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About this text (5 notes on this issue)

- `[word?]` is a best guess; `[illegible]` means unreadable. Line-end hyphens are joined. Misprints are kept as printed; letters judged to be broken type are written as intended but listed among the misprints (marked “broken type”).
- **p3 c4 (lower half), p4 c3 (right edge), p5 c4, p6 c3:** damaged/broken type; restored letters are in square brackets.
- **Shearman, “The Single Tax and the Tariff”** (p4), signed. **Clarke, “A Reply to Criticisms”** (Harvard Law Review) runs p6 → p7 and quotes George at length.
- **p8 Publisher’s Notes:** the introduction promises the Episcopal bishop’s letter, but Garrison’s letter comes first — apparently transposed in the original.
- p1 masthead: subscriber’s address label pasted over the masthead rule.

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p1_fig1

[Nameplate: display type THE STANDARD]

THE STANDARD

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

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NEW YORK, SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1888.

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[Pasted subscriber address label, not part of the printed page, across the masthead rule: "402 Walter Mendelsen sr 167 / 209 w 46th st"]

p. 1, col. 1

CHARITY AND JUSTICE.

This letter should have been printed las[sic] week, [but was?] held over because I wished to make some comment on it:

> I must take issue with you concerning some of the views expressed in your editoral[sic] of Jan. 7 upon the subjects of almsgiving and charity.

> I seems to me[sic] that it is you who have failed to perceive the real evils that attach to almsgiving as to all other means of living without work.

> To the individual the chief evil is the destruction of the qualities (independence, enterprise, energy, etc.) which make self-support possible, and it is equally disastrous, so far as character is concerned, whether the man supported be rich or poor. The physical degradation is, of course, usually only apparent in the poor dependent, because the living he gets from other people is too meager to allow him to procure the necessaries and decencies of life, while, on the contrary, the rich dependent maintains a respectable exterior, although in spirit he may be as deficient as the other in all the qualities necessary for success in life.

Sic in the original; probably "last".
Sic in the original; probably "editorial".
Sic in the original; probably "It seems to me".

> Apart from the effect on the individual, and a much greater evil, is the temptation which almsgiving holds out to persons not naturally very industrious or independent to give up the struggle of earning a living and live on others; and so long as it is easy to get food and lodging without giving any equivalent, so long will that class of men and women succumb to this temptation and be dragged lower and lower instead of being helped to climb higher and higher.

> This brings me to your comments upon the Woodyard Association, in which I am naturally a good deal interested, as I am one of the persons who originated it and one of its present committee of management, and while I agree with all you say as to the general bad effects of made work, I contend that our woodyard avoids them by the very strict rules under which it is carried on, and which you evidently consider only as adding to them. The yard is intended as a means of testing the genuineness of the distress of able bodied men who apply for charitable relief. Now, whoever may be to blame for the fact that able bodied men do so apply (you, if I remember correctly, say it is the people of the United States) the fact remains a fact, and it is also a fact that to give the relief they ask to these men is often to do them the worst of injuries. To give a man a woodyard ticket and let him saw and split wood for a day's meals and lodgings is, I agree, a questionable good; but to teach him that he can get a day's meals and lodgings for nothing is an unquestionable evil. To show that the woodyard does test the genuineness of the distress of able bodied men the following fact is sufficient: Within a few weeks woodyard tickets have been given at the office of the charity organization society, to thirty-six men, who claimed to be absolutely homeless and penniless, which would have given to each at least one day's living and lodging. Of these thirty-six men only eight ever went to the wood yard. You may very well say that one day's food and lodging is not much, and neither is it; but a man who refuses it (having already begged for food), cannot be supposed to be starving; and in many cases work at the wood yard has been the means of introducing men to permanent employment.

> Please remember that no man works at the wood yard who has not first (and quite [independently?] of the wood yard) asked for [charitable?] relief.

> As to the class of men who come [many?] are, of course, foreigners, but many [also?] are Americans, who have come to [New?] York within the year, within the [month?], some within the week. Is it desirable [for?] these men, or for the city, to teach [them?] that here food and lodging are free to [whoever?] asks for them? Is not a sharp [lesson?] at the wood yard a greater benefit?

> Another point is that [with?] the rarest exceptions no one is [allowed?] to work at the wood yard for more [than?] ten days, which at least gives a man a [chance?] to look about him and try to get real [work?], but does not teach him to depend on "[charity?] work" for permanent support.

> In the same [editorial?] you make the mistake of assuming [that?] the "friendly visitors" for whom the [charity?] organization society is looking would "[mix?] moral with material assistance," [whereas?] the ideal of the society is to render [material?] assistance in most cases unnecessary, which I believe to be an entirely [attainable?] ideal, provided that the moral assistance were forthcoming and the standing temptation of the material assistance could be removed.

> JOSEPHINE SHAW LOWELL.

> Jan. 13, 1888.

I [hardly?] think I have failed to appreciate the evils which attach to alms giving as a means of relieving poverty, and which were so clearly pointed out by Mrs. Lowell in the admirable address to the Woman's Christian conference, from which I quoted in the article she now refers to. But I think, as I endeavored in that article to

show, that the essence of these evils is in the injury done to that sense of self-respect which is the foundation of independence, enterprise, energy and a[ll?] the manly virtues, and which when go[ne?] leaves the man without the stimulus [that?] makes the bread of toil preferable to [the bread?] of charity. This essential evil, I [sought to?] show, is inherent in all attempts to [relieve?] charity by benevolence—whether by [giving?] alms, by giving counsel, or by giving [work?]. Benevolence has its place; but [benevolence?] cannot take the place of justice. And every attempt to cure or even [possibly?] to mitigate by benevolence the [evils?] which proceed from injustice, are [not merely?] foredoomed to failure, but just [in?] proportion to their extent and the [persistence?] in them do they seem to produce [new?] evils.

In what, and in how far, [charity?] by wood yard test may be preferable [to?] Mr. Keyser's free soup charity or [Mrs.?] Lamadrid's cheap meal charity is hardly worth while to inquire. [Since Mrs.?] Lowell wrote, the woodyard [charity?] has broken down, and that from a [consciousness?] of at least some of the evils [which?] must attend any large resort to [such?] measures of relief. The *Evening* [*Post* of ?] the 21st has the following:

> THE CHARITY [WOOD?]YARD.
>
> The New York Wood[yard?] Association was established to test the [willingness?] to work of

p. 1, col. 2

> men applying for charitable relief. It has been opened this year since November 1, and has had as an average twenty-five men a day at work sawing and splitting kindling wood. A large quantity of wood has been sold, but the sales do not keep pace with the amount cut up, and at present it is necessary to close the yard until some of the wood is disposed of, because there is no room for the men to work. One day last week work was given to fifty-six men.
>
> Orders for kindling should be sent to the New York Woodyard Association, Nineteenth street and Avenue B. Price, $14.50 per cord, $7.50 half-cord, $4 quarter-cord, delivered and put in without extra charge.

Why did not the Woodyard Association avoid this block, which has brought their attempt at relief to a dead stop in the bitterest of winter weather, and when the pressure of men driven even to that hard charity work was greatest, by reducing the stent of work required of each man before he could get his dole? Because that would have increased the pressure of applicants. Why not increase its sales by reducing the price of its kindling wood? Because that would cause bitter complaint from other producers of kindling wood, and throw men out of employment who would be forced to swell the ranks of applicantsfor[sic] charity.

Th[us does?] this attempt to relieve distress by giving work instead of giving alms come tc[sic,6] a stop as soon as it gets fairly started, and that because it is confronted by unavoidable difficulties. And these difficulties do not arise from, but are only brought into view by, the enlargement of the scale of operations. The Woodyard Asociation,[7] is really inconsistent in refusingto,[8] attract customers by offering its wood for less than the market price, while it makes no scruple of endeavoring to attract customers by obtaining a "reading notice" in the columns of the *Evening Post*, which would cost any private woodyard at least twenty-five cents a line. For whether people are induced to buy this charity association's kindling wood by an appeal to their pockets or an appeal to their benevolence, makes no [difference?]. The effect in diminishing the demand for kindling wood from private yards is the same. In so far as this charity furnishes its beneficiaries with what Mrs. Lowell so happily styles "real work,"

Sic in the original; probably "applicants for".
Sic in the original; probably "to".
Sic in the original; probably "to".
Sic in the original; probably "Association".
Sic in the original; probably "refusing to".

it but takes employment from one set of men to give it to another. And as its test for employment is a degrading one—an application for charity—it merely so alters the distribution of real work as to degrade workers. What the association, as [the net result of its operations?], [line partly obscured by crease] does actually add to the amount of employment to be found in New York, is a certain amount of what, as distinguished from real work, Mrs. Lowell would doubtless call sham work—*i. e.*, unnecessary and unproductive exertion. This it furnishes because it compels its beneficiaries to use hand saws instead of power saws, and axes instead of splitting machines. Such sham work may supply a test for charity, but it is only such a test for charity as might be had by compelling men, as a condition to getting alms, to dig holes and fill them up again, or to stand on one leg for a certain time. This would show how badly the applicant wanted charity, in the sense of showing how much pain he was willing to undergo to get the charity. And this is all that charity woolyards[sic] can really do.

But whether woodyard charity is better or worse than free soup charity, it is hardly worth while to discuss. It may, to some small extent,serve[sic] as a test by which the charitable may distinguish those willing to work from the dissolute tramps and hardened beggarswhom[11] the difficulty of finding real work has produced. But there is in its principe[12] no remedy for pauperism, no cure for that difficulty of getting a living which fills our streets with men begging for alms or begging for work. The very suporters[13] of the woodyard would not dare to advocate any extension of its principle at all commensurate with the magnitude of the problem to be solved, for that would be inevitably to lead to national workshops and the taxation of the rich to furnish wages for the poor. Though they have run it only two months and a half, and expended in wages an average of only twelve dollars and a half a day, they are already compelled to close their little woodyard just when the want of work is bitterest, not from any lack of funds, but because when they have got wood cut and split they are afraid to force it on the market.

Mrs. Lowell is quite right as to the hopelessness and injury of alms giving, but in *hoping to* find any help for poverty in the moral assistance of friendly visitors she is, as I have said, turning from broken reed to broken reed. It is true, as she sees, that the rich cannot help the poor by giving alms without at the same time increasing poverty. But it is also true that *the rich cannot help* the poor in any other way. The distinction between rich and poor is an insurmountable barrier to moral help.

So far as I have read them, the most interesting of Count Tolstoi's books is that last one, in which he describes his attempts to solve the problem of poverty. The bitter want and deep degradation to be found in the poorer quarters of such a city as Moscow appalled him. He felt that this ought not to be, and that there must be some way of remedying it. Realizing, as Mrs. Lowell

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has realized, the hopelessness of curing this poverty by alms, he made his call for friendly visitors to the comfortable, cultured Christians of Moscow, as Mrs. Lowell has made her call to the ladies of the Women's Christian Conference of New York.

"Doing good and giving money," he told them, "are not only not the same thing, but two different and generally opposite things. To do good signifies to do that which is good for man; but in order to know what is good for man it is necessary to be on humane, *i.*

Sic in the original; probably "woodyards".
Sic in the original; probably "extent, serve".
Sic in the original; probably "beggars whom".
Sic in the original; probably "principle".
Sic in the original; probably "supporters".

e., on friendly terms with him; and, therefore, in order to do good it is not money that is necessary, but first of all a capacity for detaching ourselves for the time, at least, from the conditions of our own life. It is necessary that we should not be afraid to soil our boots and clothing, that we should not fear lice and bedbugs, that we should not fear typhus fever, diphtheria and smallpox. It is necessary that we should be in a condition to seat ourselves by the bunk of a tatterdemalion and converse earnestly with him in such a manner that he may feel that the man who is talking with him respects and loves him and is not putting on airs and admiring himself."

With these and many other eloquent words did Count Tolstoi call upon the charitable people of Moscow to make a grand organized attempt to act the part of friendly visitors. "Let the mechanicians," he said, "invent a machine for lifting the weight that is crushing us—that is a good thing; but until they shall have invented it, let us bear down upon the people like fools, like *muzhiki*, like peasants, like Christians, and see whether we cannot raise them. And now, brothers, all to-gether, and away it goes!"

As he tells in his paper entitled "Thoughts Evoked by the Census of Moscow," written three years after his glowing appeal for moral assistance in aid of the poor, Count Tolstoi did not get his friendly visitors; he only got a few of them. And although in response to his solicitations he was promised money for his work, he only got a little of it. But he went on and tried his experiment sufficiently to satisfy himself, as he has related in detail in his vivid account of his experiences, that neither by money, nor by friendly counsel, nor by taking poor children into his own house, could he be of help to a single one. "There is a wall between the rich and poor," says Count Tolstoi, "and that wall is our wealth."

Here is something that may serve to suggest why it is that people so ready to give money are not ready to give anything else:

> Every time that I chanced, either on the street or in the house, to give some small coin to a poor man, without saying anything to him, I saw, or thought that I saw, contentment and gratitude on the couutenance[sic] of the poor man, and I myself experienced in this form of benevolence an agreeable sensation. I saw that I had done what the man wished and expected from me. But if I stopped the poor man, and sympathetically questioned him about his former and his present life, I felt that it was no longer possible to give three or twenty kopeks, and I began to fumble in my purse for money, in doubt as to how much I ought to give. And I always gave more; and I always noticed that the poor man left me dissatisfied. But if I entered into still closer intercourse with the poor man, then my doubts as to how much to give increased also; and, no matter how much I gave, the poor man grew ever more sullen and discontented. As a general rule, it always turned out thus, that if I gave, after conversation with a poor man, three rubles or even more, I almost always beheld gloom, displeasure, and even ill will, on the countenance of the poor man; and I have even known it to happen, that, having received ten rubles, he went off without so much as saying "Thank you," exactly as though I had insulted him.

> And thereupon I felt awkward and ashamed, and almost guilty. But if I followed up a poor man for weeks and months and years, and assisted him, and explained my views to him, and associated with him, our relations became a torment, and I perceived that the man despised me. And I felt that he was in the right.

> If I go out into the street, and he, standing in that street, begs of me among the number of the other passers by, people who walk and ride past him, and I give him money, I then am to him a passer by, and a good, kind passer by, who bestows on him that thread from which a shirt is made for the naked man. He expects nothing more than the thread, and if I give it he thanks me sincerely. But if I stop him, and talk with him as man with man, I thereby show him that I desire to be something more than a mere passer by. If, as often

Sic in the original; probably "countenance".

> happens, he weeps while relating to me his woes, then he sees in me no longer a passer by, but that which I desire that he should see—a good man. But if I am a good man, my goodness cannot pause at a twenty-kopek piece, nor at ten rubles, nor at ten thousand; it is impossible to be a little bit of a good man. Let us suppose that I have given him a great deal, that I have fitted him out, dressed him, set him on his feet so that he can live without outside assistance; but for some reason or other, through misfortune or his own weakness or vices, he is again without that coat, that linen, and that money which I have given him; he is again cold and hungry, and he has again come to me—how can I refuse him?

> And thus in the case[sic] with the men from whom I chanced to recede, to whom I ceased to give, and, by this action, denied good, I experienced a torturing sense of shame.

Is it not a half-conscious unwillingness to incur this obligation that cannot be discharged save by one who is ready to sell all that he hath and give to the poor—a dim fear of this torturing sense of shame that lies at the bottom of the difficulty of finding "friendly visitors," of which Mrs. Lowell spoke so despairingly to the women of the Christian conference? And is there not here, when one comes to think of it, a

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deep reason for the vows of poverty which the Catholic church exacts from those whom she specially sets apart for ministering to the poor, and which such men as our own Father Huntington and Brother Gilbert have voluntarily assumed?

I would not be understood as belittling that spirit which finds expression in works of benevolence, and which, seeing suffering, hastens to do what is nearest at hand. In Mr. Keyser's distribution of free soup, now brought to a close; in Mrs. Lamadrid's cheap meals; in Mrs. Lowell's work of unselfish devotion in organizing charity; in model tenements and free libraries and industrial schools, I recognize a quality which in its essence stands perhaps at the very summit of human virtues—a spirit which reaches its highest organized expression in those great orders of the Catholic church, whose members taking the vow of perpetual poverty have devoted themselves to works of consolation and mercy and helpfulness, and whose annals gleam with the radiance of lives in which it needs no canonization for all men to recognize the saints of God.

But high as we instinctively hold charity, and beneficent as may be its functions when justice is satisfied, no scheme of organized benevolence can take the place of justice in the social order. The cause of the evils with which charity, organized and unorganized, battles in vain, is that we permit and legalize robbery. If there are thousands of children who must go hungry unless charity feeds them, it is because they are disinherited. If there are stalwart men who must needs beg for a fifty cent job in a charity wood yard, it is because they are fenced out by monopoly from opportunities of work which are theirs by natural right.

And while this is obviously the case, it is impossible not to see that there is very much in all the discussion of social problems now going on, and in the advocacy and support of many of the schemes of alleviating poverty by benevolence, something which is really not charity, but the reverse—a conscious or half conscious desire to use the cloak of charity to hush conscience and still the demand of justice.

"I belong," says Count Tolstoi, "to that class of people who by divers tricks take from the toiling masses the necessaries of life, . . . and I imagine that I pity people and I wish to assist them. I sit on a man's neck and I weigh him down, and I demand that he shall carry me; and with[out?] descending from his shoulders I assure myself and

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Sic in the original; probably "And thus is the case".

others that I am very sorry for him and that I desire to ameliorate his condition by all possible means, *only not by getting off of him*."

This is the fatal defect of all the schemes for alleviating poverty and improving the condition of the working masses by benevolence, with which people who will not listen to the simple remedy of stopping robbery and restoring natural rights so frequently amuse themselves. They are devices to help the down trodden man without getting off of him.

Mrs. Lowell is correct when she says that I place the blame for the fact that able bodied men apply for charity, upon the people of the United States. I put it upon the people of the United States because in their hands is the sovereign political power—the power of making and unmaking laws; and in the fact that a country so wide and so rich as this is, swarming with able bodied men who cannot find work, I see only the result of bad laws. But I am far from believing that the people of the United States are equally to blame. Those on whom the responsibility most heavily rests are *those* who have talent, leisure, culture; those who occupy toward their fellows a position that make them teachers, leaders and directors of thought. What, as a class, are these men doing in the United States to-day in the face of the steadily increasing pressure of the most stupendous social problem? They are engaged in darkening counsel and stilling conscience, and either treating the great wrong, which must surely wreck society if it continues, with flippant denial, or endeavoring to draw men's minds away from any thought of it by rosewater schemes for ameliorating the condition of labor "*without getting off of him*." And in this they are doing not merely negative evil but positive evil. For in their endeavors to hide and lead away from the obvious cause and the simple remedy of widespread and growing distress and discontent they are sowing the seeds of socialism, communism, anarchism and blind destruction.

In her recent address before the Woman's Christian Conference, Mrs. Lowell quoted, from a late number of the *Charity Organization Review*, a story "of a London business man who turned away two of his clerks because times were so hard and immediately sent £50 to the fund for the unemployed, to whose ranks he had contributed those two men." This Mrs. Lowell quoted as an illustration of how hard and unsympathetic and even mean and cruel people are apt to be with those who are brought into daily contact with them, while ready to lavish mischievous charity upon strangers of whom they have heard some tale of woe. But does it necessarily illustrate this?

The London business man was in his

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business acting on business principles, the only principles on which a business man can anywhere *hope to* be successful, while in sending his check he was acting as a philanthropist or a citizen. His conduct was not merely justified by that business maxim which forbids the mixing of sentiment with business, but it was justified by a consideration, of which he was doubtless conscious, though he might not have formulated it—that as an individual he was not responsible for that state of things which deprived of all work the men whom he had no work for; but as a member of society he was.

Now this *is* the obligation that rests upon all of us, and upon all of us in proportion to our influence and power. No individual can, as an individual, change the general conditions which compel to idleness men who would gladly be at work, and reduce to chronic tramps and paupers those who under different conditions might be useful members of society. But every one by his action upon public opinion can contribute to the change of those conditions. And so, while we all must as individuals deal, as Mrs. Lowell says, with facts as they are, yet we all can, by striving to enlighten our own minds and the minds of others as to causes and cures, contribute to make social

facts what they ought to be. This is where many of those ready enough in matters of individual charity and petty philanthropy fall short in their highest duty.

The moral of the article to which Mrs. Lowell refers was left mainly to the inference of the reader, but nevertheless it was obvious. Our clearest perceptions and our strongest feelings tell us that a state of affairs in which human beings can only live by charity, and able-bodied men are obliged to beg for work, is unnatural and wrong. But not only do we encounter utter failure when we try by benevolence to remedy this state of things, but we may see if we choose to look, just as Mrs. Lowell sees with reference to alms giving, that mere benevolence only intensifies evils it cannot cure. Why then should we not turn to justice?

Look at the condition of things in this city to-day. Commissioner Henry H. Porter said to a reporter before the Keyser free soup charity had stopped and the Woodyard charity had broken down:

> Every day, men, some days as many as fifty, come to me to be committed to the island, who say they have searched in vain for work and cannot find it. They do not want to go to the almshouse, but have to or starve.

And the number of the unemployed who appeal to public charities of any kind is but small as compared with the number who get along somehow by the aid of friends, acquaintances and private charity. As it is in the city, so it is through the whole country. California is overrun with tramps, and in Florida they are organizing tramp hunts and talking of re-establishing whipping posts to frighten them away. The remedy for this state of things is perfectly clear. It is not in establishing charity woodyards, nor in any similar devices; but in the opening of natural opportunities for labor. There is "real work" enough to do if men are only permitted to do it.

In the meantime Mrs. Lowell may see by the article "Concerning Profit Sharing," which we reprint from the *Christian Union*, into what stark socialism they are finally led who desire to help the poor man "without getting off of him."

I commend to the readers of THE STANDARD, and especially to those friends who are constantly writing to me to answer this, that or the other foolish criticism, the article from the *Harvard Law Review* which is to be found on our sixth and seventh pages. The author, Mr. Samuel B. Clarke, is a prominent lawyer of this city.

HENRY GEORGE.

To Texas Readers.

Friends of the single tax reform in Texas are requested to communicate with J. B. Cochran, secretary National tax reform association, Houston, Texas.

What Protection Means.

Professor J. E. Thorold Rogers.

> Our fathers, who did battle and won the victory against the old protective system, used to say that all protection means robbing somebody else. I remember when I was a young man studying at Oxford, I went in the old protectionist days, when to be sure the old monster was wounded, and had but little life left in him, though he was

as mischievous as ever, to the town of Bolton, in the company of my dear and revered friend, Cobden. Half the works were shut up, and the streets were full of gaunt, hungry men and starving children. There was a market for English goods, but, thanks to the law, no market for foreign corn. So the employers had to lose their profit, the men had to lose their work, the children had to lose their food. The sight cured me of any sympathy with artificial prices. Rent is no doubt an excellent thing to him who receives it, but I would rather see rent dwindle through plenty than children dwindle through starvation. . . . Raw material is any article of value which is not, when it is purchased, put to its last use. So the same thing is or is not raw material to different persons. Hides are finished goods to a farmer, raw material to a tanner. Leather is finished goods to a tanner, raw material to a shoemaker. Clothing of various kinds is finished goods to most people, it is raw material to Mme. Tussaud, or any other proprietor of a waxwork exhibition, probably also to an actor or actress. Try it as you will, and you will find that by imposing an artificial price you do an injury to somebody. All protection means robbing somebody else, cutting down somebody's profits, turning somebody out of employment, shortening the innocent pleasures of somebody or another.

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CANADA GETTING EVEN.

WATFORD, Canada.—Councilor W. D. McIntyre of Alvinston, the well known mining capitalist and conservative politician, has recently made another lucky stroke, which will add considerably to the already princely income he derives from his Michigan mining property. While on his bridal tour last summer he stopped off at Hancock, Mich., to inspect his valuable mining interests there During[sic] his stay he invested in a fifty acre tract of land for which he paid $800. Last week he received and accepted an offer of $50,000 from a Michigan syndicate for the property. A member of the fourth estate will share in the bonanza, as Mr. McIntyre, with characteristic generosity, gave a young Watford newspaper man an interest in the mine previous to its disposal.

Thus, O Yanks, are we getting even with you for those Fenian raids! Instead of sending over a gang of marauders to pillage your shore we simply send, from time to time, gentlemen like Mr. McIntyre, persons of "characteristic generosity," who collect tribute money. In this instance the tax collected was $49,200, as you see. How do you like it, O boasted nation of freedom? And yet we do it by virtue of your own laws, which permit foreigners as well as natives to become "possessors" of your land and to reap the unearned increment thereof. This is away ahead of the system under which the Romans collected tribute from the Jews, and we hope you will frown on Henry George and let us go right on.

CANADA.

Anti-Poverty in Philadelphia.

PHILADELPHIA.—Last Sunday night the anti-poverty society in Philadelphia held a very enthusiastic meeting in Lincoln hall. W. J. Atkinson, the president of the society, made a few opening remarks, and W. J. Gorsuch delivered an eloquent address showing that just as a bull dog's tenacity becomes indomitable steadfastness of purpose in the hero, so that same spirit, which in its narrow state men call selfishness, becomes, when controlled and molded by intelligence and reason, a grand ennobling sympathy for all animate creation. Mr. Gorsuch said the ignorant, narrow minded man sought the gratification of his immediate desires, no matter at whose expense, and that it was the mission of the anti-poverty movement to enlighten and ennoble that selfishness by teaching people that tc secure the greatest and most lasting happiness it was necessary to secure to every man equal opportunity, justice,

Sic in the original; probably "there. During".

the equal right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. He gave a resume of the land value tax doctrine with a few clear definitions of economic terms frequently used in discussing it, and closed with a brilliant peroration, admonishing men to be true to themselves, their duty and their faith in the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man.

On Monday evening Mr. John Wanamaker "exploded" the anti-poverty doctrine for the benefit of about 200 people who assembled in his (Bethany) Sunday school room. He explained that anti poverty meant no poverty, and said he didn't swear, as he used to when he was a boy, by George nor by Ingersoll either, because they are teachers of lies. "These socialists do an incalculable amount of mischief going about teaching that all things ought to be divided up equally [illegible] that the government ought to own all the land and cut it up into equal pieces and give each person a slip. They are demagogues who don't work but always manage to become the walking delegates, etc. Their teachings mean that the industrious must be the slaves of the lazy. The workingman who sends for his kettle of beer grumbles because some one else has saved his money and bought a house, and by and by as the neighborhood grew up and it increased in value and he sold it and bought three or four where the neighborhood had not yet grown up. But didn't both have the same chance? If we should divide up all the land, before next New Year's day the lazy and the drunken ones would have lost theirs and everything would be unequal again. If these people want land why don't they go to western Pennsylvania, where they can get it at $10 an acre, or to Texas, where land can be had for $5 an acre? According to these people's fallacies, the man who endured so much working under the waters of New York harbor should have only $7 a week and Dr. McGlynn should lecture for $25 a month. Josef Hoffman should not get more than any bootblack and Henry Irving should act for $1 a night. Talent is anti-poverty. President Scott, who would walk to the depot dictating to a stenographer, would work on the train with an assistant, and turn into his berth at midnight to rise again at 4 in the morning and work all day like a general marshaling his forces for a great battle, should get only the wages of a brakeman. Energy is anti-poverty. One such employer as John Stetson is worth 4,316 assemblies of Knights of Labor. Honesty is anti-poverty. Health is anti-poverty. Temperance is anti-poverty. Religion is anti-poverty. The only kind of organization I belong to is that where the hands and feet and brain all struggle together against anti-poverty, and that is the only one I ever intend to belong to, and in it I shall continue to think and to thank and to toil and to trust.

At the close of this remarkable address the Rev. Dr. Pierson, the pastor of Mr. Wanamaker's church, arose and said: "I think this address ought to be printed and circulated far and wide to counteract the evil teachings that are becoming so dangerous to society, and all those who think so too will please say aye." Of course many said "aye." "Contrary, no." "Nobody said no," the reverend doctor said, "and they'd be nobody if they did." And with this insult to those who differed from them in opinion the circus closed.

JOHN F. HALBACH.

Sees the Cat and Wants Others to See It.

VILLE PLATTE, La.—A friend of mine in Baton Rouge has sent me several copies of THE STANDARD and four of your books: "Progress and Poverty," "Protection or Free Trade?" "Social Problems" and "The Land Question." The result is that I see the cat. As soon as one sees the cat he is seized with a desire to show the animal to others. The moment is opportune to spread the gospel of the new crusade. I inclose the money for some copies of Ring's "Case Plainly Stated." I select that tract because, though I had all along seen the different parts of the cat I did not see the animal in its totality till pointed out by Mr. Ring. Now that I see pussy I want others to enjoy the spectacle.

D. C. DAVID.

The Marble Cutter's Ball.

The annual ball and entertainment of the marble cutters of New York took place at the Lexington avenue opera house on Tuesday evening, and was a great success. Miss Munier and Madame De Carlo sang and Marshall P. Wilder gave some of his characteristic recitations.

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ANTI-POVERTY.

DR. M'GLYNN ADDRESSES THE SOCIETY AT ITS THIRTY-NINTH MEETING.

"The Ecclesiastic Machine in American Politics"—The Quarrel Not With the Church or Her Sacraments—Some of the Deals Between Tammany and the Church Authorities.

Dr. McGlynn lectured at the thirty-ninth public meeting of the Anti-poverty society last Sunday night on "The Ecclesiastical Machine in American Politics." Thomas B. Preston, a nephew of Monsignor Preston, presided and introduced the speaker. Dr. McGlynn said:

Our quarrel is and must be not with the Catholic church, her dogmas and her sacraments, but with that ecclesiastical authority which works by such unworthy means for purposes not holy. We must have a quarrel with that machine and with that policy in order to maintain not merely our rights and our liberties as men and as citizens, but also to maintain our holy religion itself. The worst consequence of the abuse of this ecclesiastical machine is not the violation of liberty and of civil rights, but the deadly wound that it inflicts on religion itself. (Applause.) What we have to say here to-night is not merely for the vindication of civil liberty, but is also in the best interest of pure religion. (Applause.)

