similar plan might be adopted in favor of prospectors. They would be adequately rewarded if for a reasonable time after the discovery of a mine they were exempt from payment of a land value tax any higher than was imposed on the land before the mine was discovered. This would not enable them to injure the community by keeping the mine closed, for their only hope of getting the reward would be in a speedy and continuous use of the mine; but it would secure them their reward if they worked the mine, for during the term of their exemption they would realize enough more from their product than the value of the labor of producing, to compensate them for the service of discovering.

In objection to this, it might be said that some prospectors would be richly rewarded and others poorly, since some mines are discovered as the result of long labor and severe privation, while others are discovered with little or no labor. Such inequalities could not, perhaps, be avoided. The patent law does not now avoid them in the case of inventions, to which the same objection would apply. It is doubtful if it would be desirable to avoid them. The real service that an inventor or prospector renders is the invention he makes or the mine he discovers. Though he work at an invention or at prospecting for a life time, the community is no better off if he fails to invent or discover. Nor is it any better off if the invention or the discovery of a mine is the result of years of labor than if it is the accident of a day. While, therefore, there may be an inequality of reward as be- tween individuals relatively to the exertion they have made, there is none relatively to the service they actually render to the community which pays the reward.

The only other objection that can be raised is that men would not hunt for mines if their reward was to be a royalty for a limited time instead of ownership of the mine. But the history of invention proves the contrary. It even proves that no reward is necessary, for some of the most useful inventions have been made by surgeons, the ethics of whose profession forbids them to apply for patents. That in justice there should be rewards, however, is indisputable.

You will find that all the difficulties of detail which seem to prevent the application of the land value tax are, like the one that suggests itself to you, only imaginary.

Notes.

WM. H. LEFF, Butler City, M. T.—It is not necessary to publish an editorial on the subject you suggest. "Progress and Poverty," in which many of your own ideas are elaborated, fully discusses the subject.

LOUIS F. POST.

How Long Will They be Content?

Peabody, Mass., Reporter. > > A hundred thousand people in New York becoming criminals and paupers, becoming a burden upon their fellow men, not from any fault of their own, but because there is no way for them to earn their own living; they are willing to work, but there is no work. Few there are who will not steal rather than starve; a father is not a father who will see his child pine away and die of hunger, while there is a bountiful supply around. It is impossible for a mother to allow her child to die of starvation if it lies in her power to prevent it, and this hundred thousand, two hundred thousand or more, are not suffering because of a famine, but because of the mismanagement, ignorance or indifference of the class in power. > > It is no use to talk philosophy or political economy to these men; they want bread, > must and will have bread: part will obtain it through crime, part through vagrancy. It is no use to talk of the magnificence of our government, the glories of our institutions when they are suffering for the necessaries of life; and what is true of the hundred thousand or more in New York is true of an equal per cent in all of our large cities. It is not confined to our cities; you will find these unemployed in every town and hamlet. > > It is not a hundred thousand, but it is a million; not one million, but millions. Is it any use to tell these men to be patient, not to listen to the teachings of anarchists, socialists, communists and nihilists when they see Goulds, Sages, Vanderbilts springing up all round? How long will this great middle class, this industrial class, patiently submit to the conspiracies resulting from consolidations on the one hand, and the millions of poor, ignorant, perhaps well meaning but unemployed people on the other? How long will the true brain and sinew of our country be content to see their money go to increase the wealth of the millionaires on the one hand while they are building jails and poor houses to be filled up with the paupers and criminals sent here from other lands? > > The state of affairs must cease, or it is anarchy in the full sense and force of the word.

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TO A BOOKKEEPER.

It is amusing to hear you complain of the low salaries of bookkeepers, you who so often express contempt for what you call "the unreasonable demands of workingmen for better wages." Have you never thought that wages are wages, whether paid to bookkeepers or cardrivers, and that calling your wages a "salary" does not remove it from the influence of the same conditions that make all wages higher or lower?

You are yourself a workingman and it is impossible for your wages to be very much higher or very much lower than the wages of other workingmen. Why don't you think of this and inquire into the reasons for it? It is a simple matter. If something should turn up to make bookkeepers' wages high. so many[sic] people would leave other occupations to become bookkeepers that competition would bring bookkeepers' wages down again. On the other hand, if bookkeepers' wages should fall below wages in employments as easily learned so many bookkeepers

Sic in the original; probably "wages high, so many".

would hunt for other employment that bookkeepers' wages would rise again. You know this as well as I do, but you have never reasoned from it. Now that you think of it, do you not see that, considering the relative agreeableness of different employments and the difficulty of qualifying for them, there must always be a substantial equality of wages along the whole line of labor? Your complaint of the low salaries of bookkeepers, then, is only an echo of "the unreasonable demands of workingmen." To you it has seemed that the world has a spite against bookkeepers, when the truth is that every one who works for a living has the same cause of complaint that you have.

And what do you suppose the cause is?

You may think, perhaps, it is too many bookkeepers; but that is a narrow notion, since any decrease in the number of bookkeepers sufficient to materially raise wages in your vocation would speedily draw recruits from other vocations. Is it, then, too many workingmen of all kinds? Yes; too many workingmen relatively to the opportunities for work which are open to them.

And now don't you see that if there were unlimited opportunities for work in any vocation all wages would rise? Suppose there were more openings for bookkeepers than bookkeepers, would not bookkeepers' wages go up? Of course. "But," you may say, "so many people would then leave other vocations to become bookkeepers that competition would bring bookkeepers' wages down again." Yes, that is what would happen if the openings for bookkeepers were not practically *unlimited;* but if they were unlimited—if, no matter how many people learned bookkeeping the demand for bookkeepers kept ahead of the supply—bookkeepers' wages would not fall; they would rise. And as bookkeepers' wages rose, wages in other employments would rise too, or nobody would work at anything but bookkeeping.

Of course an unlimited demand for book- keepers is out of the question; but there are vocations in which opportunities for employment are unlimited. There is practically no limit to the natural materials for food, clothing, shelter, warmth and so on, that labor may take from the earth; nor is there any limit, short of an ample supply for every one, to the demands of mankind for such materials. In the employment of procuring these materials, then, no matter how many people engage in it, the demand for labor keeps ahead of the supply, and wages must rise; and as any increase in the supply of such materials makes greater demand for laborers to work them up into finished products, and to distribute them through the channels of commerce, and to keep accounts of the multifarious transactions, the demand for labor in every department of industry also keeps ahead of the supply and all wages must rise.

Wait a minute! I know what you want to say. You would like to remind me that an increase in the number of farmers tends to reduce the wages of farmers, and, therefore, it cannot be true that the demand for labor in the production of food materials, for ex- ample, keeps ahead of the supply. I admit it. You are quite right. But that is because opportunities for employment in farming are not unlimited.

Now, in saying, in one breath that opportunities for such employment are unlimited and in the next that they are not, I am not talking in riddles. What I mean, and what I want to impress upon you, is that by nature they are unlimited, and by law they are limited.

Nature offers unlimited opportunities for work. So long as these opportunities remain unlimited there will not be too many bookkeepers. As soon as there is an indication of crowding in any vocation the pressure is communicated along the line of industry until it is felt by laborers who produce raw materials; when these laborers feel it they readily find relief in new natural opportunities, and the relief which they obtain is communicated back along the the line of industry[sic]. These natural opportunities therefore are the regulators of all wages.

Sic in the original; probably "back along the line of industry".

This is so when natural opportunities for work, which are not in actual use, are readily accessible and free; but when they cannot be availed of except upon such conditions as a purchase price, a mortgage or lease burden, or a long journey to some sparsely settled region, the natural regulator of wages is thrown out of gear, and surplus labor, to which nature offers employment, is forced back upon other vocations. I do not mean that unemployed farm labor, when denied free access to natural opportunies[sic], goes to cities to compete for work at bookkeeping, nor that bookkeepers go to farming when natural opportunities are free; therefore do not tell me that you are no farmer and would be as badly off as now if farmers were as plenty as poverty. It would not be necessary for you to farm in order to enjoy the benefits of free farming opportunities. Relief from crowding at one point in the circle of industry implies relief at all points. Free opportunities for farming would lessen the number of farm hands seeking employers and increase the number of employers seeking farm hands; that would lessen the number of men seeking employers in all secondary occupations and increase the number of employers seeking men; these conditions would be in- tensified by the greater ability of every one to buy the product of others; and the general tendency would persist until human desire for labor products was wholly satisfied or natural opportunities ceased to be free.

If you think this over you will never be guilty of the foolishness of saying that bookkeepers are not interested in the question of free farming opportunities. But do not suppose that farming land alone offers unlimited employment. There are mining lands, and lumber lands, and water rights, and city lots, and a thousand and one other natural opportunities for labor which are not used, that are capable of supplying work without limit. Why are not these opportunities used? Now, you touch the heart of the question. Well, do you not see that as population increases in any locality these opportunities in that locality increase in value. Do you not also see that by buying at a low price and holding while population increases, the buyer can make a good deal of money without doing anything? To be sure, you do. That is precisely what others have seen, and they have acted upon it. Consequently you will find in

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every community a great deal of unused land of different kinds upon which “surplus” labor might find employment. The reason it does not find employment there is because the price is so high that those who are out of work and have no money cannot get permission to use it, and those who have work and money would not, after paying the admission fee, be able to make any more than they make now. So the land is as useless to labor as if it were walled in or did not exist.

Is it necessary now to tell you what to do to make bookkeepers wages high? If I offer a suggestion will you think it over? Abolish all those taxes which now keep consumer and producer apart by increasing the price of commodities—taxes on houses, food, clothing and other things which every one wants and only labor produces, and collect all public revenues from the value of land. This would increase the demand for labor products by lessening prices to the extent of the tax thrown off; and by making it expensive to keep land out of use, it would make natural opportunities for supplying the demand freer than they are now. Having taken that step it would be a mere matter of detail to increase the tax on land values until all land that was not in actual use was wholly free. Then the impassable walls that separate labor from natural opportunities to labor would be gone, and with the relief from crowding that labor in all departments would experience, a bookkeeper, instead of wondering how to get a *job*, or how to keep the one he had, as bookkeepers do now, would be wondering whether to keep the job he had or to take another one that would be constantly open for him.

BARTHOLOMEW APPLEBY.

Sic in the original; probably “opportunities”.

THAT LAND AT TEN CENTS AN ACRE.

Theodore P. Perkins of Lynn Tells the Boston "Transcript" About the Single Tax Principle.

