THE STANDARD

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POLITICAL AND SOCIAL.

A number of my correspondents speak with something like irritation of the defection of workingmen from the united labor party, as shown by the great reduction in the vote in New York city this year as compared with the vote cast for me last year. In this they are unreasonable. Not merely was there a great difference between the campaign of last year and the campaign of this year with regard to the prospects of election, and not only were there strong special causes at work to cut down our vote, but the lessening of the labor vote is general over the country. In New York city the united labor party lost largely, but still polled a respectable vote, and has yet an organization strong, determined and aggressive. In the west, however, the union labor party has gone to smash.

Further than this, as was said over and over again during the campaign, the united labor party is not a "labor" party, in the ordinary meaning of the term. It has no more claim on the votes of the wage workers, organized or unorganized, than on those of the farmers or any other class of people. It presents to the voter clear cut principles, and aims at definite measures. It cannot expect a vote of mere sentiment; nor, if at any time it may attract such a vote, can it have any security in its continuance. It can only expect to get the votes of wage workers as it gets the votes of farmers, or clerks, or clergymen, or store keepers—that is to say, as it convinces men of the justice of its principles and the good results that will follow carrying them out.

The appreciation of these facts by the men who stand by the principles set forth in the Syracuse platform manifests itself in a very general demand for a change of the party name. The feeling seems to be that the name united labor is good enough in itself, but that while it has no special strength, it does lead to misconceptions, and needlessly arouses prejudice by confusing a movement which aims at benefiting the whole people with movements which have aimed at nothing but small and temporary palliatives for class grievances.

Among the names which have been proposed I am inclined to think that that adopted by the first organization on our principles ever made in this city, and which our friends in St. Louis seem especially to favor—that of "free soil"—is probably the best. It is expressive of our main purpose, and it has the advantage of having been used before in American politics by men who have left clean and honorable traditions. However, all this will settle itself in time. The party itself—the party which aims at the restoration of all their heritage to all the American people—whether it shall be called the united labor party, or anti-poverty party, or commonwealth party, or free soil party, is here to stay till its work is done.

A more important subject for consideration is what should be the policy of the party as to running candidates next year. This calls for a good deal of careful thought, but we need as yet be in no haste to come to a decision. What that decision finally will be will largely depend upon circumstances.

In these columns last week Mr. W. T. Croasdale declared his impression against running a presidential ticket, and in this issue Louis F. Post takes the same ground. This is the view which is at the present time taken by some of our most earnest men; but, on the other hand, I am inclined to the opinion that the majority of our friends, especially at the west, are in favor of voting steadily for principle, without regard to results. And for my part, I certainly do not share Mr. Croasdale's horror of the pit in which he seems to think the dogged policy of the prohibitionists has landed them.

The trouble with the prohibitionists, it seems to me, is not their policy, but their principle. They have not only kept their cause alive and maintained a constant propaganda by their policy of putting up a ticket no matter how hopeless the outlook, but first here and then there they have brought prohibition into practical issue, and one after another have carried a number of states. Had the prohibitionist party been based upon a principle as broad, as practicable and as enduring as that on which we stand, the local successes they have already gained would ere this have enabled them to sweep the Union. But unfortunately for them the prohibitionists win a state and enact prohibitive laws only to find that prohibition does not prevent.

All that we who are in these early days rallying round the cross of the new crusade care for in politics is the opportunities political action gives for missionary work. The whole question of our policy resolves itself into a question of how we can work with most effect to stimulate the discussion of our principles and hasten the recognition by the masses of the beneficence of our aims.

THE STANDARD has received several requests for blanks for petitions in favor of the Australian system of voting. We are having some printed and will be ready next week to send them to such of our friends throughout the state as will take an interest in having them signed. There is no single reform in the mechanism of our politics that will do so much good as this, and it ought to have the earnest support of all who desire honest government, no matter how they may differ in other respects.

Yet no matter how much the adoption of the Australian system may do for the prevention of bribery and intimidation, and for the lessening of the political power of rings and machines, the primary cause of political corruption lies deeper than this.

Republican government is breaking down in the United States, not merely because of defects in our political methods—though these defects hasten the break down and make far more difficult the application of any radical cure—but because the conditions of our people are steadily becoming incompatible with republican government in anything more than name.

Read the Thanksgiving reports which during the past week have taken so much space in our daily papers. Mrs. Astor dining her friends off a table service of solid gold, and passing around, amid the sparkle of diamonds, the golden loving cup; pale-faced women holding puny boys by the hand, trampled down in the mob of them that surrounded the store of the Bowery clothing firm who offered, by way of Thanksgiving presents, a thousand boys' overcoats for twenty-five cents each; Secretary Whitney, acting the benevolent employer to all the clerks in the navy department; and the tables spread and the baskets sent in all our cities for the thousands of American citizens, their wives and their children, or their widows and their orphans, who otherwise, the presumption is, would not even on Thanksgiving day get a good meal.

Read William McCabe's story of a Thanksgiving day on another page. Think for a moment of any one of the many items to be seen day after day in the columns of our daily papers, any one of which, in the hands of a writer who should not embellish but simply vividly present, would bring tears to the eyes of whomever should read. Republican government worthy of the name must, in a society that presents such appalling contrasts, soon become impossible.

A "glorious victory" was won at the polls on election day, according to the *Sun*, and a man was chosen district attorney by an overwhelming majority whose record, as shown up during the campaign, would have prevented his appointment to even a minor place in the most "effete" of European monarchies, excepting, perhaps, in Russia. But he had the indorsement of Mayor Hewitt and President Cleveland.

Jake Sharp has now got a new trial and the "boodlers" will ere long be back from Canada. In the meantime, however, Herr Most has been convicted.

Ex-Superintendent of Police Walling has written a book. It has not a gleam of partisan purpose or a thought of social philosophy. It is merely a record of such thrilling and interesting reminiscences as long service in such a place enable a man to tell, and is a mine of wealth for the writers of "detective stories."

Yet here is something from it, that the ex-superintendent of police says incidentally and in a matter of fact way, that is a great deal more than interesting:

> The city of New York is actually ruled by some twenty thousand officeholders, most of whom are taken from and controlled by the very worst element in the community.
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> Our judiciary and prosecuting officers are elected and controlled in a great measure by the very elements they are called upon to punish and keep in check.
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> Although, of course, all things are possible, yet I would not count among probable contingencies, under the present system of government in New York, the hanging of any one of its millionaires, no matter how unprovoked or premeditated the murder he might have committed.

General Master Workman Powderly prints in the *Journal of United Labor*, the official organ of the order, the first of a series of letters which he asks to have read in every assembly at two meetings. To these two meetings he wants members summoned by "red-letter" calls, that being the summons which they are obligated to obey. Whether this device for securing the wide reading of these letters will prove as efficacious as their issue in the form of "secret circulars" remains to be seen. But as for the letters themselves, or rather the first installment of them, it may be said that Mr. Powderly's laudation of himself and the work which he takes credit to the order under his management for having accomplished, is not merely well written, but even poetical. Take for example this:

> I felt, when, with Robert Schilling, I asked at the first session of the grand assembly that the preamble and declaration of principles of the Industrial brotherhood of the United States be adopted by the Knights of Labor that the world would soon see and hear of the establishment of labor bureaus in all the states; and it was no dream, for to-day they are doing their work throughout the entire country, and the prospects are that the national bureau at Washington will soon give way to a department. The lands of the nation and of the whole continent were being rapidly absorbed by speculators more ravenous and greedy than the landlord who drove the tenant farmer from the old world because he could not pay the rent. Take a look at the field to-day and you will see public officials, legislators, heads of departments, senators, and the president himself stretching forth their hands to save the heritage of the people.

It is difficult to say over which spectacle the knights summoned by red-letter call ought to enthuse the most—that of a weary and waiting world hailing the establishment of state bureaus of labor statistics and the prospect of the national bureau at Washington "giving way" to a department; or that of the whole government, from president to department clerks, stretching forth their hands to save "the heritage of the people," and, by way of preliminary, getting rid of Commissioner Sparks. Whom they are saving this heritage for, or how the saving of what is left in the far west of the "people's heritage" for one set of men rather than another, is going to benefit the miners of the Lehigh region or the tenement dwellers of New York city, Mr. Powderly does not stop to explain.

But it is in the part of his letter that some of the newspapers style in their headlines a "refutation of the George theory" that Mr. Powderly shows himself most puzzle-headed. He says:

> To-day in every town and hamlet the land question is being studied, and the simple proposition of the Knights of Labor stands up in giant form before every man and woman who toils or feels an interest in the country we inhabit. Theories are advanced, which in themselves sound very nice as to the ownership of all land by the people in common. Before that object can be attained the people must learn to think "in common." It must first be demonstrated that the idea is practicable. I once believed that the people could own and till the soil in common. I did not believe that it was right for an individual to hold absolute ownership of the soil. To-day I *know* that an individual cannot hold absolute title to the soil if the interests of the people "in common" require that it should be otherwise.
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> I no longer believe that the people "in common" can till the soil and own it in common. First, because they do not think "in common;" second, because the people are only people and not angels. In other words, the people are not good enough yet to discard the native selfishness which was born in them. We must take men and women as we find them. As we find men and women to-day, they are selfish and grasping. Each one has a desire to own and control a home of his own, and my efforts will be put forth to the end that each man who wishes to may own his own home. If every man owned his own home, labor would be more appreciated than it is; the desire to reduce the hours of labor would be greater, for every man would have a place on which to expend his spare moments.

In the beginning of his letter, Mr. Powderly says that when he assumed the duties of his position he had no knowledge of the science of the labor question. Judging from this letter he has since that time "progressed backward." In 1879 he was at least aware of his own ignorance.

There is a sublimity of confusion in all this that recalls nothing so much as Archbishop Corrigan's pastoral of last fall. But even Archbishop Corrigan could have furnished Mr. Powderly with a better argument against the socialistic notion which he says he once held, than the assertion that only angels can own and till land in common. To say nothing of the history of past times, any Jesuit or Trappist or Carmelite can tell Mr. Powderly of land owned and tilled in common by people who, whatever their hopes for the future, have not yet become angels.

Mr. Powderly's pious condonation of the "native selfishness" which induces men and women to want to own and control homes of their own, shows, however, the goodness of his heart. His condescension to this selfish and grasping spirit, which in his queer philosophy seems to be one of the things that distinguish men from angels, not merely goes so far as to lead him to declare that his efforts will be put forth to the end that each man who wishes may own his own home, but even leads him to point out some advantages that will result from this concession to unangelic selfishness and greed. The general master workman of the Knights of Labor is, it is said, so far giving way to his own "native selfishness" as to be building for himself a new house in Scranton. But when he gets to heaven he evidently expects to board.

Mr. Powderly says that he proposes to keep on writing letters "until I shall have reached a point where I can ask that a popular vote of the order be taken on some questions that will be propounded by me." What the questions are that are to be thus propounded, or why they cannot be propounded at once, or how Mr. Powderly is going to know when the point has been reached, are matters left to the imagination of the reader; but judging from his assertion that "the one idea on which all men can unite is that the land should be kept free from sharks, speculators, knaves and land grabbers, native, naturalized, or alien," it may be presumed that what Mr. Powerly has most in mind is the reservation of what is left of our public domain to "actual settlers."

It is a pity that Mr. Powderly has not done a little less writing and a little more thinking. His position has given him an unrivaled opportunity to call the attention of millions of men already conscious of deep social injustice to the true causes of the evils they feel and to the simple remedy which alone will relieve them. He seems to have a vague consciousness that the land question lies at the bottom of the difficulty, and has occasionally recommended its study to the order. But his own treatment of the subject has been timid to the last degree. Last spring he recommended that at all the Fourth of July celebrations held by the order the land question should be made the subject of discussion, and this recommendation called forth a number of most thoughtful and instructive addresses, among which may be mentioned that delivered in Houston, Texas, by H. F. Ring, with which the readers of THE STANDARD are familiar, and of which there have been already issued from this office in various languages some hundreds of thousands of copies in tract form. But after making this recommendation, Mr. Powderly himself, in the Fourth of July speech which he delivered in Scranton, took occasion to "draw a red herring across the trail," as the expressive Irish phrase goes, by making a pronunciamento in favor of restricting immigration. And up to this time he has had nothing better to offer on the land question than the advocacy of the reseration of public lands to actual settlers, in seeming unconsciousness of the fact that the public lands available for settlement are even now practically all gone, and of the further fact that the reservation of land for actual settlers would do no more to settle the labor question than would the distribution of the estates of Irish landlords among Irish tenant farmers.

At the recent general assembly of the order in Minneapolis another red herring was drawn across the trail, in the shape of a resolution giving the support of the order to the protectionist proposition to get rid of some of the surplus by dividing a lot of the federal money among the states for educational purposes.

The great order of the Knights of Labor is yet extending over new ground, but it is evidently decaying in all the places where it was once strong. The reason clearly is that it has no settled and adequate plans for the improvement of the condition of the laboring masses other than the application of trades union principles to the masses of the unskilled. Mr. Powderly evidently feels the want, and is endeavoring in these letters to supply it. But if this first letter is an example of those to follow he will succeed only in making himself ridiculous.

In another column will be found a communication from a Catholic pastor of this diocese (who unfortunately, like most other Catholic clergymen, is too much under the thumb of his archbishop to give the public his name) in which he cites the *Lyceum*, the Dublin organ of the Jesuit order, as utterly denying and condemning the position taken by Archbishop Corrigan and the Jesuits of New York in their endeavor to commit the Catholic church to the defense of unqualified property in land, and to use both the spiritual power and the political influence of the church to crush the advocates of the far reaching reforms involved in the substitution of a single tax on land values for the demoralizing systems of taxation by which so much of our public revenues are now raised.

The articles in the *Lyceum* contain too much Latin and bristle with too many citations of Catholic theologians to make it worth while to transfer them bodily to the columns of THE STANDARD; but in addition to what our reverend correspondent has quoted it may be worth while to give their conclusion:

> There is in man no inherent right to hold land in private ownership. . . . If its advantages outweigh its evil consequences notably and distinctly, and can be attained either not so easily or not at all in other ways, then it is desirable that law should create and foster such private ownership. If its advantages are few, its shortcomings many and great, it is desirable that law should discourage and forbid it. If, all things considered, it is evidently hurtful, seriously hurtful, to the common good, the state is bound to abrogate it.
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> So much for the abstract principles. Whether, in a given instance, the private ownership of land has become absolutely injurious to the public welfare; whether a return to common ownership is likely to be beneficial, does not concern us here. Each case must be decided in the concrete, and on its own merits. Those who are competent to legislate for the particular community are competent to discuss and settle this question as well as others. M. de Laveleye, indeed, an eminent economist, and far from favorable to Mr. George's theories, sees no difficulty in applying this one of land nationalization indiscriminately. But we are not concerned to pass judgment on the question. Our sole object has been to show that the best traditions of Catholic theology put no bar to nationalization of the land, if the state ownership be for the common advantage of the people. Whether it is for the common advantage or not, and, if it is, under what conditions of equitable compensation for vested private interests it shall be introduced, the church will leave each particular community to determine for itself. For many centuries the schools of Catholic theology taught, as they teach still, that man may own his fellow man. Private ownership of land and private ownership of human slaves are equally lawful according to Catholic theologians—based equally upon the law of nations. But the church raised no difficulty when slavery was abolished—with compensation to the slave owners under English rule, without compensation in North America. She will raise none to the abolition of private property in land, where the common good can be furthered by it.

Here is a clear and unmistakable statement of the position of the Catholic church—from the pen, evidently, of one of the most learned theologians of an order noted for the learning of its theologians—published as the leading editorial article in the organ of the Jesuit order in Ireland. It is a complete justification and indorsement of the theological position of Dr. McGlynn, and a flat denial and utter contradiction of the dogmas of his own manufacture which Archbishop Corrigan, assisted lately by the head of the Jesuit order in New York, has been straining his authority to cram down the throats of Catholics as the infallible teachings of the universal church. It accords precisely with what Cardinal Manning, unquestionably the intellectual if not the official head of English-speaking Catholic Christendom, told me verbally in an interview in which I had an opportunity to lay before him the doctrines for the avowal of which Archbishop Corrigan has since managed to procure the excommunication of Dr. McGlynn, and to call his attention to the injurious consequences that must inevitably result from any attempt to use the authority of religion to prevent such peaceful reform of social injustice.

"I cannot say without further examination," said the cardinal, in effect (for at this distance of time I cannot assume to give his exact words) "whether what you advocate is wise or unwise. That is an open question of political economy and public policy. But this I can say, that there is nothing in it that conflicts with any teachings of the church. There may be," he added, "priests and even bishops who are ready to denounce all such propositions as condemned by the church; but in this they only show their own ignorance."

The *Lyceum* writer aptly illustrates the real position of the Catholic church with regard to private property in land, by likening it to the position of the church with regard to chattel slavery.

The Catholic church has never condemned slavery. It has never taught that it is wrongful in the individual to hold slaves where slavery is sanctioned by municipal law; it has never even taught that the system of slavery is in itself wrongful. Its teachings would doubtless condemn slave insurrection or incitement to slave insurrection, or any attempt to abolish slavery by illegal and violent means.

But for all this it has never given its positive sanction to slavery. It has never condemned those who say that slavery is a wrongful system, nor even those who say that the holding of men as slaves is an individual wrong on the part of the masters. It would doubtless condemn the shedding of blood, and perhaps even the appropriation of property on the part of the slave in the effort to obtain freedom. But it has never taught that the slave is bound by the moral law not to run away, or that the only rightful way in which he can obtain freedom is by the payment to the master of his full value. And whatever individuals may have done in the name of the church, the church itself has certainly never condemned those who seek to abolish slavery by peaceable and legal means. As the writer in the *Lyceum* says, the Catholic church has raised no difficulty when slavery has been abolished with compensation to the owners, as in the British West Indies, nor yet has it raised any difficulty when slavery has been abolished without compensation, as in the United States.

The case of private property in land is not merely analogous to that of private property in human flesh and blood; it is another form of the same thing. The two systems are but different modes, adapted to different degrees of density of population and different stages in social development, by which one set of men are clothed with authority to appropriate to themselves the benefits of other men's labor.

