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58 notes: 58 misprints. Uncertain readings are in [brackets?]. Original spelling and misprints are kept as printed.

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About this text (5 notes on this issue)

- `[word?]` is a best guess; `[illegible]` means unreadable. Line-end hyphens are joined. Misprints are kept as printed; letters judged to be broken type are written as intended but listed among the misprints (marked “broken type”).
- p1: subscriber’s address stamp and pencil notes over top left hide the issue number in the dateline (“[stamp obscures]”) and part of the headline “PERSO[NAL AN?]D”. Blot in c3 (“declar[ing?] [the?]”).
- p3: long extract from *Protection or Free Trade?* set in a blockquote although body-size type. Vertical crease in lower c3 (“The Attack in New York”), damaged letters restored without being listed. Vote counts 36–18 (World) vs 36–22 (Daily News), kept as printed. Whoriskey (p3) / Whorisky (p4).
- p7: No. 52 Swedish tract printed under GERMAN TRACTS as well as SWEDISH. Smudged figures at the right edge of c6 and “[$55?]”/“[$60?]” in the Bill Nye item.
- p8: Sugar Trust tables (T. E. Willson): “$32,958,736” should come to …726; “$58,272,938” should be …908; text $6,087,631 vs table 6,087,632. Many [?] in small-type ad addresses and the La Abra figures.

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THE STANDARD
HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

p1_fig1

[Display nameplate: THE STANDARD]

THE STANDARD

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

NO. [stamp obscures] VOL. III, NO. 7. | NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 1888. | PRICE FIVE CENTS

[A diagonal subscriber's address stamp, not part of the printed page, is set over the top of column 1 and obscures part of the dateline and the first headline: "Dr Walter / Mendelson 10[?] / 209 W. 40th St". Pencil notes, also not printed, appear above the nameplate at the left.]

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PERSO[NAL AN?]D POLITICAL.

The discussio[n a?]t the meeting of the Brooklyn county committee of the united labor party on Tuesday evening of last week, Dr. McGlynn's speech at the meeting of the down-town branch of the Anti-poverty society on the following Thursday evening, and various utterances and expressions which have since been made through the press, make it necessary, in justice to myself and to my friends, that I should speak of matters thus brought up with greater frankness than I have hitherto cared to use, either in talking through these columns with the readers of THE STANDARD, or in replying by letter to those who have written me on the subject of the coming presidential campaign.

For some little time past an effort has been made, rather by insinuation and innuendo than by direct statement, to put me in the position of abandoning principle, for the purpose of helping the democratic party. In THE STANDARD of the last issue but one I printed two letters from the west, in which I was remonstrated with for turning away from principle, and it was intimated in the "they are saying" style that I was engaged in "making a deal" with the democratic party. I did not feel it necessary in commenting upon these intimations to go [further?] than the obvious considerations which were suggested by their face. In the general review of the political situation from our standpoint, of which I made these letters the text, I merely pointed out that—

> If it be assumed that our not running a ticket will be to the advantage of the democrats, it must also be assumed that our running a ticket will be to the advantage of the republicans. If, then, our refusal to run a ticket is to give rise to charges that we have sold out to the democrats, how much more certain is it that, if we do run a ticket, we will be charged with having been paid by the republicans to do so, and thus in the eyes of those who at other times might be disposed to act with us, be placed in the same contemptible

> position in which the Butler campaign landed the greenback labor party, that of being a mere jackal and catspaw for the republicans?

This was as far as I cared to go, even under considerable provocation, in alluding to a matter that has been an important consideration in my thought and in the thought of some of us here in New York who have been in a position to really understand what lay beneath the proposition to run a candidate on a don't-touch-the-tariff-question platform. This was as far as I had expected in any event to go, or to be compelled to go, for I felt, not merely an indisposition to anything like the public "washing of dirty linen," but a very strong reluctance to assume an attitude that should savor of unfriendly opposition to Dr. McGlynn.

That same reluctance I feel now. But since the charges to which the letters of Mr. Williams and Mr. Bailey gave me opportunity in some sort to reply have not only been put in more direct and more tangible form by the gentleman who is managing secretary of the committees that constitute all the state and general organization which the united labor party has, but have been vehemently re-echoed in the Anti-poverty society and through the press by Dr. McGlynn himself, I should do injustice not only to myself but to others if I did not speak more freely and frankly.

Of Mr. Barnes's asseverations of a friendship and intimacy, which, however much they may have existed for a while, have for some time ceased to exist, and of the fly-on-the-chariot-wheel egotism which leads him to claim credit for my nomination for mayor or for my refusal of the offer of a seat in congress, it is not worth while to speak. The statement to which all this was intended to give weight and point, was that in response to a question from him, I had declared that if a united labor party candidate were nominated this year on the Syracuse platform I would not support him. In form this is not true. In spirit it is untrue. For what Mr. Barnes sought to convey, and did convey, to the Brooklyn committee, was the same idea which has since been substantially repeated by Dr. McGlynn—that I was primarily bent on the support of Mr. Cleveland, and for this reason had deliberately turned away from the principles of the Syracuse platform.

With the exception of a few casual words on one of the days immediately succeeding the election, in which I understood Mr. Barnes to express the belief that the result of that election had made hopeless any idea of our entering the presidential campaign, the only conversation in which he could have heard anything like this from me was a conversation in which a number of gentlemen took part. In a communication published in the *Herald*, Mr. Barnes, reiterating the statement, says I made the declaration to him in the presence of Mr. John McMackin and others. Thus there can be no doubt that it was this conversation he had in mind. And since Mr. Barnes in his course in this matter has the support of Dr. McGlynn and Mr. McMackin, whatever tacit obligation I might otherwise have been under as to speaking of such a conversation is now removed.

There were present at this conversation,

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which took place at 28 Cooper Union, about five or six weeks after the election, Dr. McGlynn, Mr. Barnes and Mr. McMackin, who constitute the land and labor committee, and (as the majority of the five) virtually the executive committee of the state committee; and Mr. Louis F. Post, Mr. W. T. Croasdale, Mr. J. W. Sullivan and myself. It was a little informal conference or "talk over," called by Dr. McGlynn, at my request, made as soon as I found the serious divergence as to policy that existed between us. If any of us last named have any claim to be considered "leaders" of the united labor party or anti-poverty movement, this is the only conference or

consultation that has yet taken place between these "leaders" on this most important matter. If any other consultations have been held, they have not included any of us.

At this informal conference, the talk ran not so much on nominating a presidential candidate, as on what was really the more fundamental and primary question of platform, and on the manner and terms of the call for the nominating assemblage. The plan of the members of the committee as then developed to us was to ignore the tariff question—to declare in the platform and assume on the stump that the masses of the people had no concern either with protection or free trade. It was after my protest against this that I was asked—not by Mr. Barnes, but by Dr. McGlynn—not whether I would support a presidential candidate of the united labor party if he were nominated on the Syracuse platform, but, whether I would be satisfied to go into the national campaign on the Syracuse platform. To this I responded that I would not. I am not in the habit of sailing under false colors, or of hiding from friend or foe my real sentiments on important public questions; and even if I had deemed the Syracuse platform sufficiently explicit on all points for a national campaign, it would have become unsatisfactory the moment it was proposed to use it to straddle a vital issue.

The plan of the committee as developed to us was, further, to call, not a conference, but a convention, and to make the terms of the call such as would exclude any but those prepared to go into the presidential contest. There was no objection on our part to the calling of a national conference, but there was strong objection to forestalling the proper function of that conference by calling at once a convention, and especially to the proposed exclusion in the terms of the call. It was further intimated that the states in which it was proposed to make a vigorous campaign were New York, New Jersey, Connecticut and Indiana—the four states namely in which we might help to give electoral votes to the republicans. The object of this was not denied. It was asserted that the democratic party was our bitter enemy, and that what we ought to try to do in practical politics was to aid the republicans to beat it. And, lastly, it was suggested that the word labor ought to be retained in the name of the party—the significance of which, while we had some inkling of it at the time, has more fully appeared since.

Instead of reconciling differences, this conversation merely showed the irreconcilable nature of the difference that existed. Messrs. Post, Croasdale, Sullivan and myself left with the clear conviction that what the central committee of the land and labor party were thinking of really amounted to nothing more nor less than the Butlerizing of the united labor party and the turning of the political side of the anti-poverty movement into a republican annex, which might in the coming campaign help to assure protectionism a new lease of plunder and a new opportunity to rivet its bonds on the people of the United States.

I am not to be understood as questioning motives, and especially the motives of a man for whom I have so sincere a respect as I have for Dr. McGlynn. He has no bias toward protectionism and no special love either for Mr. Blaine or for the republican party. He is a free trader, with clear convictions of the absurdity and impolicy of protection, and was a political friend and efficient supporter of Mr. Cleveland in his first election. What is mainly influencing him, as was obvious from his remarks in this conversation, is his not unnatural hostility toward the "ecclesiastical machine," which he seems to think is identified, in our cities at least, with the democratic party, and his belief that a presidential campaign during which, in at least the four states named, means might be found to hold meetings and keep speakers traveling, would afford a good opportunity to preach the doctrine of the "land for the people."

I do not question Dr. McGlynn's motives, but for my part I claim the right to take a different view. There are, to my mind, things of much more importance than the "ecclesiastical machine," and I am not ready to sacrifice principle for the opportunity to preach principle. I am not ready to do what I clearly feel to be evil in the hope that good may come. I am not ready to eat my words and to stultify my record. I am not ready to become the stalking horse

and decoy duck of any political combination. I have never quarreled with nor denounced Dr. McGlynn because of his opinions. Yet it is because I have refused to surrender not merely my opinions but my firm

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convictions that he has assumed to excommunicate me from the united labor party and to declare that, if ever permitted to come back, it must be to take a much humbler position. If the doctor will think he will find it difficult to imagine a much humbler position than that which, out of deference to him and an indisposition to have any difference with him, I have for some time occupied—that of an ostensible leader in a party in whose managing counsels I have been utterly ignored.

The protest of Messrs. Post, Croasdale, Sullivan and myself, made at the conversation of which I have spoken, against the programme of the committee—and especially the emphatic denials on the part of Messrs. Post and Croasdale of any authority on the part of the committee to issue a call for a nominating convention instead of a conference or to prescribe a test that would exclude those not in favor of nominating—seemed to give the committee pause; and the call, which we were informed was to have been issued in a few days, has not yet to my knowledge appeared. I have had no further information of the plans of the committee or of what they have been doing, but it has been plain from what has since occurred that the disposition to thus turn the united labor party into a republican side show has strengthened, not weakened, though our refusal to lend ourselves has made it much more difficult, and opinions adverse to any attempt to enter national politics this year have been gaining ground. It has been evident from the columns of THE STANDARD that the more thoughtful and influential men of the party all over the country have, even without any knpwledge of the inside purpose of the committee, been coming to the conclusion that it would be impolitic for the united labor party to run a presidential campaign this year, and that a very great number even of those who are disposed to stand up and be counted are not prepared to ignore the tariff question. The recent letter of Judge Maguire, who has been much talked of as an available presidential candidate, in which he declared against going into the presidential campaign, must have been to the committee especially indicative of the drift of opinion. It is this consciousness of losing ground which I think led to the open and deliberate attack which was begun in the Brooklyn county committee last Tuesday night. At a previous meeting of the New York county committee a resolution drawn by Mr. Barnes declar[ing?] [the?] determination of the party "not to be diverted by any issue of tariff tinkering from exclusive and unswerving support of the fundamental reforms set forth in the Syracuse platform," was railroaded through without the members seeing its real import, and before the committee had, in fact, organized. In the Brooklyn committee, where Mr. Barnes has a seat and Mr. Wilder, a staunch Blaine protectionist, is chairman, it was evidently determined to put forth this policy in stronger form, and to back it up by a formal reading of me out of the party. Mr. Barnes having begun, Dr. McGlynn followed at the branch anti-poverty meeting on Thursday night.

Mr. Barnes and Dr. McGlynn have assumed to put me in the position of one who has turned aside. But is it not really they who have changed?

Up to the time when the election returns showed that we had but 70,000 votes when we had expected 150,000, it was assumed almost as a matter of course that we would enter the national field in the presidential campaign; but whatever might have been thought by such half converts as Mr. Wilder, no one intelligently acquainted with the principles we had asserted ever dreamed of ignoring the tariff question in a national campaign. I, certainly, never heard such an idea breathed. On the contrary it was expected that we would be THE free trade party, and as it was assumed that the democratic party would still try to shirk the tariff issue, we believed that by raising the standard of unqualified free trade in the national campaign we would call to its support many from both old parties that we could not at first attract in any other way.

As for the Syracuse platform, I was the chairman of the committee that drafted it and reported it, and no one who knows me will dream that I would have been a party to anything which was in the nature of a compromise between protectionism and free trade in a national campaign. The principle of free trade is stated in abstract in the Syracuse platform, but the campaign for which it was made being purely a state campaign, no one thought it necessary when no question of principle was involved to run any risk of offending any protectionist who might be disposed to act with us by using the terms "protection" or "free trade." It was not supposed at Syracuse that the platform itself was to be made the platform of a national party, but merely that the great principles therein laid down were to be made the framework of a national platform. The notion of ignoring the tariff question in a national campaign was never thought of, even at 28 Cooper Union until some time after the election, since one of the first suggestions talked of (and for a time at least, as I am informed by Mr. Croasdale, received favorably by Mr. Barnes

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himself,) was that of joining forces with the free traders in running presidential candidates, and I was invited to make an address before the Anti-poverty society on the tariff question—something which could hardly have occurred if Mr. Barnes and Dr. McGlynn had at that time taken their present view of the tariff question.

The proposition to ignore the tariff question arises from the desire to have a party, not from the desire to advance a principle. And to this desire to have and to run a party all things, it is evident, are to be made to bend. Just after the last election Dr. McGlynn made a very strong speech at an anti-poverty meeting at the Academy of Music, in which, with great emphasis, he declared that we must get rid of the word "labor" in our political designation, and declared his preference for the "commonwealth party." Now, what his committee are waiting' and hoping for is the formation of one of these "labor parties," composed of politically incongruous elements which have time and again proved utter failures.

Last spring we of the united labor party of New York steadily refused to have anything to do with the attempt to form another "union of all the labor elements," which at a conference of all sorts of "reformers" held in Cincinnati, resulted in the formation of what is called the "union labor party." We (the committee included) not only refused to have anything to do with this attempt to manufacture a party, but we derided its method and the inconsequential platform which was the result of the compromises of such a mixture of heterogeneous "ists" and "isms." Now, in their desire to get up a party of some kind, there are various significant indications that the committee of which Dr. McGlynn is head are planning to make a mergement of what they would call the united labor party with the union labor party, the socialists and all the other so-called "labor elements," upon some sort of a hodge-podge platform, giving if necessary the presidential candidate to the union labor party, but of course retaining the position of secretary—one of much greater practical importance in a party when anything might befall the presidential candidate except that he should get an electoral vote.

I have never said that I would support Mr. Cleveland, and whatever report may have been made to this effect is false. What I have said is that IF Mr. Cleveland in the next campaign stands for the free trade side of the tariff issue I will support him. And I say so in advance, as I think every man who so feels ought to say, because the protectionists within the democratic party are striving to defeat Mr. Cleveland's renomination, on the ground that he cannot be elected because of the free trade of his message.

I have no personal acquaintance with Mr. Cleveland; I never even set eyes on him. I have had no communication with him or any of his friends directly or indirectly. In the last presidential campaign I refused to make speeches for him when asked to. I would have worked and voted for Butler had it not been evident that he was in the field only to help the republican ticket. As it was, I did not stay at home to vote for anybody, but a few days before the election went off to Scotland, where our friends wanted me. But I first got a Blaine man to agree that if I went he

would not vote—because I believed that the quicker the party that had been so long in power was ousted the quicker would the economic question come up and party lines be drawn on new issues. This choice between the parties—that one was in and the other was out—was all I could see in that election.

This year the hope I see of bringing on a general discussion of economic or social questions (for the social questions are at bottom economic) is far clearer and nearer. It lies in doing the utmost that can be done to widen the breach that the tariff question is beginning to make in the lines of both the old parties, and in pushing on the free trade fight even though at first it takes the shape of mere half-hearted tariff reform. That is the reason I shall, under the conditions mentioned, support Mr. Cleveland. I shall support any other man in his stead who shall fulfill this condition, for my support will have in it no personal element. I shall support Mr. Cleveland from the same motives that induced me to run for mayor and for secretary of state—because I see in the pushing forward of the tariff question the best way at present of using national politics, of clearing the way for the great principle which I regard as of most importance, and of moving toward a recognition of the equal rights of American citizens in their native land.

I would, of course, very much rather support a presidential candidate who should stand on the principles of the united labor party as I understand them. But, to go no further, it now seems to me idle to hope that if we were to put up such a candidate we could poll our real strength for him; and the very attempt on the part of so many to enter the national field on the basis of ignoring the most important national issues, is, to my mind, evidence that the process of education has not yet gone far enough to enable us to act together in national politics.

Under these circumstances I will support Mr. Cleveland, not as the thing I would best like to do, but as the best thing I can

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do. When the wind is ahead the sailor does not insist on keeping his ship to the course he would like to go. That would be to drift astern. Nor yet for the sake of having a fair wind does he keep his yards square and sail anywhere the wind may carry him. He sails “full and by,” lying as near the course he would like to go as with the existing wind he can. He cannot make the wind, but he can use it.

In supporting Mr. Cleveland, if he shall stand against protection, and the struggle between him and the republican nominee shall be made on the tariff issue, I shall not be joining the democratic party nor in any way interfering with my liberty to oppose that party anywhere else or in any other thing. Nor for my support of Mr. Cleveland as the representative of the free trade side of the tariff fight will I expect any thanks. The spoils hunting democratic politicians who will have to be kicked into that fight, and who will try to protest that no real harm is meant to the sacred white elephant of protection, will have no thanks for the support of those whose declared object it is to abolish protection entirely, and not merely to abolish protection entirely but to abolish the tariff entirely, and to bring about with the whole world as perfect freedom of trade as now exists between the states of the American Union. It may perhaps even be that the support of radical free traders like myself will not help Mr. Cleveland’s election. But I shall care very little for Mr. Cleveland’s election. What I care for is to bring on the tariff discussion. For I regard the general discussion of the tariff question as involving greater possibilities of popular economic education than anything else. And as I have often said when myself standing as a candidate, what I care for is not how men vote, but how they think.

In all this I speak only for myself. I never proposed that the united labor party should indorse Mr. Cleveland or any other candidate of any other party. I have never presumed to control any vote but my own or to lead any one, who stands with me on state issues, in any direction on national issues in which he is not inclined of himself to go.

My position is and has been this: When we are agreed let us act together. When we disagree let us agree to disagree without prejudice to our acting together at such times and in such fields as we can act together. I shall not accuse Mr. Wilder of going back on the position he took last fall if on the tariff question he supports what I oppose, nor will any opposition in which we may thus be placed on this question of national taxation prevent me from striking hands with him when he comes again into the field where the issue is of state taxation. And so far from wishing Mr. Wilder to make any compromise that will prevent him from advocating protection, I hope, since he cannot yet see his way to oppose protection, that he will do his best to defend and advocate it, and make as many and as strong protectionist speeches as he can. Free discussion sets men thinking and thus brings out the truth. I myself was a protectionist until I heard an honest and able protectionist explain and advocate the system. That made me a free trader.

The same right which I freely accord to others I claim for myself. When I participated in the formation of the united labor party in the state of New York, and accepted its nomination as head of its ticket, I did not surrender my rights as a man and a citizen and agree to allow Dr. McGlynn, Mr. Gaybert Barnes and Mr. John McMackin to do my thinking for me. Nor am I to be forced by any threat of being denounced as an abandoner of principles into submissive acquiescence in a policy which is opposed alike to my judgment of what is wise and my convictions of what is right, and which would practically make of me but a stalking horse and decoy duck for the benefit of what I would not and could not openly support. If any one has thought this he may have been acquainted with me, but he did not know me.

There is a superficial plausibility in the motive of "going straight on" that at first captivates the impulsive. But when it is seen that what is meant by going straight on is to make a national campaign on what are really state issues; to ignore the issue that is likely to divide the people, and to run off to the territories for some excuse for appearing in a national campaign; and when it is seen that what is to be achieved practically by this is to help one of the two great parties in doubtful states, and to land the united labor party in the same ignominious death trap into which Butler led the greenback labor party, I have no question of what will be the verdict of the majority of our friends.

We have with us those to whom party is everything—those who wish a party on any terms and at any cost, because their connection with it, even if it be a little, wee bit of a party, may give them position and influence that they would not have without it. But to the great body of our friends party is not an end but a means. They are not to be led to sacrifice principle by any pretended necessity of keeping up a party. Nor are they to be used as tools. When they want to help a republican

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president they will vote the republican ticket.

The tendency of those who find power and profit in organization to exalt the means above the end and to regard the maintenance of the organization itself as more important than the securing of what the organization was formed to promote—a tendency to which is mainly due the corruptions of churches and parties—receives a curious illustration in the attitude of the cigarmakers' unions toward the internal revenue tax on tobacco and cigars. Cigar making has been so little affected by machinery that it is in itself one of the few remaining trades in which the workman can easily become his own employer and the concentration of capital gives little advantage. With a board, a knife, a little paste and a few pounds of tobacco a competent cigarmaker has all that is necessary to enable him to go to work, while nothing would be easier, did the law permit him, than for him to find a direct market in the consumer for his product. But the operation of our tax laws is to make it practically impossible for

the cigarmaker to avail himself of his own skill and to concentrate the business in the hands of large employers. First comes the tariff tax on imported tobacco and the internal revenue tax on domestic tobacco. The effect of these is to raise the price of tobacco, not only by the tax but by more than the tax, and thus to increase the amount of capital required for providing stock. Then come the internal revenue restrictions on the making of cigars, which not only require the payment of a license fee, but the giving of bonds based on real estate to the amount of $500 apiece for the first two men engaged, and $100 apiece for each additional man, the keeping of an elaborate set of books and the purchase of revenue stamps. In addition, a man cannot sell cigars in quantities less than a box, even though he has made them and has paid a tax for the privilege of making them, without first taking out a United States dealers' license and generally a local license as well.

It is very natural that the large cigar manufacturers should be in favor of the retention of this system of taxation, which practically forbids the workman to go into business for himself, and compels him to sell his labor to an employer. Yet all the officials of the cigarmakers' unions seem to be as warmly in favor of the tax as are the manufacturers, and at the national convention of the union, [held?] at Binghamton last October, resolutions opposing the repeal of the internal revenue taxes on cigar making were passed. The explanation is that the laws which forbid cigarmakers to go to work for themselves and mass them in factories or tenement shops in the employ of large manufacturers, compel them as the only way of preventing themselves from being entirely at the mercy of employers to organize unions and occasionally to go on strikes. The officials of the unions favor the laws which prevent workmen from employing themselves, because in forcing them into the factories or tenement shops of large employers, they make more necessary the unions.

Saturday, Feb. 11. HENRY GEORGE.

A Missionary's Report.

> OWENSBORO, Ky.–The 550 tracts you sent me while I was in Henderson I have carefully distributed with good effect. This is a city of about 12,000 inhabitants with poor transportation facilities, but there is a movement on foot to have another railroad run through here. The company that proposes to build it only ask the citizens to give them $75,000 to help build the road, of course on condition that when the citizens wish to ride they will pay this private company three cents per mile. The majority of the people are waking up and commencing to think for themselves, and I hear many of them remark that if the company wishes to build the road they can do so at their own expense. They claim that they are already over taxed and say they intend to vote accordingly.

> There is an assembly of the Knights of Labor here. I attended their meeting a few evenings ago and explained the single tax doctrine to them. It was the first they had ever heard of it, and I can assure you they had good appetites for it. I distributed tracts among them, and in three days afterward I met some of the members on the street and they could explain the doctrine to me almost as well as I could myself. Last Monday evening they appointed a committee and instructed them to procure a hall for the [14th?], and have invited me to deliver a public address on the land question, which I will endeavor to do.

> Yesterday one of my newly made converts sent you an order for three of your books, and before I leave here I will try and get some subscribers for THE STANDARD.

> P. H. CARROLL.

The Twenty-first Assembly District.

> NEW YORK CITY, Feb. [8?].–The meeting of the Twenty-first assembly district, united labor party, last evening was largely attended. The subject for discussion, after the routine business, was "Tariff Reform vs. Protection." The general fear expressed was that by keeping out of the presidential contest our party would lose its identity, and could not be successfully reorganized. It was thought by the majority of the members present that the ultimate success of our principles hinged on entering the national contest as a distinctive party. The following resolution was passed:

> We announce our dissent from the views of Henry George in regard to a presidential candidate, as put forth in THE STANDARD. We do not believe that his views represent the opinions of the united labor party, and we most strongly object to a movement on his part which tends to commit that party to his views in the coming national campaign.

> HUME H. COLE, Cor. Secretary.

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QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Effect of the Single Tax in England.

DUMFRIES, Canada.—In an issue of THE STANDARD answering your Danbury correspondent regarding the land tax, you say you would allow the present owners to retain the fee of the land so long as they paid the taxes on it. Would you kindly let me know how that would affect land monopolists in Britain? If tenant farmers are still to pay their rents to the land owners as before, where are they to derive their benefit so long as there is competition for land? J. G.

The tenants would have no taxes to pay; the landlords, deprived of their unearned incomes, would soon be obliged to go to work; production would be greater. business[sic] would be brisker and wages would be higher. But this improvement, great as it would be, would not be all. While the land of England is more truly all in use than that of America, there is a great deal of land there which is practically out of use. Land which rich landlords have devoted to selfish pleasure, if taxed to its full value, would be too expensive a luxury for lords without other incomes than such as they earned, and it would come upon the market. Then there is a great deal of land in England which is but poorly improved, but under the single tax it would pay better to improve it to its highest point, and that would have the effect of an augmentation of the land of the country. So you may see that, even though the single tax were confined to England, competition for land would be less intense; but if the tax were in force in other countries also, the economic boundaries of England would extend to all those countries. Wherever the single tax is in full force no land can long be much dearer than similar land elsewhere; in fact, if the single tax were in full force in any country of large territory relative to population, it would diminish land values everywhere.

Characteristic of Wealth.

NEW YORK.—(1) Are there, according to Mr. George, any other characteristics of economic wealth than the following:

a. It must have exchange value.

b. It must be tangible.

c. It must have and retain the power of ministering to human desires.

d. It must be the result of human labor on material things.

e. It must be an object or substance as modified by human labor.

1. Knowledge is not wealth because it is not tangible. And it is not an object or substance modified by human labor. But written words have an exchange value and have all the other above characteristics of wealth.

Sic in the original; probably “greater, business”.

Even spoken words have exchange value (although sometimes consumed immediately upon exchange), are tangible because they can be heard, have the power of ministering to human desires, are the result of labor on air and land, and are the very substance (air) as modified by human labor. Spoken words even retain the power of ministering to human desires so long as they can be heard—by echo for a few seconds and for years by the phonograph. A bushel of wheat can do no more. Which is the right way to [regard?] the musician as a producer? Does he produce music which has exchange value, etc.? Or does he indirectly produce boots, shoes, clothes, houses, machinery, etc., because music in a civilized community is necessary to the production of boots, houses, etc.?

2. Has actual goodness of the product anything to do with economic wealth? I think now that it has not. The question is, in what estimate is the product held? Is there anybody to offer something in exchange? Whisky would cease to be wealth if people ceased to demand it for use.

3. What answers shall we give to those people who say that withholding valuable land from use can be no worse than compelling a nation to live on smaller territory, and therefore cannot be very bad as the whole world could subsist on the territory of Texas?

E. D. BRINKERHOFF.

1. I should say not.

2. Words are not wealth, whether written or spoken. A book is wealth; but an orator, like a musician, merely performs a service in exchange for which other people produce the wealth that he requires, and which he would otherwise have to produce himself. When, in return for the service he performs he collects clothing and food from the circle of exchanges, he directs labor to the production of more clothing and food; therefore it is virtually clothing and food that he produces.

3. Economically the actual goodness of an article does not determine whether or not it is wealth. In this connection the determining fact is whether the product may enter into the circle of exchanges.

4. If the whole world could subsist in Texas, no man would be in danger of starvation or be dependent for a living on any other man if equal natural rights were preserved among the inhabitants; but if there were only one man in Texas he would soon be a corpse or a slave if deprived of his natural right to land.

Profits of Land Speculation.

BROOKLYN.—In argument on the tariff, monopoly, the single tax, etc., with a respected friend, a thirty years' resident and tradesman of Brooklyn, I was astonished, nonplussed, "knocked out" by the following assertions he made:

1. That all vacant lots are taxed just the same as improved lots, in Brooklyn, New York and all principal cities.

2. That vacant lots, even in the heart of the city and growing in value in the ordinary way, are the most unprofitable thing for any man to invest in, as in ten years the value of any vacant lot will be eaten up by the taxes; that the taxes upon them do not compel him to improve them or sell them.(3) That no owner of vacant lots can clear anything on them unless by a very rapid rise in value, say, in two or three years, because of the taxes.

3. That you could find hardly half a dozen people in Brooklyn who have grown rich by merely buying and selling vacant lots, the taxes are so heavy.

4. That the Astors have not and do not make their money by holding for a rise merely vacant land; that their wealth has been made by improving lots.

5. That a man may make a fortune by buying and selling lots in far away towns; but that these cases are isolated ones, and do not occur in cities like New York or Brooklyn.

6. Please explain why so many thousands of empty acres are being held if their value is thus eaten up by taxes; and why nobody has thought of bursting up Henry George's false statements before now? F. SCRIMSHAW.

7. As to New York this is not true. Improved land here is assessed at from 50 to 60 per cent of its true value, while

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unimproved land is assessed all the way down to 18 per cent and less. I cannot speak definitely of Brooklyn, but if you write to the Brooklyn *Real Estate Review* I think you will find that, as in New York so in Brooklyn, unimproved land generally pays a lower tax relatively to its true value than improved land. I am quite sure also that the same fact holds in all the principle cities[sic]. It is done on the theory that a man who is getting no income from his land ought not to pay so high a tax as a man who is getting an *income* from his.

1. That it pays, on the average, to buy vacant land for a rise is evident from the fact that so much vacant land is bought for just that purpose. Men do not invest their money in a direction that involves certain loss. It may be that a vacant lot in the heart of the city if kept vacant for ten years will yield no profit. That is more apt to happen with a vacant lot in the heart of the city than with one in the suburbs, for the proportion of increase is certain to be less and the rate of tax is likely to be higher. But the value of the lot would not be eaten up unless it was in a retrograding locality. If present taxes do not now compel such owners to sell or improve it is because these taxes are low enough to allow a reasonable expectation of future profit. If the taxes were high enough to remove that possibility a different result would follow.