The Boston *Transcript* lately copied from the *Evening Post* a somewhat boyish letter, in which the writer demanded that the Anti-poverty society should pay him ten cents an acre for some valueless land which nobody else would buy, on pain of being thought recreant to their principles. The *Transcript*, in some puzzle headed kind of way, thought it saw an argument in all this, and demanded that somebody should answer it. This Theodore F. Perkins of Lynn has done in a temperate and well written letter, from which the following is an extract:

> Evidently you take Messrs. George and McGlynn, with their followers, for a colonization society, *looking for a place to settle*. They want nothing of the kind. Let me see if I can make you understand what they do want.
>
> All the land in this country that anybody wants to use is increasing in value, and ninety-nine one hundredths of all the land has been steadily increasing in value ever since white men settled on it. Under the mistaken idea that the people who lived on this land in those days had a better right to it than any who have been born since, and that consequently they had a right to sell it absolutely as they would sell a house, a boat or anything that they had made, they and their heirs and assigns have been allowed, and are now al- lowed, to take as their own the increased value of land in the shape of rents or selling prices. Now, the land increases in value because of the growth and movement of the whole people. To the whole people, therefore, all this increased value belongs, and the taking of it by the so-called "owners" is a kind of legalized robbery of the rest.
>
> If you don't believe this is so, Mr. Editor, think for a moment what would become of land values in this country if all our people who do not own land should suddenly emigrate to the antipodes; and consider, also, whether land at the antipodes would increase in value or not.
>
> Now, George and McGlynn and the rest of us say that if this robbery were stopped and the annual rent of this country went into the public treasury, where it belongs, there would be little or no need of laying other taxes. Furthermore, the people who are holding great quantities of land out of use, hoping to get much money in the future from those who want to use that land, would find that that sort of thing would no longer pay. The selling value of land would gradually disappear, and after that any who wanted to use vacant land could do so, without large outlay at the start, by simply guaranteeing the rent to the community. Freed from the exactions of "land owners" and from all forms of taxation which fine industry and obstruct free exchange, the users of land would take hold of all sorts of business enterprises with a vim that would not leave a single man idle who could be induced to work, and wages would rise nearly or quite to the full value of the work done by the wage earners. Again, a great multitude of people who now get their living from society without giving anything to speak of in return would be obliged to do some useful work in order to live.
>
> In other words, the "land reformers" of New York city say to all well meaning but ignorant people who offer them cheap land, "No, thank you; we prefer to stay here. A part of the rent of the land of this town belongs to us; a very large part of it belongs to people who hold no deeds to land. What is true of New York is true of the whole country. We don't want a new country—we want justice."

Mr. Perkins, who is secretary of the Lynn land and labor club, knows when to strike a blow and how to strike it.

Protecting Labor.

James Parton in the Forum.

> Can it be possible that orators of reputation will again have the effrontery to stand before assemblies of workingmen, and tell them that the protective system is a protection to them? Shall we again hear of the pauper labor of Europe as being the consequence of free trade, of which the continent of Europe knows nothing? As I write these lines I can hear the hum of a cotton mill, where the best hands, by working a long factory day, earn eight dollars a week; and if they object to the wages, the manufacturer has only to send across the Canada line for a few car loads of French Canadians to depress wages still lower. A tariff to protect those mill operatives would put the duty upon the Canadians, not on the cotton cloth. If cotton spinners are to be protected artificially and at the expense of their fellow citizens, we should stop the Canadians at the custom houses on the border, and put a thousand dollars duty upon every family. Here is an issue distinct and clear, which the republican party is willing to face. They say that it protects the working man more to put the duty upon the cloth than upon the Canadians. Let us respect their courage and imitate it. Let us say with equal distinctness to the workingmen of America that it is their true policy to admit both the cotton and the Canadian duty free.

The Way it Goes.

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

> There are vast areas of land in the united kingdom withdrawn from cultivation for the pleasure and sport of certain mostly unproductive persons. In Scotland alone 2,000,000 of acres, once occupied by an industrious, thrifty and contented peasantry, are now reserved for the grouse and the deer. And the people who ought to have been healthily and comfortably earning their subsistence on that land (such of them as have not been able to emigrate) are now competing with each other, often for starvation wages, in other country districts and in our congested towns, crowded together in noisome slums. If all the land were recognized as being, not the private property of this or the other gracious duke or noble lord, but (what it really is) the common property of the whole nation, the nation would not be so considerate of the savage sporting tastes of the aristocracy as to reserve that land for grouse and deer; it would have it peopled again with more precious inhabitants; those solitary hillsides and valleys would again resound with the hum of busy workers in the fields and with the ringing laugh of happy, healthy children.

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TWO BROTHERS.

We were school boys together—John and Walter Hunt and I—at the little old school house in the village of W——.

I never knew two boys, to say nothing of two brothers, more unlike each other. The teacher used to say it was a case of extremes meeting—John, lazy, shiftless, always at the foot of the class; Walter, full of life and ambition, and leading his fellows in their studies. It was the same thing at home; John would sit baking himself by the fire for which Walter cut and carried in the wood. There wasn't a farmer for miles around that didn't shake his head when John's name was mentioned, and prophesy that he would never come to any good.

As the two boys grew up, the difference in their characters became more strongly marked. Walter went to work on his father's farm with such energy and to such good purpose that before he was twenty-one, the mortgage which had been Farmer Hunt's rock ahead for half a generation, was paid off, and the productive power of the farm nearly doubled. As for John, when he wasn't absolutely idle, his days were spent in hunting and fishing; and the only money he ever really earned was a few dollars for acting as guide to a naturalist who spent a summer in the vicinity.

Well, at last—it's some fifteen years ago now—Mrs. Hunt died, and her husband. broken hearted, soon followed her. When the will was read it was found that everything was left to be divided equally between the two boys. There was some slight dispute about the division; but this was settled amicably by selling the farm and dividing the proceeds; and the two brothers, having turned all their belongings into cash, left W—— for the west. I, myself, soon after moved away, and for years I heard nothing more of my old school fellows.

Last week I spent an evening with an old resident of W——, chatting pleasantly of the old days when we were boys together, and calling up reminiscences of old school fellows and playmates. We had well nigh exhausted the catalogue of marriages and deaths, of fortunes and misfortunes, when at last I said:

"I wonder what ever became of the Hunt boys?"

"Why," said my friend, "don't you know? Why, I saw them both not a fortnight ago, out in ——. They're doing well, too—'specially John. Why, John must be worth a quarter of a million at least."

"And how is Walter doing?" I asked.

"Oh! Walter pegs along in the same old way, making a good living as a farmer."

"Guess you're a little mixed about those boys," I said. "If either of them has made any money it must be Walter. John never had the industry and drive in him to make money. I never believed he would work hard enough to make the first hundred dollars."

"And he never has," replied my friend, "but he's the rich one, nevertheless. But you see he didn't make his money by hard work."

"What do you mean?" I asked in some amazement. "You don't mean to say he stole it?"

"Oh! not at all! He got it fairly enough—just had dumb luck, you see. The two boys bought farms about twenty miles apart, and for a time the luck all seemed to run Walter's way. He worked hard, he made good crops and saved money, while John just fooled away his time and did nothing. Fact is, if it hadn't been for John's wife being a pretty likely kind of woman, who kept things together after a fashion, I reckon Mr. John would 'a starved.

"But while John was lazying around fishing and hunting, and letting his wife do all the work, the country was filling up, and at last the railroad came along. And, as luck would have it, the best place in the whole neighborhood for a depot was right in one corner of John Hunt's farm."

"I see," said I, "I understand how he got his money now."

"Just as easy as nothing at all," said my friend. "First he sold a mill site on a creek that ran through his land, and then the town began to grow between that and the depot, and fellows just began begging John Hunt to sell them building lots, and—well you can guess all the rest. John Hunt lives in an elegant mansion nowadays, and people speak of him as a rare example of what can be done out west by industry. honesty and thrift[sic]. It sounds kind o' queer to folks that know what John Hunt really was."

"And what about Walter?' I asked.

"Oh! Walter's only got what he earns himself. He hasn't got a city full of people to work for him and pay him rent. Walter's a good, honest, steady, hard working fellow, Walter is. But they don't speak of him like they do of John out there. Because, you see, John's got the money."

W. C. WOOD, M. D.

THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF SOCIETY.

Washington Craftsman, Organ International Typographical Union.

One who has had any experience in pioneering can form some idea of the disadvantages under which a man labors who has cut loose from civilization and attempted to open up a new country far away from the co-operative agencies of his fellow men. Instead of stepping over the way to buy his groceries he may have to go fifty miles for them, camping out over night going and coming, as a pioneer once told us he had actually done for several years.

We have only to recall the story of Robinson Crusoe to see how helpless the most intelligent business man is when isolated from others. The various trades and useful occupations have developed simply because no one man can do everything he wants done by his own individual efforts. Experience proves that the division of labor is a means of saving labor—a process by which a given amount of labor will produce the greatest result. This being true, it necessarily follows that man's home should always be in the midst of society, where he can have the benefits of co-operation with his fellow men. These truths are so well recognized that they constitute the very axioms of political economy, and without them political economy could have no place in our literature.

There is another proposition of political

p. 7, col. 2

Sic in the original; probably "industry, honesty and thrift".

economy which is also fundamental, and without the admission of which its conclusions would be worthless. It is this: Other things being equal, men will naturally congregate where they can make their labor most productive. Now, if we bring together these two propositions, that men can make their labor most productive when closely associated, and that they naturally seek to live where their labor is most productive, how, upon the admission of these truths, can we account for the fact that the people of this country are scattered over such a vast extent of territory? What could have induced the man to establish his home fifty miles away from the nearest grocery? Why should he, for fifteen or twenty years, abandon the advantages of civilization if civilization is desirable? Do you imagine he went there to get land? He did. But there were at that time hundreds of thousands of acres of land just as good as he selected lying vacant and idle much nearer his former home, and in the immediate vicinity of the grocery to which he had to go fifty miles to get his supplies. Why did he not take some of these lands instead of going so far away? It is the old story: These lands had been given away by the government to a few gentlemen who had no use for them, except to hold them until pioneers enough came along hunting places to give these lands a value that would induce the gentlemen enjoying the privilege of holding them to part with their privilege.