The one mode makes property of the active factor of production—labor. The other mode makes property of the passive factor—land. The one is better adapted to that rude state of society in which population is sparse and the productive arts are simple. The other is better adapted to that state of society in which population is dense and the productive arts have become complex.

The position of the Catholic church with reference to these two forms of oppression, as with reference to all similar evils which derive sanction from municipal law, is simply this: She teaches certain spiritual truths and certain fundamental principles of morals in their application to the individual, but does not enter into the vexed sphere of civil government and civil legislation. Beyond these limits of individual action and relation, she is "all things to all men." The aristocrat and the democrat, the pro-slavery man and the abolitionist, the protectionist and the free trader; the believer in the divine right of kings and the most ardent republican—all these the church herself, as intelligent Catholics understand the church, welcomes alike to her altars. If one man robs another of his own volition, or if one man kills another of his own motion, the Catholic church condemns these acts as crimes: but if one man robs another with the permission of the laws of his country, or if one man kills another by authority of the commission and command of his prince or legislature, the Catholic church holds such an act beyond her tribunal. This may or may not be Christianity as it was taught by Christ, but it certainly is a clear, consistent and defensible policy which enables the church to freely address herself to her special work among all manner of men under all social and political conditions.

But the attitude in which, in the case of Dr. McGlynn, Archbishop Corrigan has succeeded in putting Catholic authority in this country, is that attitude of resistance to reform which has in Europe cost the church the allegiance of millions. In his pastoral letter, in his communications to the press, and in his treatment of Dr. McGlynn, Archbishop Corrigan has taken the position that the Catholic church recognizes as rightful only one method of treating land, viz: That treatment which exists among us to-day and by which all the property rights that justly attach to things produced by human labor are made to attach to the element created by God, as the dwelling place of men and the reservoir on which succeeding generations must draw for all their needs. So far as he could he has put the church in the attitude of denouncing and punishing, not any violent attempt to change this system, but any advocacy of its change by peaceful and constitutional means.

It is idle to say that Dr. McGlynn has been punished for disobedience or contumacy. Instead of being suspended and excommunicated he would to-day be the pastor of the largest parish in New York city if it had not been for his assertion of the truth that God made the land for the use of all whom He brings into being upon it, and for his refusal to retract his opinion that there is a peaceful and orderly method by which organized society, without violation of any of the true rights of property, can secure to the whole people their natural rights to the use of this indispensable element. Dr. McGlynn was first ordered to keep silence upon this subject. He obeyed, and kept silence for years, until he had reason to believe, from the changed attitude of the papacy and of the archbishop himself toward the Irish movement, that this order had expired. He spoke again, and he was suspended for a term. He bore this suspension without complaint or remonstrance. For having expressed the same opinions again to a newspaper reporter he was again suspended, this time indefinitely, on the ridiculous pretense that he had insulted the pope, whose name he had never mentioned. And when he remonstrated against this, that he had not even thought of the pope, he was told that he would not be reinstated until he had retracted his opinion on the land question. He was then ordered from Rome to publicly retract his opinion on the land question and then repair to Rome. This of course as an honest man he could not do and would not do, whereupon he was excommunicated.

And it must be remembered that the opinions for which Dr. McGlynn was suspended and for refusing to retract which he was excommunicated were not expressed by him as a priest, but as a citizen. They were not mingled with his priestly teachings, nor interjected into his sermons, nor expressed in any place or in any function connected with the church, but at times and in places where the distinction between the citizen and the priest was clearly preserved.

Now comes this learned Jesuit to declare, what other authorities have declared, that the church does not condemn the opinions which Dr. McGlynn has expressed, or the policy which, as an American citizen, he has advocated. But that does not restore Dr. McGlynn to his functions, nor prevent the American archbishop from running his end of the church as suits himself—imposing upon the consciences of his flock dogmas which have no other origin than an egotistical belief in his own infallibility.

If thirty years ago a Catholic archbishop of New York had issued an official pastoral setting forth, as the teachings of the universal church, the doctrines of the most extreme pro-slavery men; if he had declared not merely that human slavery was a permissible institution with which the Catholic church would not interfere, but that it was the only relation between capital and labor which she could recognize; if he had so twisted utterances of the pope so as to put him in the attitude of an advocate of slavery as a thing right in itself; if he had used all his official power to prevent any questioning of the justice of the system which made property of human beings; if he had suspended and degraded a priest who had advocated the peaceful and constitutional abolition of slavery, and finally had procured his excommunication because he would not recant his utterances with regard to its injustice and impolicy;—then we should have a fitting parallel to the course of Archbishop Corrigan.

This article in the *Lyceum* is only one of many evidences that the higher authorities of the Catholic church are beginning to realize the false position in which that church has been placed in the United States. But if they would extricate the church in America from this false position and its inevitable consequences, they most go considerably further than this. The ecclesiastical power was used with great effect in the last election, and Archbishop Corrigan, Patrick Ford and the boodlers gained what seems to them a great victory. But though appeals to bigotry and ignorance may to some extent be successful for the moment, they must inevitably weaken the authority of the church that permits them. Suspension, excommunication, episcopal denunciation and the prostitution of the most sacred offices to political purposes, cannot put a stop to thought or check the advance of truth. HENRY GEORGE.

The board of trade of Chicago procured the passage of an act of the legislature to stamp out "bucket shops," but the difficulties of drawing an act against bucket shops which would not cover the board of trade were too great to be overcome; and, now, while the board of trade is proceeding criminally against bucket shops, bucket shops are, under the same law, proceeding criminally against the board of trade.

"MOSES."

HENRY GEORGE ON THE GREAT LAW GIVER OF THE HEBREWS.

A Highly Encouraging Meeting of the Anti-Poverty Society—Back in the Academy of Music Next Sunday Evening—A Concert for the Concordia Chorus.

An audience that fills Steinway hall numbers but four hundred persons less than the one that crowds the Academy of Music, and last Sunday evening Steinway hall was packed from the rear of the platform to the wall in the last gallery. It was on the occasion of the delivery of a lecture on "Moses" by Henry George at the thirty-first meeting of the New York Anti-poverty society. As time passes there are no signs of any abatement of the interest of the public in the society's meetings. Well along in its second half year it attracts as many people now as it did six months ago, and evidences that many who misapprehended its significance in the the beginning are now in full sympathy with it are constantly being brought forward. The audience of last Sunday evening was drawn from every class in the community. Perhaps the largest representation, considering their proportion to our population, was from our Hebrew fellow-citizens. The lecturer was listened to with sustained interest, and the truths that Moses taught were applauded heartily as they received applications fitted to the present time.

Chairman Croasdale stated that the Academy of Music had been leased for a term of six months from the new management, and that next Sunday evening's meeting would be held there. The statement was received with marked manifestations of approval. Announcement was also made that a complimentary concert would be given to the Concordia chorus early in January, the date of which had not been fixed. During the evening the chorus sang "The Anthem of Liberty" and "The Cross of the New Crusade," the audience joining in the latter.

The Lecture.

There is in modern thought a tendency to look upon the prominent characters of history as resultants rather than as initiatory forces. As in an earlier stage the irresistible disposition is to personification, so now it is to reverse this process, and to resolve into myths mighty figures long enshrined by tradition.

Yet if we try to trace to their sources movements whose perpetuated impulses eddy and play in the currents of our times we at last reach the individual. It is true that "institutions make men," but it is also true that "in the beginnings men make institutions."

In a well known passage Macaulay has described the impression made upon the imagination by the antiquity of that church which, surviving dynasties and empires, carries the mind back to a time when the smoke of sacrifice rose from the Pantheon and camelopard and tiger bounded in the Flavian amphitheater. But there still exist among us observances—transmitted in unbroken succession from father to son—that go back to a yet more remote past. Each recurring year brings a day on which, in every land, there are men who, gathering about them their families and attired as if for a journey, eat with solemnity a hurried meal. Before the walls of Rome were traced, before Homer sung, this feast was kept, and the event to which it points was even then centuries old.

That event signals the entrance upon the historic stage of a people on many accounts remarkable—a people who, though they never founded a great empire nor built a great metropolis, have exercised upon a large portion of mankind an influence, widespread, potent and continuous; a people who have for nearly two thousand years been without country or organized nationality, yet have preserved their identity and faith, through all vicissitudes of time and fortune—who have been overthrown, crushed, scattered; who have been ground, as it were, to very dust, and flung to the four winds of heaven; yet who, though thrones have fallen, and empires have perished, and creeds have changed, and living tongues have become dead, still exist with a vitality seemingly unimpaired—a people who unite the strangest contradictions; whose annals now blaze with glory, now sound the depths of shame and woe.

The advent of such a people marks an epoch in the history of the world; but it is not of that advent so much as of the central and colossal figure around which its traditions cluster that I propose to speak.

Three great religions place the leader of the Exodus upon the highest plane they allot to man. To Christendom and to Islam, as well as to Judaism, Moses is the mouthpiece and law-giver of the Most High; the medium, clothed with supernatural powers, through which the Divine Will has spoken. Yet this very exaltation, by raising him above comparison, may prevent the real grandeur of the man from being seen. It is amid his brethren that Saul stands taller and fairer.

On the other hand, the latest school of biblical criticism asserts that the books and legislation attributed to Moses are really the product of an age subsequent to that of the prophets. Yet to this Moses, looming vague and dim, of whom they can tell us almost nothing, they, too, attribute the beginning of that growth which flowered after centuries in the humanities of Jewish law, and in the sublime conception of one God, universal and eternal, the Almighty Father; and again, higher still and fairer, culminated in that guiding star of spiritual light which rested over the stable of Bethlehem in Judea.

But whether wont to look on Moses in this way or in that, it may be sometimes worth our while to take the point of view in which all shades of belief or disbelief may find common ground, and accepting the main features of Hebrew record and tradition, consider them in the light of history as we know it, and of human nature as it shows itself to-day. Here is a case in which sacred history may be treated as we would treat profane history without any shock to religious feeling. Nor can the keenest criticism resolve Moses into a myth. The fact of the Exodus presupposes such a leader.

To lead into freedom a people long crushed by tyranny; to discipline and order such a mighty host; to harden them into fighting men before whom warlike tribes quailed and walled cities went down; to repress discontent and jealousy and mutiny; to combat reactions and reversions; to turn the quick, fierce flame of enthusiasm to the service of a steady purpose, require some towering character—a character blending in highest expression the qualities of politician, patriot, philosopher and statesman.

Such a character in rough but strong outline the tradition shows us—the union of the wisdom of the Egyptians with the unselfish devotion of the meekest of men. From first to last, in every glimpse we get, this character is consistent with itself and with the mighty work which is its monument. It is the character of a great mind, hemmed in by conditions and limitations, and working with such forces and materials as were at hand—accomplishing yet failing. Behind grand deed, a grander thought. Behind high performance the still nobler ideal.

Egypt was the mold of the Hebrew nation—the matrix, so to speak, in which a single family, or, at most, a small tribe grew to a people as numerous as the American people at the time of the Declaration of Independence. For four centuries, according to the Hebrew tradition—that is to say, for a period longer than America has been known to Europe—this growing people, coming a patriarchal family from a roving, pastoral life, had been placed under the dominance of a highly developed and ancient civilization—a civilization whose fixity is symbolized by monuments that rival in endurance the everlasting hills—a civilization so ancient that the Pyramids, as we now know, were hoary with centuries ere Abraham looked upon them.

No matter how clearly the descendants of the kinsmen who came into Egypt at the invitation of the boy-slave become prime minister, maintained the distinction of race and the traditions of a freer life, they must have been powerfully affected by such a civilization, and just as the Hebrews of to-day are Polish in Poland, German in Germany, and American in the United States, so, but far more clearly and strongly, the Hebrews of the Exodus must have been essentially Egyptians.

It is not remarkable, therefore, that the ancient Hebrew institutions show in so many points the influence of Egyptian ideas and customs. What *is* remarkable is the dissimilarity. To the unreflecting nothing may seem more natural than that a people, in turning their backs upon a land where they had been long oppressed, should discard its ideas and institutions. But the student of history, the observer of politics, knows that nothing is more unnatural. Habits of thought are even more tyrannous than habits of the body. They make for the masses of men a mental atmosphere out of which they can no more rise than out of the physical atmosphere. A people long used to despotism may rebel against a tyrant; they may break his statutes and repeal his laws, cover with odium that which he loved, and honor that which he hated; but they will hasten to set up another tyrant in his place. A people used to superstition may embrace a purer faith, but it will be only to degrade it to their old ideas. A people used to persecution may flee from it, but only to persecute in their turn when they get power.

For "institutions make men." And when amid a people used to institutions of one kind, we see suddenly arise institutions of an opposite kind, we know that behind them must be that active, that initiative force—the men who in the beginnings make institutions.

This is what occurs in the Exodus. The striking differences between Egyptian and Hebrew polity are not of form but of essence. The tendency of the one is to subordination and oppression; of the other to individual freedom. Strangest of recorded births! from out the strongest and most splendid despotism of antiquity comes the freest republic. From between the paws of the rock hewn Sphinx rises the genius of human liberty, and the trumpets of the Exodus throb with the defiant proclamation of the rights of man!

Consider what Egypt was. The very grandeur of her monuments, that after the lapse, not of centuries but of milleniums, seem to say to us, as the Egyptian priests said to the boastful Greeks, "Ye are children!" testify to the enslavement of the people—are the enduring witnesses of a social organization that rested on the masses an immovable weight. That narrow Nile valley, the cradle of the arts and sciences, the scene, perhaps, of the greatest triumphs of the human mind, is also the scene of its most abject enslavement. In the long centuries of its splendor, its lord, secure in the possession of irresistible temporal power, and securer still in the awful sanctions of a mystical religion, was as a god on earth, to cover whose poor carcass with a tomb befitting his state hundreds of thousands toiled away their lives. For the classes who came next to him were all the sensuous delights of a most luxurious civilization, and high intellectual pleasures which the mysteries of the temple hid from vulgar profanation. But for the millions who constituted the base of the social pyramid there was but the lash to stimulate their toil, and the worship of beasts to satisfy the yearnings of the soul. From time immemorial to the present day the lot of the Egyptian peasant has been to work and to starve that those above him might live daintily. He has never rebelled. The spirit for that was long ago crushed out of him by institutions which make him what he is. He knows but to suffer and to die.

Imagine what opportune circumstances we may, yet to organize and carry on a movement resulting in the release of a great people from such a soul subduing tyranny, backed by an army of half a million highly trained soldiers, requires a leadership of most commanding and consummate genius. But this task, surpassingly great though it is, is not the measure of the greatness of the leader of the Exodus. It is not in the deliverance from Egypt, it is in the constructive statesmanship that laid the foundations of the Hebrew commonwealth that the superlative grandeur of that leadership looms up. As we cannot imagine the Exodus without the great leader, neither can we account for the Hebrew polity without the great statesman. Not merely intellectually great, but morally great—a statesman aglow with the unselfish patriotism that refuses to grasp a scepter or found a dynasty.

The lessons of modern history, the manifestations of human nature that we behold around us, would teach us to see in the essential divergence of the Hebrew polity from that of Egypt the impress of a master mind, even if Hebrew tradition had not testified both to the influence of such a mind and to the constant disposition of accustomed ideas to reassert themselves in the minds of the people. Over and over again, the murmurings break out; no sooner is the back of Moses turned than the cry, "These be thy gods, O Israel!" announces the setting up of the Egyptian calf; while the strength of the monarchical principle shows itself in the inauguration of a king as quickly as the far-reaching influence of the great leader is somewhat spent.

It matters not when or by whom were compiled the books popularly attributed to Moses; it matters not how much of the code there given may be the survivals of more ancient usage or the amplifications of a later age; its great features bear the stamp of a mind far in advance of people and time, of a mind that beneath effects sought for causes, of a mind that drifted not with the tide of events, but aimed at a definite purpose.

The outlines that the record gives us of the character of Moses—the brief relations that wherever the Hebrew scriptures are read have hung the chambers of the imagination with vivid pictures—are in every way consistent with this idea. What we know of the life illustrates what we know of the work. What we know of the work illumines the life.

It was not an empire such as had reached full development in Egypt, or existed in rudimentary patriarchal form in the tribes around, that Moses aimed to found. Nor was it a republic where the freedom of the citizen rested on the servitude of the helot and the individual was sacrificed to the state. It was a commonwealth based upon the individual, a commonwealth whose ideal it was that every man should sit under his own vine and fig tree, with none to vex him or make him afraid; a commonwealth in which none should be condemned to ceaseless toil; in which, for even the bond slave, there should be hope; in which, for even the beast of burden, there should be rest. A commonwealth in which, in the absence of deep poverty, the manly virtues that spring from personal independence should harden into a national character—a commonwealth in which the family affections might knit their tendrils around each member, binding with links stronger than steel the various parts into the living whole.

It is not the protection of property, but the protection of humanity, that is the aim of the Mosaic code. Its sanctions are not directed to securing the strong in heaping up wealth so much as to preventing the weak from being crowded to the wall. At every point it interposes its barriers to the selfish greed that if left unchecked will surely differentiate men into landlord and serf, capitalist and workman, millionaire and tramp, ruler and ruled. Its Sabbath day and Sabbath year secure, even to the lowliest, rest and leisure. With the blast of the jubilee trumpets the slave goes free, the debt that cannot be paid is cancelled, and a redivision of the land secures again to the poorest his fair share in the bounty of the common Creator. The reaper must leave something for the gleaner; even the ox cannot be muzzled as he treadeth out the corn. Everywhere, in everything, the dominant idea is that of our homely phrase, "Live and let live!"

And the religion with which this civil policy is so closely intertwined, exhibits kindred features—from the idea of the brotherhood of man springs the idea of the fatherhood of God. Though the forms may resemble those of Egypt, the spirit is that which Egypt had lost. Though a hereditary priesthood is retained, the law in its fullness is announced to all the people. Though the Egyptian rite of circumcision is preserved, and Egyptian symbols reappear in all the externals of worship, the tendency to take the type for the reality is sternly repressed. It is only when we think of the bulls and the hawks, of the deified cats and sacred ichneumons of Egypt, that we realize the full meaning of the command, "Thou shalt not make to thyself any graven image!"