But the nub of the question is not whether this man or that does or may make a profit from vacant land; it is whether he stands in the way of improvement, for it is improvement that makes business and business that makes prosperity.

1. That may or may not be. It is immaterial, since the real injury is the keeping of useful land out of use.

2. I doubt the statement; but it is immaterial. There are more than half a dozen people who have interfered with the prosperity of Brooklyn by holding vacant lots and putting prices on them that prevented improvement, and there are more than half a dozen people in Brooklyn who owe their wealth to land values.

3. The Astors are not land speculators in the ordinary sense. They do not buy and sell. Their policy is to buy along the backbone of the city, somewhat in advance of the movement of population, to hold or lease until population reaches them, and then to build. Their profits come from the high ground rents which they get in consequence of greater demand for their land. It may be said that their wealth has been made by improving, but the bulk of it has been made out of the rise in their land values, not out of their improvements. If land were taxed to its full value the Astors would not take up land in advance of population and hold it; they would take it up only as they wanted to build. Nor would they accumulate wealth from mere ground rents; their wealth would consist of returns for capital which they kept active, and of nothing else.

Sic in the original; probably "principal cities".

4. Quite [likely?]; but as I have already said, it is not so much a question of whether some men make fortunes by speculations in land as whether many men are kept in a state of dependence in consequence of such speculation. If a dozen men robbed a hundred in some vulgar way, the net proceeds of the robbery might not be enough when divided to make any of the twelve rich, or if they gambled for the loot, all but one might be as poor as before; but that would not console the hundred who were robbed.

5. I give it up. Don't you?

Tariff Questions.

1. Is not the statement that the cost of living in this country is increased to the extent of the tariff of forty-six per cent rather exaggerated, since there is no duty on most of the products of the farmer, and if there were, it could not make them any higher, since we produce a surplus of wheat, corn, beef, pork, cotton, etc., the price of which is determined in the markets of the world?

2. Also, has not domestic competition among manufacturers greatly reduced prices of manufactured goods in some cases below what they could be imported for?

E. LUCAS.

1. I do not understand any one to say that the whole cost of living is increased to the extent of the tariff. It has been said, however, that the cost of "protected" articles is so increased, and it is probably to this that you refer. The statement is correct only as a statement of a tendency. The same idea, accurately stated, is that a product will be higher if protected than *if not protected*. This furnishes the stock in trade of the protectionist, for it is by making things higher and giving to the manufacturer greater profits out of which to pay wages that the protectionist proposes to increase wages.

2. If domestic goods are reduced in price, by competition or otherwise, below what they can be imported for free of duty, it is obvious that we can make such goods cheaper than they can be made abroad, even though we pay "American wages" instead of "foreign pauper wages," a fact which goes to prove that it is not cheap goods, but something else, that reduces wages.

The Speculative Rent Line.

PHILADELPHIA.—While admitting the justice and expediency of taking the rental value of land in taxation, it appears to me that it is an unfounded assumption to claim that the private ownership of land produces a "speculative rent line" which is lower than the "actual rent line," as asserted in chapter 1, book 5, of "Progress and Poverty."

A STUDIOUS INQUIRER.

Let us suppose three gold mines; the first of which will with a given amount of labor yield $10, the second $8 and the third $6. If only the first is appropriated its rent will not exceed $2, for nobody will work them for less than $8 when he can make $8 in the second mine. But if the second mine be appropriated and locked up, the rent of the first mine will be $4 instead of $2, for the most that labor can then make will be the product of the third mine, which is only $6. Now it is the system of private land ownership that permits the locking up of the second mine, and as you may see from this illustration, the fact that the second mine is locked up lowers the rent line so as to raise rent from one-fifth to two-fifths of the product. In this case the normal rent line leaves four-fifths to labor while the speculative rent line leaves to it but three-fifths.

LOUIS F. POST.

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ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.

Benefit for the Striking Pennsylvania Coal Miners.

The forty-second public meeting of the Anti-poverty society was especially for the benefit of the strikers in the Pennsylvania coal regions and on the Reading railroad. Master Workman James E. Quinn of district assembly 49 presided, and with him on the platform were T. B. Maguire of the general executive board, Hugh Greenan, John L. Lee, Dr. McGlynn, James P. Archibald, W. T. Croasdale and others. Mr. Quinn said:

The demonstration this evening in behalf of the coal miners and railroad men, through the courtesy of the Anti-poverty society, is for the purpose of placing before the public of New York an intelligent view of the difficulties by which the miners are surrounded. Workingmen are organized at the present time for something above the question of wages. Let the syndicates understand that it is not necessary under the present system of education in our labor organizations to have a college education in order to know what we are after in the shape of the entire control of all the natural elements by which we are surrounded (applause), that the labor organizations to-day are built on that one great principle which guarantees opportunity to every man, woman and child throughout the universe, and that is the land. (Applause. A voice: "And we will have it!") And if you will have it, workingmen of New York city and state, you must alter the course that you pursued in years gone by (applause), and see to it that you are not led off into the democratic or republican party. The first lesson that I was taught in labor organization is the fundamental principle of the organization of workingmen for the abolition of poverty off the face of the earth. (Applause.) It is therefore with the best of grace that we should meet in connection with the organization formed for the same purpose under the name of the Anti-poverty society. (Applause.) Though labor organizations may be howled down at the present time, the seed is already planted. And though it go to destruction we have the proud confidence of knowing that [it?] will rise in a resurrection, tenfold more powerful, and sweep everything in the shape of monopolies, syndicates and trusts throughout the entire land off the face of this country, for the benefit of the wage worker.

Dr. McGlynn said it was particularly gratifying for him to be able to do a double good work, to exhort his hearers to contribute very generously in the collection for the relief of the suffering, starving people who were on strike against a great monopoly and at the same time to do a larger, broader and much more far reaching charity by pointing out the causes that lead to that sad condition of things and the easy remedy for it.

Miss Munier's choir sang the "Star Spangled Banner" while the collection was taken up. This was followed by a baritone solo by Mr. Karl Duff, after which the following resolutions were read and unanimously adopted:

"Considering that monopolists have so long held control and monopoly of the resources of nature that they have become a danger to the continuance and the freedom of the institutions of the United States;

"Considering that the freedom of each individual citizen can only be guaranteed by the perpetuation of the freedom of the institutions of our country;

"Considering that monopolistic companies obtain their existence and power from the government by virtue of their charters, and that it is in the power of that government to repeal or revoke said charters; therefore be it

"Resolved, That we call upon the present committee of investigation appointed by congress to report such corporations as have by their conduct endangered the freedom of the institutions of our country.

"Resolved, That where the action of any corporation or company be found to be detrimental to the public interests and to the interest and pursuit of happiness of the individual, the charter of such company or corporation be immediately revoked.

"Resolved, By the citizens of New York, in mass meeting assembled, this 12th day of February, in the year 1888, in the Academy of Music, that we extend our moral sympathy to the miners now on strike and will assist them with all the material and financial aid within our power,

"Resolved, That we call upon our fellow citizens in every city of the United States to call similar mass meetings to render aid and assistance to the miners and their families.

Resolved, That we call upon the press of the country to open lists of subscription in aid of the miners and railroad men.

Resolved, That we appeal to a generous public, which has severely suffered from the coal famine, to render aid and assistance to the coal miners and use efforts to prevent the recurrence of similar circumstances in future years.

Resolved, That the committee of arrangements be authorized to select a committee of business men to wait on Mr. Corbin and use their influence with a view to bringing about a settlement of this strike, which is so detrimental to the interests of the entire community.

Mr. John L. Lee of the strikers' committee gave a detailed explanation of the causes and progress of the coal miners' and railroad men's strike. He showed that Mr. Corbin had broken his agreement with the men, and was chiefly to blame for all the trouble. He considered it more of a lockout than a strike. There was more in it than the eight per cent advance. It was an attempt to crush out all organized labor. The Knights of Labor were against strikes. Strikes would never bring about a solution of the labor problem. They had a better weapon in the ballot, by which they could bring monopoly to terms. Landlordism was the creature of law, and if the people permitted it to exist it was their own fault. If they could receive aid enough to continue the strike for one month more he felt satisfied their efforts would be crowned with success. (Applause)

Mr. T. B. Maguire of the general executive board of the Knights of Labor was the last speaker. He showed the intimate connection of the land question with the present troubles in the mining regions. The railroad question was next taken up, and he asked the people: "How soon do you propose putting an end to *this monopoly* by putting into the hands of government the railroads of the country? (Great applause and cheers.) How long are you going to attend the big democratic and republican meetings before election time, where some loafer addresses you and they have a big band which plays, 'Hail to the thief?' —chief, I mean. (Laughter.) Don't forget that it is you, the people, who are to blame. For 364 days in the year you are first-class members of labor organizations, but on the 365th you go up to the ballot box and vote my children and your children slaves to the capitalist. Let us commence then from to-night and resolve to do our share for the good of humanity." (Applause.)

Master Workman Quinn then thanked the audience for their magnificent demonstration and adjourned the meeting.

Henry George having been announced to speak wrote a letter to Mr. Croasdale, chairman of the executive committee, explaining

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that engagements in the west rendered it imperative that he should leave town on Sunday morning and expressing his sympathy with the objects of the meeting. Mr. Quinn, chairman of the meeting, informed Mr. Croasdale that he would call for the reading of this letter immediately after Dr. McGlynn's speech. For some reason Mr. Quinn did not do so, and no opportunity was given for explaining to the audience the absence of one

of the speakers announced to be present, though Mr. Croasdale waited three hours and a half to perform that duty. Mr. George's letter is given below:

NEW YORK, Feb. 11, 1888.

W. T. Croasdale, Esq., Chairman Executive Committee of the Anti-Poverty Society—My Dear Sir: When first requested to speak on the anti-poverty society's platform to-morrow evening I was under the impression that I could do so, but I have found later that in order to keep a long standing engagement for Monday evening next I must leave town on Sunday morning instead of Sunday night, as I had supposed. Therefore, as I informed Mr. Michael Clarke when he spoke of using my name in the advertisement, I must be contented with sending you a letter instead of making a speech which it would give me pleasure to make.

I am called on as a member of the anti-poverty society to express my sympathy with the striking miners of Pennsylvania. I do this without reference to any particular dispute that they may have with their employers, but on the general principle that they, like the working classes of our cities and of the country generally, belong to that great body of God's children who have been disinherited of any share in that great and rich estate which God, their maker, has provided for their use. I have traveled through many parts of this and other countries where the injustice of our treatment of land was strikingly apparent; but I know of no part of the world, not even excepting the poorest districts of Ireland, where the cause of poverty is so clearly revealed as it is in the mining districts of Pennsylvania.

Pennsylvania is in natural gifts a rich state, I am sometimes inclined to think for its area the richest state in the American Union—yet in the richest part of this rich state one may see the men whose toil brings forth wealth from the bowels of the earth, reduced even in what are called good times to a scale of living but little above that of the poorest Irish peasant. It has been the habit of our people to prate of Irish landlordism, of Irish evictions and of Irish rack rents, but no Irish peasant is or has been so completely within the power of his landlord as are the American citizens, the vast majority of them natives of the state and of the locality, who tenant the mining districts of Pennsylvania. Their houses are mere shanties, generally unpainted and without so much as a flower or a shrub to give to them the qualities of a home.

The land is the absolute property of the individuals and corporations to whom, under the laws of Pennsylvania, it has been given. The people are mere tenants at will. They are in most cases not even allowed to buy a foot of land or to build for themselves, but are compelled to live in company houses, on entering which they sign an agreement which permits the employer to evict them on five days' notice. They are compelled in many cases to deal in company stores or to board at company boarding houses, and generally to govern themselves as the lords of the earth in that part of the world choose to dictate.

I have heard stories of oppression and tyranny in the Pennsylvania coal regions which are equal almost to anything I ever heard in Ireland. These men, who are merely permitted to live on the earth, get for working under ground at the risk of their lives, under conditions which make them old before their time, wages which even in good times and with full work cannot give them that standard of comfort which the poorest American citizen ought to enjoy. They are subject to long spells of enforced idleness, and, as a means of keeping from being utterly crushed to the wall and preserving any rights as freemen, are compelled to maintain organizations in their nature tyrannous, and from time to time to resort to long struggles of endurance which are productive of almost as much loss and suffering as actual war.

We of the anti-poverty society are not disposed to deny much that the monopolistic organs have to say about the essential; injustice[sic] and the injurious effects of strikes, but we contend that there is below all this seeming

Sic in the original; probably "the essential injustice".

conflict between labor and capital a primary and monstrous wrong, that wrong which makes human beings mere tenants upon the earth that their Father in heaven made for them. And we would abolish this fundamental wrong which everywhere robs the laborer, by assuring to every man his equal right to live and to work on the land of his native country.

How clearly the simple adjustment which we propose, of levying all taxes upon land values, would end labor difficulties and give to all who wish it opportunity for employment, can be seen in these coal regions of Pennsylvania. To-day if our system were in operation in Pennsylvania no action of the coal operators could prevent the miners from employing themselves in taking the coal from the veins where the Creator has placed it for the use of men. Both in the Lehigh and Schuylkill regions, as in the other mining districts of Pennsylvania, there are vast tracts of coal land utterly unused. In many cases miners with no other capital than their ordinary tools could go to work taking out coal, but they are prevented, not by nature, but by the laws which make this coal as it lies in the earth the property of dogs-in-the-manger, who, though they will not use it themselves, will permit no one else to use it. It is made possible for the individuals and corporations who own them to hold these unused coal lands as their private property by the laws which impose upon them a merely nominal tax. If they were taxed at the full value it would be impossible for anyone, however rich, to lock up these coal deposits from labor; unless they used them they could not afford to pay the tax upon them, and would be forced to throw them open to those who were willing to use them.

This is the true and the only remedy for the wrongs and discontent of labor, whether in Pennsylvania or in any other state or country.

Heretofore these Pennsylvania miners have blindly voted for that system of robbery by taxation which is miscalled protection, a system which, while it in many ways results to the injury of labor, can never inure to its benefit. The protective duty levied on coal, by enabling the operators to keep up the price, gives them the opportunity, in the higher prices which strikes such as this attach to coal, to recoup themselves in some degree, at least, for the money lost in fighting their workmen, while the increased cost of all the necessaries of life which protective duties cause makes it harder for the men to stand out against their employers. I rejoice that the superstitious belief in the efficacy of tariffs which has been so prevalent in Pennsylvania is now beginning to pass away, and that all through the coal regions there are men who see as we see that the primary cause of low wages and hard times is our giving to individuals as their private property what the Almighty Creator of the earth intended for all his children.

Yours very truly,

HENRY GEORGE.

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A SERIOUS CRISIS.

THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY THREATENED WITH DISRUPTION.

The Executive Committee Packed—Many Members Withdraw on Account of Despotic Action—The Attacks on Mr. George.

The dissension and discontent that have for some time past threatened danger to the cause represented by the united labor party came to a head on Monday last in an unexpected manner, when a serious rupture took place in the executive committee of the Anti-poverty society. The meeting was the regular one, and no business of importance was to be transacted. There was, however, on the part of Dr. McGlynn, apprehension that the

committee would take some action in relation to his recent attack on Mr. George, and by way of preventing any censure of his conduct he took the precaution to appoint ten or twelve new members of the committee before the meeting took place. The story of what followed will be found in the card below:

NEW YORK, Monday, Feb. 13, 1888.

To the members of the Anti-poverty society: The undersigned members of the executive committee, who felt compelled to withdraw from the meeting of the committee this evening, feel that it is due to the society that we should give our reasons therefor.

At a meeting of the down town branch of the anti-poverty society, at Pythagoras hall, on Thursday evening last, Dr. Edward McGlynn, president of the society, made remarks disparaging to Henry George, vice-president of the society, the purport of which is now familiar to the society and the public. These remarks caused general excitement among members of the anti-poverty society and the united labor party throughout the city; and there were rumors, printed in the papers, that some action in relation to them would be taken at the meeting of the executive committee this evening. When we arrived at the committee room in Cooper union we found present a number of persons not members of the committee. Before the meeting was called to order, Dr. McGlynn announced that as president of the society he had appointed a number of gentlemen, mostly members of St. Stephen's parish, as additional members of the committee. Mr. E. J. Shriver, treasurer of the society, at once protested against the appointment of the new members as an act of arbitrary power on the part of the president, under the circumstances. Mr. Post followed with a similar protest, when Dr. McGlynn interrupted him, insisting that he could not proceed because the meeting had not yet been called to order. The chairman of the executive committee, Mr. Croasdale, ruled that as Doctor McGlynn had spoken before the meeting was called to order, Mr. Post might proceed. Mr. Post then protested against the appointment of new members under these circumstances, manifestly for the purpose of packing the meeting.

The meeting was then called to order and the reading of the minutes dispensed with, the following members being present: Gaybert Barnes, Dr. McGlynn, John McMackin, Dr. Coughlin, A. J. Steers, Louis F. Post, Benjamin Urner, Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, T. L. McCready, Michael Clark[sic], William T. Croasdale, Everett Glackin, Rev. John Anketell, William McCabe, John R. Waters, E. J. Shriver, Jerome O'Neil, James W. Sullivan, besides six of the new appointees. During the early part of the meeting several other new appointees came in, as did also some of the bona fide members of the committee, including Father Huntington, Dr. Gottheil, Edward Johnson, James O'Flaherty and James P. Archibald.

In view of the arbitrary action taken, Mr. Shriver moved that the president of the society be suspended for grave cause until a meeting of the society, in accordance with section 6 of the by-laws. The motion was seconded, and an excited debate followed. In the course of this debate Mr. Post referred to the fact that various members of the committee had frequently urged upon Dr. McGlynn the appointment of some of the St. Stephen's parishioners. He was interrupted by Dr. McGlynn, who raised the point of order that his motives in making appointments could not be questioned, declaring that he "had despotic power" to appoint whomsoever he pleased. Before any ruling could be made John McMackin raised the point of order that "the whole proceeding was out of order," but yielded to Gaybert Barnes, who made the point of order that the original motion was out of order, because the right of the president to appoint could not be questioned. The chair ruled that the committee had a right to call the president to account for improper exercise of his power and that the motion was in order.

Mr. Barnes appealed from the decision of the chair, declaring that the president had full power and that its exercise could not be questioned. The vote on the question of sustaining the chair was taken by roll call, and as

Sic in the original; probably "possibly"Michael Clarke" (spelled "Clarke" in George's letter, c4)".

soon as all of the bona fide members had voted the chair announced that the decision was sustained without waiting for the call of the names of the strangers present claiming to be members. A motion was instantly made to adjourn, which, counting only the votes of the bona fide members, the chair declared carried. The undersigned thereupon left the room.

This is the culmination of a difficulty of long standing in the committee. At the organization of the society the officers alone were elected and the president was given power to appoint the executive committee. This was done as a matter of courtesy to him and to avoid any chance of involving him in further difficulty with his ecclesiastical superiors.

Dr. McGlynn has uniformly opposed the appointment of members of St. Stephen's parish, or of ladies, to the committee, and for several months the holding of any public meetings of the society. A proposition to incorporate the society was referred to a committee consisting of Dr. McGlynn, chairman, Gaybert Barnes and William T. Croasdale as soon as it was discovered that it would be necessary to give the members of the society the right to vote for directors. This committee has never been called together, though one of its members, the chairman of the executive committee, was privately informed by the secretary of the society that "the matter of incorporation had been dropped."

Similar acts of arbitrary power have been frequent of late, but in all cases the committee has yielded to the dictation of Dr. McGlynn with a view to avoiding difficulty or dissension. A point has at last been reached however when this "despotic" rule has become intolerable; and as a majority of the bona fide members of the executive committee present at this evening's meeting we feel bound to lay this statement of facts before the society. We regret, as much as any of those members can, that this crisis has arisen, and we have made every effort to avoid it. Even during the excitement of the proceedings of this evening Mr. Sullivan suggested that the doctor's words at Pythagoras hall might have been hasty and asked him if he would

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not reconsider them so far as to admit that the question of a presidential nomination by the united labor party was still open, and that he did not know that Henry George had done anything for which he deserved to be humiliated. The doctor said in reply, that he had said nothing which he wished to withdraw or for which he wished to apologize; but intimated that he had been incorrectly reported by the newspapers. Mr. Sullivan's summary of his remarks, however, was not founded on any newspaper report, but was taken from a verbatim stenographic report.

From the tyrannical exercise of despotic power by Dr. McGlynn we appeal with confidence to the members of the society.

WILLIAM T. CROASDALE, EDWARD J. SHRIVER, HUGH O. PENTECOST, BENJAMIN URNER, T. L. MCCREADY, A. J. STEERS, LOUIS F. POST, JEROME O'NEILL, J. W. SULLIVAN, WILLIAM MCCABE.

Though not arriving at the meeting until after the withdrawal of the members whose names are here given, I entirely concur in the action by them taken.

JAMES O. S. HUNTINGTON.

Further Details.

The above report was hastily prepared by those signing it for the morning papers, and there are several matters of detail that ought to be added. When Dr. McGlynn announced his appointment of new members he declared that his action was due to a desire, in view of recent events, to give the St. Stephen's parishioners a representation on the committee somewhat proportioned to their members[sic] and activity. It was this statement that called out Mr. Post's declaration of the fact known to every member of the committee, that Dr. McGlynn has been urged again and again to appoint some members of that parish on the committee and has persistently neglected to do so. The reason that the branch of the anti-poverty society that includes St. Stephen's parish was not organized weeks ago is that Dr. McGlynn, in order to avoid naming a chairman from among his old parishioners, has been negotiating with a Catholic gentleman in another parish to take the place. This explains the anger he displayed when Mr. Post stated the facts in the hearing of the new members.

The members who protested against the packing of the meeting do not deny that the by-laws lodge the power of appointment in the president's hands. The society was organized before Dr. McGlynn's excommunication and when his relations to the church were delicate and difficult. He strongly insisted that he would not speak every Sunday evening or do anything that would give it the appearance of a church. The power of appointment was therefore intrusted to him, as a guarantee that he should not be forced into any unpleasant position by any action of the executive committee. The society was very small at the time, but when its membership jumped from less than fifty to more than a thousand Dr. McGlynn was given power to add to the executive committee from time to time. There was probably not a single instance where he did not, before exercising this power, first consult with the members in a meeting at which a quorum of the committee was present. No one ever dreamed that Dr. McGlynn could become capable, through the mere apprehension that he might be censured, of using the power thus lodged in his hands to pack the committee in his own interest and on the open plea that his power was despotic and not even to be questioned. No self-respecting man could act in the committee under such conditions.

It is reported that after the regular members had retired one of the members moved that the president have power to appoint or remove members at his pleasure. Even Dr. Coughlin raised some objection to this, but Dr. McGlynn declared that he would have it so, and it was so.

After the protesting members had left the room Dr. McGlynn proceeded to exercise this power by ordering their names to be dropped. This will have no effect. The by-laws regulate that matter and they can only be changed by the members after notice at a previous meeting. The same remark is applicable to the vote declaring the office of treasurer vacant and electing a new one. It requires a vote of the society to change the treasurer. One must be elected at the annual meeting on March 26.

In order that Dr. McGlynn might have every opportunity to state his own case to the readers of THE STANDARD, the following note was sent to him, Mr. George being absent from New York:

New York, Feb. 14, 1888.

Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, President Anti-poverty Society, Room 30, Cooper Union—Sir: Should you desire to make any public statement regarding the occurrences at the meeting of the executive committee of the anti-poverty society last evening, the columns of THE STANDARD are at your service. Should you decide to avail of this offer, please let us have copy at as early an hour as possible to-day. It will be a convenience to us if your communication do not exceed two thousand words, as our space is limited.

Respectfully, T. L. MCCREADY, Managing Editor.

Sic in the original; probably "proportioned to their numbers".

To this the following answer was received in the handwriting of Mr. Gaybert Barnes:

OFFICE OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE, 28 COOPER UNION, NEW YORK CITY, Feb. 14, 1888.

Dr. McGlynn's compliments to Mr. McCready, and in answer to Mr. McCready's letter Dr. McGlynn has to say that he has no desire to make any statement in THE STANDARD.

In Tuesday morning's papers it is stated that at the close of the meeting of Dr. McGlynn's friends Dr. McGlynn dictated a statement to Michael Clarke, who read it to the reporters. The following is the statement in the most complete form in which it was published:

"There had been made manifest the intention on the part of new members of the executive committee who are connected with THE STANDARD to elect standing officers of their friends at the meeting this evening, to get control of the executive committee, censuring the committee and Dr. McGlynn, the president, and through him punishing his friends, because he and they, in the best interest of the society and of the united labor party, had insisted upon the carrying out of the work of propaganda by means of an independent national convention, national platform and presidential ticket. In urging this course Dr. McGlynn stated the fact that such was the desire of the majority of the party, as proved by the mandate of the Syracuse convention for the call of a national conference in view of the near approach of the presidential contest, also by the resolution of the county committees of New York and Kings counties. The views of all the members of the state committee, as far as heard from, and the unanimous opinion of the committee intrusted with the call of the national conference were of the same nature.

"The meeting was, as far as possible, actually packed with men from THE STANDARD and their friends, several of whom rarely, if ever, attended the executive meeting, and continued on p. 3 →

[Text breaks off mid-sentence at the foot of the column; no continuation line is printed on this page.]

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← continued from p. 2 some of whom had never attended a meeting in this room. The hostile intent of these men and their scheme to control the committee having been made manifest even in the newspapers, the president, Dr. McGlynn, in the best interests of the society and the exercise of his undoubted constitutional right, appointed several of the most active members and workers of the society to be members of the executive committee. The disaffected members at the meeting this evening showed their intent by endeavoring to get control of the committee, even going so far as to try to pass a vote of censure on Dr. McGlynn and to suspend him from his office.

"After some wrangling, finding they could not succeed, they retired in a body, and the committee then conducted the business in a quiet and orderly manner. The following gentlemen were dropped from the executive committee: Benjamin Urner, Edward J. Shriver, Louis F. Post, Thomas L. McCready, William T. Croasdale, Jerome O'Neill, the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, William McCabe, A. J. Steers, Henry W. Sackett and J. W. Sullivan. Five of these were connected with THE STANDARD. In justice to Mr. Sackett it should be said that he was not at the meeting to-night, and that in dropping him from the committee we practically accepted his resignation, which was handed in a few days ago. The position of chairman of the executive committee, held by Mr. Croasdale, and of treasurer, held by Mr. Shriver, were filled by the unanimous election of Jeremiah Coughlin and Sylvester L. Malone."

In several respects it is difficult to see how this statement can be made to correspond with facts. All the members of the committee who retired and those who have since resigned have been on its roll for months, and, with two or three exceptions, were among the founders of the society. No election of officers is possible until the annual meeting of the full society in March. The doctor's statement of the intentions of members of the committee opposed to him is as far from being correct as are the reasons he gives for their opposition. The men from THE STANDARD whom he accuses of packing the meeting have been on the executive committee from the start, and the only one who had not attended the meetings in room 30 was McCready, whose reasons for not doing so are given in another column. Mr. Sullivan had not been at a meeting in perhaps six weeks, as, though not a Catholic, he disapproved of Dr. McGlynn's indiscriminate attacks on the Catholic church and his making the anti-poverty platform a vehicle for airing his personal grievances and diverting the land reform movement to one of hostility toward men whose sympathies might be won for the movement. It is true that Mr. Sackett sent in a letter of resignation some time ago, on the ground that he was unable to attend the meetings, but it is also true that his resignation was declined by letter. Thus Dr. McGlynn is put in the position of accusing the regular working members of the committee of packing a meeting to which he called fifteen men never before connected with the committee. The members of the committee whose names were on the roll at the previous weekly meeting stand as follows: With Dr. McGlynn—Messrs. McMackin, Coughlin, Michael Clarke, Barnes and O'Flaherty. Messrs. Archibald and Whoriskey arrived at the meeting late and remained with Dr. McGlynn's friends, Mr. Archibald saying he wished to know more about the matter before taking final action. Mr. Edward Johnson also remained, though he had refrained from voting to support Dr. McGlynn on the test question. Opposed to Dr. McGlynn's action are Hugh O. Pentecost, Rev. J. O. S. Huntington, Rev. John Anketell, Benjamin Urner, A. J. Steers, John Waters, E. J. Shriver, Everett Glackin, Charles F. Wingate, H. W. Sackett, W. T. Croasdale, Louis F. Post, T. L.

McCready, William McCabe and J. W. Sullivan. The absentees were Messrs. Carr, Cranford, Redpath, W. B. Clarke, Henry George and J. V. George.

Comments of the Press.

Dr. McGlynn objects to a despot in Russia, but he doesn't at all object to a despot in the Anti-poverty society, provided he can be the despot. After all there is a good deal of human nature in most men.—[Tribune.

The good Dr. McGlynn is showing himself to be "no slouch" of a politician.—[World.

Whether any one will blame the doctor depends upon whether he regards him as an inspired saint or as a straightforward example of human nature. Those who have thought of him in the latter light will not be surprised at the facility with which Mr. George's followers were left. Probably Dr. McGlynn himself would say that the view of these latter observers was correct.—[Sun.

Politicians, as we have often said, are, as a rule, honorable and fair in their transactions; but when novices undertake to reform the world by the propagation of cretchets[sic] through the action of volunteer committees, they are very apt to find themselves descending to methods that the educated self-control and well defined rules ot[7] established political organizations preclude. This has proved no less true of various ephemeral "citizen" associations during recent years that it now does of the "anti-poverty" experiment.—[Star.

Two Members of the Executive Committee Resign.

Rev. John Anketell writes as follows:

> NEW YORK, Feb. 14.—I have just mailed to the secretary my resignation as the chairman central branch and member of the executive committee anti-poverty society.
>
> J. ANKETELL.

Mr. Charles F. Wingate also informs THE STANDARD that he has sent to the president a brief but emphatic resignation from the executive committee.

HOW IT ALL BEGAN.

Last week an attack, manifestly prearranged, was made on Henry George with a view to making effective here in New York a campaign of slander that has been actively carried on by mail for some months. The reports appearing in the city papers are here reprinted in order to afford our readers throughout the world the fullest knowledge of the series of events that culminated in the rupture in the executive committee of the anti-poverty society on Monday evening.

The Attack in Brooklyn.

World, February 8.

Sic in the original; probably "crotchets".
Sic in the original; probably "of".

The united labor general committee of Kings county met in Everett hall, No. 398 Fulton street, Brooklyn, last night, with Victor A. Wilder in the chair. John J. Clancy, who ran for mayor on the united labor ticket, offered a resolution calling for a conference of delegates from the various labor organizations of the county, with a view to united political action in the future, which was adopted.

Mr. Wilder then left the chair, which was taken by John B. Muir of the Tenth ward, and the former moved the following resolution:

> That this committee still keeps in view and adopts as its principles the political reforms embodied in the declaration made in convention of the united labor party at Syracuse in August, 1887.