I can never tire of repeating that I am first of all, by preference and by education, not a politician, but a minister of Christ, a preacher of His truth. (Applause.) And if I stand upon this platform it is because what we have to do and say is not unworthy of the Christian pulpit or the holy altar. (Applause.) I give full permission to any man to call me recreant to what I believe most intensely if ever I shall say one word against the teachings of the Holy Catholic church. (Applause.) There are many of you here who for years have heard those teachings from my lips, and by your presence here Sunday after Sunday you bear witness to the fact that I am not recreant to what I taught you (cries of "No! no!" and applause); that what I am teaching from this platform contradicts in no particular what I taught from the Christian altar or from the Christian pulpit.

The old fashioned Protestant hatred of the ecclesiastical machine is largely dying out. But there is a new and most intense and passionate hatred of this machine. In Italy, in France, in Spain, in South Germany, in Portugal, in South America, wherever the Catholic church is supposed to reign almost supreme, there is a new kind of Protestantism, that in revolting against the ecclesiastical machine has taken refuge in infidelity, in seeking the things of this world and almost entirely forgetting the things of the next.

We desire to abolish poverty because the miseries, the vices, the crimes that flow from poverty are crushing the souls of men. We wage war against poverty as another form of waging a conflict for the essence of all religion. The greatest curse that can happen to religion is when those who are charged with its blessed offices seek to control what Christ and natural religion and right reason have never given them any authority to control. They are weak and human, and when they would control politics and education and charity to the exclusion of others, they are necessarily to the same extent neglecting the one special work that they were sent to do. (Applause.)

This is the curse of religion everywhere to-day, that men charged with the single duty of preaching the gospel, are itching for something else. It is to control politics. It is to control education. It is to have authority with men in power, whether in church or state; to magnify their own office. And so there is a constant tendency, natural enough to poor, weak, fallen man, to magnify the means at the expense of the end, to put the cart before the horse, to magnify the work of building the scaffold, forgetting that the scaffolding is only a means toward the erection of the edifice; it is to make more of the scaffolding than the building. This is obviously suggested by the word edification. The one object of all dogmatism is to build up the spiritual man and woman. The one object is this edification, this love of God for his own sake. The scaffolding should always be made subordinate to the erection of that edifice.

Pope Urban VIII deplored, "as if with tears of blood"—that is the strong phrase he uses—the blunders of his predecessor, Pope Pius V. Now, if this can be said of the chief bishops, how much more can it be said, without the slightest danger of forfeiting our title to Catholicity, of a mere local ecclesiastical machine, an archbishop, a vicar general, or even of a council of Baltimore.

It is simply a matter of detail, but I can tell you that there has been printed in our Catholic orders for the clergy a decision of the propaganda about saying mass in two places on the same day, that is utterly in contradiction to the teaching of Roman theology. And there has not been a priest or bishop to write to Rome and say: "This is against your own theology, and the sooner you scratch it out the better." Why is it that they don't take the trouble to write to Rome? Because that would make Rome seem a little ridiculous.

The result is that the machine that pulls all the wires and wants to direct everything begins to suffer from what physicians would call hypertrophy of the head—big head, swelled head. (Laughter and applause.) Wherever you have a machine like this the chief virtue gets to be the magnifying of the machine, the respect for authority; and the question is hardly so much "What does that man preach? has he converted multitudes to Christ?" as "Is he devoted to authority? is he always respectful? is he full of reverence?"

It gets to be the proper thing for people to toady to authority, to invite the bishop frequently to dinner and give him a good dinner. (Laughter.) And it will be no harm, if he has rendered some little service to your church and stays over night with you, to take a hundred dollar bill and to fold it up nicely, and while the bishop is at his breakfast to put it in his breviary, out of which he will be reading his prayers after breakfast. (Great laughter and applause.)

And the same thing is true of the higher authorities. One of the greatest merits nowadays is to send plenty of Peter's pence to Rome. And the wise priest, who feels that if the Lord should call him to be a bishop it would hardly be proper to refuse, will send his collection direct to Rome. And in time the good priest will get a letter thanking him; and he may receive a complimentary degree of D.D.; and he may be surprised immensely some day by discovering that he is to be appointed bishop. (Laughter.) Now all that is very funny; but I assure you it is actual history. (Applause.)

The danger of this machine is, in our country as everywhere else, that the true interest of the people will be overlooked, will be misunderstood, will be neglected, because of the desire not so much to provide for the people as to please those in authority. And the remedy for that is, while respecting the proper authority of the see of Rome, as the

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depository of the apostolic traditions, to insist that as far as possible the various portions of the church shall rule themselves, that the clergy and the laity shall have their say in the administrations of their temporalities and in the election of their bishops. (Applause.)

There is a serious danger that we cannot continue to be Catholics and that the people of this country cannot in large numbers come into the Catholic church except by being almost like foreigners in their native land, by becoming, as it were, subjects of a foreign power. (Applause.)

Here is the danger of the ecclesiastical machine in American politics; that with the growth of this power we may be taught more and more to take our politics not merely from Rome, but from the representatives of Rome. We must take our politics, say the head machinists here (laughter), as well as our religion, from Rome. Of course politics are largely mixed up with morality, but that gives no authority to this ecclesiastical machine to dictate to us in politics, in the application to minute circumstances of general principles of morality. Men have to decide these things for themselves. They have to fall back upon their own consciences. And it is not the office of Peter to interfere in politics, to teach men the minor applications of great moral principles.

The fact is that the church has never decided all these minute applications of the general principles of morality. It is under the similar pretense of guarding the rights of property that this ecclesiastical machine is coquetting with the oppressors of Ireland to-day and preparing to sell out the liberties of Ireland to the English government. (Applause.)

And in the same way this ecclesiastical machine has set up the incredible pretense that it shall control the education of all the children of Catholics under the pretense of guarding their faith and morals. It has gone so far that some are ready to argue that it is better to let the children go to no school at all than to let them go to a public school, even if all the teachers in that school are devoted Catholics and receiving the holy communion at a Catholic altar every day. (Applause.) If the time should ever come that all the people of the country should be Catholics, then this ecclesiastical machine would absolutely control the education of the country, and the people would have nothing whatever to say about the maintenance and direction of a system of education for their children. (Applause.) And a late archbishop of New York said: "The time is fast coming when we must build the school first and the church afterward." Christ did not instruct his apostles in so many words to build so many houses called churches, but he sent them out to do the thing that is represented by the church building, and not the thing that is represented by the school building. (Applause.) The true doctrine is that Christ never set his church up to be the school mistress of secular things.

Those who are seeking to control the education of the country, by that very fact show that they are all the less true apostles of Christ. (Applause.) And in order to bolster up this false doctrine they are bedeviling, and will continue to bedevil more and more, the politics our country[sic]. They began fifteen years ago to demand what they call their share of the public funds raised by taxation for school purposes, in order to support these church schools under the direction of an ecclesiastical machine with no control whatsoever exercised by the representatives of the people. (Applause.)

Now a man may be a zealous priest and yet be pretty ignorant. And in proportion to his ignorance will be his anxiety to control education. (Applause.) If he cannot preach he will at least have the great glory of being a financier, a builder—a man of brick and mortar. (Laughter.) Men have occupied the highest positions in the church whose only avowed merit was that they were good financiers.

In the same way, under the pretense of doing charity, this machine is actually threatening a great danger to our country by establishing hospitals and asylums and all manner of so-called charities, the support of which is expected to come almost entirely from the public treasury. And so the ecclesiastical machine will get credit for its wondrous charity, when the fact is that there is little or no charity in the support of these institutions at all. (Applause.) They have increased wonderfully in the last fifteen or twenty years, and the reason is chiefly to be

Sic in the original; probably "the politics of our country".

found in the fact that the legislation of our city now actually makes it profitable for the various orders to establish these so-called charities, because $100 or $110 a head is paid them for those committed to the institutions by the magistrate.

The desire to secure public funds for these schools and charities explains the close alliance between the ecclesiastical machine here in this state and city and the corrupt political parties, particularly the democratic party (applause), and most particularly the most infamous and corrupt and altogether ill smelling portion of that party, namely, the Tammany hall faction. (Applause and hisses.)

In the name of God, why should we fear contact with the world? (Cheers and applause.) Are not we the leaven that is to leaven the whole mass? Should we be afraid that our religion must necessarily suffer by coming in contact with those who are not of the same religion? (Applause.) What a poor, weak, sickly thing it must be, this religion of ours—too good for this world, it must die young. (Laughter.) Ours is a church that should conquer the world; it should hail every occasion to mingle with the world, and instead of keeping its teachers, its priests and its people secluded, as it were, by a Chinese wall from the rest of society, it should be the first to demand the breaking down of all such walls. (Applause.)

Seventeen years ago a certain pastor of this city had sufficient influence by his persistence to get half a dozen others to agree with him as to a policy. They got the archbishop to consent to their plans and had an interview with the Tammany ring, at that time composed of men who have left an honorable record behind them (laughter) —the late never-sufficiently-to-be-lamented William M. Tweed, Richard B. Connolly, Oakey Hall and Peter B. Sweeney. They had an understanding that this Tammany machine should do what it could to procure public moneys in large sums for the parochial schools. It was a purely business institution, that machine, and you know they were very successful in their business.

They expected something in return. What was it? That this ecclesiastical party should do its best to maintain them in power. Their power was threatened. There were mutterings of discontent even among their own followers. There was another democratic faction that came very near to getting the better of them in the legislature, but Mr. Tweed is said to have gone to Albany one night with a trunk full of greenbacks and changed the condition of things. (Laughter and applause.)

Now the machine kept its part of the bargain. Peter B. Sweeney went up to Albany and got tacked on to an appropriation bill—I think the very last night of the session—a harmless looking little clause like this:

And, be it further enacted, that to such free schools in the city of New York as are

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not already in receipt of any portion of the public school fund there shall be divided pro rata, according to the number of pupils attending, by a commissioner to be appointed for the purpose, a sum equivalent to twenty per cent of the excise money for the year 1868.

Now where was the patriotic member of the legislature who, the night before the close, would have the knowledge or capacity to find out what that meant? The average legislator might have thought: “Well, it’s twenty per cent of the whisky money, and most of the whisky money comes from these people, and it’s only fair to give it back.” But it wasn’t twenty per cent of the whisky money. It was “a sum equivalent to twenty per cent of the excise money for 1868.” And if the excise law had been repealed that other law would still remain upon the statute book. And the amount of the excise money for 1868 would still be a historical fact, and twenty per cent of it would be always easily computed.

So the political machine kept its promise to the ecclesiastical machine. But they were determined to take such security as they could get; and before the bargain was ratified a meeting between Archbishop McCloskey and Peter B. Sweeney took place in the back room of the episcopal residence in Mulberry street one Sunday evening. And at the next election, when it was a matter of life and death to that infinitely corrupt machine to maintain its power to rob you of tens of millions of dollars, it succeeded largely with the help of that ecclesiastical machine.

The very Saturday night before election Mr. John Mullaly, the editor of the *Metropolitan Record*, a kind of semi-official organ of the ecclesiastical machine, who was a confidant of Vicar General Starr, went about to the priests with as good as a message saying: "After all, the Tammany party are going to do the right thing for us; they are our friends. One good turn deserves another, and we should do the best we can for those who are going to do the best they can for us." That was deliberately intended as a hint that they should do the best they could from their altars and pulpits the next day to help the Tammany machine to retain its power upon your public treasury. I am happy to be able to say that Mr. John Mullaly did not visit the pastor of St. Stephen's church that evening. (Cheers and applause.)

And on Sunday morning a priest would come out and say something like this: "There is going to be an election next Tuesday morning, and after all we ought to do the proper thing for those who are good to us. There's Jimmy So-and-so in our district who is a candidate for the legislature. He is a very good man. He borrowed the frame of our banner of the Blessed Virgin the other day for a political procession and he actually sent us a hundred dollars to pay for the use of it." And it is very possible that that frame, after the picture of the Blessed Virgin had been taken out, actually bore in procession the picture of William M. Tweed. (Laughter.)

And so Jimmy was elected. (Laughter.) And that same Jimmy was a notorious bruiser, and was as good as kicked out of the legislature because he assaulted a member on the floor of the house. These are thy fruits, O alliance between the ecclesiastical machine and the political machine!

And to-day we ourselves are painful examples of the fact that it is not safe for any priest not to be in good odor and sympathy with that Tammany machine. To get money for their schools they were willing to enter into an alliance with that infinitely, infamously corrupt machine. I shall continue bitterly to regret that in the first gush of enthusiastic gratitude there was not erected in the [new?] cathedral in some conspicuous [place a large?] marble tablet inscribed in golden letters with the names of the chief benefactors of that cathedral. It would have been a most instructive tablet for ages to come. It would have borne something like this extraordinary litany:

William M. Tweed, five thousand dollars. Pray for him.

Richard B. Connolly, five thousand dollars. Pray for him.

Peter B. Sweeney, five thousand dollars. Pray for him.

And one or two other names of men who have not yet departed this life and whom I shall not therefore be guilty of the indelicacy of naming, although I am almost itching to do it. (Great laughter.)

It is high time to call a halt. To get public money for these schools they are ready at any moment to bedevil your politics. There is one institution called the Catholic protectory that is now receiving from your treasury well nigh $300,000 a year. And so it is with the foundling asylums and the House of Good Shepherd and the houses of the Sisters of Mercy. It is no longer charity; it is business. Hence this bedevilment of our city politics and the opposition to Mr. Cleveland in the presidential campaign, because he vetoed an appropriation of $25,000 for that Catholic protectory. In the presidential campaign he was denounced openly as the enemy of the Catholic church, and it was understood to be the correct thing not to vote for Mr. Cleveland.

That ecclesiastical machine was pretty powerful and came very near defeating Mr. Cleveland. Now, Mr. Cleveland is a wise man, and small blame to him for being gradually educated to be a practical politician. And Mr. Cleveland has been told, I suppose, that it is a better thing to have that machine on his side than to have it hostile to him. And he has done his best, after consultation with the cardinal archbishop of Baltimore, to show that he is not a bigot by sending a present to the pope on the occasion of his jubilee. And our papers comment on it as an eminently proper thing, in view of the fact that there are in this country some eight or ten millions of the pope's subjects. Subjects!

You may almost look in vain through the press of the country for a ringing word of denunciation of the monstrous utterance of Mgr. Preston two weeks ago to the effect that the Catholics of this country must take their politics from Rome as well as their religion. We have been making gigantic strides in the last few years in the direction of actual surrender to this horrible ecclesiastical machine and its politics and policies as distinct from the church of Christ. They tried to help Mr. Kelly defeat Governor Robinson; and one man used this argument to a gang down in the Fourth ward: "You men of New York, do you want to break the poor cardinal's heart in his old age by going against his nephew?" (Laughter.) That nephew being the head of Tammany Hall and not a nephew at all, but a man who, in very mature years, had married Cardinal McCloskey's niece—an extraordinary illustration of the union of church and state. (Laughter.)

And now, to come nearer home, why was there a sudden alarm when a new party, a little over a year ago, nominated a candidate for mayor—a party of workingmen, a party composed very largely of honest sons of toil, who had done more than their share to support the Catholic church and its institutions? Why this eagerness to repress it? It was largely because of the alliance of the ecclesiastical machine with the corrupt Tammany machine. And so they forbade a priest and a citizen to confer with his fellow citizens, or to keep his engagement at a meeting without permission of the propaganda. And it is implied that with their permission and at their

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request he would be very much rewarded for making speeches. It is not wrong, they seemed to say, for a priest to make political speeches. It may be most commendable if he have our permission or advice. It is a commendable thing in Ireland, for instance, if a priest tries to disperse a land league meeting, but it would be an unpardonable crime to tell the people to stand up for their rights against the landlord and against the government. The propaganda has actually said that the clergy might be permitted in Ireland to take a moderate part in politics and public meetings, with the view of restraining the ardor of the people and getting them to be less firm for their rights.

The ecclesiastical machine, whether in Rome or in America, is very much in favor of authority as against liberty. Its instincts are in favor of aristocracy as against democracy, in favor of monarchy as against republicanism. (Applause.) They believe in centralization, in monarchy, in despotism. They would tie the hands even of the ecclesiastical machine here so that the chief men here should be only puppets to collect Peter's pence. It is that centralization of power, of authority, of financial management of everything in the machine, controlled by the central machine in Rome, that actually is a blight upon the Catholic church. It is the proper thing to pay court to each pope, to worship each bishop and offer incense to him. And the priest that does that may not be the most zealous of men, but he is orthodox; he obeys the machine. And he gets up a school; and it is really the proper, orthodox thing to do more for the school than for the church. It is a significant thing that some seventeen years ago a circular was leveled at the man who has the honor of addressing you here to-night requesting signatures to a remonstrance to be sent to Archbishop McClosky[sic], then in Rome, because of some liberal utterances about the school question that were very guarded, to the effect that the chief work to do in his parish was to get more priests to preach as much as possible, to have as many services, to try and get people to receive the sacraments as often as

Sic in the original; probably "Archbishop McCloskey".

possible, to lead Christian lives, and even that he should like to look after the destitute children most particularly in need of help who at that time were being lost by the thousands to the Catholic church, being picked up on the street and shipped out west.

And the archbishop of New York was actually charged in the newspapers with the incredible neglect of these destitute children for whom there was scarcely any provision whatsoever. And the archbishop actually answered his critic in the New York *Times*, and said: "It is true that these children have been baptized in the Catholic church, yet they scarcely can be said to have ever belonged to it." Just think of it! And his critic, a clergyman and pastor of this very diocese, very truthfully and properly answered the archbishop in the same newspaper, saying: "This is the most extraordinary utterance that ever came from the tongue or pen of an alleged Christian bishop. Thousands of children baptized in the Catholic church, and yet, says the archbishop, they can scarcely be said to have ever belonged to it!" Let us hope that he repented of that before he died. How could he stand before the judgment seat of the Son of Man, asking an account of those who were baptized and in whom he has the deepest solicitude? How could he give an account of those innocent lambs of the flock to his judge, saying: "They can scarcely be said to have ever belonged to your flock." "There is a certain policy on the part of the ecclesiastical machine, as long as it is poor, to seem to adapt itself to circumstances, to celebrate the Fourth of July and Washington's birthday. But if you go a little behind the scenes you will find there is not very much respect for the Fourth of July and Washington's birthday. We are particularly ostracized and excommunicated to-day for teaching the doctrines of the Fourth of July. Do you want to know the opinion the propaganda has of the Fourth of July? I will tell you. Some seventy years ago, when the progaganda[sic] was intriguing to the detriment of the liberties and rights of English and Irish Catholics, it was willing to give to that persecuting government the practical appointment of Catholic bishops by giving it the veto power over their appointment, because it was intriguing for the restoration of the temporal throne of the pope. And the secretary of the propaganda, in correspondence with the British cabinet, said that it was a most excellent thing to have a proper understanding between the holy see and the British cabinet, for the reason that the holy see had always inculcated obedience and respect for legitimate authority—legitimate authority of the English government in Ireland! And the secretary said that Catholics would not rebel against his gracious majesty the king, as witness the significant fact that in the recent unfortunate rebellion in America, it was the Protestant colonies that rebelled, while the Catholic colony of Canada remained faithful. (Applause.) That shows what the Roman machine would have done if it could. It would have made impossible our glorious American revolution. It would have left unwritten the Declaration of Independence.

Now then, dear friends, I am going to come to an end, and I shall end, as I began, by saying that no man, I am sure, can surpass me in sympathetic, tender reverence for all that is good and sweet and beautiful and holy in the Catholic religion. (Applause.) And I am intensely convinced that if this Catholic church would but abdicate its claims to temporal thrones and the administration of temporalities that are nothing but a bane and a curse, she could go out to conquer the whole world, and all nations would acknowledge her to be the best of mothers. I am here to-night, not because I have departed from the spirit of my priesthood, but because I desired to bring as many as I could within the genial influence of that holy priesthood. And what I and others with me may have to suffer may perhaps hasten the day for the breaking down of the machine and hasten the day when the church of Christ shall be seen by the world in all her pristine beauty without the aid of any such temporal machine, and only by the aid of men's minds and the perfect love of their hearts. (Great applause.)

After the conclusion of Dr. McGlynn's address Mme. De Carlo sang a solo, and the exercises of the evening closed with the singing of the "The Cross[sic] of the New Crusade" by Miss Munier's choir and the audience.

Sic in the original; probably "propaganda".
Sic in the original; probably "the singing of"The Cross".

The Homeless Poor of New York.

New York Times.

In the year just gone the police station houses of New York city accommodated with a bare bed 127,980 persons, as against 131,503 in 1886. The improvement is not great at first sight, but it is perhaps significant of somewhat better times for the very poor, and in pauper statistics a gain of 2¾ per cent is by no means to be despised. Of course in either twelve-months there were many "repeaters," and it may be that greater vigilance on the part of the police, greater sternness in dealing with habitual vagrants account for the apparent improvement. The fact, however, remains that on an average 350 persons each night last year had not within the limits of this city a place on which to lay their head, for it cannot be believed that any one, however poor and demoralized, would willingly seek such shelter, such noisome accommodation as the station house

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afford. The figures for 1887 are not yet ready concerning the lodgers in the licensed lodging houses and dormitories of the metropolis, but in 1886 as many as 3,716,294 men and women found temporary beds in these places, or 10,181 per night. Now it is evident that this number of people are always on the verge of the further gulf of poverty which is indicated by application for admission to the station houses. A little reduction in the volume of trade, a slight movement backward of the hands of the commercial dial, an unusually stormy season, any one of several apparently remote causes might transfer a large proportion of the paying to the non-paying classes. But it must be further noted that the 10,181 plus the 3,523, that is, the 13,704 persons mentioned above as being the average number in cheap lodging houses and police stations during the year, do not represent the number that have to be provided for at such a season as the present. For while in the spring quarter of 1887 there were 25,354 who slept in the station houses and in the summer quarter 18,999, there were in the first quarter 41,509 and in October, November and December 42,118. The same rule will in a measure apply to the cheap lodging houses, for it is one of the "notes" of civilization not only that the poor crowd more and more to great centers of population, but that they especially tend thither during the winter months. It is so not in New York only, but all the world over wherever statistics have been kept. How far this is to be accounted for by the charities which are especially to be found in great cities it is not easy to say, but undoubtedly in some respects these charities create, or at least concentrate the evils they are intended to cure. London is proud of its charities, and rightly so. New York is also properly proud of its many sided and wide reaching benevolent institutions. But the fame of them in both cases travels far and attracts to what seems a sort of Tom Tiddler's ground a large proportion of the shiftless or the unfortunate. . . .

When we come to compare with these figures the city of New York there is much reason for satisfaction in its superior condition, and yet the evil is growing upon the community. Hitherto it has been kept at bay by the private benevolence which at the same time fosters it, especially as regards the class casuals[sic]. In winter they are double—sometimes more, sometimes less than double—what they are in the summer; but the main fact is that they are increasing, and they will assuredly continue to increase so long as private benevolence actually competes with private benevolence[22], as it does to-day, for the patronage of casuals. Mendicancy is estimated to bring in $600,000 a year to the 2,000 beggars known to the charity organization society, and investigation showed, according to the latest figures, that in 1,200 cases examined only 72, or six per cent, were worthy of charity and that for these the city had provided ample accommodation, so that to give them money was actually keeping them from taking advantage of the far preferable provision made by the public. There are known to the society 27,400

Sic in the original; probably "the class of casuals".
Sic in the original; probably "public benevolence actually competes with private benevolence (or similar)".

houses “occupied by the dependent and disreputable classes,” but the evil impending has not yet reached such proportions as to be either unmanageable or immediately menacing.

A Nut for Protectionists to Crack.

“Free Trader” in Hutchinson (Kan.) Democrat.

In the production of wealth [there?] are two factors, land, which includes [all?] natural opportunities, and labor, which [includes?] all kinds of human exertion. Some [recognize?] as a division of the labor factor, [capital?], which is wealth used for the [creation?] of more wealth. But the prime factors [are?] *only* two. Labor may be called the active [factor?] and land the passive. Land cannot [be?] increased by human power, but labor can [be stimulated?] or it may be discouraged.

The part of production which [goes?] to land we call rent. The part going to [labor?] we call wages. The part going to [capital we?] call interest.

Now, all taxes taken from [public?] revenues must be taken from one or [other?] or all of these three factors. The [question?] is, therefore, shall we take rent, wages [or interest?] for public purposes.

The question will be simplified by [studying?] how it would work to take all of any [one of?] three shares of wealth. If we should [take?] all wages for public purposes the [laborer?] would be a slave and would only work [when?] compelled to with the whip, for his wages is the only stimulant to cause him to work. If he should refuse to work without wages (that is, without reward) then production would cease, and mankind would starve from the earth.

If we should take all interest for public purposes men would cease to put capital into production and production would be lessened in consequence.

If we should take all rent of land for public purposes, what would happen? The earth would continue to roll around the sun as beautifully as it does now. Spring time and harvest would occur as now. Rains would descend as now. Land would be as plentiful as now and as fruitful as now. Nearly two millions of tenant farmers in the United States would then pay their rents into the public treasury instead of into the pockets of private landlords, and they would continue to work as hard as now. The other two million farmers wouldpay[sic] the rent of their farms into the pubic treasury,[24], but would have no taxes to pay on their houses, barns, fences, horses, machinery, clothes and food. Their burdens would then be less than now. Men working by the day or [month?] for wages would not be taxed at all, unless they owned land, and their burdens would be less. They would continue to work as now. Who would be injured by such a method of taxation? Who would be injured by taking all rent for public purposes? Nobody but land speculators. Those who are holding large tracts of land in idleness for higher price would find it unprofitable todo,[25] so any more. They would lose the power to tax other,[26] for the use of nature’s gifts. The change [would?] hurt landlordism. But men and [women?] could live in the world without landlords [to?] collect rent from them. They could live [and?] grow happy and rich without paying the [half?] of all they earn to some landlord. It is evident, therefore, that public revenues should be taken from the share of production going to land, and not from that going to labor.

Sic in the original; probably “would pay”.
Sic in the original; probably “public treasury”.
Sic in the original; probably “to do”.
Sic in the original; probably “tax others”.

But at present the United States government is wholly supported by taxes taken from labor at the custom houses and internal revenue offices.

Let any one who believes it to be right for labor to give its wages to support government rise up and explain the reason why. Taking any wages from labor must have the same effect, differing only in degree, as taking all wages from labor. We saw that taking all wages from labor reduced the laborer to a slave. Taking any wages from labor is therefore a step toward slavery. The United States government now takes more than $500,000,000 annually from labor. This is a pretty large step.

The Candy Man's Landlord.

Chicago Herald.

"Yes," said Mr. Gunther, "I'm going to give up my Madison street store. I don't like to do it, but the owners of the building want me to run the store for fun and give them all the profits. I didn't like this scheme, and so gave up my lease. The place is very small at any rate, the entire store being only 20x40 feet, while the counter room is but 20x30 feet. This leaves but six and one-half feet between the counters, and when you get half a dozen fashionable women in there, there is hardly room to wink. It wasn't the size of the place that made me decide to give it up, but the exorbitant rent demanded. I have been paying $5,500—which, by the way, was $500 too much—and now they want $7,200 per year, or over $20 a day[sic]. This didn't leave any margin for me, and so I resolved to get out."

A Jest with a Moral.

Life.

They were twenty miles from the Missouri river, bound east. "Conductor," said a passenger, "when do we reach Kansas City?" "We're there now." "There now? Why, there isn't a house in sight!" "No houses, no. But look at the building lots! The prairies are full of 'em."

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STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

If the vacant lots now held in the city of Dayton for speculative purposes were taxed at the price asked for them, the holders would sell, and instead of the men who work at the building trades tramping our streets looking for work, they would be engaged in erecting buildings on lots now of no account to the masses.—[Dayton Workman.

The old English statute, that under rigid penalties, required the dead to be buried in woolens, for the purpose of encouraging the manufacture of textile fabrics, was scarcely more grotesque than are some of the jobs which have crept into our tariff, which, if they were not so unjust and audacious, would be laughable.—[Henry Watterson in Harper's Magazine.

Stripped of all its intricacies, a protective tariff is essentially a system of subsidies to manufacturers, designed to reimburse them for loss incurred in conducting business which in *itself* would not pay. It is a scheme for

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Sic in the original; probably "nearly $20 a day".

subtracting wealth from the self sustaining industries to support those that are not self-sustaining. It is "robbing Peter to pay Paul."—[Boston Globe.

Jim Blaine says tobacco is a necessity and should be relieved from the burden of a tax. Was the like ever heard? And this man is called a statesman. People are suffered to starve or freeze to death unless they are furnished a chew of tobacco or a smoke, according to that man's statesmanship. But wool, coal, iron, salt, sugar, tin cans, kerosene oil, etc., are, per contra, luxuries.—[Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.

That land is largely monopolized and controlled by organized monopolies—especially is this so of mines—we are all beginning to realize. What such a monopolization of land will be in a few years more under our present system no one can foresee. With opportunities—natural ones, such as land and mines—closed against willing workers, seems to demand immediate attention, or the time will have passed when a halt can be successfully called which will be heeded.—[Dayton Workman.

With very few exceptions, whenever the duty on raw wool has been raised the American production has fallen off, and whenever the tax has been lowered the production has increased. To name a single instance, there was never so sudden and marked a decline in the American wool product as in the first years after the exceedingly high wool tariff of 1867 went into effect. In two years 4,000,000 sheep were killed for mutton because wool raising did not pay, and in three years the flocks of Ohio decreased forty-three per cent.—[*Providence Journal.*

There is a royal remedy, a remedy which infinite justice furnishes, and that it may be applied before the dreadful remedy born of revolution comes is our earnest prayer. It is the "land for the people"—the inexhaustible riches and resources of nature thrown open to the hands of honest toil. How? By removing forever the burdens of direct and indirect taxation from the shoulders of labor, and from the results of labor, and placing them upon the unearned value of land—a value which is created by the community and not by the individual.—[Clinton, Iowa, Labor Review.