And if we seek beneath form and symbol and command, the thought of which they are but the expression, we find that the great distinctive feature of the Hebrew religion, that which separates it by such a wide gulf from the religions amid which it grew up, is its utilitarianism, its recognition of divine law in human life. It asserts, not a God whose domain is confined to the far off beginning or the vague future, who is over and above and beyond men, but a God who in his inexorable laws is here and now; a God of the living as well as of the dead; a God of the market place as well as of the temple; a God whose judgments wait not another world for execution, but whose immutable decrees will, in this life, give happiness to the people that heed them and bring misery upon the people that forget them. Amid the forms of splendid degradation in which a once noble religion had in Egypt sunk to petrifaction, amid a social order in which the divine justice seemed to sleep, I AM was the truth that dawned upon Moses. And in his desert contemplation of nature's flux and reflux, the death that bounds her life, the life she brings from death, always consuming yet never consumed—I AM was the message that fell upon his inner ear.

The absence in the Mosaic books of any reference to a future life is only intelligible by the prominence into which this truth is brought. Nothing could have been more familiar to the Hebrews of the Exodus than the doctrine of immortality. The continued existence of the soul, the judgment after death, the rewards and punishments of the future state, were the constant subjects of Egyptian thought and art. But a truth may be hidden or thrown into the background by the intensity with which another truth is grasped. And the doctrine of immortality, springing as it does from the very depths of human nature, ministering to aspirations which become stronger and stronger as intellectual life rises to higher planes and the life of the affections becomes more intense, may yet become so incrusted with degrading superstitions, may be turned by craft and selfishness into such a potent instrument for enslavement, and so used to justify crimes at which every natural instinct revolts, that to the earnest spirit of the social reformer it may seem like an agency of oppression to enchain the intellect and prevent true progress; a lying device with which the cunning fetter the credulous.

The belief in the immortality of the soul must have existed in strong forms among the masses of the Hebrew people. But the truth that Moses brought so prominently forward, the truth his gaze was concentrated upon, is a truth that has often been thrust aside by the doctrine of immortality, and that may perhaps, at times, react on it in the same way. This is the truth that the actions of men bear fruit in this world, that though on the petty scale of individual life, wickedness may seem to go unpunished and wrong to be rewarded, there is yet a Nemesis that with tireless feet and pitiless arm follows every national crime, and smites the children for the father's transgression; the truth that each individual must act upon and be acted upon by the society of which he is a part, that all must in some degree suffer for the sin of each, and the life of each be dominated by the conditions imposed by all.

It is the intense appreciation of this truth that gives the Mosaic institutions so practical and utilitarian a character. Their genius, if I may so speak, leaves the abstract speculations where thought so easily loses and wastes itself, or finds expression only in symbols that become finally but the basis of superstition, in order that it may concentrate attention upon the laws which determine the happiness or misery of men upon this earth. Its lessons have never tended to the essential selfishness of asceticism, which is so prominent a feature in Brahminism and Buddhism, and from which Christianity and Islamism have not been exempt. Its injunction has never been "Leave the world to itself that you may save your own soul," but rather, "Do your duty in the world, that you may be happier and the world be better." It has disdained no sanitary regulation that might secure the health of the body. Its promise has been of peace and plenty and length of days, of stalwart sons and comely daughters.

It may be that the feeling of Moses in regard to a future life was that expressed in the language of the Stoic, "It is the business of Jupiter, not mine," or it may be that it partook of the same revulsion that shows itself in modern times, when a spirit essentially religious has been turned against the forms and expressions of religion, because these forms and expressions have been made the props and bulwarks of tyranny, and even the name and teachings of the Carpenter's Son perverted into supports of social injustice—used to guard the pomp of Cæsar and justify the greed of Dives.

Yet, however such feelings influenced Moses, I cannot think that such a soul as his, living such a life as his—feeling the exaltation of great thoughts, feeling the burden of great cares, feeling the bitterness of great disappointments—did not stretch forward to the hope beyond; did not rest and strengthen and ground itself in the confident belief that the death of the body is but the emancipation of the mind; did not feel the assurance that there is a power in the universe upon which it might confidently rely, through wreck of matter and crush of worlds. Yet the great concern of Moses was with the duty that lay plainly before him; the effort to lay the foundations of a social state in which deep poverty and degrading want should be unknown—where men released from the meaner struggles that waste human energy should have opportunity for intellectual and moral development.

Here stands out the greatness of the man. What was the wisdom and stretch of the forethought that in the desert sought to guard in advance against the dangers of a settled state, let the present speak.

In the full blaze of the nineteenth century, when every child in our schools may know as common truths things of which the Egyptian sages never dreamed; when the earth has been mapped and the stars have been weighed; when steam and electricity have been pressed into our service, and science is wresting from nature secret after secret—it is but natural to look back upon the wisdom of three thousand years ago as the man looks back upon the learning of the child.

And yet, for all this wonderful increase of knowledge, for all this enormous gain of productive power, where is the country in the civilized world in which to-day there is not want and suffering—where the masses are not condemned to toil that gives no leisure, and all classes are not pursued by a greed of gain that makes life an ignoble struggle to get and to keep? Three thousand years of advance, and still the moan goes up, "They have made our lives bitter with hard bondage, in mortar and in brick, and in all manner of service!" Three thousand years of advance! and the piteous voices of little children are in the moan.

Over ocean wastes far wider from the Syrian desert we have sought our promised land—no narrow strip between the mountains and the sea, but a wide and virgin continent. Here, in greater freedom, with vaster knowledge and fuller experience, we are building up a nation that leads the van of modern progress. And yet, while we prate of the rights of man, there are already among us thousands and thousands who find it difficult to assert the first of natural rights—the right to earn an honest living; thousands who from time to time must accept of degrading charity or starve.

We boast of equality before the law, yet notoriously justice is deaf to the call of him who has not gold, and blind to the sin of him who has.

We pride ourselves upon our common schools, yet after our boys and girls are educated we vainly ask, "What shall we do with them?" and about our colleges children are growing up in vice and crime, because from their homes poverty has driven all refining influences.

We pin our faith to universal suffrage, yet with all power in the hands of the people, the control of public affairs is passing into the hands of a class of professional politicians, and our governments are, in many cases, becoming but a means for the robbery of the people.

We have prohibited hereditary distinctions, we have forbidden titles of nobility, yet there is growing up among us an aristocracy of wealth as powerful and as merciless as any that ever held sway.

We progress and we progress; we girdle continents with iron roads and knit cities together with the mesh of telegraph wires; each day brings some new invention; each year marks a fresh advance—the power of production increased and the avenues of exchange cleared and broadened. Yet the complaint of "hard times" is louder and louder; everywhere are men harassed by care and haunted by the fear of want. With swift, steady strides and prodigious leaps, the power of human hands to satisfy human wants advances and advances, is multiplied and multiplied. Yet the struggle for mere existence is more and more intense, and human labor is becoming the cheapest of commodities. Beside glutted warehouses human beings grow faint with hunger and shiver with cold; under the shadow of churches festers the vice that is born of want. We progress and we progress, yet pauperism is increasing and insanity is increasing; there are more and more men who do not get wives, more and more women who wait in vain for husbands; more and more children who must go to work before they have had time to play.

Trace to their root the causes that are thus producing want in the midst of plenty, ignorance in the midst of intelligence, aristocracy in democracy, weakness in strength—that are giving to our civilization a one-sided and unstable development, and you will find it something which this Hebrew statesman three thousand years ago perceived and guarded against. Moses saw that the real cause of the enslavement of the masses of Egypt was, what has everywhere produced enslavement, the possession by a class of the land upon which and from which the whole people must live. He saw that to permit in land the same unqualified private ownership that by natural right attaches to the things produced by labor, would be inevitably to separate the people into the very rich and the very poor, inevitably to enslave labor—to make the few the masters of the many, no matter what the political forms, to bring vice and degradation no matter what the religion.

And with the foresight of the philosophic statesman who legislates not for the need of a day, but for all the future, he sought, in ways suited to his times and conditions, to guard against this error. Everywhere in the Mosaic institutions is the land treated as the gift of the Creator to his common creatures, which no one has the right to monopolize. Everywhere it is, not your estate, or your property, not the land which you bought, or the land which you conquered, but "the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee"—"the land which the Lord lendeth thee." And by practical legislation, by regulations to which he gave the highest sanctions, he tried to guard against the wrong that converted ancient civilizations into despotisms—the wrong that in after centuries ate out the heart of Rome, and produced the imbruting serfdom of Poland and the gaunt misery of Ireland, the wrong that is to-day crowding families into single rooms in this very city and filling our new states with tramps. He not only provided for the fair division of the land among the people, and for making it fallow and common every seventh year, but by the institution of the jubilee he provided for a redistribution of the land every fifty years, and made monopoly impossible.

I do not say that these institutions were, for their ultimate purpose, the very best that might even then have been devised, for Moses had to work, as all great constructive statesmen have to work, with the tools that came to his hand, and upon materials as he found them. Still less do I mean to say that forms suitable for that time and people are suitable for every time and people. I ask, not veneration of the form, but recognition of the spirit.

Yet how common it is to venerate the form and to deny the spirit. There are many who believe that the Mosaic institutions were literally dictated by the Almighty, yet who would denounce as irreligious and "communistic" any application of their spirit to the present day.

And yet to-day how much we owe to these institutions! This very day the only thing that stands between our working classes and ceaseless toil is one of these Mosaic institutions. Nothing in political economy is better settled than that under conditions which now prevail the working classes would get no more for seven days' labor than they now get for six, and would find it as difficult to reduce their working hours as now.

Let the mistakes of those who think that man was made for the Sabbath, rather than the Sabbath for man, be what they may; that there is one day in the week that the working man may call his own, one day in the week on which hammer is silent and loom stands idle, is due, through Christianity, to Judaism—to the code promulgated in the Sinaitic wilderness. And who that considers the waste of productive forces can doubt that modern society would be not merely happier but richer, had we received as well as the Sabbath day the grand idea of the Sabbath year, or adapting its spirit to our changed conditions, secured in another way an equivalent reduction of working hours.

It is in these characteristics of the Mosaic institutions that, as in the fragments of a Colossus, we may read the greatness of the mind whose impress they bear—of a mind in advance of its surroundings, in advance of its age; of one of those star souls that dwindle not with distance, but, glowing with the radiance of essential truth, hold their light while institutions and languages and creeds change and pass.

That the thought was greater than the permanent expression it found, who can doubt? Yet from that day to this that expression has been in the world a living power.

From the free spirit of the Mosaic law sprang that intensity of family life that amid all dispersions and persecutions has preserved the individuality of the Hebrew race; that love of independence that under the most adverse circumstances has characterized the Jew; that burning patriotism that flamed up in the Maccabees and bared the breasts of Jewish peasants to the serried steel of Grecian phalanx and the resistless onset of Roman legion; that stubborn courage that in exile and in torture held the Jew to his faith. It kindled that fire that has made the strains of Hebrew seers and poets phrase for us the highest exaltations of thought; that intellectual vigor that has over and over again made the dry staff bud and blossom. And passing outward from one narrow race it has exerted its power wherever the influence of the Hebrew scriptures has been felt. It has toppled thrones and cast down hierarchies. It strengthened the Scottish covenanter in the hour of trial, and the Puritan amid the snows of a strange land. It charged with the Ironsides at Naseby; it stood behind the low redoubt on Bunker Hill.

But it is in example as in deed that such lives are helpful. It is thus that they dignify human nature and glorify human effort, and bring to those who struggle hope and trust. The life of Moses, like the institutions of Moses, is a protest against that blasphemous doctrine, current now as it was three thousand years ago; that blasphemous doctrine preached oft times even from Christian pulpits; that the want and suffering of the masses of mankind flow from a mysterious dispensation of providence, which we may lament, but can neither quarrel with nor alter. Let him who hugs that doctrine to himself, him to whom it seems that the squalor and bruitishness with which the very centers of our civilization abound are not his affair, turn to the example of that life. For to him who will look, yet burns the bush; and to him who will hear, again comes the voice, The people suffer; who will lead them forth?

Adopted into the immediate family of the supreme monarch and earthly god; standing almost at the apex of the social pyramid which had for its base those toiling millions; priest and prince in a land where prince and priest might revel in all delights—everything that life could offer to gratify the senses or engage the intellect was open to him.

What to him the wail of them who beneath the fierce sun toiled under the whips of relentless masters? Heard from granite colonnade or beneath cool linen awning, it was mellowed by distance to monotonous music. Why should he question the Sphynx of Fate, or quarrel with destinies the high gods had decreed? So had it always been, for ages and ages; so must it ever be. The beetle rends the insect, and the hawk preys on the beetle; order on order, life rises from death and carnage, and higher pleasures from lower agonies. Shall the man be better than nature? Soothing and restful flows the Nile, though underneath its placid surface finny tribes wage cruel war, and the stronger eat the weaker. Shall the gazer who would read the secrets of the stars turn because under his feet a worm may writhe?

Theirs to make bricks without straw; his a high place in the glorious procession that with gorgeous banners and glittering emblems, with clash of music and solemn chant, winds its shining way to dedicate the immortal edifice their toil has reared. Theirs the leek and the garlic; his to sit at the sumptuous feast. Why should he dwell on the irksomeness of bondage, he for whom the chariots waited, who might at will bestride the swift coursers of the Delta, or be borne on the bosom of the river with oars that beat time to songs? Did he long for the excitement of action?—there was the desert hunt, with steeds fleeter than the antelope and lions trained like dogs. Did he crave rest and ease?—there was for him the soft swell of languorous music and the wreathed movements of dancing girls. Did he feel the stir of intellectual life?—in the arcana of the temples he was free to the lore of ages; an initiate in the select society where were discussed the most engrossing problems; a sharer in that intellectual pride that centuries after compared Greek philosophy to the babblings of children.

It was no sudden ebullition of passion that caused Moses to turn his back on all this, and to bring the strength and knowledge acquired in a dominant caste to the life-long service of the oppressed. The forgetfulness of self manifested in the smiting of the Egyptian shines through the whole life. In institutions that molded the character of a people, in institutions that to this day make easier the lot of toiling millions, we may read the stately purpose.

Through all that tradition has given us of that life runs the same grand passion—the unselfish desire to make humanity better, happier, nobler. And the death is worthy of the life. Subordinating to the good of his people the natural disposition to found a dynasty, which in his case would have been so easy, he discards the claims of blood and calls to his place of leader the fittest man. Coming from a land where the rites of sepulture were regarded as all important, and the preservation of the body after death was the passion of life; among a people who were even then carrying the remains of their great ancestor, Joseph, to rest with his fathers, he yet conquered the last natural yearning and withdrew from the sight and sympathy of men to die alone and unattended, lest the idolatrous feeling, always ready to break forth, should in death accord him the superstitious reverence he had refused in life.

"No man knoweth of his sepulcher unto this day." But while the despoiled tombs of the Pharaohs mock the vanity that reared them, the name of the Hebrew who, revolting from their tyranny, strove for the elevation of his fellow men, is yet a beacon light to the world.

Leader and servant of men! Law giver and benefactor! Toiler toward the promised land seen only by the eye of faith! Type of the high souls who in every age have given to earth its heroes and its martyrs, whose deeds are the precious possession of the race, whose memories are its sacred heritage! With whom among the founders of empire shall we compare him?

To dispute about the inspiration of such a man were to dispute about words. From the depths of the unseen such characters must draw their strength; from fountains that flow only from the pure in heart must come their wisdom. Of something more real than matter; of something higher than the stars; of a light that will endure when suns are dead and dark; of a purpose of which the physical universe is but a passing phase, such lives tell.

Ballots Should Be Provided by the State.

Baltimore American.

Why should not the state furnish all tickets used at elections? There are many reasons why it should. In the first place, the expense of the present system of party distribution is great, and nine-tenths of it at least is pure waste. At the late municipal election there were printed probably not less than three million tickets. The total vote polled was 65,000. The number of tickets printed and not put into the ballot boxes has thus been forty and fifty times as great as the number of those which fulfilled the purpose for which all of them had been printed. If the state printed the tickets, the names of all the candidates would be put upon a single ticket. The number of these tickets for each precinct would not exceed the number of registered voters in the precinct. In other words, instead of there being printed two, three or four millions of tickets for each one of our elections, some eighty-five thousand would then be all that would be required. The cost would be from one-twenty-fifth to one-fifteenth of what it now is. It is true that the state does not now pay anything directly for printing the tickets. Under the plan proposed it would pay everything. But the community has a most direct interest in affording to all its citizens, whether they are rich or whether they are members of well-organized political parties or not, a chance to vote their deliberate convictions. It should not require them to undergo expense in order that they may vote as they please. The cost to the state would be trifling, and the saving to the voters would be great. Any waste hurts the community as a whole, and, as we have just pointed out, the absolute waste under the present system is enormous. But the cost of printing the tickets would not be the only expense which the political parties would be spared if the state printed all the tickets. There would then be no use for ticket-holders. The voter would obtain his ticket when he came to vote from the officers of election, who would have a book of tickets, all properly and consecutively numbered, to correspond with the stubs left in the book when the ticket was torn out. At a closely contested election in Baltimore, when both sides happen to have a fair supply of money, there are from three to four thousand men, and sometimes more, employed to hold tickets. These men get two dollars a day, and in some instances more. That is, six or eight thousand dollars is spent for a purpose for which, under the system proposed, not a cent of expenditure would be required or could be profitably made. For a few hundred dollars the state could get all the tickets required printed, and thousands of dollars would be taken off the cost of elections. Would not poor men then have a chance to make their influence in politics felt? Would the power to assess office holders, and raise from thirty to forty thousand dollars from them, as seems to have been done in Baltimore at the late elections, be as important and practically almost irresistible as it now is? Do away with our October elections and let the state print the tickets, and it will then be possible to conduct political campaigns without first raising enormous campaign funds. The spending by private persons or political parties of money for legitimate election expenses is only less an evil than the spending it for illegitimate purposes, for costly elections, in the end, mean that only rich men, or poor men who are willing to make themselves the tools of rich men or corporations, can aspire to elective office.