However, our pioneer went so far beyond the speculators and so far away from civilization that he found some land for which there was no competition, and therefore no rent value or price. The government gave him the privilege of taking a farm there for about $25. When we saw him society had developed around him, and it would now cost another pioneer to get a farm of the same kind in that neighborhood, without a stroke of improvement upon it, about $2,500. The difference between $25 and $2,500 is the price the second pioneer would have to pay for the privilege of living in society. If he has not accumulated enough to pay this he must do as the first pioneer did—get out of society if he would enjoy the privilege of "owning" a part of this planet. Or he may adopt the alternative of remaining in society and paying the land owners a part of his wages for the privilege of living on their land. The price of this privilege is called rent. The power by which one man can charge another rent for land is a gift or grant from government. In this case of the pioneer the gift can be enjoyed only by first abandoning society and the advantages of civilization and undergoing all the sacrifice involved in years of isolation, loneliness and hardship. But not so with the wealthy speculator. He is permitted to own land for the sole purpose of forcing the real pioneer, the actual settler, to pay a high price for it or submit to the alternative of going further into the wilderness, while the speculator luxuriates in large cities and enjoys all the advantages of civilization. Thus we see that while political economists universally agree that men can be most useful to each other when associated together in society, government is constantly giving to one set of men a power which enables them to remain in society and compels others to either abandon society or pay to those whom government has given the privilege of owning all the land to which society or the immediate prospect of society gives a value.

This accounts for the scattering of our population over such a vast extent of territory in the country, on the one hand, and the overcrowding of our cities by the wretches who are too poor to scatter, on the other. Either political economists are wrong in saying that there is an economic value in society and the division of labor, or landlordism is wrong, because it drives labor away from society in the hope of finally profiting by the privilege of landlordism elsewhere, or so completely brutalizes it by poverty as to render it less effective.

If society causes rent, and rent expresses the value of society to the individual, it certainly ought not to require a very great effort of reasoning to see that the individual should pay his rent to society for the common benefit, instead of to landlords for their exclusive benefit. This course is especially suggested by the fact that it would relieve labor of all the various forms of indirect taxation by which it is now oppressed, and effect a change in the distribution of wealth that would make a decent democracy possible.

By a Load of Coke.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The old bachelor who lives in a room upon the third floor ordered a load of coke this morning, and it was dumped in the street in front of our office about the middle of the day. He being away, it has

remained there all the afternoon, and we on the first floor have been pestered with no less than ten or a dozen men seeking the job of carrying it in. Out there on the pavement now stands a sturdy old colored man, in tatters and rags, waiting for "de boss" to come, and a fine. strong, young white man[sic], about thirty-three or four years of age, waiting for the same job. Then there comes along an older and more broken down man, with a sack or bag folded up under his arm, and his hands in his pockets to keep them warm, and the three stand wistfully looking at the pile of coke, talking together. Next comes a respectable looking, tall, bearded old man, with a long handled hammer in his hand, and he also stops at the prospect of the work to be done and would like to get the job. All four are there on the pavement at one time, and there they stand, ill clad, in the cold winter air, waiting for work. They have been barred out of work everywhere else.

"You could have got about two hundred men to put that coke in for you!" I hear the tenant on the floor above us say to the owner of the coke, who has just now arrived. And seeing all this, I think what a mockery it is by those who, when we speak of "unemployed labor," say, "Why don't they go to work?"

Mene, mene, tekel upharsin!

LEX.

Carlyle and Ruskin on the Great Question.

NASHVILLE, Tenn.—In reading Moncure D. Conway's 'Life of Thomas Carlyle[sic]" the other night, the following statement gave me much pleasure, as I think it will other believers in our principles:

> It was part of his view, for instance, that private proprietorship in land should be abolished; and I well remember him building a long discourse on English "fee," Scotch "fen[sic]," as derived from *foi*, *fides*, a *trust*, and destined to be that again when Cosmos replaced Chaos.—p. 92.

It is likely, I think, that Mr. Conway himself shares this opinion. If so, it seems to me that duty at this time requires that he give pronounced expression to it.

Mr. Ruskin, in "Fors Clavigera," more than once gives even passionate utterance to the same conviction. Would it not be well to publish what he says on that subject in THE STANDARD?

FRANK T. REID.

Anti-Poverty in Baltimore.

BALTIMORE, Md.—Our anti-poverty meeting last Sunday night was the first we have held since the holidays. Mr. Garett of Laurel delivered an able address, which was well received. Numerous questions were asked after the close of the address, and all were satisfactorily answered. Several new members were enrolled.

JESSE KEEN.

p. 7, col. 3

Sic in the original; probably "a fine, strong, young white man".
Sic in the original; probably "Conway's"Life of Thomas Carlyle"".
Sic in the original; probably "Scotch"feu,"".

PRACTICAL WORK IN TEXAS.

An Organization Based on Correct Principles and Aiming at Immediate Effects.

The form in which the propagation of the truth that the land belongs to all men has taken in Texas has been the origination of a "National land tax reform association." The Texas state association is already at work, the executive committee being H. F. Ring, J. B. Cochran and L. L. Beach. The tentative steps at organization have been taken in accordance with by-laws provisional in character, yet they suggest an active movement in a direction promising satisfactory results.

An address to tax reformers in the state of Texas, a platform and the laws of the association have been printed in a neat pamphlet under the supervision of the state committee. The address announces that it is proposed to unite in a compact and well organized body earnest workers in the cause of tax reform in all localities of the state; that the knowledge of what is being accomplished all along the line is to be brought home to every member by a system of monthly reports, and that clubs are to be formed, if possible, in every one of the 200 counties of Texas.

The purpose of the association is announced in the pamphlet to be the teaching of the truth that the bounties of nature were intended for the equal use and employment of all men. The association proposes that the right of access to such bounties shall be secured by requiring those who enjoy the privilege of exclusive possession of any portion of the earth to pay in the form of a tax, for the common benefit, what such right of possession is annually worth. As the first step in legislation toward the accomplishment of its end, the association will demand the passage of laws exempting personal property and improvements on land from taxation, in order that he who is willing to create a demand for labor "by opening up a farm, a coal bed, a mineral deposit, or by putting up a residence or factory on land, shall not be fined for his enterprise by the levying of a tax exceeding in amount that paid by the speculator and forestaller who holds vacant lands and unused mineral deposits in idleness for the purpose of drawing to himself an unearned increment produced by the common energy and enterprise of the entire community."

The laws of the association provide for the organization of clubs relying wholly on voluntary contributions for their maintenance, of county assemblies consisting of one representative from each club, of state assemblies consisting of delegates from the county assemblies apportioned on the basis of one delegate to every ten thousand inhabitants, and of a national assembly consisting of one delegate for each congressional district.

The blank monthly reports of the Texas clubs provide for statements under twelve headings relating to such matters as the number of tracts distributed, the number of people converted to tax reform, the number of new clubs formed and the number of new subscriptions obtained for tax reform papers.

Provision is also made for a department of correspondence. Those who join it pledge themselves to write weekly a stated number of letters to acquaintances and others calling attention to the question of tax reform and inclosing tracts when possible.

A circular just issued by the Texas state committee states that the plan of providing for systematic work and monthly reports meets with general approval. .Reference is[sic] also made to a proposed state conference of tax reformers.

Several Texas newspapers warmly support the single tax measure, and the press in general seems disposed to permit some discussion of it by correspondents. The rise in land values in that state during the past ten years has been large; mortgages are paying a heavy percentage, frequently to foreign capitalists, and the title to great tracts

Sic in the original; probably "general approval. Reference is".

of land is held by non-residents of the state. Texas has been a fertile soil for land reformers, the citizens having already summarily disposed of the more oppressive claims of large monopolists. Texans who are active in pushing the new tax reform associatiou[sic] write to THE STANDARD most hopefully regarding the outlook.

POSTAL TELEGRAPH.

Several bills have recently been offered in congress prescribing remedies for the telegraph service of the country. One proposes a system of lines to be constructed, owned and operated by the government on a financial basis that shall be simply self-supporting; another proposes that the government purchase existing lines, and a third places telegraph companies under the control of the interstate commerce commission. It is almost needless to say that the first of these propositions is the only one that deserves serious consideration if reform is really intended. The telegraph ring would be well satisfied to unload its water soaked stock upon the government, while the men who "earn an honest living" by pulling wires between corporations and politicians would prefer the commerce commission plan; but the postal plan alone will change the telegraph from a racket ball of speculation into a genuine public service.

It is a common objection that a postal telegraph under the control of partisan employes would be dangerous. Curiously enough, this objection is urged most strenuously by people whose chief visible means of support is the management of partisan patronage—the very people who are fighting, tooth and nail, in season and out of season, openly and secretly, against any reform in the civil service that has a tendency to diminish the power of patronage. Why they should object to an enlargement of the field of patronage and an increase of the power and profits of those who manipulate it, can only be inferred, and the inference is that telegraph patronage is to the manipulator more profitable in the hands of corporations than it would be under the control of a postal department fettered with civil service rules. It is an uncharitable inference to be sure; but as patronage "bosses" are candid enough to make no pretense of possessing any such virtue as public spirit, except as a commodity, charity would be wasted on them.

In sympathy with the patronage boss in opposition to a postal telegraph to be constructed by the government is the corporation magnate who now owns the telegraph. But his sympathy proceeds from a different motive, and his measure of reform is of a different kind. While the patronage boss wholly opposes a postal telegraph because it would cut off the connection between him and rich corporations, and wishes to retain the institution where it is, the corporation magnate is not wholly opposed to the postal telegraph, but only to its construction by the government, because he knows he can make more money by selling out at high water mark than by retaining control under the guardianship of his political patrons.

The truth is that the present system is more corruptly managed by the corporations than even a corrupt administration would manage it, and that the corrupt corporations breed corruption in the departments and congress. This will be so as long as a great public institution

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like the telegraph is left to the tender manipulation of private greed. Opposed to both "boss" and magnate are the people at large, who are anxious to add the benefits of telegraphy to an efficient mail service.

LOUIS F. POST.

Sic in the original; probably "association".

THE LAND QUESTION IN NEW MEXICO.

Nogal, Lincoln County, New Mexico Nugget.

The land question is the great and absorbing question in New Mexico. This territory is not like the eastern states, where almost every acre of land can be cultivated profitably. Our arable lands constitute at present much the smallest portion of the territory.

By means of the land grant claims and fraudulent entries the larger portion of the best lands in New Mexico has passed into the hands of the wealthy. These men do not need the land for actual occupation; they have acquired it for speculative purposes. Such a condition of affairs does not argue well for our future prosperity. The Rio Grande valley is taken up by land grants from the north line of the territory to the Texas line. The Raton mountains and nearly all the valuable agricultural lands lying south and east of Raton is claimed by grant cormorants. The Taos country, Las Vegas, Santa Fe, Albuquerque, Socorro, Las Cruces and other desirable portions of New Mexico are all included in old Spanish grants. Some of these grants have been confirmed and others are seeking confirmation.