No other class of people would derive so great a benefit from the single tax as farmers, and it is a slander on the intelligence to say they cannot be made to see it. Only the correct statement of the actual question is necessary to secure the support of the farmers to the single tax as quickly as to any other reform measure. It can easily be shown that such a tax would lift from farmers more than half the public burdens now borne by them, and would at least double the pay received for their labor, without in the slightest degree affecting the securities of their titles.—[Anti-Monopolist.

What's the use of trying to discuss the tariff with a republican paper? What is the use of discussing any vital question with any partisan paper, democrat or republican? Editors of party papers are not free to do their own thinking. They are tied hand and foot—"bucked and gagged" so to speak—and must advocate the policies and theories of their respective parties, right or wrong. It is not necessary to read a party paper to learn what its position is on any vital question. It is only necessary to know which party it belongs to. We all know, before we read them, what the republican papers have to say on the tariff.—[Alpena, Mich., Journal.

On every hand we see evidences of the [triumph?] of mind over matter; yet to-day there is [as?] much poverty and want and misery as [when?], before the impetus given by the [nineteenth century?] to invention, men worked out by [muscular?] effort everything that was [accomplished?] in the way of labor. Why is this the case? Taken as a proposition, it seems a self [evident?] truth that the more abundant and more [easily?] produced the necessities of life are the [happier?] will be the human race. Such [does?] not [seem?] to be the fact. Is there a screw loose in [our?] civilization? If so, where is it?—[Field and [Farm?].

The American [manufacturer?] has a monopoly, and he knows [it?] and uses his advantage to the fullest extent. The American workman earns more [money?] than the workman of the old world, but he [pays?] more money for

what he uses than the [old?] world workman does, and gets fewer [and?] more inferior articles for his money. The protective tariff laws were devised for the [purpose?] of building up the wealthy manufacturers [and?] for shutting out all competition, and not [for?] the protection of the laboring man, who is taxed more heavily, in proportion to his [means?], for the necessities of life than is the [wealthy?] capitalist or manufacturer on his hoarded [millions?]. —[Dallas, Texas, News.

I often hear Brooklynites and Gothamites talk of going southward and trying their fortunes there. After a bit of experience, which cost me dearly, I would say to all such, "Don't go, Johnny, don't go," unless you have money in plenty to spend and can risk the loss of some of it. There is no room in the south for a laboring man, and little show now for a mechanic or a professional genius even. The negro element, continually growing, furnishes all the labor required, and it is cheap labor. A northern laborer would starve on the wages paid. Mechanics are plentiful too, and idlers are to be found in all the towns and villages.—[Letter in Brooklyn Times.

Assessors of taxes have trouble and turmoil with owners of taxable property the [year?] round. The better they serve the state [the?] greater the exertion required to maintain [popularity?] with voters. By this new law [they?] are required to inquire into the [financial?] affairs of the tax payers. They [propound?] searching questions which will offend a [large?] number of voters. How much corn, [cotton?] and other products the farmer has [made, how?] much he owes on his lands and his [crops, and?] how much Kansas corn he has [bought?] are questions which, if insisted upon by [the?] assessors, are likely to produce a [coolness that?] may last until the next election. If the [purpose?] of the inquisition were appreciated [illegible] there might be little difficulty, but [from?] the statements of assessors it is quite [certain?] that many persons will refuse [altogether to?] answer the questions.—[Galveston News.

"The [illegible] truth is," as Samuel Hodson, secretary [of the?] Winchester arms repeating company, [puts?] it, "that no honest business man in the [country can?] at heart be opposed to a revision of [the?] present tariff." The Winchester [repeating?] arms company manufactures both [arms and?] ammunition. The latter it sells [almost entirely?] at home. In addition to paying the [cost?] of raw materials used in its [manufacture?] the company is also compelled to pay [a rate?] to the government on each article. [Pig?] lead, for instance. That may be bought [at?] 2¾ cents per pound, but the duty upon it [is 2?] cents per pound, and the duty is high [enough?] to bar American made ammunition [from entering?] into competition with that made [in Europe?]. With the company's arms it is [different?]. Even the duty on the raw materials [used?] in their manufacture is not sufficient to [keep?] them out of foreign markets, as the [company?] does a considerable export trade. But [Mr.?] Hodson had no hesitation in saying that [the?] admission of raw materials would be [a great?] benefit to the company's business.—[[New?] York Times.

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UNITY CONGREGATION.

HUGH O. PENTECOST'S SECOND SERMON AT MASONIC TEMPLE.

The Devil in Daily Life—What the Story of Christ's Temptation Really Means—It is Not Needful You Should Live, but it is Needful You Should Do Right.

Last Sunday was a bitter cold day—a day when none but men and women who were moved by some definite purpose would have ventured forth. And it augurs well for the prosperity of Unity congregation that on such a day an audience larger than could probably have been found in most of the city churches gathered to listen to the second of Mr. Pentecost's discourses.

The sermon is given below. But the printed words are powerless to convey more than a faint idea of the address. The voice now ringing in denunciation, now calm in argument, now tender in appeal—the presence of the speaker —are wanting, to clothe with flesh the dry bones of words and phrases and make them move and live.

As on the preceding Sunday, the exercises began with the singing of a hymn, followed by an interval devoted to silent prayer. The following verses were then read alternately by minister and congregation:

> Then was Jesus led up of the Spirit into the wilderness to be tempted of the devil.
>
> And when He had fasted forty days and forty nights He was afterward ahungered.
>
> And when the tempter came to Him, he said, If Thou be the Son of God, command that these stones be made bread.
>
> But He answered and said, It is written, Man shall not live by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God.
>
> Then the devil taketh him up into the holy city, and setteth him on a pinnacle of the temple.
>
> And saith [onto[sic]?] Him, If Thou be the Son of God, cast Thyself down: for it is written, He shall give His angels charge concerning Thee, and in *their* hands they shall bear Thee up, lest at any time Thou dash Thy foot against a stone.
>
> Jesus said unto him, It is written again, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God.
>
> Again the devil taketh Him up into an exceeding high mountain, and sheweth Him all the kingdoms of the world, and the glory of them;
>
> And saith unto Him, All these things will I give Thee, if Thou wilt fall down and worship me.

Sic in the original; probably "unto".

> Then saith Jesus unto him, Get thee hence, Satan; for it is written, Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and Him only shalt thou serve.
>
> Then the devil leaveth Him, and, behold, angels came and ministered unto Him.—[Matthew iv: 1–11.
>
> As Sakya Muni (Buddha) went forth by night from his father's palace, to become a devotee,
>
> The prince of evil, Mara, trembled and determined to prevent him.
>
> Descending from his abode, he cried:
>
> "Lord, that art capable of such vast endurance, go not forth to adopt a religious life,
>
> "But return to thy kingdom, and in seven days thou shalt become an emperor of the world, riding over the four great continents."
>
> "Take heed, O Mara," replied the good prince,
>
> "I also know that in seven days I might gain universal empire, but I desire not such possessions.
>
> "I know that the pursuit of religion is better than the empire of the world.
>
> "You, thinking only of evil lusts, would force me to leave all beings without guide into your power.
>
> "Avaunt! Get thou away far from me!"
>
> The Lord rode onward, intent on his purpose.
>
> The skies rained flowers and delicious odors pervaded the air.—[From "The Sacred Anthology."

The collection was then taken up, after which Mr. Pentecost spoke as follows:

THE ADDRESS.

My text for this morning consists of the two scriptures printed on our order of service, containing the traditions of the great temptations of Jesus, the Christ, and Siddartha, Gautama, or Sakya Muni, the Buddha.

You will observe the similarity in the stories; though there could have been no collusion between the writers. The Buddha lived 600 years before the Christ. This similarity points to the essential truthfulness of both the stories, though, to many minds, neither story is believable in the form in which it is written.

To those who bow before authority, and consequently believe whatever is found in the Bible, not because it is probably or possibly true upon reasonable grounds, but simply because it is in the Bible, there will be no difficulty in accepting the story of the temptation of Jesus as here given. Nor is it for me to sneer at such faith or to try to violently overthrow it.

I am free to say, however, that I do not even try to believe it. The exact number of forty days, one of the sacred numbers of the ancient Hebrews, is suspicious; the suppositions that Jesus had power to turn stones into loaves of bread; that he was whisked through the air to a pinnacle of the temple; that there was a mountain top high enough for him to see from it all the kingdoms of the world—these stamp the story at once, to my mind, as an allegory or parable, and not history.

Then, too, that there is any such being as a personal devil I have no good reason for believing. He does not appear in the Old Testament. Satan does—but he is a very different person. The serpent of Genesis is merely a serpent, not the devil. The Jews found the devil among the Persians. But apart from scriptural considerations, I cannot understand how there can be an almighty God and at the same time an almighty devil—for there is no denying the fact that under the Christian system the devil is smarter and more powerful than God at every turn, for the time being, at any rate. And unless Calvinism is false he will have through all eternity by far the larger portion of the human race for his spoil, thus proving his greater power to ruin than God to save.

Besides that, I know nothing of angels (except certain men, women and children). If there are such extra natural persons, who occasionally break through the sky and descend to earth, it is more than I know, and I think Matthew knew as little about the subject as I do.

In short, the extra-natural character of both these stories makes it impossible for me to believe them. I should have to know that Matthew wrote the story and that he absolutely knew that what he wrote was true. And this I cannot know, because there is no way to prove it.

This is only my opinion. You are at liberty to form yours, which, if you form it honestly, is worthy of the same respect that I wish to be shown mine. I do not say that I know this story is unhistorical. I merely say that my mind is so that I cannot believe it without trying, and when I have to try to believe something I always suspect that it is not true or I should find it is easy to believe.

But in saying all this do I destroy the Bible or the value of this legend? I think not. This narrative is not, in my opinion, true literally, but it is true morally and spiritually.

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I have no doubt Jesus and Gautama passed through the experiences which these records, with the vivid imagery of the east, so graphically describe. I have no doubt of it, because I have been through the same experiences, devil, angels, roses, delicious odors and all, myself. And it is because every earnest person sees in the temptation of Jesus the record of his own soul torment and delight that this legend has been and will be preserved in the sacred literature of the world. Moses, Elijah, Paul, Luther, Darwin, Bunyan's Pilgrim, Carlisle's Teufelsdrockh[sic]—every man who tries to benefit the human race by speaking a new truth or applying an old principle in a new way in order to work reforms in human society runs upon the hour when he must count the cost of being true to himself, when his baser self rises up to contend against his better self; and this is the hour of his fast, his temptation by the devil, and if he is true to himself, of his consolation by angels, when the sky rains flowers and emits delicious odors.

Let us now consider the real nature of this threefold tempation[sic], which comes upon every earnest, honest man.

"Man lives not by bread alone, but by every word that proceedeth out of the mouth of God." Man lives not by bread alone, but by doing what is right, by being true to his reason and conscience. This is the law of real life—what the Bible calls eternal life. And one phase of our daily temptations[sic] is to violate that law.

Man lives by bread, but not by bread alone. The temptation is to live by bread alone.

Sic in the original; probably "Carlyle's Teufelsdröckh".
Sic in the original; probably "temptation".
Sic in the original; probably "temptations".

The priest or minister knows the truth—theological, political, economical. Why does he not speak it, then?

It will cost him his bread if he does.

The lawyer knows the truth about his client. He is a bad man who should not be defended. He knows, too, that many laws are unjust or immoral. Why does he not act aright upon that knowledge?

It will cost him his bread.

The politician—the office holder—knows the corruption about him of which by his silence he is partaker. Why does he not tear away the mask which conceals it and boldly come forth to denounce and fight it?

It will cost him his bread.

The editor knows he writes the lie when he writes it. Why does he thus prostitute his pen?

It will cost him his bread if he writes the truth.

The merchant knows his transactions are fraudulent—that he lies about his wares and robs his customer. Why does he persist in that course?

Bread!

The workman knows that the system under which he works defrauds and degrades himself, his wife, his children, his fellow workmen the world over. He knows the way of justice and relief. Why does he vote, then, on election day against his wife, his children and his fellows? To keep his situation or for a small and soul-damning bribes[sic].

Bread!

How many letters I get from those who say, "God bless you;" but who will not sign their names because, they say, "You know I must live, and if it were known that I think as I do, or if I associated myself with those with whom I think it would cost me my situation."

I pity these poor souls, for it is not a thing to be desired to be poor. But no angel ministers to them; no sky rains flowers upon them; no sweet odors hang about them. The devil is their boon companion. They are fat in body but living skeletons in soul.

This is the daily heresy of life, this "I must live."

I tell you that it is not necessary to live. It is necessary that you shall not violate your conscience. If you do wrong in order to live, then you never can be anything but a curse to the world and most of all to yourself.

It is better that a man should gather his wife and children about him and wait for death, with angels ministering to him and flowers raining upon him, than that he should live to know, and have them know, that for what he gains in bread he sells all that is worth keeping.

> "'Tis man's perdition to be safe When for the truth he ought to die."

Sic in the original; probably "a small and soul-damning bribe".

And the second temptation is this: To live in the sight of other people, for their wonder or admiration; to be popular.

Had Jesus flung himself unhurt from the temple parapet to the stones below he would have been a nine days' wonder, and many would have followed him who had no eye for goodness.

There are women who wear little cymbals in their shoe heels to gain the attention of the passer by. And, alack! there are men who walk the avenue to be looked at—spectacles to behold they are, too, in very deed. There are persons who furnish their houses and spend lavishly on equipages, not to please themselves but to thus buy the gaping wonder of their neighbors.

There are men who have before now gone into conventions in order to fight the ring and break the slate, but when they have been unanimously elected to the chairmanship have dismissed the angel, shaken hands with the devil, and gagged themselves with the paltry honor.

There are ministers and priests and politicians, editors and statesmen, aye, even poets, who might be good men but for their love of popularity. Many a man has been good and true until he has come to be talked about, when the praise of men has been worth more to him than self-respect. How many men have promised fair till they got into the White house and then failed under flattery?

Why is this man not a Christian? He fears the jeers of the unbeliever. Why is that man not a rationalist? He fears the ill favor of the church and isolation. Why does not the other fight for the reform he believes in? It would not cost him bread. He is rich. It would cost him caste.

There are persons who will come into this hall and decide whether they will come again solely by whether the audience is as respectable as or a little more respectable than they consider themselves.

I have known men who bought the title of D. D. from a Christian college notwithstanding He whom they call Lord and Master said, "Be not called rabbi."

I have known of men who spent a fortune in order to be called henceforth governor or senator or honorable or mayor or even alderman.

You tell me that publicans and harlots go to hell? If so these men will also go to hell, the D. D. and the alderman arm in arm.

And all this notwithstanding the Son of Man said, "Beware when all men speak well of you."

But must we not care for the good opinion of our fellows?

Not at the expense of what is right. You must do your duty though men curse you and ostracize you; though they call you a winebibber and the friend of publicans and sinners; though they call you a fanatic, a crank. Better lose caste and with it reputation than save them and be obliged to be ashamed of yourself.

The last temptation comes through the love of influence and power.

The world shall be yours if you but worship the devil.

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There are men so rich that money no longer tempts them. But they love power. They do not care to sit on the throne. They prefer to control him who does. They do not care to be elected to the legislature. They prefer to own the legislature. The delicious sense of power is everything to them.

There are divines who, to become bishop, archbishop or pope, would worship forty devils.

Nor is this always a gross temptation. It is often subtle and specious as the others. "Beware how you do that which will destroy your influence," says the devil. "Where you are you have a large field and great influence for good. Consider how foolish it would be for you to lose this very power for good in your attempt to do good."

"Consider!" quoth the devil to the priest. "You have a parish of 20,000 souls whom you can lead along gradually into the truth you love if you are prudent. If you are imprudent you will lose your influence. Fall down and worship me and this parish shall still be yours."

"Get thee behind me," said the priest. "The true soul knows no prudence. I will speak the truth at the cost of influence." And the angels and the flowers came to the priest.

Ah! this subtle lie, that it is better to have a kingdom which you should not have because with it comes power to do good, has wrecked many a soul.

"I only wish money," says the Christian, "to do good with."

"I only wish office," says the politician, "to use it for good."

"We buy voters," said a member of the republican machine in a certain city, "because if we did not the democrats would; and it is better that the town should be controlled by republicans than democrats, because the republican is the purer party."

But is there no place for ambition in human conduct? Yes! But not at the expense of what is right.

So little is this recognized that I sometimes think it not unfair to say that religion, as popularly lived, consists in fearing God and serving the devil.

This threefold temptation is hard to withstand. It is hard to be poor, to be ostracised, to be a nobody. There is no denying it. He who passes through this trial will have the heartache; will know mental agony.

But there are two points of cheer. That which threatens the good man does not always happen. He runs the risk of starving, but he does not always starve. He loses one set of friends, but gains a few others better than they. He loses influence, apparently, while he lives, but gains it when he is dead.

But the best of all is the angel's ministration and the rain of flowers. To do right is worth all it costs. To be crucified is awful, but oh! it is sweet to look inward on a clean soul. This joy the pharisee, the hypocrite, the money getter, the time server, never knows.

I want you to meet your temptation like good men and women, and to remember that the worst evil which can befall you is to lose respect for yourself. This is hell: To know that right and wrong were before me and I did not choose to do right.

What Shall We Tax?

St. Paul and Minneapolis Pioneer-Press.

By the law of compensation, every movement, however mistaken it may be, which gathers about some public problem contributes toward its solution. Thus, had it not been for the rise and growth of the prohibition party, high license would not have been in effect and in favor as generally as it is to-day for another generation. The presentation of extremes forces conservative men to consider more carefully whether there is not something to be remedied, [and a?] moderate and proper remedy to be found. And so, from the Henry George agitation, we may expect a more careful study by politicians and financiers of the as yet unsolved problem, how to establish a just and equitable system of taxation. A very notable instance of this is presented in a recent article in the New York *Evening Post*. No paper in the country has rejected the doctrines of Mr. George with a greater wealth of argument or abundance of scorn than the *Post*. And yet we may find in its contribution to the discussion of taxation distinct evidence that Mr. George has set it to thinking.

The *Post* considers the taxation of personal property only to conclude that the principle is well nigh a failure. The most drastic laws that have been enacted to compel this form of wealth to contribute its due share to the public support have ended in practical failure. There appears to be no method by which their honest enforcement may be secured. Thus, while the personal property valuation in the state of New York was $452,607,732 in the year 1871, the assessment of 1886 showed a decline to $335,898,389[?]. As the *Post* observes, "these figures carry their own comment." They simply signify that the personal property tax is evaded with ever more and more complete success each year. The same fact is admitted by the practice of states, which tax the corporate person on gross earnings, despairing of receiving an adequate revenue by any other method. Here is the conclusion of the *Post:*

> "Is it worth while to make a pretense of taxing a kind of property which we cannot tax with any approach to uniformity, and that we do not tax even so far as we might, lest it take to itself wings and fly away? Is the first criterion of taxation, justice, satisfied by laws which are not enforced? We think the answer must be in the negative, and that it would be better to abandon all attempts to tax movable and intangible things and look for revenue for state and local purposes exclusive[sic] among the things that are fixed and ascertainable."

Thus we see that a critic who rejects with horror Mr. George's theory that land values should be confiscated by taxation is led, probably by a new study of the very theories which he abhors, to the verge of a conclusion that the revenues necessary for local government should be collected by taxes on land exclusively. It will not be surprising if the net practical result of the George movement in economics and in politics shall be to lead the public to revise considerably its views on the subject of taxes and taxation.

The Speculators' Blight.

St. Paul Globe.

There is, as every one knows, a great deal of valuable unimproved property in the city of St. Paul. Though citizens have been accustomed to seeing miserable shanties on vacant lots ranging alongside triumphs of architectural skill costing scores of thousands of dollars, for so long that the incongruity of it has ceased to present itself forcibly to their consciousness, it is the first thing that impresses a visitor to the city.

Sic in the original; probably "exclusively".

That it impresses him unfavorably need hardly be said. Before he can make himself acquainted with the city's real solidity in a commercial way he concludes that the prosperity of which he has read so much only appears in spots. The criticism is one frequently made, and it is apt.

There is a hideousness and incongruity about the proximity of tumble down stacks to handsome buildings that must be acknowledged. It is a condition of affairs that the owners of unimproved business property ought to be ashamed of. It is strange that self-interest, if nothing else, does not induce them to change the complexion of things. Certainly there is more money in a building, even of modest proportions, that can be readily rented, than in a vacant lot, however valuable, upon which taxes must be paid and which brings in no income.

It is much to be hoped that the new year will bring with it an awakening of interest among property owners, and that a general resolution will be made to improve the general appearance of the city, and to add to its prosperity by extensive building operations during the present year.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

A Clear Case.

> CINCINNATI, O.—A friend of mine intends to buy a factory for $12,000 (being $5,000 for the business and $7,000 for the land and building) by mortgaging two-thirds of the value to a building association, and he says to me, "I think I can pay my weekly dues; but if before my mortgage is paid off your Henry George law goes into effect I shall be required to pay a land value tax, which, in addition to my dues, will be too much of a load for me to carry and the association will foreclose and I become bankrupt." He also says, "If I thought there was any possibility of such a law I would not invest in the enterprise."
>
> What shall I tell him?
>
> CHAS. A. JONES.

Your friend is like the horse which, seeing a hay stack in the twilight, mistook it for a ghost and reared and plunged until his master led him up to the stack, when he found it to be very excellent fodder.

Under the system of taxation now in vogue, if honestly enforced, your friend must pay taxes on $12,000; and although I do not know what raw material he will use in his business, it is quite safe to say that he must pay duty or the equivalent of duty on some of it, which will require extra capital and narrow his market by compelling him to charge more for his goods than he could sell them for if he paid no duty on his materials. But if "your Henry George law" should go into effect your friend would have no taxes to pay on raw materials; that would enable him to sell for less and consequently to do a better business. Neither would he have to pay taxes on $5,000 of the $12,000, for that represents the machinery which he proposes to buy. And of the remaining $7,000 there must be a deduction for the value of the building before his basis of taxation is reached. Assuming that the building is worth $4,000 his entire tax would be based on $3,000, the value of the bare land.

Even if taxes were increased so as to absorb the entire rental value of land, how much more taxes would he pay then than he must pay now? Probably no more; possibly less. And that without considering at all the business benefits he would derive from the abolition of taxes on business.

Tell your friend to walk up to the hay stack and examine it.

Fraud Under the Single Tax.

> MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—If the single tax were in force a majority of the voters would be land owners; would they not desire as individuals to pay the smallest taxes possible, and would they not elect an assessor who would levy a tax much less in amount than the unearned increment?
>
> JOHN LAMB.

While an individual might desire to pay the smallest tax possible, he could not pay a less rate than his neighbors, and his neighbors would see to it that he did not pay on a lower value than he ought to. As to a combination among land occupiers to keep down the rate, all occupiers of the less valuable land (and they would be largely in the majority) would soon learn that the nearer the tax came to appropriating all rent the better off would every one except speculators or monopolists be.

For example: Here is a farmer whose bare land is worth $100 a year, and a miner whose bare land is worth $10,000 a year. A tax which took 50 per cent of rent would leave to the farmer $50 which he did not earn and to the miner $5,000. How long do you think the farmer would study these figures before he saw that a full tax would be better for him than a partial tax?

From the Region of Tar.

[Editorial note: the left ends of many lines in this letter and the next are damaged or poorly inked; letters supplied by the transcriber are in square brackets.]

> EENDERSONVILLE[sic], N. C.—(1) Soon after I began reading THE STANDARD, and before I was fairly converted to a belief in the single tax, I was discussing the subject with a friend and met this objection: Officials might unreasonably raise taxes on certain lands, then b[i]d in the lands at tax sales, and afterward pu[t] the taxes below the average. I did not even then consider this a very valid argum[e]nt; but I do not yet see but that it would be possible under the land value tax system f[o]r "land rings" to enrich themselves off the p[e]ople by some such method. > > (2) Before I ever saw THE STANDARD or k[n]ew the real nature of its doctrines I was c[o]nvinced by reading Hudson's "The Railways and the Republic" (published by Harp[e]rs) that the best and only logical solution o[f] the railway problem can be reached by si[m]ply restoring the original status of the r[a]ilroads as public highways, which all have e[q]ual rights to use with appropriate vehicles a[n]d motors of their own, by paying a reason[ab]le toll, and observing necessary regulati[o]ns. The language of the Syracuse platf[or]m would seem to propose the assumption b[y] government of the function of sole "com[m]on carrier" on these highways. I would like t[o] know how Messrs. George, Post, Croas[da?]le, etc., stand on this point. > > (3) When the united labor party was ready t[o] do away with the "protective tariff" [w]ould it abolish custom houses and all the [ma]chinery of revenue collection or retain t[h]em (with nominal imposts) for collecting sta[tis]tics of imports and similar purposes? > > N. H. WHITNEY BROWN.

1. The rate of taxation in a given year [w]ould be uniform, therefore the only way i[n] which officials could unreasonably raise t[a]xes would be by false appraisements of [va]lue. If this were done generally in a [co]mmunity it would defeat its purpose, [an]d if it were done in particular cases it [w]ould be easy to expose it.

2. Speaking for myself I prefer that the [co]mmunity should be its own common [ca]rrier, but the plan of making railways [pu]blic highways would be better than ex[ist]ing methods.

Sic in the original; probably "HENDERSONVILLE".

3. To the extent that we require [st]atistics let us appoint statisticians to [co]llect them. I would abolish every [cu]stom house.

For Information Only.

> DANBURY, Conn.—(1) We have a purely [la]nd tax on thousands of acres here in Dan[bu]ry, there being no buildings thereon.
>
> 1. Within ten rods of where I am writing [th]ere are fifty acres on which the owner pays [$7?]00 a year tax. Another man owns 250 acres, [an]d is taxed only $40. Now, I don't see that [m]y taxes are lessened by a purely land tax [an]y more than they are by a $740 tax on [bu]ildings.
>
> 2. Some of my friends have built flats [an]d stores on 100 feet square of land, on [w]hich they are taxed $740 a year. Within [illegible]0 feet on the same side of the street is an[ot]her 100 feet square of land, on which there [is] a house, the property being taxed $500 a [ye]ar. Would you tax the land in both cases [a]like? If you would make a difference, why?
>
> 3. Now, as location and style and use of

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> buildings makes a difference in value, how will you go to work to equalize or deprive the present owners of the fee of the land on which the stores and dwellings stand?
>
> I write for information, not for argument.
>
> A. T. PECK.

1. You have not a pure land tax in Danbury. Some of your land is vacant and is taxed, but improvements on other land is also taxed. No community has a pure land tax which taxes anything but land.

2. If the two pieces of vacant land to which you refer, one of which is taxed $700 and the other $40, or $740 in all, were not taxed at all, but that amount were imposed on buildings, your house would bear its proportion of the increase. Your taxes are, therefore, lessened by this tax on the two pieces of vacant land.

3. If the two pieces of land are of equal value they should be taxed equally, irrespective of the buildings. If any difference were made it should be only because the land in one case was worth more than in the other.

4. The style of buildings does not make a difference in the value of the land on which they stand. If it did it would only be necessary to erect Stewart's store in Danbury to make the Danbury lot as valuable as the lot in New York. The value of any given piece of land is not determined by the improvement, but by what people are willing to give for the location. But that is immaterial to your question, the answer to which is that we would not go to work at all "to equalize or deprive the present owners of the fee of the land on which the stores and dwellings stand." We would let them keep the fee as long as they paid their taxes.

A Free Soiler's Riddles.

CONNERSVILLE, Ind.—(1) Will not the taxing of land values entirely destroy the value of land; and if not, why not?

1. If it will, how can we raise money to pay a $50,000 salary to the president?
2. If we don't have high salaried officers for doing nothing, how can we perpetuate a "best society?'
3. How can we keep out of communism and anarchy if we have no "best society?"
4. If the taxing of date trees and windows destroyed them, will not the taxing of land values destroy them? If not, why not?

FREE SOILER.

1. If land values are taxed so high that the entire rental is taken in taxation, the selling value of land will be destroyed.
2. From the land value or rent tax.
3. There is no urgent need for perpetuating that kind of "best society."
4. By securing freedom.
5. Yes, selling values; but it will not destroy land.

How to Do It.

CAMPBELL HILL, Ill.—I am an enthusiastic adherent of the new political economy dating from the palmy days of poor Patrick Ford and the *Irish World*. Believing as I do that the right to the use of the earth, air and water belongs to the inhabitants of the planet and to all its *inhabitants*, I see no reason why, after the opportunities which the control of the soil affords have been unjustly seized and appropriated by a landed few, they should not by common consent (the ballot) be restored to their just ownership:

Added to this, after a somewhat careful study of the original writings of Mr. Henry George and subsequently of the columns of THE STANDARD, I unhesitatingly accept the plan of restoration so simply and graphically pointed out. Nevertheless, in common with others for whose benefit this department of the paper is established, I desire to have one phase of the subject made plain; it is this: In conversation recently with a friend in whose judgment I have the greatest confidence—he declared that a political change, so radical, so far reaching and so disastrous to individual interests as the proposed single tax would be sure to prove, if brought about at once, or in any manner other than by slow degrees, would be certain to throw the country into anarchy and revolution. What shall I say to this? Of course I understand that the proposed tax on land values, or, as it might well be put, locality opportunities, would be accompanied by abolition of all other direct and indirect taxes. Please explain at some length for the benefit, I think, of many readers just what kind of legislative enactment in your judgment could be made to bring about this great measure of human justice.

A. O. GENUNG.

It is hardly necessary to explain at length. In the states no other enactment is necessary than a law abolishing taxes on improvements and personal property, leaving the rate on land values to adjust itself to meet the deficiency; while in the United States we have only to abolish tariffs and impose such direct tax according to population as is required, laying it on land values and collecting it through our present internal revenue machinery.