Ground Rent Tax in England.

Reynolds's Newspaper.

The municipal reform league has made a suggestion in favor of the taxation of ground rents and of annual values of land not held under lease. The suggestion is a wise one, because it proceeds upon the lines which formerly characterized the principles of taxation. The owners of land once sustained the whole burden of taxation; but successive parliaments, which only too faithfully represented the interests of land, gradually shifted the burdens of taxation from ownership to occupation. This was done in spite of the fact that the value of land expressed in rent gradually rose, so that in proportion as land was released from its burdens landlords had their incomes at first doubled and then quadrupled. Even the rents of agricultural land in the present day represent an enormous increase of the value of the same lands in times when land contributed important instalments to taxation. A rate of 3d. in the pound paid by owners upon ground rents and freeholds not under lease in the metropolis would realize more than the coal and wine duties which the metropolis is about to lose. It is monstrous that the occupiers or the consumers of coal should be called upon to pay for improvements which only enhance the value of property of landlords who are fortunately interested in the localities improved by the expenditure of the people's money. The people are fined to make improvements, and are then fined again in being called upon to pay increased rents in the neighborhood of the improvements. In London, and probably in other large towns, it is found that these improvements and the enhanced rents they produce have a tendency to drive industries out of the country, because they increase the cost of production. If English working men are called upon to pay high rents, and if their employers are burdened with increasing rates, the tendency is to encourage the transfer of our work and wages to the fortunate people abroad, who are more lightly taxed than we are at home.

How the Result of the Election Is Viewed in England.

Pall Mall Gazette.

In many quarters, no doubt, there will be great rejoicing over the falling off in the Henry George vote in America, as manifested in the election for New York state yesterday. He received only 37,000 votes in New York city, as against 68,000 recorded for him last year; and it is stated that instead of the 70,000 he actually obtained in yesterday's election, he expected to obtain 125,000. Nevertheless, we venture to think that the *Daily News* correspondent is wrong in his anticipation that the George party "is not likely to play an important part in future political contests." It should be remembered that there was a great amount of novelty associated with the party's first great attack in the mayoralty contest, a considerable measure of new-born enthusiasm, and a remarkable degree of general excitement. It must not be forgotten, too, that since that contest Henry George has renounced the socialist alliance, and that since then several labor wings have split off from his party. Considering all the circumstances, the result is far from giving serious cause for discouragement to Henry George and his party.

Over-population.

Mr Bromley, United States counsel at Tientsin, says. "There are still millions of acres of land not taken up in China, and there is yet room for four times the present population."

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Basis and Location.

SPRINGFIELD, Mass., Nov. 15.—The question asked by Independent Voter in your issue of Nov. 12 raises one of the principal difficulties in the practical solution of this most important inquiry. How shall the value of land, or in other words, the land tax, be determined under the new system? It is not now in fact determined by the assessor by capitalizing rental, but often, not without considerable difficulty in view of the general average of sales in the locality, the prices have been adjusted in the only way that price can be satisfactorily adjusted, by "the higgling of the market." Under the new system who would be the bargaining or higgling parties? Suppose A owns a store and that the ground rent tax is fixed when the new system goes into effect. Time passes and the value of the site increases. The rent would of course rise under the present system, but if by the supposition the increase of rent were to be taxed away, what inducement would there be for the owner to increase his rent *pari passu*? He might, indeed, change his tenant for a new one who would be glad to pay an increased rental for the enlarged productive capacity of the site, but as the increase would go to the tax collector, would not the owner be satisfied with the old rental, which may be assumed to have paid enough to yield a sufficient income upon the investment in the building, as also to make a sinking fund for the replacement of the building when no longer rentable? On the other hand, if the site is owned by the person who himself uses it for business, how shall the increased productive capacity be measured? Would the difficulty be still greater with sites occupied by dwelling houses, or in an agricultural community where relation of landlord and tenant is of infrequent occurrence? Aside from the speculative element, land values are, of course, based on relative productive capacity, but please state more fully the scheme for estimating this element under the new system. Q.

The assessor could, under the land value tax, determine the basis by an average of sales in the locality, just as he does now, and these sales would be governed by "the higgling of the market," just as they are now. Suppose Jones owns a lot, the value of which is $10,000, producing a ground rent of $500 annually, and suppose the tax to be four per cent. Then Jones would pay $400 taxes and have $100 of his ground rent left. But land yielding a net rent of $100 would be worth only one-fifth as much as land yielding a net rent of $500; consequently Jones's land would fall in value to $2,000. Then to raise the same revenue from Jones, the tax would be twenty per cent instead of four per cent, leaving him $100, as before, and the value of his land at $2,000. If the rental value of his land increased, its selling value also would increase, and the assessor would know it from the result of "the higgling of the market."

But the value of land would not be determined alone by what that particular land sold or rented for, but also by its advantages over neighboring land. Consequently if A chose to allow his tenant to pay the old rent, although the land was worth more, the relative value of other land would detect the fraud. But that would not be necessary to meet your point. Land alone would not be rented if the tax was fully imposed, but land with improvements would be, and the owner would try to get as much as possible for his real estate, just as he does now. Accordingly, if A's tenant could pay more A would ask more, and for a time, during the transition period between the lower and the higher value, he would get the benefit of it. This temporary benefit would always be a sufficient inducement to him to charge what the land was worth. If the owner of the land uses it himself, any increased productive capacity not peculiar to that particular land would be measured both by the value of similar land and by the selling or renting price his land would acquire as soon as its greater productive capacity became known. If the greater value were confined to the particular land, as in the case of a mine, it would be manifested by a greater selling or renting price than that of the surrounding land.

So long as the tax did not take the entire rental value there would be a margin of rent going to the owner which capitalized would be the selling value, and the assessor would have no more to do than to ascertain the selling value from the market and levy the tax rate if the entire rental value were taken. The higgling of the market would relate directly to rental value instead of relating indirectly to it as now.

Why Should He Be?

POUGHKEEPSIE.—Upon what basis is a member of the community taxed who, having no land, lends money or furnishes merchandise to land owners, receiving for the same notes and bonds, bearing profits and interest, to be paid to him by the same land owner giving the note or bond and from whom the interest and profits are received by the non-land owner, to whom the note or bond is given, and who receives value upon the same in the shape of interest or profits? A.

So far as the transaction you mention is concerned he would pay no more taxes than now.

Why should he? The furniture or merchandise is a product of labor, no part of which the community has any more right to confiscate than an individual would have. And what would it accomplish? Taking such transactions as a whole the borrower who consumed the labor products would have to pay the tax in the end.

Free Trade.

BROOKLYN.—I know a trade that the men don't earn $6 a week at, because the Dutch can send the goods here cheaper than they can be made in this country. Would you put them on a footing with the rest of the mechanics in this country, or would you keep them there until you brought the rest of the mechanics down to them? JAMES HAMILTON.

We are in favor of free trade *now*.

Suppose such a tariff were put on the trade of which you speak as to raise wages (if that were possible) to $30 a week; how long would it be before the Dutch workman would come here in such numbers that he would bring wages back to $6? It is not cheap goods, but limited opportunities to work that make wages low, and to shift tariff taxes to land taxes would tend to make more opportunities to work. Read "Protection or Free Trade?"

Fourier and George.

NEW YORK.—You will greatly oblige me if you will state in your paper whether Henry George's plans are identical with those of Fourier; and, if not, in what they differ? E. R. F.

They are not. If you are familiar with Fourier's plans, it will be easier for you to discover the difference by reading "Progress and Poverty" than for me to explain. It is enough to say that Mr. George proposes no other reorganization of society than is involved in and will naturally flow from abolishing taxes on labor products and taxing land to its full rental value.

The Rights of Pioneers.

ROSEBUD LAKE RANCH, Stillwater postoffice, Mont.—(1) Do you not honestly think the men who came to this western country years ago, when it was an unknown country almost—taking their lives in their hands, so to speak—contending at every step with the merciless savages, not knowing what minute would be their last upon earth, earned all the land they were allowed to take up under the land laws?

(2) Do not the men who come here even now, denying themselves and their families the necessaries and comforts of life and the advantages of society which they enjoyed in the states, earn all the land they are permitted to take up under the laws?

(3) Would these people come out to the far west, incurring such an expense of time, money and labor, making themselves almost martyrs (the earlier settlers), if it was understood that they could not acquire title to the land necessary for a homestead for each?

(4) Is there not in the world to-day an abundance of vacant land, not claimed by anybody, to provide each head of a family (and each other person, for that matter), with a homestead, and which can be had by simply moving upon it and improving it?

(5) Is not the feeling of discontent shown by many people in populous countries, and which you are wickedly, as I think, seeking to aggravate and turn into wrong channels, merely a scheme of providence to drive the people out to occupy these vacant lands?

You will confer a favor if you will reply to each of the above questions at your leisure. I claim for myself that I am just as honest as yourself in my desire that each man should have an equal chance in this world, and that there should be none very poor nor none very rich; but I am totally unable to see how the doctrines you preach tend to bring about such a perfect society as we wish for. HENRY J ARMSTRONG.

(1) No. They dearly earned the right to use it, but not the right to own it in perpetuity.

(2) No.

(3) Not if they could use land nearer home on better terms.

(4) No.

(5) No.

Your honest desire that each man should have an equal chance in the world is not doubted; neither is the truth of your confession that you cannot see how our doctrines would accomplish it. But you can best prove the honesty of your desire by trying to improve your mental vision. It is evident that you do not know what you are talking about. You express your inability to understand how our doctrines would benefit society, as if you knew what the doctrines were and had considered the reasons for them; and yet any one who has read "Progress and Poverty" has only to read your letter to know that you have never read it.

It is a shame that men should be forced to go far away from the place of their birth into unknown countries to fight mercilessly with merciless savages for a place on the earth's surface on which to live and out of which to make a living. If all land were taxed to its full value there would be so much to be had for nothing within the borders of civilization that no one would be driven away from home. It is not natural that civilization should jump from point to point like a grasshopper in a grain field; its natural movement is an advance or spreading out. Land ownership prevents this by encouraging the withdrawal of land from use in the outskirts of all communities and compelling men to leap over it to points beyond where land is nearly free; and as the unused land of one community now touches the unused land of other communities far out to the frontier, the leap is a long one. You appear to have been one of the long leapers.

The feeling of discontent, the aggravation of which grieves you so, is due to a sense of injustice. If you believe that it is a scheme of God for the purpose of forcing men to expatriate and murder Indians, your ideal of God, done in colors, would make a good illustration for some of the more exciting passages of Dante's Inferno.

How the Tax Would Benefit Landlords.

NEW YORK.—(1) Let us suppose that the lands in Ireland are taxed to their full value, how will that do away with landlordism. I should think that the rents would be raised by the land holders to balance the increase of taxes.

(2) How will the land tax benefit the land holders? BRA.

(1) By making the mere owning of land unprofitable and giving all the profit to the user, according to the use he makes of it—that is, according to his industry. Do you not know that Irish rents are all the Irish people can bear? How, then, could they be increased by a mere tax on the landlord? By law parents are entitled to the wages of their minor children; suppose they were taxed to the full value of their children's wages, could the parents get even by making their children earn more? Land rent is a monopoly price—the owner always gets all that the tenant can or will pay; consequently, a tax on rent cannot be added to the rent. If the tenant could or would pay more, the landlord wouldn't wait for a land value tax; he would adopt Shakespeare's philosophy and act upon the principle, that "If 'twere done when 'tis done, then 'twere well it were done quickly." Read Land and labor tract No. 37.

(2) It would not benefit land owners as land owners. If they were also workers, it would benefit them as workers; but it is not the purpose of the land value tax to benefit mere drones.

The Valuable Land of Poor Men.

NEW YORK.—You said in reply to a letter (issue of 12th inst.) that in a case where the ground upon which a poor man had built became so valuable that he would be practically taxed out of his house, he would doubtless be able to put up a suitable building upon the lot, or that at most it would be a case of individual hardship. This appears to me to be a very serious objection to the land tax. Let us suppose that all or nearly all the ground west of Central park, which was vacant a few years ago, has been taken up by workingmen who have put a thousand or two dollars in improvement upon those lots. Now if the lots are in great demand, the tax becoming heavier and heavier they will be taxed out of their homes. Their improvements would be probably of no value to those wishing to build. I see no way out of the dilemma for these men. If they could afford to build a suitable building they would have to tear down their present house. In which case they might as well leave and build upon any vacant lot, or they would be compelled to abandon their home and begin again somewhere else. Would not it work this way in a vast number of cases? I believe thoroughly in the injustice of the increased value of land going into private pockets, but the present system does enable a poor man to get the value of improvements out of the sale of the land. Could there not be a law by which improvements up to certain percentage of the value of the land could be compensated for if the tenant was compelled to abandon his home by reason of increase in tax?

(2) The present taxes are levied upon the basis of the cost of running the government of the city, town, etc. You, as I understand, propose to levy a tax equal I suppose to the legal rate of interest upon the value of the land. Would not the amount raised be often very much in excess of what would be required, and as often very much below? Would that not present serious difficulties?

I am extremely interested in your movement, and am certainly with you if I can be convinced that the land tax will accomplish the quarter of what is claimed for it. B. H. N.

(1) If the present system enables a poor man whose land becomes valuable to get back the value of his improvements out of the sale of his land, it is at the expense of people who are made poor and kept poor by the system. If such cases of hardship arose it would be much better to relieve them out of a common fund. We do not believe your fears are well founded; but as the land value fund would belong to the community, the community might devote some of it to such relief if it chose. It is sufficient that the objection is a trifle compared to the hardships caused by the present system.

You leave out of consideration the opportunity that would be open to every poor man to become a rich man by working.

(2) The land value tax would be based, as is the present tax, on the cost of government and public institutions. The amount, therefore, would not be in excess of what was required. It might in some communities be less than seemed to be required, the obvious remedy for which would be a reduction of public expenses. There is no serious difficulty here.

A Poor Man's Case.

NEW YORK.—Please answer this question: I own a lot for which I paid $200, money earned by the sweat of my brow. If your land value theories are put into execution and I haven't got capital enough to build a house, will my invested $200 be confiscated? A. CULLEN.

If your lot is worth $200 you would have to pay a tax on $200, whether you used the lot or not; and your tax would be no higher if you built than if you did not build. This system being generally in force, you would find work plentiful and steady and wages high, which would enable you to build. Under the present system irregular work and low wages interfere with your building, and if you do manage to build, the assessor comes along and fines you for it, and the better the building the higher your fine.

Monopoly and Mortgages.

TROY.—(1) Supposing the system you advocate were in practice and the government had control of all monopolies, such as telegraphs, railroads, etc.; a certain man has a large amount of capital which he wants to invest in a paper mill, and having got machinery down to such perfection in that business it can be run with very little help, less than other businesses. Now why could not that man with his capital go to some portion of the contry, on the line of some railroad, where land has little or no value, build his paper mill, and there start business with the few men he requires. Settling on such land with little rental value attached, he would not have to pay the large rent he would pay if he were located in some city, and with railroads running so cheap under the government, freightage would not be high. Now, why could not that man have a monopoly of that industry, not being hampered either with large rents or high freightage? Then if that were so, the small manufacturer would not have an equal show with the large one.

(2) All improvements being exempted from taxation, how are you going to tax the man that holds a mortgage? C. M. HUIEST.

(1) He might have a monopoly of that industry if his machinery could not be duplicated or if there were no cheap land but his. The peculiar fact about questions like this is that such monopolies are not only possible, but to some extent actually exist now, and it is our present system of taxation that makes them possible. When taxes fall on labor products, production, by being made more difficult, tends to concentrate under the control of men of large capital; and when land is dear the difficulties of production are further increased and the tendency to monopoly is enhanced. By taking all taxes off of labor products business men of small means are strengthened; and by taxing land, which tends to destroy its speculative value, opportunities for business are enlarged. This enables thousands of wage workers to employ themselves, who, by increasing the demand for wage workers, raise wages, thus enabling workingmen to be larger consumers and consequently to increase production.

(2) As to mortgages that existed when the change went into effect we would consider the mortgagee as a joint owner. But subsequent mortgages we would treat as personal property. You cannot impose a tax on mortgages which subsequent mortgageors will not have to pay. If the current rate of interest were 5 per cent and your tax on mortgages 1 per cent, no one would lend for less than 6 per cent. And if you taxed mortgages 6 per cent (the full interest limit), no one would lend except at usurious rates—rates that would cover not only current interest plus tax, but also plus insurance against loss by plea of usury.

A Tendency.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—I am a native of Suffolk county, N. Y., mostly a farming region. Taxes for 1885 were: Town taxes, $53,079.46; county taxes, $53,760.96; school tax, $16,242.87; state tax, $31,836.04; total, $154,919.33. What would be the effect of the single land tax upon this tax if adopted by the state of New York? Would it shift the local taxes a little more from the farms to the villages, and would it diminish the school and state taxes, shifting them more to the large cities? J. H. W.

That would be the tendency.

A Colored Man's Quandary.

HARRISBURG, Pa.—I am a colored man, and read THE STANDARD weekly. I have worked hard, and have saved enough money to buy two houses. One I live in, the other rents for $10 per month. Now, under your land reformation would I take the rent as usual or would it go for the benefit of the community? GEO. W. WESLYNN.

You would take the rent as usual. The only change would be in the mode of taxing you.

You are now taxed on everything you eat and wear and on the house you live in. Some of these taxes are collected directly, but others are collected from the manufacturer and storekeeper and by them added to the price of what you buy. If the single tax were enforced, you would pay on the value of the two lots you own and nothing else. Both your houses and all you buy would be free from taxes. Therefore, if your lots are worth a good deal and your houses not much, your taxes might be higher; but if your houses are worth as much, or nearly as much or more than your lots, your taxes would certainly be lower.

Room for All.

NEW YORK.—Please answer the following:

(1) If the population of the world can be put in the state of Texas? If so, how many people would there be to the acre?

(2) Can a communication in writing go through the mail the same as a circular by leaving the envelope open for a one cent stamp? W. C.