What is going to be the condition of the laboring class of New Mexico when absolute title to all these vast bodies of land is secured to the wealthy individuals claiming them? The newspapers answer this question by saying that unexampled prosperity will be the result. The grant claimants are constantly howling that the development of New Mexico is retarded on account of the unsettled conditions of land titles; and Governor Ross has now joined in the cry, and has appointed a "commission" to proceed to congress and urge that body to confirm these claims and thus make New Mexico prosperous!

Prosperous!

Is Ireland prosperous?

Is the English farmer prosperous?

Is the highlands of Scotland prosperous?

In all these countries, the great body of the land is held by a few wealthy men; what hope have we that our condition will be better than theirs when "our large land grants" have been patented to the claimants?

The arrogance and oppressive measures of the claimants toward the poor farmer, even now while the "titles are unsettled," is convincing proof of the course they would pursue after their titles are made absolute.

In this territory American citizens are harassed and worried by large and wealthy land owners simply because they attempt to exercise their undoubted right to make homes on the public domain—on land which no grant fiend claims; the attitude of said fiends toward men who presume to encroach upon their fraudulent claims can easily be imagined.

A large proportion of the citizens of New Mexico are notoriously known to be peons to these grant claimants to-day. They are practically enslaved to the rich. No one pretends to deny this. It is one of the standard arguments against the admission of this territory as a state; yet Governor Ross and the newspapers are howling that congress shall confirm all the grants in order that a larger proportion of the population may be peoned!

Whatever men may believe as to the future of New Mexico, all past experience of the human race teaches that when the land of a nation or state has passed into the hands of the few, practical enslavment[sic] of the laboring

Sic in the original; probably "practical enslavement".

classes has resulted. Until it is shown that such peonage has resulted from some other cause than the robbery of the people of their homes the world is justified in ascribing human slavery to that cause. As long as a man owns his home he is independent. Take that away from him and the rent will soon bring him to vassalage and peonage. To prevent men from acquiring homes is as bad as to take their homes already acquired away from them. The result is the same—grinding poverty and degradation.

Killing Off the Babies.

A correspondent in Manchester, England, sends us the following extract from a recent issue of the *Guardian* of that city:

> Inquests were held in Salford yesterday on the bodies of three infants who had each been suffocated in bed. The coroner's court is not a cheerful place of resort, but there from time to time evidence is forthcoming of the woful condition in which some of the people live. Thus in one of these cases the whole family of five, including a baby a month old, occupied one bed. No wonder that the weakest succumbed. The coroner's jury censured the parents, but if they are accessible to censure or to human emotion at all, the death of their child would be their severest punishment. Mr. F. Price, the district coroner, has repeatedly called attention to the frequency of the deaths of little children into which he has to inquire. The infant mortality of great towns is a disgrace to civilization. Salford is not the worst in this respect, but it is one of the worst.
> Dr. Tatham has pointed out that out of 1,000 children born there 197 do not live to be a year old. Out of 341 illegitimate children born in one year, 147 died before they were twelve months old. However much this may be disguised, and by whatever name it is called in death certificates or verdicts, it is a veritable slaughter of the innocents. There is surely a responsibility somewhere for the conditions that bring about the destruction of human life.

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[Illustration: engraved masthead/cover of The Railway News, ornamental border, landscape with trees and a winding road or track; lettering within the engraving, partly worn: “The Railway News” / “devoted to” [?] / “RAILWAY INTELLIGENCE” (first letter reads like “P”) / “CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION, MANAGEMENT, [illegible] EXTENSIONS & PROJECTS, REPORTS & EARNINGS, APPOINTMENTS, ELECTIONS, PERSONAL MENTION” [order and some words uncertain] / “Published by [the?] Railway News Printing & Publishing Co” [?]]

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

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

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The following have already appeared:

No. 1. "First Principles." By Henry George. 4 pages. No. 2. "Land and Taxation." A conversation between David Dudley Field and Henry George. 4 pages. No. 3. "The Right to the Use of the Earth." By Herbert Spencer. 4 pages. No. 4. "A Christian Minister on the Remedy for Poverty." A sermon by the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost of Newark, N. J. 2 pages. No. 5. "A Sum in Proportion." By T. L. McCready. 2 pages. No. 6. "The Settler's Nightmare." By Louis F. Post. 4 pages. No. 7. "New York's Docks: The True Mode of Raising Revenue." By. J. W. Sullivan[sic]. 4 pages. No. 8. "Unemployed Labor." By Henry George. 4 pages. No. 9. "Voices for Reform." 2 pages. No. 10. "A Mysterious Disappearance." By Lewis Freeland. 6 pages. No. 11. "How to Increase Profits." By A. J. Steers. 2 pages. No. 12. "The American Farmer." By Henry George. 4 pages. No. 13. "Sailors' Snug Harbor and the Randall Farm." By W. T. Croasdale. 12 pages. No. 14. "The Collegiate Church and the Shoemaker's Field." By W. T. Croasdale. 12 pages. No. 15. "Only a Dream." By Abner C. Thomas. 4 pages. No. 16. "The Anti-Poverty Society." Dr. McGlynn's address at the first meeting. 8 pages. No. 17. "The Cross of the New Crusade." A poem. By David Rorty. 2 pages. No. 18. "It is the Law of Christ." By Rev. S. H. Spencer of Henry, Ill. 4 pages. No. 19. "My Landlord. By John Jones,[64]. 4 pages. No. 20."Thou Shalt Not Steal." An address by Henry George before the Anti-Poverty Society. [8?] pages. No. 21. "Christianity and Poverty." An address by Father Huntington before the Anti-poverty society. 4 pages. No. 22. "Poverty and Christianity." An address by Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost before the Anti-poverty society. 8 pages. No. 23. "The Single Tax." By Thomas G. Shearman. 8 pages. No. 24. "Hymns of the New Crusade"—No. 1. 4 pages. No. 25. "Hymns of the New Crusade"—No. 2. 4 pages. No. 26. "Religion vs. Robbery." Address by Rev. Dr McGlynn before

Sic in the original; probably "By J. W. Sullivan".
Sic in the original; probably ""My Landlord." By John Jones.".

the New York Anti-poverty society June 12, 1887. 8 pages. No. 27. “Back to the Land.” Bishop Nulty’s letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese. 16 pages. Price, 5 cents. No. 28. “Anti-Slavery and Anti-Poverty.” An address by the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost before the New York Anti-Poverty Society, June 19. 8 pages. No. 29. “Tenement House Morality.” Rev. J. O. S. Huntington in the Forum. 4 pages. No. 30. “The Case Plainly Stated.” A speech by H. F. Ring before the Knights of Labor at Houston, Texas. 8 pages. No. 31. “Questions and Answers.” Questions by Rev. Howard Henderson of the Sixty-first street M. E. church of New York; with answers by Henry George. 2 pages. No. 32. “Objections to the Land Tax.” By Thomas G. Shearman. 4 pages. No. 33. “Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error.” Henry George. 4 pages. No. 34. “Horse Sense.” W. C. Woods. 2 pages. No. 35. The Syracuse Platform. 2 pages. No. 36. “Citycus and Rusticus.” Tudor S. Jenks. 4 pages. No. 37. “Taxing Land Values.” Henry George. 8 pp. No. 38. “God Wills It.” Henry George. 4 pages. No. 39. “What We Want.” Everett Glackin, president Typographical Union No. 6. 2 pages. No. 40. “Protection or Free Trade.” Henry George. Price, 35 cents. No. 41. The Syracuse Platform. (German.) 2 pages. No. 42. “First Principles.” (German.) Henry George 4 pages[65]. No. 43. “Socialism—Its Truth and Its Error. (German.) Henry George. 4 pages. No. 44.”How John’s Father Saw the Light.” W. C. Woods, M. D. 2 pages. 45. Platform of the United Labor Party[66]. 2 pages. No. 46. “Taxing Land Values.” (German.) Henry George. 8 pages. No. 47. “It is the Law of Christ.” (German.) Rev. S. H. Spencer. 4 pages. No. 48. “The Case Plainly Stated.” (German). H. F. Ring. 8 pages. No. 49. “The Distribution of Wealth.” Thomas G. Shearman. 16 pages. No. 50. “Progress and Poverty.” (German.) Henry George. No. 51. “Ten Thoughts for Christian Thinkers.” Rev. John W. Kramer. 4 pages. No. 52. “The Case Plainly Stated.” (Swedish). H. F. Ring. 8 pages. No. 53. “Sailors’ Snug Harbor.” (German.) Wm. T. Croasdale. 12 pages. No. 54. “What the United Labor Party Want.” Henry George. 2 pages. No. 55. “Stories for Farmers.” 4 pages. No. 56. “Electoral Reform.” A. T. Rice. 4 pages. No. 57. “Protection as a Universal Need.” Henr George[67]. 4 pages. No. 58. “To a College Professor.” Bartholomew Appleby. 4 pages. No. 59. “Before a Royal Commission.” W. A. Douglass. 4 pages. No. 60. “The Tariff Question.” Henry George. 4 pages. No. 61, “A Practical Illustration.” Hugh B. Brown. 2 pages. No. 62. “Progress and Poverty.” Henry George. Price, 35 cents. No. 63, “American Protection and British Free Trade.” Henry George. 4 pages. No. 64. “Hints as to What You Can Do.” Henry George. 4 pages.

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

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

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

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

Twelve-page tract —25 copies, [30?] cents; 100 copies, 75 cents; 1,000 copies, $6; 5,000 copies, $22.50.

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

Other numbers in preparation.

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

[Advertisement] The Democrat.

THE DEMOCRAT.

Sic in the original; probably “Henry George. 4 pages.”.
Sic in the original; probably “No. 45. Platform...”.
Sic in the original; probably “Henry George.”.
Sic in the original; probably “$3; 5,000 copies”.

A RADICAL REVIEW MONTHLY.