This might be done all at once, but it is more likely to come about by the abolition of one tax after another until only land values remain to be taxed.

Seeing Men as Trees Walking.

> LAWRENCE, Mass.—Suppose fifty per cent of the inhabitants of a city are land owners, is it just to place all the taxes on them while the remainder enjoy the same privileges as to water, gas, police, and so forth?
>
> M. J. MAHONEY.

Yes. You must remember that while all enjoy the privileges of water, gas, and so forth, only the fifty per cent enjoy the privilege of valuable land. By requiring them to pay for that privilege, privileges are equalized.

Evidently you have given very little thought and less reading to this subject. Read "Progress and Poverty" and write again.

Notes.

J. C. HOWE, Homewood, Ill.—If you reread Mr. George's article in which he says that "the *mere* buying or renting of land within a community in no way diminishes the amount of capital that can be used for productive purposes," you will see that you have mistaken his point. The treating of land as a commodity does tend to check the production of capital, but payments for land do not necessarily diminish existing capital.

HUGH S. ST. CLAIR, Philadelphia, Pa.—It is not proposed that the government should own land, either by seizing or buying it. That is neither necessary nor desirable. We are now taxing land values; and all that is proposed is to abolish other taxes, allowing the deficiency thus created to be made up by increasing the only remaining tax. To compensate these tax payers for paying taxes would be absurd.

DISPUTANTS, New York.—Consult a lawyer in the usual way.

LOUIS F. POST.

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POWDERLY'S MISTAKE.

H. F. Ring in Galveston News.

Mr. Powderly, in the first of his letters on the "Work of Knighthood," says he "no longer believes that the people can till the soil and own it in common."

It is to be regretted that a man occupying the position of Mr. Powderly should get all his notions of what the single tax doctrine is from the absurd and ridiculous misrepresentations of it which are floating around in the press instead of from a careful examination for himself of the writings of Henry George.

“Till the soil in common!” A fine scheme indeed!

Mr. Powderly says that every man should own his own home, a sentiment which the Georgites echo to the letter. But does Mr. Powderly propose any method by which laboring men can more easily become the owners of homes?

If so, what is it? The George men do, however, propose a method so simple and direct that Mr. Powderly’s ignorance of it is wholly inexcusable in view of his pretentious attempt to instruct the members of his order on the burning questions of the day.

The George method of enabling working people more easily to become the owners of their homes and farms is simply to exempt personal property and improvements on land from taxation.

Under the present system the farmer owning a hundred acre farm is taxed on an assessed valuation of say $1,000. The speculator owning one hundred acres of land adjoining, of equal value exclusive of improvements, is taxed on an assessed valuation of but $200. The farmer’s tax is $10 a year; the speculator’s tax is $2 a year. The farmer gives employment to labor on his land, and thereby increases the prosperity of the community. The speculator excludes labor from employment on his land, and thereby retards the prosperity of the community. Under the present system a laboring man in town pays, say $300 for a lot and builds a $700 house on it. His property is then assessed for taxes on a valuation of, say $650; his taxes being $6.50 a year. The speculator who owns the remainder of the lots in the block is assessed for the whole of them on a valuation probably not exceeding $125 a lot; his taxes thus being on a lot of equal value with the one improved by the laboring man, but $1.25 a year—about one-fifth as much as the laboring man pays.

In all communities on an average about half the property valuation is in personal property and improvements on land; that is to say, in values which are produced directly by human industry; the other half is in the land itself, exclusive of anything done to it or done upon it by the hand of man; the value last referred to having been placed on the land by the common energy and enterprise of the whole community and having resulted from the increase of population. Now, if we were to exempt personal property and improvements on land from taxation, it would simply be necessary to double the tax on land values. This would exactly double the taxes paid on every tract of vacant land, but it would reduce the taxes on every tract of improved land. The speculator’s tax on the 100 acre tract of land adjoining that farmer referred to above would be $4 a year instead of $2, while that farmer’s tax would also be $4 a year instead of $10. So also that town speculator’s tax would be $2.50 a year on each of the lots remaining in that block instead of $1.25, while the laborer’s tax would be reduced from $6.50 a year to $2.50.

So much for the direct encouragement to the acquisition of homes resulting from the single tax reform. Now, note the indirect result.

What is the great obstacle in the way of laborers obtaining homes? Is it because of a scarcity of land in our cities and towns? Almost half the lots in the city of New York are absolutely vacant, and so it is in all our towns.

The great obstacle which prevents working people from getting lots to build on is the high price of the land. Why is it high? Because our laws encourage speculators and forestallers to invest their money in dirt rather than in mills and factories and other channels giving employment to labor. How do our laws encourage men to bury their capital in dirt instead of investing it in productive enterprises? By an absurd system of taxation which encourages men to hold land in idleness by taxing it on a low valuation so long as it is held idle, and discourages men from improving land by taxing it on a high valuation the moment it is improved. If the taxes on vacant land in any town

were double would not people be a little more shy about investing their money in such vacant land? Would not people having vacant land be a little more anxious to get rid of it? Would not this tend to keep the prices of lots down—to make them cheaper? And if lots were cheaper could not laboring people get hold of them easier? And hence would it not be easier for laboring people to become owners of their own homes, as Mr. Powderly desires. And if after they had obtained their homes the taxes on the same were less by half than under the present system, would not this fact also encourage more laborers to become home owners?

And furthermore, if people having money to invest were discouraged from investing it in vacant land on account of this tax on land values, would they not be a little more inclined to invest it in factories and mills, particularly if such investments were exempt from taxation except as to the value of the ground occupied by the mill site? And if the *capital which now goes into dirt, for the* purpose of forestalling the farmer and laborer, were thus invested in productive enterprises employing labor, would it not make times livelier?

Mr. Powderly complains bitterly of land speculation, but does he propose any remedy? Will any one propose a remedy so simple and effective and beneficial to all as the single tax on land values?

Interesting to Brooklyn Readers.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—A meeting of the Eleventh ward association united labor party was held on Tuesday evening, Jan. 17, at No. 328 Gold street (Hibernian hall), at which it was decided to issue circulars calling upon all sympathizers in the ward to join the ward association. In future, debates between two of the members will be held at every meeting; and when advisable a series of entertainments will be given. All readers of THE STANDARD in the ward who are desirous of joining will please address F. C. Wickes, president, No. 173 South Elliott place, Brooklynn[sic]; A. L. DeGout, secretary, 23 Raymond street, Brooklyn.

A Farmer Who “Sees the Cat.”

UNION STAR, Mo.—I am a farmer and own my farm, as fine and fertile as can be found in the west, containing near two hundred acres, but I am not afraid of the land value tax. I am anti-monopolist clear through, if it should strike a monopoly that I am concerned in. There are many that are only opposed to monopolies that others are interested in, but whenever the opposition strikes anything that they are engaged in themselves, then they are out.

JONATHAN EPPLER.

Sic in the original; probably “Brooklyn”.

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THE STANDARD.

[HENRY?] GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1888.

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

PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY.

Adopted at Syracuse August 19, 1887.

We, the delegates of the united labor party of New York, in state convention assembled, hereby reassert, as the fundamental platform of the party, and the basis on which we ask the co-operation of citizens of other states, the

following declaration of principles adopted on September 23, 1886, by the convention of trade and labor associations of the city of New York, that resulted in the formation of the united labor party.

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

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

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

While thus simplifying government by doing away with the horde of officials required by the present system of taxation and with its incentives to fraud and corruption, we would further promote the common weal and further secure the equal rights of all, by placing under public control such agencies as are in their nature monopolies: We would have our municipalities supply their inhabitants with water, light and heat; we would have the general government issue all money, without the intervention of banks; we would add a postal telegraph system and postal savings banks to the postal service, and would assume public control and ownership of those iron roads which have become the highways of modern commerce.

While declaring the foregoing to be the fundamental principles and aims of the united labor party, and while conscious that no reform can give effectual and permanent relief to labor that does not involve the legal recognition of equal rights to natural opportunities, we nevertheless, as measures of relief from some of the evil

Sic in the original; probably "distribution".

effects of ignoring those rights, favor such legislation as may tend to reduce the hours of labor, to prevent the employment of children of tender years, to avoid the competition of convict labor with honest industry, to secure the sanitary inspection of tenements, factories and mines, and to put an end to the abuse of conspiracy laws.

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

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

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

THE SINGLE TAX AND THE TARIFF.

It is often assumed, by men who are thoroughly convinced of the justice and importance of the single tax on land values, that the establishment of even absolute free trade would do little toward bringing about the success of the movement in favor of the single tax, and that mere reductions of the tariff on imported goods, or even the enactment of a purely revenue tariff, would do nothing whatever in that direction.

Let us consider whether this view is correct.

I.

Let the most radical advocates of the single tax—those who deny the right of private ownership of land—ask themselves why they do so. Is it not because they deny the right of the government to allow individuals to levy the tax called rent for their own private benefit, when it justly belongs to the people? Is not the very foundation of their whole political creed a passionate denial of the justice of any system which allows a few persons to collect

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for their own use a tax from the whole people, which ought to go solely to the use of the government for the benefit of the whole people?

Why do the radical opponents of private property in land refuse to consent to the payment of compensation to landlords, as a condition of the nationalization of land? Is there any other reason than this, that, if they agree to pay taxes for the purpose of compensating the landlords, they practically agree to submit to the same taxation for the benefit of individuals, under the name of taxation, against which they rebel, under the name of rent?

If it is just and right that the people at large should be taxed for any purpose, other than for the support of that government which is for [the?] benefit of all, then it is just as well that this tax should be called rent, as that it should go by any other name.

Sic in the original; probably "upon them".

Now all protective taxes are, in their very nature, taxes levied upon the people at large, for the benefit of the persons who own the land upon which the protected articles are produced, or the tools by which those articles are made. Into their pockets the whole benefit of any protective tariff must necessarily go.

If this is all right and proper, why is it not equally right and proper that another tax, called rent, should also be levied on the people, for the benefit of land owners? If the prosperity of America depends upon taxing us all for the support of manufacturers, why is it not likely to be still more promoted by taxing us for the benefit of land owners? The protected manufacturers number less than 100,000; the land owners number over 4,000,000. It is therefore forty times as beneficial to the nation to tax it heavily under the name of rent, as to tax it heavily under the name of protection.

But it will be said that the manufacturers distribute the benefits of protection in high wages. If this is true of them, it is equally true of the land owners. They pay just as good wages as the manufacturers do; and they do not combine to import foreign pauper laborers, as manufacturers and mine operators do. It is said that the manufacturers pay out 90 per cent of their income in wages. If that is true, then the land owners pay out 100 per cent of theirs in the same way; because they hire servants to make them comfortable, builders to build them houses, butchers to give them meat, bakers to give them bread and coachmen to drive them about. The land owners, therefore, are only misunderstood philanthropists, who worry themselves with the collection of the tax, called rent, solely for the purpose of providing poor landless men and women with work.

Every man who votes for a protective tariff ought, to be consistent, to vote for high rents, too; since the more the landlords collect in rent the more they will spend in wages.

II.

Leaving the question of consistency, let us inquire how the abolition of private property in land is to be brought about.

It is clear that it is a movement for the abolition of something. What do the land reformers want to abolish? All taxes except one.

It is an *abolition* movement, pure and simple. It proposes nothing but abolition. It does not propose to create any new taxes. Land is taxed already. The “new crusade” simply proposes to abolish every tax which does not fall upon the value of land. All the rest of the scheme will take care of itself.

Pray, how are all taxes, other than the land tax, to be abolished if we are not willing to abolish the tariff? How is the tariff to be abolished altogether, if we are not willing to abolish it in part? Are we to refuse to abolish any taxes, until the happy day arrives when we can abolish all at once? We should certainly have to wait a hundred years, probably five hundred years, before such a policy could succeed.

Those who are sincerely in favor of abolishing all taxes except one, will, if they have a grain of common sense, vote for the abolition of each tax, one by one, as fast as it can be reached. No man can ever get to the end of a road who will not take one step at a time. Every sincere and sensible believer in the single land tax, therefore, will vote for the abolition of every other tax—with one limitation.

That limitation is that some taxes have a tendency to draw to themselves the support of powerful interests, while others have not; and those who want to abolish all indirect taxes should be careful to strike first at those which have the support of these interests, so as to get them first out of the way. When those are got rid of the others will fall quickly enough. But, if the weakly supported taxes are abolished first, the others will be all the harder to get rid of. If you want to topple over a row of bricks, put the heaviest one at the end and knock that over; all the rest

will fall without your touching them. But if you begin with a light thin brick you may have to pull down each, one by one.

The tariff is the heavy brick in taxation; and the protective part of the tariff is the solid strength of the whole. Strike out protection, and no one will care to maintain the tariff. Abolish the tariff, and all internal revenue taxes will be abolished on the same day, without a murmur from any quarter. But if you abolish the internal revenue taxes first, you give to the tariff enormous new strength and continue indefinitely its protective features, which are the greatest obstacle to the adoption of the single land tax that ever existed or ever can exist.

Quite apart from the abstract question of free trade, therefore, the total abolition of the tariff is indispensable to the establishment

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of the single tax. Those who insist upon maintaining any tariff insist upon maintaining rent and private property in land, for the two things are bound up together. Those who vote to repeal internal taxes upon liquors and tobacco help to keep the tariff in existence for the next fifty years, because the influence of capital, which is now divided between the two systems, will then be concentrated in support of the tariff, and the plea of necessity of revenue will be successfully used for fifty years to keep up a high tariff.

But the tariff cannot be abolished in a day. It must be taken down in pieces. It is as absurd to refuse to vote for reductions in the tariff, while favoring its total abolition, as it would be to insist that a wall should be taken down all in one instant or not at all. The wall must be taken down brick by brick; and so must the tariff. Every reduction makes the next step easier.

In short, the believers in the single tax doctrine, including those who support it as a means of nationalizing the land, as well as others, are simply tax abolishers. If they will not vote to abolish existing taxes, they do not really believe in the doctrine which they profess. If they will not vote to abolish any taxes, unless they can abolish all at *once*, they will have to wait until we are all dead, buried and forgotten. If they vote to abolish the taxes on whisky and tobacco, before the tariff taxes are repealed, they play into the hands of their enemies; they unite the influence of capital against themselves, which is now divided to some extent; and they postpone the possibility of their own success for half a century.

All that is necessary to be accomplished in order to secure the speedy triumph of the land tax is to abolish the tariff. When public sentiment is brought to that point, all indirect taxation will go with the tariff in a single day. When the nation comes down to direct taxation, the equity and accuracy of the single tax on the value of land alone will be so clear and unmistakable, its superiority over the income tax and all other direct taxes so palpable, that no further serious effort will be needed to insure its adoption.

Whoever votes to maintain any protective duties in the tariff votes to maintain the tariff itself.

Whoever votes for *any* tariff votes to defeat the single tax.

Whoever refuses to vote for “tariff reform,” on the ground that it does not go far enough (as, of course, it does not), refuses to take the first step on the long road which leads to land reform, because he cannot leap over the whole length of the road at once.

Whoever does any of these things does all which at present lies in his power to perpetuate private property in land, the rent system and the system of indirect taxation, under which the poor [always?] have paid, and always will pay, ten times as much as the rich.

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN.

ANTI-POVERTY IN CANADA.

The anti-poverty crusade flourishes in Canada. Some of the best work of the past year was done there. The society is strong; two or three leading newspapers have come to advocate the single tax; the long established and witty *Grip* of Toronto, which, unlike our "funny" papers, aims to be witty and humorous rather than vulgar and libelous, frequently presents anti-poverty cartoons illustrative of the beneficence of making land values common property; and several able [and?] earnest advocates have been developed [by?] the agitation. One of the more [recent?] publications of the society, issued by [the?] *Grip* printing and publishing company [of?] Toronto, is a lecture by Richard I. Lanefield[sic], in which he explains why he [joined?] the new crusade. It is in the tone [and?] spirit of the anti-poverty movement, showing vividly those deep valleys of [poverty?] in contrast with great mountains of wealth which characterize our [civilization?], and pointing out the [drift?] of organized Christianity away from [the?] teachings of the Master. To [remedy?] this Mr. Lancefield sees, as every [candid?] man who thinks must see, [that?] there must be greater liberty for [mankind?]. Above all, the natural right to earn a [living?] must be secured by destroying [monopoly?] of land. The method of [accomplishing?] this is, in the present stage of the [agitation?], obvious. Products must be [freed?] from taxation, and land values must [be?] taxed until no one will own land [except to?] use it. It is this remedy that Mr. [Lancefield?] advocates with ability. And so [the?] work goes on. Here a man, there a [man?], yonder a group upon whom the light [has?] broken, are laboring according to [their?] opportunities to make others see what [they?] see; and in the conversion of men [from?] churchism to Christianity, from [protectionism?] to tariffs for revenue, from [revenue?] reformers to free traders, from free [traders?] to advocates of a single tax on [land?] values, and from that to believers in [the?] equal natural right of all men to [the?] land—the fruits of the labor of men [like?] Mr. Lancefield are to be seen.

It is said that the congressional committee on banking and currency [favors?] allowing banks to issue currency to [the?] full face value of their United [States?] bonds, and the *Sun* thinks it curious [that?] General Weaver, who is always "[prating?]" about more currency, is opposed to [the?] plan. General Weaver's "prating" [about?] more currency has been a "prating" [for?] more government currency and less [bank?] currency. There is, therefore, [nothing?] more curious about his opposition to [the?] banking committee than that a [member?] of congress should be opposed to [special?]

p. 4, col. 4

privileges. The bonds held by banks, amounting to something like a quarter of the entire interest bearing debt of the nation, are already in effect paid off to the extent of ninety per cent of their face value, and yet the government pays interest to the banks on the entire face value. The proposition now is to pay off the remaining ten per cent and still to continue the interest. General Weaver is opposed to this, and no reason has yet been given why, as an honest man, he should not be opposed to it.

Ignorance of the single tax occasionally manifests itself in strange places. Here is the Chicago *Tribune*, which, in an acrobatic effort to balance one of its editorials between protection and free trade, offers Japan as a horrible example of a country that loses the benefits of revenue tariff by taxing land. That Japan taxes land while single tax advocates propose to tax land values is all the same to the *Tribune*.

Colonel J. H. Pierce, who is interested in promoting a scheme to lay a pneumatic tube for the transportation of passengers under the surface of the ocean, specifies as one of its advantages over railroading on land, that the right of way would cost nothing. Colonel Pierce should be more secretive about that advantage. If it ever becomes reasonably certain that the ownership of ocean beds can be made profitable, some international congress, duly impressed by the arguments of the lobby, will undertake to sell to corporations and individuals "all their right, title and interest in and to all that land lying north and south between the poles and east and west between the

Sic in the original; probably "Lancefield".

eastern and western continents, and now under water, to have and to hold unto them, their successors, heirs or assigns forever." After that Colonel Pierce's right of way will cost something.

The New York *Press* of Jan. 22 points with pride to the granite quarries of New England, and explains how it is that we manage to work them. It says:

> A duty of $1 per ton on rough stock and an ad valorem duty on cut granite serve to keep out of the market a large amount of Canadian and Scotch granite, cut by cheap labor, which when polished competes now very actively indeed with the home product. Piece workers in the quarries earn from $2.50 to $3.50 per day during the working season.

And then the *Press* goes on to tell us that men come to this country from Scotland every spring, work at granite cutting during the summer, and then go back to spend the winter with their families in Scotland.

We have heard some funny "arguments" on behalf of the tariff tax before now, but none quite so funny as this. A tax upon Americans to pay the passages of Scotchmen to and fro across the Atlantic, is indeed a boon. The *Press* remarks that "the granite industry is but another example of the beneficial effect to the workingman of our protective tariff." We agree with the *Press*.

A QUEER CHRISTIAN.

The Reverend William Kirkus is a Master of Arts and a Bachelor of Laws. He is also the author of an article in the *Independent* of January 19, wherein the doctrine of the single tax is refuted, Professor Ely mildly chidden for his recent dalliance with the accursed thing, and the ministers of religion who have taken up the cross of the new crusade satirically praised for their "conscientiousness." This is a good deal to accomplish in less than three columns, but the Reverend William Kirkus, M.A., LL.B., does it to his own satisfaction, and perhaps to that of some of the readers of the *Independent*. Mr. Kirkus's statements and arguments are worth reviewing, if only for the sake of noting how easy it is for one who persists in gnawing on a file to mistake the wastage of his incisors for an effect produced upon the steel.

The refutation of the single tax theory gives Mr. Kirkus very little trouble. This is the way he disposes of it. The italics, be it noted, are Mr. Kirkus's, not mine:

> The supposed excellence of the immediate apparent object of the theorists—the instant abolition of poverty, for instance—blinds many good people to the unmistakable and undisputed fact that *the funds out of which the poor are to be relieved* are to be obtained by confiscation; or, in plain English, by wholesale robbery. And they have acquired so incurable a habit of using the Bible for the purpose of proving everything they want to have proved that they commit the very authority of scripture to a responsibility for the wildest social schemes or social revolution. If the Bible entirely sustains "Progress and Poverty" then *with Mr. Henry George the Bible must stand or fall.* For my own part, if I could be convinced that the Bible did somewhere or other really affirm the peculiar doctrines of that very popular agitator, that part of the Bible I should most unhesitatingly reject.

The Reverend Kirkus is a pretty positive man—even for a master of arts and bachelor of laws. He doesn't go quite so far as to say, "Before Abraham was, I AM;" but that is clearly what he means. "Christ's teachings," say certain of Mr. Kirkus's clerical brethren, "are founded on the recognition of the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man; and can never be reduced to practice until the equal rights of all men to the bounties of the Father are recognized." And when the clerical brethren offer to prove this, taking Christ's own words as the basis of their

argument, the Reverend Kirkus wraps his magisterial and baccalaureate gown about him and turns away with the retort: "So much the worse for Christ!" Really, when you come to look into the matter, there is a certain savor of infidelity about the Reverend Kirkus that might have got him into trouble had he lived a few centuries ago.

But though this master of arts and bachelor of laws refuses to accept the word of God as authority, there is, fortunately, an author for whom he has more respect; and, curiously enough, the writer to whom he defers was one who had very serious doubts as to the existence of any God at all, of either pro-poverty or anti-poverty proclivities. He feels it necessary to look out for error in the word of God, but he has absolute faith in John

p. 4, col. 5

Stuart Mill. In the paragraph following that already quoted, he says:

> I hope it is not presumptuous to say that I cannot entirely agree with him (Professor Ely) in his political economy; for, at any rate, my first great master in that science was John Stuart Mill, and I have never lost my reverence for that truly great teacher. It seems to me to be superseded neither by Moses nor by Karl Marx.

All right. I don't admire the Reverend Kirkus's theological consistency; but if he prefers Mill to Christ, I have no objection. Will he do me the favor to turn to Mill's "Principles of Political Economy," book II, chapter 11[sic], section 6, paragraph 4, and read these words:

> When the "sacredness of property" is talked of, it should always be remembered that any such sacredness does not belong in the same degree to landed property. No man made the land. It is the original inheritance of the whole species. Its appropriation is wholly a question of general expediency. When private property in land is not expedient, it is unjust. It is no hardship to any one to be excluded from what others have produced; they were not bound to produce it for his use, and he loses nothing by not sharing in what otherwise would not have existed at all. But it is some hardship to be born into the world and to find all nature's gifts previously engrossed and no place left for the newcomer. To reconcile people to this, after they have once admitted into their minds the idea that any moral rights belong to them as human beings, it will always be necessary to convince them that the exclusive appropriation is good for mankind on the whole, themselves included.

It is, indeed, very true that John Stuart Mill, while thus emphatically stating the wrongfulness of private ownership of land, also expressed the opinion that it should not be abolished without compensation to the so-called owners. Lofty as was his standard of justice, clear as was his reasoning power, Mill could not free himself from the influence of his education and surroundings. The blasphemous theory of Malthus—that an almighty demon thrusts men into this world, as a cruel boy crowds cats into a bag, to delight himself with their struggles and sufferings—colored all his thoughts; and though he sternly refused to worship the demon, he religiously believed in his evil doings, and considered poverty a curse, which, though it might be partly held in check by pestilence, famine, war, and crime, could never be eradicated. Had he but grasped the truth that natural forces and natural material are superabundantly sufficient for all the calls that can ever be made upon them by humanity—had he but learned that mankind needs but freedom, to make involuntary poverty impossible—we may be very sure that John Stuart Mill would have cast aside both his respect for landlords' parchments, and his contempt for the Being whom the Reverend Mr. Kirkus continues to worship, albeit with his weather eye open. But with all this I have no concern. For John Stuart Mill is the Reverend Kirkus's witness, not mine; and it suffices for me to show, from Mill's own writings, that in the most important respect his views regarding the private ownership of land were the same as those expressed by the word of God, whose testimony the Reverend William Kirkus, M.A., LL.B., so scornfully refuses to consider.

Sic in the original; probably "chapter 2 (check; the passage is in book II, chapter 2)".

Mr. Kirkus mildly rebukes Professor Ely *for not* denying the doctrine of the single tax *in toto*. "Think," he says, "what must be the real effect of Mr. George's 'crusade,' when even a careful student like Mr. Ely can deal so tenderly with his theory." But Professor Ely's tenderness consisted simply in this: that he dimissed[sic] the single tax theory because he thought it *involved* "confiscation;" and unless the Reverend Kirkus is prepared to sacrifice his faith in Mill's Political Economy as well as in the Bible, he himself is not very far from occupying Professor's Ely's position[sic]. The chief difference between them is that whereas the professor would be very glad *if* he could "agree with the ethics of the confiscation," the Reverend Kirkus wouldn't, which is a moral, but not a logical, difference, and simply goes to show that Mr. Kirkus approves of poverty, and would not have it abolished even if he could righteously do so. On the whole, it seems to me that Mr. Kirkus must either drop John Stuart Mill, or range himself by Professor Ely's side.

> CLEVELAND, O.—In your issue of Jan. 7 you make a very pretty sermon from the text, "Seek ye first the kingdom of God and His righteousness and all these things shall be added unto you." > > Now tell us something about Jesus's other sayings, such as, "Take no thought for the morrow," and, "If any man come to me and hate not his father, and mother, and wife, and children, and brethren, and sisters, yea, and his own life also, he cannot be my disciple." > > What would become of the world if all should do as Jesus did? There are many of His sayings and actions which it will not do to follow. > > G. M. JACKSON.

The above is a letter that came to THE STANDARD a week or two ago. I wonder how the Reverend William Kirkus would answer such a letter if it came to him. Would he send Mr. Jackson a copy of Mill's "Political Economy" and warn him to expunge from his Bible all the sayings of Christ for which Mill's authority is lacking? Would he tell him that Christ and His disciples were nothing but a sort of Judean Pickwick club, and that the saying of the Master were[sic] to be accepted only under special reservation. What *would* he say to Mr. Jackson? I confess I find it very hard to imagine.

But this I know: It is because men are writing such letters and asking such questions as Mr. Jackson's; it is because they themselves are asking such questions of their own hearts, with the burning knowledge that they must find the answers if they would save their souls alive, that the Christian ministers at whom the Reverend William Kirkus jeers are proclaiming the anti-poverty gospel "as if it were a new crusade." These men do not, like the Reverend William Kirkus, believe that "the special work of a minister of the gospel, though it may not incapacitate a man for the study of political economy, will certainly divert his attention from great social principles." On the contrary, they believe that Christ's gospel *is*, emphatically, a gospel of "great social principles." They believe that God understands political economy at least as well as John Stuart Mill did. And they believe that any human institution that conflicts or renders invalid the least of Christ's laws for man's social life must, and should, and shall be swept away.

These men read in Christ's words the gospel of human brotherhood. They hear and see that gospel openly flouted as a utopian impossibility. They seek the reason, and they find it in the violation of the first principle of brotherhood—the equal privilege of

p. 4, col. 6

access to the Father's bounty. The Reverend William Kirkus thinks that when they do this they show themselves "prepared to abandon that very work to which they once believed that Almighty God had specially called them, for the sake of propagating a particular theory about land and taxation and the functions of government." But thinking men will acknowledge that sworn servants of Christ can in no way better serve their Master than by striving to render it possible for mankind to live according to His teachings.

Sic in the original; probably "dismissed".
Sic in the original; probably "Professor Ely's position".
Sic in the original; probably "the sayings of the Master were".

T. L. MCCREADY.

THE PRESIDENT AND THE RAILROADS.

The recent message of the President concerning the Pacific railroads shows no sign of the vigor and courage that marked his admirable [tariff?] message. Mr. Cleveland evidently sees clearly that the history of the Pacific railroads is one long record of deliberate swindling. He recognizes the duty of congress to interfere to save, even yet, some of the people's money from the rapacity of these corporations; he suggests that it may be possible to prevent any further delivery of public lands to corporations that have persistently violated the obligations of the contract under which such lands were promised to them, and he goes so far as to intimate that those personally responsible for the most flagrant acts of swindling, disclosed by the reports of the commissioners, shall be criminally prosecuted. But the president is apparently content to stop with these suggestions and criticisms. He gives a lukewarm indorsement to the obnoxious scheme favored by the majority of the commission, and opposes the only practicable plan of doing justice without imposing new burdens on the western people by declaring positively against any arrangement that would put these roads or any part of them into the hands of the government. He also declares that the settlement of the whole question is so peculiarly within the province of congress that it hardly seems worth while for the executive to interfere in it at all. In short, Mr. Cleveland says, in substance, that a gang of swindlers have obtained fraudulent possession of railroads built with public money, but that the government must not take possession of the stolen property. It must make the best terms it can with the thieves, threatening them, if need be, with criminal prosecution, but assuring them in advance that it will not exercise its unquestioned right to foreclose its mortgage on the roads.