(1) Ten people to the acre, with room for about a quarter as many more."

(2) No.

Risky Speculation.

PITTSBURG, Pa.—I am a student of your theory, but am not yet a convert. I am taught by "Progress and Poverty" that a single tax on land would abolish speculation in land. Being an uneducated workingman I am unable to solve the following problem:

I buy a suburban lot to-day for $1,000, on which I pay a tax of four per cent—$40. At the end of a year my lot has increased twenty-five per cent in value; at the end of the second year it has increased twenty-five per cent, and so on for four years, increasing each year twenty-five per cent on the purchase price. During the four years I pay as taxes respectively, $40, $50, $60, $70; total, $220. I lose the interest on my $1,000, which, at current rates, would be in four years $160, which, added to the tax, makes $380. My lot at the end of four years has cost me $1,380 and is worth $2,000. I sell and pocket $620. Is this a speculation or do I not understand your theory? DAN WINELAND.

It would be a speculation but a very risky one.

Let us follow your speculation from the beginning:

You buy for $1,000; your tax is $40, and you lose (at say 4 per cent.) $40 in interest which you might have made by investing your thousand dollars productively. The second year, the land being worth $1,250, you pay $50 in taxes and lose $50 in interest. The third year, the land being worth $1,500, you pay $60 in taxes and lose $60 in interest. And the fourth year, the land being worth $1,750, you pay $70 in taxes and lose $70 in interest. Your speculation will have cost you, therefore, at the end of the fourth year, when you sell for $2,000, the aggregate sum of $1,440, leaving you a profit of $560. But you assume that you could sell for $2,000. Now, you could only sell to one of two classes of persons: First, a class that thought the land would go still higher; or second, a class that wanted to use the land and was willing to pay 8 per cent on its value annually for the privilege of doing it. If interest was only 4 per cent no one would be willing to pay 8 per cent for land; therefore you could not sell to the second class. And as speculation in land is based on the possible earnings of the land, you could not sell to the first class unless you caught a fool.

The fact is that your land would not rise as you have imagined. Four per cent is pretty nearly the full rental value of land, and when that tax was imposed, the selling value of your lot, instead of rising twenty-five per cent, as you assume, would fall nearly one hundred per cent. You would then have to do one of two things, either use the land, or sell it for the most you could get, for it would not pay you to keep it out of use and unproductive under the burden of a heavy tax. And as the effect of the tax on all land would be similar, we should very soon find that specially desirable land was paying nearly its full rental value into the treasury, while land not specially desirable would pay no tax at all, because there would be so much of it vacant and unowned.

It may occur to you that if you sold your lot, say for $100 instead of using it, the tax would fall to $4. That would depend upon whether the lot had an actual rental value or not. If it had no rental value the tax would fall to nothing; but if it had a rental value (all land having value being taxed in the same way) the rate of tax would rise as the selling value fell below a capitalization of the rent. For example: Suppose the rental value was $50 annually. Then the land would have a selling value of only $200, for no one would pay more than $200 for land that was worth but $50 a year if it was taxed $40 a year and the tax was to be increased as the value increased. A similar falling off in selling value would occur as to all land subject to the tax, necessitating an increase of the rate from four per cent to twenty per cent, which would make the tax $40 as before. So long as the tax remained at this rate and the rental value did not increase or diminish the selling value would be stationary at $200.

Notes.

ALBERT SMITH, Brooklyn.—We cannot give you the information. You might inquire at the Astor library.

R. C. J., Buffalo.—The letter of State Assessor Staley N. Wood requires no answer. All his reasoning is based upon a notion that it is proposed to tax land by area instead of by value. You will see this if you read the last paragraph of his letter, which is as follows: "It is claimed that under the George theory land or valuable lots in cities would pay more proportionately than farms or other country property, and hence country property would be relieved in a measure. This could not follow unless there was a high rate for the cities and a low rate for the country. There must be a uniform rate of taxation for state purposes, and therefore all property, regardless of location, would pay an equal proportion of taxes based upon a fair, full, uniform valuation of the realty in the state."

R. J. BELL, El Cajon, Cal.—You are evidently a sincere searcher after the truth, but your objections were fully considered long before you made them. Read "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade?" and then write again.

J. O. PAWLING, Griffin's Corner, N. Y.—You are right as to existing mortgages. If A owns a $10,000 farm and B has a $5,000 mortgage on it, one-half of the land value tax that A pays should go to offset the mortgage. LOUIS F. POST.

Even a Man Away Off in New Orleans Can See Through the Little Problem That Bothered a "World" Reporter.

NEW ORLEANS, Nov. 26.—Friend R.: The clipping from the news columns of the New York *World* of the 17th inst., in regard to the application of the "George theory" to the vacant lots in New York city, which you sent me, has been received and digested. I am glad to see that you do give the subject some thought. The illustrations of the reporter really emphasize the truth of the theory he seeks to overthrow. Take the first case given, that of Mary G. Pinckney. She is said to own 138 vacant lots in the Twelfth ward; valuation, $932,000; assessed fifty per cent, or at $466,000; tax rate, 2.16 per cent. She pays $73 per lot for the privivege of holding them vacant, or a total of $10,065.60 per year.

Supposing the valuation to remain the same under the system of a land tax, taking the rental value, 4 per cent on valuation would be $37,280, or $270 per lot per year. The reporter will say, "None but a rich man could pay the 'lease of the land.'" But could any but a rich person pay the $10,065.60 per year under the present system for the privilege of holding these lots vacant? Of course not. Why does M. G. P. pay that tax? It is certainly not because she is anxious to contribute $10,065 per year toward the expenses of government. In ordinary times and cases patriotism does not go that far. She pays because the assured growth and improvement of the city will so enhance their value that some one whose business demands them will be willing to pay her a price sufficient to reimburse her for the original amount she paid, plus accumulated taxes and interest, and a handsome profit beside. She will then reap where she has not sown, and society will have rewarded her for withholding that land from use, while countless numbers were wasting away on Manhattan island for want of employment, fresh air and sunlight.

Just what the land tax would make M. G. P. do is this: pay not only the full rental value of the land this year, but each succeeding year; if the rental value increased, pay that increase also into the city treasury. No matter, then, how rich she might be, she could have no motive in keeping the lots out of use. But you may ask, what recompense have you to offer her for her investment? The only right one, namely, free all improvements she may make from taxation. She will then either put up buildings for rent or else relinquish the land to those who will. If her buildings and improvements should exceed the value of the land her taxes would *actually be less than under the present system.*

The effects of such a reform are at once manifest; buildings would go up like magic, employment would be given to the idle, every department of legitimate industry would be quickened, the old tenement rookeries down town would make way for business houses, and the conflict between labor and capital would become only a memory. The community would take for itself the values which the community's growth had made. The producer and consumer being relieved of taxation would get that which their industry produced. JAMES MIDDLETON.

Shall the United Labor Party Make a Presidential Nomination.

CHICAGO, Ill.—Right here it would seem to be a pertinent question to ask, and a very important question to answer, Are we to have a presidential candidate in 1888? My only reason for touching on this subject in THE STANDARD is to bring forth discussion on the most weighty topic now before us. From my point of view it would seem to be the very best course to pursue for many reasons.

It would bring together the representative men of our cause in the United States. It would necessitate the choosing of a name for a party which must ere long write the laws of the nation. This in itself would be a much needed measure, and if wisely chosen, as it certainly will be, would place us on a more solid basis all over the country. It would be the means of awakening more enthusiasm than ever among our own ranks and thereby spreading the doctrine more wisely. It would undoubtedly be the means of setting many people whom the light has not yet shone upon to thinking and questioning about the new party and thus be the means of giving our friends many more opportunities to catch the popular ear; and who among us does not realize the value of merely getting a listener? Were we to have a national organization with a platform of as few and simple words as possible in which to comprehensively explain our standing, and a good name illustrative of our grand principle and free from any class construction, these features alone would form wonderful means for the spreading of the truth and give us all our fighting colors.

We have many earnest workers here, not the least of whom are Messrs. White, Van Ornum and Pearson, and the women are not lagging, as an instance of which may be cited the untiring energy of Miss Beck and several other ladies of club No. 1; and I firmly believe that such a cause as ours will not be long in bringing forth men in Chicago who will be to us what McGlynn, Pentecost, Huntingdon, Glacken, etc., are to the Anti-poverty society. J. H. GRIFFES, 1613 Prairie avenue.

Wants a National Convention Called as Soon as Possible.

FARMINGTON, Ia.—It is a curious instance of the strength of the movement to see how each fellow attempts to cheer up his fellow man because New York didn't cast all her votes for George. Every true convert is so strong in the faith that he doesn't waver himself, but fears his friends will. For myself, although, of course, the reports of good work made me anticipate larger results, I regard the showing as fine. And best of all, it shows strength in every county in the state. What we need is to call a national conference at once and let a national convention be arranged for not later than February. The quicker we can get in the field the better for agitation purposes. We shall organize an anti-poverty society here next week and begin the campaign of 1888 with a will. The kind of converts we are making is the kind that will vote the ticket and glory in shouting whom they voted for. F. W. ROCKWELL.

A SUGGESTION FOR ORGANIZATION.

NEW YORK CITY.—The reverse which the united labor party experienced on Nov. 8 has apparently been very suggestive to the metropolitan press. With them a reduced vote means ebbing vitality—a waning party; while an increased vote is to them an evidence of fresh vigor, new life—a succeeding party. In view of this we must increase our numerical strength (despite the fact that the next contest will be a presidential one), else we can never expect the "great dailies" and their constituencies to regard us as a permanent factor in politics—and a determining one, too.

The question then which confronts the undersigned and every practical voter in our party is, what method is best calculated to systematically disseminate our principles and swell our voting ranks. After considerable discussion of ways and means we shall attempt an answer by submitting two methods of systematic canvass. The first, which we adopted on election day, bears the same relation to the second that the guerilla band does to the thoroughly equipped and disciplined army. It operates in this way: We are each securing a list of friends and acquaintances, six in number, who agree to read "Progress and Poverty" as soon as we supply the book. This constitutes the entering wedge. We then propose to call on each individual at stated intervals, in company, so that we may be better able to meet the foe. In this way we expect to acquaint at least one dozen voters (we don't handle non-voters just now) with the principles of the united labor party, and should they be induced to support our party next year, it will be due to the superior merit of its principles.

The second is a much more elaborate plan, and if sufficiently practical and meritorious will probably require the efforts of the party's leaders to introduce it. In our opinion it possesses some substantial advantages over the first one. In substance it is a subdivision of every assembly district organization into election district organizations. Term them, say, united labor crusaders, and designate each election district organization a "company," giving each one a separate letter of the alphabet. Take, for example, the Twenty-third district. Let us suppose there are ten election districts in it. The first would be Company "A" of the united labor crusaders of the Twenty-third assembly district, and so on up to the tenth, which would read Company "J" of the united labor crusaders of the Twenty-third assembly district. It is fair to suppose that every district organization contains one or more members from each election district in its limits. Now, these members would form the nucleus of each company of crusaders. They could select a guiding spirit to be known as the master crusader of that particular company, and they could meet at his residence weekly or fortnightly in order to outline the work of the propaganda and explain the principles to any inquirers who may have been induced to attend. Every company would be required to secure the name and address of every voter in their particular election district, secure as many copies of "Progress and Poverty" and "Protection or Free Trade?" as the members could afford, and send out a circular like the following among the voters of the district, one circular being sent for each book at the organization's disposal:

Company "A," united labor crusaders of the twenty-third assembly district, George Green, master crusader.

HEADQUARTERS, 674 East 135th street, New York, December —, 1887. Dear Sir: The united labor party, recognizing that the real difficulties which they are obliged to meet and overcome are due to ignorance of their aims or misapprehensions created by a hostile press, has organized in every election district an association for the specific purpose of augmenting public interest and discussion in the great problem that the above party has undertaken to solve on entirely new principles; and, furthermore, to bring within the intelligent range of every voter the sum of our aims and the potent reasons for sustaining them, which will serve to explain our agressiveness and vitality in face of defeat.

Our reasons for requesting your respectful consideration of this question are:

1. To acquaint you with existing social wrongs, especially the inequitable distribution of wealth caused by land monopoly which our present system fosters, together with the evils which it engenders.

2. To bring to your notice a sure remedy for the adjustment of these wrongs founded on the natural love of justice—a measure extremely simple and decidedly radical.

3. To prove that no natural right will be violated by the operation of this simple yet efficacious remedy; that our principles are the essence of justice; that they are intended to weld society more firmly together as a whole, not to disrupt it; that they mean the perpetuation of this republic and the dawn of a higher moral and intellectual standard, consequently an era of higher civilization.

4. To secure your co-operation as a voter and propagandist after you shall have become convinced that our solution of the labor problem is the only true and practical one.

As our principles are an advocation of Mr. George's theories, we propose to make you acquainted with them by deputing a member of this association to convey to you a copy of "Progress and Poverty" for perusal. Should you prefer to read one Mr. George's other works, we inclose a return postal card with the entire list of them printed thereon. Indicate your choice and mail it at your earliest convenience.

In requesting you to make yourself acquainted with the whole truth concerning the movement, you will notice that we have appealed to no prejudice or sentiment, feeling confident that the truth will reveal itself sooner or later to the fair-minded reader.

Company "A" of the united labor crusaders of your assembly district meets for discussion every ——— evening, at the residence of Mr. George Green, master crusader, 674 East 135th street. You and your friends are cordially invited to be present whenever circumstances will permit you to do so.

Trusting that this will receive your consideration, we remain yours, truly,

THE COMMITTEE.

The remaining details of this plan would be substantially the same as the first proposition.

A spirit of emulation could be infused into each assembly district in this way. Let the Anti-poverty society present to the assembly district polling the largest increase over last year's vote a silk flag or banner. Then again the district organization could hold out some inducement to their several companies to compete for the largest membership.

These propositions, though they themselves may be worthless, may suggest some practical idea which will greatly advance the work of propaganda. If a greater number can be induced to engage in the work and better results secured, then the undersigned will be amply repaid for the effort expended in placing this before your attention.

WM. R. ROWNTREE.
GEORGE GREEN.

There Is Nobleness Even in the Despised Tramp.

Fred Woodrow, in The Age of Steel.

We have personally investigated the causes that lie behind these nomadic migrations, and have found not a little honor, self respect and moral nobleness in many [illegible]ised tramp. We are in no sense [illegible] mentalists, but we confess to [illegible] sincere sympathy for many a [illegible] whose wan face and bare [illegible] welcome to our last dime.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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THE STANDARD is for sale by newsdealers throughout the United States. Persons who may be unable to obtain it will confer a favor on the publisher by notifying him promptly.

Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 3, 1887.

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

NOT YET.

The investigation by the interstate commerce commission into the methods of the Standard oil company has put into the form of sworn and reported evidence many facts previously known or suspected concerning the methods and purposes of that gigantic monopoly. It was clearly shown, for instance, that, despite the explicit provisions of the interstate commerce act, various railroads still discrimate against the rivals of the monopoly in carrying oil. This was proven with great clearness in the case of the Louisville and Nashville railroad company, and the evidence of one of the company's own agents showed discrimination so marked, covered by evasions and subterfuges so bungling, that it seems no excuse can be offered if the commissioners shall fail to put in force the penal clauses of the law.

Last week J. D. Rockefeller, chairman of the Standard oil trust, was examined and he named the numerous companies composing the "trust." Mr. Rockefeller denied that these companies "pool" their profits, but this seems to have been a mere matter of definition. When the question, "Is it not a fact that the stockholders of the various companies forming this trust who hold trust certificates receive as dividends a pro rata share of the profits of the combined companies in proportion to their holdings of the certificates, without regard to the earnings of the companies in which they own stock?" Mr. Rockefeller had the question repeated and then with manifest reluctance made an affirmative reply. Whatever may be Mr. Rockefeller's definition of "pooling," the practice described by the question above given is precisely that called "pooling" by the general public.

In the course of his examination Mr. Rockefeller stated to Mr. Follett, counsel for the complainant, that the capital of the trust is about $90,000,000, and the following interesting colloquy ensued:

"Your company," said Mr. Follett, "is represented in nearly every town of industrial importance in the country, is it not?"

"In every town, yes."

"Is it not true that your business extends from the Atlantic to the Pacific and from the Gulf of Mexico to the northern boundary of the United States?"

"Not yet," replied Mr. Rockefeller.

This "not yet" is significant. The primary object of the interstate commerce act is to prevent the very discrimination by means of which the Standard trust has acquired the absolute control of from 65 to 80 per cent of the whole output of oil in this country. The case was one tried before the commission on a complaint of an oil refiner whom the Standard trust had tried to crush. Mr. Rockefeller, the head of the trust, was testifying in that very case, the question at issue being whether the power of the United States government is sufficient to scotch or crush out just such monopolies. When asked under such circumstances if the business of his trust did not now extend over every part of the territory of the United States, Mr. Rockefeller calmly answers, "not yet." That, in defiance of all such puny efforts a mere government may put forth, this trust with its ninety millions of capital will have a complete and unchallenged monopoly of the oil business of the whole country, Mr. Rockefeller does not permit himself for one moment to doubt. His assurance is sublime, but it is justified by the facts. So long as the government aims at the mere regulation of the power that has seized the highways of our country monopolists can afford to laugh at its efforts to control them or curtail their purchased privileges. When the government owns and operates these great highways, and not until then, can it assure equal rights to all of its citizens and interpose an effectual bar to the building up of monopoly through discrimination in transportation rates.

No such measure will ever be passed, however, by either of the two old parties that are bidding frantically for the support of monopolies in their efforts to corruptly purchase power. A party that looks to the people for support can alone be trusted to take so long a step forward toward restoring to the people their just rights and powers.