> Resolved, That at the time of the adoption

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> of this platform the present issue of free trade and protection was fully understood, and, as it was the deliberate act of that convention in refusing to take sides upon the issue, we but reaffirm the position then taken in declaring that we refuse to be diverted from the fundamental issues of that platform by now dividing upon the lines of a tariff or no tariff issue. The fundamental issues on which we could contest for political supremacy were then plainly stated and we now denounce the effort to force the party to proceed on other lines or to disband. We have nothing to do with free trade, protection or tariff reform otherwise than as mere incidents in the contest, and we disapprove the effort now being made to make it appear that we are essentially a free trade or protective party. We are neither. We are for land reform.

"I am a protectionist," said Mr. Wilder, in supporting the resolution. "Mr. George has declared that he and others were going in for free trade and Cleveland, but I, who am an out and out protectionist, will vote against Blaine if he be a candidate and will support the labor ticket—the united labor party. (Applause.) While according to Henry George due credit for honesty of principle and sincerity of purpose, he must not be allowed to escape responsibility for his acts or words. We must take a decided stand in this matter, and never forget the principles of our party, which have nothing to do with the issue Mr. George is raising."

In answering an attack later on, Mr. Wilder said:

"The resolution says nothing about Henry George, but I personally denounce him with all my force for his efforts to split what promises to be a magnificent party in twain."

Mr. J. O'C. Hennessy opposed the resolution. He said that Mr. Wilder misunderstood the scope of the opinions expressed by Mr. George in an interview with a newspaper, and condemned hasty action.

John J. Clancy spoke in favor of the resolution. He said if it was Mr. Cleveland Henry George wanted, he had him already. He was president of the United States already, and Mr. George should be happy.

"I am a democrat," said Mr. Clancy, "and have been one, but I know it was the saviors of society belonging to that party that traduced us and Mr. George and called us communists. I believe Henry George is going bodily into the democratic party, but he does not take me with him—(cheers)—and I doubt if other ex-democrats like myself will go into the Cleveland ring to please Henry George. While he remains a united labor man we are with him, but we decline to form a tail for him when he severs his connection and marches into the democratic camp. (Applause.)

"I suggest," said Mr. Clancy, in conclusion, "that the labor men of New York oppose the democrats in this state and to the labor men of Pennsylvania to defeat the republicans. Henry George as a theorist is honest and successful, but as a political leader he is, par excellence, the great failure of the age we live in."

John Keenan of the Twentieth ward, said Henry George was right; it was no use in going into a national campaign; they should stick to state issues.

John H. Edelman of the Sixth ward spoke against the resolution. He said Mr. George in the sum commits no one but Henry George.

Mr. Delany supported the resolution. He said it did not matter a straw whether protection or free trade obtains in so far as the warkingman[sic] is concerned. He did not believe in Mr. George's idea of action in the state and being passive in national affairs. Let Mr. George retire from the party if he pleases—he has a right to do so.

After a heated discussion a vote was taken, with the following result: In favor of the resolution, 36; opposed, 18.

ANOTHER REPORT.

Daily News, Feb. 8.

There was uproar for nearly three hours last night at the meeting of the Kings county general committee of the united labor party over a resolution introduced by Victor A. Wilder which, without mentioning Henry George's name, censured him for expressing his opinion that the party should not go into a national campaign this year.

Mr. Wilder is an ex-republican and admirer of Mr. Blaine, and last night vigorously declared that he was a protectionist and that Mr. George was trying to lean the party toward free trade and Cleveland.

John J. Clancy, who ran for mayor in Brooklyn last fall, and who last night declared there ought to be a union of the socialists, union labor party and every other labor party, also denounced Mr. George, who he said was trying to lead the united labor party into the democratic camp.

Gaybert Barnes, while professing excessive friendship for Mr. George, saying that he had slept in the same bed with him on one occasion, dealt his friend some very hard blows nevertheless.

"Mr. George will not be with us next election," said Mr. Barnes, "and I know it. But we will have a presidential candidate just the same. How do I know he will not be with us? Because he told me so. He told me that if a united labor party candidate was in the field this year on the Syracuse platform he would not support him."

This statement was received in amazement by the meeting, but Mr. Barnes showed himself to be a good hand at remarkable statements in the next breath, when he said:

"What did we nominate him for mayor of New York for but to spread the light on the land question? I know this is so, because I can tell you that if it hadn't been for me he would never have been nominated."

C. O'C. Hennessy, John H. Edelman, John Keenan and others fought hard against the resolution, and finally tried hard to stave off action until the ward associations could be heard from, but Mr. Wilder's friends were in a majority, and cheered lustily as the resolution was passed by a vote of 36 to 22.

Mr. Barnes's Explanation.

Daily News, Feb. 9.

Sir: I beg space to say a few words in relation to your report of Tuesday night's meeting of the Kings county general committee of the united labor party.

Sic in the original; probably "workingman".

Your informant colors his report when he says I "professed excessive friendship" for Mr. George. I said merely this: That Mr. George and I had been intimate friends for years, that I had supped and slept with him, and might, therefore, be expected to know him well, to be familiar with the whole course of the united labor party movement and to speak advisedly of both.

If my assertion that but for me Mr. George would not have been a candidate for the mayoralty of New York is, as your report calls it, "amazing" or "remarkable," it is, nevertheless, true. It was my good fortune to be able to frustrate the anxious endeavors of the democrats to side-track Mr. George by a congressional nomination in 1886, giving, for Mr. George, an absolute and final negative to that proposition when it was made to me by the agent, whom I met at their joint request.

It is true that Mr. John H. Edelman spoke against Mr. Wilder's resolutions, but it is also true that he voted in their favor, stating that my remarks had given him some new light.

The resolutions were adopted, not, as your report has it, thirty-six to twenty-two, but by a vote of thirty-six to eighteen, and several who voted in the negative told me that they did so only from reluctance to publish to the

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world what Mr. George is publishing in his paper every week.

GAYBERT BARNES, Secretary State Committee United Labor Party.

AN INTERVIEW WITH HIM.

New York Herald, Feb. 10.

Several versions of Mr. Barnes's remarks have been published, and in speaking of the matter yesterday he made the following statement:

"The report of my remarks, as made in an evening paper, contained colorings and inaccuracies which I have partially corrected in a published letter. These colorings may be accounted for by the fact that a member of the general committee who opposed Mr. Wilder's resolution is attached to the evening paper referred to. It had been declared that the resolutions were 'a slap in the face for Henry George.' This, when I took the floor, I disclaimed, stating that I had been an intimate friend of Mr. George, had eaten, drunk, slept and worked with him, and therefore knew him well, and was closely familiar with all the matters of which I was about to speak. None of the statements of fact made by me in the course of my remarks have been contradicted; but I said some things that have not been reported, and that it may be worth while to repeat.

"I said that the democratic party is everywhere in alliance with the liquor interest; that it is the party that expended hundreds of thousands of dollars in this city alone in a concerted endeavor, once and for all, to wipe the united labor party off the face of the earth; that it is the party that had slandered, persecuted and boycotted the devoted men who, without hope of reward and by days and nights of hardest work, had built up our organization; that it is the party that is in every city in the United States, in league with the Roman ecclesiastical machine, against whose monstrous pretensions of a right to interfere in our politics Dr. McGlynn had made such vigorous and self-sacrificing protest.

"And especially I called the attention of my fellow members of the general committee to a signed editorial of Mr. George in August last, in which, denouncing the defection of Patrick Ford from the cause of land reform, which he had supported in 1886, but was in 1887 abandoning on the pretense that ours was a free trade party, Mr. George said: 'Could I have written the Syracuse platform as I pleased I certainly would not have declared in it either for protection or free trade, as Mr. Ford and the *Evening Post* understood the terms. For while I have never

hesitated to avow myself an out and out free trader, I have at the same time always declared that I consider any question of tariff as of trivial importance as compared with the question of restoring to men their natural rights to land, and it would seem to be little short of treason to the greater principle to provoke any division in its support by thrusting forward the smaller principle. . . . Let Mr. Ford attach to the tariff question what importance he may. What does it amount to as compared with the question of the continuance of the injustice which he has over and over declared in the language of Bishop Nulty to be a crime and a blasphemy? . . . Let him ask himself whether the man and the paper that have preached the gospel of the land for the people on two continents so long and so well shall now, when the standard is raised and the issue is joined, stand paltering about the tariff.'

"I contrasted that utterance with the recent extraordinary articles and interviews of Mr. George. I declared, for my part, that I had come into this movement, not to discuss so trivial a question as that of the tariff, which had its ups and downs for generations past and would likely have them for generations to come, but to oppose the continuance of an injustice which, in the language of Bishop Nulty, is a crime and a blasphemy.

"I denounced the present scheme of the enemies of the united labor party to split and sidetrack us by tariff disputes. Finally I said that not one of the letters received at the headquarters of the party was opposed to national action; that a great majority of the letters published in THE STANDARD favored such action; that resolutions against toaching[sic] the tariff at all had been passed by the county general committee of New York; that so far as I knew, every member of the state committee favored a presidential ticket, and that the committee charged by the Syracuse convention with issuing the call were unanimously in favor of carrying out the plain intent of that convention in adopting resolutions about the national contest."

Mr. Barnes further stated that Mr. George some time ago had said to him, in the presence of John McMackin and others, that he would not support an independent candidate for president nominated on the Syracuse platform.

When John McMackin was asked to express an opinion he said that Mr. George could not take a corporal's guard away from the united labor party, and that the party was not the personal property of any one. He thought that the party would be benefited, for, with the tariff question on one side, the party could unite with the union labor party in the west and nominate a national ticket.

The Attack in New York.

At the opening meeting of the down town branch anti-poverty society held in Pythagoras hall on Thursday evening Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn was the speaker of the evening, and Dr. Jeremiah Coughlin, chairman of the branch, presided. Dr. McGlynn's address was on the "Aims and Objects of the Anti-Poverty Society," and he devoted the greater part of an hour and a half to an exposition of the principle that the earth was made for all mankind, and of the application of the single tax on land values. He maintained that the absorption of groundrents by the government for public uses wasthe[sic] only important reform, and in reference to the free trade issue stated that Mr. George had taught in his book, "Protection or Free Trade?" that free trade was of comparatively trivial importance and its introduction in place of protection would be of no use to the laboring masses.

"At the Syracuse convention," said Dr. McGlynn, "it was resolved that the committee should co-operate with the central land and labor committee of New York in issuing a call for a convention in response to the request of our brethren of Ohio and Illinois, who in Cincinnati in July last asked that in view of the near approach of the presidential contest the central land and labor committee be requested to call a national conference.

Sic in the original; probably "touching".
Sic in the original; probably "was the".

"This conference was to be for the formation of a national party.

"It was only months afterwards that anybody began to quibble about the meaning of this. The New York county committee adopted resolutions precisely for that purpose. The Kings county committee adopted the other day resolutions to the same effect. The central land and labor committee are fully determined to call this convention. The members of the state committee are unanimous in favor of doing so, so far as we have heard from them.

"It is idle to say that the united labor party is divided on this issue. It is not divided at all. Although some letters have been received and printed Mr. George's paper[sic], THE STANDARD, opposing a national campaign, and although several writers on that paper, editorial writers, have done their best o'[12] side-track

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this party, I am glad to say they will miserably fail, and the enormous majority of the letters printed in THE STANDARD have been in favor of a national ticket."

"It is the full determination of the central land and labor committee at an early day to call a national conference for the purpose of reasserting the Syracuse platform and nominating presidential candidates. (A voice in the audience:"Don't let them side track you." Applause.) Right you are, we are not going to allow ourselves to be side tracked. We are not going to allow ourselves to be made the wretched little bit of a tail to the democratic kite. And so far from going in to elect them, if the corrupt democratic machine should be badly defeated and smashed we should not put any crape on our hats. But it is said: The work of our society is chiefly missionary. Well, yes; suppose it is; what better opportunity is there than a presidential contest? (Applause.)

"It is an enormous mistake to say that your platform has nothing to do with federal legislation unless you enter into the tariff question—a huge mistake. Has not the federal government almost despotic powers in the government of all the territories? And these territories (Wyoming, Montana, Alaska, etc.,) occupy a very large part of all the land of the United States. Now what is to prevent us, in a national platform, from demanding that congress shall make laws to the effect that land in all territories shall be taxed to its full rental value and the proceeds taken for the public treasury? Is not that a good federal question? (Applause.)

"Did not the anti-slavery party demand the very same things—take the same course of action? Did they not demand that slavery be abolished in the territories first? (Applause.) Again, does not the United States government hold hundreds of millions of acres of land still as public land? Why should we not demand that the United States government shall never give away or sell another single foot of our land? (Applause.)

"So we are going to have a national conference. We are going to reaffirm our platform and we are going to nominate candidates for president and vice president; and we know that we will have plenty of excellent material. (Applause.)

"There was something said in some paper to-day about Mr. George's not wishing to be a candidate. Well, I am not aware of Mr. George ever having been asked to be a candidate, and I happy to say[sic] that we can get along abundantly well without Mr. George as a candidate. If he comes back into the party again, even if he does not support Mr. Cleveland or the democratic party, he will have to take a much humbler position in the ranks than he has heretofore held. For my part I don't want Mr. George for my candidate. I think he would be rather a hurt than a help to us. We have many good men in the party willing to be our candidates."

Sic in the original; probably "printed in Mr. George's paper".
Sic in the original; probably "to".
Sic in the original; probably "and I am happy to say".

The Text That Dr. McGlynn Garbled.

In order that our readers may judge of the fairness of Dr. McGlynn's assertion that Mr. George declared in "Protection or Free Trade?" that free trade is of comparatively little importance the full text of the passage alluded to is here given:

> To abolish private property in land is an undertaking so great that it may at first seem impracticable.
>
> But this seeming impracticability consists merely in the fact that the public mind is not yet sufficiently awakened to the justice and necessity of this great change. To bring it about is simply a work of arousing thought. How men vote is something we need not much concern ourselves with. The important thing is how they think.
>
> Now the chief agency in promoting thought is discussion. And to secure the most general and most effective discussion of a principle it must be embodied in concrete form and presented in practical politics, so that men, being called to vote on it, shall be forced to think and talk about it.
>
> The advocates of a great principle should know no thought of compromise. They should proclaim it in its fullness, and point to its complete attainment as their goal. But the zeal of the propagandist needs to be supplemented by the skill of the politician. While the one need not fear to arouse opposition, the other should seek to minimize resistance. The political art, like the military art, consists in massing the greatest force against the point of least resistance; and, to bring a principle most quickly and effectively into practical politics, the measure which presents it should be so moderate as (while involving the principle) to secure the largest support and excite the least resistance. For whether the first step be long or short is of little consequence. When a start is once made in a right direction, progress is a mere matter of keeping on.
>
> It is in this way that great questions always enter the phase of political action. Important political battles begin with affairs of outposts, in themselves of little moment, and are generally decided upon issue joined not on the main question, but on some minor or collateral question. Thus the slavery question in the United States came into practical politics upon the issue of the extension of slavery to new territory, and was decisively settled upon the issue of secession. Regarded as an end, the abolitionist might well have looked with contempt on the proposals of the republicans, but these proposals were the means of bringing to realization what the abolitionists would in vain have sought to accomplish directly.
>
> So with the tariff question. Whether we have a protective tariff or a revenue tariff is in itself of small importance, for, though the abolition of protection would increase production, the tendency to unequal distribution would be unaffected and would soon neutralize the gain. Yet, what is thus unimportant as an end, is all-important as a means. Protection is a little robber, it is true; but it is the sentinel and outpost of the great robber—the little robber who cannot be routed without carrying the struggle into the very stronghold of the great robber. The great robber is so well intrenched, and people have so long been used to his exactions, that it is hard to arouse them to assail him directly. But to help those engaged in a conflict with this little robber will be to open the easiest way to attack his master, and to arouse a spirit that must push on.
>
> To secure to all the free use of the power to labor and the full enjoyment of its products, equal rights to land must be secured.
>
> To secure equal rights to land there is in this stage of civilization but one way. Such measures as peasant proprietary, or "land limitation," or the reservation to actual settlers of what is left of the public domain, do not tend toward it; they lead away from it. They can affect only a comparatively unimportant class, and that

> temporarily, while their outcome is not to weaken land ownership but rather to strengthen it, by interesting a larger number in its maintenance. The only way to abolish private property in land is by the way of taxation. That way is clear and straightforward. It consists simply in abolishing, one after another, all imposts that are in their nature really taxes, and resorting for public revenues to economic rent, or ground value. To the full freeing of land, and the complete emancipation of labor, it is, of course, necessary that the whole of this value should be taken for the common benefit; but that will inevitably follow the

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> decision to collect from this source the revenues now needed, or even any considerable part of them, just as the entrance of a victorious army into a city follows the rout of the army that defended it. > > In the United States the most direct way of moving on property in land is through local taxation, since that is already to some extent levied upon land values. And that is doubtless the way in which the final and decisive advance will be made. But national politics dominate state politics, and a question can be brought into discussion much more quickly and thoroughly as a national than as a local question. > > Now to bring an issue into politics it is not necessary to form a party. Parties are not to be manufactured; they grow out of existing parties by the bringing forward of issues upon which men will divide. *We have, ready to our hand, in the tariff question, a means of bringing the whole subject of taxation, and, through it, the whole social question, into the fullest discussion.* > > As we have seen in the inquiry through which we have passed, the tariff question necessarily opens the whole social question. Any discussion of it to-day must go further and deeper than the anti-corn law agitation in Great Britain, or than the tariff controversies of whigs and democrats, for the progress of thought and the march of invention have made the distribution of wealth the burning question of our times. The making of the tariff question a national political issue must now mean the discussion in every newspaper, on every stump, and at every cross roads where two men meet, of questions of work and wages, of capital and labor, of the incidence of taxation, of the nature and rights of property, and of the question to which all these questions lead—the question of the relation of men to the planet on which they live. In this way more can be accomplished for popular economic education in a year than could otherwise be accomplished in decades. > > Therefore it is that I would urge earnest men who aim at the emancipation of labor and the establishment of social justice, to throw themselves into the free trade movement with might and main, and to force the tariff question to the front. It is not merely that the free trade side of the tariff controversy best consorts with the interest of labor; it is not merely that until workingmen get over thinking of labor as a poor thing that needs to be "protected," and of work as a dole from gracious capitalists or paternal government, they cannot rise to a sense of their rights; but it is that the movement for free trade is in reality the van of the struggle for the emancipation of labor. *This is the way the bull must go to untwist his rope.* It makes no difference how timorously the issue against protection is now presented; it is still the thin end of the wedge. It makes no difference how little we can hope at once to do; social progress is by steps, and the step to which we should address ourselves is always the next step. > > Nor does it matter that those now active in the free trade movement have no sympathy with our aims; nor that they denounce and misrepresent us. It is our policy to support them, and strengthen them and urge them on. No matter how soon they may propose to stop, the direction they wish to take is the direction in which we must go if we would reach our goal. In joining our forces to theirs we shall not be putting ourselves to their use; we shall be making use of them. But these men themselves, when fairly started and borne on by the impulse of controversy, will go further than they now dream. It is the law of all such movements that they must become more and more radical. . . . > > Thus it is that when men take up the principle of freedom they are led on and on, and that the hearty advocacy of freedom to trade becomes at length the advocacy of freedom to labor. And so must it be in the United States. Once the tariff question becomes a national issue, and in the struggle against protection, free traders will be forced to attack indirect taxation. Protection is so well intrenched that before a revenue tariff can be secured the active spirits of the free trade party will have far passed the point when that would satisfy them; while before the abolition of indirect taxation is reached, the incidence of taxation and the nature and effect of private property in land will have been so well discussed that the rest will be but a matter of time.

An Echo at St. Stephen's.

The regular weekly meeting of St. Stephen's parishioners was held at International hall on Friday evening of last week. The meeting was opened with singing by Miss Munier and part of her chorus, after which Secretary Rorty read a set of resolutions expressing the determination of the parishioners to cease holding any more meetings. This was in conformity with Dr. McGlynn's request. The resolutions were carried unanimously.

Mr. Caffrey of Greenpoint then spoke of the affection they all had for Dr. McGlynn and said that although the Friday night meetings were stopped, yet he knew they would still continue to hold some kind of an organization. This was received with great applause. Referring to the anti-poverty movement he said: "You have seen there has been trouble in the ranks last week. There has been uneasiness. There is uneasiness in the minds of some who are too anxious for power (applause), some who don't fully understand the principles and the movement. (Applause.) But you are the representatives of one who, I believe, sees the goal and knows how to get there." (Applause.)

Mr. McDermott, one of the members of the parish, then made a short and effective speech on the case of Dr. McGlynn. He also touched on the questions which are uppermost in the minds of the members of the united labor party and the anti-poverty society, saying at one point, "I will do all I can to injure the democratic interests, and no one can carry me back to the democratic party on the tail of free trade." (Applause.)

Mr. George Smith followed Mr. McDermott, and confined himself almost exclusively to the question of ecclesiastical tyranny. Previous to his speech, Mr. W. T. Croasdale, who had entered the hall, took a seat on the platform at the request of Chairman Feeny. In response to calls from the audience, Mr. Feeny then introduced Mr. Croasdale, who spoke of the devotion of the parishioners to Dr. McGlynn. He then said: "I had no intention of making a speech here to-night, but accidentally happening in here, and hearing two of the speeches, I should be false to myself if I did not say that I regret exceedingly that the influences around him have led Dr. McGlynn to make the ctatement[sic] he made the other night. I regret that any influences should have been exercised that led one of our principal leaders to separate from the other.

Dr. Coughlin was the next speaker. He spoke substantially as follows:

"Follow the doctor, no matter what he tells you to do; no matter what man stands in the way. (Applause.) The doctor sees the present

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emergency clearer than any other member of the united labor party. (Applause.)

"Any man who really believes in the doctrines of the anti-poverty society cannot have the movement turned back. Why, it is so powerful that it seizes every member of his body and every fiber of his soul. What! are we to stop when the politicians are praying that our party should be divided? Were Henry George to direct the party; were Dr. McGlynn, even as an individual, to direct the principles, the principles would remain. As long as Mr. George and Dr. McGlynn advocate the grand and noble truth that God gave the earth to mankind, so long will we follow both of them. (Applause.) But there is no moving backward, only onward and forward, on the part of men who believe in principles and are ready to stand up for them.

"Let me tell you, ladies and gentlemen, there is no man who can lead Dr. McGlynn. (Applause.) It may seem as though this gentleman led him or that gentleman led him, but when the emergency comes Dr. McGlynn thinks for himself. (Applause.)

"Dr. McGlynn has made sacrifices that no other man in the anti-poverty society or the party has made. Then let us follow him. He is after good men for the anti-poverty society; men who will not sacrifice the anti-poverty society for themselves. (Great applause.) You know we have been organizing branches of the anti-poverty society in this city; we organized one down town last night. Now you have in this part of the city hundreds and hundreds of noble hearted men and women. You can organize here a great association. You can form here a branch of the anti-poverty society. (Applause.) Then the doctor can come to speak to you, whereas, he could not very well come to your parishioners meetings.

"Our doctrines are simple and easily understood. I learned the land question from the lips of men who did not know how to read. But there are other economic questions, such as the tariff question and the money question, which are complex and hard to understand."

Here the speaker gave an explanation of the rights of all to land and the taking of ground rents for public uses. Then he said:

"Do not hiss the name of any one who may be with us in great part. They will all be with us by and by. A year or two hence they will run and try to catch up with us.

"I may have my own opinions on many matters, but when I find a person who knows more than I do, and he says, 'This is right; do this,' I take his advice. No matter what anyone else says, do what Dr. McGlynn advises you to, and in doing that you will do what is right."

The chairman then made a few remarks, and adjourned the meeting sine die.

The Dr. McGlynn Fund.

The publisher of THE STANDARD acknowledges the receipt of $2 from 'ammer, 'ammer, 'hammer for the Dr. McGlynn fund.

True, Every Word.

NEW YORK.—The Eleventh assembly district organization of the united labor party has adopted the following resolution:

Resolved, That it is the sense of this assembly district that opinions expressed by any member of this party in advance of the general consent and indorsement of the party are mere individual utterances.

Resolved, That our movement should be freed from the appearance of favoring partial tax reform as well as a seeming conflict with ecclesiastical authority.

Resolved, That no one man or dozen men can ever be greater than the whole party.

J. T. DARLING, Secretary.

Sic in the original; probably "statement".

The Canton, Ohio, Anti-Poverty Society.

CANTON, Ohio.—It may interest your readers to know that the application for a charter for the anti-poverty society of this city contains eighteen names. A majority of the applicants are mechanics, with two school teachers and one painter. Some of the ladies are very proficient musicians.

I should like to give my ideal of an anti-poverty certificate of membership. It should be the work of an artist who has seen the cat, and would show, in sharp contrast, the evils of poverty and the blessings that may be hoped for from the adoption of the single tax. A picture of Brown's meadow before and after the marble deal, or some equally striking object lesson would be a good idea.

A. E. KNISELY.

Anti-Poverty in Cincinnati.

CINCINNATI, O.—The meeting of the Cincinnati anti-poverty society on February 12 was devoted to volunteer recitals of experience by those present. R. W. Harrison was in the chair and the "experiences" limited to five minutes each and ranging from "grave to gay, from lively to severe," proved very entertaining. One of the best was by Mr. H. M. Smith; and Dr. A. S. Houghton's "How I Saw the Cat" was a masterly argument for free land and free trade. His figure of the actual state of things in the Gogebic region are an up and down showing fairly precipitous in its emphasis of the need of reform.

CHARLES H. FITCH, Secretary.

Henry George's Lecture Tour.

Henry George is at present absent from New York on a western lecture tour. On Monday, Feb. 13, he spoke before the State university at Bloomington, Ind., and on Tuesday addressed the Normal school at Terre Haute, where he was listened to by a large and intelligent audience. His further engagements are: Wednesday, Feb. 15, Depaw university, Greenville, Ind[sic].; Thursday, Evansville, Ind.; Friday, Indianapolis; Monday, Feb. 20, Dayton, Ohio.

A Conference Wanted.

HARTFORD, Feb. 13.—At a meeting of the Hartford land and labor club on Sunday, Feb. 12, it was unanimously—

Resolved, That in the opinion of this club no national convention of the united labor party should be called until there has been a conference of the party to discuss the advisability of running a national ticket.

E. R. CLYMA[sic],, President.

Perhaps the Goose May be Learning Better

Brooklyn Citizen.

Sic in the original; probably "DePauw university, Greencastle, Ind.".
Sic in the original; probably "CLYMA,".

Turgot said a wise as well as a witty thing when he called taxation “the art of plucking the goose without making it cry,” for nothing is more certain than that in the popular mind the form of a tax counts for as much as the substance. The whole system of indirect taxation is maintained for no better reason than that the average man would rather part with two dollars in driblets than with one at a single operation. It may be laid down as an incontrovertible proposition that the typical American citizen is so far from being a severe economist that he protests against having his account with the government take a personal form. His irreconcilable opposition to an income tax is a conclusive proof of this. No man on earth can know better than he that all the taxes must come out of the earnings of the people; yet rather than brace himself up to the effort of settling with Uncle Sam once a year, he consents to the maintenance of a system which not only breeds dishonesty and hampers trade in a thousand directions, but may be said to double his burdens.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 18, 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 upon them, may prevent bribery and intimidation, do away with practical discriminations in favor of the rich and unscrupulous, and lessen the pernicious influence of money in politics.

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

THE UNVARNISHED TRUTH.

Recent evidences of differences between prominent members of the united labor party in this city have caused general regret among friends of the movement everywhere and profound sorrow to many of those immediately concerned. A desire to avoid an open rupture has caused many warmly devoted to the principles of the party to maintain silence, even under misrepresentation and abuse. The time has come, however, when the interests of the cause demand that the truth shall be plainly told.

In order to understand the situation we must go back to the early days of the party in this city. The organization accepted its defeat in 1886 as a great moral victory. It held a mass meeting to celebrate that victory in Cooper union on November 6. At that jubilee meeting it was resolved that steps should immediately be taken to begin the formation of a national party to represent the principles of the Clarendon hall platform. A resolution was adopted by acclamation

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appointing John McMackin, Rev. Edward McGlynn, D.D., and Professor David B. Scott a central committee for the purpose. This committee organized with Dr. McGlynn as chairman and it employed Gaybert Barnes as secretary and established itself at No. 28 Cooper union. Professor Scott withdrew from the committee.

Mr. Barnes devised a scheme of organizing land and labor clubs throughout the country, and thought that a charge of $5 for a charter followed by a small per capita tax on the members would bring in a fund that would meet the expenses of the committee. This hope was not realized, and it has long been an open secret that the expenses of room 28 have been met out of the pocket of Dr. McGlynn, aided by the receipts of such lectures as he has delivered for pay. This central committee had no jurisdiction over the united labor party in New York city, and drew its only authority from the mass meeting held after the election in 1886. Nevertheless, some members of the county committee of the united labor party claimed the right to exercise some measure of supervision over the committee, and a formidable movement to attack Mr. Barnes was threatened by A. A. Levey, esq., and others in the county committee early in 1887. Mr. McMackin, who was also chairman of that committee, sat down on this effectively by refusing to recognize the member who proposed making the motion. After the withdrawal of Professor Scott, James Redpath was chosen by the other members to fill the vacancy, but he has been an invalid ever since his appointment and his attendance at its meetings has always been irregular. *Practically the committee*

consisted of Dr. McGlynn, John McMackin and last, but by no means least, Gaybert Barnes. These gentlemen considered it astonishing impudence on the part of the united labor party of New York city to make any attempt to inquire into their affairs, since that party contributed nothing to the support of this "land and labor committee."

When the time came for calling a state *convention the county committees of* New York and Kings invited the land and labor committee to join with them in the call, and agreed with it as to the representation in the convention of the land and labor clubs it had organized in the state of New York. The socialists, after they were ousted, complained that this committee had used its authority to pack the convention against them, but an examination of tne[sic] votes will show that they got more support from those brought into the convention by this committee than they received from New York and Brooklyn.

The convention met at Syracuse on Aug. 17, 1887, and remained in session three days. It adopted the present platform of the party and nominated a full state ticket, headed by Henry George for secretary of state. Mr. George strenuously objected to becoming a candidate, and Dr. McGlynn insisted that it was his duty to accept. Finally, yielding to the unanimous demand of the convention, Mr. George accepted, and, Dr. McGlynn being loudly called for, mounted the platform and said:

> I am not here to congratulate our leader, our teacher and our apostle upon the unanimous nomination by this convention for the highest office for which the people of this state are to vote in the coming election. It is no matter of congratulation with Mr. George except in the sense in which we might congratulate a martyr whom we had seen going smiling on, tenacious of his purpose, to the stake or to the block. (Applause.) I think I know the man whom you in placing in nomination have thereby exceedingly honored yourselves. I think I know him as well as any other man knows him, and I know that there is no selfish spot in that heart of his. (Applause.) I know that if it ever were true of a man it is true of him, that whatsoever office man could hold in this world, *if he shall ever hold it,* the office will have to seek him.