Such a message is in broad contrast, not only with Mr. Cleveland's tariff message, but with the reputation he enjoys among his admirers as a man always ready to do the right thing because it is right, without stopping to consider the effect on his own political fortunes. One of the considerations that lent force to the recent tariff message was the display of boldness and courage by a probable candidate but a few months in advance of the meeting of the democratic nominating convention. Men who had up to that time refused to credit Mr. Cleveland with the virtues claimed for him by his friends were disposed to admit that he at least had courage of a rare quality to thus force an issue from which so many mere politicians desired to run away.

Having made tariff [reduction the?] issue, Mr. Cleveland and his party [cannot?] now escape it; but prudence as well as principle should dictate to them to make their fight for tariff reform part of a general policy of opposition to all monopolies. The president's message on the Pacific roads is not in accord with such a policy, and his party ought not to follow him in this departure. The report of the majority of the commission is simply a surrender to the Pacific railway rings, and it ought to be rejected by congress. Mr. Anderson of Illinois very properly introduced a much better measure in the house last Monday, which directs the attorney general to bring suits for the forfeitures provided for in the Thurman act and to criminally prosecute Leland Stanford, C. P. Huntington, Charles Crocker, Jay Gould, Russell Sage, Sidney Dillon, John B. Alley and a number of others named in the bill.

This is unquestionably far better than condoning the crimes of these men and giving them a new lease of power. The forfeiture of the charters is also in the right direction, since it tends to bring these roads into the hands of the government. Any attempt to extend the time for the payment of the debt owed by those companies to the government can have but one effect, and that is to authorize and even encourage the private owners of the roads to levy an unjust and onerous tax on the people dependent on them for transportation, in order that they may be compelled to make up money now actually lost. This is the curse of our existing system, and the government of the United States should not lend itself to its extension. If, however, congress will not take possession of the roads built with the public money it might at least refuse to confirm in possession of them the rascals who have stolen them.

THE READING STRIKE.

Austin Corbin has refused to consent to any arbitration of the difficulties between his company and its employes. Mr. Corbin bases his refusal on the ground that it costs $1.12 to mine a ton of coal, and that the net proceeds of its mining by the Reading coal and iron company was but 87⅞ cents. The result was, says Mr. Corbin, that the company in ten years lost $12,270,000. This sounds very conclusive to those who look no further, but there is nothing in Mr. Corbin's statement that gives any warrant to his pretense that the companies he represents are unable to pay better wages to their men. In the first place the Philadelphia and Reading railroad company and the coal and iron company are practically one, and whether the mining company makes money by mining or the railroad company makes money by carrying the coal after it is mined is a mere matter of bookkeeping that has no practical bearing on the question of profit. It may be taken as certain that if the mining and handling of coal considered as one operation did not pay, the greatest of the coal monopolies would not continue in the business.

The real trouble with the Reading company is that under Mr. Gowen's presidency it bought great quantities of coal lands for the express purpose of creating a monopoly, paying very high prices for some that afterward proved worthless. It borrowed immense sums of money to enable it to lock up coal lands, and then found its monopoly, protected as it continued on p. 5 →

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[continued from page 4]

← continued from p. 4 was on the coast line by a tariff duty, interfered with by the escape of some of its expected victims, the manufacturers, who found that they could easily produce steam with soft coal from the bituminous fields. From that time to this the attempt has been made to spread the cost of Mr. Gowen's blunder over all coal mines or carriers, and this has made it appear that decent wages cannot be paid to labor without incurring loss.

But whether the Reading company can or cannot pay decent wages for coal mining is not the important question. The question that this great struggle, which is checking the production of wealth, depressing business and producing wide spread suffering ought to bring up is whether corporations and individuals are to be permitted to so control the avenues of transportation and so monopolize the natural opportunities for production that, if labor does not choose to accept what wages are offered it, it has no alternative but to wage what is in reality a destructive war.

THE REFORM CLUB DINNER.

The dinner of the new Reform club on last Saturday evening was, as a demonstration against protection and an evidence of the hold the tariff question is taking, a great success. Though the gathering contained specimens of that milk and water type of tariff reformers who fear the very name of free trade, yet the sentiment was unmistakably radical. When the chairman, Anson Phelps Stokes, declared himself an absolute free trader, who would abolish all custom houses, he was most enthusiastically applauded; but Frederick H. Coudert's disavowal of free trade fell almost in silence, and the applause with which the remarks of other speakers were punctuated showed the same disposition.

The speech of the evening was made by W. C. P. Breckinridge of Kentucky, a member of the committee on ways and means, and was so because it was that of an out-and-out free trader. His denunciation of the selfish private interests that stand back of each tariff provision and of the conscienceless combination of those private interests to resist every attempt to reform any of the abuses by which any one of them profits, was at once scathing and illuminating, and he had the courage to go further and assail the railway and banking monopolies enjoyed by men who have, like the protected manufacturers, combined to pervert the exercise of governmental powers to their own private advantage. This portion of his speech was evidently too strong anti monopoly meat for some of the company, but the applause he received even there showed a strong leaven of the foes of ail[sic] monopoly in the new club.

The Reform club will make a good nucleus for free trade work, and starts off with a large membership and bright promise. One of its first acts ought to be to get Mr. Breckenridge[sic] on here to make a speech at a public meeting. Democracy of the clear, pure type advocated by the eloquent Kentuckian is to our rotten local spoils democracy like a breeze from the sea to a pestilential miasma.

Sic in the original; probably "all".
Sic in the original; probably "Breckinridge".

Krupp has a contract with the Italian government for the fabrication of four enormous guns for the defense of the harbor of Spezzia. Now who on earth wants to do any damage to Spezzia? Why can these European nations not manage to leave one another alone, mind their own business and put their money to some other use than the enrichment of Krupp. The most obvious thing about the present situation in Europe is its preposterous stupidity. The only thing of the kind more preposterously stupid is our spending of money on heavy guns and a supposititious navy.

Hugh O. Pentecost in Rutland, Vt.

On Wednesday, January 18, we were treated to a lecture by Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost on "The Solution of Social Problems." Unfortunately Mr. Pentecost missed his train at New York and again at Albany, and the train by which he came was half an hour late at Rutland, so that it was half-past 9 p. m. before he reached the hall. But from that time until eleven o'clock he held his audience spellbound.

All the ministers in town were invited, and several of them were present. I hear that the Methodist minister, Rev. Fred. Widmer. said[sic] at his Thursday evening prayer meeting that he was sorry all his congregation had not heard Mr. Pentecost. Mr. Widmer is reading "Progress and Poverty," and I hope will become a convert.

Mr. Pentecost made a deep impression on our people. He and his lecture have been the town talk ever since his visit.

EDGAR B. MOORE.

Organizing in Mobile.

MOBILE, Ala., Jan. 21.—A land and labor club of eighteen members was formed here last night, and good work may be expected in this city. The world moves indeed when a city as conservative as this stands such a club.

E. L. NORTON.

Good Anti-Poverty Doctrine.

Denver Republican.

We have received the following from one of our readers:

> If it be to the interest of the producers of tobacco to have the tax taken off that article, it seems to me that such a fact would be at variance with the theory that the consumer and not the producer pays the tax, either in the shape of a tariff on foreign manufactures and productions or as an internal tax. Please explain how both positions can be correct.

We imagine that our correspondent would agree with us in saying that, even if there were no manufactories in the United States to supply the home market, the British manufacturers would be glad to see the tariff removed.

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

Notwithstanding the tariff falls on the American consumer, the British manufacturer would be glad to see it abolished. Its removal would make the consumer just that much more of a consumer.

It is so with respect to the tax on tobacco. If it were removed the consumptien[sic] would be increased and this would benefit the producer.

It would specially be so with respect to domestic cigars. The men who raise that kind of tobacco would find a larger market and, therefore, a readier sale.

In addition to this the tax on tobacco enables the manufacturer to bear the market for the leaf. It enables him to force the price of the leaf down as well as to force the price of the manufactured article up. But, doubtless, even he would be benefited by a removal of the tax, since it would increase the consumption of tobacco.

Again, the fact that an unlicensed dealer or manufacturer can hardly look at a piece of tobacco without being in danger of the United States revenue officers hampers the sale of leaf tobacco. There can be no question that any tax on an industry restricts it to a greater or less degree.

For all these reasons we think the removal of the tax would benefit the tobacco growers. But, if our correspondent is still in doubt about it, we refer him to the tobacco growers themselves. We doubt if he could find one out of ten who would say that the tax is not objectionable to him.

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ONE WHALE AT A TIME.

Once upon a time, when I was on a whaler, the lookout sighted a school of whales.

“There she blows!” he shouted.

“Where away?” hailed the mate.

“Three points on the lee bow!”

The boats were manned and lowered away, and almost as soon as I can write it, they were off, each oarsman pulling for dear life. Ahead of them was a prize worth striving for. The more oil they could bring home the bigger their “lay” would be.

I was a boy at the time, and so was left behind. I went up into the foretop to see the whales, for they could not be seen from the deck of the brig. There they were, hundreds it seemed to me, sporting in the water, or “blowing,” or seemingly asleep. I could see our crews tugging away at the oars, urged on by the steerers while the harpooners, in the bows, were making ready for the “throws” that might mean a hundred barrels of oil each. Nearer and nearer the boats drew to the school; then they gathered together, as if for a consultation, then separated. I could see the harpooners get their irons into position; then the boats went, bow on, toward the whales that had been picked out of the school, and then—thrilling moment!—the harpooners threw their irons. Immediately that part of the water was lashed into foam, and the whales that had not been touched—disturbed by the unusual commotion—sank from sight. But none of the harpooners attempted to drive their harpoons through the whole school of whales at once. It would have been useless.

WM. MCCABE.

Sic in the original; probably “consumption”.

State and National Issues.

NEW YORK CITY.—I take it that the primary object of the united labor party is twofold; first, that the land shall be made free, in order that the bitter, unnatural strife now prevailing between laborer and laborer for the privilege of working may be forever abolished; and, second, the making of labor free by the abolition of all taxes upon its product, thus securing to the worker the full return to his toil.

The first of these objects is to be attained, as we believe, by the taxation of land values to such an extent as will render the holding of vacant or idle land unprofitable. This, in my opinion, is a scheme of taxation to be approved and applied by the legislatures of the several states, and with such approval or application the congress of the United States has nothing whatever to do. The second proposition, to abolish all taxation upon labor products, necessarily carries with it the abolition of the internal revenue and tariff taxes. As the congress is the sole power by which a tax on imports can be levied, and as all taxes laid by the congress must be uniform throughout the United States, the abolition of imposts already in operation under an act of congress is a national question and deals directly with the tariff issue now being prominently brought before the people.

Taxation upon land values is a direct tax levied upon the possessor of those values, and upon no one else, and the constitution of the United States distinctly limits the power of the congress to lay and collect taxes. It says in paragraph 4, section 9, article 1: "No capitation or other direct tax shall be laid unless in proportion to the census or enumeration hereinbefore ordered to be taken," and this census or enumeration is provided for in paragraph 3, section 2 of article 1, as follows: "Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states which may be included within this Union according to their respective numbers"—and then follows the methods by which the enumeration shall be made.

The power of congress to lay a direct tax being confined by the constitution to a capitation tax, it follows that congress cannot levy a tax upon land values, but that this power, under the tenth amendment to the constitution, is reserved to the states respectively, or to the people: and the issue of the equal right of every man to the bounties of the creator is, under our constitution and because of the methods necessary to secure these rights, a state and not a national issue.

This being so, why should we enter national politics upon this issue solely, an issue with which national politics has nothing whatever to do?

If we should be so foolish as to do this we should only be displaying our ignorance of the fundamental law of our country and of the distinction between those powers granted to congress by the constitution and those reserved to the states, or to the people, and we should become the laughing stock of our opponents, who would immediately relegate us to the domain of state politics, where, with this as a sole issue, we undoubtedly belong.

The reason that gentlemen like our late candidate for comptroller, who are or think they are protectionists, are able to heartily support the platform adopted at Syracuse is thus made manifest. They imagine that the tariff, by some hocus pocus, does protect American labor, but they also see that if land were free to labor—if it were possible for men to go to the land without let or hindrance from any landlord, and there produce the articles by which they might gratify their desires—then it would be the duty of the government to abolish all tariffs, whether for "protection" or for "revenue only," and by thus freeing labor from the onerous burden now laid upon it, guarantee to every worker the entire product resulting from his toil.

The issue of the tariff is the great issue of the day, and is in reality the only national issue before the country. It is to us, the united labor party, second only to securing the right of each to the creator's bounty. For we are pledged to abolish all forms of taxation save that upon land values, and if we enter the national campaign we must fight

upon these lines. It does not seem to be, therefore, the part of a wise man to attempt to beiittle[sic] this issue by calling it a comparatively trifling question.

Certainly I as much as any one appreciate the grandeur, the sublimity, the justice, the truth of the proclamation that God is the father of all his children and that he has given this earth and the fullness thereof to all these children, and that a question involving all peopies[sic] in its solution must of necessity be as wide as the world in its scope. But communities must recognize this for themselves; and for us here in New York, or in Indiana, or in Maryland, it is to be solved by the action of the legislatures of our states. And unless behind this plank of our platform we have the issue of the abolition of all taxation (for a land value tax is simply a taking for the whole people a value created by the *whole people*, and is in no just sense a tax at all) we should be most unwise in injecting ourselves into national politics, as we would be without an issue demanding for its solution the consideration of the national congress.

WILBUR O. EASTLAKE

The Potatoes Did It.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—It is only lately that I have given the subject of protection and free trade much attention. But by the light of THE STANDARD I have begun to ask myself the question: Whom does protection protect?

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I was answered very satisfactorily a week or ten days ago by the captain of a vessel from Prince Edward's Island. He came here with a cargo of potatoes—just what we needed very much. At the time he arrived with his cargo we were about out, and potatoes were going up in price, the same as coal and everything else the masses were using. This captain, with his vessel full of potatoes, was met on the wharf by an officer and told he must pay a fine of fifteen cents for every bushel of potatoes delivered to the people of Providence. So that our potatoes cost us at least fifteen cents a bushel more than they otherwise would have done. I think I can see now whom protection protects, and I feel cheap to think that my vote was many times cast to uphold this fraud.

I inclose a subscription for THE STANDARD.

JOHN BURNS.

A Lesson from Church Experience.

BALTIMORE, Md.—Is it not possible for the friends of the Syracuse platform to learn a lesson from that wing of the Christian church generally considered "liberal" in its statements of doctrine. This section of the Protestant church has not increased in numbers proportionately as has the "orthodox" churches.

But there is no one whose memory reaches back forty or fifty years who does not realize that there is no such preaching in any of our churches to-day as there was then. Sermons such as the writer was accustomed in his boyhood to hear would not now be tolerated. Ten minutes of the ordinary torrid sermonizing of fifty years since would suffice to empty any church in the land, save that of the most ignorant in rural communities. The numerical strength of the churches that have effected this change has not so greatly increased, but the better educated and higher Christian thought has leavened the whole lump of Christianity. Why should we care for this party or that? What matters it whether the single land tax is brought about by one party or another, a new party or an old one. I

Sic in the original; probably "belittle".
Sic in the original; probably "peoples".

want to see the reforms of the Syracuse platform enacted into law, and I believe when it is done it will be by leavening the whole political thought of our country by the gospel of justice as enunciated in that platform. Educate, educate, educate: that must be our watchword and work for years to come. If the contest between the democratic and republican parties in the coming election is on the line of free trade or protection, "standing up to be counted" by the friends of our great reform will, in my opinion, be such a lonely process as will do our cause more harm than good.

J. W. MOORE.

Steady Work in Bayonne.

BAYONNE, N. J.—We are making some little progress even here under the shadow of the Standard oil monopoly. The united labor party polled 495 votes here last November for their candidate for member of assembly out of a total of 1867 votes cast.

The Bayonne land and labor club believe in taking an active interest in local affairs, and at their last regular meeting appointed a committee to wait upon the superintendent of the gas company in reference to the poor quality of gas furnished to the city and the dirty condition of many of the street lamps. It was also decided to open a reading room for the benefit of the members of the club and their friends. We have hired two rooms near the City hall, and a triangular transparency projecting from the window announces the fact to all passers by. Contributions of books, papers, etc., are being received. We hope by this means to awaken interest and increase our membership. We already have twenty-five names on the roll, and we know that hundreds more are in sympathy with us, though very many do not wish to be known in the movement for fear of prejudicing their employment.

W. B. D.

Some Additional Letters.

George Jackson, Brooklyn.—We should not nominate a candidate for the presidency. If the idea that a protective tariff is beneficial to the workingmen of this country is victorious—as the election of the republican candidate would make it—our idea that a tariff or tax on labor products is a robbery of workingmen would be "knocked into a cocked hat," and the successful propagation of the system of taxing land values only would be retarded for a half century. On the other hand, if the tariff reform party is successful, we are gainers by reason of the fact that a step in the right direction has been accomplished, thus making our further progress easier, and by the fact that the republican party, from whom in the future I think our party is to be most largely recruited, will disintegrate from the effect of defeat, and thus make the growth of our party easier and more rapid.

J. R. Hinkle, Gunnison, Colorado.—Just how Mr. Wilder or any other man who sees the cat can be a protectionist I cannot understand; yet doubtless there are many, if for no other reason than that given by the Dutchman for being a democrat—that his father and his grandfather and, he believed, his great grandfather also had been of that political faith.

But Mr. Wilder, though vague in defining his position, suggests a practical point for consideration. If the united labor party should nominate a candidate, and the issue between the old parties be free trade vs. protection, should we not have to take sides? I say, no: that is what we want to avoid, and it is the strongest reason why we should organize for the next national campaign.

Robert A. Whatley, [Deannill?], Tex.—I consider it not only good policy, but a necessity, to run a candidate for president. So far as my experience goes there can be but few congressional districts and not a great many counties in Texas that will be in shape to nominate tickets this fall. But there is not a county in the state where there are not men who have seen the "cat." It would be discouraging to those isolated crusaders to be denied the privilege of voting for the single tax principle.

F. M. Brown, Portland, Oregon.—We are not sufficiently strong to run an independent candidate, but we may be strong enough to decide the election for one or the other of the old parties. We should therefore wait until they make their nominations and adopt their platforms and then cast our votes with that party which embodies most of our principles.

Buildings Personal Property.

Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.

Mayor Hewitt considers buildings as real estate. In ethics they are no more real estate than a wagon or a horse. A building belongs to the farm; so does the wagon and the horse. Fasten the wagon to the ground, put a cover over it, make a hen coop out of it or a smoke house and it becomes real estate. Put wheels under the house, use it to draw produce to the market and it becomes personal property. There is no justice in taxing personal property. Tax securities, notes, mortgages, etc., and you offer a premium on dishonesty and impose a fine for honesty. The dishonest man hides his securities and personal property, while the honest man brings it to the light, and he is then fined for doing so. By relieving personal property from a tax there is then no chance for fraud. When Mr. Hewitt makes up his mind that buildings are personal property, then he is a Henry George man.

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A MISSISSIPPI OBJECT LESSON.

How the Imposition of a Levee Tax on Land has Forced Monopolists to Loosen their Grip.

GRENADA, Miss.—There are four parishes in the state of Louisiana organized as a levee district in which a tax is laid on land, in some respects similar to the tax which you advocate. I say in some respects, because it is a tax upon the area and not upon the value. Yet it has this in common with the single tax, that it is a tax rather upon those who withhold land from use than upon those who utilize it—upon monopoly rather than upon industry. It is a tax of five cents an acre upon all the land in the parishes of Concordia, Tensas, Madison and East Carroll. It is used for building levees to protect these lands from overflow, and is in addition to ordinary parish taxes which are levied, as usual with all our taxes, upon the value of lands, improvements and personalty. This five-cent tax has been in force for nearly two years, and my purpose in writing this letter is to call your attention to the effect it is having in inducing the cultivation of lands which have not been in cultivation for twenty years. This I cannot better do than by detailing a transaction in which I was, unfortunately, the principal actor and sufferer.

I had purchased for $2,500 a property of 2,200 acres located in one of the four parishes above mentioned. There was but little cultivated land upon it, and my revenue from it was therefore small, not quite enough to pay the ordinary taxes (about $40) and interest upon the investm nt[sic]. Yet I would have been quite content to let the matter run on, because I believed that the increase in value of the property would more than make up for my annual loss. But the five cents an acre tax, by adding $110 to this loss each year, disarranged all my calculations,

Sic in the original; probably "investment".

and has induced me to offer the property for sale at $2,200, pocketing a present loss of $300 rather than risk a larger one in the end if I should continue to hold the property. I think that I will succeed in selling the place; and if so, the purchaser will buy, not to speculate with it, but to improve it; and a property that has heretofore raised only twenty bales of cotton will soon be raising more than treble that number and thereby giving remunerative employment to treble the labor that it formerly did. If the store keepers near by sell more goods, and the wholesale merchants order more from the factories, and some spindles are busy that without this increased production consequent upon the change of hands of the property would be idle, it seems to me that this five cent tax will have been the cause. It will have forced the property out of the hands of a person who was not making the most of it, and for many reasons could not make the most of it, and placed it in the hands of one much more likely to make it do its best; and every economic reasoning justifies the confident belief that as a result of this simple change, so simply wrought, a new current of business energy will thrill through a hundred channels, and some men will have work who otherwise would have lacked it. In a word, it seems to me that this tax will have gone a little way toward the abolition of poverty. Besides this, any one who will travel through the parishes I have named may see that this cause is working throughout in the cultivation of lands that have long lain fallow, so that many such energizing currents are springing into existence.

And while it is true that one of the causes which is inducing their cultivation is the [belief?] that the proceeds of this tax have been so spent as to prevent overflows, it is also true if these levees had been put in twice as good a condition through taxes levied upon improvements and personalty as well as lands there would not have been for several years to come the increased acreage in cultivation which there will be this spring, simply because the forces impelling those in interest to the change would not have been as strong as they now are. Without this tax the erection of the levees would really have been an inducement to land owners to withhold their lands from improvement and sale in the hope to realize higher prices. With this tax this speculative tendency toward the withholding of lands from use is counteracted by a considerable tax which must be paid *now*.

From the window of a car I noticed the other day the dinner buckets of the laborers hanging on the trees, and was led to speculate upon the probable effect which would follow the discovery of a tree having such fruit. Rent would rise and wages still tend downward.

BOLTON SMITH.

Al We Need[sic] is to Carry One State.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—Suppose we should nominte[sic] a presidential candidate, elect him even, and in addition elect a congress that favors our ideas, what could we do? Abolish tariff and internal taxes and levy direct taxes among the states in proportion to their population. This would be a great step, no doubt. On the other hand, suppose we let national politics alone and concentrate our efforts to carrying states; carry one state, establish the single tax and set an example. The work is done. From that time on the single tax idea will take care of itself. In fact, we could not stop its spread if we were to do our utmost.

Warren W. Bailey's comparison of our case with that of the republicans in 1856, though a most eloquent appeal, seems to me hardly a logical comparison. Slavery could never be abolished except by an amendment to the national constitution. A resort to national politics was, therefore, necessary. Theoretically abolition might have been brought about one state at a time; practically there were [insuperable?] obstacles to overcome. The adoption of the single tax can be brought about one state at a time and only that way.

Sic in the original; probably "All We Need".
Sic in the original; probably "nominate".

I have no respect for either of the old parties, but it does seem now as if the discussion of the tariff, which will become more intense as election day draws near, cannot fail to help us greatly.

I was in favor of wiping out custom houses and abolishing revenue taxes long before I understood that nature has provided social wealth to meet social wants and when the best that could be offered was direct taxation apportioned among the states. Ought we not to help any party that goes toward our goal?

C. J. [BILL?], Pres. Anti-poverty society.

The Good Cause in Colorado.

DENVER, [6?].—Our land and labor club is doing splendid work for the cause here. At each weekly meeting the attendance shows a gratifying increase. It is up hill work, but every one of our thirty-five members is doing his best, and all are determined to bring the land question to the front in Colorado. Besides the regular meetings of the land and labor club, [all?] young men are cordially invited to meet at the secretary's office, 1531 Arapahoe street, on Monday evenings, for the purpose of studying—not discussing—"Progress and Poverty."

The committee on arrangements experience no little difficulty in securing speakers to defend protection. Thus far we have listened to ex-Congressman Belford and Judge N. B.
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Telker, but the former notified the club only two days before his address was delivered that "the more he studied the tariff question the less of a protectionist he became," while Judge Telker, who spoke last night, requested another hearing, being "completely taken by surprise by Dr. J. W. Harlan's remarks on 'True Free Trade.'"
Dr. Harlan is an orator of extraordinary power and force, and he always puts in an appearance whenever a chance presents itself to advocate the single tax. We shall want some tracts pretty soon.

CHARLES G. BUCK, Secretary.

The Land Redeemed.

Coates Kinney.

Not always shall the good earth be To man's use under ban; The land shall be redeemed at last And rendered back to man. Then each shall of the acres hold Enough to make him free, None shall usurp more than his need And none shall landless be.

The system of old feudal wrong, That makes the people pay For room to live upon the earth, Shall fade and fall away. The name of landlord shall become A mockery and scoff, As rolls the tide of human rights To sweep his landmarks off.

For man shall yet perceive the truth— Through old tradition dim— That record, scroll. nor[sic] parchment writ Can take the earth from him; That nature makes a title deed To each one for his time In his own wants, and who takes more He perpetrates a crime.

This living truth shall flush the cheek Of pale starvation red, As over old ancestral parks The pauper's sheaves are spread; This truth shall wrest from blood and birth The scepter and the crown, And, leveling the workers up, The drones shall level down.

Sic in the original; probably "scroll, nor".

Then prince and peasant side by side Shall strive, with heart and brain, By doing highest work for man The highest rank to gain; For, when each has his human right Of home upon the soil, The worker shall be prince and king– God's nobleman of toil!

Glad time of earth's beatitude! When none shall hoard or steal, But all mankind together work For universal weal; When war no more shall shock the land Or thunder on the sea, But by the golden rule of Christ All wrongs shall righted be.

Atlanta's Landlords and the Liquor Law.

ATLANTA, Ga.–Two years ago the "dry" ticket won at our city election. Last November the "wet" ticket received a majority, and liquor stores are being opened all over the city. The law gives a resident the right to object to a bar room being opened near his place of business or his dwelling. Hereby hangs a tale. Druggist R. H. Johnston rents of Landlord Rhode Hill one of the store rooms in a building on Peters street. The other was lately rented by two liquor dealers, who asked the druggist to sign the necessary petition for their license. He refused, a bar room having already been opened next door, on the other side, and he believed his business would be injured if he should be placed between the two. The next day the agent of his landlord waited on him and told him he had either to sign that petition or suffer an advance in his rent from $25 to $40 per month. He could not afford to pay the increase and he signed the petition under fear of immediate ejection. Then he hunted up another store room and moved away because of the fear of losing his business through the taint on the neighborhood. He had occupied his old place eighteen months and had built up a good trade. The landlord was stronger than the law, was he not?

W. A. JOHNSON.

What the Single Tax Would Do for Oregon.

ROCK CREEK, Oregon.–A majority of Oregon farmers live in wretched hovels in absolute want, in order that every dollar may be saved to pay interest on money invested in large tracts of land (titles to which in many instances have been obtained through fraud and perjury, to the exclusion of honest settlers), that they never will use. Now I believe if all taxes were on land values these "dogs in the manger" would be compelled to sell their land in small bodies to those who would clear and till the soil and make the now waste and barren places to "blossom as the rose." Besides they themselves would be better off, for the money that now goes to pay interest might be invested in building comfortable dwelling houses, school houses, and in clothing and educating their families. Then, too, capital would seek investment in different productive industries, and Oregon might soon begin to compete with her sister states in thrift and enterprise.

C. M. CRAIN.

Pro-Poverty Arithmetic.

NEW YORK CITY.–The kind of reasoning that is required to show the groundlessness of workingmen's complaints is, perhaps, fairly illustrated by the following extract from an article in the *Engineering and Mining Journal*, by Professor A. W. Raymond[sic], reprinted in the *Evening Post* of January 17:

Sic in the original; probably "Professor R. W. Raymond (verify)".

> When that price (of coal in New York harbor) is $5 per ton, certain wages are to be paid to the miners, laborers, etc., by the day. . . . For every ten cents per ton additional price of coal, one per cent is added to the wages; and for every ten cents fall in price one per cent is deducted. Ten cents is two per cent of $5. Hence we may see, speaking roughly, that of two per cent advance in price the miner gets half while the other half is divided between the mining companies and the railroad and canal companies.

This would be excellent reasoning if the miners received $5 per ton wages when coal is selling at $5 per ton in New York harbor; then they would get five cents advance in wages out of every ten cents per ton advance in price. But if they receive only $1 per ton wages when coal sells at $5 they will receive one cent per ton advance in wages out of every ten cents per ton advance in price.

Professor Raymond's article is somewhat elaborate, and it bristles with figures. It is unfortunate that a knowledge of elementary arithmetic will not enable us to appreciate all his conclusions, as many of them are no doubt quite as valuable as the one quoted above.

WM. E. MCKENNA.

Dr. McGlynn at Canton, Ohio

CANTON, O.—Dr. McGlynn's lecture in this city on Jan. 13 was a pronounced success, and only failed to be a magnificent triumph because of the bad weather. Within an hour of the time for opening the meeting the snow gave place to sleet and rain; yet despite this drawback, eight hundred or more people assembled in the opera house to greet the priest of the new crusade. Many clergymen were present, and the audience contained a noticeable

p. 5, col. 6

proportion of the most intelligent people of Canton. Judge Underhill presided and introduced the lecturer. Dr. McGlynn spoke for fully two hours, and produced a manifest impression, his remarks being greeted with frequent applause. Our local papers give good reports of the address.

A. E. KNISELY.

No Show for Any One but the Landlord.

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—Please allow me to state a few plain facts for the benefit of the laborer or mechanic who has been fooled by reading the reports of high wages and plenty of work to be found in southern California. These reports are sent east with no other object than the flooding of the labor market here and reduction of wages. Southern California is overrun with unemployed workingmen. I know mechanics here—plenty of them—who have not struck a lick for over a month. A house of four rooms cannot be rented for less than $30 per month, so that to keep a family requires steady work, and that is not to be had.