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

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

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

[Notice] United Labor Party

UNITED LABOR PARTY—Citizens of t[he?] following named states who indorse the pr[inci?]ples of the United Labor Party and desire to lend [effec?]tive aid in the movement, are requested to communicate with the State Organizers of their respective states, as follows: [ends of the first lines faded/damaged at right edge]

California—Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco. Connecticut—Robert Pyne, 284 Asylum st., Hartford. Eastern Pennsylvania—Henry George club, box 190, Philadelphia. Indiana—Warren Worth Bailey, Vincennes. Kentucky—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box 406, Cincinnati. Louisiana—Jere. J. Sullivan, 705 Fulton street, New Orleans. Massachusetts (Berkshire county)—F. Harvey Lincoln, box 115, Zylonite. Maryland—T. H. Garside, 1507 West Lexington street, Baltimore. Minnesota—Central Committee, United Labor Party, 42 Third st. south, Minneapolis. New York—John McMackin, 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.

[Notice] Illinois.

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

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

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

[Notice] 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

[Notice] 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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8 THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, JANUARY 21, 1888.

p. 8, col. 1

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

Inclosed find list of five subscribers to THE STANDARD with postoffice order for same. These are all new men; and I hope to be able to send you some more in a short time.

One north side club is doing remarkably well. The anti-poverty society had its first meeting last Sunday evening and was well attended.

DENIS MINOGUE.

BELLEVUE, Ia.—I send the money to keep up my subscription to THE STANDARD. My wants are many and my means are small, but I have put aside some of wants that I may continue[sic] taking the best newspaper in the world. You go to the bottom of all our trouble, and I hope you will have a great circulation.

My opinion is that we should run a national ticket by all means. It will bring about discussion that would not otherwise be provoked.

PATRICK PRANDY.

TORONTO, Can.—Under the guidance of Mr. Cartwright of the central society we have to-night organized the "West End anti-poverty society[sic], and I have been instructed to send for a few of your tracts. Inclose find $3 for which please forward a supply of Nos. [5?], 7, 8, 10, 13, 18, 23, 27 and 30.

D. HENDERSON. Sec. pro tem.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Inclosed find post office order for my subscription to THE STANDARD for another year. It has become indispensable to me.

THOMAS J. CANTY.

SCRANTON, Pa.—At the request of ten Lehigh valley mining slaves, who have contributed ten cents each for the purpose, I send herewith $1 for a six months' subscription to that national educator, THE STANDARD.

G—— ——.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—"To those who, seeing the vice and misery that spring from the unequal distribution of wealth and privilege, feel the possibility of a higher social state and would strive for its attainment," your appeals are irresistible.

I inclose $2, for which send me one copy each of "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade?" cheap editions; and dispose of the remainder as you please. Hereafter I will make regular monthly contributions to THE

STANDARD office, and do everything within my limited means to accelerate the reformation you are working for. Too much cannot be said in support of THE STANDARD. It is in every respect worthy of its mission, and it would be a hard task to find a more able and consistent paper.

WM. J. MAHONEY.

CADILLAC, Mich.–I have told my neighbor, a newsdealer, that if he will order and keep on sale three copies of THE STANDARD I will take what he has left at the end of each week. I suppose I ought to loan my STANDARD to my neighbors more than I have done; but I like to keep the paper for reference. It seems to me to be more of a magazine or cyclopædia than a newspaper.

J. –– ––.

Inclosed find list of four subscribers and remittance. I cannot help but do my best for THE STANDARD, for I believe it to be my duty.

JOHN A. ROOST.

PANA, Ill.–Having read THE STANDARD for a year I can say that it exactly fills the bill. After investigating the "labor question" from a greenback standpoint for several years the reading of "Progress and Poverty" was like a revelation to me. I often wonder why all old greenbackers do not have the same experience. They see the injustice of monopoly, yet continue to overlook the greatest of all monopolies.

S. C. REESE.

RAVENSWOOD, Ill.–I like the recruit subscription plan, and shall endeavor to use it myself as largely as my means will permit, and try to induce our clubs to do the same. I shall hold meetings in the country where circumstances are favorable, and seek more to induce people to study out the thing for themselves than to try to explain everything myself. I have an idea that inquirers can be induced to pay fifteen cents themselves for THE STANDARD, and in that way, together with a liberal use of tracts, we can reach many more than our own means would otherwise enable us to. I start out on the road about Feb. 10, and shall make Elgin, Ill., a kind of headquarters for a while, during which time I am in hopes to get a good working club there. I know that there has yet been found no means so effective for spreading the gospel as THE STANDARD, and for that reason I shall push it to the utmost.

W. H. VAN ORNUM.

CEDAR FALLS, Ia.–I inclose postal note for following list of recruit subscribers and also a copy of "Protection or Free Trade?"

Although not yet twenty years old, I have read "Progress and Poverty" three times, besides reading "The Land Question," "Social Problems," "Property in Land," and about thirty of the land and labor tracts. I have been taking THE STANDARD from our newsdealer for the past eight weeks, and the more I read on this most vital question, the more I want to read. Not a single day passes that I do not get into an argument with some one; and one by one we are gathering recruits under the cross of the new crusade.

Sic in the original; probably "some of my wants".
Sic in the original; probably "the"West End anti-poverty society,"".

About six of us that are interested in this cause are going to hold our first meeting within a day or two and try and form a land and labor and capital club. We must not turn a cold shoulder to capital, which should be an efficient partner of labor. Having enlisted for life in this cause you will hear from me again.

FRANK MCNALLY.

AUBURN, Me.–The only thing that I take any interest in outside of my family is the grand and glorious cause advocated by THE STANDARD.

I am a working man with a large family to support, and am obliged to deny myself all luxuries in order to get the bare necessaries of life; therefore the lack of money prevents me from doing all that I would like to, but all the time that I can spare, and more than I can spare, is and ever will be devoted to this cause. In a week or so I shall send another club, and I hope a much larger one than before.

And I wish to say in regard to THE STANDARD that it is one of the luxuries that I must and will have, in fact it is one of the necessaries of life to me. I do not consider it a newspaper but an educator. A bundle of STANDARDS placed in the hands of the statue of Liberty would have been much more appropriate than a torch. But better than that will be to place one in the hands of every man in the United States, and I will do my part of the work required joyfully.

W. E. JACKSON.

So they come to us, day by day, the renewals and the new subscriptions, and the orders for books and tracts, and the enthusiastic words of cheer and commendation—not perhaps so thick or fast as we should like to see them if we could have everything our own way, but thick enough and fast enough to assure us that THE STANDARD has made for itself during the first year of its existence a host of sincere and earnest friends, who not only mean to keep on taking the paper themselves, but take sufficient interest in its success to persuade their neighbors to do likewise.

The STANDARD readers, a good many of them at least, realize that this is their paper, in a peculiar sense; a weapon, ready to their hands, for the advancement of the great principle whose triumph they are longing for. They seek to get subscribers to THE STANDARD, not so much because they admire it as because they love the cause THE STANDARD advocates. They use it on their friends through the recruit subscriptions; they send it flying through the mails by means of the recruiting fund; and when they once get a man or woman fairly committed to reading it, they rejoice with certainty over a recruit to the new crusade.

John Smith, is this the way you look upon THE STANDARD? Is this the way you work with it, and for it?

———

These are our terms for subscriptions to THE STANDARD:

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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 to different addresses at fifteen cents each.

———

Not all the letters that come to us, however, bring subscriptions or renewals. Once in a while we get a sharp letter of disapproval, or a curt request to stop the paper. Two such letters are before us now—an unusually high average for the week. The first is from a town in Canada, sent by a person for whom one of our friends of the Toronto anti-poverty society ordered a recruit subscription.

> Your letter is received asking for subscription to THE STANDARD. I have not ordered the paper. Supposed it must have been sent me by a friend. Never think of [reading?] it or even opening it; and shall be [exceedingly?] obliged if you will cease sending it.

Well, we are sorry for our Canadian correspondent, and sorry, too, that our Toronto friend's money should have been spent to so little purpose. But if a man doesn't want to read THE STANDARD he has a perfect right to refuse to do so; and we wouldn't force him to it, even if we could. His mind is, for a time at least, an utterly barren soil, on which any amount of seed may be thrown without the slightest chance that any of it will take root. Such men, when by any accident the shell of their prejudice is once broken, often become the most ardent of converts. Meantime, the cause can afford to wait for them, and, if need be, to do without them altogether.

But the second letter is altogether a different one. Here it is in full:

> Y. M. C. A., JOHNSTOWN, N. Y.—Mr. Editor, I have returned THE STANDARD once, but I find I must request you by letter *not to send* your paper to this association. You doubtless find some foolish enough to be captivated by your arguments, not seeing that you want office and stir up confusion and dissatisfaction. You will oblige us by not sending your paper.
>
> EXECUTIVE BOARD.

The executive board of the Young men's Christian association of Johnstown, N. Y., appears to be rather a despotic person. He assumes a right of censorship over the Christian young men who are not executive boards, but only common every day Christians, which is, may we say, just a little at variance, not only with Christianity, but with ordinary social decency. A gentleman, anxious that the members of the Young men's Christian association of Johnstown should have an opportunity of learning something concerning a movement that is enlisting the sympathies of many of the best and purest men of to-day, subscribed for the THE STANDARD[sic] on behalf of the association. Unfortunately, however, he neglected asking permission of the executive board. Probably he never thought of doing it—ignorantly assuming that he was sending the paper to an association of young men, and not to a class of political and religious infants whose literature must be examined and stamped correct by an executive board which speaks of itself as "I."

THE STANDARD will continue to be sent to the Young men's Christian association of Johnstown until the end of the period paid for. If the association continues to permit their executive board to treat the well meant courtesy of a friend with boorish disdain we cannot help it.

———

A correspondent sends us a slip of paper without date or signature on which he protests against the publication of names and addresses in the columns of THE STAND[ARD?] and says he has several times been on the point of

Sic in the original; probably "subscribed for THE STANDARD".

sending news of interest, but the fear lest his name and address should appear in print has deterred him. “I can’t see,” he says, “what possible good the publication of the names can do; and I *can* see that in very many cases it may be followed by very disagreeable results for the writers of the letters.”