Among the resolutions adopted by the convention, but forming no part of the platform, was the following:

> Whereas, At a conference of members of the united labor party of the states of Ohio and Indiana, held in Cincinnati on July 4, resolutions were adopted urging the central land and labor committee to take steps for calling a national conference; therefore, be it

> Resolved, That, in view of the near approach of the national contest, this convention joins with our brethren of the west in requesting the chairman of our state committee to co-operate with the land and labor committee to issue a call for a national conference of *such* organizations of citizens of other states as may be disposed to act with the united labor party of New York, in forming a great national party.

In the course of the proceedings a communication was received from a committee representing the union labor party asking a conference. It was received with a storm of hisses and laid on the table without reading, and it was with great difficulty that this motion was reconsidered. The communication was then read and the chairman of the convention, John McMackin, was directed to return it to those from whom it emanated with the information that the united labor party refused to treat with them.

Before adjournment the convention elected a state committee. After the convention adjourned this committee met and elected J. H. Blakeney chairman and Gaybert Barnes secretary. At the same time it chose an executive

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Sic in the original; probably "the".

committee consisting of Dr. Edward McGlynn, John McMackin and Hugh Whorisky of New York, and Victor A. Wilder and Gaybert Barnes of Brooklyn, and since that time the state committee has held but one meeting.

The executive committee organized by electing Dr. McGlynn chairman and treasurer and Gaybert Barnes secretary, and it established its headquarters at room 28 Cooper union, hiring the adjoining room during the campaign for clerks. This committee managed the canvass of 1887. It will be noted that Dr. McGlynn, John McMackin and Gaybert Barnes, who practically constitute the land and labor committee, also constitute a majority of the

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executive committee. There was much grumbling about the close corporation character of the party's management and at the failure of those concerned to consult with any other members of the party. Henry George, though the head of the ticket, was not consulted as to the management of the campaign, and the state committee was ignored.

Some time after the disastrous defeat of last year a correspondence began in the columns of THE STANDARD as to the expediency of entering the national canvass. At about the same time Henry George delivered in the Academy of Music, at the joint invitation of the Seventh assembly district and the executive committee of the anti-poverty society, an address on the president's tariff message. Mr. George warmly commended this message as a step, however short, in the right direction. Dr. McGlynn was present and made a few remarks commendatory of Mr. George's speech. Up to that time there was little thought apparently of a national ticket, and Dr. McGlynn was strongly in favor of changing the name of the party.

Suddenly there was a change of sentiment in room 28, and Mr. Barnes began to openly lament that the labor party was cursed with such leadership as that of Henry George, notwithstanding the fact that Mr. George had for a long time been excluded from all share in the management of the party. There were strong hints that Mr. George was going over to the democrats. The great importance of retaining the word "labor" in the party's name was urged, and any declaration for or against free trade in a national platform was deprecated. At last, a few weeks ago, Mr. George, after a previous talk with Dr. McGlynn, was invited to come to room 28 and bring some friends with him. He invited Louis F. Post, James W. Sullivan and Wm. T. Croasdale to accompany him, and Dr. McGlynn, John McMackin and Gaybert Barnes were found there. An informal conversation followed. *There was no objection made by any one present to the calling of the national conference provided for by the Syracuse resolutions.* There was comparatively little talk as to the expediency of nominating a national ticket, though that subject was considered. The main discussion was as to the propriety or possibility of making a national platform without some declaration on the subject of the tariff. Finally, Dr. McGlynn asked Mr. George if he would not be satisfied with the Syracuse platform in a national canvas[sic]. Mr. George said he would not without the addition of a plank relating to the tariff, which nothing could now stop from becoming a national issue. This is the remark which Mr. Barnes has since perverted in his declaration that Mr. George had said to him that he would not support a candidate running on the united labor platform.

The discussion was inconclusive, and finally Mr. Post asked Mr. Barnes what they proposed to do. Mr. Barnes replied that they would go right on and call a convention and nominate a ticket. Mr. Post asked where that would leave those who had not yet made up their minds as to the expediency of nominating a ticket. Mr. Barnes replied that they would be left out, that no one opposed to the object of the convention "had" any business in it. This proposal to leave out Messrs. George, Post and others on the mere dictum of three men in room 28 excited the ire of Mr. Croasdale, and he told them that they had no right or authority to take such action. The Syracuse resolution provided for calling a conference, not a convention, and the representatives of the party from all parts

Sic in the original; probably ""canvass" (spelled "canvass" elsewhere in the article)".

of the country must attend that conference and decide for themselves as to whether a convention should be held, and it was not in the power of those gathered in that room to decide such an important question in advance.

Mr. Barnes and Dr. McGlynn objected to the great expense of two national gatherings, and Mr. Post said there need not be two. If the conference decided on nominations it could turn itself into a convention and nominate candidates. The question of expense being thus brought up, the talk turned in that direction, and Mr. Barnes remarked that it would only be necessary to make a vigorous campaign in those states that were "anybody's states." On being asked to name them, he replied Connecticut, New York, New Jersey and Indiana. The remark was then made by some one that that would be obviously a campaign in aid of the republican party. Mr. Barnes did not deny this, but declared that it was necessary to our cause that the republican party should win. If the democratic party wins this year, he said, it would remain in power for twenty years, and it would be useless to propose any reform. Dr. McGlynn followed with the declaration that the democratic party was so thoroughly identified with the Roman Catholic machine that its defeat was imperatively necessary. Mr. George and his friends then withdrew.

Since that time systematic inspired attacks have been made on Mr. George. Again, proposals have been put forth tentatively to make a union with the union labor party and even with the socialists. A party believing nothing in particular is wanted to hold the balance of power in certain states, for the unconcealed purpose of electing the republican candidate for the presidency. Yet Henry George is denounced, first secretly, and then openly, for trying to sidetrack the issue that he taught these very people and for seeking to deliver the united labor party to the democrats. He has talked out openly in the columns of THE STANDARD, inviting a free discussion of the matter,

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while those denouncing him have plotted in secret. He has never proposed that the united labor party shall indorse or assist the democratic candidates, while his accusers have deliberately planned to run it in the interest of the republicans. Hoping the foolish scheme originated by Secretary-General Barnes would fall through, Mr. George has silently submitted to secret misrepresentation rather than take the initiative in provoking a rupture that every friend of the principles enunciated in the Syracuse platform will deplore. Now that the open charge has come, Mr. George is bound to speak, and in justice to him and to the cause that he above all others represents, the truth must be told.

Let the hasty and ill-informed who are swift to judge without knowledge ask themselves a few questions.

Have any three men, however good and great, the right to sit in room 28, Cooper Union, and, without advice or consultation with others, to speak and act for the united labor party of this city and state?

Have those three men under the terms of the Syracuse resolution the power to decide the momentous question of nomination or no nomination for the whole country?

Have those three men any right to refuse to speedily call a conference to settle just such questions?

Remembering the treatment of the socialists and union labor men at Syracuse, would it not be a usurpation of power without parallel for these three men to attempt to join the united labor party with those organizations in a national convention?

Is it not sidetracking the united labor party and all that it represents to deliberately plot its ruin forever by making it play the Ben Butler farce of '84 in the coming campaign?

Let honest men who have sense as well as enthusiasm stop their paroxysmal howl about the importance of maintaining a great principle by a national canvass long enough to think over these questions and calmly answer them, and then they may begin to see that the man who taught them the land doctrine, and who was so recently

saluted by Dr. McGlynn as "our leader, our teacher and our apostle," in whose heart "there is no selfish spot," has again been "going smiling on, tenacious of his purpose," though wounded in his tenderest affections, seeking, without scandal, to save the party he has twice led from going down in everlasting infamy amidst the jeering ridicule that overwhelmed the Butler fiasco four years ago.

Let our friends throughout the country remember this: Mr. George and his friends have never for a moment opposed the calling of a conference of representative men to decide the question of the nomination and all other questions, but they have insisted that no three or more men in this city shall decide so important a question. They have never advocated any alliance with the democratic party, but they have resisted a deliberate conspiracy to make the united labor party the catspaw of the republican party in the coming canvass, conducting a campaign that must be carried on with republican money, if at all. They share Dr. McGlynn's resentment against the shameful alliance between the democratic and ecclesiastical machines in this city, but even this is not sufficient to make them assistant republicans for the sake of putting some such man as Chauncey Depew in the White house, and still further confirming foolish workingmen in the high tariff delusion, which has kept so many of them from seeing the true cause of the evils that beset them. Mr. George and his friends want the party held together on local lines, leaving its members individually free in the national contest; and, knowing all they do, they believe that thus, and thus only, can corrupt alliances with one or the other of the two old parties be prevented.

WM. T. CROASDALE,

LOUIS F. POST,

J. W. SULLIVAN.

THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.

There are certain matters connected with the formation and history of the Anti-poverty society regarding which it seems to me desirable that the readers of THE STANDARD should be informed.

After Dr. McGlynn had been expelled from the pastorate of St. Stephen's in January, 1887, and while he was still confined to his house by the illness which followed that expulsion, it occurred to me that the doctor's announced purpose to devote his life to the furtherance of the cause of industrial emancipation would be largely aided if there could be organized a society devoted to the advocacy of the religious principle involved in the doctrine of the single tax—the principle of the fatherhood of God and brotherhood of man—as distinguished from the purely economic principle. Having sufficiently matured my ideas I submitted them first to Henry George and Louis F. Post, and next to Dr. McGlynn, and finally, on March [26?], to a meeting of a few gentlemen at the office of THE STANDARD. The result was the formation of the Anti-poverty sodety, the name being of my selection.

Between the organizing meeting on March 26 and the first public meeting at Chickeing[sic] hall on May 1, weekly meetings of the society were held, at which plans of action were discussed. Although none of us anticipated the marvelous success which the society actually achieved, we all felt confidence in its future, and were anxious to surround it with safeguards which might prevent its being "sidetracked" from its original purpose.

Dr. McGlynn, who had been chosen

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president of the society, pointed out to us that as soon as the society should commence its public career there would be an immediate influx of members from St. Stephen's parish. He desired above all things to avoid doing

Sic in the original; probably "Chickering".

anything that might look like the founding of a new church, and to be assured that the society would do nothing which might further complicate his already very complicated relations with the Roman Catholic church. It was felt by the members of the society that if the election of the executive committee were left to the society, the zeal of the new members from St. Stephen's might outrun their discretion, with the effect of placing Dr. McGlynn in an embarrassing position. It was decided, therefore, that the executive committee should be appointed by the president, and a provision to that effect was inserted in the constitution. Dr. McGlynn thoroughly understood that this was done, not for the purpose of clothing him with despotic, irresponsible power, which I, for one, should never have thought of assisting in doing, but simply to afford him a reasonable security against being forced into a false position. In the appointment of the original executive committee, and in subsequent appointments for months following, Dr. McGlynn consulted the members of the society and appointed on their nomination. The only nominations which in the early days of the society he declined to ratify were those of members of St. Stephen's parish.

I was appointed chairman of the executive committee, and in that capacity had frequent consultations with Dr. McGlynn in regard to the affairs of the society. When the first meeting at Chickering hall was followed by a wave of enthusiasm sweeping over the whole country, and it became evident that the society had a magnificent future before it, it was suggested to me by several members of the executive committee that the committee might very properly be enlarged, and especially that it would be improved by adding to it several of the ladies who in New York and elsewhere were giving evidence of their devotion to the cause. I communicated this suggestion to Dr. McGlynn, first privately, and afterward at a meeting of the committee. On both occasions he approved of the idea, and at the committee meeting where it was mentioned he promptly appointed three ladies as members of the committee, and requested that the committee would consider and suggest other names.

None of the ladies so appointed ever appeared at a committee meeting. When several weeks had passed without their appearance, I inquired of the secretary, Michael Clarke, if they had been duly notified, and was *informed* that the doctor had rescinded their appointments, and decided *to* place no women upon the committee.

I called upon Dr. McGlynn for an explanation at the earliest possible moment, meeting him by appointment in the hallway of Cooper union, after the close of a meeting which he had been addressing.

To my astonishment Dr. McGlynn denounced women in general as chatterboxes, "who were always shooting off their mouths," and as unfit for such positions; and in particular he spoke abusively of one of the women whom he himself had appointed, urging as a crowning reason for rescinding her appointment, that her husband had spoken disrespectfully of Mr. Gaybert Barnes.

I ought perhaps to have brought matters to a head at once by making a statement to the executive committee and demanding that action be taken. I blame myself now that I did not. But I foresaw that such a course would involve the ruin of the society and I indulged the hope that Dr. McGlynn's devotion to the cause would be sufficient to restrain him from indulging his personal animosities and prejudices any further. The incident produced a profound impression on me, however, and was one of the reasons which decided me to resign the chairmanship of the executive committee, which I shortly afterward did.

At a subsequent meeting of the executive committee the treasurer, Mr. Benjamin Urner (having of course no knowledge of my experience), brought up the question of lady members again, and moved that the president be requested to appoint a certain number of ladies—I think three—as members of the committee, supporting his motion with a temperate and dignified speech. One or two other members spoke to the motion, myself among the number, when Mr. Gaybert Barnes proposed as an amendment "that the president should at the same time be requested to nominate new members to take the place of those who would immediately resign if such a motion should be carried, among whom would be Edward McGlynn, John McMackin and Gaybert Barnes." I quote the

amendment from memory. Before any one else could speak Henry George interposed, rebuking Mr. Barnes, and the amendment and original motion were both allowed to drop. But it was from that moment evident to my mind that the Anti-poverty society was regarded as the property of Dr. McGlynn, and that Mr. Barnes felt himself secure in his control over the doctor. Having already resigned my office as chairman of the executive committee, I therefore ceased to attend the meetings of the committee, being present at none up to that of last Monday evening. Had I been disposed to attend, however, it would have been impossible for me to do so, as the time of meeting of the executive committee was immediately changed so as to render it impossible for me to attend without neglecting my duties to THE STANDARD.

T. L. MCCREADY.

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BENJAMIN URNER'S STATEMENT.

ELIZABETH, N. J., Feb. 14.—I was one of the original organizers of the anti-poverty society, and was elected treasurer at its first meeting. From the first I apprehended evil results in the future work of the society from that feature of its by-laws which made the president elective by the society and gave him the appointment of its executive committee. The reasons given for this unusual feature never seemed to me to have any weight to overbalance the serious danger to the society, but I nevertheless accepted the views of those better acquainted than I was with Dr. McGlynn, and was reassured by the intention that the society should be incorporated, in which case the objectionable feature would be necessarily removed.

At first the by-law limited the committee to fifteen. Subsequently it was altered so that the number might be increased. The intention of this was to give the president the opportunity to appoint a few desirable persons who had been omitted in the first appointment of fifteen, of which persons it was certainly expected by many that some should be women.

In common with a considerable majority of the members of the executive committee, I was extremely desirous that some of the many earnest and able women of the society should participate in its active work and direction. As Dr. McGlynn continued to disappoint us in the matter, in July I brought it before the committee. It was under discussion at several meetings, during which Mr. John McMackin expressed extremely old fashioned sentiments as to the functions of women, denying them any place in affairs outside of their households; and on Aug. 11, I made a motion "that the president be requested to appoint three ladies as members of the executive committee." This was strenuously opposed by Mr. Gaybert Barnes, who asserted that if the motion prevailed he would resign from the committee, and that he had good reason to believe that Dr. McGlynn and John McMackin would resign also. This prevented the passage of the motion. On the next day I addressed a letter, of which the following is the copy of a portion, to Dr. McGlynn:

> My Dear Sir: At yesterday's meeting of the executive committee of our society, the committee having under consideration a motion "that the president be requested to appoint three ladies as members of the executive committee," Mr. Gaybert Barnes made a statement that he knew that you were strenuously opposed to the appointment of ladies on the executive committee, and that he felt very confident that if the motion prevailed you would resign the presidency of the society. As the member of the committee who has been urging the wisdom of the appointment of women to the committee managing a work which so largely appeals to the sympathies and best efforts of women, I think that it is proper and not at all presumptuous for me to inquire whether Mr. Barnes spoke "as by authority" from you in making the statement mentioned, and whether you would, in fact, have resigned had the motion prevailed? . . .

> It seems to me, permit me to say, extremely unfortunate that Mr. Barnes should have forced this matter to such an issue by making the statement relating to yourself, and adding that he himself, and he was very sure Mr. McMackin also, would resign from the committee if the motion prevailed. It would seem that if Mr. Barnes took that position after consultation with those for whom he assumed to speak, and spoke as by authority, that an alternative is clearly forced upon the supporters of the motion to the same extreme conclusion as the threat of the other side. I have thought it well to inquire of you privately in the matter rather than risk an excited discussion by bringing it up in committee. Yours, very respectfully,
>
> BENJ. URNER.

To this letter Dr. McGlynn made no written reply, but about two weeks later, in THE STANDARD office, he called me aside, earnestly apologized for not having made a written reply, and said that of course Mr. Barnes had not been authorized by him to make the statement about his resigning in case my motion prevailed. I then called his attention to the fact that our cause appealed strongly to the sympathies of women by its charity and simple justice, so easily applied and to be so largely beneficial in uplifting the poor and the distressed, said that we greatly needed the woman quality in our work; that they were a large portion of the membership of the society, and that simple justice required that they should share in its management. I also said that by doing this act of justice. to the women of the society we would not only be doing right to them and good to the society, but we would show our sympathy with the general cause of the advancement of women. To all this he replied that he sympathized with the views which I expressed, but that certain members of the committee would not stay in it if women were admitted, and that he thought we had better not force them to resign. Upon my asking if he knew the grounds upon which such persons opposed the measure he stated that the presence of women in the committee would probably restrain the freedom of the male members by compelling them to keep their coats on and not smoke! He further said that women were very jealous creatures, and if a few were appointed the rest would be disappointed, also that the women who would expect the appointment were not those he would prefer to appoint. I mentioned to him the names of several ladies whose high standing and character would win for their appointment the approval of all members of the society, both male and female, but did not shake his final decision.

The doctor's action in this matter convinced me that he was not actuated by the highest motives, that he was largely controlled by Messrs. McMackin and Barnes, and that he was determined to conduct affairs, not subordinate to the will of the executive committee, but by continued on p. 5 →

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[continued from page 4: "Benjamin Urner's Statement"]

← continued from p. 4 his own arbitrary authority. I thought I saw from this and other indications that the Anti-poverty society would be diverted from its independent work of propagating the reforms which we advocated and become a mere annex to a political machine of which Dr. McGlynn and Messrs. McMackin and Barnes were the manipulators, and that it would not accord with my sense of duty or self respect to become a mere tool to carry out purposes the honesty of which I suspected. I therefore determined that unless the members of the committee would rouse themselves to the necessity of throwing off the things which were making for evil, I would resign my office. While waiting, in hope and expectancy that the society would be incorporated, many things conspired to annoy me in the conduct of my important office. Among these were Dr. McGlynn's utter incompetency in business matters. Remittances sent to him directly were not immediately reported, and in one or more instances were not reported at all, causing much inquiry and correspondence. I am far from charging any dishonesty upon the doctor in this matter; the difficulty, as I fully believe, grew out of his carelessness. His inattention to the clerical duties of his office, such as delay in signing certificates of membership, was another cause of annoyance. But all these things could have been very easily endured had I not been convinced of a constant tendency, in the use of its funds and in other ways, to make the society more and more a mere machine to carry out nominally political objects, but really to carry out the purposes of a few parties, which I believed to be entirely selfish. In resigning as treasurer I retained my membership in the committee, thinking that a time might come when that membership might prove of use to the cause, and the events of last evening, in which I had a very minor participation, in forcing the evil element in the society to fully display itself, justify the wisdom of that course.

BENJ. URNER.

ANXIOUS MERCHANTS.

The merchants of New York seem to many to be men to be envied. They live luxuriously and appear to regard this as the best of all possible worlds. They are almost fanatical upholders of the existing conditions and look with either alarm or contempt on the discontent of labor. Yet it is a question if they have any better reason than the working people to be satisfied with the political and business situation. The "trust," that gigantic menace to all private business and individual enterprise, looms up to add terror to the care that already oppresses thousands of them. No matter what may be their disposition they find themselves forced to leave the old and beaten paths and to enter more or less the field of speculation. Many of them are constantly on the ragged edge alternating between high hope and utter despair.

Here is a case that is largely typical: An apparently successful merchant needs $20,000 in order that he may extend his business in a perfectly legitimate way. He sends for a broker and tells him that he wants $20,000 on single name paper. That is, the merchant proposes to put out promissory notes drawn to his own order and indorsed by himself. This is a common method of borrowing money in this city, and if the house be a solvent one of fair reputation the broker probably reports that he can get the money at eight per cent per annum and his own commission of one-eighth of one per cent. If the merchant wants these notes renewed at the end of three or four

months he can probably extend the loan at the same rate. He may be earning far more than this on his investment. He will probably make two and one-half per cent on his goods and turn over his capital eight times a year. Under such circumstances he can well afford to pay eight per cent for all the money he needs, and his manifest prosperity makes it easy to obtain it. Under such circumstances his bills payable account would probably increase rather than diminish.

In course of time there comes to such a man a period of stagnation in business, or perhaps rivals, by more pushing methods, cut into his trade. Instead of borrowing money because he can make a good profit on it over and above the interest he pays, he now has urgent need of a loan to meet maturing obligations for goods on hand and worth what they have cost, but at present unsalable without a great sacrifice. He sends for his broker again, but that individual is not so cheerfully confident. He says: "Mr. Blank, you have $60,000 afloat on this market, and I greatly fear that I cannot float any more of your single name paper at eight per cent." He comes back presently and declares that twelve per cent is the best he can do. The merchant had better pay that than submit to the loss of forcing his goods in the market.

If there is now a turn for the better and prices rise the goods will probably go off, [t]he new rates be met and the merchant, [hi]mself, will have no hesitation in telling a crony that at such a time a certain fall in prices caught him so badly that he actually had to pay twelve per cent; but if things do not change the case is different. He will have to renew this last loan at twelve per cent. His credit falls to that measure and he must pay twelve per cent [o]n all his other loans, and money is harder [t]o get than it was when he paid but eight [p]er cent. Unless there is a speedy change [f]or the better his credit will fall lower [s]till. The merchant begins to be talked [o]ver by money lenders. Some one holding [h]is paper goes to one of the lenders who

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take big risks for big profits and asks what he will give for $10,000 of Mr. Blank's paper. The answer is probably eighteen per cent off. The holder thinks Blank will do better than that himself, and probably, if alarmed, offers it to him at fifteen. Blank cannot take it then, but sends for his broker to borrow $10,000 at any rate he can under fifteen per cent. And so the process goes on until Blank must pay eighteen per cent a year for ever dollar[sic] he borrows. After this has gone on for a little time he is compelled to "make a statement." His creditors look through his affairs so that they can judge for themselves the risk that they are taking, and they either force a suspension or help the man through. They wish to help him through if possible, for their money is at stake.

Nor is this situation, fraught with care and anxiety, confined to the merchants whose capital has been impaired. Twenty years ago two young men had a business, partly manufacturing and partly mercantile. They enjoyed wonderful prosperity, and in a single year made $68,000 profits on a capital of $70,000. Of course others were promptly attracted into the business, and though their trade doubled during the following five years, they did not make during the whole period as much profit as they had made in that single lucky year. Then came another good time, and though profits did not proportionately increase, the demand necessitated the erection of a costly factory building. The firm was a prosperous one, but it was now more difficult for it to make a profit of $15,000 on a capital of $165,000 than it had previously been to make $68,000 on $70,000.

Trade was good, but the cost of doing business was greater. The new building and more costly plant increased rent and taxes. Rivalry demanded of the firm new efforts to keep their own goods before the public. Thousands of dollars were spent in advertising and in the employment of traveling salesmen. The business continued to grow, but so did the necessity for its growth. The partners had to keep an eye on the market. A corner in certain metals would seriously affect their business. They had to buy largely of such metals in anticipation of a rise. The same was true of certain other raw materials. They could, of course, have bought for future delivery in the market, but a

Sic in the original; probably "every dollar".

future bought of a broker who might burst would not meet their wants. At the right season they must have their raw material in their factory at any cost, or cease to do business. They were a solid firm with a large capital, yet exigencies like these might cause them to become large borrowers. If prices of materials thus bought remained high they would make money, but if they fell their smaller rivals in trade who bought materials as they needed them would undersell them because of this fall. It would be easy to imagine conditions under which such a firm might have to pay unreasonable prices for a renewal of its paper, and thereby be led into the difficulties first described.

This is no fancy sketch. A majority of the business men of New York pass through such experiences several times in their career, and an enormous proportion of them are never out of difficulty. The matters claiming their attention become more complex from year to year, and the drain of rent and interest is continuous, the former ever increasing and the latter constantly fluctuating. It is very doubtful if one-third of the business houses in this city could meet their obligations to-day if suddenly called on to do so. Care and anxiety is the rule, and the dread of bankruptcy has for thousands of seemingly prosperous men all the terror that the dread of starvation has for the very poor. Is it any wonder that we read of suicides among those living in wealth? Is it any wonder that, where it is possible, those engaged in one line of business seek security from the fluctuations of the market by forming combinations, pools and trusts?

Yet certainty of a steady business would obviate the main cause of this uncertainty and maddening anxiety. Give labor unrestricted access to natural opportunities and there will never be a dearth of raw materials. Give to the workmen thus kept busy the full fruits of their toil and we shall never fail to see a market for all the desirable things that ingenuity can fashion and skilled labor produce. Mistakes of judgment might be made, but they would have to be enormous mistakes in order to work disaster to every one—such mistakes as never yet have been seen, for there never have been more manufactured goods in this country than could have easily found a profitable market if the people wanting them had had money, and there have never been crops too big to find profitable exchange had trade been free.

Have merchants not more reason than some of them imagine for considering on their own account the remedies for the evils that shut labor out from production and at the same time curtail the purchasing power of the people? Let them ask themselves if they also are not ground between this upper and nether millstone of land monopoly.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE REAL ESTATE BROKER.

The Chicago real estate board recently had its annual banquet, and, if the pictures with which the Chicago *Herald* garnishes its report of the proceedings are accurate likenesses, the real estate brokers of that city are a jolly, well fed and prosperous body of men. There were speeches, of course, and some of them were more interesting than the speakers themselves intended.

Ex-Governor Hamilton said that during the early days in Illinois real estate brokers

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were known as “land sharks,” and he congratulated them on their improved position. Alexander S. Porter, a real estate broker of Boston, said that in the old days a real estate broker was that and nothing more, but that to-day he is a leader in almost every enterprise throughout the country, be it a building syndicate, a railway line or a water company. “He is,” said Mr. Porter, “the promoter and director of capital, and has done more than any one else to build up our great cities and towns.” Waxing eloquent, he said: “Gentlemen, I believe we have just begun; the play is not half over, and I predict for you an even more brilliant and successful future.”

All of this must have been highly gratifying to the prosperous professional gentleman who has within the memory of men still living been evolved from the despised "land shark." The latter was the man who ran ahead of the pioneers in the early days of settlement and grabbed the choice places in order that he might make the less nimble settler pay for the privilege of using them. Things have changed since then, and the descendants of the emigrants who cursed the land sharks are anxious, as capitalists, to employ the services of the shrewd specialists who can point out to them (for a commission) the opportunities constantly opening to gain over those still coming here, through birth or immigration, just precisely the advantage that the land shark obtained over the original settlers; and so the real estate broker is the promoter of everything that tends to raise the rental value of land in order to give his clients the power to tax every form of that industry which constitutes or creates what we call our wonderful modern progress.

As the real estate broker reaps large profits from this system he naturally wants it continued, and it is not surprising that in response to a toast declaring that the strength of a republican nation "is in its humble, but well ordered homes" Colonel R. C. Givens should protest against any questioning of the sacredness of the right of private ownership in land. Colonel Givens's statement of what he called the Henry George theory was as remarkable as his history of the experiences of the Pilgrim fathers in the common ownership of land and as truthful as his declaration that in this country ownership of land is almost thrust upon its citizens, and that the ordinary laborer is the owner of a humble but happy home. Such post prandial eloquence at so late an hour naturally begot courage, and the gallant colonel gave reasons why the progeny of the ancient land shark "cannot permit the Henry George theory to flourish in this country."

Yet somehow it does flourish like a green bay tree, and the speeches at this Chicago banquet are not in our opinion likely to check its growth.

EXIT BLAINE.

James G. Blaine has formally announced in a letter to B. F. Jones, cairman[sic] of the republican national commtee[,23], that his name will not be presented tcthe[,24] coming republican national conventi[on] as a candidate for president. Mr. B[la]ine says that he is constrained to this dec[is]ion by reasons purely personal to himse[lf,] of which he advised Mr. Jones more th[a]n a year ago. He predicts an easy victo[ry] for the republican party, and bases his [h]ope on the introduction of the tariff iss[ue] by Mr. Cleveland's message. Stra[n]gely enough, Mr. Blaine nowhere in the [le]tter discusses the contingency that his [na]me may be put before the republican co[nv]ention without his consent, and he fa[ils] to say that, if nom[i]nated under such ci[rcu]mstances, he would not accept the no[mi]nation. Yet such a contingency is not [me]rely possible, but probable.

Owing to this omission some othe[r] newspapers hostile to Mr. Blaine trea[t] his letter as a bid for the nomi[n]ation, a[nd] his enthusiastic admirer, the *Tribune*, s[pe]aks of the letter as one in which Mr. [B]laine "withdraws his name so far as it is [in h?]is power to do so." Thus friend and f[oe ap?]pear to unite in doubting that the [w]ithdrawal in February will prevent the [c]onvention from nominating Mr. Blain[e in] June.

The probability is [t]hat the withdraw[al] will prove effective. There have been [of?] late numerous symptoms of republic[an] impatience with the clamor for Blain[e's] renomination. John Sherman and oth[ers] are actively seeking the republican no[m]ination, and whatever other effect M[r.] Blaine's letter may have it will, at lea[st,] offer to any of his former supporters t[he] opportunity to join their fortunes w[ith] those of some other candidate.

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

The eff[ect] of this may readily be so great that a[n] attempt by Mr. Blaine to reconsider [his] determination may prove futile.