J. W. ALGAIR.

Anti-Poverty in Canton, Ohio.

CANTON, O.—The anti-poverty society of Canton will be organized January 20, when a meeting for that purpose will be heid[sic] at Temperance hall. A. J. Kentz and other citizens of Canton will speak.

A. E. KNISELY.

Hamilton's Gas Wells.

HAMILTON, Ontario.–The Hamilton *Spectator* has been a defender of monopoly in all its forms. Hardly an issue appears without some fling at us and our principles. Yet in spite of himself, the editor of the *Spectator* is gradually coming round to our side. Here is what he says on the natural gas question:

> If anybody in Hamilton thinks it would be better to wait till some private individual explores the bowels of the earth in this neighborhood for natural gas let him put the thought away. No private individual is going to bore for gas here unless he first secures a monopoly of the natural gas business from the city, and if anybody secures the monopoly and then secures the gas the city might as well be without it. A number of American cities thought they were lucky when certain capitalists and corporations began supplying them with natural gas at low prices. But the prices remained low just long enough to induce people to throw away their coal and wood stoves and put in stoves for the burning of natural gas. The gas then went up, and these unfortunate cities now find that a natural gas monopolist's heart is just as hard as a coal baron's. If Hamilton is to have natural gas and benefit from it the city must own the supply and the mains.

It seems to me that we are not laboring in vain. The *Spectator* man has only to take another step to see that even if Hamilton owned its natural gas wells the only benefits would be to the landlords, who could charge higher rents.

JOHN BUTLER.

Concerning Profit Sharing.

Christian Union.

> We are not inclined to enter into any controversy with Mr. George or THE STANDARD, but we should like to have THE STANDARD and the constituency which THE STANDARD represents understand the position of the *Christian Union*, and that portion of our constituency which agrees with the views of the *Christian Union* on the so called labor question. This is by no means the whole of our constituency; it is only a fraction of it. How large a fraction we have no means of adequately judging.

> THE STANDARD and the *Christian Union* agree in believing that there is a labor problem; that the laborer is worthy of his hire; that he does not get full compensation for his services; that there is a great concentration of wealth going on under the modern system of industry; and that this concentration of wealth is dangerous both to the so-called upper and the so-called lower classes, and has in it the possibility of serious disaster. THE STANDARD looks for remedy, if we understand its position, to a change in the system of taxation. The change is based on the doctrine that land is not a proper subject for private ownership; that, in strictness of speech, it belongs not to the individual, but to the community. Accordingly THE STANDARD would levy a tax upon land, which would amount to a fair rent paid by the user or tenant to the community, which would be the landlord and the owner. If this change of taxation could be brought about THE STANDARD believes that the labor problem would be solved and all other difficulties would adjust themselves.

> In this view of remedy we are not able to concur. Whatever force or justice there may be in the proposition to increase the taxes upon land and take it off of other things–and we are inclined to think there is a

> measure of force and justice in this proposition—we do not believe that any readjustment of taxation whatever will solve the relations between labor and capital. Nor do we for a moment suppose that they can be solved by mere individual benefactions, whether by charity doled out to the poor, however generously, or by increase of wages, however equitable, or even by participation of profits in individual concerns here and there. This last is not what we mean by profit sharing.

> But the essence of the wages system, by which the industries of to-day are carried on, consists in this: That a small number of men called capitalists own, and therefore control, all tools and implements of industry—all mills, manufactories, organized machinery, railroads, telegraphs and, more and more, the land—while a large number of men called laborers are employed by the few to use these tools and implements, and are paid wages for their work, the amount of wages being determined, sometimes by mutual agreement between the wage earner and the wage payer, sometimes by a hot battle between them. As formerly, all political power was in the hands of a few men, and the great mass of men did politically what they were bid, so now pretty much all money power is in the hands of a comparatively few men, and the great mass of men do industrially what they are bid. Democracy has been established in politics. Political power is now in the hands of the many; and the few, though they are men of genius and leadership, are nevertheless the servants of the many. In our judgment we are entering upon a transition industrially, analogous to that through which England passed politically in the seventeenth century. Political power has passed from the hands of the few into the hands of the many. The wealth power must also pass from the hands of the few into the hands of the many. The employers and the employed must become partners in a common enterprise. The term "boss" must drop from the workshop as the term king has dropped from the state. The tools and implements of industry must become property of the many, not of the few; and the proceeds of industry must come to be equitably shared. This involves nothing less than a radical revolution; but we believe that it will be wrought peacefully, not by bloodshed The[sic] *Christian Union* is, if you please, far more radical than THE STANDARD, in that it does not believe that any modification whatever of the tax system will solve the industrial problem of the nineteenth century. That problem will only be solved when, by process of education, of Christian culture, of diffused thrift, of victorious temperance, the great masses of the people have learned how to receive, to utilize, to save, the profits of industry, and so have learned how to be the just and rightful owners of the world's capital. When all capitalists are workingmen and all workingmen are capitalists there will no longer be a problem of relationship between capitalist and laborer to be solved. And we have gone further in America toward this consummation in this nineteenth century, though it lies still in the future, than any other country has gone in this or any other epoch.

This is what we mean by profit sharing.

Sic in the original; probably "held".
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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, JANUARY 28, 1888.

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A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.

Harvard Law Review for January.

Mr. George's proposition for a fundamental amendment of the laws has two aspects. He proposes, first, to abolish all existing taxation and to raise the revenue needed for the expenses of government by a single tax upon the value of the land held by each land owner, the tax not to exceed at any time the fair rental value of the land exclusive of distinguishable betterments. He proposes, secondly, after the first step shall have been taken and a firm foothold secured, to use the machinery of taxation to exact the entire economic rent of land, and to apply the surplus, above what may be required for the necessary expenses of government, to the common welfare, in ways to be devised. He assumes that economic rent, in the present state of this and of every civilized country, would largely exceed the amount required for necessary governmental expenses. This assumption, however, is not essential to his scheme. If the amount realized by his tax would not support the government, of course there would have to be taxes on other things but the amount to be so raised would be less by the amount of the land value tax.

Before this project could be embodied in a law, many important details would require careful adjustment; but it is now in a form that is sufficiently definite for a discussion of the principles upon which it is urged, and for the formation of an intelligent opinion thereon. So far, however, for the most part, critics have concerned themselves with the non-essentials of the proposed innovation, and have missed the vital point in George's reasoning. And this is true, as I venture to think, not merely of the strictures which one hears in casual conversation or reads in newspaper editorials. It is true also of the deliberate treatment which the subject has received at the hands of competent publicists, such as the duke of Argyll(1) and Mr. W. H. Mallock(2) in England, and General Francis A. Walker(3) and Professor W. T. Harris(4) here.

In this paper I propose, briefly and in outline, so that, if there be a fallacy or sophism, it may readily be detected, to set out the essential reasons for adopting George's plan, and to point out, with reference to the principal current criticisms upon his doctrines, wherein they fail to meet those reasons.

Why should land be singled out and its holder made to bear a burden from which the owners of other sorts of property are exempt?

This is the vital question. Unless the answers to it are seen clearly and in right perspective, any judgment that may be made upon their sufficiency is bound to be defective. George gives two answers. The first, which is founded on purely economic considerations, in effect is: Because material progress, in a community where absolute private property in land is maintained by law, acts, by force of that fact, like a wedge thrust midway into the social structure, to raise a few, without effort or merit on their part, and to grind down the masses of men however meritorious they may be; and because property in land being qualified in the way proposed, poverty will be

abolished for every man who is willing to work according to his ability. It is by focussing attention upon the argument from which this answer is drawn to the exclusion of another much simpler and very different answer that the able editors of influential journals confuse George with the German socialists, that Mallock(5) glibly dismisses George's plan as "monstrous," that Walker(6)declines with a sneer to consider George's extra economic reasoning, and that the duke of Argyll(7), himself appealing to the very principle upon which, unperceived by him, the second answer is based, describes his summary of George's writings as a "reduction to iniquity," and does not hesitate to say that "the world has never seen such a preacher of unrighteousness as Mr. Henry George."

The second answer, in substance, is: Because land is not rightfully the subject of absolute property, and because the injustice of allowing it to be so acquired and held, will be remedied by the exaction and application to common [uses?] of economic rent.

So many fantastic schemes have been put forward in the name of man's natural rights that there is, undeniably, some excuse for the incredulity with which propositions purporting to have that basis are frequently met. But a little reflection will be apt to lead to a universal admission that the standard of right to which George appeals is valid. Little children in their play vaguely perceive and roughly act upon it in adjudging some of their fellows fair and others unfair. Our conduct in matters outside the domain of positive law, in a social club, for instance, is governed by it. In desperate emergencies, as at Cape Sabine, we unflinchingly exact the forfeiture of life itself from the man who will not conform to it. By its light, as by a beacon, our courts steer in construing constitutions and statutes, and in modifying the traditions of the common law to meet changed conditions. By that standard and no other the people of the United States of America are guided when the question is of breaking the ties of government, of establishing a new government, of making or amending constitutions, of framing statutes. I say that in all such matters we are dominated by our natural conception of right. It is at least true that when the question is put point blank, and must be answered categorically, we confess that we ought to be.

George's notion of natural rights differs in no way from the commonly accepted notion. He perceives the natural differ-

(1)"The Prophet of San Francisco." *Nineteenth Century* for April, 1884.

(2)"Property and Progress." A reprint of several essays in the *Quarterly Review.*

(3)"Land and its Rent."

(4)"Henry George's Mistake about Land." *The Forum* for July, 1887; also, more fully in *Journal of Social Science*, No. XXII, p. 116, *et seq.*

(5)"Property and Progress," p. 7.

(6)"Land and its Rent," pp. 141-2.

(7)See the pamphlet "Property in Land," containing a reprint of the duke of Argyll's essay and Mr. George's reply.

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ences among men in mental, physical and moral qualities, and he accepts such differences as facts without accursing God or nature of injustice in so ordering them. But when the question is of the relations of human beings among themselves, he says (and who does not agree with him?) that each, as against all others, and so far as interference with him by them is conconcerned[sic], is entitled to himself, to his life, to his liberty, to the fruits of his exertions, to the pursuit of happiness, subject only to the equal correlative rights of every other human being. Nor

Sic in the original; probably "concerned".

is he peculiar in his general idea of the functions of government and the proper scope of positive law. In his view the primary function of government is the establishment of justice by securing to all the human beings within its jurisdiction their natural rights; and it is a perversion and abuse of government if it perform other functions otherwise than in subordination to that primary function, or if it make and enforce laws which abridge or deny those natural rights(1).

The rulings of the supreme court of the United States on the subject of the public health suggests an analogy which will help to such an understanding of George's views on land as is required for their intelligent refutation no less than for intelligently accepting them. It is now the settled law(2) that the governmental power to make laws for the protection of the public health is inalienable, the reason as stated by the court being that such power is so "indispensable to the public welfare that it cannot be bargained away by contract;" that, under the laws at any time provided for the protection of the public health, individuals may acquire property rights (e. g., the exclusive right within a designated area to keep a place for slaughtering animals and preparing their meat for market) which are unassailable and must be respected by other individuals; and that property so acquired is held subject to the right of the legislature to qualify or destroy it at will according to its judgment of what the public interest requires, and without regard to investments that may have been made or calculations based on the action of a prior legislature, even though such action took the form of a contract.

In contrasting land with public health it will be necessary to disregard whatever constitutional recognition there may be that property in land is precisely like property in buildings or chattels, and also to use the term "legislature" broadly so as to include the people themselves when performing the supreme legislative functions of making or amending constitutions, as well as the particular bodies to whom legislative power under our system is delegated. Doing that, the contents of George's thesis on land may be described as follows, in terms suggested by the judicial rulings on public health:

1. The due regulation by law of the use of the land within the government's jurisdiction is indispensable to the public welfare, for so only can the natural rights of all the people be secured.

2. Hence government cannot deprive itself or be deprived of the power to regulate the use of land at any time and in any manner that is adapted to secure to all the people their natural rights—i. e., such power cannot in any manner be suspended or abdicated or otherwise alienated.

3. Under the laws that at any time exist individuals may acquire property in land, which must be respected by their fellows,

(1)It is important to emphasize the fact that George's ultimate principles as to the rights of men and the functions of government are the same as those now generally accepted, for, the fact being so, there is evidently common ground for argument, and a fair prospect that argument will be fruitful of valuable results. The current notions are, I think, fully expressed in the following extract from Professor W. G. Sumner's "What Social Classes Owe to Each Other," pp. 162–4: "Every honest citizen of a free state owes it to himself, to the community, and especially to those who are at once weak and wronged, to go to their assistance, and to help redress their wrongs. Whenever a law or social arrangement acts so as to injure any one, and that one the humblest, then there is a duty on those who are stronger, or who know better, to demand and fight for redress and correction. When generalized, this means that it is the duty of all of us (that is, the state) to establish justice for all, from the least to the greatest, and in all matters. This, however, is no new doctrine. It is only the old, true and indisputable function of the state; and in working for a redress of wrongs and a correction of legislative abuses, we are only struggling to a fuller realization of it—that is, working to improve civil government. We each owe it to the other to guarantee rights. . . . Rights should be equal because they pertain to chances, and all ought to have equal chances so far as chances are provided or limited by the action of society. This, however, will not produce equal results, but it is right just

because it will produce unequal results—that is, results which shall be proportioned to the merits of individuals. We each owe it to the other to guarantee mutually the chance to earn, to possess, to learn, to marry, etc., against any interfence[sic] which would prevent the exercise of those rights by a person who wishes to prosecute and enjoy them in peace for the pursuit of happiness. If we generalize this, it means that all of us ought to guarantee rights to each of us. But our modern, free, constitutional states are constructed entirely on the notions of rights, and we regard them as performing their functions more and more perfectly according as they guarantee rights in consonance with the constantly corrected and expanded notions of rights from generation to another.[58]" George's published writings show him to be in full accord with this formulati n,[59] of principles by Professor Sumner. It is in the application of these principles to facts that he leaves the beaten track. For example, his argument for the abolition of the legal institution of absolute property in land may be thus stated: The institution should be abolished, because (on principle) "all ought to have equal chances so far as chances are provided or limited by the action of society," and because (as a fact) with that institution existing, it is impossible for all to have equal chances. Again, he advocates the assumption by government of businesses that are necessarily monopolistic, such as railroads and the telegraph, because, as a fact, that is the only way in which we can effectually guarantee each to the other equality of chances, the only way in which we can really "establish justice for all." Professor Sumner's way of expressing ultimate principles is somewhat unusual. For similar ideas stated in more familiar terms, see the dissenting opinions of Mr. Justice Field and Mr. Justice Bradley in the Slaughter house case, 16 Wall, 36; the concurring opinions of the same judges in Butchers' union company vs. Crescent City company, 111 U. S. 746; and the opinion of the court in Yick Wo vs. Hopkins, 118 U. S. 356. See also the Declaration of Independence.

(2)Butchers' union company vs. Crescent City company, 111 U. S. 746; Slaughter house cases, 16 Wall, 36.

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and such property, according to its nature, as determined by existing law, they may use or abuse, sell, donate or devise, substantially as they please.

1. But no property in land can be acquired except subject to the limitation that it may at any time be qualified or destroyed at the will of the legislature, expressed in general laws applying to all the land within the jurisdiction.

Observe as to these four propositions that they contain no intimation as to the body to which, in the distribution of governmental powers, the regulation of the land is or should be committed; that is a separate question not necessary to be considered now. Observe also that whether these propositions are correct or not is a question which may be argued and decided precisely like the question of the constitutionality of a statute, if we take as a statement of the supreme law, that the primary function of government is to secure to all its people their natural rights. Observe also that if the supreme law is so, and if these propositions are correctly deducted[sic] therefrom, no man now has any property in land which cannot rightfully be qualified or destroyed without compensation by general laws designed to regulate the use of land, though if absolute property in land is recognized in our existing constitutions our judges and congressmen and the members of our state representative legislatures are bound thereby, and only the people themselves, in whom all sovereign powers ultimately merge, could declare that result.

How, then, are conclusions so momentous reached? The heads of the argument are as follows:

1. Land is, literally, indispensable to life. "How long," asks George, "could the strongest and most resourceful human being maintain life in interplanetary space?" The land is man's foothold, his resting place, his opportunity; the only source whence the materials which his faculties require to work upon can be

Sic in the original; probably "interference".
Sic in the original; probably "from one generation to another (check Sumner)".
Sic in the original; probably "formulation".
Sic in the original; probably "deduced (possibly author's usage)".

extracted; the only part of space where nourishment can be obtained. The right to life, therefore, involves a right to land, title to which vests at birth and by the fact of birth in every human being; and such right, as against all other human beings, like the right to life, has no limit except such as the equal correlative rights of others impose.

2. Land varies in fertility, salubrity, accessibility and generally in desireableness. Laws, therefore, securing to some men as absolute property the best parcels of land within the government's jurisdiction are unjust inasmuch as the natural right of other men to the best parcels is as good as and equal to that of the favored ones, and such other men are not compensated for the difference in desireableness between the best lands and such lands as are open to them.

3. The land within the jurisdiction of the government is limited in amount, and is, therefore, capable of full appropriation by some to the exclusion of others; and when this happens, as is now practically the case in the state of New York, Massachusetts, in England, in Ireland, the dilemma currently attributed to the marquis of Salisbury is presented by the laws to some men and not to others; some must pay rent to others or they must emigrate. This dilemma is forced upon some and not upon all, and therefore either alternative is a substantial infringement of natural rights If emigration[sic] is accepted the non-land holder must leave the place where he wishes to be, where his relatives and his friends live, where his ancestors dwelt, and go to and abide in a country he does not wish to live in; that is, his liberty (all others not being equally coerced) is inso far restricted. If, on the contrary, he prefers to yield to the demand for rent, he must surrender some portion of his [property?], and his natural right to what hehas,[62] acquired by the exercise of the powersand,[63] faculties with which nature has [endowed?] him (all others within the [jurisdiction?] not being put by the laws in the same preicament,[64]) is in so far impaired.

4. The conclusion is that absolute [property?] in land as a legal institution is [inconsistent?] with and destructive of the naural[sic] right to life, the natural right to liberty, the natural right to the fruit of one'sexertions,[66], and, as the natural right [to?] the pursuit of happiness depends upon te,[67] enjoyment of these other rights, the istitution,[68] is inconsistent with and [destructive?] of that natural right also. And hence also, it follows (unless it be not true [that?] the main purpose of government is to [secure?] to all its people their natural [rights?], and unless it be not true that the [public?] welfare primarily depends upon thoserights,[69] being secured) that the land is [not?] the rightful subject of absolute [property?], but its use and occupancy must be [regulated?] by law.

If we take a comprehensive viewof[sic] the points just enumerated it will be [conceded?] probably that the only one that [need?] be dwelt upon is the first. That the [power?] to regulate the use of land must be [regarded?] as an essential function of [government?] if such regulation is the only way [in?] which the natural rights of all can [be secured?], seems scarcely open to fair [doubt?] So as to the third point; the marquis [of?] Salisbury's dilemma is unjust only if [the?] laws upholding private property in [land?] as we now have it are unjust, and [these?] laws are unjust only if there be a [natural?] right to land which they deny. And [the?] second point in the very form of its

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Sic in the original; probably "rights. If emigration".
Sic in the original; probably "he has".
Sic in the original; probably "powers and".
Sic in the original; probably "predicament".
Sic in the original; probably "natural".
Sic in the original; probably "one's exertions".
Sic in the original; probably "the".
Sic in the original; probably "institution".
Sic in the original; probably "those rights".
Sic in the original; probably "view of".

[statement?] depends for its validity upon [the existence?] of such a right. The second[, third?] and fourth points are evidently [mere?] corollaries of the first. That [granted?] they follow; that denied, they also fall.

These, then, are the [questions?]: Has every human being, as [against?] others, a natural right to land? and if [so?], is there any limit to such right [except?] that prescribed by the equal rights of [other?] human beings? These questions [involve?] nothing recondite. Their difficulty, [if they?] have any, lies in their simplicity. [Pretty?] much all that one man can do [for another?] toward solving them is to [present?] them clearly and ask, "What do [you?] think?"

In treating these [questions?] George argues little and refines not [at all?]. In his various writings he [presents his?] views in different forms, but always [as?] though he considers what he says to [be?] self-evident so soon as attention is [fixed upon?] it.

p. 6, col. 4

Natural rights, he thinks, spring from and are testified to by the natural facts of individual organization—"the fact that each particular pair of hands obey a particular brain and are related to a particular stomach; the fact that each man is a definite, coherent, independent whole"(1). He declines argument with those who assert that all rights spring from the grant of the sovereign political power, and that none are natural, and he quotes from the Declaration of Independence, the preamble to the federal constitution and the French declaration of rights as true descriptions of natural rights and of the subordination of government thereto(2). As to the right to the land he says (referring specifically to Ireland): "Since, then, all the Irish people have the same equal right to life, it follows that they must all have the same equal right to the land of Ireland. If they are all in Ireland by the same equal permission of nature, so that no one of them can justly set up a superior claim to life than any other one of them' so that[sic] all the rest of them could not justly say to any one of them, 'You have not the same right to live as we have; therefore we will pitch you out of Ireland into the sea,' then they must all have the same equal right to the elements which nature has provided for the sustaining of life—to air, to water and to land; for to deny the equal right to the elements necessary to the maintaining of life is to deny the equal right to life. Any law that said, 'Certain babies have no right to the soil of Ireland; therefore they shall be thrown off the soil of Ireland,' would be precisely equivalent to a law that said, 'Certain babies have no right to live; therefore they shall be thrown into the sea.' And as no law or custom or agreement can justify the denial of the equal right to life, so no law or custom or agreement can justify the denial of the equal right to land. It therefore follows from the very fact of their existence that the right of each one of the people of Ireland to an equal share in the land of Ireland is equal and inalienable; that is to say, that the use and benefit of the land of Ireland belong rightfully to the whole people of Ireland; to each one as much as to the other; to no one more than to the other; not to some individuals to the exclusion of other individuals; not to one class to the exclusion of other classes: not to landlords, not to tenants, not to cultivators, but to the whole people. This right is irrefutable and indefeasible. It pertains to and springs from the fact of existence, the right to live. No law, no covenant, no agreement can bar it. One generation cannot stipulate away the rights of another generation. If the whole people of Ireland were to unite in bargaining away their right in the land, how could they justly bargain away the right of the child who the next moment is born? No one can bargain away what is not his; no one can stipulate away the rights of another. And if the new-born infant has an equal right to life, then has it an equal right to land. Its warrant, which comes direct from nature, and which sets aside all human laws and title deeds, is the fact that it is born."(3)

This simple deduction of a right to land belonging to every human being as against all other human beings becomes more forcible and convincing if placed in sharp contrast with the sources of the titles to land which the positive laws now uphold. "Consider for a moment (says George) the utter absurdity of the titles by which we permit to be gravely passed from John Doe to Richard Roe the right to exclusively possess the earth, giving

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Sic in the original; probably "them, so that".

absolute dominion against all others. In California land titles go back to the supreme government of Mexico, who took from the Spanish king, who took from the pope when he by a stroke of the pen divided lands yet to be discovered between the Spanish or Portuguese; or, if you please, they rest upon conquest. In the eastern states they go back to treaties with Indians and grants from English kings; in Louisiana, to the government of France; in Florida, to the government of Spain; while in England they go back to the Norman conquerors. Everywhere not to a right which obliges, but to a force which compels. And when a title rests but on force, no complaint can be made when force annuls it. Whenever the people, having the power, choose to annul those titles no objection can be made in the name of justice. There have existed men who had the power to hold or to give exclusive possession of portions of the earth's surface, but when and where did there exist the human being who had the right?"(4)

Nor shall we find any ground for doubting the soundness of George's deduction if we place by the side of it the reasons which are offered in defense of the existing institution. Those reasons are summed up, very tersely, by Professor W. G. Sumner, as follows:(5) "The reason for allowing private property in land is that two men cannot eat the same loaf of bread. If A has taken a piece of land, and is at work getting his loaf out of it, B cannot use the same land at the same time for the same purpose. Priority of appropriation is the only title of right which can supersede the title of greater force." Force may be laid out of account altogether, for no one can base a title of right upon it alone without admitting that mere force, whether of ballots or of bullets, can to-day rightfully wipe out existing titles and confer others in their stead. Priority of occupation is a mere straw of barely sufficient weight to turn balanced scales; how little it counts against such considerations as George adduces will be seen if we suppose a man owning a farm to die intestate leaving a son X, who, as heir-at-law, takes full possession of the farm; in a month or so a posthumous son, Y, is born; clearly X's prior occupation of the farm gives him no right to exclude Y from it. It is doubtless true, as Professor Sumner says, that while one man is getting his loaf out of a piece of land another man cannot use the land at the same time for the same purpose. The difficulty with this, as an explanation or justification of the legal institution of private property in

(1)"Progress and Poverty," book VII., chap. i.

(2)"Social Problems," chap. x.

(3)"The Land Question," chap. v.

(4)"Progress and Poverty," book VII, chap. i.

(5)"Social Classes," etc., p. 61.

p. 6, col. 5

land, is that it does not explain or justify. "Private property in land," as the phrase is used by Professor Sumner, has a very different significance from what it has in the mouths of lawyers and judges. In his sense of the words there would be private property in land if George's plan were followed. But the existing legal institution means that one man and his heirs and assigns, without doing anything whatever, may perpetually exact a part of the loaves which other men by their labor get out of the land. It means the holding of land out of use in anticipation of increase of population and increased general need for land. It means that one man may own a thousand-fold more land than he can by possibility use, and may, if he please, exclude all others therefrom. It means the Irish landlord, Mr. William Scully, owning now 75,000 acres of the richest land in Illinois.(1) It means the Maxwell land grant (2) embracing in a single title 1,714,964.94-100 acres of land. It means the half of England owned by some 5,000 persons. It means Ireland. It means the crowded tenement houses and the vacant lots of Manhattan island. This reason of Professor Sumner for allowing private property in land, as we now have it, is like that of the people in Lamb's fable who burned down houses in order to roast their pig.

Whoever reflects upon this subject, however, will be likely to reserve his opinion till he has compared land as a subject of absolute property with other things. Here George and his opponents start from the same point. They, not less strenuously than he, insist that property in material things is sacred because founded upon a natural right which the positive laws may recognize, protect and secure, but which they do not create, and cannot rightfully impair or take away. Generically, all natural rights may be grouped in one phrase—the right as against all others of each man to himself, unlimited save by the equal correlative rights of others. A right to one's self—the idea plainly connotes a right (as against and to the exclusion of others) to what one acquires by the exertion of his natural faculties, whether mental or physical; plainly also a right to enjoy what is so acquired in any way one pleases, to use it, to give it away, to will it away, to exchange it for something more desired (provided another can be found willing to join in the exchange), and to hold what is received on exchange by its original title; and also a right in donee, legatee, and vendee to hold what they receive; and this is what is signified by the word property, whatever material thing it is applied to. Now, land can be acquired by the exercise of one's natural faculties as really and effectually as can any other physical thing, e. g., a marble statue; for possession can be taken of it, the trees on it can be felled, the roots dug up, the weeds destroyed, the moisture drained off, the stones removed, the soil made mellow by the plow and rich with manure—acts essentially similar to the quarrying of the marble and the chiseling of it into form. In neither case is any matter created, that being beyond man's power to do. In both cases possession is taken and form is changed by brain directed labor, and nothing else is done or happens. Between the two series of acts there is no difference whatever, save in the quantity of matter appropriated; and that difference, enormous though it be, may not in fact be relatively greater than exists, as to quantity of matter appropriated, between the same statue and an animalcule which a microscopist has caught and caged and stored in his cabinet. George's opponents, seeing this, assert that there is no solid basis for distinguishing between the animalcule, the statue, and the land as subjects of property; the counter argument (they say) must necessarily be unsound, or it opens wide the door to communism. But do they not overlook something?

One consideration, at least, is lost sight of, which is, that the deduction of a right to land from the right to life is quite as simple and quite as obvious as the deduction from the right of one's self of a right to hold and enjoy what one can by the exercise[sic] of his faculties. If there really be a conflict between the latter right and the former, the latter should certainly yield far enough at least to allow the maintenance of life. It may be said with truth, however, that this consideration of itself makes no greater concession than that necessary; and we must look farther.

If we add a human being to the list of typical things which we have taken for illustration, we shall be certain that some essential consideration is ignored by those who argue that because by the exertion of mind and muscle the land, the animalcule, and the marble statue can be, and are in fact, reduced to possession, therefore no distinction is to be made between them, and all are to be deemed rightful subjects of property; for men can make slaves of their fellow men, and they have done so frequently, with the exertion of considerable mental and much physical force. Yet it is certain that human beings are not rightfully the subjects of property.

The thing forgotten is this: the natural rights are not absolute, but as to every man are limited by the corresponding rights of other men. This is the only qualification, and it is not easy always to keep it in sight; but it is unquestionably a real and a most important one. By virtue of it a man alone upon a prairie may rightfully do pretty much everything that it is within his natural powers to do, while the same man in a crowded church or theater is practically restricted to keeping his eyes and ears open. With this qualification before the mind, the reason is plain for distinguishing human beings from other things as subjects of property, for one cannot be the slave of another unless his rights are subordinated to those of that other; but in fact his rights and those of the other are equal. There is a distinction between land and other material things which is based upon the same qualification. Consider the natural right which gives sanctity to property in material things, viz., the right to

Sic in the original; probably "what one can acquire by the exercise".

acquire things by the exertion of one's mental or physical powers. The exertions of one's natural powers is evidently the central idea, and if we bring together that idea and the qualification upon all natural rights, we shall see that a

(1)George, "Protection or Free Trade?" p. 129.