Our correspondent, and all who like him are deterred from writing to THE STANDARD by a fear lest their names appear in print, have a very simple remedy. It is only necessary for them to state in their letters that they do not wish their names to appear and their wishes will be strictly respected. As for why we prefer to print names whenever possible the following letter illustrates at least one very good reason. It is from a railway official:

> ———.–Inclosed find post office order for $2.50, for which send me THE STANDARD for one year. I called at two book stores in this city, about 9:30 a. m. to-day, and found they had sold every STANDARD. One of the proprietors directed his clerk to order more copies at once. It is not ninety days since one of these men told me he was “stuck” on THE STANDARD every week and was pleased to find it so, as he was bitterly opposed to the principles it expounded. I forced him to admit that he had not investigated them. This is the way with every man I have ever talked with or heard talk against the principles of THE STANDARD. Pin them down and nine times out of ten you will find they don’t know what they are kicking against, and have never read anything about it only what they see in the daily papers. It is unfortunate that a man’s vote who does not think counts as much as the vote of one who does his own thinking. I have converted a real estate dealer in this city. He had heard Mr. George lecture here about a year ago and failed to “catch on.” I was looking at some property with him one day when I brought up the subject. He at once commenced to “kick” in the usual style. After he got out of breath I managed to suggest that he was on a wrong track–that he did not understand what Mr. George was aiming at. He thought he did, and so we parted. A few days after I received a package of tracts from the Anti-poverty society and sent about ten of them by mail to the real estate agent, who is a stranger to me, so to speak, as I have been in this city only a few months. Judge of my surprise at receiving a letter from him in about ten days admitting that he “saw the cat.”
>
> Should you publish any part of this letter you must not mention the location or any names, nor must my name appear in any shape in print. It is pretty tough that in our boasted free America a man whose ancestors fought to establish this government of and for the people should be compelled to keep his sentiments and views on political economy to himself for fear that the bread will be taken out of his children’s mouths; but so it is, nevertheless.
>
> ——— ———.

It is “pretty tough.” It is a thing to make Americans hide[sic] their faces that under our government “of the people, by the people and for the people” a man who

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honestly desires to see a great wrong righted, to see the law of equal justice for all men established, should be compelled to shrink from a public avowal of his principles lest the bread should be taken from his children’s mouths. But suppose that from the city in which this free born American lives who dare not assert his birthright–suppose that from other towns and cities along the line of the —— railroad scores of letters should appear in THE STANDARD signed by men fortunate enough to have less exacting masters, or no masters at all, wouldn’t that do much to help our friend to liberty of speech?

The principle which we are striving to establish is so radiant with truth that no one can really see it without embracing it. Men have reviled it, sneered at it, pretended to deny it; but no man has ever yet stated it fully and plainly, and then said, “This is not so.” And this is what gives us our security of victory. All we have to do is to get

Sic in the original; probably “a word may have dropped before ‘thing’ (?)”.

men to look: they can't look long without seeing. And there is no surer way to draw men's attention to our cause, to make them consider the reform we are advocating, than by letting them see that men whom they know and respect are devoted to it.

STANDARD readers, bear these things in mind. Avow the faith that is in you as often and as publicly as possible. Write to THE STANDARD; write to your local papers; write to your friends; discuss the single tax at every opportunity. For by doing these things you will set men to thinking; and when once that is done, our triumph will be near at hand.

———

> NEW YORK CITY.–THE STANDARD pleases me immensely each week. I want to "chip in" with Edward Griffiths and his friend to help send the good news among the miners, according to his suggestion in this week's STANDARD. Should it fail to be carried out, please drop the inclosed five dollars for it in the recruiting fund. > > A VOLUNTEER.

Well, STANDARD readers, what do you say to carrying out Mr. Griffith's proposition[sic]? His idea was that while the coal strike is going on the miners have ample time for reading and are moreover peculiarly disposed by circumstances to the consideration of economic questions, and that it would be a good plan to send a colporteur among them to distribute tracts and STANDARDS. Mr. Griffiths inclosed $2 for this purpose, which, with "A Volunteer's" contribution, makes $7 altogether. It is for you to say whether the thing shall be done or not. If you wish it done send in your money.

———

The receipts for the recruiting fund have been:

S. B. Rigger..... $5 00 'Ammer 'ammer 'ammer..... 2 00 Georgean..... 30 Wm. J. Mahoney..... 1 30 S. C. Reeves..... 30 George Croser..... 1 87 Oswald Earp..... 87 H. S. R..... 5 00

Total for the week..... $16 64 Previously acknowledged.....$2,026 07

Total to date.....$2,042 71

———

OUR CHILDREN.

Janet E. Ruutz-Rees in The Epoch.

Facts are terribly impressive things. There are in our city twenty-four thousand child workers. What a satire upon our boasted civilization!

Out of these twenty-four thousand children only nine thousand are protected by the factory act, and it is no secret that the law is very easily evaded, and that of these nine thousand the majority have yet to see their twelfth birthday. But no law reaches, or ever will reach, the army of child workers in our city. The sole protector is public

Sic in the original; probably "Mr. Griffiths's".

opinion. As long as humanity and brotherly love can look on and see the true state of affairs without a shudder, so long will our little ones be sacrificed to that tyrannical despot—Modern Mammon.

What does the inquirer find to be the age of the youngest earner in New York city? In a tobacco factory a baby of five years old was found side by side with an old grandmother, engaged in stripping leaves, and in later revelations it was clearly shown that "protected" childhood begins its work, in the most enlightened country in the world, at the mature age of four.

Is it any wonder that the mothers of working children thank God when they bury them? What is the later development of a baby likely to be who at five years of age is earning a modicum of the family support, and who at ten has "sewn on millions of buttons!" These cases, public opinion urges, are rare. No, they are not rare; and, if they were, it would be no excuse for us, for they ought to be impossible.

Pleas for cash girls and boys have been made before. We talk of our early closing movements, of our holiday and Saturday afternoons, but how many of us stop to inquire into the actual experience of the children in the crowded stores?

Shopping one day in one of the great west side emporiums, my change was brought to to me[sic] so expeditiously by a bright faced little maiden that I put some trifling question to her, and a conversation ensued which was very suggestive. I asked her at what time she reached home in the evening?

"Oh, in holiday week it's going on twelve most nights. You see, m'm, we don't close up till half-past nine, and then there's putting away and getting off, and I live out at Kingsbridge, you know."

"What time are you here in the morning?"

"Half-past seven, sharp, if I don't want to be fined."

"How much do you make?"

"Three dollars a week, if I'm real smart. You see, I'm paid by check, so I run ever so hard to get before the other girls."

"Aren't you tired?

"Oh, yes; but—" a deep sigh; "oh, well, it'll be better when I'm growed a little; I'll be saleslady then, and make five dollars and may be more, if I'm real persuasive."

The "real persuasiveness" of the incipient saleslady has often recurred to my mind. To be real persuasive on five dollars a week argues a degree of philosophy worthy of imitation.

Think of the position of this child; a pretty, bright little maiden of twelve, going home night after night in the depth of winter by the eleven o'clock train! Public opinion is a very curious factor in civilized life.

"No other country guards its children so well." At least it is satisfactory to read that. "We are not as other men are." Like the pharisee of olden time, we can stand afar off and thank God for that. We are not slave drivers; our little ones don't work in mines; no "Song of the children" need prick our conscience or stir our sympathy. We protect child labor by factory acts, yet twenty-four thousand infants toil from early dawn till late at night in one city alone, and this number includes only the recognized workers. It would be quite within the truth to add another thousand

Sic in the original; probably "brought to me".

p. 8, col. 4

or two, but figures are such queer things; they don't appeal to one at all! It is strange but true that one detailed account of a case will do more to stir public opinion to action than the constant repetition of the fact that twenty-four thousand children are working when they ought to be playing.

Not that I have the smallest intention of deprecating work. On the contrary, I hold it as true that the children of the working classes are, on the whole, more enviable than those whose lives are passed in absolute ignorance of the existence of the need of work; but, granting that labor in itself is good, I yet maintain that the conditions under which children work in the city of New York are, in the vast majority of cases, a disgrace to a vaunted civilization.

Too much cannot be said on the general subject to direct the attention of the benevolent thinking public to the conditions under which little girls and boys work in New York city in stores which are frequented by those whose own children are shielded from every rough wind. What is the probable future of these "persuasive" little girls? of these smart little boys? In a few years they will be our men and women, representative citizens doing their part "to protect all classes, and the weakest most," as we are all so laudably doing to-day.

———

ENRICHING NEW YORK'S LAND OWNERS.

The Steady Advance of the Value of Land in the Metropolis.

New York Times.

Every important sale at the exchange throughout the year drew a large and eager attendance, regardless of the condition of the money market or of other causes, and when buyers as a class were most suspicious the books of the best agents continued to grow bulky with inquiries and instructions from those who wanted to put their money into real estate. The list of wants and offers posted at the exchange also increased as the year went on.

There was not much change in value for property below Twenty-third street during the year. Comparatively little of it was offered. Most of it which reached the market got there by partition or executors' sales. In such cases it was keenly sought and brought remarkably good prices. Some of the sales were astonishing in their results, bringing prices far beyond the expectations of those on whose behalf they were sold. Such cases often served to forecast important improvements, many of which have since materialized. Wonder was frequently expressed at large sales why two pieces of land, equally well situated, brought very different prices at the same sale, one piece with a good structure upon it bringing less than another with a dilapidated structure. The reason has since appeared in abundant instances. Those buying the worse building bought for the future, for such a building could be taken down without compunction and replaced by one greatly superior to the good building on the other lot. The promise of larger remuneration through the projected improvement influenced the better price, whereas the smaller price was paid only with reference to its present yielding capacity. Lower Fifth avenue has presented an anomalous condition. It is a little early for business there and a little late for dwelling purposes. Much property has accordingly awaited buyers at a shade below top prices, with the definite prospect ahead of a material advance as the inroads of business shall continue.

From Twenty-third street to Fifty-ninth street there has been a fair market both in business and dwelling houses[sic].. Fair prices have almost invariably tempted purchasers. A good deal of investment capital found lodgment in that section during the year, for it always commands tenants. The applications of those wishing to

Sic in the original; probably "houses.".

rent property in that section far outnumbers those for any other part of the city. Above Fifty-ninth street and below Eighty-sixth street values have shown some change on Fifth avenue, declining about twenty per cent below the prices of a year ago; $40,000 will now buy lots formerly held at $50,000, where lots are to be had at all. Holders are reluctant to acknowledge this decline, and consequently sales are few. Offers do not range as high as formerly there by fully the percentage named. On the cross streets and Madison avenue lots command close to last year's prices, as the property always rents well. Inside lots are held at about $25,000 and corner lots at from $30,000 to $35,000.