The disappearance of Mr. Blaine fr[om] the political field will be a distinct gain [to?] good morals and sound politics. His nomination would at once thrust questio[ns] of personal character into the canva[ss.] His possible flighty and erratic forei[gn] policy would likewise be made an iss[ue.] If the republicans want to try the streng[th] of the protective idea they should p[ut] aside everything that promises to comp[li]cate the situation and nominate a man [of] unblemished reputation on a high tar[iff] platform. Again, Mr. Blaine's retireme[nt] opens up to them a more creditable an[d] hopeful course. If the present laggar[d] congress fails to do anything effective t[o]ward tariff reform, the republicans who ar[e] committed to tariff revision and reductio[n] in their platform, might suddenly remember their broken pledges and come out fo[r] tariff reform themselves. The change o[f] front would be no greater than that which they made with perfect ease on the greenback question.

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Nothing of the kind is likely to happen, however. No dodging or cowardice on the part of the democratic majority in the house of representatives can save their party from responsibility for President Cleveland's message, and the protected monopolies will see to it that the republican party shall still champion their interests. The democrats may as well prepare to face the attack to be made on them as free traders, and the absence of Mr. Blaine from the contest will compel them to defend tariff reduction on principle instead of attacking the personal character of the opposing candidate. Mr. Blaine's act is another in a series of events that prepare the way for a great contest on an economic issue, and nothing so quickly as such a contest can educate the great mass of our people into a readiness for the vastly greater economic question on which they must divide before the march of monopoly shall be ended.

"BREWSTER'S FOLLY."

The property on Broadway, once known as "Brewster's Folly," has recently been sold for $248,500. There was erected on it a fine marble front five-story building, which stood vacant for thirty-three years. It covered lots 627 and 629 Broadway and extended through to Mercer street, the whole lot being fifty feet in width with a depth of 200 feet. Mr. Brewster was an eccentric old bachelor, who had an idea that it was worth a higher rent than any one would pay for it. He accordingly shut it up and held it vacant. The effect was injurious on other property in the block, and the owners of adjacent property stormed and swore, and even talked of bringing suit for damages against Mr. Brewster. They apparently forgot the logic of their own position and seemed to think that, somehow, land ownership does not after all entitle a man to do what he will with h[i]s own. It is now believed that Mr. Brews[t]er's freak has permanently injured the ne[i]ghborhood, and after his death the executors found difficulty in renting the buildi[n]g even at a reasonable price.

It is said that Mr. Brewster paid his taxes [c]heerfully[sic], and took comfort out of the w[r]ath of his neighbors. He must have [p]ossessed considerable other property t[o] enable him to occupy comfortable bache[l]or quarters at the New York hotel durin[g] the thirty-three years that he indulge[d] his peculiar whim. The papers say th[a]t during the time he paid twenty thous[a]nd dollars in taxes. He must have paid [v]ery much more than that, as the prope[r]ty was assessed in 1883 at $166,000, and i[s] now assessed at $174,000. A good man[y] other occupants of land must have been [p]retty heavily taxed by Mr. Brewster t[o] enable him to pay the taxes on his "foll[y]."

The property, it will be noted, sold for $248,500, and is assessed for $174,000. This is [v]ery near to two-thirds of its auction v[a]lue, which is $175,666. Any examination of ordinary Broadway property shows that, as a rule, the

Sic in the original; probably ""cheerfully" (supplied as [c]heerfully)".

assessment is j[u]st about the selling price of the bare land, and it is entirely safe to assume that the land in this case is worth $170,000.

Experience shows that plenty of men can be found who will gladly lease bare land at five per cent on its selling value and contract to pay the taxes in addition. This demonstrates that the full rental value of bare land is .0716 on its selling price. Suppose that Mr. Brewster's land had been taxed to its rental value on $170,000, does any one suppose that he would have been ready to pay for his folly $12,172 a year? Under such circumstances his only profit on the property would have been from the hire of the building, and he would doubtless have been very glad to obtain a tenant who would pay him a reasonable profit on his investment. Buildings are the product of labor and their cost is easily ascertainable, so that the craziest old bachelor in the land is not likely to over value them. Under the single tax system the tax or ground rent would always be a known quantity, and merchants could erect buildings for themselves or else find plenty of men ready to erect them on the promise of a fair return on the capital thus expended. The cranky Brewsters and the numerous smaller obstructionists who now maintain unsightly buildings on our leading streets would rapidly disappear under such a system and merchants would not find their rents increased, though they would be relieved from all taxes other than those levied on land.

A committee appointed by the New York chamber of commerce attended the meeting of the committee of railroads of the board of aldermen on Friday of last week and informed the aldermen that Mayor Hewitt's message concerning rapid transit had been indorsed by the chamber of commerce. Morris K. Jesup, chairman of the visiting committee, declared that he was in favor of having the city undertake the work. Seth Low, ex-mayor of Brooklyn, was a member of the committee, and he declared that he emphatically indorsed Mayor Hewitt's proposal that the new rapid transit lines should be owned by the city. While mayor of Brooklyn, Mr. Low said, he had daily occasion to regret that many public improvements in [t]hat city had passed from the municipal [a]uthorities. It is encouraging to thus find [e]vidence from week to week that men of [i]nfluence belonging to the old parties are [c]oming to see the value of some of the [p]rinciples embodied in the Syracuse plat[f]orm.

[T]he Light Spreading in the Coal Regions.

[F]REELAND, Luzerne Co., Pa.—I would be [onl]y too happy to send you double the number [of] subscribers this year that I did last, and [ind]eed, hoped to do so, but the strike, which [has] been in existence in this neighborhood for

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five months, makes it impossible. One or two have informed me that they have renewed, but the rest are unable to do so. I purchase as many copies every week as I can and send them where I think they will do the most good. In this vicinity THE STANDARD has indeed done a noble work. The good seed which it has sown is bearing fruit. Men are thinking to-day who never thought before, and the "cranky" notion "of abolishing all taxation save a single one upon land values" now finds defenders wherever it is attacked. The present strike, while deplorable because of the immense damage it is doing to business and the untold suffering which it inflicts upon innocent men, women and children, is nevertheless not without an encouraging aspect. The fact that the operators have refused the just demands of the most oppressed, *but best organized*, body of coal miners in this country, and have for five months successfully resisted the men without apparently much loss to themselves, while the miners have been compelled to depend upon their toiling brethren, has opened the eyes of many, and they are asking themselves how it is that, although thirty years ago the operators and their employes were equally poor, to-day the employers have scores of millions while the miners who risked life and limb in order to bring this great wealth from the bowels of the earth, and who have undoubtedly been oppressed beyond all endurance, find themselves so poor that they could not have stood this strike for two weeks save for the charity of others? Aided by THE STANDARD and the tracts which we have been distributing, they are beginning to "see the cat." They have

discovered this vast accumulation of wealth in the hands of the operators to be due, not to their superior intelligence and business tact, but to the stupidity of the masses in permitting them to monopolize natural opportunities and acquire franchises contrary to the spirit of our institutions. Whether the miners receive the advance they have demanded or are compelled to return to work at the old rates, this strike will be a success, because it has awakened thought and aroused discussion which will not cease until the true solution of the industrial problem is found, which is, the securing to all men of their equal rights to natural opportunities provided for by their Creator.

W. B. ESTELL.

A Plan for a Single State Campaign.

PROVIDENCE, R. I.—The aim of the anti-poverty society and of the united labor party is to get their views thoroughly understood by a majority of the thinking, reasoning people of the United States. And as Mr. George clearly shows, the tariff issue now coming into discussion between the two old parties may be made the means of bringing the principles of the Syracuse platform before the country, without injury to the infant organization of the united labor party. It seems to me it would be well for all earnest workers to take advantage of the situation.

The anti-poverty society has got on its seven league boots, and is making tremendous strides, not only in this country, but all over the world. During the coming campaign on the tariff issue, the advocacy of its principles will strengthen the wavering ones who are in a fair way of soon seeing the cat, and will start a hundred thousand men on a pilgrimage of thought.

It seems to me as though the political machines that have heretofore plowed and harrowed and sowed the seeds of political disaster in our country, at last propose to mix a trifle of wheat with the other seeds; and the united labor party will do well to go over the ground with the seed sowers and see to it that at least an even quantity of wheat is put in. In this way our principles will gain a firm footing all over the country, and when the next presidential campaign comes round we shall have no groping in the dark, no fear of casting away our votes, but can present our ballots at the polls with as much certainty as we would a $1,000 certified check at the United States treasury.

In the meantime we can, if we wish, mass our forces on whatever state will enable us to put the single land tax into operation with the least expenditure of time and money.

In my native state, Rhode Island, there are 15,000 to 16,000 voters, who could be supplied with THE STANDARD for one year for say $30,000. A sufficient fund would be needed to keep our best speakers steadily at work in the state. And the flame of agitation once lighted would sweep over the whole state and enable us to capture it within a year.

J. NORMANDY.

Virginia Considering the Australian System.

RICHMOND, Va.—A bill has been introduced into our legislature which is an attempt at adjusting the election laws of Australia to elections in Virginia. The passage of such a law would be gratifying to those workingmen whose bread depends on their voting as their employers dictate. Immediately after the recent election in this state several employers discharged those of their employes who had voted the “reform” ticket. Although not a “reformer,” in the sense in which it was used at that election, I am most mightily opposed to the political or religious rights of any one being abridged by those who deem themselves the especial favorites of divinity.

I could not get a STANDARD in town last Saturday. The newsdealer said there had been a great demand for them. Heretofore I have been able to get them, and those which I have had have been worn so thin by borrowers that they are not able to hold themselves together, and those who borrow them do not fail to "see the cat" and make the most earnest advocates of true democracy and absolute individuality. After all, is it not, as remarked by a most eminent gentleman, "only a question of intellectual development?"

CHARLES LEIDY.

Has to Work for a Living and So Dare Not Sign His Name.

OLYMPIA, Washington Territory.—I first heard of THE STANDARD about a year ago, when there was but a single copy to be found in the town. As yet we have no formal organization, but a few of us meet on Sunday afternoon to talk and read and argue with one another, and we try our best to get people to discuss the question. Monopoly is well illustrated here by the concentration of our magnificent timber lands in the hands of the large mill corporations. As I am a laboring man, and depend on some of the officials for part of my work please don't publish my name.

WEBFOOT.

The Lesson of a Mitering Tool.

NORWALK, Conn.—I have upon the table on which I am writing a mitering tool which cost me seventy-five cents in New York, while my co-laborer has one of the same style which he bought in England costing nine pence, or eighteen cents. Now I would ask Mr. Victor A. Wilder or James Byrns how I am benefited by paying fifty-seven cents more than my neighbor? Does it go to increase my wages? If so, what good is it to me? How much longer would my pen be should you cut an inch from one end and add it to the other end? And, as "time is money," would I not be wasting money by doing such an unreasonable act? In adding or making believe add to a few industries are you not taking from

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others? I should say that the more you charge me for necessities or luxuries the more you take from my wages.

What have the workingmen of to-day made by the high prices in land? But a few have made and many have been crushed. Some think that an advanced price benefits the workman. If so, why do wages tend to a minimum, while land, gas, oil, coal, etc., are at the top of the pole? This is the part of the "cat" that I saw first; now myself and about twenty of my friends see the whole of it, and I am going to point it out to every one I meet, and if they can't see it at first I will chase the cat around them till they do.

JAS. H. BABCOCK.

The United States as a Landlord.

NEW YORK CITY.—In Dr. McGlynn's recent speech at Pythagoras hall he suggested that we demand that congress should tax all land in the territories to its full rental value, and take the proceeds for the public treasury. The good doctor evidently needs to read "Progress and Poverty," or attend Mr. Post's class in political economy. To turn the United States government into a gigantic landlord, exacting rack rents from its tenants and robbing them besides with tariff and internal revenue taxes would be rather a curious step in the way of economic reform.

J. F. LOEFFNER.

Land and Labor in Akron.

AKRON, O.–The land and labor club here is flourishing and gaining new members at every meeting, and there are many sympathizers here outside of our ranks. Rev. C. E. Nash of the Universalist church has delivered several Sunday evening lectures on "The Land for the People," and on last Sunday he made an admirable reply to the speech of Mr. Horr. Dr. McGlynn's lecture here on January 13 did much good, and we owe to it much of our success. At a recent meeting of the club a resolution was adopted declaring in favor of a national convention for president and vice president.

J. L. SHUNK, R.S.

Land and Labor in Denver.

DENVER, Col., Feb. 4.–At the regular weekly meeting of the land and labor club, held at Harmony hall, 1517 Lawrence street, on last Friday evening, Charles G. Buck delivered a lecture on the land question. At the conclusion of his remarks several persons in the audience availed themselves of the invitation to ask questions of the speakers. Tracts, kindly furnished by J. W. Harvey, were freely distributed. The meeting was the largest and by far the most enthusiastic yet held, and the active workers are very much encouraged.

G. H. PHELPS, Secretary.

Never Fear! The Principles are Living and Moving.

DENVER, Col.–I noticed in the Toledo *Blade* of Jan. 5, an article to this effect: "The Henry George party is practically as dead as a Pharaohnic[sic] mummy." Thirty years ago the air was full of the like predictions concerning anti-slavery people. Probably all of the out and out abolitionists in the United States did not number then half as many as the united labor party in New York alone now. We think our principles will be living law in this country long after the Toledo *Blade* is out of print.

WILLIAM HOLMES.

George Ripley on Land Monopoly.

In Frothingham's "Life of George Ripley" occurred the following quotation from one of Mrs. Ripley's articles: "Gerrit Smith is one the increasing number[sic] who, with Moses, Jefferson and Fourier, believe that the monopoly of land is at war with the principles of divine justice; that the usufruct of the earth belongs to the living generations of the race, but its absolute proprietorship to no one but the creator. This principle is capable of demonstration."

Sic in the original; probably ""Pharaonic" (possibly the writer's spelling; quoted from the Toledo Blade)".
Sic in the original; probably ""is one of the increasing number" (word dropped)".

Louis F. Post in Hartford, Conn.

HARTFORD, Conn., Feb. 13.—A lecture on "Free Trade and Free Men" was delivered by Louis F. Post, esq., of New York, on Sunday evening, in the auditorium of Mr. Kimball's church. There were about two hundred and fifty in attendance. This was the initial lecture of a course which it is intended to give on social and economic subjects.

Interesting to Michigan Readers.

Labor societies and others in Michigan who may wish to obtain a lecture from Rev. Albert Walkley of Manistee on labor and tariff questions are invited to address W. R. Hall, 105 Pine street, Manistee, Mich.

A Suggestion for a Tract.

WHITMAN, Mass.—I would like to suggest that President Cleveland's message and Mr. Blaine's manifesto be printed side by side for use as an anti-poverty tract.

C. P. BOLIN.

Absurd?—Not Much!—It's Good Protectionist Argument.

Toronto Globe.

> Now, Montreal wants another pot of public money spent to make Montreal a free port. > > What for? So that freight charges can be reduced. > > Why? To reduce the cost of European goods laid down in Montreal, to stimulate exports, to facilitate trade. > > With what object? So that we can import more and export more. > > But is not the chief object of the protectionists to make us import and export less? > > Yes, but we want to increase importations in order that we may discourage them by increasing customs taxes which we will spend in encouraging imports on which we will levy more taxes to discourage imports, so that we shall have to spend further money in encouraging imports on which we can levy more taxes to discourage imports—and so on ad infinitum. > > Now, is not this absurd? We do not mean the next foregoing paragraph—the absurdity of which we cheerfully admit to be undeniable—but the situation. Here we are taxing ourselves black in the face for the purpose of strangling our import and export trade. Then having added millions to our customs taxation, we propose to add millions to our debt in order that we may reduce freight rates in order that we may offset customs taxation. > > What do our lords the manufacturers say to this insidious attempt to place the "pauper labor" of Europe in a position to "ruin" this country by flooding it with cheap goods?

No Landlords Yet on the Rivers.

Burlington, Iowa, Justice.

> The laborers of Burlington, and the merchants and citizens and other parties whom these laborers patronize have reason to be thankful that the "trusts" have not yet secured from congress or some other usurping authority the exclusive ownership of the Mississippi, otherwise the surface of that stream would be like that of the earth, private property, whose owners would neither cut ice nor permit others to do so without paying rent for the privilege. While the river is free to all a man can work for himself or for someone else, as he chooses. But were the river owned the the owners would demand all they could get as rent, the ice men would cut down wages, the men

would compete for employment and both sides would combine—no, the employers would combine and the laborers conspire; strikes and lock outs would take place on the river and the ice lords, water lords, untaxed or lightly taxed, would draw their rents regularly and enjoy the conflicts between capital and labor as the landlords do under the present tax system.

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THE NEW YORK POST OFFICE EMPLOYES.

How Many Hours a Day Does a Carrier Work?—The Effect of Inquisitorial Discipline Upon the Force.

Whatever may be thought in New York of public servants generally, the letter carriers, as a body, possess the hearty good will of the mass of the citizens. The fact that a man holds the position of letter carrier is commonly accepted as evidence that he is day by day punctually and unfailingly performing a tedious and often vexatious task. It is also considered that the duties of a carrier require intelligent labor. He must be sober and industrious. He must possess qualifications much above those of the man who can command only the wages of common labor. His place is one of trust. It might be thought, therefore, that his lot would be as comfortable as he might reasonably hope for, especially as he is in the employ of the general government, which is, as a rule, made to pay liberally for its service, and the esteem and good will of the public might be expected to help to make his berth an easy one.

But Uncle Sam's munificence has not been invoked to the extent of compensating the letter carriers of New York to a point above what they might earn in private employment for the same amount of work, and the inert great public has exerted very little influence in assisting them to remedy positive grievances under which they have long suffered. Their case has been up for general discussion for some years. Congress has had some debate over it, a commission glanced at it once for a brief while, sympathetic citizens turned out to mass meetings held for the purpose of presenting it to the public, the newspapers, and the post office authorities, and the methods of organized labor were employed to compel a hearing of it at quarters whence relief was quite confidently expected. Nevertheless, the letter carrier to-day follows his accustomed wearisome routine the same as ever, and his burden of cares have not been lightened by a particle.

It might be supposed that, with some little test of the endurance of his legs and of his ability to read superscriptions, the trials of the letter carrier would be at an end. There is, it is true, little to learn in the simple act of carrying the mail. The carrier is on hand at the office at 6 o'clock. He at once proceeds to "set up his route," as he terms the work of arranging in separate packages the city letters, out-of-town mail letters, postal cards and newspapers. Then he counts the pieces of each class and arranges them in the order of the houses on his route of delivery. A route is served by two carriers. At half-past 7 they start on their first trip. Thence forward during the day the two "partners" set out alternately on a number of delivery trips, the beginning of each being timed by a schedule. This is what the public sees of the carrier's work, and little heed is given as to what else falls in the line of his duty. What he is seen to do seems easy enough. and perhaps[sic] not too much for his well being. But the carrier can explain that he does more than simply carry mail.

The post office superintendents officially regard the actual performance of carrying the mail as the carrier's only work, and they keep at each station a time book in which is entered a record of the number of hours a day each carrier is engaged in delivering mail. It is really, however, according to this method of reckoning, when the carrier is not at work that his troubles are deepest, namely when he is "setting up" his route, searching the directory for the possible destination of letters bearing "blind" addresses, looking over the station "log" for records of letters

Sic in the original; probably "easy enough, and perhaps".

probably belonging to residents of his route, and "logging" letters misdirected or from any other cause undeliverable on his route.

The curious distinction of the post office officials between what is work and what is not work in the daily duties of a carrier led the New York postmaster into contradictory official statements a few years ago. The fact was pointed out on the floor of the house of representatives by Congressman Crain in a debate on the eight hour bill in July, 1886. The New York postmaster had reported on one occasion that the average day's work of the carriers of this city was but eight hours and thirty minutes in length. When, however, on another occasion he was asked to state what would be the effect of the eight-hour law in New York, he said it would require him to ask for an additional force of 500 carriers. Mr. Crain said if it was a fact that the 703 carriers then employed worked only eight hours and a half, the new law would necessitate an increase of but forty-five men. The truth was that facts were being manufactured to suit. By allowing to the carriers "time" in the books only for time consumed in delivering mail, the average day was made to appear short, but it suddenly stretched to its full length when the postmaster's record for economy was likely to be endangered through a compulsory employment of a large force. In speaking of the time book farce, a carrier said lately that he expected soon to see entries made regularly of the time, which, in the opinion of the superintendent, the carrier ought to finish his delivery instead of the actual time taken.

The carriers are held to strict account for the extra, unpaid, unbooked work which they perform. The "Official Post Office Circular," which is issued weekly, but "not for public circulation or display," contains a list of "offenses and penalties," in which are given the names and positions of the post office employes of the city found derelict in their duty during the week previous, with the punishment imposed in each case in consequence. Neglect to promptly "log" undeliverable mail, and neglect to study the station "log" so as to be able to guess that among the misdirected letters some are meant for people on his route, are punishable by the suspension or fine of the carrier. Failure to ascertain from the directory the correct address of a "blindly" addressed letter, and failure to interpret a notice of removal in the record book, are also crimes in the superintendent's calendar. The official list of misdemeanants is on an average about twenty a week. The fine imposed on clerks is usually $2, and the term of suspension on carriers a day or two, yet the offense recorded is not infrequently what to the outsider seems to be simply an oversight incidental to work that is often necessarily done in great haste. References are made in the official circular to violation of "Order No. [1,760?], or[sic]"Order No. 1,560," which suggests that a multiplicity of orders may have something to do with the haggard appearance of the average letter carrier. The weight of the "log" on his shoulders may be imagined from the fact that from 10,000 to 14,000 letters are "logged" on some routes in one year. In addition, 400 removal notices a year is not unusual, with "publishers' removal notices" heaped on top of the load.

There is at least one carrier on the New York force who has a methodical and statistical mind united with a determination to put these traits to good use should a congressional commission ever invite him to come forward to testify before it, promising him at the same time protection from the resultant spitework of the superintendents. He has kept a record, to the accuracy of which he is prepared to make affidavit, of

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the number of hours a day that he worked during a period extending over several months, with sundry notes of his observations of things going on in the post office from day to day during that time. For the eighty days beginning Nov. 27, 1886, and ending[sic] Feb. 22, 1887, he worked on an average twelve hours and twenty-seven minutes a day. The average was brought down somewhat by the four holidays—Thanksgiving day, Christmas, New Year's and Washington's Birthday—which came along in that time. In Christmas week he was seventy-five hours on duty; in New Year's week seventy-six hours and forty-five minutes. In one other week he worked eighty-nine hours

Sic in the original; probably ""Order No. 1,760," or"".
Sic in the original; probably ""eighty-eight days" (?)".

and twenty-five minutes. The lowest week was seventy hours. There were weeks in which he never saw his children awake from Monday morning until the next Sunday.

The mail collector, the man who bends almost double under an immense sackful of mail as he makes his way to the post office, and who is on down-town routes called a "jackass" by the small boys, has it, on the whole, somewhat easier than the carrier. His mental burdens are less. "Logs" and "removal notices" do not haunt him in his sleep like nightmares. The envied up-town collector has simply the pleasant task of trotting from eighteen to twenty-two miles a day, stopping at all the street mail boxes on his way and gathering in their contents. He must not deviate from the route laid down for him, or skip a single box, lest he be suspended. When he takes up with his occupation, his weight being usually 140 to 160 pounds, he has before him the enjoyable prospect of training down to bone and muscle only—when he will weigh most likely 110 to 125 pounds. In winter, unimpeded by a long, heavy overcoat, the wearing of which would be contrary to regulations, he has the opportunity to keep warm by much congenial exercise. Sometimes he goes three miles at a rapid pace in the face of a cutting, icy wind, while people generally are hugging the stoves. Then it is that he reflects that during the next summer the generous sun will thaw him out.

The substitute letter carrier, who works long hours for what he may chance to earn while carrying special delivery letters and working for regular carriers, earning about as much as a porter in a store on short hours, is constantly on his trial for good behavior before a superintendent, who may favor him or not. In consequence, he is not over independent. When he is sent down to the general post office for stamps and gets no pay for it, and finds on his return that several special delivery letters which should have brought him eight cents apiece, have been, contrary to regulations, sent out by regular carriers, he does not give voice to all his sentiments. He tries to considerately remember that the city postmaster gets credit in his surplus for the special delivery money saved from the substitutes. The substitute endeavors to qualify himself for a regular position by frequently working from 4 a. m. to 12 p. m., and comforts himself by reflecting that the clerks sometimes go on duty at 8 o'clock one morning and remain at their post until 7 the next.

During the past year much energy has been expended by the lesser authorities of the New York post office in breaking the spirit of such employes as were suspected of being members of a labor organization. The tactics pursued was the selection of such men as were past the vigor of their youth, and had large families dependent upon them, and applying the official screws to them until the poor victims reluctantly confessed what they knew or had heard of what was going on among their fellow employes in connection with organized labor. As a result, at one time a list of twenty-eight names was exhibited to his force by a station superintendent as those of "suspects," and all were required, on pain of disagreeable consequences in case of refusal, to sign a declaration that they thereby severed all connection with the proscribed organization. At another station sixteen men were disciplined in the same manner. After such manner have happier conditions been established by the superintendents. Peace reigns and all the employes are placidly, automatically performing their work. They read without a thought of criticism of the abrupt rejection of the petition of the committee representing the clerks of fifty-three free delivery cities to the postmaster of New York, that he permit them to invite the co-operation of the clerks in his jurisdiction in asking congress to give postal clerks better terms. They read, also, without the flicker of a gleam of satisfaction, that the postmaster general has rebuked the autocratic New York postmaster. They have bowed their heads to the yoke—they are model, loyal workingmen.

A ray of hope, however, occasionally comes to the post office employe from the direction of Washington. Congressmen Cox, Merriman and McAdoo have introduced at the present session a bill to increase their salaries, shorten their hours, and allow them vacations. A petition signed by several thousand New York business men may have some effect toward producing its passage. The new postmaster general has actually recognized the right of the clerks to petition congress for legislation in their behalf. A better day may be dawning for the post-office

employes. But the fact remains that in America wages are so low generally that men of intelligence and character can be found by the thousands anxious to hold the positions now filled by the post office serfs.

Talk About the Message Leads to Talk About Genuine Free Trade.

MONTREAL, Canada.—I am glad to be able to say that the single tax is making good progress here. There is no longer any difficulty in finding men to discuss its merits with.

I took a trip through Vermont a few weeks ago, and was much surprised to find what progress our cause has made in that conservative old state. Conversations which I listened to and took part in on the subject of President Cleveland's late message all seemed somehow to end with: "Well, what about Henry George's free trade?" And then there was sure to be a discussion, in which the grand central idea of the single tax always found a champion.

You are right in discouraging the running of a candidate by the united labor party at the next presidential election. It will not do to waste any shots. I am satisfied the democrats are doing our work for us, perhaps better than we can do it ourselves.

With such a band of noble men and women as are engaged in the new crusade, leading the van of thought, why should we waste time and money to get votes? Would it not be best to take the money required to run an election and place at least six STANDARDS in every town in every state in the Union?

I inclose $2 for some tracts to distribute among railroad men, farmers, clerks and others.

L. L. PELTIER.

Believes in Capturing a Single State.

I heartily agree with those who believe in concentrating our forces on one state. And the state of New York should be the first attacked, because our friends in that state have had two years' experience and have become experienced workmen, while in other states they are only apprentices.

L. [PHILLIPS?]

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THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS.

A Physician Points Out How Our Present Social System Denies the Right to Life—Land Monopoly as a Parent of Disease.

BALTIMORE, Maryland.—It may be of interest to the readers of THE STANDARD to observe the effects that may be expected to follow the single tax reform from the standpoint of a medical practitioner.

That a large number of infants die annually in every city, especially during the summer months, is a fact that everybody knows. They die simply for the want of the proper amount of oxygen needed to keep them alive. They are excluded from this gift of nature by the present laws governing society. To explain this idea more clearly it is necessary that I should relate my personal experience of conversion to the George idea, which happened about five years ago.

During the summer months I was frequently called to see children suffering from that peculiar disease known as cholera infantum. It is principally characterized by peculiar and profound depression of the nervous system. Its symptoms are somewhat analogous to what we should find in partial suffocation, and from the same cause—the absence of oxygen in the air. Drugs as remedies in this disease are of little avail. The only possible hope of saving the little one's life lies in getting it a supply of air. So we send it to the country or on excursions. The charitably disposed have established "fresh air fund" free excursions, and a philanthropic gentleman of our city has endowed a noble sanitarium, where mothers and children are fed and lodged in the country free of all charge. But notwithstanding all these makeshift remedies, the annual massacre of the innocents continues. And it will always continue until we get the single tax on land values, for this reason, that all these remedies are merely palliative, and not preventive.

So long as the causes of infant mortality are not abolished we cannot even pretend to secure to the people those rights to "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness" which we pretentiously announce to the world as "unalienable." The little ones of course have never bartered away these rights, but their fathers have and for not even a "ness of pottage[sic]."

In Baltimore, as in every other large city, we find crowded centers alternately with large areas of vacant land. If you vish[sic] to save your families' lives you add sanitary arrangements to your house, bringing more light, air and water to the various rooms. Then along comes the tax gatherer and fines you by an increase of taxes.

The vacant lands of our cities are surces of disease[sic]. Many localities that a generation ago were sources of malaria have been rendered healthy by the improvements. Slag from a furnace dumped in a marsh will do more for the permanent removal of malaria than all the quinine of a drug shop. Consumption in many cases might be prevented and the hereditary tendency would probably become extinct, possibly in one generation. The same is true of diphtheria, scarlet fever and the other zymotic diseases.

The medical science of the future will aim to fight disease by preventing it. Physicians are being compelled to study the remote causes of disease; and I have no doubt they will place first on the list of these causes the private ownership of land. And in this way they will form a body of missionaries not to be despised. Their training makes them apt to see the evils around them, and renders them willing to accept anything within the bounds of reason in the way of remedy. I flatter myself that more progress is to be expected through their agency than through that of either the clerical or legal professions when once the single tax is fairly presented to them. Their associations are closer to the people from the "cradle to the grave" than either clergymen's or lawyers', and they know the trials of the masses better.

There will probably be poverty for generations to come, due to hereditary traits of character developed under our present system, but there is nothing truer in modern science than that these evil traits in the individual tend to disappear, just as hereditary physical diseases disappear if the conditions are favorable. There seems to be a constant effort of nature to "return to first principles" and evolve a normal man. The only obstacle to this change lies in "man's inhumanity to man," which finds its most pronounced expression in our laws which permit a few to oppress the many by withholding from them their just rights in the soil from which all must draw their subsistence.

I may at some future time write something concerning the economic conditions surrounding the practitioner of medicine himself, and with this object in view I would like to hear from THE STANDARD medical readers any facts bearing on the matter.

Sic in the original; probably "mess of pottage".
Sic in the original; probably "If you wish".
Sic in the original; probably "sources of disease".

WM. H. HILL, M. D.

1438 E. Baltimore street.

The Woodyard Charity in Toronto.