(2)Maxwell land grant case, 121 U.S. 325.

p. 6, col. 6

material thing is not rightfully the subject of absolute property if the appropriation of it by the exertion of one man's natural powers interferes with the equal right of other men to exert their natural powers.

The appropriation of land does so interfere. To test the principle it will be proper to take for illustration a community like New York or Massachusetts, whose laws maintain private property in land, and in which all the land has been fenced in, or substantially so; for such communities are numerous, and, as population increases, will become more numerous. In such a community, obviously, a landless man cannot do anything individually. He cannot obtain for himself food, or clothing, or shelter, or fire; he is dependent upon other men for such alms or for such employment as they are willing to give him; he cannot by any exercise of his faculties legally compel other men to give him either alms or employment. Unaided by other men he is pretty much as powerless to exert the faculties which nature has given him as though he were in the space between the stars. The reason why he is thus worse off than his fellows, the sole reason, is the fact that he is, and they are not, shut out from the land which nature gave to men to exert their faculties upon. He can, to be sure, exert his faculties to take himself beyond the pale which the laws have drawn around the land; but the pressure upon him to do that (being caused by other men having been allowed to appropriate and hold all the land of that community) is in itself a great interference with his equal right to exert his natural faculties.

The appropriation of things other than land, such as brute animals, grain, timber, minerals, and generally the raw materials, of which all the commodities which men need or desire are made, does not so interfere; for there is no limit, or no known limit, to the supply of things of this class which men by labor can acquire, it the land[sic], which is the source of supply, be not monopolized. By concentrated effort particular species of the class may be temporarily exhausted, but only temporarily, and not all species at the same time. Moreover, it is beyond human power to separate permanently from the general stock the matter of which things of this class are composed. Consider the water which you dip from a spring is not lost or destroyed—sooner or later it evaporates, or, if you drink it, it leaves your body in forms which you are constituted by nature to loathe and reject, and you would not keep it if you could. So it is generally. No form in which nature presents matter, no form which men by their labor give to matter, is stable; even iron rusts and gold abrades; and when the form changes the matter escapes. Light, heat, winds, rain, frost, moths, worms and other forces, are pulling down as fast as the same and other natural forces, including those of man, are building up. Human powers can dam or turn the stream of change long enough to satisfy human wants, and not much longer. In short, though one man or many take what they can of things of this class, and keep what they take as long as they can, the equal right of other men to exert their faculties in the same manner is not thereby appreciably, if at all, interfered with.

The fact that the supply of material things which are adapted to the satisfaction of human wants is practically unlimited is the sole justification for permitting them to be acquired and held without restriction. If the supply were limited there would have to be restriction. Do we not all concede this in unusual cases when locally or temporarily the supply is short, as in a shipwreck or polar expedition? On the other hand, the fact that the land, being the source of all things that minister to human wants, is strictly limited in quantity, and varies greatly in

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

desirableness, is itself a sufficient reason for asserting that it cannot rightfully be appropriated absolutely and in perpetuity.

It may be said (and it is surprising to find so acute a man as Mr. Mallock (1) perplexed by the thought) that nature knows nothing of "countries," "states," "communities," and "governments;" that the phrases "right to life" and "right to land" express relations which each man bears to the whole human race, and not to the people of a particular country or under a particular government; and that every man may be admitted to have a right to live somewhere and to some land without admitting that he has a right to live here or to the land of this country. No one who really saw and believed in the rights to life and land, and felt their immense significance, could say such a thing as that. Let us see: Take another natural right which is deeply and truly believed in, and whose value and weight are perceived—liberty, for instance. That right, too, is a relation which each man bears to all the rest of the race; that, too, in logical, if not in chronological order, precedes governments and states; but who ventures to risk his reputation for intelligence and sound judgment by denying that one is justified in complaining, nay, ultimately in rebelling, if the laws of the state of which he is a citizen deny him his natural right to liberty or fail to secure it to him as fully as as circumstances[sic] at any time permit, and as fully at all times as they secure it to any other citizen of that state? If there be natural rights to life and land (and whether there are or not depends upon other considerations than the one now noticed) they must be dealt with by governments and states as the natural right to liberty is dealt with, must they not? There are no laws of the world,[75] which uphold private ownership of land any more than there are universal laws which maintain slavery or peonage. The institution in either case exists by force of the laws of the particular state within whose jurisdiction the land or the men affected by it are. Are the people of such a state any the less entitled, among themselves, one as against another, to be made secure in their natural rights by its laws, because there is no federation of nations, no sovereign government over the world, nor other practical way of securing natural rights universally?

What precedes is all that can be given here of the argument offered to show that continued on p. 7 →

[continued on page 7]

(1)"Property and Progress," pp. 111-126.

Sic in the original; probably "as fully as circumstances".
Sic in the original; probably "no universal laws of the world (possible omission)".

p. 7, col. 1
[continued from page 6: "A Reply to Criticisms."]

← continued from p. 6 unrestricted private ownership of land as a legal institution involves a wrong which a government established to secure the natural rights of its people is bound to remedy. Observe that no reference, even by implication, has been made to the value of land. It is of much importance to exclude the idea of value from that part of the case, or to refer to it merely as a test for determining whether the possibility of injustice which absolute property in land necessarily involves has become actual injustice in any given community at any given time. For, unless one is cautious, it will shunt the mind to a wrong track. The argument for the land value tax is very apt to assume the form, and, if one may judge from current criticism, is quite generally understood to have the form, that because the value of land increases without effort on the part of the land holder as the community grows, therefore the community has earned such value, and may justly take it for common purposes. In that form the argument is fallacious beyond question. The value of land is its relation as to exchange to the other things which men desire. How can such a relation give rise to an obligation to pay money? Chattels fluctuate in value as well as the land, [and?] for similar causes, increase being without merit as decrease is without fault on the part of their owner; and for this one need look no farther than to the daily quotations of corporate stocks, though other illustrations without number might be given. The truth is that a claim upon the value of land can be substantiated only by first successfully impeaching the title of its occupant. Grant that the land is his property, and necessarily he is entitled to it at any particular time, that is, he has a right to exchange it at that time for other things, if he will and if he can, and it is nobody's business whether he receives for it upon exchange many other things or few, much money or little; if he actually make an exchange, no other person, not even the state, as representative of all the rest of the community, can thereby acquire a right to take toll out of what he receives; still less can a right to exact money arise, because he might have made an exchange if he had wished to. But if the land is not his, if others have as good a right to it as he has, and he is suffered to have the exclusive occupancy and use of it, then he ought in justice to make compensation to such others, and the question is, how much?

Land has no value when and where equally desirable land can be had by every man who wants it. But land varies greatly in fertility, accessibility, and, generally, in desirableness. Hence, if many want it they will pay money to get the better-quality rather than put up with the poorer quality. They can afford to do so up to a sum which, subtracted from what they can make from the better land, leaves a remainder equal to the gross return they would receive for the same expenditure if they took the poorer land without paying anything. The sum that can thus be paid measures the value of the better land. When all accessible land is taken up, and, through increase of population or otherwise, more is wanted, then all land has a value which will go on increasing as population and the demand due thereto increases; and to such increase there appears to be no limit save that those who want land must retain enough of what they have or earn barely to keep soul and body together. Hence, it follows that the value of land in any community at any given time measures both the natural differences in the quality or desirableness of land and also the need of the people of the community generally for land. If now we annually exact from each occupant of land a sum equal to what such land alone, irrespective of its improvements, would rent for, and if we divide annually the fund thus raised equally among all the people of the state, or apply it to the use of all, is it not evident that all the people will stand on equal terms, or substantially so, with reference to the

land? And if that is a result which justice requires us to bring about if possible, why are we not bound to make the exaction?

The fact that land has a value which is unearned by the occupant is no ground at all for exacting such value from him if the land is really his. But if it is not his, the fact that its value measures natural differences and the general need of the people for land enables us to do with great simplicity and with reasonable approximation to accuracy what otherwise (so far as now appears) there would be no practicable way of doing at all.

Such, in outline, is the argument based upon the principles of justice as distinguished from the principles of political economy, for the radical change of the positive laws which George advocates. It is next in order to test the strength of this argument by a general consideration of the objections that so far have been made to the proposed change.

Many objections are nothing more than evil consequences, which are anticipated if the change be made. In strictness, such considerations are irrelevant. Without attempting in any degree to lift the veil of the future, we can determine whether, according to admitted principles, George's proposition is just or not; if it is just, that itself is a sufficient reason for adopting it; and we may confidently leave the future to take care of itself. Still, before dismissing the consequences of the innovation in this way, it is natural that we should try to find out as well as we can what they are likely to be, and it is material to do so for the purpose of ascertaining whether we can discern from that point of view any flaw in the deductive reasoning which otherwise would escape observation.

Whatever else may happen, one beneficial result seems certain. Much land [w]hich is now held for the probable future [r]ise in value, but is unused and unimproved or nearly so, will be laid open to [a]ll who wish to use land. What the [s]peculative element in the present market [v]alue of land (*i. e.*, the element due to [t]he probability of increased demand in the [f]uture) amounts to, there are no data for [p]recisely determining. But the fact that [n]early the whole of our vast country has [al]ready been appropriated, and is now in [th]e hands of private owners, so that a [la]ndless man may go from the Atlantic

p. 7, col. 2

ocean to far beyond the Mississippi river, and from the Pacific to the great mountains, without finding a place where he can legally dig a hole in the ground for shelter or build a fire of sticks for warmth; the further fact that by very much the larger part of the immense area so appropriated (relatively to its capacity and judged by the standard of cultivation which exists in other parts of the world) is unused or but slightly used; and the further facts that come within our individual observation and experience—justify the inference that the speculative element in the present value of land must be very great. Whatever that element really amounts to, the proposed tax, if adopted, will wipe it out completely. Land will have no value save what is due to difference in natural qualities and general desirableness. No man will hold more land that then has value than is actually required for his purposes, and the pressure upon him will be toward improving what he holds to the utmost. No man will hold land which he cannot or does not wish to use; for if it is better than other land in use he must pay a tax measuring the difference in quality, for which he will receive no return; and if it is no better than the poorest other land in use there would be no motive for holding it, but rather a motive against holding by reason of the liability at all times that somebody wishing to use land may select that particular land, which would show that it had then become valuable, and be followed by the tax gatherer's claim. In brief, a very great body of land would become substantially free, and all the people of this country would stand, so far as abundance of natural opportunities is concerned, where their predecessors stood sixty or eighty years ago. Now, let any one put that result clearly before his mind and (waiving for the moment the justice or injustice of the means by which it is to be brought about) say whether or not it is a state of things very greatly to be desired. Can any other than an affirmative answer be given? Furthermore, the annihilation of the speculative element of value is likely to have a particular beneficial effect in and near large cities, where now the density of population presents a great and terrible and threatening problem

before which hitherto all the wisest and most humane of men have stood gasping and helpless. The importance of that problem may be judged of by those who will take the trouble to read the Rev. James O. S. Huntington's recent paper on "Tenement House Morality(1)." With a great population eager for better quarters (a population now so crowded in parts of New York city that on the average families of five persons occupy but three rooms, and 290,000 people find "homes" upon a single square mile of land) capitalists could make few better investments than by putting up comfortable houses for rent on vacant city and suburban lots, if from the value of such lots the speculative element were excluded. Houses would compete for men instead of men cutting each other's throats, as now, in the competition for houses.

Another result of the change that seems certain is that the burden of taxation upon productive industry would be materially lightened. Here also it is impossible to measure the amount of relief which would be given, for no statistics have been compiled with that object in view. The estimates of Professor Harris(2), based on the census, have in them a good deal of guesswork, but they will answer for present purposes. Taking his figures(3), the taxes now annually exacted for the support of the government are more than ten per cent of the wealth annually produced. Such taxes fall very lightly upon land values, being drawn chiefly from commodities and from houses and other real estate improvements. Being so large, they must seriously impede the production of houses, commodities, etc. If such taxes could be completely abolished, is it not probable that the building of houses, the making of commodities and industry generally would be greatly stimulated? According to Professor Harris's estimates a land value tax at four per cent would yield not more than fifty per cent of what is now raised. One-half of the present taxes taken from productive industry and put upon land values, where the tax could not in any manner affect production, would doubtless have an important stimulative effect. Professor Harris, however, in his estimates makes no deduction for the annihilation by the enactment of the new tax laws of the speculative element in land values; so that the amount that (according to his figures) could be taken off from the present objects of taxation would be much less than fifty per cent. Suppose it were but twenty per cent, would there not still be a substantial beneficial effect upon industry?

The advocates of George's plan believe that many other advantages would follow, the chief of which is the abolition of poverty for all who will work(4). It is enough to mention these only in this place.

What, now, is offered upon the other side? The disturbance and readjustment of investments would be proper to be considered in determining upon the most judicious method of bringing the change

[footnotes]

(1)*The Forum*, for July, 1887. Republished in Land and labor library.

(2)"Henry George's Mistake about Land." *The Forum*, for July, 1887.

(3)They are: Wealth annually produced, $7,300,000,000; annual taxes (national, state, county, township and district) $800,000,000; aggregate of land values (improvements excluded, $10,000,000,000[sic].

(4)In a series of articles on 'Land, Labor and Taxation[sic]," by Professor R. T. Ely of Johns Hopkins university, published in the *Independent* (December, 1887), George's plan was criticised as inadequate to accomplish all that is claimed for it. To this criticism George replied in his weekly journal, THE STANDARD (December 31, 1887), and pointed out, more clearly than he has elsewhere done, his reasons for supposing that the startling result stated in the text would follow. While Professor Ely denies that George's reasons for this conclusion are sufficient, it is easy to infer that, in his opinion, many very beneficial results would reasonably be anticipated; but, like most

Sic in the original; probably "(improvements excluded), $10,000,000,000.".
Sic in the original; probably ""Land, Labor and Taxation,"".

professional economists, he balks at the question of justice. The discoveries of the economists as to the nature of rent lie at the base of George's plan. With this acknowledgment I beg to be permitted to suggest that the economists would do well to drop the question of justice, stick to their proper functions, and tell us trankly[sic] and distinctly, with reasons, what the economic effect of George's plan, if adopted, would be. I conceive that as economists they have nothing to do with the question of justice. That question belongs to jurisprudence.

p. 7, col. 3

about; but, being temporary merely, they may be disregarded for all other purposes. So, also, we may pass over the effect of the destruction of the speculative element in land values; such destruction cannot affect the land itself, which will remain as useful in all respects as now.

It is claimed that George's plan involves a great extension of the ordinary functions of government, which would be evil. This claim seems to rest on the floating general notions and theories which are summed up in the words *laisser faire*. It is not necessary now to discuss the soundness or the limits of the principle of *laisser faire*, or how far it can properly be invoked when the question is of paying to a man or expending for his benefit money which is his of right; that is, when the question is of "establishing justice," for George's plan does not necessarily involve any immediate extension of the present functions of government. If there can be any reliance whatever on the census and Professor Harris's calculations, the aggregate of present land values, deducting nothing for the destruction of the speculative element, would not yield a tax equal to one-half the necessary expenses of government; and making that deduction the proceeds of the tax would very likely not equal one-quarter of those expenses. Population must greatly increase, therefore, and many years pass before any question of what to do with a surplus can arise. Till then the advantage to the people of the new tax would lie partly in the weight of other taxes being lessened, but chiefly in the opening up of natural opportunities. On the other hand, supposing the census and Professor Harris to be in error, if a surplus over the necessary expenses of government were at once to arise, it is arguable that the government would better throw it into the sea or make an annual bonfire of it than leave it to be a bounty, as it is now, upon the locking up of land. It would be open to the advocates of *laisser faire* to take that view, if they chose, and still to accept a substantial part of George's plan.

It is said that the plan logically leads to socialism, and that if it be adopted socialism will be the inevitable result. Those who say this, like the socialists themselves, make no distinction between land on one hand and the fixed capital, tools and instruments of production on the other, which the socialists would have the state take to itself. But if there be a valid distinction between land and these other things as subjects of property, the dread of socialism is groundless; and that there is such a distinction George tries to show. Hence this objection is out of place so long as the reasons for the distinction are not met and overthrown. We have always been socialistic to some extent, and apparently always must be so, more or less. We have the Erie canal, the Mississippi river improvement, public education, the protective tariff and the post office, all of which are socialistic; and yet we have not socialism. And we never shall have socialism so long as we hold fast to the principle that it is the natural right of every man to hold and enjoy whatever he can acquire without infringing upon the corresponding right of other men.

It is anticipated by some of George's critics, who, however, can have taken little pains to understand his plan, that it necessitates the sacrifice of the many great advantages which undoubtedly go with the system of private land ownership. That system as we have it took definite form about two centuries ago, when the last strong chain of feudalism was broken. Its establishment then marked a distinct advance in the development of the principle of personal liberty. Since that time it has been associated with many political and material improvements upon which all people of Anglo-Saxon lineage greatly pride themselves. Under it individuality and personal independence have been fostered. The security of possession, which is an element of it, exerts a powerful

Sic in the original; probably "frankly".

influence toward the making of lasting improvements and toward thorough cultivation of the soil. Other advantages of the system might be specified and admitted. But under George's plan houses and other improvements will be as secure as now. Individuality and personal independence will be promoted even more than now, for the land will be open to every man as a resource when all other resources fail. The plan threatens nothing that is good in the present system. Enumerate the present system's advantages, label them, tell them over one by one, and then point out any one that will not also exist if George's plan goes into effect. The matter may be tested thus: At present the tax on real estate falls in some small measure, say ¼ per cent, on the land value, and yet we have all the advantages of private ownership of land; now suppose the tax to be taken off the houses and other improvements, and that, instead of the ¼ per cent which now falls on land values, an amount equal to 4 per cent be levied; can any reason be given why we should not continue to have all that is advantageous in the present system?

Finally, it is said that the proposed tax would "ruin the farmers." The farmers for the most part are the descendants of the men who cleared this country of its forests, dug up the roots, piled the stones in strong walls, made the roads, and occasionally gave some attention to the savages while they were doing these other things. Is it the children of such men who are to be ruined? How are they to be ruined? Is it by having the land again free and open before them almost as their fathers had it? Surely they who say ruin do not measure their words; they must mean that the farmers will be "sort of" ruined. Let us consider what truth there is in the prophecy so modified.

The destruction of the speculative element in the value of land cannot hurt the farmers as a class. The farmers do not hold their land, as they do corn and potatoes, for sale. They hold it to use; and it will be every whit as useful when the speculative element of its present value is wiped out. Only such farmers as desire to sell their farms run any risk, and even then only if their purpose is to invest the proceeds otherwise than in land; for if they wish to buy another farm they will find its price has fallen proportionally. How many farmers are likely to wish to sell their farms and invest the proceeds other

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wise than in land? Are there more than one in a thousand? As to the burden upon the farmers of the tax on normal land values (*i. e.*, the value due solely to differences in fertility, situation and generally in desirableness), it should be remembered that by reason of cheap transportation, distance from market, so far at least as the great farming staples are concerned, is now in this country a very small factor in the value of land. It is said that the produce of Iowa farmers competes on favorable terms in the Eastern markets with the produce of Eastern farms grown three miles or more from a railroad station. So that the normal value of agricultural land will depend almost entirely upon differences in fertility and differences in situation so far as situation affects the production of garden products, and so far as one situation may be more desirable than another for residence. Now, these differences are not very large so far as the land which the needs of the present population require to be cultivated is concerned. Hence for a long time, till population shall have greatly increased and recourse shall so be made necessary to much poorer lands than are now in use, the normal value of agricultural lands would be small and the tax would be small. Moreover, whatever the tax may amount to, there will be an offset against it in that present taxes upon houses and other improvements and upon clothing, tools and other commodities which farmers do not produce, but have to buy, will be abolished or considerably reduced.

So much for the consequences. What will happen no man can foresee with certainty, but, so far as probability goes, there appears to be no reason why we should flinch from pronouncing the judgment upon the justice of George's plan which the argument would lead us to if consequences were left out of account altogether. We will now turn to objections of another sort.

Of all objections the one supported by the greatest authority, and most confidently relied on, is that the change cannot justly be made without compensating present landholders. This objection, because it is free from timorous

forebodings and appeals bravely to justice, deserves respectful and anxious consideration; yet it is difficult to express it in full without at the same time suggesting the obvious answer to it.

If the landholder be supposed to say, “The land is my property, just as my coat or my house is my property; manifestly you cannot take it or damage it without being bound to compensate me,” the obvious answer is, “Of course; but why talk of compensation? If the land is your property in the same unqualified sense that your coat or your house is, that fact alone makes an end of George.”

If it be said: “Admitting all that George claims; admitting that I have no better right to this land than all the rest of the people, yet I have always honestly thought that the land belonged to me exclusively; and upon the bona fide belief that that was so I have laid out much money and have labored the best part of my lifetime,” the obvious answer is, “You admit that the land is not yours. Why should others be kept out of their rights because of what you supposed? If another man had your horse and you demanded it, what would you think of him if he made such a claim as you do now? How long would his protestations of honesty and good faith, even though you fully believed them, keep you from having the law of him, if he did not give up the horse or pay you its value?”

If it be said, “Both the nation and the state by their agents have encouraged the people to buy land, and they have in that way derived great benefits; the nation by the federal constitution and the state by its constitution and statutes said to me that land could be acquired as absolute property; I believed those representations; I had no reason to suppose they were not true; I bought this land relying upon them; the nation and the state cannot now in common decency, to say nothing of justice, treat this land otherwise than as my absolute property; their mouth is shut by their own words,” the obvious answer is, “Assuming that you are right as to those representations being made, the same reasoning which shows that every man has a natural right to land, limited only by the equal right of other men, and that such right can be secured only by the government retaining the power to regulate the use of land so as to give all the people equal natural opportunities and keep them equal—the same argument which shows this shows also that the men who made the constitutions and statutes which you refer to could not rightfully otherwise declare, and that they could not in any manner effectually suspend or alienate that power of regulation; hence the men who, as you say, assumed in the name of the government to declare differently, exceeded their authority (as did that Louisiana legislature which attempted by contract to shave down the state’s sovereign power to make laws for the protection of the public health)(1), and you cannot have acquired any rights even as against the government by relying on their representations.”

If it be said, “George was not born when I bought this land, and nobody had thought of that reasoning then or knew the natural law was so; it is not fair that I should be made the victim of a discovery as to what the law is, made after I paid my well-earned money for the land,” the answer is almost too obvious to be written: “If the law is not declared in your case, nobody will believe the law is so; other men will buy land and base their calculations on it as you have done; and when the question comes up again they will say not only all that you say now, but they will point to the decision in your case, and, maybe, those who have to pass judgment then will feel bound by that decision, and so the error will become fixed past remedy except by bloody revolution; it often happens, when the law is found out to be different from what before it was understood to be, that somebody who had relied on the wrong understanding, suffers; the reports of the decisions of the courts contain many such cases; the judges are tormented by the hardship to the individ-

[footnote]

(1)Slaughter house cases[sic], *supra*.

p. 7, col. 5

Sic in the original; probably “footnote numbering restarts at (1) though c2 already has (1)-(4)”.

ual before them, but they must lay down the law as they see it to be, for their decision will affect the whole community for a long time; when a new mechanical invention, such as the steam engine, is introduced, much capital that had been theretofore invested shrinks greatly in value, and skilled artisans in the trades displaced by such invention can no longer find employment save as ordinary laborers; yet nobody is so foolish as to say that the invention ought not to be introduced unless the capitalists and artisans who will suffer by it are first compensated; what reason is there for any different rule when a discovery is made as tc[sic,81] what the law is? Remember, there are others than the landholders to be considered—those other men who now have no land, but who, you admit, have as good a title as you have; how is justice to be done to them if their rights are to be denied because you are not compensated?" Whatever way one turns the objection, the only real question appears to be whether the natural right of all men to the land and the inalienability of the governmental power to regulate its use are proved. If they are proved, such regulation as may be required to equalize natural opportunities cannot justly be prevented by failure to provide compensation for the present landholders.

To make sure, let us imagine two concrete cases which shall present the landholder's claim in as strong a light as possible.

1. Suppose a blacksmith to have saved from his hard toil $1,000, with which he has purchased a small house and lot of land, the house worth $500 and the land now worth $500. Plainly this house and lot stand to him precisely as did the $1,000 in the savings bank. They represent his labor, his thrift, his pluck, his temperance. Suppose, now, George's plan goes into effect, and then the blacksmith dies leaving orphan children with no other means of support than the proceeds of that house and lot, which will not realize but $600, the new system of taxation having wiped out $400 of the value of the land. Is this just?

2. Suppose a farmer to be in possession of outlying land which he has had no occasion to use and which was purchased by his grandfather from the government, all that the government asked having been paid for it. For nearly a hundred years the government has held the purchase money, has had the use of it, has had the chance to invest it at compound interest, so that now as against the government it may be deemed to have increased many fold. Meantime, by the growth of population, the land has become very valuable, so that were the farmer to sell it he would receive many times as much as his grandfather gave for it. Is it just that the government should now virtually take away the land without returning at least what it received therefor with fair interest? Consider the facts of these two cases well and see whether the question of justice which they raise does not depend upon remoter considerations. Suppose a wealthy capitalist were to bring an action of ejectment against the blacksmith's orphans, claiming that he had a better title. Would not the only question be whether he did have a better title? Can the decision of that question be affected in any manner by the hard case of the orphans or by the sterling virtues of their father? Everybody knows that such considerations must be rigorously pushed aside, and that, though the orphans appeal most powerfully to the capitalist from the side of charity and mercy, they must be cast in the suit unless his claim of better title fails; he must have his rights, if he insists; yea, if he demands it, the peremptory writ shall issue, though the orphans go upon the streets to beg in cold and hunger. So in the farmer's case, is it not the only question whether the title which the government patented to the grandfather was qualified or not? If that title is and always has been subject to the qualification that the government might at any time regulate the use of all the land within its jurisdiction so as to equalize the natural opportunities of all its people, destroying utterly this very title if necessary to accomplish that end, then the government itself as proprietor held the land before conveyance subject thereto; it conveyed no higher title than rightfully it could convey, no greater interest than itself possessed; and its grantees have had and enjoyed exactly what was paid for (viz., such title as the government had to convey), and of course cannot justly claim to have what was paid

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

returned either with or without interest. So here too the controversy shifts back to the one controlling question.

So far as the demands of justice are concerned, the objection that George's plan is barred by the claim of existing land holders to compensation is of precisely the same character, and of as little weight, as would be a suggestion to the supreme court of the United States that a statute ought not to be declared unconstitutional or the decision of a lower court overruled because such statute or decision had stood many years, and the community had supposed it to be valid, parting with their money and making their calculations in that belief. We say now that the man who puts his faith in a municipal ordinance assumes the risk that the ordinance may be found to conflict with the statutes of the state. We say now that he who relies upon a statute does so at the peril that the statute may be held unconstitutional. Why do not the reasons which lead to these conclusions also compel us to say that he who lays out his money and his labor in reliance upon our written constitutions does so at the peril that those constitutions may be found and declared to be violative of the principles of right which underlie all positive laws?

Other objections have been put forward against the proposed change of laws, but they all fall equally wide of the mark. A glance at three or four of them will show this.

It is said that there is still an abundance of unappropriated land in the west, and that in the east land is cheap a few miles from cities and railroads; that any one who craves land can get it by going to these places; and that, therefore, there is not, now at any rate, any just ground of complaint against the present system.

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Now, is not this a clear begging of the question? The argument for the change is, that all the people have an equal right to the land, and that, therefore, if one is permitted to have the exclusive occupancy and use of a particular parcel he ought to pay to those who are excluded from that parcel a sum of money representing the difference, in respect of desirableness, between that parcel and other land which is still open to them to occupy. How is this argument met by saying that other land is still open to occupation?

Again: it is said to be unfair that a poor man should have to pay as much for the use of the land on which his cottage stands as the wealthy man pays for the land on which he has erected a palatial residence or a stately warehouse, even though the land is equally valuable in the two cases. But why? If the poor man and the wealthy man went to the same hotel, and took equally good rooms, ought not one to pay for what he takes as much as the other, regardless of their means or the use they put the rooms to? The cases are parallel, unless there is a difference between the relation of the two men to the hotel and their relation to the land. This objection assumes that there is a difference without proving it, and, therefore, begs the only question there is.

We are also told that material progress makes the condition of all the people better; George, it is asserted, is mistaken in supposing that progress and poverty go hand in hand. Assume that George is wrong about this, what then? Suppose twelve men engaged as partners in a business which is very profitable; suppose that five of the twelve take many times as much of the profits as by the partnership articles they are entitled to; if the seven call upon the five to account, will it be open tc the five to say that they left so much of the profits untouched that the share of each of the seven was more than he could have got in any other business? George contends that the natural rights of men stand for partnership articles, so far as the land is concerned, and that by means of the legal institution of private property in land, some men take more than their just share of the profits according to the articles. The question is whether he is correct or not in that contention. A solution of this question is not helped by saying that every one makes a profit now and is going to make a larger one hereafter if we continue to progress.

Another objection is that the value of land generally is not more than, nor so much as, the values in labor and capital that have been put upon it since its first settlement. But labor and capital, when applied to land, no more make stable changes therein than when applied to any other matter. After a time the form which they give to land

and the changes they make in it, under the influence of natural forces, lose their distinctness, and eventually the land relapses to its natural condition unless additional labor and capital are laid out upon it. This is the tendency at all times. Hence it is immaterial how much labor and capital have been expended in the past upon a given parcel of land unless it can be shown that its present market value was caused wholly or partly thereby. Upon so much of present market value as can be shown to be due to this cause there would be no tax under George's plan.

It will serve no useful purpose to comment further upon objections. Enough has been said to make it clear that George's argument has not been understood. That being so, it would be strange if critics did not go astray in their objections.