Amid the shouting and excitement over the district attorneyship during the recent municipal canvass, now and then a whisper from some knowing man was heard to the effect that there were heavier interests involved in the comptrollership than in the fight between Nicoll and Fellows. It was said that the aqueduct ring had exercised no little influence, not merely in preventing Comptroller Loew's renomination, but in making Mr. Myers the democratic candidate. Men very familiar with municipal matters shook their heads sagely and remarked that three years was as long a time as Tweed had for effective work and that all of his enterprises together would not compare in magnitude with the aqueduct job. It is somewhat significant that almost on the heels of the election the aqueduct contractors have made a demand for about $3,000,000 for extra work. Comptroller Loew denies the justice of the bill and publicly says that so long as he is in office not one dollar of the public money will go to satisfy the claim. Mr. Loew said: "My term of office expires in a few weeks. I will not have it said that I went out of office condoning such a gigantic fraud as it appears that these contractors are attempting to perpetrate." This is very well so far as it goes, but it only goes to the end of December. Then a new comptroller comes into office and we may find that he will be less oblivious than Mr. Loew to the claim of the contractors that the little extras in consideration of which they claim $3,000,000 were ordered by Chief Engineer Church and that the city is liable for them. It is an interesting incident and not the only one that may cause the business men who have been shouting over the great democratic victory, bought for cash on the 8th of November, to revise their estimates of the exact value of that already costly purchase.

The newspapers have had a great deal to say in praise of the benevolent individuals who provided free turkeys for the poor of our great cities on Thanksgiving day.

Suppose, however, that a benevolent Englishman had forwarded by steamer from Liverpool a hundred thousand turkeys, to be freely given to a hundred thousand poor men in New York. Would our daily press have regarded that as a graceful act of charity to be acknowledged with thanks, or as a hostile interference with the American industry of turkey raising.

Also, if it is a good thing for American citizens that Mrs. Lamadrid should furnish them turkey for nothing, why would it be a bad thing for American citizens if English manufacturers should furnish them dress goods at half their present cost?

Young George Gould has been telling a newspaper reporter in a tentative way that the great railway and other interests viewed Mr. Cleveland's election to the presidency with a great deal of alarm, but that they have recovered from their fright and are now entirely satisfied with the administration. Jay Gould has also confided to a *World* representative at Marseilles his entire satisfaction with the administration. Taken in connection with the proposed changes in the cabinet and the dismissal of Land Commissioner Sparks, already commented upon in THE STANDARD, it looks as though the understanding between the big monopolies and the administration had almost reached a point at which further concealment is regarded as useless. The result in New York has not merely emboldened the democrats, but convinced them that plenty of money is the only requisite to political success, and hence they are not merely ready but eager to be corrupted more completely and more frequently. They never knew before its full delights.

But think of the horror and wretchedness with which the republican bosses must watch this now open dalliance of the monopolists with their foes. Did not Jay Gould's money help to seat Hayes? and was it not his money again that, in the very nick of time, assisted to vindicate principle by the election of Garfield? Have not all the great monopolies poured money year after year into the republican campaign fund? If such men no longer dread democratic success, where is the republican party to get money from in the future? and if they are actually going to give money to the democrats, what hope is there that republican principles can receive such a vindication as democratic principles received in New York on the 8th of November? The prospect must be a gloomy one for those politicians who imagine that politics is to consist forever in bidding for the favor and financial assistance of monopolists and boodlers. To those of us who expect to see the people rise against all who live by robbing them, the practical demonstration that neither of the old parties, as now led and managed, will do anything whatever toward overthrowing monopoly, is not so distressing.

Had the ghost of some revolutionary patriot wandered into Trinity church on Thanksgiving day, he would have been surprised to hear from that pulpit such sentiments as that "the American revolution was a grand movement in defense of individual and personal liberty and the rights of man," and that "the fathers of the republic stood for law;" and, remembering the Trinity church of the days when he was in the flesh, the ghost might have observed, and made a note of it, that the world—even the Trinity church fringe of the world—does move. But if he had remained a little longer he would have heard enough about "strong laws," the beneficence of "classes with wide social distinctions," and the "mere dream" of fraternity, to convince him that Trinity church has not moved very far after all. It is a fact that Trinity church, with what it represents, does move, but it moves very much as a mule moves—behind a halter or in front of a club.

In his Thanksgiving sermon the Rev. Morgan Dix asserted that it is impossible "under the present conditions of human nature to get rid of poverty and poor people." He did not explain, however, whether these conditions of human nature attach to the poor, rendering them incapable of getting rich, or to the rich, making them determined that the poor shall remain poor—whether the conditions are incapacity or greed. We suggest that he attempt the explanation; it would afford him excellent mental and spiritual exercise.

By the death of his father Don Carlos inherits the Bourbon title to France. Queer isn't it—inheriting a country! But in principle what is the difference between inheriting a country and inheriting pieces of a country?

If the democratic leaders who at Cooper union last week congratulated themselves in resounding resolutions on the triumph of "democratic principles" at the last election, had been called upon to define the "democratic principles" that triumphed, there would have been an awkward pause in the proceedings.

At the Old guards' celebration of Evacuation day General Sickles took occasion to say that he was not too old "to volunteer as one of those who will put down these scoundrels," and then added: "I would rather we had the law on our side; but if there is no law, I will be one of those who will do it without law." It is talk like this and the lawless spirit of plutocracy which talk like this exposes that makes recruits for anarchy. It teaches those who feel the hand of oppression that agitators are right when they insist that the governing classes are law abiding only while the law runs their way.

The Philadelphia *Times* tells believers in the single tax that the thing for them to do "is to take up a tract of land in the west and form a colony on the basis of full land value taxation, so that everybody can see how the scheme works." Will the *Times* explain how that can be done with a protective tariff in force? or is it ignorant after all of the nature of the single tax?

If the *Times* is in earnest in its suggestion, however, and truly anxious to see how the scheme would work experimentally, let it induce congress to set apart a portion of the public domain for free settlement on condition that imports warehoused there shall be free of duty, that no internal revenue or other taxes on products of labor shall be imposed, and that settlers shall pay the annual value of their land into the treasury of the colony for public use, and we agree to produce the colonists. But the *Times* must not ask us to agitate for this concession, for we are well convinced that the larger measure of relief which would benefit the whole country can be almost as easily obtained as this one horse measure, which would benefit only a comparatively few people, and would benefit them only on condition that they severed the associations of a lifetime and abandoned forever the places to which they were attached. If such a concession were a stepping stone to the larger reform, it might be worth seeking; but however successful the experiment might be, beneficiaries of vested rights in public wrongs would defend plundering privileges just as selfishly, just as bitterly, just as unrighteously, as ever.

On Monday last District Attorney Randolph B. Martine appeared in the court of general sessions, presented his certificate of election as judge of general sessions, and solemnly swore that he had not paid any money to purchase votes at the late election.

If the money which Mr. Martine *did* pay were traced to its ultimate use in connection with the late election with a zeal and acuteness such as were displayed by the district attorney in tracing the disbursements of Jacob Sharp and his fellows, it is possible that——. However, never mind what may be possible; there is no danger that anything of the kind will be done.

But the recording angel must have a queer looking account with Mr. Martine.

AN INQUIRY FROM DENMARK.

5 THORVALDSENS VEJ,
COPENHAGEN, DENMARK,
Nov. 1, 1887.

Henry George, Dear Sir—The ideas exposed and advocated in your books, more especially the "Progress and Poverty," are making their way steadily through the Scandinavian countries, especially since the translation of "Progress and Poverty" by V. Ullmann.

Although we do not know as yet the utter misery and deprivations that reign among the lower classes in the great centers of civilization, still the "bad times" are very keenly felt and the conditions of the lower laboring classes are very despairing, more especially in the capitals, Copenhagen and Stockholm, our only great cities.

Since 1870 the socialistic ideas have become very popular among our laborers in spite of their German-philosophical, illiberal and methodical turn that agrees very badly with our national character.

It is, of course, chiefly in the free and liberal religious spheres that your banner is raised, as you find there a deep and vivid interest in the social problems, combined with a thorough dislike of the German socialistic ideas on account of their illiberalism and blindness to the importance of the personal freedom.

However, when advocating your ideas there is a hurting stone that very often bars the progress of the cause. That is the reason why I have taken the liberty to write to you; but to fully explain the matter I must say some few words about the social and economic condition of the country.

Agriculture is our chief occupation; nearly two-thirds of our population are directly employed in agricultural work. Moreover, most part of the land is divided among proprietor farmers in lots of from two to eighty acres. This division is the work of the last century. Before 1788 the land of each village was cultivated in common, was the property of some few landed proprietors and noblemen, who, besides, owned great estates; the farmers were all but serfs.

Since the abolition of this next to serfdom, the division of the land and the introduction of a more parliamentary form of government our peasantry has made enormous progress in all directions, has become the most influential class and has created and maintained our position among the foremost agricultural countries in Europe; whose butter and eggs realize the highest price in the English market.

However, this enormous and important transformation has not been brought about without occasioning a very heavy debt on most of the farms. Very few they were who a century back had scraped sufficient money together to buy their farm clear off, and at present we can say that as a rule each farmer pays interest on a capital very nearly like the selling value of his property (land and constructions thereon).

Now, it is perfectly clear that your remedy, to tax all land on its full selling value, would not hurt these farmers in the least; on the contrary, would benefit them markedly.

The real sufferers under the transformation or revolution, would, it seems to me, be those that have placed their capital in the land. Well, when these persons are rich land owners like the duke of Westminster, I pity them not, moreover, as they have plenty of other properties; but with us it is somewhat different. The capital placed in the land chiefly belong to such institutions as, for instance, our savings banks, the board of guardians of minors; in short, to such persons that have in one way or another earned or inherited a small capital on which to subsist or with which to start work. They are placed in land because in an agricultural country like ours this placement is regarded as the safest and best for all who do not want to run great risk and gain high interest, but are satisfied with a moderate interest, provided their capital is safe.

These capitals, it seems to me, would inevitably be lost under the transformation, and this loss would be very keenly felt.

This is the hurting stone that mars the progress of the ideas with us. Your remedy itself is so simple, clear and just that every child can grasp it; but how can it be carried out with us without temporarily injuring this great class of small, earnest workers that have saved a small lot of money and placed it in land?

If you, from your great experience and clearer insight in these matters, would favor me with an explanation and solution of this riddle, you would, I believe, highly enlighten and advance the good cause in Scandinavia.

JAKOB E. LANGE, Gardener.

The question Mr. Lange brings up is the question that is brought up everywhere, when the concentration of all taxes on land values is proposed. It is not alone in Denmark that it constitutes what he so graphically styles a "hurting stone," but it is of course the great obstacle to our progress in all countries. It is not in the nature of things possible to devise any scheme by which the change from an unjust system to a just system can be made without relatively at least injuring some one. But it is always to be remembered that the change is one that would result in increased general prosperity, and that it cannot come all at once but must, from its nature and from the opposition which it will meet, be brought about gradually. If in Denmark those who have invested in land values are of the body of the people, and derive part of their income from labor or business, they will be certain gainers on the one hand, even if they are losers on the other. The little relative advantages that they now have by reason of their investments are as nothing to the gains which the increase in general prosperity would bring them. In the case of widows and orphans this perhaps may not always be true, or not true to so great a degree, but for such cases some provision could easily be made from the large funds which would accrue to the state from the tax on land values. If, however, we were to allow considerations of relative loss to stand in the way of this great reform it would never be accomplished.

The New Crusade to be Preached in Roselle, N. J.

ROSELLE, N. J.—Six years ago "Progress and Poverty" was handed me by a friend. I perused it at first with the sort of enjoyment one finds in a first-class novel. This was due to the continuity of interest the book maintained, as though a plot ran through its development. I re-read and studied the book several times, sent copies to friends, and discussed its points with any who had read it. Within a year from the date of my first perusal of the book I became an active missionary among my friends, and have distributed many copies of your writings. The crystalization of your theories into political shape so soon was more than I hoped for. I am now, however, sanguine of the proximity of triumph, and though an agnostic in matters doctrinal, I am prepared to unite with any body of men who plant themselves squarely on the inherent rights of man, and follow the subject to its logical conclusion.

I have made arrangements in this town for a hall which seats about four hundred people, and which will draw to a center three townships—Union, Linden and Cranford. We want to go to work at once, and shall endeavor to have addresses at least bi-weekly.

READ GORDON.

Encouraging Industry.

"Law" in Milwaukee Review.

A writer in this paper recently asked how protection protects. I think the following statistics, taken from the annual reports of the Calumet and Hecla copper mining company of Lake Superior will show that protection does protect the mine owner, and that a tax on land values would be a great boon for the taxpayers of that community. The original stock of this company consisted of 40,000 shares of $25 each, only $13 per share being paid in, making the original investment $520,000. The shares have increased to 100,000, and the stock is quoted at about $165 per share. This company has declared dividends aggregating $20,000,000 in less than twenty years. The assessed valuation of its real estate is over $20,000,000, and it is safe to say the assessment is less than one-third of the real valuation.

Who will say protection does not protect the mine owner? But can it be said it protects the employe? Here is a company that from an investment of $520,000, less than twenty years ago, have property worth from $50,000,000 to $60,000,000 and who have paid $25,000,000 in dividends, while their employes have received $1.50 per day when working. Considering the loss of time through so-called over production and the seasons, the wages have averaged less than $300 per year, and when the employe was a tenant of the company, as was mostly the case, he paid back as rent from 25 to 35 per cent of his earnings. If the wage earners of this country are satisfied with this kind of "protection" they are welcome to it. Hs for us we think others can say as well as *Puck*, "What fools these mortals be."

AN OPEN LETTER.

Dr. A. S. Houghton, Cincinnati, O.—Dear Sir: You ask my views of the future policy of our party. I have hardly had time to consider the subject, but will give you the opinion that seems to force itself upon me.

What we must be most careful to avoid is the danger that now threatens us of becoming a mere pantomime party. In the canvass just closed we were a political factor, owing to the great vote we had cast a year before; but in the next campaign, owing to the comparatively small vote we cast this fall, unless we avoid the political routine adopted by the prohibitionists, we shall cut the same ridiculous figure that they do.

It is plain to most of us now—it was plain to many of us long ago—that the running of a full county ticket this fall was bad policy; and yet against the confidence born of past success it would have been a waste of energy to urge the adoption of any other course. If our "defeat" has done no more than to admonish us that, though we be as harmless as doves, we must in fighting the powerful forces that are arrayed against us be as wise as serpents, it is enough to be thankful for.

Were our contest one of arms, it would be foolish not to wage it according to the most effective strategic methods known to the art of war; it is no less foolish, the contest being political, not to avail ourselves of the strategy of politics. I do not mean by this that we should buy votes; buying votes is crime, not strategy.

Voters will sometimes "stand up to be counted," but they will not do it over and over again any more than soldiers will stand up over and over again to be shot down. Panic is just as certain to demoralize the voter as the soldier.

It is well known to every one of experience or observation that a party which can neither win itself nor disarrange the calculations of the other parties cannot command anything like its own strength, and tends constantly to contribute less and less to the serious, and more and more to the humorous, side of the campaign. This fact should convince us that our party ought not to make a presidential fight next year. With the prestige of 68,000 votes in New York city we might have made things very uncomfortable for at least one of the old parties; but we have lost the prestige of that vote, and in a contest for the presidency, which will be a bear baiting show, public attention will be so concentrated upon the antics of the republican dogs and the democratic bear that we should be in danger of making a sorry appearance. Of our normal vote we could retain only men who are willing to stand up and be counted, and even these—except the very true and very tried—might be panic stricken and abandon us.

But what makes a presidential fight impolitic makes a congressional fight the very thing to be desired.

If the party will perfect a national organization, and by general consent make nominations for congress, and for nothing else, all over the country, we shall not only be an important factor in national politics, but we may put enough men into congress to make an effective third party caucus there. Having but one candidate to work and vote for, and caring nothing about the bear baiting—whether the republican dogs tore the democratic bear or the democratic bear squeezed the republican dogs—our party would be in a position to seriously disturb the political situation, especially in the pivotal city of the pivotal state. A party representing the principles of government for which we are struggling and entering into a presidential campaign with such a policy might be sneered at or "swore at," but it wouldn't be laughed at.

The contest would be all the more exciting and profitable if our candidates for congress were absolute free traders, and the issue of protection or free trade were boldly raised.

The congressional candidates of the old parties would, in every reasonably close district, have to take sides on that question; and as some of them would be democratic protectionists and others republican free traders or tariff reformers, the alternative would be very delicate and embarrassing, not to say complex. That would benefit us, for it would be an object lesson of a lack of a distinguishing issue between the old parties. And if the republicans nominated protectionists and the democrats nominated tariff reformers, that, too, would benefit us, because discussion of tariff reform would compel the discussion of absolute free trade, and the two parties would be forced into a position involving the loss to the republicans of their free trade voters and to the democrats of their protectionist voters. Indeed, whatever the old parties did in respect to their congressional candidates, we should profit by it, for in any case that large number of voters who are with us to the extent of substituting a land value tax for the tariff would support our nominees.

This policy would raise an issue that would divide the people on a question of national interest and pressing importance, in the discussion of which the fundamental moral truth that the land belongs to the people could not be ignored. It is, therefore, more than a mere party expedient. And it is more than a party expedient for another reason. It is the legislative, not the executive, branch of government through which we are to accomplish our reforms. The election of a mayor or a president, or the casting of a large vote by our party for such an office, can serve our ends in no other way than by its moral influence in making men consider our principles. A large aggregate vote for congressmen will exert the same moral influence, and if here and there we elect a congressman, we shall have made a further advance toward putting our theories in practice than if we actually elected a president.

I have written my views in candor, with the present conviction that both party expediency and intelligent loyalty to our principles demand their acceptance. I may be wrong, and, upon realizing that I am, shall have no hesitation in acknowledging it. I shall therefore be glad to consider any other propositions. It is by some such comparisons of opinions as to the policy of the party that we are to determine upon a course which will make of us a disciplined and advancing army and remove the danger of our becoming a disorganized and retreating mob, and I hope that a general expression of opinion upon the subject will be made. Truly yours,

LOUIS F. POST.

Dr. McGlynn's Parishioners.

Another crowded meeting of Dr. McGlynn's old parishioners was held on Friday of last week in International hall. The principal speech was made by Mr. Richard Caffrey, the young man who stood for assembly on the united labor ticket in Greenpoint, L. I., this year. His amusing speech, in which he vigorously defended Dr. McGlynn's economic "heresies," was heartily applauded. Chairman Feeney stated that the envelope collection for the evening was $64, the basket collection, $30.73, and that $11 had been received during the week, making $105.73 since the last meeting. This amount will be added to the personal fund for Dr. McGlynn. Mr. McDermott of the parish closed the meeting with a short address.