Toronto Globe.

A deputation of the House of industry directorate waited upon Mayor Clarke yesterday morning to talk over the "tramp" question. It appears that last night nearly one hundred persons sought temporary shelter at the house, and as there is nothing for them to do in the shape of work the solution is rather perplexing. Formerly tramps were compelled to saw wood for a couple of hours daily, but more wood was piled up than could be disposed of and this punishment was abandoned. The result of Toronto's philanthropic treatment of tramps is that every year they swarm into town rapidly in increasing ratio. The deputation consisted of Rev. A. H. Baldwin, J. J. Allworth, George Goulding, Henry Cawthra and Chas. Burns. His worship was supported by Aldermen McMillan and Carlyle and the city commissioner. Various propositions were made for utilizing the physical energy of the applicants for relief, but the schemes proposed were not of a beneficial character, being merely such useless labor as building snow forts and the knocking them down, etc. A suggestion was made to set these men working cleaning culverts and gutters, but it was said that the adoption of the local improvement by-law would make this an impossibility. (This is a mistake, by the way, as the city can do the work and assess it against the property, as it will have to do in all matters of street cleaning.) If any reasonable scheme can be devised for employing men out of work and the House of industry indigents, the mayor is prepared to give it his favorable consideration; meanwhile the question is in abeyance.

Abolish Taxes on Industry and the Rest Will Follow.

Central New Jersey Herald.

Anti-poverty is a good thing if accomplishable. We favor such a theory from top to bottom. It is said that Elizabeth has more believers in the McGlynn idea than any other city in the states. An organization of that character has been perfected here under glowing auspices. There is one thing the society holds as a cardinal principle that we readily and heartily indorse, and that is "to abolish all taxes upon industry." That is a democratic doctrine of sacred, we may say, origin, dating back to the political dissertations once mouthed by Thomas Jefferson. Let us abolish all taxes on industry and brains as rapidly as intelligent congresses can give us enabling acts.

p. 6, col. 4

MR. POST'S CLASS.

How the Study of "Progress and Poverty" is Pursued—The Programme for Future Meetings.

On last Wednesday evening the attendance at Mr. Post's lecture in the small meeting hall of the Cooper union was sufficient to fill the room. A dozen ladies were in the audience, which included people of all conditions in life. Mr. Post spoke with the aid of brief notes, and as he proceeded illustrated some of his leading points by diagrams which he drew upon a blackboard. His theme for the evening was chapter 3, book 8, 'Progress and Poverty," "The Proposition Tried by the Canons of Taxation."

Mr. Post said that as communal wants increase with population, and taxes consequently must be increased, so also does rent increase. Economic rent, the result of the growth of population, is the fund from which taxes should be drawn. The products of labor should not be taxed. Aside from the obvious moral grounds on which economic rent could be taxed, it would appear plain that, tried by the canons of taxation, the proposition to tax that rent would hold good. First, the application of the tax would bear as lightly as possible upon production. A tax upon rent would not bear on production at all. The rent for land value was already the tax of a landlord upon a tenant, and if all of it were taken for communal purposes in taxes, there would be no greater burden upon the labor of the tenant than before. But an effect certain to follow would be the elimination of land speculation. Land now held out of use and producing nothing would either be put to use by the holder or transferred to some one who would use it.

The manner in which the tax on land values would operate as to land held out of use was shown by a diagram. It being supposed, as an example, that there were five classes of land represented by five spaces in a square and marked 0, 1, 2, 3 and 4, the value increasing from 0 to 4, and that half the land in all the spaces save the lowest, was held on speculation, the result of a tax to the full extent on land values would open up to production all the land in spaces 1 and 2, the margin of cultivation rising to the line between 2 and 3. If the space 0 had represented before the imposition of the tax land open to the free application of labor, at that time the returns to labor would, by the law of rent, be only 0 in the four higher classes of land. But when by means of the tax the next higher spaces, 1 and 2, were opened to labor, the yield to labor in spaces 3 and 4 must be equal to that from the land of highest value open to labor, namely 2, and if the tax were so adjusted as to take all the land value in spaces 3 and 4, its amount would be represented by 1 for space 3, and 2 for space 4. Opportunity would thus be equal to labor in every class of land.

When taxes are placed on the products of labor the tendency is to reduce the amount of the product. A tax on houses resulted in fewer houses or cheaper houses. A man hav-ing a capital of $1,000 would, if there were no tax on houses and no capital required to procure a lot, put his $1,000 unhesitatingly in a house. But if a lot were first to be bought, and a house, if built, to be taxed, probably he would not build. So all taxes on the [products of labor tend to decrease such?] products, interfere with business, and bear on wages.

In the second place, the land value tax would be easily and cheaply collected. There need be no such horde of office holders as at present are employed by the government. Customs and internal revenue offices would be abolished. The landlord himself would perform a part of the function of tax collector. If he did he could not be bribed to [make?] the tax less. He would charge all he could get. The real collectors need to be a [mere?] handful in the United States as compared with the number now in office. Land lies out of doors. Its value is known to all. Neither land nor value could be secreted. No land holder could swear at the tax office, as do men now who live well and are supposed to possess wealth in some form, that he was worth nothing.

A tax should fall on the ultimate payer. If it could be shifted from A to B and then to C, and so on, each would collect from the next not only the tax but a profit on it, and the last man, the consumer, would not only pay the tax but the accumulated profit on it. For example, the customs tax on fireworks is one hundred per cent. The importer pays, say, $1,0[00?] for a lot of fireworks and $1,000 tax. They have cost him $2,000. Assuming that his profit is twenty per cent, he sells for $2,400. The wholesaler, buying for that sum and selling at a twenty per cent profit, $480, sells for $2,8[80?]. The retailer who has paid the latter sum, selling also at a twenty per cent profit, $57[6?], receives $3,456. If, however, there were no tax, the same lot of fireworks, being transferred, at a profit of twenty per cent to each person, through the same hands, would advance *in price from $1,000 to $1,200, to $1,440,* to $[1,7?]28—just one-half of the cost to the consumer when a tax of $1,000 had been paid. The $728 in excess of a twenty per cent profit on $1,000 would go in profits on the tax to the various grades of dealers in the goods. And they must make the profit on their capital invested in their business; or, in other words, get the average returns for

capital, or they would go out of a business yielding less than that and enter one yielding as much as the general return.

[A?] tax on the value of land could not be shifted. The landlord could not advance his rent to reimburse himself for the tax, as he, speaking generally, now receives all that he can possibly impose, just as every man in business obtains the highest price that he can for his goods. If a landlord were to try to shift his land value tax on a tenant, the latter would be free to move upon open land. Turning to the diagram the speaker showed that if a landlord were to endeavor to force a tenant to pay more for the use of land than the tax upon it, the latter would have abundant opportunity on unoccupied land to earn more than the landlord would leave him. The proposed tax would conform to the third canon of taxation—it would be certain. It would be easy to detect attempts at corruption. An expert accountant would not be necessary to discover irregularities. If a real estate dealer is asked as to the value of a house and lot up town, his reply will be that he must see the house before being able to give an answer. But if he is asked to tell the value of a lot, he merely needs to know the location and he can place a close estimate upon it. Under the present conditions of society, the average citizen cares little about what the assessment of land may be. If he is not a land owner, it matters not to him whether one vacant lot is taxed only fifteen per cent while the next is taxed forty per cent. Many a land owner, too, is cautious as to giving information about inequalities in assessments, for he may himself have land assessed at values that would not bear investigation. Citizens know that the [whole?] amount of the tax levy is to be raised in various ways, and as a rule, so long as they [illegible] in [their?] own persons grievously op-

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pressed, they do not seek to alter the work of the assessors. But if men in general were taxed directly on the value of land, every citizen's interest in taxation would be a lively one. A fair appraisal would be the result.

The fourth canon—that taxes should fall equally on all—would be observed in the land value tax. Men say, fallaciously, that taxation should be laid on these best able to pay it[sic], but they overlook the fact that so long as taxes are put on the products of labor, the middle and poorer classes pay the most money in taxes, for it is the consumer who is reached by the tax at last. The land value tax is one imposed on a privilege according to its value. It makes no difference what a man earns, he should pay for that privilege. Fairness and justice would require that if possible he be left with all he earned above the price of his privilege. The lecturer had once been asked if it would be fair that the owners of the Equitable building, valued at $4,000,000—the structure, $3,000,000; the lot, $1,000,000—should pay no more than a building near by worth $2,000,000—the structure, $1,000,000; the lot, $1,000,000. The reply was that the owners of each were getting from the community an opportunity created by the needs of the community that had been capitalized at $1,000,000. Each ought to pay that value surely. All above the tax on that amount would, under the present system of taxation, fall on the tenants.

A levy on the products of labor not only permitted a manufacturer to make a profit on the tax, but in some industries it enabled a monopoly to be established. When there was an internal revenue tax on matches the supply fell under the control of a monopoly. It was enabled by buying $100,000 worth of stamps from the government to procure a discount on them sufficient to make and sell matches at cost and still have a profit, and thus drive out competitors. That done profit abundantly followed from a rise in the price. The tendency in the manufacture of cigars and liquors is also toward monopoly from similar causes. For the purpose of destroying monopoly such taxes should be abolished. As people would see the iniquity or the unfairness of each form of taxation, as compared with that on land values, they would desire to abandon it. Necessarily, then, the movement toward a single tax must be step by step—unless a revolution were to take place. There is now a movement to centralize taxation on real estate. Let it be done, and when it is accomplished none will see more quickly than house owners that houses should be as exempt from taxes as any other of the products of labor. If a tax on land values alone were

Sic in the original; probably "those best able".

established, it would be difficult to begin to tax any one product of labor to the exclusion of the rest. The men interested would strenuously object.

After a summary of his lecture Mr. Post called the roll of his class, which now numbers 160 persons, and as their names were called several members rose and interrogated him or made suggestions relative to the questions discussed in the lecture.

A gentleman said he believed it would be well for those who are interested in bringing about the single tax if inquiries were instituted as to the assessments on vacant lots. If they were caused to be assessed at their full value they would soon be put to use, which would show that the advocates of the tax were right, and an interest would be [exerted?] in their work.

A gentleman inquired if a shanty town on uptown lots would be possible under a land value tax. Mr. Post said that, land being free [to excess?], nobody would be forced to live in a shanty town, which is an evidence of a deprivation of opportunities.

A gentleman said it was not an unknown trick for an owner of a building erected for business purposes to hold it vacant at a high rental, rather than rent it low, so as to bargain for a price from a buyer based on a rental somewhere near that at which it was held. Mr. Post said this was merely a form of land value speculation.

A gentleman inquired whether the social organization ensuing upon the abolition of all taxes save the one advocated would not be promotive of co-operation. Mr. Post replied it certainly would for healthy, voluntary forms of co-operation.

A gentleman desired to be made clear as to the distinction between selling value and rental value of land. Mr. Post said that he used the term selling value simply because it is generally applied. The single tax would eventually be made on rental value. The selling value of land is now only the rental value capitalized.

A gentleman asked if a landlord could be a square tax collector. Mr. Post explained that circumstances, especially the general interest in taxation, would oblige him to be so. In the period of transition, before taxation on land values reached near the point of full rental value, the landlord would have some of his present advantages. He would always, as a matter of fact, have a small margin as insurance and as compensation for collection. It must always be remembered, however, that the primary purpose of the proposed land reform and of the single tax was not the collection of a fund from the unearned increment, but was the freeing of men by restoring to them their rights in the natural sources of wealth.

A gentleman explained the growth of the sugar ring. He said that if it were not for the customs duty there would be thousands of small sugar mills in all cane growing countries.

Other members of the class made references to the coal combination, trusts and socialism.

Mr. Post announced that on February 15 he would review the entire subject of the main inquiry of “Progress and Poverty,” “Why, in spite of increase of productive power, do wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living?” This would end the regular course. On February 22, Washington’s birthday, there would be no meeting. On February 29 he would give a supplementary lecture on ’Money,” and on March 7 another on “Protection and Free Trade.” On March 14 Mr. James R. Brown would deliver an address on “Rent,” which would be followed by a debate. On March 21 Mr. James B. Sheehan would speak on “Interest,” a debate to follow. After that Mr. Post would retire from the desk of lecturer and the class would proceed of itself.

Studying Political Economy.

DENVER, Col.—Professor G. S. Robbins, A. B., a graduate of Hamilton college, New York, has organized in Denver a class in political economy and social science, which meets every Saturday evening at the rooms of the Scott-Saxton college in the Tabor opera house block. The professor delivers a lecture, at the conclusion of which he answers any questions that may be asked pertaining to the subject of the evening. The class now numbers twenty-five persons, among whom are some of the most prominent professional and business men, as well as several of the leading ladies of the city. Professor Robbins has recommended to the class Mr. George's "Progress and Poverty" as the most scientific treatise on political economy. At the first lecture in the proposed course of four months, which was delivered this evening, a lively interest was manifested and promise given of a [healthy?] growth.

CHARLES G. [illegible]

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A LETTER WORTH READING.

Among the many signs of the progress which the anti-poverty cause is making there are none more encouraging than the aggressive energy with which its advocates are compelling attention to it through the columns of the press. The exchanges of THE STANDARD show that in scores of places believers in the single tax are becoming prompt to expose erroneous reasoning, to point out illustrations, and to criticise false economic doctrines, by means of letters to the local papers. The letter republished below from the Toronto *Mail* is a specimen in point:

TORONTO, January 30.

To the Editor of the *Mail*—SIR: That is a very touching story from Hamilton referred to in your editorial, headed "Home Mission Work," in last Friday's issue, and your remarks with reference to the poverty and distress in Toronto certainly deserve more than ordinary consideration. You tell us, what we know is true enough, that "those who have been instrumental in relieving the necessities of such people could tell harrowing tales of cold and hunger, patiently borne, practically in the midst of plenty." It does seem strange why there should be such poverty and cruel suffering among the poor of the city while many hundreds of dollars were absolutely squandered in providing for the eight hundred or the thousand of Toronto's well-to-do people who spent such a pleasant evening at the grand ball at Government house last week. It may be true that a ball of this kind now and again is a necessity to give the requisite *eclat* to the society season, but to the minds of many the thought will occur that such scenes are a terrible satire on our society, which can thus enjoy itself while, to use your own words, "were they to make a tour of the poorer localities their hearts would bleed, and doubtless so would their pockets, for the unhappy poor." And this brings me to consider three other questions, namely: What is the cause of this bitter poverty? what is the best way to relieve poverty? and why are these poverty-stricken people herded together in all large cities in "poorer localities?" It is generally admitted that the cause of poverty is the scarcity of opportunities to labor. If this is so, the best way to relieve poverty is to create more opportunities to labor.

Now, how best to secure this very desirable object is one of the most important questions of the day. A great many theories which it was claimed would solve the problem have been put forward, but have proved inefficient; the latest theory, that of taking the taxes off income, personalty and improvements, and concentrating them on land values only, is attracting a great deal of attention. Its leading advocate, Mr. Henry George, has advanced his arguments with ability and courage; while all over the land believers in the doctrine are advocating their claims with a persistency which shows that they are thoroughly convinced of the righteousness of their cause. If, by taxing land values only, people who are at present holding parcels of vacant land would be compelled to either use

the land themselves or to throw it on the market, so that any who wanted could use it, a staggering blow would be struck at the primary cause of the poverty; because, with all this land open for use, opportunities for labor would be open for thousands of people who under our present system are condemned to poverty because there is no work for them to do. It is likewise now very generally conceded that the "unearned increment" should go to the community, and not into the pockets of private individuals. But another very strong argument in favor of the single tax is this, that under that system the "poorer localities" of large cities would disappear, for land would not then be so scarce as it seems to be at present, and there would then be no need of building houses on the rear as well as the front of lots, to the detriment of religion, virtue and morality, as is done right here in this good city of Toronto; nor of building the tenement houses of the larger cities—these terrible evidences of the need of Christian brotherhood in the midst of our boasted civilization.

I would ask if our present system of allowing men to hold parcels of land, and sell this land only with the proviso that the buyer will build a house to cost not less than a specified sum, is not direct class legislation, and a menace to the well-being of the community? Under such a system there is an evident tendency to draw a sharp distinction between the rich and the poor—keeping the rich together and of necessity grouping the poor in certain sections, where their sufferings will not be brought too prominently or too frequently under the notice of the well-to-do. Surely the idea of the single tax, which would give the death blow to this state of things, should commend itself strongly, on this point alone if on no other, to Christian and philanthropist alike. This is the mission work to which the adherents of the new crusade have set themselves—to carry to their brethren, rich and poor alike, the belief in the universal brotherhood of man, and the truth that every man being born free and equal is entitled to an equal right with all to the use of the bounties of nature which an almighty God has so mercifully provided for his children; but this can never be realized so long as our present system of taxation is in force, a system which enables one class to withhold from us vast portions of that most indispensable of all requisites to life—land. Yours, etc.,

R. T. LANCEFIELD.

Honesty Rewarded.

Chicago Herald.

"The enormous scope given to the taxing powers of the assessor," said a real estate agent yesterday, "makes it possible to levy an annual tax upon the property in the state of Illinois, should they so elect, of more than ten per cent of its assessed valuation. The limit is: State tax, no limit; county tax, seventy-five cents on $100 of valuation, which can be increased for the payment of interest or indebtedness acquired prior to the adoption of the constitution of 1870; city and town tax is two per cent of $100 valuation, and a proportionate per cent for school, education and for building purposes. In addition to this there are the library, road, bridge, park and other kinds of taxes, different in different localities throughout the state. As it is well known, a tax eater is always able to spend all the money raised and more; the only barrier that stands between the rapacity of the office holder and the people is the election of an assessor who will violate his oath, who will not do his duty, and such is the law of the state of Illinois. An illustration of the point was had recently in Lake View. An honest old parson took his tax schedule and filled out the amounts of valuation on his personal property as fairly as he could. He was the possessor of $2,000 in railroad bonds drawing six per cent interest. Just here let it be said that there is $100.000,000[sic] in bonds owned in the state; there is less than $10,000,000 returned for taxation. But the honest old preacher put in his whole $2,000, and look at the result. The list went to the town assessor, and from there to the county board, where it was raised twelve per cent; going to the state board of equalization it was raised fifty-

Sic in the original; probably "$100,000,000".

two per cent more. Where was the parson's profit now? Twelve per cent made the bonds [$2,240?], fifty-two per cent made them $3,400, and the rate of tax was eight per cent, making a tax of $272 against his $120 received in interest. Surely there is need of reform here.

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TRINITY'S HIDDEN MILLIONS.

Some months ago, while looking over some maps and records in one of the public offices of this city, I asked one of the clerks if he could show me a map of the property owned by Trinity church. He laughingly replied: "I would be much obliged if you would show me such a map."

"Is it not necessary that the men in this office should now and then see such a map?" I asked.

"Yes," he replied, "but we are only allowed to see precisely so much of the map as is necessary, and no man can get a look at a map showing the whole of Trinity's property."

This struck me at the time as a remarkable exhibition of the reticence and caution that marks the conduct of all custodians or trustees holding large bodies of real estate in this city, and I was determined, as opportunity offered, to give more attention to the estate of this great religious corporation, which, by virtue of certain grants made long ago by kings and queens of a people from whom we have been politically separated for more than a century, still exercises a right to levy an enormous tax on people for the privilege of living or transacting business on certain portions of Manhattan island.

The work is one that might easily occupy a man's whole time for many years; but in a literary junk shop I recently ran across a large number of pamphlets that show that Trinity's policy of concealment is not of recent origin, and that not only has this corporation refused information to public officers in this city, but more than thirty years ago it defied the power of the state of New York to exercise any power over it or even to examine into its affairs.

For some years prior to 1856 there was much excitement in Episcopal circles in this city over the alleged favoritism of Trinity in granting assistance to congregations belonging to the Protestant Episcopal church. The standing committee of Trinity was strongly imbued with what are known as high church ideas, and the low church people, under the lead of Rev. Thomas House Taylor, rector of Grace church, strongly remonstrated against the policy of Trinity in granting liberal aid to high churches, however rich, and refusing any aid whatever to low churches, however great their necessities. Fuel was added to the flame by the positive refusal of Trinity to save a free low church from sheriff's sale for a debt of only $1,500. It was further alleged by the complainants that Trinity took mortgages for all of its advances to struggling churches, and that through these mortgages it exercised undue control over aided churches, and practically forced them to vote with it on all questions arising in the diocesan conventions. It is entirely uunecessary[sic] to my present purpose to go further into this dispute than to remark that the evidence was such as to convince the investigating committee appointed by the state senate that the charge was well founded.

In the course of the controversy the opponents of the then existing management in Trinity became convinced that Trinity church and its vast estate belonged to all of the people in the city of New York who were members of

Sic in the original; probably "unnecessary".

the Protestant Episcopal church. They found that Trinity's title to all the property held by it rested upon the original charter granted in 1697, which merely included the church and church yard and the grant of the king's farm made by Queen Anne in 1705. The original charter in set terms conveyed the property for "the use and behalf of the inhabitants from time to time inhabitating and to inhabit within our said city of New York, in communion with our said Protestant church of England," the title of the corporation being "the rector and inhabitants of the city of New York in commuuion[sic] with the church of England," and the charter provided that two church wardens and twenty vestrymen should be elected annually by the majority of the votes of such inhabitants. In 1697 the colonial legislature confirmed this grant in an act couched in the identical language of the grant so far as rector and inhabitants were concerned. Queen Anne in 1705 gave the king's farm to the rector and inhabitants thus constituted a corporation, and no further legislation affecting the matter was had until after the revolution. In 1784 a law was passed by the New York legislature ratifying the old charter and grant which substantially made no change except to substitute the words "Episcopal church" for "church of England," but which still included in the corporation inhabitants of the city and county of New York in communion with the Episcopal church.

There was no further legislation until 1814, when an act was passed changing the title of the corporation to "the rector, church wardens and vestrymen of Trinity church in the city of New York," and confining the right to vote for wardens and vestrymen to male persons of full age who, for the space of one year preceding the election had been members of the congregation of Trinity or any of its chapels. The opponents of the existing management of Trinity in 1855 insisted that this act of 1814 was a direct violation of the rights originally granted to all of the inhabitants of New York city who were communicants or members of the Episcopal church, and they petitioned the legislature for the repeal of that law and the restoration of the right to vote for church wardens and vestrymen of Trinity to all of the Episcopalians residing in New York and qualified to vote in other Episcopal churches. The petition was accompanied by charges against the administration of Trinity's estate and a request for an investigation. The request was granted and, as a result, one of the most interesting and exciting controversies that ever occupied the attention of the legislature took place at the session of 1856-57.

Trinity appeared by counsel and fought the investigation step by step. It denied the jurisdiction of the legislature, denounced its action as an interference with

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vested rights, and brought the most powerful influences to bear for the defeat of the proposed bill granting the demands of the petitioners. Rev. William Berrian, D.D., then rector, wrote a pamphlet in defense of Trinity. John A. Dix, afterward governor of the state, appeared as a vestryman to oppose the pending bill, and Erastus Brooks, then in the state senate, championed the cause of the corporation on the floor of that body. The record of the speeches and debates and the printed testimony of witnesses is even yet interesting and lively reading, and it is not without importance as demonstrating how firmly rooted the policy of concealment was, even thirty years ago, and how little restraint religion exercised over the agents of a religious corporation in their efforts to conceal from a prying public the extent of its possessions and the sources and disposition of its income. Contempt of a legislative committee's authority does not appear to have then been a punishable offense, and refusals to appear before the committee or to answer inconvenient questions without appearing were numerous. The only thing that appears to have induced the Trinity people to appear before the committee at all was the apparent determination of the committee to close the case with the testimony of their opponents and to base a bill on the testimony.

Though many persons now living must vaguely remember this celebrated and exciting case, the great majority of our people know nothing of it, and a resume of the facts then elicited cannot fail to prove interesting as a preliminary to any further examination into the affairs of this great corporate landlord.

Sic in the original; probably "communion".

In 1855 the senate of this state proposed certain questions to the corporation of Trinity church, and to these questions no answer was made. A committee of investigation was next appointed, which, prior to the opening of the session of 1856-57, met in New York city, and served notice on the officers of the corporation to appear before them. No official response was made by Trinity, and one of the vestrymen refused to answer questions put to him on the ground that the whole matter was a controversy between the corporation and the committee, and that it would be improper for him to answer questions put to him by the latter. Other witnesses came forward freely, however, and the testimony taken by the committee was damaging to the corporation. Senator Noxon, of the investigating committee, in the course of a speech in the senate delivered March 25, 1857, said:

> The senate knows and I know the difficulties this legislature has experienced in investigating this matter. The first thing we did when the abuses of the corporation were brought to our notice was simply to press her with resolutions designed to elicit the facts in the case. But they were useless, for she defied us. Trinity church haughtily defied the state of New York. She was a corporation with grants with which we could not interfere. She had vested rights which it was out of our power to touch. No legislature, she said, could call her to account for the manner in which she discharged the duties conferred upon her in her grants. . . . But Trinity church does not stop here. Not only does she deny the right of the legislature to interfere in any manner with her affairs, but when deeming it prudent to report, how does she do so? She reports by spreading out on your tables no names of her corporators, and when taxed with the omission says she did not suppose you needed them. . . . But although Trinity church would not then allow us to have the names of her corporators, she finally does so. She yields inch by inch—protesting at every step—until finally what do we find her doing? Why, she comes to us at last, not insolent and protesting, but begging—humbly begging—and petitioning the legislature of the state of New York to let her alone and not take away her powers.

Trinity did not depend on begging alone. Able counsel were employed by the corporation. Powerful political and social influences were exercised in its behalf. From all the churches that were pensioners on Trinity's bounty petitions came pouring in praying the legislature to leave the close corporation undisturbed in its powers. Senator Sickels devoted several days to a labored defense of the management of the real estate. Yet the evidence demonstrated that a small number of men had obtained possession of a vast public grant which they were determined to manage as best suited their own convenience and without accountability to any one beyond their own small circle.

The opponents of the bill introduced by the committee insisted that it would be dangerous to permit all of the communicants of the Protestant Episcopal church in the city of New York to participate in the election of the wardens and vestrymen of Trinity church. When the legislative committee sought to ascertain precisely who it was that already enjoyed this important power every conceivable difficulty was thrown in their way. It was seen that the list was a profound secret. Bishop Wainwright, at one time an assistant minister of Trinity, tried in vain to get a list. The rector of the church refused to permit him to see it. Minor officials made like refusals. It was only after occasional attempts that extended over a period of eighteen years that Bishop Wainwright was by a vote of the vestry given the privilege of inspecting the list. John De Wolf testified that though for ten years a vestrymen[sic] he never saw the list. The reluctance to show the list to the legislature has already been noted.

When at last the list was furnished to the legislature it was found that it contained the names of NINETY-TWO COMMUNICANTS of Trinity church and all its chapels, together with TWO HUNDRED PEW HOLDERS, or less than three hundred persons who possess the right of choosing the managers of this vast estate. But even this list, furnished reluctantly by the corporation, was found to be inaccurate. Of the ninety-two persons named as communicants it was found that two were dead, twenty-two had no directory address, seven had removed from

Sic in the original; probably "a vestryman".

the city. and four[sic] had gone to other churches. Of the fifty-seven remaining ten were vestrymen and nine rector and clergymen, so that of the communicants there were not more than thirty-six who had not a direct interest in the existing management. A similar analysis of the list of pew holders reported by the corporation reduced the actual number to sixty-eight, so that the

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total number of voters nominally controlling this vast estate was at that time one hundred and twenty-five. Nor was this all. It was made clear from the evidence that rarely, if ever, did more than thirty of those entitled to do so vote for wardens and vestrymen. There were twenty vestrymen, nine clergymen and three or four paid officers of the corporation included in the list of voters, and these were doubtless the people who did the voting.

Yet small as was the body of voters, the corporation was even yet not “close” enough to suit the views of the ruling spirits. The real work of control was committed to a standing committee which, while reporting from time to time to the vestry, had power to do as it chose in the leasing of property. Beyond the vestry no knowledge of the estate’s affairs were permitted to go. To the one hundred and twenty-five members of the corporation no report of any kind was ever made. Practically the vast property bequeathed to the inhabitants of New York, and those to become inhabitants in communion with a certain church, was in the possession of a self-appointed and self-perpetuating body of men who were determined that no others should ever examine into the manner in which they administered the estate that they had thus seized.

When resistance to the legislature appeared to be futile, the managers began to cover up the facts by falsehood. Trinity church had been required by a resolution of the senate to set forth the value of her real estate. The answer was about $1,500,000. An examination made by the committee showed that the property was worth fully $10,000,000, and one of the men asked to value it by the committee declared his willingness to pay $7,000,000 cash for it. When the representatives of the corporation were taxed with their deception in this matter, they replied that they had taken the valuation of the assessors, yet every one knew then, as well as all know now, that the valuation of the assessors is not even intended to represent the true value of real estate. The corporation’s estimate was given in detail, and the committee’s examination proved that property on which the corporation was receiving a ground rent of $5,000 at five per cent, thus making its value $100,000, was put down in the estimate as worth $28,827.40. There were numerous instances in which deliberate falsehood was thus brought home to the corporation.

The result was that the committee made a report declaring, in effect, that the charges of favoritism had been sustained, and that under the original charter all members of the Episcopal church within New York city had a right to vote for wardens and vestrymen, and that they had been improperly and unconstitutionally deprived of this right by the law passed in 1814. The committee reported a bill returning to all Episcopalians in the city the right to vote in the choice of the Trinity wardens and vestrymen, and requiring the vestry to furnish annually to all voters a printed statement of the income and expenditure of the corporation.

Senator Brooks introduced a substitute of the kind then called conservative, which instead of deciding in favor of one or the other of two conflicting and irreconcilable claims, proposed to allow the existing corporators to elect one-half of the wardens and vestrymen and to allow the remaining Episcopalians in the city to elect the other half. This bill was passed by the senate on April 6, 1857, and late in the session sent to the house, which failed to take it up.

The fact that the house succumbed to the powerful influences massed at Albany for the defeat of the bill in no way answers the testimony brought out in the senate’s investigation, so it appears that the insolent corporation that to-day conceals its property from public officers, thirty years ago defied the state and resorted to falsehood and

Sic in the original; probably “city, and four”.

trickery in order to conceal the truth. The necessity for examining into its affairs is as great to-day as ever it was, and a legislature that attempted such an investigation would doubtless compel witnesses to answer.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

No Taxes and a Pension for Everybody.

London Democrat.

"No taxes and a pension for everybody," sounds like a fairy tale. It may be converted into sober fact, not by confiscating property, but by putting a stop to confiscation. Why should it seem a thing incredible that 100,000 persons, having worked hard and honestly, should at the age of sixty-five receive a pension of £10 per annum to make the remainder of their lives more in accordance with the bountiful provision which nature and art have provided for mankind?