On the west side, from Fifty-ninth street to Eighty-sixth street, there has been an average advance of property during the year of thirty per cent or more. The cross street lots bring nearly as good prices as those on the avenues, the advance averaging from $9,000 to about $12,000. West End avenue developed within the year, and the average price of lots rose from $7,000 to $12,000. Ninth avenue lots have advanced from $12,000 to $14,000 and $15,000, having averaged $7,000 in that section two years ago. Manhattan square, which is within this section, shows an exceptional record, as do some parts of Eighth avenue facing the park. From Eighty sixth street[sic] to 116th street, on the east side, values have undergone no change for a year, property having been very quiet in the better section. The same may be said of the strip bounded by Fourth and Fifth avenues as far as the Harlem river. East of Fourth avenue business has been quite active, and prices have somewhat advanced in consequence of extensive tenement building.

The west side, above Eighty-sixth street, presents a refreshing contrast. Riverside drive has assumed an aristocratic character. Several houses, palatial in their appointments, have been constructed on the drive during this year, or are in the course of construction, and land has been bought on which some of the richest families will doubtless build homes in the early future. Cyrus Clark is putting up a $60,000 house for his own occupancy at Ninetieth street. Peter Doelger will live in a $100,000 house at 100th street. The Foster mansion at 102d street will probably cost an equal sum. James A. Dearing and Professor Bacon of the Columbian law school are beautifying the drive with handsome houses for their own occupancy at 103d and 104th streets. Mr. Bayne, the oil operator from Bradford, Pa., is building a residence to cost $75,000 at 108th street. He will have as a neighbor J. J. Gibbons, of the firm of Davis, Collamore & Co., who is building a tasteful home near by. J. J. Kettle will soon complete a $40,000 house at 122d street. The houses mentioned are all of a high class, and are built for occupancy by their owners. Several other fine houses are there which were completed before 1887.

Riverside drive has been helped also by the purchase by the Astor estate of the block from 112th to 113th streets; by C. P. Huntington of the block from 111th to 112th streets; by the Goelet estate of all but two lots in the block from 114th to 115th streets, and by Fleming Smith of the block beginning at 116th street. The demand along the drive was very small a year ago. Corner lots are now held firmly at from $20,000 to $25,000 from Ninetieth street going north. Inside lots at from $12,000 to $15,000, and lots on the intersecting streets at from $7,000 to $8,000.

Directly above Manhattan park improe-vments[sic] within the year have been of a high class, and continue to be so. As the blocks have become populated there has naturally been an advance in prices, and the character of that region having been settled, building has made substantial progress thereabouts. Many agents regard the ten blocks bounded on the west side by Ninth avenue and abutting the park from Seventy-seventh street northward as one of the very best neighborhoods on the west side. Its development is to be mainly credited to 1887. The neighborhood of 110th street has also been conspicuously favored in that section, especially since Morningside park, the new plaza and the Protestant cathedral were brought within reach of practical calculation. Roscoe Conkling, Orsen D. Munn, Joseph M. Valentine, J. Watts De Peyster and Dwight Olmstead are among the land

Sic in the original; probably "Eighty-sixth".
Sic in the original; probably "improvements".

owners who are relied on to make the neighborhood what it should be when they get ready to build, and under this and the other promises of large and lasting improvement lots have advanced

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within the year in average price from 25 to 33 per cent. Prices now range from $7,000 to $15,000. Above 116th street, on the west side, prices range from $2,500 to $7,000. Tenth avenue has shown signs during the year of becoming to the west side what Third avenue is to the east side, and the Boulevard promises to be a continuation of Broadway in character as it is in fact. Activity has been noticeable in the Twenty-third and Twenty-fourth wards, new plans for rapid transit having advanced the price of lots from an average of $200 and $300 to an average of $600 and $700 each.

———

HENRY AND JIM.

St. Louis Chronicle.

Blaine—"Henry Watterson, I see you have been writing a magazine article, in which you assert that this country has prospered in spite of the tariff laws."

Watterson—"That is precisely what I said and say."

Blaine—"What is your idea of the orgin of all wealth[sic], Henry?"

Watterson—"Human labor applied to the profferings of the forest, the field, the flood and the mine. There is no other way to create wealth."

Blaine—"Correct, and, therefore, our tariff laws, by keeping wages high, have brought to this country millions of laborers, who, developing the resources of nature, have made the country rich. Refute this, Henry, if you can."

Watterson—"I deny that you can make wages high by making laws, unless you can regulate arbitrarily the number of laborers. In a free government this cannot be done."

Blaine—"If the tariff has not made wages high, what has?"

Watterson—"It is cheap land, not protective duties, that produce high wages in this country. The great west has been filled up mainly by men who have refused to work for factory wages. Then absence from the manufacturing centers[sic] has kept down the number seeking employment, and as the price of labor, or wages, like that of all other things, depends upon upon the amount,[80] offered for sale, the average wage scale of the United States has been kept relatively higher than in Europe, where there has been no great west to bid against the shops for the labor of human hands."

Blaine—"If that is the case, Watterson, how do you account for strikes?"

Watterson—"As you say that protection protects labor, I would think that a question you would better answer yourself. But as it might bother you, I will save you the trouble, by suggesting a fact, well known to you, and that is that the strike is the result of a consciousness among the laborers that they are not getting a fair share of the

Sic in the original; probably "origin".
Sic in the original; probably "Their absence".
Sic in the original; probably "depends upon the amount".

profits of the protected industries. When a strike wins it is because skilled labor is scarce. When it fails, there is a rush of those who are not again taken into employment, to the great west, and thus the wage scale is kept at about its former degree."

Blaine—"But suppose we had no vent for our surplus labor, would not our tariff laws have defended our laborers from the goods manufactured by the paupers of Europe?"

Watterson—"Against the goods, yes, but not against the makers of the goods. They could have come over here and have turned out goods for a home market of 55,000,000, and long ago our wages would have been as low as those of England, if not lower."

Blaine—"How lower?"

Watterson—"Because England would have the world for its market and we the United States. In other words, she would have 1,500,000,000 customers; we 55,000,000. She could sell, therefore, to better advantage, could make more goods and thus employ more labor, the demand for which, as you know, regulates its price."

Blaine—"Henry, next fall we will let the people settle the question, and I think you will then owe me the cigars."

Watterson—"I am content. If the people like your doctrine, Blaine, they ought to have it. But you can't deny they have been doing a good deal of thinking for a few years last past. What a joke it would be if you had to furnish the cigars to me next November."

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.

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

———

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

THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC,

SUNDAY EVENING, JAN. 22.

———

ADDRESS

by

REV. DR. M'GLYNN.

Subject, "The Ecclesiastical Machine in American Politics."

———

Musical service by

CONCORDIA CHORUS.

———

Admission free to Family Circle. Balcony Circle, Boxes and Orchestra Circle 10 cents. Orchestra 25 cents. Proscenium Boxes 50 cents.

Tickets on sale at the Anti-Poverty Society office, 30 Cooper Union.

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

Politics from the Pope.

"The man who says 'I will take my faith from Peter, but I will not take my politics from Peter,' is not a true Catholic."—*Monsignor Preston.*

"As much religion as you please from Rome, but no politics. I am sincerely a Catholic, but I am not a papist. I deny the doctrine that the pope has any temporal authority, direct or indirect, in Ireland; we have all denied it on oath, and we would die to resist it."—*Daniel O'Connell.*

"I am an Irish Catholic, and I would as soon think of taking my politics from the sultan of Turkey as from the pope."—*John Dillon, M. P.*

———

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Society will hold meetings every Sunday evening at 8 o'clock at Lincoln hall, corner of Broad street and Fairmount avenue.

Everybody invited. Admission free.

A LIVE CHRISTIANITY.

Speakers have been secured as follows:

Sunday, Jan. 22.....Wm. J. Gorsuch of Philadelphia.

By order of Executive Committee.

WM. J. ATKINSON, President.

J. H. M'INTYRE, Secretary.

[Advertisement] THE UNSEEN.

THE UNSEEN.

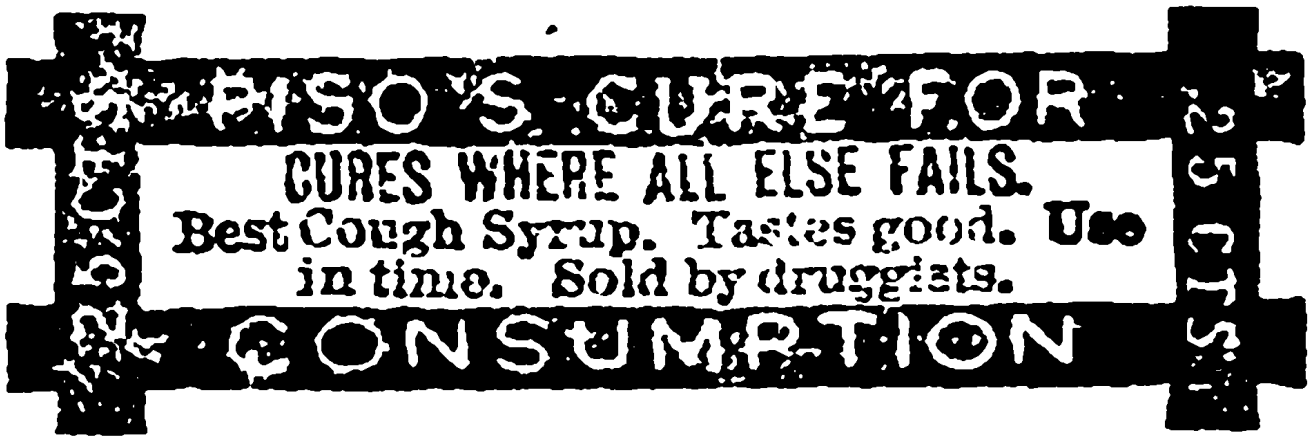
Thirty-two pages. By mail, ten cents in stamps.

CONTENTS:

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FORBES & CO., 52 Broadway, New York.

[Advertisement] Piso's Cure for Consumption



p8_fig1

[Advertisement cut: white lettering on a black frame, with vertical side bars]

PISO'S CURE FOR CURES WHERE ALL ELSE FAILS. Best Cough Syrup. Tastes good. Use in time. Sold by druggists. CONSUMPTION 25 CTS. [left side bar, reading upward] | 25 CTS. [right side bar, reading downward]

[Advertisement] Ollendorf's Neurodontine

OLLENDORF'S

NEURODONTINE.

Instantaneous cure for Toothache, Headache and Neuralgia. 25 cents. Central depot, 203 E. 14th st., N. Y.

[Advertisement] Charles B. Schaidner, Photographer

CHARLES B. SCHAIDNER,

Sic in the original; probably "Its Cause and Cure".

PHOTOGRAPHER.