The Fund for Dr. McGlynn.

The publisher of THE STANDARD acknowledges the receipt of the following sums, which have been handed to Dr. McGlynn: "Coming," $1; 'amner, 'amner, 'ammer, two weeks' remittances, $4.

How the Election Was Conducted in New York.

Edgar J. Levey in North American Review.

The polls were opened at 6 a. m. I had been assigned by the "citizens' committee," which had charge of Mr. Nicoll's canvass, to look after a number of election districts in the western part of the city. I was, therefore, not confined to a single district, but had ample opportunity to observe what was going on all over that portion of New York. I reached several election districts before the polls were opened. At all of them a large number of persons were congregated, and formed a line extending some distance from the polling place. My curiosity was at once excited to see who the zealous citizens were who were so anxious to exercise the "priceless boon of citizenship" that they had arisen almost before daybreak in order to avail themselves of the privilege. On approaching I saw that they held their ballots tightly clenched in their right hands, which were elevated at right angles with bodies, and that they took good care to keep them in this position until the polls opened. In a few minutes the voting began. As soon as each man voted he passed out and filed into the side door of a bar room located near by. I entered and saw a well known ward "heeler" (whom I did not then know, but whose name was familiar to me as soon as I heard it) pass a five dollar bill into each voter's hands with no effort at concealment. The whole transaction from first to last had quite the air of a common business transaction. This was my first introduction that day to "practical politics," and thus did I grasp the very arcana of our election system at a bound.

The polls had not been opened an hour when a voter approached and asked me for some Nicoll ballots. "I do not vote here," he said, "but up above in the — election district of the — assembly district. There are no Nicoll ballots to be had there. He is sold out. The Irving Hall worker has been bought up; the Nicoll worker (a paid colored man) has disappeared, and the republican is issuing ballots with Fellows's name on them."

I started for the district he mentioned and found everything exactly as he had stated. Many of the voters did not examine the ballots furnished them by their party workers, but deposited them without inspection. The more intelligent opened them and saw the fraud, but few took the trouble to go to another polling place to procure proper ballots when they found that none were to be obtained in the vicinity.

I set about to remedy this. I warned each voter as he approached to examine his ballots. The result was Bedlam let loose. I was surrounded by a gang of perhaps twenty "heelers," most of whom looked as though they had attained great distinction in crime, and was subjected to a torrent of curses and abuse. The burden of their complaint, stripped of bad language, seemed to be that "a dude with a clean collar had come to deprive them of an honest living." One even went so far as to threaten my life when he found that I intended to remain there and furnish Nicoll ballots to those who wanted them. A personal encounter was the result of preventing two of the roughs from taking ballots forcibly out of the hands of a Nicoll voter. The police were "in with the boys," refused to interfere, and seemed to derive considerable amusement from the whole affair.

The police also refused to keep the way to the polling place clear. It was blocked by a part of this same gang, and every voter had to undergo an examination as to his intentions before he could enter. Intimidation was frequently practiced on those whose political views did not meet with the approval of the "boys," and in some instances with successful results. One old man came away without voting, evidently terrified by threats that had been made.

Later in the day bribery was openly practiced. One instance was so flagrant that I determined to challenge the voter. An attempt was made to pull me out of the polling place by force, but the approval of the police did not quite extend to this, and I was allowed to remain. The man was evidently afraid of perjuring himself, and at first refused to take the oath, but the "gang" backed him up and insisted; so he finally swore himself through.

. . . . . .

The price for votes varied from two to five dollars, but in two instances I heard of as much as ten dollars having been given for a vote. From personal observation, and from the statements of friends whose experience agreed with mine, there can be no doubt that about a quarter of a million of dollars was spent in this city for illegal purposes—an average of three hundred dollars for each election district.

The Sacred Duty of Every Christian.

Robert Palmer in Kingston, Ont., Whig.

Our best informed economist, Wm. Houston, M. A., of the legislative library, Toronto, felt impelled to say publicly in a letter to the Toronto *Mail*, July 22, referring to the land doctrine of Henry George: "I cannot understand how any intelligent man can refuse his assent to so axiomatic a principle." The workingman pleads that until land monopoly is abolished emancipation from slavery cannot be won. And earnest divines, in ever increasing numbers, with bible in their hands, are proclaiming that it is the law of Christ. Now, is it not the sacred duty of every Christian who meets this triple challenge to give to the question his immediate and most serious study? His reason, his conscience, his sense of the actual suffering and degradation of labor, will make further delay impossible.

CATHOLIC THEOLOGY AND PRIVATE OWNERSHIP.

THE STANDARD of Oct. 22 printed a communication containing a digest of an article in the *Lyceum*, a monthly magazine conducted by the Jesuit fathers in Dublin. It was there affirmed, and proved beyond reasonable doubt, that "the church has passed no formal judgment on the doctrine" of land nationalization; "that it had no place in the thoughts of the pope" in those utterances adduced as condemnatory of it by church dignitaries in New York; "neither have the bishops judged it," and "individual ownership is a product o positive legislation, and may be forbidden by it." The writer in the *Lyceum* quoted many eminent Catholic theologians in support of his proposition, and left nothing to be desired on that head by any honest reader. Some of those papers that seek traffic through the title Catholic, which they print over their dreary columns, answered to this that the devil is good at quoting scripture. Well, even if the devil did prove a proposition by scriptural quotations, the truth would be truth still. But if the analogy has any value, the devil, in this case, must have worn a Jesuit's garb. At the risk of stimulating the diabolical suggestion of the ponderous *Catholic Review*, let us see what the present November *Lyceum* says in continuation.

It starts out with this proposition: "Catholic theologians are practically unanimous in teaching that the right to acquire personal property is given to us, not by divine law, not by natural law, but by the law of nations, which, like all positive human law, is liable to be abrogated by human will." In the long list of theologians quoted to prove his thesis are S. Thomas, Sylvius, Scotus, Molina, Lessius, Salas, Vasquez, Valentia, Suarez, etc.

The reasoning which the writer applies to the teaching of these acknowledged authorities makes it clear that individual ownership of property is a matter to be decided wholly by the wisdom of the community. "The natural law," he says, "does not impose, of itself, any moral obligation to partition earthly goods among individual owners. . . . . Social needs and social advantages dictate the lawfulness, the obligation, the moral wrongfulness of common and individual ownership. . . . . This is undoubtedly the traditional teaching of the Catholic theological schools."

Might not some so-called Catholic editors get and read and try to understand this number of the *Lyceum*, and from its clear pages learn the truth, and cease from misleading their simple minded readers? Is the church going to condemn "the traditional teaching of the Catholic theological schools?" Can these unscrupulous villifiers fail now to see how correctly Dr. McGlynn spoke when he said that the church cannot condemn the doctrine of equal rights in land; and that those who outrageously presumed to condemn it only stultified themselves! Nor should these articles in the *Lyceum* escape the attention of the Italian chamberlain of Jersey City. It would be profitable for him to compare this lucid explanation of S. Thomas and Suarez with the confused contents of the pamphlet which he wrote for certain motives, when he might have been more usefully employed in the discharge of the active duties of his honorary office.

Observe the justification of communism even, which the writer in the *Lyceum* finds in the natural law from Catholic theology:

> It bases the rights of all private ownership in material things upon positive human law, while we are concerned in the ownership of land alone. . . . Now see what follows from their theory. The right of private ownership in land is based upon the law of nations; the law of nations is positive human law; all positive human law may rightfully be abrogated or repealed by legislative authority, if the common good can be furthered by its abrogation; therefore the right of private ownership in land may be lawfully repealed by human legislation, and common ownership set up instead, if the change will make for the advantage of the nation. And yet, we are told that to adopt the principles of land nationalization is to attack the very foundations of society, to contradict the very clearest teachings of the Catholic church.

The concluding sentence of the article in the *Lyceum* so completely contradicts the loose statements freely made by Jesuit writers in this country that it is impossible to comprehend what local scheme the order has in view in so trimming their sails. "State ownership of the soil," the *Lyceum* says—"land nationalization—if judged advisable for the common good, and decreed by competent legislative authority, is in thorough harmony with the traditional principles of Catholic theology." Yet Fathers Higgins and Holaind of the same order have placed the question in a very different and false light and term their views the only tenable, the only orthodox views. Even the conservative *Catholic World*, in its present number, strongly and justly objects to "such an extravagant theory of individual ownership," and denounces it because "it is not fair for a Catholic professor of ethics to proclaim to the general public that he is giving them 'orthodox principles' when he should know that by such terms they will be misled to think that he is expounding a theory closed to debate among Catholics." The *World* adds, "Nothing can be bad enough to justify a misleading statement of the orthodox principles of ethics."

In the same honest Catholic spirit the writer in the *Lyceum* shows that Father Lehmkuhl, another Jesuit theologian, actually interpolated an author's (Rebellus's) statement on this very question in his Moral Theology, vol. 1, No. 191. In a note at p. 66 of the *Lyceum* the cradite author adds: "The wish to combat modern socialistic doctrines is praiseworthy; but we must not sacrifice the true history of theological opinions to present controversial needs."

Let me add that more than the truth of history is sacrificed to prevent controversial needs here in our own city. Has not the dignity of the priesthood, as well as its supposed love of self-respect, been lowered by the late intrigue of a reverend president of a Jesuit college and a professedly pious old lady in Jersey City to drag an archbishop into the approval of a vile and abusive pamphlet written upon a subject of whose nature the unsettled and restless authoress is wholly incompetent to judge? It reads like one of the unseemly plots which disgraced the church in past ages, this story of Father Murphy coddling the nun of Kenmare, and this ecclesiastical censor of this diocese with his official imprimatur ready to stamp upon this fourth Jersey product of theological odium and nonsense. When the dark conspiracy of base political intrigue, low selfishness and vanity from which has sprung an unjust war to crush, by means of the church, the right to discuss a philosophic and economic theory becomes better known, that theory will receive a new and vigorous impulse which even its opponents will not venture to resist.

A CATHOLIC PRIEST.

The Farmers and the Single Tax.

HUTCHINSON, Kas.—There is much said by the enemies of reform and justice about the opposition of the farmers to the single tax on land values. But I find most farmers in this part of the country believe it would be right and just to tax the owners of vacant land lying beside their farms as much as them. They see and admit that it is wrong to fine them for improving their land, and they see also that it would put a stop to land speculation to tax vacant land as much as improved land similarly situated. Farmers who own a great deal of unimproved land very often cannot see the justice of this, and we do not expect they ever will. But they are really land speculators as well as farmers. All farmers who are working on rented farms should favor the single tax on land values; and so should all farmers who love justice and would prefer to live in a country where justice was secured by all and favors granted to none.

J. G. MALCOM.

Columbia College Men Discuss the Immigration Question.

At a meeting of the Academy of Political Science of Columbia college (Hamilton hall) on Nov. 21, Professor R. M. Smith read a paper on "Immigration into the United States." Professor Smith produced statistics to prove that immigration into the United States had increased to alarming proportions; that the quality of the immigrants had deteriorated, and that the time had come for restriction. Professor Smith also hinted that the United States was now populous enough to afford stopping immigration and rely upon the country's natural increase.

After the reading a debate took place During the debate Professor Boyesen expressed his cordial approval of the sentiments and facts contained in the paper, and he declared himself on the subject more Parisian than the Parisian.

Dr. D. De Leon joined issue with the lecturer, both on the facts and conclusions. He went into a lengthy argument to show that the character of our immigrants was not, on the whole, deteriorating. He reviewed the history of immigration into the United States from the earliest colonial days; showed that at that time paupers and criminals were welcome, were desired, were looked for and did materially assist in the prosperity of the country. This he thought was due to the fact that at that time the immigrant had free access to natural opportunities. He asked have those conditions changed? They have in a manner. While the territory has increased, while coal and other mines, oil deposits, natural gas deposits and broad acres lie untouched and waiting for industry to exert itself upon them just as in years gone by, yet something has slipped in between the laborer and nature, rendering the latter for all practical purposes utterly inaccessible; and the result of this state of things has been to create discontent among the new arrivals and to congest the cities. Dr. Le Leon concluded that what was miscalled the question of immigration did not point to any danger threatening the United States from without, but to an evil that exists within, and that with the large increase of population the nature of the evil is clearer and clearer and pressing more urgently for its removal.

Dr. DeLeon then examined the question from the standpoint of the philosophy of history. He demonstrated that whenever immigration actually threatened a country's civilization it has always been as an unerring sign that that country's civilization was doomed and not worth saving. He said that to admit that there was a question of immigration in this country would be to admit that our civilization has spent itself. But he strenuously insisted that there is no such question confronting the United States today, but only the question of overthrowing an institution hostile to the spirit of American democracy—that institution which bars men from access to natural opportunities and renders them thus unfit for citizenship in a republic.

The audience, which consisted mainly of Prof. Smith's pupils, listened with close attention to Dr. DeLeon's remarks and applauded him loudly when he sat down.

A Suggestion from Sergeant Alphonse.

EAST ORANGE.—Now that the excitement of the recent elections has passed away and winter has come, it seems to me that it would aid our cause greatly if every true crusader (man and woman) would form with his or her near friends a "home club."

My idea is this, that we interest a number of our friends in the consideration of economic questions, then invite them to our homes at least once a week, where after readings from THE STANDARD or "Progress and Poverty," we can discuss in a sober, conversational way the matter read or what it may suggest.

Those able might prepare a short essay and so deliver it as to practice themselves in public speaking—we shall need them—for we shall want the help of every man and woman who loves justice. Women are to take a larger and larger interest in public concerns, and in our cause can do as much as the men. In starting home clubs they can add the social element and thus make them doubly interesting. Say the meetings should be of two hours' duration, the first hour to be entirely devoted to the consideration of social questions, the other to music, chat or other entertainment.

Of course these are mere hints. What I want to say is that every man and woman, too, capable of teaching the truths of our faith should form classes at their homes and begin at once.

SERGT. E. C. ALPHONSE.

Circumstances Are Driving Them to Think Fast and Hard.

CLINTON, Ind.—Allow one who has watched your desperate struggle during the recent campaign to congratulate you upon the result. The united labor party has been baptised as with fire, and there are 75,000 men in one state who can neither be bought nor scared.

The work will go on with renewed zeal throughout the country. For three years I have advocated your doctrines, often when men reviled all who even hinted at having any sympathy with them. But circumstances are driving men here to think fast and hard. This country virtually belongs to a few men now, and the conditions are becoming every day more oppressive. There is a stampede to get away from this place; and yet it is as fair a land as the sun ever shone upon, and full of mineral wealth.

Forward the cross of the new crusade! My humble missionary work is beginning to tell. Men are becoming softened by their own distress, and are willing to read. My paper, the *Argus*, is a land and labor paper, and is creating considerable discussion among the people.

L. O. BISHOP,
Editor *Argus*.

An Old Soldier's Words of Encouragement.

NEWBURG, N. Y.—As an old soldier in the war for the abolition of slavery I want to say a word of encouragement to the young recruits in the army of the new crusade. I worked and voted for the abolition of negro slavery and never lost hope. I voted for Abraham Lincoln by inspiration and victory came at last, for God was in it. And so it will be in this grand struggle for industrial emancipation. It appeals to our inmost consciousness of right as between man and man, and God is with us. All we have to do is to trust in Him and keep our powder dry.

C. RICH.

CHEAP LABOR.

Free trade is still a bugbear, even to some of those who have accepted the gospel of the new crusade. Here and there one meets with men who have declared in favor of a single tax on land values, but have not yet fully renounced their false god of a tariff. They cannot rid themselves of the fear that American labor will be swamped by foreign "pauper labor," that American industries cannot stand up against open competition.

Yet of all social chimeras this one is perhaps the most groundless. Nothing stands in our way to make goods as cheap as any country in the world except the high prices we pay to the lords of the soil for raw materials. We have the best machinery, the quickest brains, and last of all, the cheapest labor in the world. Why should foreign producers flood our markets, even if we pulled down our tariff walls?

To the doubting ones it seems to be cheap labor, "pauper labor," against which we would have to struggle, but all this is the merest phantasm. Low wages are not synonymous with cheap labor; they are generally antagonistic to it. It does not help an employer to sell goods cheaply that he pays only half as much wages as his competitor if he gets but half as much work done. Yet that is what foreign pauper labor means. Wages in America have in the past been relatively high by the day, because the freedom of access to land made it possible to keep up a better standard of living than prevailed in other lands, and wages naturally gravitated to the point where they would support such a standard. But the amount of wages paid for a given piece of goods has been no more—has generally been less. Prices have been higher, but it was not the cost of labor that made them so; it was the toll that had to be paid the men who own the mines and the forests from which supplies must come.

Figures are dangerous things to handle, and can easily be made deceptive; but a few simple ones will not hurt us, taken, as they are, from good authority. The wages paid for making a few of the staple "protected" articles are as follows:

	In America.	In England.
To smelt a ton of pig iron	$1 79	$1 64
To spin 100 pounds of cotton yarn	40 1-3	55
To mine a ton of coal	67	79
To throw a pound of silk	40	65
		In Germany.
To make a pair of shoe uppers	11	21

All these figures were collected within very recent years, and the rates for each article represent the same time in the two countries. There is certainly nothing in them to show that the American goods would be driven out of the market if we had no tariff. But nevertheless prices are not the same. Two of the most heavily protected articles compare like this:

	At home.	Abroad.
Pig iron, per ton	$21 00	$12 50
Coal, per ton	$5 00	$3 64

and the differences in price are about equal to the tariff and the ocean freight.

Cotton yarn and silk thread sell for about the same price here as abroad. They ought to be cheaper, for England has got to get raw cotton from us, and raw silk is imported free; but our cheaper labor is offset by higher cost of machinery and buildings, caused by the tax on iron and lumber.