We now give to one landlord what might with justice be distributed to one hundred thousand families. The income of the duke of Westminster is reported to equal one million sterling per annum, and probably this is an under estimate of what he actually receives, and far below what he will get in a few years, unless common sense and common justice are allowed in the meantime to prevail.

For this million sterling per annum the duke confers no advantage whatever upon the community. All the labor by which he benefits has been performed or paid for by others. Through the operation of unjust laws, made by landlords for landlords, he obtains the power to make these exactions. Year after year adds to his rent roll, while he stands with folded arms and simply absorbs the value for which thousands toil and remain unrewarded.

This gigantic and heartless fraud has called law and religion to its aid. While it defies the ten commandments it invokes them in the pulpit and in the press.

While it tramples on all just laws, human or divine, it bribes lawyers to contend for its unjust privileges and crushes all opposition by the weight of its untold and ill-gotten wealth.

Think for a moment of this fact—every one of the twenty millions of shillings which the duke pockets every year without exercising a single useful function, every one of these shillings has to be earned by the labor of some one who remains unpaid for his labor.

Workingmen in London earning 12s. per week pay 4s. in rent, and of this sum 2s. goes to the ground landlords for doing nothing.

Fancy the duke of Westminster demanding and receiving 2s. per week, or £5 4s. per annum, from working families whose whole income is far less than the cost of food alone in cases where the worn-out and improverished families are taken to the workhouse in order to postpone actual starvation.

This is thought to be right, reasonable, and just.

Whereas, to propose that a man who has been all his life long defrauded in his wages by means of landlordism, should have £10 per annum after he is sixty-five is absurd, utopian and, indeed, positively mischievous.

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STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

The New York *Sun* now joins Mayor Hewitt in advocating a single tax on real estate in lieu of all other direct taxes. Mr. George seems to be getting in his work since the late Waterloo at the polls.—[Boston Globe.

"What is to be done with the unemployed?" asks the Guelph *Herald*. "Haven't they the tariff?" rejoins the Toronto *Globe*. They have that, but then perhaps their taxes are not high enough. The theory of the men who believe in tariffs as agencies of prosperity is that the more a man is taxed the better off he is.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.

Henry George's paper, THE STANDARD, has entered its second volume and Mr. George says it has succeeded far beyond anything he had calculated upon. Considering its mission, which some ignorant noodles affect to despise so much, the paper certainly has found a field among a class of advanced thinkers which is growing very rapidly. It is now circulating 20,000 copies. What do croakers think of the work?—[Western Watchman, Eureka, Cal.

Labor invention is designed to benefit labor, but so far it has not benefited it a particle, because these inventions can only be used upon the earth, and the earth owners have been able to dictate the terms upon which they can be used and thus reap all the benefit. To make work by discouraging invention would be as wasteful as to set fire to our cities to make work. The true remedy is to grant equal rights to the earth.—[Ceresco, Neb., Times.

The landlord and tenant system now in vogue in many parts of the coal regions of Pennsylvania is worse than that employed in Ireland. Many of the coal miners in this state are so completely at the mercy of their employers that when they refuse to work at the wages offered to them they are unable to get food because the employer controls the only store near the mine; and if the workingmen can contrive to live in spite of this stoppage of their food supplies, they are then evicted from the company houses occupied by them as dwellings.—[Philadelphia Record.

There are in Cincinnati, it is estimated, 25,000 women and children working for wages. The condition of many of these is such that, so far as the comforts of life are concerned, and freedom from the harassing thought of providing for their loved ones, the convicts in the penitentiary are better off than they. The wages of these are so small that they are scarcely able to make enough to procure the simplest food and pay rent for an uncomfortable room, by toiling every moment from early in the morning until 10 or 12 o'clock at night, and sometimes until 1 or 2 in the morning. Some even feel obliged to work as diligently on Sundays as on week days.—[Cincinnati Christian Advocate.

Several gentlemen have invented methods for the prevention of rich men, schemes by which property could be equalized and divided per capita instead of per capital. The result of this could be easily figured out in advance. To-day Jay Gould would be wealthy and Henry George hungry, we will say. To-morrow Jay Gould and Henry George would have $65 apiece. Tuesday Henry George would have [$55?] and a case of colic. Jay Gould would have [$60?] and be at the head of a Jamaica ginger trust. Wednesday Mr. Gould would have $130 and an order on Henry George's agent for the proceeds of his next lecture on anti-poverty.—[Bill Nye in the World.

An Encouraging Sign.

Brooklyn Standard-Union.

There is no more encouraging sign of the times than the general movement now being made in behalf of pure elections. At the north, and particularly in the large cities, bribery, ballot box stuffing and false counting have been practiced since the war. Tweed, the monumental thief of the nineteenth century, the man who stole $20,000,000 from the people of New York in a few years, was the product of the ballot box stuffing system. The boodle aldermen and the hundreds of other thieves who have disgraced public office and stolen the money of the people,

gained their opportunities to steal through corrupt elections. Occasionally the people, angered by some steal of more than ordinary magnitude or by some glaring public iniquity, have waked up and gone to the polls in such numbers as to defy even the trained powers of the ballot box stuffer and briber. That is the safety of universal suffrage. But the periods of anger on the part of the people, busy with the ordinary affairs of life, are spasmodic, and the professional manipulator of elections soon gains control once more. The object of the movement now on foot among the honest men of all parties and of no party is to secure the enactment of a law which shall at all times be as effectual as any human agency can be made to prevent bribery and secure a free ballot and a fair count.

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THE TARIFF AND THE SUGAR TRUST.

In 1886 we imported raw sugar valued at $71,296,007, on which there was paid by the refiners a tax of $50,252,540, an average of 70 per cent. The table sugar imported paid an average duty of 87 per cent. The refiner was protected by 17 per cent on his products. The gulf planter was protected by 70.

Germany protects its refiners by an average of 13 per cent. It imposed in 1884 a tax of $5.71 on 220 pounds of raw sugar worth $9.50, or 60 per cent. On raw sugar that could be used without refining it imposed a duty of $7.14 per 220 pounds, worth $10.20, or 70 per cent. On refined, $7.14 per 220 pounds, worth $9.70, or 73 per cent

France does better yet. It admits raw material free of duty and imposes a tariff of 52½ francs on every 220 pounds of refined sugar, worth 63 francs—a duty of 83 per cent. It has built up by this policy, at the expense of its own people only, a gigantic sugar monopoly beside which the proposed American sugar trust is a puling infant.

The American tariff on the raw material has twenty-five different rates ranging from 1.4 to 2.4 cents per pound, and averaging 2 cents. The refiner's margin ranges from ¾ to 1½ cents per pound. In 1880 it ranged from 1½ to 3 cents per pound. What does the census of 1880 tell us of their business?

Number of refineries, 49; total workmen, 5,857; wages paid, $2,875,032; cost of material, $144,698,499; sold product for $155,484,915; capital invested, $27,432,500.

This is all the information that has been made public for seventeen years past concerning this industry, which, through the forty-nine firms, has in that time collected from the American people over $1,000,000,000 in taxes, about two-thirds being paid into the treasury at Washington and the remainder kept by the forty nine farmers-general. Not a question has ever been asked them as to the amount collected or how it was collected. The revenues from sugar have been farmed out to them as if each state and territory were an Egyptian pashalik, for there is exactly one refinery to each state and territory and a little one for the district of Columbia. The eighty-six internal revenue collectors tax the people about $116,000,000 yearly under the most careful supervision that congress can devise, and must account for every penny. The forty-nine sugar firms tax the people $70,000,000 yearly, and so long as they pay about $50,000,000 for the privilege they are at liberty to collect as much more as they please and are accountable to no one and subject to no control.

In 1879 we imported, for refining, raw sugar worth $67,015,831, and the domestic crop was worth $8,696,616. The total market value of material was $75,712,447; the cost of wages, $2,875,032. The forty-nine refiners reported in May, 1880, that they had sold their product for $155,484,915, an advance of $76,897,436. The advance was not gross profits, for the refiners paid into the United States treasury $39,107,256, and paid in blackmail to the gulf planters $4,831,454. Let us tabulate it:

Imported	$67,015,831

Domestic	8,696,616	
		$75,712,447
Duty paid United States	$39,107,256	
Tax to planters	4,831,454	
		43,938,710
Cost of material		$119,651,157
Cost of labor		2,875,032
Total		$122,526,189
Sold product for		155,484,915
Gross profit		$32,958,736[sic]

This is not accurate. It supposes that the whole product of each year is refined, and that nothing is left over from one year to another. As a rude blocking out, however, let it stand until something better is found.

In 1886 our refineries bought under a burden of 70 per cent and sold at 87. In 1880 they bought under a burden of 58 and sold at 90. They paid an average tax of [2½?] cents per pound on raw material, and sold at an advance of 2½ to 3 cents per pound, an advantage that was reduced one-half by the tariff act of 1883.

Under the old tariff law of 1880 the actual value of their sugar sold that year by them was $81,000,000; the duty and tax on it was $46,000,000; total, $127,000,000. Sold product for $155,000,000; gross profit to the 49 refiners, $28,000,000. But as it is hard for the reader to verify the figures of a dead and gone tariff, let us take the present tariff and see what the $155,484,915 would have represented at the present reduced prices and profits; in other words, what would have been their profit in 1886, provided they had received that amount for the product. We would then have:

Received for product		$155,484,915
Actual value of sugar–		
Imported	$74,450,395	
Domestic	8,696,616	
		83,147,011
Tax collected from people		$72,337,904
Paid U. S. government	$52,185,276	
Paid planters	6,087,632	
		$58,272,938
Profit		$14,064,996

This is not only fair and more than fair to the planter and refiner, but it is the lowest assumption that can be made.

Sic in the original; probably ""$32,958,726" (155,484,915 – 122,526,189)".

The blackmail of $20,152,627 wrung from the people by the forty-nine refiners, includes $6,087,631[sic] which they hand over to the planters. The $14,064,996 left with the refiners does not represent net profit, but merely what should have been their extra profit with careful management, over and above the normal profits of business in Cuba or Demerara. It is the premium put upon the refining business in the United States, the bounty or assurance paid the forty-nine firms to make good their losses from experiments, ignorance, waste. From this must be deducted the losses of the fool in business, the careless manager, the speculative trustee, the theoretical experimentor,[55] and those unfitted by nature and training who are induced by the broad margin against loss to embark in it. The forty-nine refiners reported in 1880:

Sold product for		$155,484,915
Cost of material	$144,698,499	
Cost of wages	2,875,032	
		147,573,531
Profit margin		$7,911,384

Some refineries are bonanzas; others make very little. There is so much wasted in a business like this where each one is presented yearly with fifty per cent of a new capital. and where[sic] incompetence is “protected” against loss by a tax on the people, that a sugar trust is a very wise and a very proper thing. If by better management the whole $14,064,996 can be saved to the forty-nine firms instead of only $7,911,384, why should it not be done?

If protection is right, the forty-nine firms should be compelled by law to form a sugar trust, making monthly or quarterly reports to the secretary of the treasury, and each refinery should be subjected to government supervision in the same manner as each distillery. A sugar trust does not mean higher taxes and higher rates for sugar, necessarily. Is means, first of all[sic], the saving of some portion of $6,153,612 now lost by waste and extravagance. It means the closing of refineries whose crack brained managers try costly experiments in crystalization. It forbids kite flying at ruinous rates of discount. It stops wild speculations. If, when once welded into one well managed business, it chooses to raise the present rate of taxation, the people will

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be no worse off then than they are now, if, indeed, so badly off. Some refineries now earn one hundred per cent, others nothing; and the average is twenty-nine per cent. The people pay in blackmail to them for their profit fifty per cent on their capital, and the main object of the sugar trust is to enable each refinery to get the fifty per cent on the capital invested that the people now pay.

The poorly managed refineries must be kept running, and, without a sugar trust, the price of sugar must be put up till the worst manager of the forty-nine makes a living profit. This is the *sine qua non* of protection. With each refinery making thirty per cent at least, which it can do under a trust without increasing the present tax (or price of sugar), there will be less temptation than now to raise prices. The public must accept a sugar trust or it must pay more for its sugar to keep open the refineries now losing money.

The proposed trust capitalizes the refineries at $60,000,000, and guarantees to each ten per cent. Nothing could be fairer. The profits reported in 1880 were $7,911,384, or twenty-nine per cent, while this trust calls only for $6,000,000 yearly, or twenty-two per cent on the money actually invested.

Sic in the original; probably ““$6,087,632” (figure in the table above)”.
Sic in the original; probably ““experimenter” (period variant spelling possible)”.
Sic in the original; probably “a new capital, and where”.
Sic in the original; probably “It means, first of all”.

To make twenty-nine per cent without a trust it was necessary to tax the people $20,152,627 more than the sugar was worth, duty added, or ten per cent on a capital of $200,000,000. Instead of opposing a trust it is the duty of a wise man to welcome it. “It isn’t the rich as breaks into houses and steals.” The refiner, controlled by a trust and sure of twenty-two per cent yearly profits, will not be so apt to put up prices as the reckless refiner never sure of even two per cent.

The key of this whole sugar question lies in the small item of $14,784,247 paid by the refiners to the sugar planters of the gulf states. The sugar crop of 1879 was 169,972 hogsheads of 1,137 pounds, or 193,258,164 pounds. At an average of four cents per pound this was worth abroad, in 1886, $7,730,326, and the forty-nine refiners would have had to pay that year seventy per cent more than it was worth as raw material, or $5,411,228, so that it would have cost them, in 1886, $13,141,554. The largest possible extra profit is given to the planter in order to be more fair to him [and?] to the refiner and to their side of the [question?]. The real value in 1880 of the [Louisiana?] crop was four and one-half cents per [pound?], or $8,696,616. It was protected by a tariff of about two and one-half cents or fifty-eight per cent average, making the blackmail $4,831,454 and the total cost to the refiners $13,528,070. As every supposition is in favor of the refiner, the crop of 1880 is given the price of 1880 and the seventy per cent protection of 1886, raising the blackmail to $6,087,631.

That these sugar planters may blackmail the refiners out of $6,087,631, the refiners are permitted to blackmail the people out of $20,152,627, and the people are compelled to submit to taxation amounting to $72,337,904 levied and raised by forty-nine private firms—one for each state and territory and one for the district—according to their own sweet will and pleasure, taking from each head of family $8.64, under no supervision by congress, and under no restriction by the legislature beyond a proviso that they shall not choke the man and take the money from him by force if he and his family refrain from using sugar.

Why? Is it that 227,776 acres may be planted in sugar cane in seven states, producing 178,872 hogsheads of sugar? Is not $329 per acre, $425 per hogshead and thirty-seven cents per pound a pretty dear price to pay for such vanity? Isn’t the whistle too dear?

Is it that 5,857 workmen in forty-nine refineries may receive $2,875,032 yearly in wages—$494 yearly each? Is not a tax of $12,000 yearly for each workman receiving $494 a pretty dear price to pay for such vanity? Isn’t that whistle too dear?

T. E. WILLSON.

That Beneficent “Protection.”

——.—I read in the Macon, Ga., *Telegraph* some “elegant extracts” from other southern papers, whose sentiments the *Telegraph* piously approves, showing what a good and pleasant thing our “protective” tariff is and how wicked are the misguided men who oppose it. I don’t know that these particular extracts are much more striking than a thousand others that one might glean from the press; but they will serve the purpose of a “text,” as well as any others.

One paragraph, from a Nashville paper, asks to know how calico came to be four to five cents a yard under a “robber tariff?” When a woman can purchase material for a neat frock for from 48 to 60 cents, where, it demands of a candid world, is the robbery?

Of course it is broadly hinted here that this “beats free trade.” May not a simple-minded alien from the realms of trade ask, What do you want, then, of protection? Are the benevolent manufacturers robbing themselves, and do they only want foreign goods kept out lest we should be cheated by importers into paying more for our calico and

other things than these self-denying patriots are charging us now? Are these virtuous friends of the poor only demanding protection against foreign wares that they may keep us, the consumers, from emptying our own shallow pockets by buying at too dear a rate the products of "foreign pauper labor?"

In the name of common sense, what can be plainer—all sophistry apart—than the inequality, injustice and, therefore, robbery of the protective tariff? Is it a crime to resist men who plunder us? Is it a crime to advise men to vote against a measure that they may protect their own wives and children against the danger of being unjustly deprived of the the necessaries of life? As justly may the wolf rebuke the sheep for bleating when the said wolf is seeking to make mutton of the latter's carcass.

If any people in America ought to oppose protection surely the southern people ought. But we have some "infant" manufactures down here, and "infants," as Gulliver justly remarks, *apropos* of his experience in Brobdingnag, want to put everything into their mouths. The giant baby, by the way, that got Gulliver's head into his mouth, pretty well represents our "infant" industries. It may be an "infant," but it is a child of the giants; and we are less fortunate than Gulliver, for our heads are still in the mouth that has partly eaten us already, and will finish us if we let this innocent baby have its way.

Will the laboring men of America, even those who work at the manufacture of protected goods, never learn that protection can do them no good, and that, even if it could, it would be at the expense of monstrous injustice to the great body of their toiling brethren and in utter violation of the golden rule?

CLERICUS.

Will Keep on Reading.

OAKLAND, Cal.—I have read every issue of THE STANDARD from the first to the fifty-fifth with interest and profit. I think I am a better man for having read it, better able to discharge the duties of citizenship; and I will be better able to meet and understand the questions of the future by continuing to read it, whether I fully understand and agree with it in all things or not. I, however, heartily agree with it in regard to the single tax on land values, and may yet come to see why free trade should take the place of protection. Kittens do not see the cat until their eyes are open.

D. S.

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CHURCH GOSPEL AND CHRIST'S GOSPEL.

Hugh O. Pentecost in the Christian Union.

To formulate criticisms upon the church is an ungracious business; and, too, it is difficult because "church" is not easy to define, and there are many things which one may be perfectly well satisfied are true but which are difficult to put into words without overstating the truth. Nevertheless, I think I may say, without exaggerating, what is clear to me at least, that the defect of the church which is most serious and apparent is that she does not teach nor practice the religion of Jesus Christ.

Christianity is, to my mind, in its teaching and practice, judged by its creeds or the opinions of the majority, and by its acts and policy as an organized institution, no more, essentially, the religion of Jesus Christ than Buddhism. There are more doctrines and practices in Christianity which slightly ally themselves to what Jesus said and did

than in Buddhism. But in being essentially unlike the religion of Jesus, Christianity must take her place with other religions. Do organized Roman Catholicism, or Episcopalianism, or Methodism, or even the simpler polities of Protestantism, bear more than the slightest resemblance to the religion of Jesus? But for certain catch-words I am sure the gospels might be studied by one who knew nothing of them, until he was familiar with the life and sayings of Jesus, and afterward the creeds, books of discipline, canons and institutes of organized Christianity examined by him in the same manner, without his recognizing the supposed relationship between them. So marked is the difference between Christianity and the religion of Jesus that one must practically make choice whether he will be a follower of Jesus or a Christian. He cannot be both. A minister or priest who becomes a follower of Jesus, as I understand him, can neither *get* nor keep a pulpit of organized Christianity.

To particularize: As to doctrine: When a lawyer asked Jesus the pivotal question, "What must I do to have eternal life?" Jesus told him he must love God and his neighbor; and to another, who declared he was accustomed to do this, he added, "Sell all thou hast and give to the poor." This, then, is the gospel of Jesus. But the gospel of the church is not only not this, but it is the open denial of it. It declares that in order to have eternal life something must be believed. If the church should admit that Jesus taught the truth on this point, orthodoxy, "old" and "new" alike, would be destroyed. I have heard more than one good man declare from the pulpit that the gospel was not preached until after the death of Christ, because there was no gospel to preach till then. The gospel of Jesus was preached by himself, but, true it is, the gospel of the church was not preached till later. They are so unlike that one cannot believe them both.

Jesus said, "Take no anxious thought for the morrow"—the gospel of trust. The church, from every pulpit, says accumulate money "for a rainy day"—the gospel of economy. Jesus said, "When you pray, go into your inner chamber"—the gospel of modesty in our relations with God. The minister prays openly in the synagogue for fifteen minutes, more or less, at each public service—the gospel of spiritual parade. Jesus said, "When you give, let not your left hand know what your right hand does"—the gospel of sincere benevolence. The church says, "Get your large givers to head the subscription list, and publish their names with the amount they give"—the gospel of phariseeism. Jesus said, "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you"—the gospel of transparent rightness. The commercial laity of the church say, "If you do, you will fail in business"—the gospel of getting on in the world. Jesus said, "Resist not evil"—the gospel of non-resistance. The majority opinion of the church shows contempt for his teaching by upholding wars, murder in defense of person or property, a punitive prison system, and capital punishment. I know of but two pulpits and one Christian newspaper that did not laud the hanging of the Chicago communists—the gospel of violence and revenge. Jesus said, "If a man smite you on one cheek, turn to him the other also"—the gospel of courageous self-control. The church, by a majority opinion, smiles superiorly at the precept. Jesus said, "Lend, hoping not to receive again"—the gospel of persons. Christians say, "Lend at the highest rate of interest, upon gilt-edged security"—the gospel of property. Jesus said, "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to get into the kingdom of heaven." The simple truth, when we consider that no man gets rich except by defrauding, legally or illegally, some one else. The church opens a wide door for the entrance of the rich, and makes it harder for the poor man to enter than for a camel to go through a needle's eye.

The practical precepts of Jesus, some of which I have cited, and which mark his moral greatness to the spiritual mind, are rarely chosen for texts, and when they are it is generally to explain them away. There is not one Christian in a hundred who believes them workable or makes any attempt to practice them. But much is made of the command to "baptize all men" and the institution of the eucharist; and more is made of the opinion of the author of the gospel of John concerning the extra-natural character of Christ.

We have the curious anomaly of Christianity which insists upon worshiping him as a divine being whose doctrinal teaching it repudiates, and whose practical precepts it declares impracticable and makes no attempt to follow.

I may not trespass on your space too freely, and must very briefly mention what seem to me three well-nigh, if not quite, incurable defects in the church.

She does not live to do good in the world, but to strengthen and perpetuate herself. She ought to be purely and solely a missionary. But expensive ministers and mortgaged buildings compel her to seek for money more than souls. She itches for respectability with the restless desire of a parvenu. Socially approved and well-to-do people who will increase her revenues and raise her prestige she struggles to catch, but her fishing for those to whom she can only give, and from whom she can nothing get, is languid. Witness the complaisance with which the minister names the notables in his congregation. Witness the speed with which the churches abandon the poor down town many and follow the rich up town few. Instead of using herself for the betterment of this world, the church seems to me more than willing to use this world for her own aggrandizement. Her aim, that for which she works most enthusiastically, is the exact reverse of what it should be. A hundred persons love their church and will work for it where one loves men and will serve them.

The church is always on the side of "things as they are." She is ever against the oppressed and the poor. She gives money lavishly in charities; she builds mission chapels for the poor, but she does nothing for them that is not as pleasing to her complaisant pride as it is helpful to the poor. The gentleman before whom the beggar doffs his hat and to whom he says, "God bless you," is about as pleased with his giving as the beggar; and the pleasure is equally injurious in either case; the pauper's delight and the pharisee's delicious sense of the difference between them.

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The church's goodness to the poor is all of that sort; she is gentle and benevolent as long as the poor are docile and grateful; she is a patroness of the poor. But when it comes to righting the wrongs of the oppressed and defrauded, or even seriously attempting to discover if there are wrongs to right, the church always shows that she has no such love for the poor as Jesus had. She never was known to attack a vested wrong until popular opinion drove her to it. She dabbles in dilettante reform slightly, more missions, better tenement houses, cooking schools, associated charities (all but the missions begin and end in essays and newspaper articles, for the most part); but let a prophet point out a radical defect in the social system, which must be changed before anything of worth can be accomplished, and the church is as deaf as an adder. She would not see the evil of slavery until everybody else had. She will not even try to see the evils which make and keep the people poor. "As much charity as you like for the worthy poor," says the church, "but talk not of social injustice, else we shall have to look upon you as one who threatens vested rights. Let the poor be contented, sober and industrious in this best of countries, and cultivate habits of church-going and Sabbath-keeping, and all will be well. If they suffer, it is their own fault." I believe that history and passing events alike attest the truthfulness of what I say.

The last criticism which I shall make is that the church does not allow, much less encourage, freedom of thought. She permits you to think as you like, but not within her communion—that is, if you happen to be a minister. You may think what you like, Roger Williams, but not in Massachusetts! This is not freedom of thought. In taking this position the church becomes the enemy of truth, the enemy of the mind. There is not a distinctive denomination in Christendom that does not put an imperative check on the mind at some point. And yet Jesus said: "And why even of yourselves judge ye not what is right?"

I hope my "criticisms" will not seem bitter. There was a time when I felt bitterly upon these subjects, but it has passed. I know how many good men and women are in the church, doing God's work happily and conscientiously. They are contented in the church. I am happy out of it. We may each do our appointed work.

Many good friends have said to me: 'But even though these things are true, why abandon the church? Why not remain within and do what you can to reform her? Why not live out your discipleship of Jesus within the church?" My reply is that I tried to, but I became such a disturber of the peace by preaching the gospel of Jesus in the

church that I thought I ought to go, before some number of persons disgraced themselves. If any one thinks he can follow out his honest thought within the church, if that thought leads him to discard the received opinions of the church and to attack vested wrongs which are as yet popular, or to accept the precepts of Jesus as workable, if he is a minister he will probably discover how mistaken he is. The church always has a place for priests; never any place for prophets.

A Matter Canadians Should Attend To.

TORONTO, Canada.—Will you kindly permit me to call the attention of your Canadian readers to the necessity of sending their names to our secretary, S. T. Wood, 85 Shuter street, Toronto. We are now circulating petitions asking the legislature to grant to each municipality the power to adopt its own method of taxation. Of course we are anxious that these petitions should have very wide circulation, and we therefore require the individual assistance of every man in Ontario to get signatures at once and have them forwarded without delay to the legislature, now sitting in this city.

We expect soon to have a bill prepared and brought forward in the house, and if once we get this power of local option we shall expect to make short work of the personalty tax and the income tax. Having gained these outworks we shall then proceed to storm the taxes on improvements. By that time we trust that we shall see a break in the superstitious reverence that bows to the yoke of indirect taxation and holds up its hands for a tax that leaves the toiler open to the full blast of *foreign competition* while it shields the capitalist from such competition—the tax that "makes no difference between the last dollar of the widow and the one among millions of the millionaire."

Such, in brief, is our plan of campaign, and we trust that every Canadian who sympathizes in our movement will feel it an honor to step into the vanguard of one of the grandest movements the world has ever seen. One man now is better than a thousand when we become the majority.

W. A. DOUGLASS.

Anti-Poverty in Cincinnati.

The seventh regular meeting of the anti-poverty society of Cincinnati was held at Elks' hall, No. 200 Vine street, on Sunday February 5, and was more largely attended than any of its predecessors. Mr. Paul Garrupy presided. After the opening hymn, "There's a wideness in God's mercy," by the Jubilee choir, the chairman delivered an address, giving for the benefit of any new visitors the objects and aims of the society. A solo, "Rock of Ages," by Miss May Smith, was then sung, with Mrs. H. W. Harrison at the piano. Then came a very entertaining ethical address by Mr. C. H. Fitch, entitled "A Matter of Book-keeping," followed by Mr. L. W. Shott with a recitation, "The Printers' Angel." A solo by Miss Dee, "The New Kingdom," then an economic address by Mr. C. S. Walker, entitled "The Why, the How and the What," and the closing song, "New Crusaders' Marseillaise," completed the exercises.

At the next meeting the members will be expected to give their experiences, each speaker to be limited to three minutes in which to relate how he or she has "seen the cat," so aptly illustrated by Judge Maguire of California.

Justice in Taxation for Gas and Water Works.

FINDLAY, O., Feb. 2.—According to the ground hog theory, we are to expect six weeks' winter yet, so that except perhaps in Findlay and a few favored localities fuel is an important item to the American citizen. I see by THE STANDARD of the 14th ult. that Mrs. McCreery of Washington, D. C., suggested to her husband that all the citizens of Chicago should be allowed to participate in the benefits of natural gas underlying that city by a reduction of the expense of lighting and heating their houses and business places, instead of the Cook brewing company only. But Mrs. M. and her husband neglect to suggest a practical method of reaching the best possible results, even to a public mind familiar with the fact that natural gas is plentiful, and may and should be free to every citizen of this city as air or water.

In recent special correspondence to the Cincinnati *Commercial Gazette*, W. P. A. said "that the city had purchased all the gas wells within a mile of the court house . . . were charging the general consumer five cents per jet per month for light, and fifty

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cents per store or grate[sic] per month for fuel, and were taking active measures toward abolishing even this small price; that the citizens in September last voted to bond the city $100,000 for building a water works system," etc.

The active measures referred to amount to some of the citizens inquiring why the consumers should pay forty or fifty thousand dollars per annum for gas that costs simply the sinking of wells and service pipes laid, or cost of plant, represented by $140,000 at six per cent, for payment of which the city is bonded and a levy authorized of three-tenths per cent upon all the taxable property. Why not elect a city council which will place the price of gas under such rules and regulations as will make it practically free to manufacturer and laborer alike. And believing that fifteen or twenty thousand per annum is sufficient to pay the current expenses, interest and sinking fund, and that justice in taxation demands the whole should be placed upon the tax duplicate and collected as other taxes, leaving no need for another gas corporation under the title of gas trustees and superintendent, with an army of employes and all of their attendant political and personal preferences and prejudices, to be paid for by the people. They propose to push this question to the front in the coming municipal election.

If this be wise public policy and justice in taxation, why not abolish water rents, place the cost of supplying water upon the general tax duplicate, and make it free to consumers? And if not, why should consumers of either pay double the cost of production to the city, knowing the larger the amount the more there is always squandered by city officials? In other words, if natural gas and water works are benefits to a city and enhance the value of property therein, why not tax the property to pay for them and allow all citizens to consume in proportion to their needs, and thus equalize the participation of all in the benefits?

The public mind of Findlay is not yet prepared to place all taxes on land values, but desire those who have sold their lands at large valuations and are loaning the money at ten to fifteen per cent to others who are improving and building up the city and encouraging industry, to pay taxes on their money values toward the expense of public improvements.

1.

Getting to the Root.

Toledo News.

Sic in the original; probably "cents per stove or grate".