Has every man, as against all other men, a natural right to land unlimited, save by the equal rights of others? Is it the primary function of government to secure to all its people their natural rights, including the right to land? Can government do this unless it is possessed of an inalienable power to regulate at will the use of land in any manner that may be adapted to that end? Is the legal institution of private property in land inconsistent with such inalienable power, and with such natural right? Will the exaction and application to common uses of economic rent secure the right? These are the questions upon which the justice of the proposed legislation depends. Till they shall have been understood, considered and argued by those competent to the task, it will never be truly said that George has been refuted. Meantime, with unquestionable sincerity, with remarkable energy and ability, and with the confidence which comes from unanswered reasoning, he is teaching the discontented masses of the people that they have a real grievance.

New York. SAMUEL B. CLARKE.

Our Cause.

Our mother earth, our home, our tomb, The end, the fountain head, Belongs unto the living, And not unto the dead. Not to the many, nor the few, Their brothers to enthrall; But by the gift of nature— The heritage of all.

Upon this universal truth All hopes of progress rest, As mountain ranges have their base Upon the earth's broad breast. Here is the common, solid ground Where all reforms must stand; And other wrongs will fail in strength When dies the wrong in land.

T. L.

Room for Sheep but None for Men.

Canada Presbyterian.

> Accounts are being sent from Lewis, where the recent raid on the deer forests was made, of most distressing poverty, resulting partly from the fact that men returned penniless from the east coast fishing, partly from an epidemic of measles, chiefly from the division and subdivision of the crofts. There is overcrowding in poor little townships scattered sparsely over leagues of country. Of arable land there is no lack, of pasture there is plenty, but sheep and deer have supplanted human beings, and now the old stock seems to be dying on the ground. The dwellings are in many cases rather like huts of Esquimaux than British homes. It is clear enough that neither the proprietors nor the country at large can settle the highland question by insisting that they obey the present law. As for emigration, the first question to be asked is whether the country will support the people. So long as the people see so many square miles lying about them practically unoccupied they will have difficulty in believing that there is not tyranny somewhere, especially if they are driven to leave their native land.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

Here is a New Year's greeting from the Pacific coast:

SAN LUIS OBISPO, Cal.—I inclose my subscription for 1888 and hope to have another subscriber's renewal to send soon, besides my mother's. My mother and I are subscribers for life. We can truly testify, from our own experience, to what Mr. George says, that "one of THE STANDARD'S chief services is that it brings the consciousness of support and companionship to those who *otherwise* could not but feel isolated." It seems impossible now to imagine the world without it. What a dreary pro-povertv[sic] world it was only a year ago, before this "herald angel" sang anew for us the heavenly anthem of "peace, good will." I lose patience sometimes when I find people actually believing in land tax doctrines yet having to be coaxed and urged to "support" such a paper, when they ought to be thanking God cn bended knees[83] for the glorious privilege of having it.

A people who could let such a paper fail would deserve to be slaves, *for they would* have proved themselves unworthy of freedom. Never, never, had humanity such an advocate to voice its cause. My mother and I have induced one of our newsdealers here to place a STANDARD show card in his window, and also one within his store, and to keep a copy of THE STANDARD for sale on condition of our redeeming those unsold at the end of each month. We were not able to pledge ourselves to more than one copy, but even that is a beginning.

I think the very hardest test Dr. McGlynn has named of devotion to the good cause was when he said to give up one's place in an anti-poverty meeting for the sake of making room *for* some one else who might become a convert. To us who read so far away of those heart stirring gatherings that seems an almost impossible self-denial; yet I hope we would stand *even* that test.

In a note I received not long ago from a lady in this *state* (a stranger to me) occurs this beautiful passage referring to those wonderful meetings: "Was there anything ever equal to those *soul stirring* lectures! They cover the holiest grounds, they teach the truest and purest religion, till I have thought within myself (*if such* things be) the Master is the silent, unseen, yet all powerful presence in those grand assemblages!" Are not those thrilling words! How can any one see more "politics" in a *movement* that inspires such a feeling?

With renewed hope and faith in the future, with warmest wishes for THE STANDARD'S coming year and grateful thanks for what it has been to us of instruction and comfort and inspiration in the year just past, in which my dear mother joins, Very truly yours,

MRS. FRANCIS M. MILNE.

Sic in the original; probably "pro-poverty".
Sic in the original; probably "on bended knees".

There's a whole sermon of argument, exhortation and appeal in such a letter as that.

CUSTER CITY, Pa.—The tracts which I ordered a short time ago, and which have been scattered where it was thought they were most likely to bear fruit, are beginning to give promise of fair returns, as witness the inclosed list of subscribers that have come to me as the result of a little persuasion and explanation of some things which were perplexing to the minds of the infant class in the Georgean school of political economy.

When I find a man opposed to the whole scheme as utterly impractical and anxious to argue the point I smile to myself and say mentally, "You are my victim." And so far I have been right eight times out of ten. I am at liberty now, so I can give a little attention to the cause of emancipation, and hope to show the result of my efforts in a goodly subscription list soon to be added to this.

Please send me some sample copies of THE STANDARD, to be used among members of the assembly as also for general distribution. I have read every copy of THE STANDARD since February 19 last, buying from one to three copies weekly at the news stands in our sister city of Bradford.

Besides the subscriptions I inclose list of recruits to whom I want THE STANDARD sent for four weeks.

G. W. PATTERSON.

LOUISVILLE, Ky.—The new views now obtaining in regard to land and labor reforms are gradually drawing to their advocacy the more thoughtful and better part of men in all conditions of life; that part which weighs and measures the values of things by the invariable standard of truth and justice, and whose forward movement in accord with that standard knows no shadow of turning. They are the men to whom righteousness and brotherhood are not mere names for a party cry, but grand, natural principles which should be woven into the life of man, and by which he will achieve the highest triumphs of political and social reform. But though we confidently believe that these views are now steadily making way, and are destined, in the near future, to acquire a momentum of their own which no opposition can withstand, we realize how necessary and important it is at the present time that they should be more quickly and extensively diffused among the people by means of the land and labor literature. We, therefore, urge every one whose heart and mind fully sympathizes with the new movement to assume the obligation of purchasing and distributing THE STANDARD tracts so far as his means will allow. For ourselves we stand pledged to purchase and distribute, within the year, 1,500 tracts or more. Now, if those called upon will wake up, cheerfully put their shoulder to the wheel and send to THE STANDARD office a similar pledge we believe that some millions of tracts can soon be spread abroad, independent of other efforts. We also suggest to every STANDARD subscriber that after each paper has been read it should be made to do double duty by giving it to a friend, or leaving it at a barber's shop, hotel office, restaurant or other place where it may find readers. Moreover, we would ask all STANDARD readers who can so afford to purchase a copy of "Progress and Poverty," "Social Prblems[sic]" and "Protection or Free Trade?" and start them on a free circulating tour, writing on the face of each book the injunction: "This book is given to be read on condition that the recipient shall continue to transfer it to another for the same purpose."

B. GROVE & SONS.

These are two out of the many letters we receive from people who are utilizing the tracts of the land and labor library as a means of spreading the gospel of freedom. They point the way to very useful work.

Rightly used, the land and labor library is a perfect arsenal of weapons for the soldiers of the new crusade. Among the sixty-four tracts already issued may be found arguments, appeals and statements of fact adapted to men and women of almost every occupation and degree of social comfort. To the man who simply wants to know what it is we propose and why we propose *it*, King's[sic] "Case Plainly Stated" is a veritable mine of information. To one who ridicules our proposal as impracticable, such tracts as "Sailors' Snug Harbor," "New York's Docks," and "The Collegiate Church" will be a sufficient answer. The doubting Roman Catholic may be persuaded by Bishop Nulty's "Back to the Land;" the agriculturist will profit by "The American Farmer;" the storekeeper will be interested in "How to Increase Profits;" the trades unionist or Knight of Labor in Everett Glackin's "What We Want;" the lawyer in any one of Thomas G. Shearman's essays; the clerk or bookkeeper in "My Landlord;" the clergyman in the various addresses by Hugh O. Pentecost, Dr. McGlynn and S. H. Spencer. It would hardly be possible to name a man or woman in any vocation for whom some specially suitable tract cannot be found.

Use the tracts. Use them freely; but use them understandingly. When you

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write to a friend inclose a tract, but don't do it hap-hazard, picking up the first one on top of the pile. Study your friend's character a little; attack him at his weakest point; select a tract that you think will least offend his prejudices and most easily affect his judgment. And in the same way, when distributing tracts by hand, endeavor to select those most suitable to the people and the occasion.

And in order that you may do this effectually, be sure to keep a well assorted supply of tracts on hand; and read the new one's as fast as they appear.

Here is a pleasant note from the Episcopal bishop of central New York. There are quite a number of other bishops, and not a few laymen, who might read it with profit:

BOSTON, Jan. 9.—In inclosing my subscription to THE STANDARD for next year, I can not refrain from expressing to you my personal regard and sympathy. For sincerity of purpose, fidelity to principle, patience in explanations, fair and dispassionate treatment of opponents, masterly statement and uncompromising earnestness, your editorials constantly remind me of the *Liberator*. I rise from my weekly perusal of THE STANDARD with larger hope and strengthened purpose. Not because I am able to share all your views or to approve all your methods, but for the reason that I am stirred by your pirit[sic] and share in your humane aspirations.

On the tariff issue nothing is more refreshing than your clear cut, consistent and logical treatment, after the wishy-washy, give and take, half hearted, "practical" expressions of the best papers on the side of tariff reform. These papers are conspicuous examples of how to chill enthusiasm, discourage plain speaking and to keep political economy on the dismal science plane. The single tax plan touches my convictions forcibly, while I am yet unable to see in it the panacea for poverty. That it would enlarge opportunity for labor I cannot doubt.

Your manly attitude on the woman suffrage question and your assertion of the rights of the individual as against the socialistic scheme are worthy of you.

If I may offer a word of criticism, I think your true function that of a reformer and not of a party leader. Reform permits absolute truth speaking, and is undisturbed by prophecies of evil consequences, knowing that right

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Sic in the original; probably "Social Problems".
Sic in the original; probably "Ring's (the tract is by H. F. Ring; INDEX notes only a damaged g)".
Sic in the original; probably "spirit".

principles work out just results. Politics is a game of compromise, a question of numbers, a balancing of chances, a paring *down of testimony*, a matter of policy, an undue valuation of the present.

One is magnificent and compatible with a handful of followers. The other is ridiculous unless multitudinous. The moral warfare duly begets the political.

But I began simply to send you my word of respect and appreciation, and am, sincerely your well wisher,

WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Whenever I see THE STANDARD I find something in it worth reading, and not found anywhere else. I therefore subscribe for the paper for '88, and inclose what appears to be its price. Faithfully yours,

F. D. HUNTINGTON.

WACO, Texas.—Inclosed find $2.50 to renew my subscription to THE STANDARD. Times are harder here than they have been for fourteen years. But I hope to send you several subscribers. I am doing what I can with voice, pen and money. I am in for the war.

J. L. CALDWELL.

DEMING, N. M.—Inclosed find remittance, for which send me two more papers besides the one you are now sending. Your paper was loaned to me by a friend. My attention was riveted at once, and now I cannot do without it. I am a working woman, and an old woman. I quit my work last week because it kept me busy long hours every day and Sunday, and gave me no chance to go around with your tracts. I have got two subscribers and sold one "Progress and Poverty."

JANE BIGGS.

RED WING, Minn.—I inclose a renewal of my subscription. I have read THE STANDARD from the first issue. It is my Sunday reading. It is the gospel to me.

WILLIAM DANIELS.

There are still a few of last year's subscribers to THE STANDARD who have not renewed their subscriptions. Are you one of them?

This is what THE STANDARD costs its subscribers:

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.

The contributions to the recruiting fund for the week have been:

Augustin Blair, Cchoes[sic], N. Y..... $1 00 C. D. Conklin, Cleveland, O..... 1 25 Ida Hibbard, Roselle, N. J..... 3 00 Colin Timmons, Aspen, Col..... 2 00 Calvin A. Beltz, Mauch Chunk, Pa..... 65

Total for the week..... $7 90 Previously acknowledged.....$2,042 71

Total to date.....$2,050 61

A State Within a State.

Correspondence New York Times.

There are already three great private game parks in Pike county, Pennsylvania—the Blooming grove park, with 12,000 acres in fee and as many more controlled absolutely by lease, the Forest and lake association, owning 6,000 acres, and the Wescoline club, with nearly 7,000 acres.

The charter of the Blooming grove park association that the Pennsylvania legislature was asked to grant was drawn by David Dudley Field, and the extraordinary provisions of the document aroused the strongest opposition to it among careful legislators.

The charter makes of Blooming grove park an empire within itself. It is independent of the general laws of Pennsylvania, with the exception of capital crimes and misdemeanors. The association has power to make its own game laws regardless of the laws of the state regulating game and fish interests. Its members may hunt deer with hounds, either in its own or its leased lands, or fish when they please, on Sunday, or any other day, and defy the constituted authorities of the state or county to interfere with them; while a native hunter over the park line, a rod from where a member of the park may be watching his dogs surrounding and fighting a deer he has wounded, may be arrested, fined and even imprisoned if he is seen in possession of a deer with dogs at his heels. The members of the Blooming grove park association may have race horses, enjoy cock fighting, dog fighting, prize fighting and any other sport prohibited by the *law of* Pennsylvania, with like immunity and defiance. No license to keep liquors at their club house can be required of them. The association appoints and swears in its own constabulary, and the *unsupported oath of one of these* officers is sufficient to convict any citizen of this county of violation of the association's laws and inflict on him the heaviest of fines or a term of imprisonment in the county jail and at the county's expense if the fine cannot be paid. All residents of the county are warned against trespassing on the park grounds under heavy penalty, but members of the association may hunt and fish with impunity on the wild lands outside their domain. The charter of the association, in short, gives to citizens of another state a condition of perfect freedom and exemption from the force of laws which all citizens of

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Pennsylvania are bound to obey, and the exclusive and peculiar *protection* and autocratic power granted by the Pennsylvania legislature to the New York gentlemen who are the association were never before permitted to any organization in this or any other country.

===

Sic in the original; probably "Cohoes".

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

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THE ACADEMY OF MUSIC,

SUNDAY EVENING, JAN. 29.

ADDRESS

by

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A LIVE CHRISTIANITY.

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By order of Executive Committee.

WM. J. ATKINSON, President.

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by

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[Advertisement] Charles B. Schaidner, Photographer

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22[3?]0 Third avenue, cor. 124th street, New York.

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

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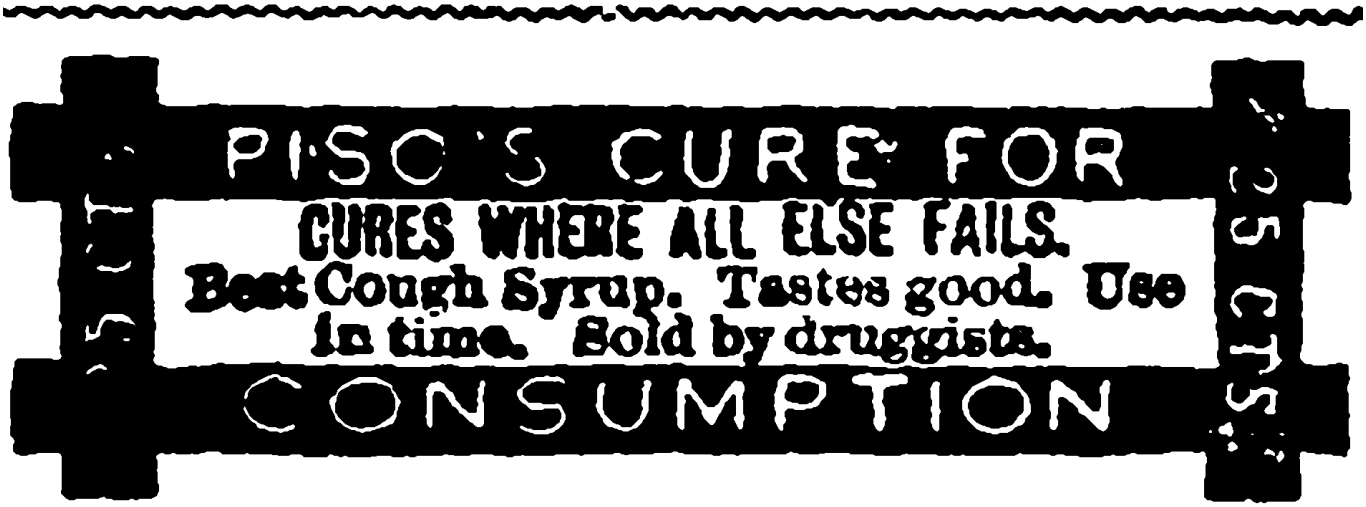
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1[25?] Fourth avenue,

Bet. 13th and 14th sts.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[Advertisement] Piso's Cure for Consumption



p8_fig1

[Cartoon: display advertisement, white lettering on a black frame, with "25 CTS." set vertically at each end]

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CONSUMPTION

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[Advertisement] Canned Goods, Organized Labor



p8_fig2

[Cartoon: round can-bottom stamp reading "HAND MADE C.M.P.A." in white on black, with display lettering at right]

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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_fig3

[Cartoon: T-shaped black logo with white lettering “THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA COMPANY”, the word TEA set vertically]

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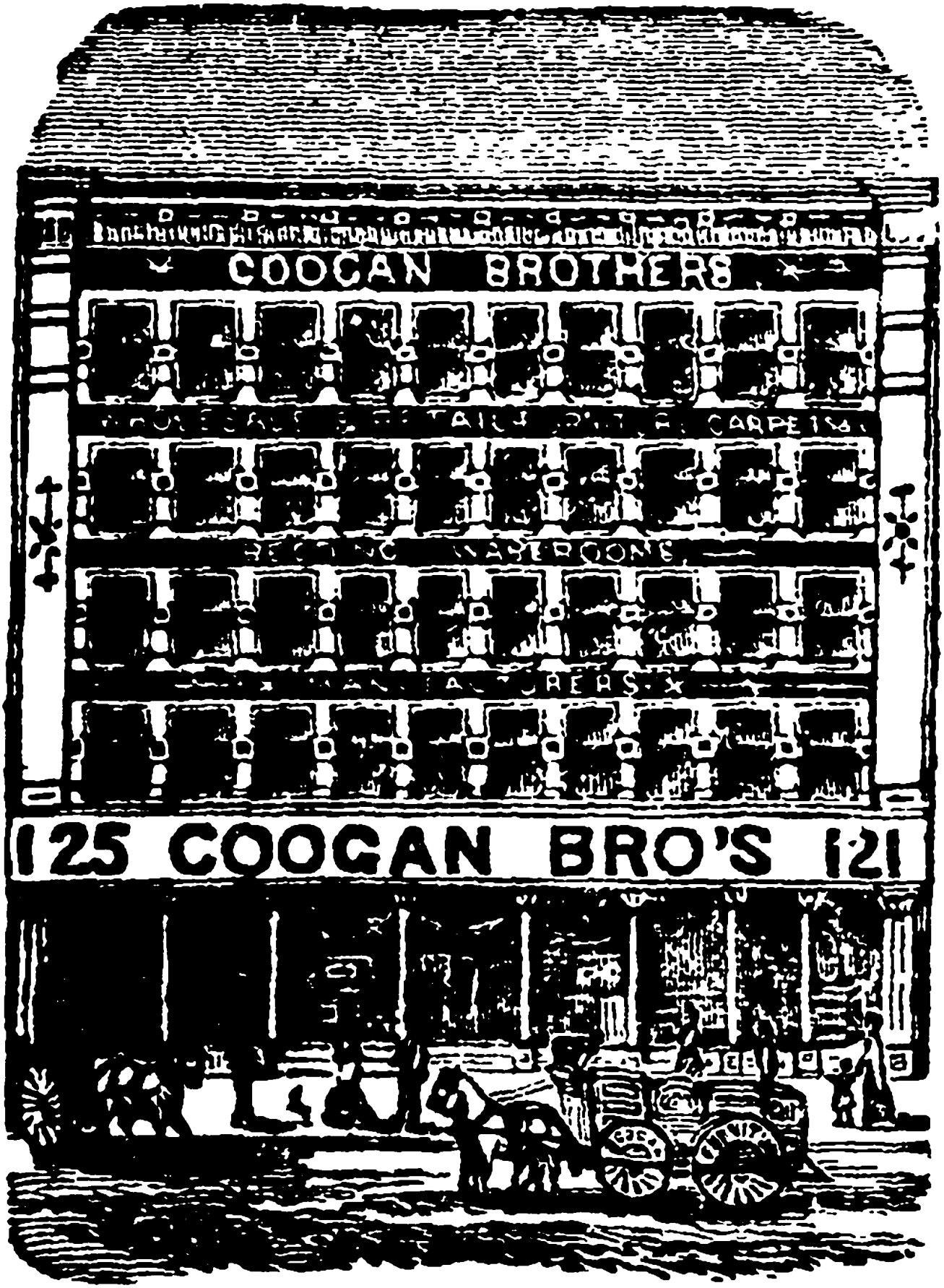
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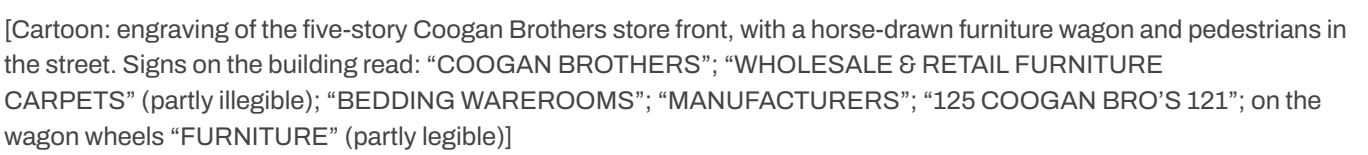
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[Advertisement] Coogan Bros.


COOGAN BROTHERS
125 COOGAN BRO'S 121

p8_fig4



[Cartoon: engraving of the five-story Coogan Brothers store front, with a horse-drawn furniture wagon and pedestrians in the street. Signs on the building read: “COOGAN BROTHERS”; “WHOLESALE & RETAIL FURNITURE CARPETS” (partly illegible); “BEDDING WAREROOMS”; “MANUFACTURERS”; “125 COOGAN BRO’S 121”; on the wagon wheels “FURNITURE” (partly legible)]

COOGAN BROS.,

CARPET AND FURNITURE DEALERS,

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[Advertisement] Concord Co-operative Printing Company

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47 and 49 Center st., N. Y.

BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

[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.

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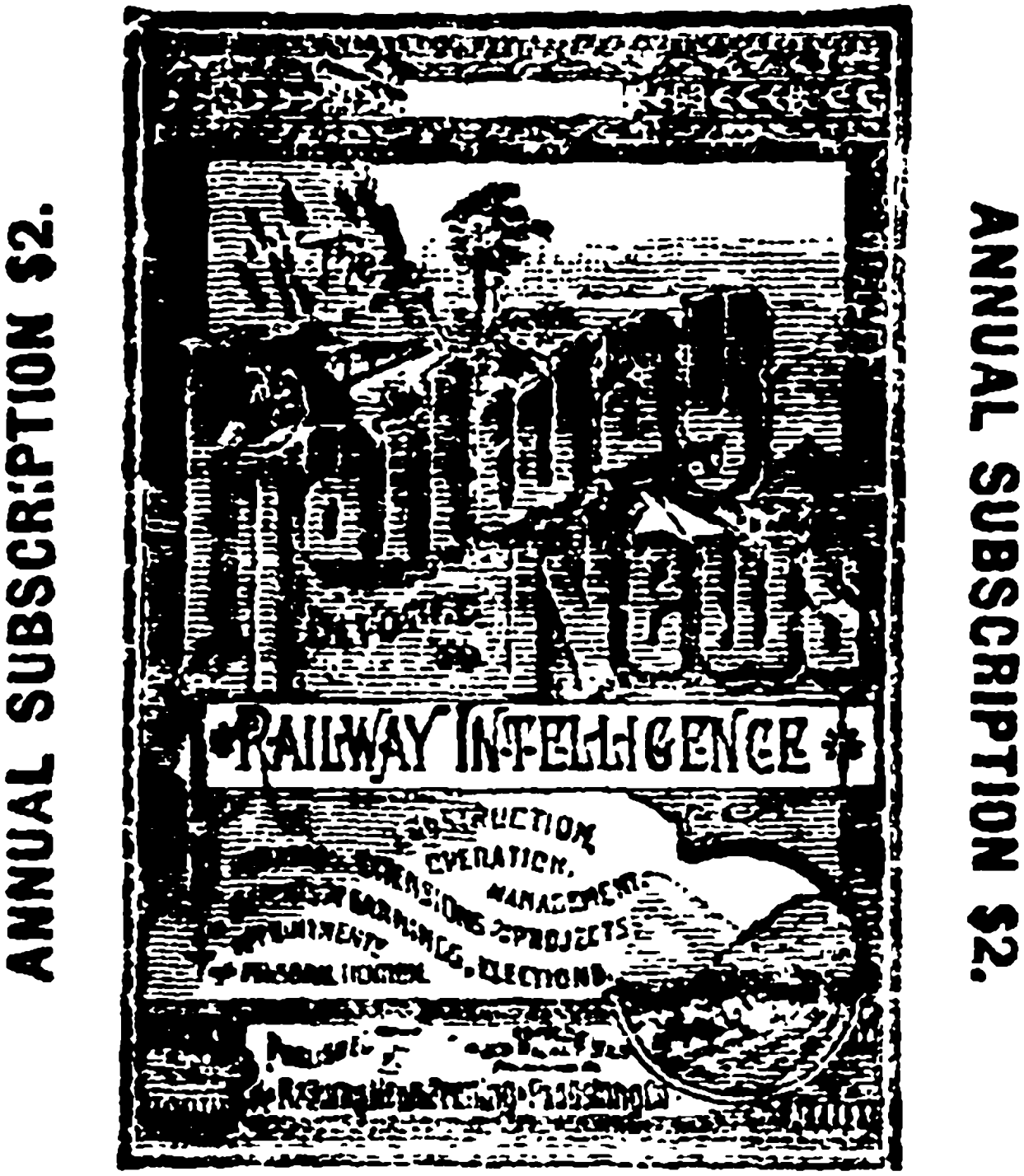
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[Advertisement] The Railway News



p8_fig5

[Cartoon: engraved cover of the magazine The Railway News, flanked by the words “ANNUAL SUBSCRIPTION $2.” set vertically on each side. Legible lettering on the cover: “The RAILWAY NEWS”; “DEVOTED TO” (partly legible); “RAILWAY INTELLIGENCE”; on a banner “CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION, MANAGEMENT, EXTENSIONS, EARNINGS, PROJECTS, APPOINTMENTS, PERSONAL [illegible], ELECTIONS” (partly legible); publisher’s imprint at foot [illegible]]

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[Advertisement] McGill, Cabinet Photos

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[Advertisement] Braham's, 212 Bowery



p8_fig6

[Cartoon: display banner, white lettering on black]

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p8_fig7

[Cartoon: display banner, white ornamental lettering on black]

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p8_fig8

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

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NEW PUBLICATIONS.

[Advertisement] Popular Edition, Protection or Free Trade?

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p8_fig9

[Cartoon: display heading in ornamental black-letter: “Henry George’s Buch” / “Fortschritt und Armuth”]

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[Advertisement] 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 [ac]tive aid in the movement, are requested to comm[u]nicate with the State Organizers of their respectiv[e] states, as follows:

California—Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco. Connecticut—Robert Pyne, 284 Asylum st., Hartford. Eastern Pennsylvania—Henry George club, box 190, Philadelphia. Indiana—Warren Worth Bailey, Vincennes. Kentucky—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box 406, Cincinnati. Louisiana—Jere. J. 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,

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Sic in the original; probably "reforms".

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

[Advertisement] Illinois

ILLINOIS.—Readers of the "Standard" in the state of Illinois, and all others interested in the great principles it advocates, are requested to send names and addresses to W. H. Van Ornum, president of land and labor club No. 1, Room 65, 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.

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

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

[Advertisement] 23rd Assembly District

23RD ASSEMBLY DISTRICT MEETS every Monday evening. German speaking members every Tuesday evening at Vincent hall, 1[illegible] Third avenue, corner 105th street. Open every evenin[g] for enrollment of members. Thursday and Saturda[y] evenings free debates of the Progress and Poverty clu[b.]

[Advertisement] Voters of Maryland

VOTERS OF MARYLAND WHO AR[E] desirous to aid in propagating the principles [of] the united labor party, as set forth in the New Yor[k] platform, adopted at Syracuse, Aug. 19 are requeste[d] to send their names and addresses to

JOHN SALMON,

[415?] N. Eutaw st., Baltimore, Md.

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
2	A Nut for Protectionists to Crack.	from [public?] revenues	for public revenues (reading uncertain)
6	A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.	pop-erty (transcribed [property?])	property
6	A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.	endcved (transcribed [endowed?])	endowed
6	A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.	jurisdictior (transcribed [jurisdiction?])	jurisdiction
6	A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.	'rop-erty (transcribed [property?])	property
6	A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.	i'consistent (transcribed [inconsistent?])	inconsistent
6	A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.	broken glyph (transcribed [to?])	to
6	A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.	destruave (transcribed [destructive?])	destructive
6	A REPLY TO CRITICISMS.	always [as?] though / to [be?] self-evident (gap under crease)	always as though … to be self-evident
8	[PUBLISHER'S NOTES: letters on distributing tracts, with adv	damaged letters in 'already'	already
8	[PUBLISHER'S NOTES: subscribers' letters, including William	damaged T in THE	THE
8	A State Within a State.	damaged letters in 'exception'	exception
8	A State Within a State.	damaged t in 'state'	state
8	A State Within a State.	damaged r in 'charter'	charter
8	AUTOCOPYIST	damaged w in 'New York'	New York
8	POPULAR EDITION. PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE?	damaged qu in 'question' (reads o'estion)	question
8	HEAVEN AND HELL,	damaged i in 'This'	This
8	ANTI-POVERTY DOCTRINES IN A NUTSHELL.	damaged s in 'stamps'	stamps
8	THE SINGLE TAX.	damaged T in 'Single Tax'	Single Tax

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