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

Children's Photographs by instantaneous process a specialty

[Advertisement] James Bogan

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

[Advertisement] Concord Co-operative Printing Company

PRINTING.

CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY (Ld.)

47 and 49 Center st., N. Y.

BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.

p. 8, col. 6

[Advertisement] PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?

An Examination of the Tariff Question with Especial Regard to the Interests of Labor.

BY HENRY GEORGE.

CONTENTS:

I. Introductory. II. Clearing ground. III. Of method. IV. Protection as a universa need[sic]. V. The protective unit. VI. Trade. VII. Production and producers. VIII. Tariffs for revenue. IX. Tariffs for protection. X. The encouragement of industry. XI. The home market and home trade. XII. Exports and imports. XIII. Confusions arising from the use of money. XIV. Do high wages necessitate protection.[83] XV. Of advantages and disadvantages as reasons for protection. XVI. The Development of manufactures. XVII. Protection and producers. XVIII. Effect of protection on American industry XIX. Protection and wages. XX. The abolition of protection. XXI. Inadequacy of the free trade argument. XXII. The Real Weakness of Free Trade. XXIII. The Real Strength of Protection. XXIV. The Paradox. XXV. The Robber that Takes All that is Left. XXVI. True Free Trade. XXVII. The Lion in the Way. XXVIII. Free Trade and Socialism. XXIX. Practical Politics. XXX. Conclusion.

———

Sic in the original; probably "universal need".
Sic in the original; probably "...protection?".

One Volume. Price, Cloth, $1.50; in Paper, 35 Cents.

———

Address HENRY GEORGE & CO.,

25 Ann Street, New York.

[Advertisement] Who Wouldn't Be Dressed Well (Braham's)



p8_fig2

[Advertisement cut: display lettering in white on a black panel]

WHO WOULDN'T BE DRESSED WELL

PRINCE ALBERT COAT AND VEST, SATIN LINED THROUGHOUT, TO MEASURE.....$18.00 TROUSERS TO MEASURE, FROM..... 4.00 BUSINESS SUITS TO MEASURE, FROM 16.00 DRESS SUITS TO MEASURE, FROM.. 20.00 BLUE, BLACK OR BROWN CORK-SCREW CUTAWAY COAT & VEST TO MEASURE, FROM..... 12.00 OVERCOATS, QUILTED SILK OR SATIN LINED THROUGHOUT, TO MEASURE, FROM..... 20.00



p8_fig3

[Advertisement cut: ornamental white lettering on a black panel]

BRAHAM'S 212 BOWERY N.Y.

OPPOSITE RIVINGTON ST.

Samples and Self-Measurement Char Mailed[sic] on Application.

[Advertisement] The Keystone Watch Club Co.

THOUSANDS OF THE BEST

$38 GOLD WATCH

EVER MADE ARE SELLING IN OUR

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This is the Best, Cheapest, Most Convenient,

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

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

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

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

The Keystone Watch Club Co.

P. O. Box 928, Philadelphia, Pa.

Sic in the original; probably "Chart".



p8_fig4

[Trade-mark cut: keystone-shaped emblem enclosing an open-face pocket watch; lettering: “THE KEY STONE WATCH CLUB Co.”]

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

AGENCIES:

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Chicago, Ill.	Denver, Col.

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

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



p8_fig5

[Advertisement with trade-mark cut: a circular can-bottom stamp lettered “HAND MADE” and “C.M.M.P.A.”; display lettering at right]

Canned Goods

WITH THIS STAMP IN THE BOTTOM OF CANS ARE

Free from Poison,

AND ARE MADE BY

ORGANIZED LABOR.

Trade-Mark.—Registered.

[Advertisement] The Great American Tea Co.



p8_fig6

[Advertisement cut: a large black “T” lettered in white “THE GREAT AMERICAN” across the top, “T E A” down the stem and “COMPANY” across the base]

GOOD NEWS TO LADIES.

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

THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA CO.,

P. O. Box 289. 31 and 33 Vesey St., New York.

[Advertisement] Autocopyist

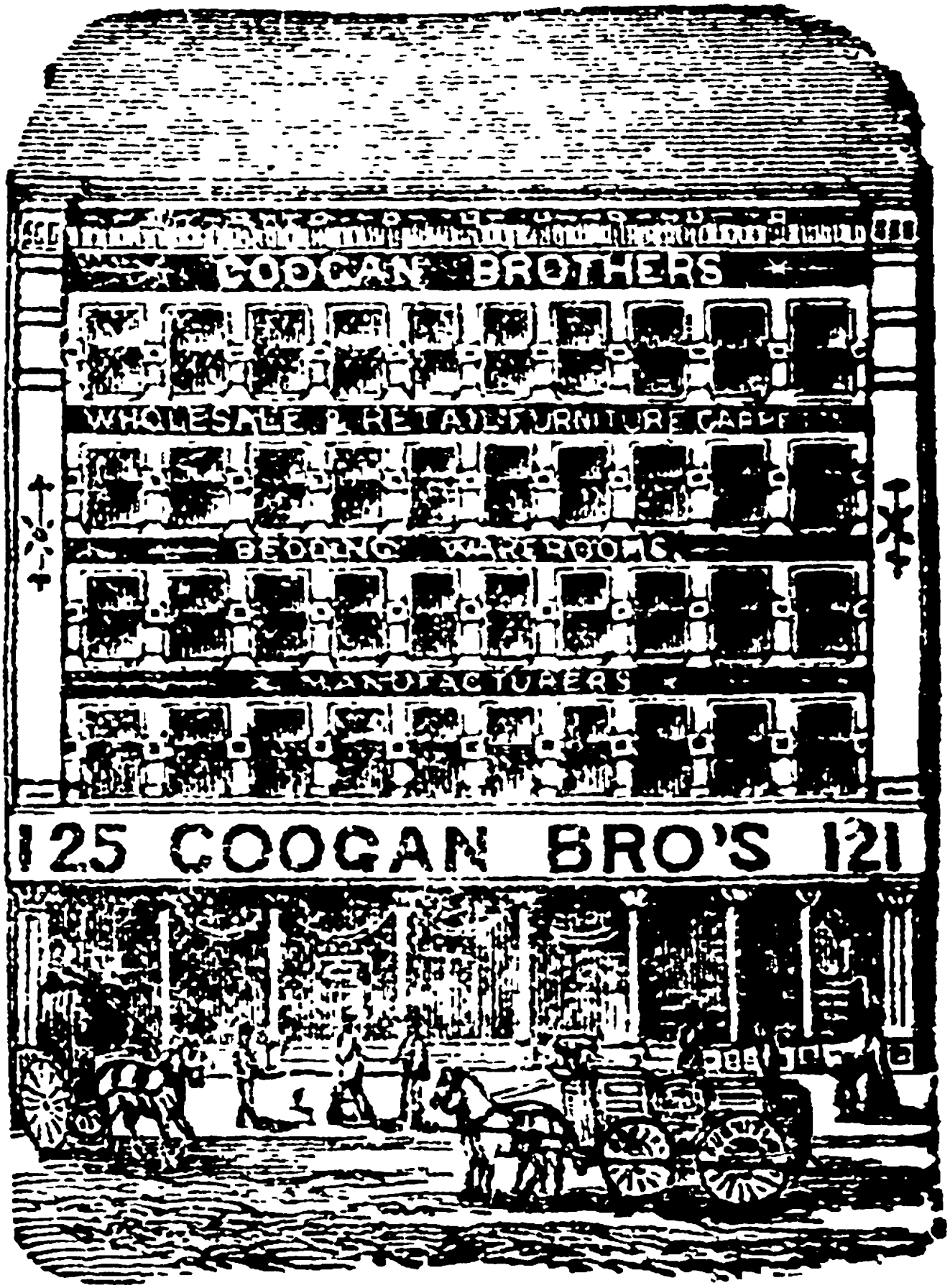
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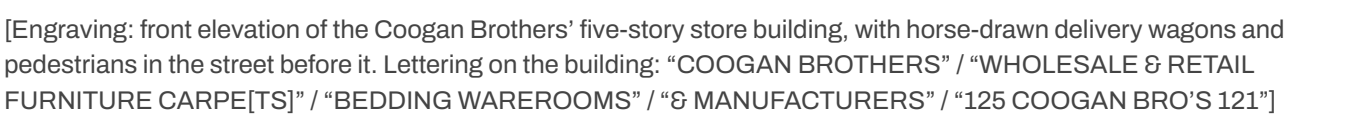
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AUTOCOPYIST CO., [163?] William St., New York.

[Advertisement] Coogan Bros., Carpet and Furniture Dealers


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

p8_fig7



[Engraving: front elevation of the Coogan Brothers' five-story store building, with horse-drawn delivery wagons and pedestrians in the street before it. Lettering on the building: "COOGAN BROTHERS" / "WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE CARPE[TS]" / "BEDDING WAREROOMS" / "& MANUFACTURERS" / "125 COOGAN BRO'S 121"]

COOGAN BROS.,

CARPET AND FURNITURE DEALERS,

COR. BOWERY AND GRAND STS.

[Advertisement] Holland's Coffee and Dining Rooms

HOLLAND'S

COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS,

[143?] Fourth avenue,

Bet. 13th and 14th sts.

Damaged type restored

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

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
1	FREF LAND AND [word obscured by pasted address label] TRADE.	between the the great national parties	between the great national parties
2	[continuation of note on French editions; Raffalovich review	Protection or Free Trade!"	Protection or Free Trade?"
2	ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	Total....$16,924 73 (worn)	$16,924 72
2	ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	disbursement items (worn figures)	items should total the printed $16,803 73
3	GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE!	Laborers should be em ployed	employed
3	GOD SAVE THE PEOPLE!	declares that a a far-reaching remedy	declares that a far-reaching remedy
6	Correct.	the peopie having	the people having
6	The Standard of Living.	less. but that	less, but that
7	TWO BROTHERS.	her husband. broken hearted	

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
			her husband, broken hearted
7	TWO BROTHERS.	And what about Walter?' I asked.	"And what about Walter?" I asked.
7	THE ECONOMIC VALUE OF SOCIETY.	say / ing	say-/ing
7	THE LAND QUESTION IN NEW MEXICO.	con / gress	con-/gress
8	[Publisher's Notes: recruiting fund receipts]	30 / $16 64 / $2,026 07 (worn)	as transcribed
8	OUR CHILDREN.	Aren't you tired?	"Aren't you tired?"
8	ENRICHING NEW YORK'S LAND OWNERS.	construc / tion; conspicu / ously	construction, conspicuously

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