> Leipsic, O.—As an example of the evil of mere speculation and hoggish selfishness on the one hand and a liberal and enterprising spirit of live and let live on the other, "the good of one the good of all," on the 26th of September, 1887, the Buckeye stave company of this place purchased the 160 acre tract of land known as the Jones land, on the south side of Pike road, No. 6, and a half mile east from the D. and M. railroad and corporation line, for $10,700 cash, after a long negotiation. This land has been carefully kept, and had perhaps the best and largest amount of timber of any place near here, but still in a state of nature. During the past twenty-five years of rapid progress all around it, the proprietor always raised a few dollars higher in price when a purchaser applied. Immediately, as if by magic, the scene was changed from a solitude to busy and active work; the woodman's ax and saw resounded and echoed all along the north line; numerous teams were seen moving from and to this former solitude, and at this writing a steam saw mill is at work on the land, and at least one-quarter clear across the north end nearly smack smooth cleared, except the brush heaps. Ship timber, lumber, stave bolts and wood for use, and a small army of workers made happy by employment and good wages.—G. W. H.

A few words of reference to the above. Here is 160 acres of land bought from the United States for $200 and sold for $10,700. Now, what has added $10,500 to the value of that piece of land? Simply the money and work of the owners of the surrounding property. Is it right for the law to allow or compel a community to contribute to the building up a fortune for one man out of the hard earnings of his neighbors?—[Ed. News.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[Advertisement] Ollendorf's Neurodontine

OLLENDORF'S

NEURODONTINE.

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

[Advertisement] Charles B. Schaidner, Photographer

CHARLES B. SCHAIDNER,

PHOTOGRAPHER,

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

Children's Photographs by instantaneous process a specialty

[Advertisement] Holland's Coffee and Dining Rooms

HOLLAND'S

COFFEE AND DINING ROOMS,

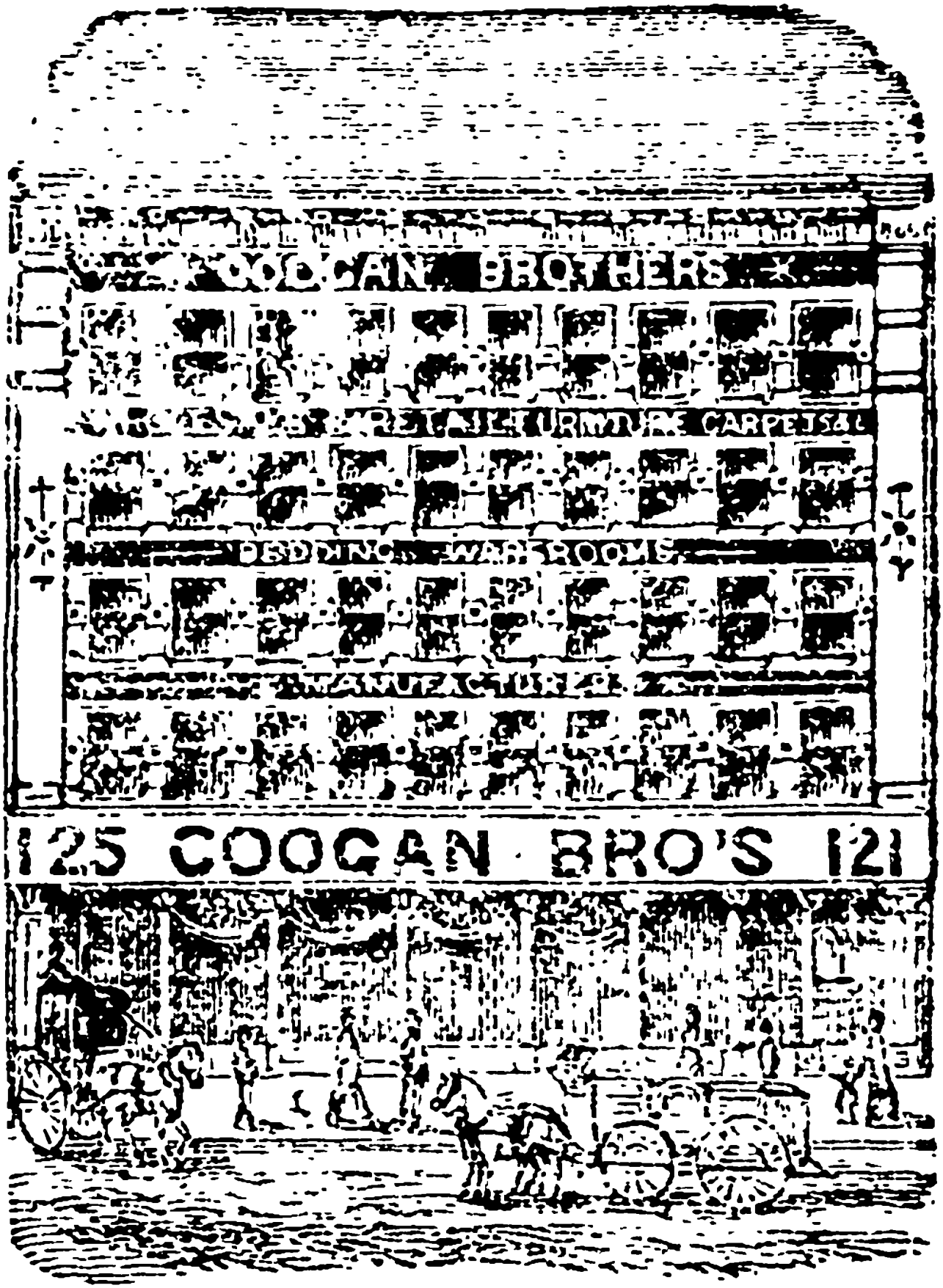
[113?] Fourth avenue,

Bet. 13th and 14th sts.

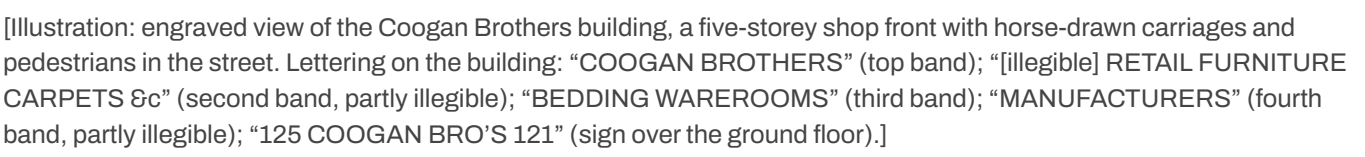
[Advertisement] James Bogan, Principal Agent

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

[Advertisement] Coogan Bros., Carpet and Furniture Dealers


125 COOGAN BRO'S 121

p8_fig1



[Illustration: engraved view of the Coogan Brothers building, a five-storey shop front with horse-drawn carriages and pedestrians in the street. Lettering on the building: “COOGAN BROTHERS” (top band); “[illegible] RETAIL FURNITURE CARPETS &c” (second band, partly illegible); “BEDDING WAREROOMS” (third band); “MANUFACTURERS” (fourth band, partly illegible); “125 COOGAN BRO’S 121” (sign over the ground floor).]

COOGAN BROS.,

CARPET AND FURNITURE DEALERS,

COR. BOWERY AND GRAND STS.

MINING NOTICE.

ANNUAL REPORT OF THE LA ABRA Silver Mining Company.—The amount of the capital of said company is [$300,000?]; the amount actually paid in on said capital is [$235,000?], and the existing debts of said company amount to [$165,831.06?]. Dated New York, January [26?], 1888. J. G. Baldwin, President. J. G. Baldwin, S. S. Ely, Fletcher Westray, George C. Chase, majority of trustees.

State of New York, City and County of New York, ss.—James G. Baldwin, being duly sworn, says that he is the president of La Abra Silver Mining Company, the corporation above named, and that the foregoing report, which is signed by him and a majority of the trustees of said company, and the matters therein contained are correct and true according to the best of his knowledge, information and belief.

J. G. BALDWIN.

{ Notarial Seal. } Sworn to before me, Jan. 25. Wm. E. Trotter, Notary Public, N. Y. Co.

PRINTING.

[Advertisement] Concord Co-operative Printing Company

CONCORD CO-OPERATIVE PRINTING COMPANY (Ld.)

47 and 49 Center st., N. Y.

BOOK, JOB AND NEWSPAPER PRINTING.

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[Advertisement] Unity Congregation

UNITY CONGREGATION.

REV. HUGH O. PENTECOST,

MINISTER.

MASONIC HALL,

Sixth avenue and Twenty-third street.

SERVICES,

Sunday Morning, 11 o'clock.

[Notice] Anti-Poverty Society in Philadelphia

ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY IN PHILADELPHIA.

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

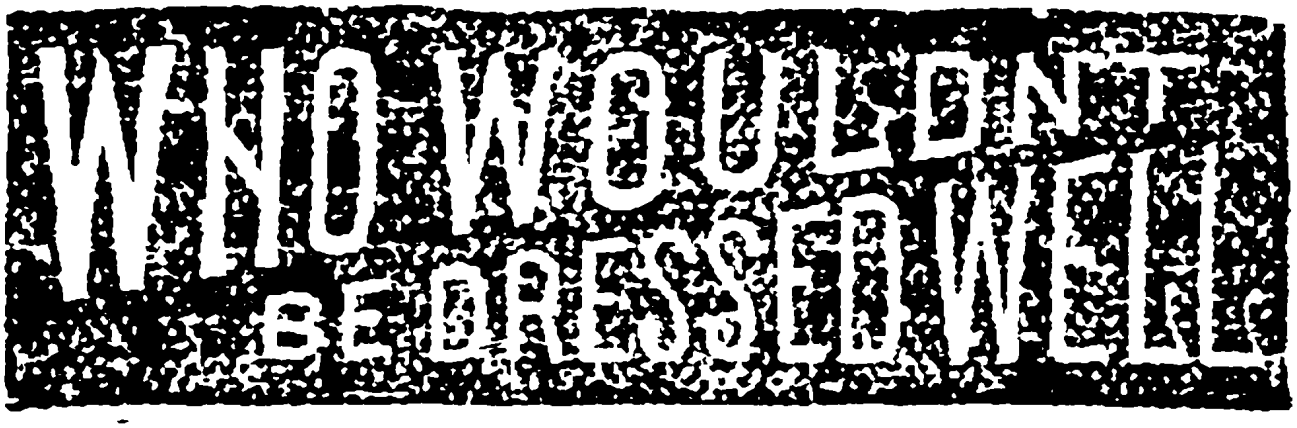
Everybody invited. Admission free.

WM. J. ATKINSON, President.

J. H. M'INTYRE, Secretary.

MISCELLANEOUS.

[Advertisement] Braham's, "Who Wouldn't Be Dressed Well"



p8_fig2

[Display heading: white lettering on a black ground, "WHO WOULDN'T BE DRESSED WELL" (apostrophe not visible: "WOULDNT").]

SUITS TO ORDER FROM $13.50.

PANTS TO ORDER FROM $3.50.

Samples and self measuring chart mailed on application by stating price and as near as possible design desired.

BRAHAM'S.

212 Bowery, New York city.

[Advertisement] The Keystone Watch Club Co.

THOUSANDS OF THE BEST

$38 GOLD WATCH

EVER MADE ARE SELLING IN OUR

CO-OPERATIVE CLUBS.

This is the Best, Cheapest, Most Convenient,

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

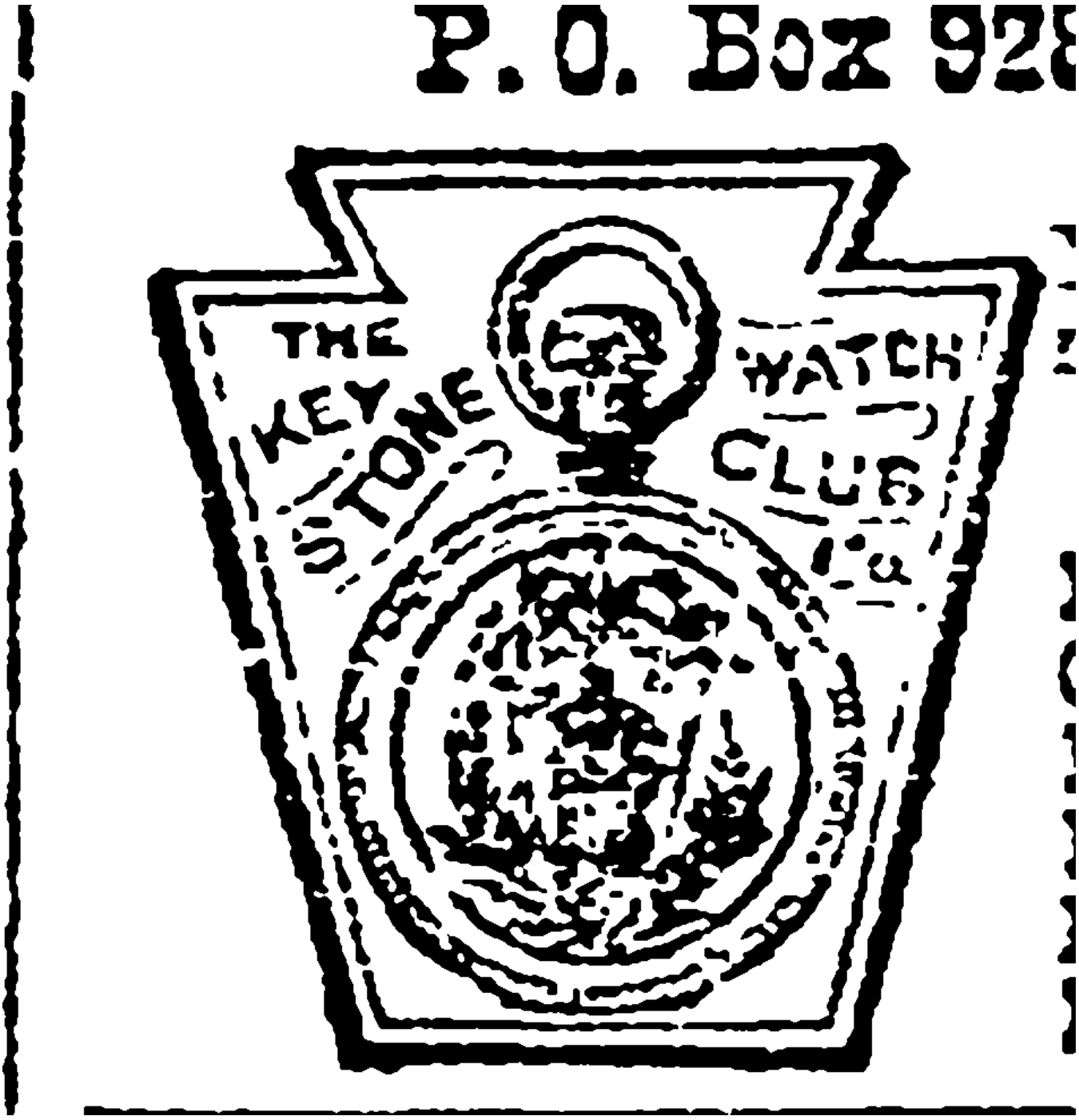
Our Co-operative Club System brings them within the reach of every one.

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

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

The Keystone Watch Club Co.

P. O. Box 928, Philadelphia, Pa.



p8_fig3

[Illustration: keystone-shaped trade mark enclosing an open-faced pocket watch; lettering “THE KEY STONE WATCH CLUB Co.”]

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

AGENCIES:

New York, N.Y.	Harrisburg, Pa.
Chicago, Ill.	Denver, Col.

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

[Advertisement] Autocopyist

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

AUTOCOPYIST

Only equalled by Lithography. Specimens Free.

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

[Advertisement] Canned Goods, C. M. M. P. A. stamp

Canned Goods



p8_fig4

[Illustration: circular stamp, white lettering on black, “HAND MADE” above and “C. M. M. P. A.” below a small central emblem.]

WITH THIS STAMP IN THE BOTTOM OF CANS ARE

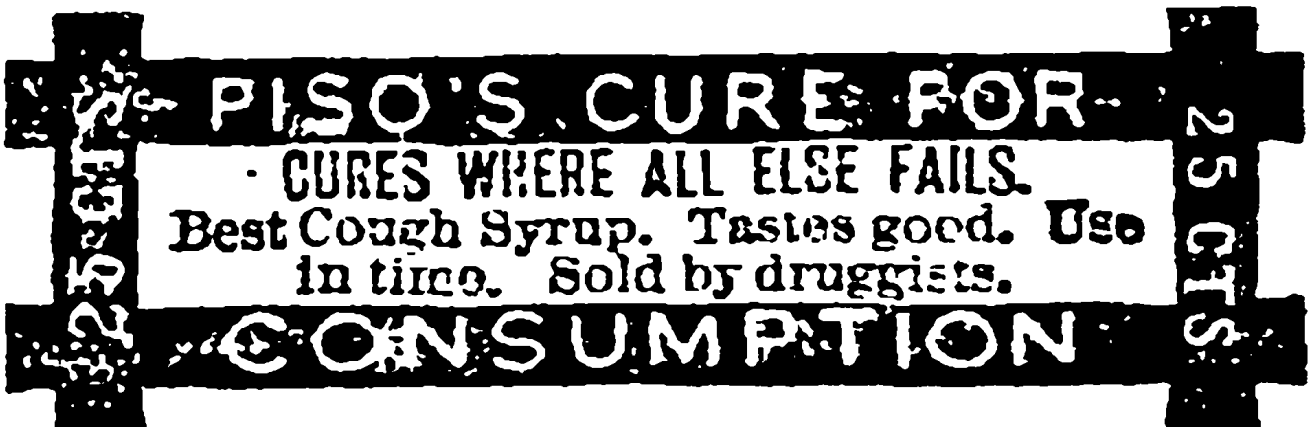
Free from Poison,

AND ARE MADE BY

ORGANIZED LABOR.

Trade-Mark.—Registered.

[Advertisement] Piso's Cure for Consumption



p8_fig5

[Display advertisement in a black frame; vertical side panels read "25 CTS." each side.] PISO'S CURE FOR CONSUMPTION. CURES WHERE ALL ELSE FAILS. Best Cough Syrup. Tastes good. Use in time. Sold by druggists.

[Advertisement] The Great American Tea Co.



p8_fig6

[Illustration: T-shaped black emblem with white lettering “THE GREAT AMERICAN T E A COMPANY”.]

GOOD NEWS TO LADIES.

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

THE GREAT AMERICAN TEA CO.,

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

UNITED LABOR PARTY.

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

California—Judge James G. Maguire, San Francisco.

Connecticut—Robert Pyne, 234 Asylum st., Hartford.

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

Indiana—Warren Worth Bailey, Vincennes.

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

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

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

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

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

New York—John McMackin, 28 Cooper Union, New York city.

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

South Carolina—Benjamin Adams, Charleston.

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

[Notice] Illinois

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

[Notice] All Readers of The Standard in favor of a united labor party in the First assembly district

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

[Notice] 23rd Assembly District

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

[Notice] Voters of Maryland

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

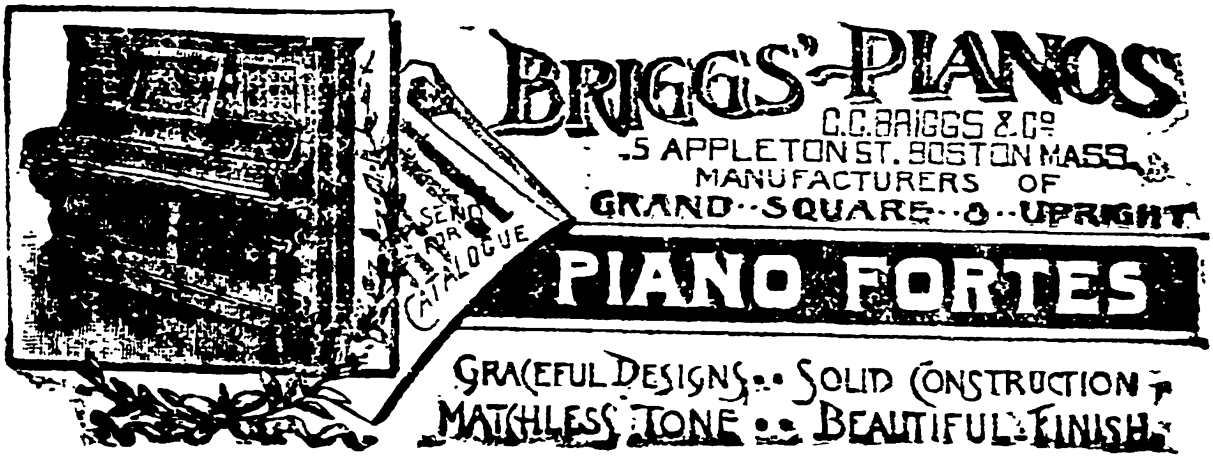
JOHN SALMON,

415 N. Eutaw st., Baltimore, Md.

[Advertisement] Henry George, Dr. McGlynn and Pentecost photographs

HENRY GEORGE, DR. McGLYNN AND Pentecost. 3 cabinet photos., 25c. SIDNEY ULRICH, 184 Chrystie street, N. Y. City.

[Advertisement] Briggs' Pianos



p8_fig7

[Illustration: display advertisement with an engraving of an upright piano at left framed by foliage, a ribbon reading "SEND FOR CATALOGUE", and display lettering.] BRIGGS' PIANOS. C. C. BRIGGS & Co. [5?] APPLETON ST. BOSTON MASS. MANUFACTURERS OF GRAND SQUARE & UPRIGHT PIANO FORTES. GRACEFUL DESIGNS. SOLID CONSTRUCTION. MATCHLESS TONE. BEAUTIFUL FINISH.

Damaged type restored

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

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
1	PERSO[NAL AN?]D POLITICAL.	dhus” (t badly struck)	thus
1	[Account of the conference at 28 Cooper Union]	The e” (r missing/unprinted)	There
1	[Account of the conference at 28 Cooper Union]	ca ling” (l faint/missing)	calling
1	[Account of the conference at 28 Cooper Union]	roposed” (p unprinted; faint patch over several lines here)	proposed
1	[The committee’s programme and the attack in Brooklyn]	knpwledge	knowledge
1	[Who has changed?]	McClynn” (G with its spur broken off, reads as C)	McGlynn
1	[Who has changed?]	desire •o have” (t blotted)	desire to have
1	[Who has changed?]	incong’uous” (r broken)	incongruous
1	[On supporting Mr. Cleveland]	But, ▮to” (a risen space/quad printed between the words)	But, to
1	[Agreeing to disagree]	nc: openly” (t broken)	not openly
1	[“Going straight on”]	oy going” (b broken, ascender missing)	by going
1	The Twenty-first Assembly District.	h.s” (i broken)	his
2	QUERIES AND ANSWERS. Effect of the Single Tax in England.	land!” / “world!” / “for!” (question marks struck so they resemble exclamation points)	“land?” / “world?” / “for?”
2	ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY. Benefit for the Striking Pennsylvania	of L[ab]or … nev[er] [b]ring” (letters damaged/ missing)	of Labor … never bring
2	ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY. Benefit for the Striking Pennsylvania	that [damaged letter] will rise	that it will rise
2	[Henry George’s letter to W. T. Croasdale]	the [r]ichest part … see [th]e men” (letters smeared by a crease)	the richest part … see the men
2	[Henry George’s letter to W. T. Croasdale]	w[or]king” (ink blot over letters)	working

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
2	[Henry George's letter to W. T. Croasdale]	oi men" (f of "of" broken)	of men
2	[Offer of THE STANDARD's columns to Dr. McGlynn, and his rep	t[o]" (o broken/missing)	to
2	[Dr. McGlynn's statement to the press]	in[d]ependent" (d broken)	independent
3	[Dr. McGlynn's statement (concluded), with THE STANDARD's re	atten^led" (damaged d)	"attended" (broken type)
3	[Dr. McGlynn's statement (concluded), with THE STANDARD's re	roli" (damaged l)	"roll" (broken type)
3	Comments of the Press.	organizaticns" (blotted)	"organizations" (broken type)
3	The Attack in Brooklyn.	the'ollowing" / "Jn" (f missing, I damaged)	"the following" / "In" (broken type)
3	AN INTERVIEW WITH HIM.	uitent" (blotted)	"intent" (broken type)
3	The Text That Dr. McGlynn Garbled.	inportance" (m damaged)	"importance" (broken type)
3	An Echo at St. Stephen's.	pablic" (u damaged)	"public" (broken type)
4	PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY. Adopted at Syracuse Augu	secu?ing" (r damaged, reads like "seculing")	securing
4	THE UNVARNISHED TRUTH.	assemb'y" (the l raised/ misaligned)	assembly
4	THE UNVARNISHED TRUTH.	objected" (final d damaged/ misformed)	objected
4	THE UNVARNISHED TRUTH.	necessary" (r damaged, reads like "necessaiy")	necessary
4	THE UNVARNISHED TRUTH.	delusion" (l broken, reads "de.usion")	delusion
4	THE UNVARNISHED TRUTH.	only" (y broken)	only
4	THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	26" (first figure damaged, reads like "2" over "3")	26
4	THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	Betwéen" (e damaged)	Between
4	THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	o'" (f broken)	of
4	THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	wiich" (h broken)	which
4	THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	aixious" (n broken)	anxious
4	THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	sidetr·cked" (a broken)	sidetracked

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
4	THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	sodety	society
4	THE ANTI-POVERTY SOCIETY.	embarr·ssing" (a broken)	embarrassing
4	BENJAMIN URNER'S STATEMENT.	presid·nt" (e faint/broken)	president
4	BENJAMIN URNER'S STATEMENT.	desir·bl·" (a and e faint/ broken)	desirable
4	BENJAMIN URNER'S STATEMENT.	firs·" (t broken)	first
4	BENJAMIN URNER'S STATEMENT.	ir." (n broken, reads "ir.")	in
5	ANXIOUS MERCHANTS.	ali" (final "l" broken)	"all" (broken type)
5	ANXIOUS MERCHANTS.	materia's" ("l" broken, printed as a raised fragment)	"materials" (broken type)
5	THE EVOLUTION OF THE REAL ESTATE BROKER.	be" with "e" smudged/filled by a blot	"be" (broken type)
5	THE EVOLUTION OF THE REAL ESTATE BROKER.	op?nion" (i obscured by a blot)	"opinion" (broken type)
5	EXIT BLAINE.	damaged/missing type throughout "Exit Blaine" (c. y 5450–8200 full-res): letters missing mid-line in the first two paragraphs ("conventi as", "Mr. Bine", "deion", "himse of", "thn", "victofor", "hisope", "issby", "Straṭely", "the ter", "his ıme", "coen-tion", "he fa to", "nommated", "cim-stances", "nona-tion", "not rrely", "othe", "tre his", "nomiration", "a his", "saks", "Mr. line", "it is lis power", "fo/a-pear", "theit-drawal", "theo-vention", "Blain June", "'hat") and, from "The probability" on, the last 1–4 letters of each line not printed against the column rule	the bracketed letters supplied in the text (broken/missing type; bracketed letters are editorial restorations, "?" where less certain)
5	EXIT BLAINE.	tari," (the "ff" broken, printed as a blurred fragment)	"tariff" (broken type)
5	"BREWSTER'S FOLLY."		

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
		o:" / "aft:r" / "executbrs" (letters f, e, o broken)	"of" / "after" / "executors" (broken type)
5	"BREWSTER'S FOLLY."	buildig" (n missing/broken)	"building" (supplied as buildi[n]g)
5	"BREWSTER'S FOLLY."	ossessed" (p missing/broken)	"possessed" (supplied as [p]ossessed)
5	[T]he Light Spreading in the Coal Regions.	cow finds" ("n" broken)	"now finds" (broken type)
5	The Lesson of a Mitering Tool.	Engiand" ("l" broken)	"England" (broken type)
5	The United States as a Landlord.	landlo?d" ("r" filled in/ blotted)	"landlord" (broken type)
5	No Landlords Yet on the Rivers.	the the owners" (across a line break)	the owners
6	THE NEW YORK POST OFFICE EMPLOYES. How Many Hours a Day Does	Manv	Many
6	THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS. A Physician Points Out How O	Pavsician" (damaged)	Physician
6	THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS. A Physician Points Out How O	alternatel;";"sanit?y", "?ooms", "an? fines", "m?laria", "i? provements", "wll do", "quini? e", "prevente?", "probaby", "feve?	"alternately", "sanitary", "rooms", "and fines", "malaria", "improvements", "will do", "quinine", "prevented", "probably", "fever"
6	THE SLAUGHTER OF THE INNOCENTS. A Physician Points Out How O	wil aim", "Physiians", "rmote", "doubt;hey", "ca?? the", "thisway", "nt to", "theurapt", "ren?ers", "?he bounds", "throug?	"will aim", "Physicians", "remote", "doubt they", "causes the", "this way", "not to", "them apt", "renders", "the bounds", "through"
6	MR. POST'S CLASS. How the Study of "Progress and Poverty" is	$3 000,000	$3,000,000
7	TRINITY'S HIDDEN MILLIONS.	elicited" (blotted "t", broken type)	elicited
7	TRINITY'S HIDDEN MILLIONS.	$100,000" (dollar sign malformed, looks like "§"; broken type)	$100,000

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
7	TRINITY'S HIDDEN MILLIONS.	the" (first letter faint/broken, broken type)	the
7	No Taxes and a Pension for Everybody.	improverished	impoverished
7	No Taxes and a Pension for Everybody.	landlordism" ("r" broken/ blotted, broken type)	landlordism
7	An Encouraging Sign.	the" ("t" missing/broken, broken type)	the
7	An Encouraging Sign.	once" ("c" filled in, broken type)	once
7	MACRINE POLITICS AND MONEY IN ELECTIONS IN NEW YORK CITY	Machine Folitics	Machine Politics
7	HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS.	Introductory" (n damaged, reads "Iatroductory"; broken type)	Introductory
7	HENRY GEORGE'S WORKS.	universal" (final "l" missing/ not inked, reads "universa"; broken type)	universal
8	THE TARIFF AND THE SUGAR TRUST.	distill / ery" (no hyphen at line break; joined as "distillery")	distill-ery
8	THE TARIFF AND THE SUGAR TRUST.	$20.152,-62." (final digit missing/broken, period for comma)	$20,152,627
8	That Beneficent "Protection."	elegant" (e/l faint, reads like "ciegant")	elegant
8	That Beneficent "Protection."	deprived of the the necessaries of life	deprived of the necessaries of life
8	That Beneficent "Protection."	mutton" (first letter broken)	mutton
8	CHURCH GOSPEL AND CHRIST'S GOSPEL.	'But even though … within the church?" (opens with single quote, closes with double)	But even though … church?
8	Anti-Poverty in Cincinnati.	ad / dress" (no hyphen at line break; joined as "address")	ad-dress
8	Getting to the Root.	building" (letter broken, reads like "builaing")	building
8	Canned Goods, C. M. M. P. A. stamp	STAMP IN" (N broken, reads like "IK")	STAMP IN

Page	Article	As read in the scan	Written as
8	ILLINOIS.	requested t write” (o missing/ broken)	requested to write

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