We raise the price of goods in this country by laying a tariff on them, and the result is that we intensify the evil of landlordism. It is bad enough that each of us should have to pay toll on his labor to the monopolizers of natural opportunities; it is even worse that we should make this toll heavier by artificial means. A tariff for revenue is only one degree less bad than a protective tariff. As a means of raising revenue it is the worst possible, for it hampers production and makes industry support government to the relief of landed monopoly. To whatever extent any tariff raises prices, the advance will go neither to labor nor to capital, but to land.

If there were any industry which did not have to draw its supplies from the land which private ownership has fenced in, then domestic competition might make goods as cheap inside the protective wall as out of it. But in such case no wall would be necessary, for foreign competition would have no advantage. But there is and can be no such industry. Some things sell as cheaply here as abroad, where the natural sources of supply are so vast as to be beyond monopoly as yet; and on these the tariff has no effect. Were the tariff taken away to-morrow from the goods the home production of which we jealously guard, the foreign manufacturer would have no advantage over the domestic manufacturer. The latter would simply be able to buy his raw stuff so much the cheaper, and one set of landlords would forfeit part of their gains.

An instance of how the law of wages works came recently under my notice. The employers of a type-writer learned that she was able to save a part of her earnings to send home to her mother, who lives in another city. They told her that as her wages were more than she needed to live on they would be cut down to the "basis of subsistence." That is what governs wages when men are shut off from their natural heritage of land. Protection did not help the type-writer any more than it has helped the protected coal miners of the Lehigh valley.

The men who profit by protection, who contribute to the corruption fund for the maintenance of the protective system, are the natural enemies of the workingmen. Yet, bitterly as the two have fought over questions of wages, they have voted together on the question of tariffs. The awakening must come soon, and with it will come a day of reckoning for the imposters who have so long fattened on the American people.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

THE SALOON AND THE SINGLE TAX.

To any one who realizes the power and evil of the rum traffic the following report of a conversation with a saloon keeper may be of interest and profit:

One evening, a few weeks before election, I was called to attend the child of a saloon keeper. After administering medicine I yielded to the entreaties of the anxious parents to remain for a few hours for fear of a return of paroxysms of pain, with which the little sufferer was afflicted.

After the little fellow was made easy, the father and myself adjourned to the sitting room, seated ourselves by the fire and entered into conversation.

"Well," says Mr. A, "I heard Dr. McGlynn and Everett Glackin the other evening."

"How did you like them?" I inquired.

"First rate. Mr. Glackin has a clear, terse way of showing the effect of the single tax on the workingman, while Dr. McGlynn's address was simply wonderful. It was a sermon and a political speech combined. I believe Henry George to be right."

"Then you will vote for him?"

"Most certainly not. Don't you give me credit for any sense? Can't you see that his single tax theory would knock the spots off from saloon keeping? We don't mind encouraging the prohibitionists a little. It will be a long time before they can pass their laws and they can be easily violated or evaded, but your united labor party plan goes right to the root of the saloon business and will kill it."

By this time I was getting considerably interested, and after seeing that my patient was comfortable, asked for an explanation.

"Now, look here, doctor, you know just as well as I do why I must oppose it. Can't you see that this tax on land values alone means that there will be no taxes of any kind, government license, town license, special tax, revenue tax levied on our business?"

"Certainly you will be relieved of all taxation," I replied.

"Relieved! Yes, relieved of over half our profits you mean."

Rising and going to the sideboard, he poured out a glass of liquor, and, returning, held it up to the light.

"Look here," said he, "that whisky retails for ten cents. Take off all the taxes and I would have to retail it for five, and make just half as much per glass as I do now. Now, the majority of men drink all they would if whisky was cheaper, and, therefore, I wouldn't sell much, if any more, than I do now. Your single tax would cut down the saloon keeper's profits at least one-half. That is why he will be against you. You destroy the monopoly."

If there were no license fees to be paid any body who had a bottle and two glasses could start a saloon. To-day, however, a man has to pay a certain amount down for a license; he has got to get a number of citizens to indorse his application for a license. He has to invest so much money in whiskv, and, as I showed you a few moments ago, so much more in taxes. A poor man can't go into the saloon business now. Did you ever notice how we really prevent competition in our business? No matter how many saloons there are, the price is always kept up. By the way, your tax scheme would do away with treating to a great extent, and it is on treating that the saloon thrives. How could it do that? In this way: Treating is a matter of ostentation, of pride. A man treats to show that he is able to spend money and prove himself to be sociable. Take all taxes off from whisky, wine and beer and they would be so cheap a man would be ashamed to treat. No one would ask another in to take a three-cent drink. They would buy cigars, a lunch or something of that sort.

"Why, you hurt us on all sides; you take away our profits; you destroy our monopoly; you break up the treating habit; and worse yet, you destroy our respectability."

"How?"

"By not taxing us. The license is a certificate of respectability; it makes our business just as good as any man's; nay, even better. We are under the special protection of both state and general governments. Supposing two men come into my saloon and begin to fight the police will come in and arrest them, or I may kick them out for disorderly conduct. I am all right; my license says I am, and if these men can't behave in a respectable place they can be fined as disorderly persons. But remove from me the support of law and when a fight occurred in my saloon it would be a disorderly place and the police would arrest me and close up my place. You would put me on the level with the house of ill fame.

"Doctor, the whisky men will fight the united labor party because the carrying out of its principles would be a dangerous thing for the saloon."

WM. C. WOOD, M. D.

The Duty of Christian Ministers.

HUTCHINSON, Kan.—I listened to a sermon recently in which the preacher exhorted his hearers to give liberally to the cause of Christ. He said that in the old testament times men were required to give one-tenth of of their incomes to God, and that in the new testament times they were commanded to give all they had. He insisted that he believed it was the duty of every Christian to give at least one-tenth of his income to the cause of Christ.

Such remarks as these are quite common from the pulpit, and I feel that it may do some preacher good, and set him to thinking, to make a few suggestions on this subject.

When the children of Israel were in the land of Egypt they were slaves; that is, they were compelled to work land and to give to the Egyptians all they earned over and above enough to keep themselves alive. Whilst they were in this condition God never commanded them to give one cent to His cause. But after a while he sent his servant Moses, who led these slaves out of the land of bondage; and after their oppressors were all drowned in the Red sea, God commanded the free people to give one-tenth of their incomes for the support of religion.

To be consistent preachers of our day should go and do likewise. They should first lead the people out of bondage. I believe preachers commit a great sin in teaching the victims of unjust laws that it is their duty to give what they have not got. Many of our preachers, had they been in Moses's place, would have told the children of Israel what a blessed thing it was to be poor; that God had ordained them to be poor for their own good; that they should despise the things of this earth and prepare to go to heaven when they die. Pharaoh would have paid them well for this kind of talk, and they would have called any poor Hebrew an anarchist that was not satisfied with the glorious laws of the land of Egypt.

Injustice and oppression are no better now than they were in the days of Moses. The wail of oppressed laboring men cries out to the God of Heaven now as it did then, and the preacher who does not stand up for what is right now is unlike Moses.

J. G. MALCOLM.

A John Smith on the Duty of the Hour.

LADUE, Mo.—The work before us is one of education. Only an intelligent man can accept our doctrine. Only a thoroughly honest man will vote our ticket. Our duty lies plainly before us, and no true reformer will shirk it. We must agitate this question in season and out of season. We must preach the gospel to every creature we can reach; we must argue for, defend and force it to the front; be watchful for every opportunity. We must continually "hammer, hammer, hammer" at men's minds, appeal to their manhood, citizenship, self-interest, inherent love of justice. We must keep posted upon the progress of thought as put forth in THE STANDARD and the party literature; examine thoroughly all objections we may come in contact with, and should we be unable to answer them satisfactorily, seek the counsel of friends or apply for a solution to THE STANDARD. He who does this will soon be surprised at his own powers for debate and will become a tower of strength to the cause.

A JOHN SMITH.

Has Cast His Last Democratic Vote.

HADDONFIELD, N. J.—The work that needs to be done now is in the way of lectures and distribution of THE STANDARD and tracts of the land and labor library throughout the country. This will set men to thinking and talking, and go far to make our movement a success. I am a Jerseyman, who has cast his last democratic vote and is now at work for the single tax on land values.

W. A. C.

AN UNNECESSARY INVESTMENT.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—In 1841 I wrote an essay, the object of which was to show that capital invested in slaves was unprotected, and that the only effect of such investments was to secure to the slave owner the wages of the slave.

I arrived at this conclusion in this way: Suppose two men engage in farming on opposite banks of the Ohio, the one in the state of Ohio and the other in Kentucky. They employ labor according to the usual modes in the two states. That is to say, the Ohio man employs free labor and the Kentucky man slave labor. Each cultivates 100 acres of ground which has cost the same price per acre; and each employs the same number of laborers, say ten. The outlay of each for horses, oxen, farming utensils, etc., will be the same. The food furnished the free laborers by the Ohio man may be about equal to the food and clothing furnished by the Kentuckian to his slaves. The two farmers produce an equal amount of grain, tobacco, vegetables, hay and other articles, and society is equally enriched by the product of the two farms. Yet the cultivation of the Kentucky farm has required a capital equal to the value of ten slaves over and above that used by the Ohio farmer. In 1841, when I wrote, the slaves would have stood him in $10,000. In the years 1855 to 1860 they would have been worth $15,000.

It is true that the Kentuckian would have realized more money from his crop than his neighbor on the opposite side of the river, for the reason that he would have withheld from the laborer his hire. But the state of Kentucky was none the richer for that act of injustice.

It needs not to be shown that the same principle holds with reference to manufacturing, mining, and all other occupations.

It may be said that southern planters, miners and manufacturers were not under the necessity of owning the slaves they employed. They might employ free labor or they might hire slaves. And so they might. But the fact remained that the slaves were there—that they were held as property; and that the capital invested in their ownership was withdrawn from the resources of the community available for active business operations. It was, to all practical intents, sunk, and it had been better sunk in the sea, as the effect of the system was to sponge up the accumulating gains of the people as fast as they arose.

In 1860 there were nearly four millions of slaves, worth three thousand millions of dollars. This vast sum, invested in a way which only served to confer upon one class of the people the power to appropriate the wages of another class, constituted half the wealth of the south; and the fact explains how it was that that section of the country was almost destitute of manufactures and commerce.

On the northern border, where slavery had but a feeble hold, commerce and manufacture sprang up and began to flourish. But where slavery was dominant there were as a rule only blacksmiths to point plows and nail on northern made horseshoes, house carpenters to put up plain frame houses, and cobblers to mend shoes. All portable manufactures were brought from the north.

Slavery was the great moral, social and political evil which stared me in the face in 1841 in my native village, Louisburg, North Carolina. I felt that it must be in conflict with the principles of social and political economy, as it was with equity, and the above was, in substance, my exposition of it.

But I then failed to see, as I do now, that the monopoly of the earth involves a similar unnecessary, and therefore unproductive investment of capital. It is not necessary to own men in order to induce them to labor. Their intelligence and their insatiable wants are better promptings than the whip of the overseer. In like manner the earth may be relied on for its spontaneous productions, and welcomes the intelligent aid of man in directing the cultivation of the most valuable plants. The land will not run away nor refuse to respond to the industry of the husbandman unless it is fenced up by monopolists.

It has been shown that it is not the money that is invested in the slave as property which in any way contributes to production, and it may be here added that the practice of hiring slaves was a demonstration of the proposition. It is equally clear that the ownership of land in fee simple contributes in no degree to its cultivation and has nothing to do with production. It is the cultivator with his capital and labor who produces the crop, and in no degree the lord of the soil, who exacts the rent.

And hence it follows that money invested in the ownership of land in fee simple is unnecessarily invested. It has nothing to do with production, and belongs to the class of accumulated wealth which consists in fine dwellings or other property devoted to pleasure. Even in the ordinary case of the cultivator of the field being the fee simple owner it is not the money invested in the title deeds that contributes to production, and capital thus invested is as unproductive as capital invested in a park devoted to pleasure. For if the owner had the value of his field in money he might enlarge his business.

I believe that the census estimate of the value of real estate in this country in 1880 was fifteen or twenty thousand millions—much more than half the aggregate wealth of the people. But whatever the amount, it can contribute nothing to production. And this bad system, like the system of making property of men, goes on from age to age, sponging up the accumulations of wealth which otherwise would be devoted to productive occupations, or to uses beneficial to the people. It was very convenient in slavery times in the south to invest money in slaves. They were increasing in number and growing in value. If cash was needed, they could be sold readily at a good price. And so with land in this country of rapidly increasing population. It pays to buy land and keep it idle even, because the increasing value—the "unearned increment"—is often better than a high rate of interest. It is also a safe investment; and hence it is that capital which would otherwise seek a productive application is invested in land.

DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

Experience Reinforcing Argument.

DES MOINES, Iowa, Nov. 13.—I came to this city ten years ago penniless. I had, it is true, a title to a piece of land in the city of Hastings, Neb., from which I had been driven by grasshoppers and other privations incident to a new country. My western lands I could neither sell nor trade, so it was by the hardest toil that I was enabled to make a living and pay the taxes which were assessed against me. While in this condition my attention was called to your publications. I gave them a careful perusal with the inevitable result. However the question had for me only speculative interest until your candidature last fall brought it into the field of actual politics.

Meanwhile the boom struck my property so that I have been enabled to sell a portion of it to such an advantage as to fix myself with a comfortable home and a good business. I have of my original Hastings property some $25,000 worth of lots remaining. While I have been struggling hard for a bare living, doing nothing for the prosperity of Hastings, its people have been accumulating for me in the way of unearned increment an average of $3,000 per year as a salary to reward me for having condescended to monopolize a portion of their land. Thus your book and my experience have taught me that taxing from the values of land the unearned increment is but restoring to the community what it has contributed and therefore what belongs to it.

This experience has brought home to me the force of your arguments against the present land system, and although my selfish interest may seem to lead in the opposite direction, I thank God my conscience and convictions still dominate my opinions. For years I have been active in politics advocating the reforms proposed by the greenback party, but I have been long convinced that the remedies proposed by it are inadequate. For years a member of its state central committee and its last chairman, as well as chairman of the congressional and county committees, I have quite an extensive acquaintance with reformers of that political faith, and if I can help push the fight in this part of the land command my services.

J. BELLANGER.

Let the Work Go Forward in Kings County.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Taking into consideration the fact that we polled 15,000 votes in Kings county at the last election without organization, without money, and with the whole press arrayed against us, abusing us, misrepresenting us and holding us up to popular ridicule as a lot of dissatisfied, soft-brained idiots who wanted to confiscate the hard earnings of honest men and divide them up among the indolent and unthrifty, I think we have achieved a great moral victory—a victory that should be an incentive to more zealous activity on the part of the men of the united labor party.

Fifteen thousand votes seems a small number when compared with the 55,000 polled by the old parties in this county, but they represent 15,000 undaunted, determined, enlightened and unpurchasable freemen such as any cause may be justly proud of.

We are not banded together in this cause for personal lucre, for political spoils, or as office seekers who would ignore all issues for the sake of achieving some paltry salaried position. No; a thousand time no! We seek no recompense for the service we justly owe to the noble cause we are engaged in—a cause that appeals to the heart and conscience of all honest thinking men.

The army of united labor may be again repulsed by the corrupt influences of its moneyed antagonists. Bribery and intimidation may be successful in their evil purposes; the press may continue to misrepresent and abuse us; slander and calumny may be our portion, but while justice and truth glisten on our banners there can be no such word as retreat.

We cannot afford to neglect that part of the work of industrial emancipation to which we have pledged ourselves, namely, the missionary work. Do not leave the work for some one else to do. Each can be a missionary in this grand crusade. Discuss it with your friends, invite them to your meetings, get all you can to join the different ward organizations.

It is our duty to arouse the moral sense of the people by calm reasoning on the issues that the press would so unscrupulously befog.

Let us recommence the struggle, then, with renewed energy and persistent determination, never forgetting that every speech made, every discussion provoked, every bit of literature disseminated is a blow struck for outraged, suffering humanity.

JAMES T. O'NEILL.

One of the Causes of Defeat.

NEW YORK CITY.—Now that everybody is assigning the cause of our defeat to this or to that reason, according to their respective opinions, I would like to say that if every worker in this movement had seen to it that every family in his own district was supplied with tracts from the Land and labor library regularly for a few weeks before the election, we should have made a much better showing than we did.

The prevailing idea that our defeat was attributable to the deluge of corruption money and to the malign influence of the church, claiming to be the friend and protector of the poor, is no doubt correct. It was impossible for us to contend against those two powers under the existing system of voting.

But if every man who is really in earnest in this great cause had gone about converting his neighbors to our principles in a systematic way the result might have been very different.

For instance, a certain young man, whom I happen to know quite well, and who resides in my election district, went out after his day's work was over and distributed tracts in every household in that district. He continued the good work for several days preceding the election, with the result of knowing that his election district was the only one in the whole assembly which held its own, and made a small gain over last year's vote.

Our task is one of educating the people up to our principles.

SAMUEL PELLETIER.

Not a Defeat, but a Glorious Victory.

SPARROWBUSH, Orange county, N. Y.—I most solemnly protest against the oft repeated word "defeat" in regard to the vote of the united labor party in the election of the 8th inst. Thirty-eight thousand votes in the city of New York under the circumstances through which they were obtained is something that far surpasses any effort of reform of which there is any account given heretofore. Again, take the state: in a short campaign of two months in every county and town we have raised the banner of the cross of the new crusade and 40,000 true men have pledged themselves to carry it forward to victory.

Let not a moment be lost. The late election has proved beyond a doubt the fact that corruption and fraud have willingly if not entirely sapped the foundation of our republic. I believe this movement is destined to be the test whether the republic will live or die.

Therefore I say to the 75,000, talk not of defeat, but move forward all along the line; distribute labor tracts for grape and canister, and see to it that THE STANDARD is put into the hands of the people.

We know our cause is just and poverty a crime. Once for all, away with the word "defeat." Let enemies to the ordained rights of man rejoice over their seeming victory. The fact still remains that 75,000 men good and true have enlisted for the purpose of abolishing poverty.

Can it be done through the ballot? The next twelve months will give the answer; therefore let us close ranks and march shoulder to shoulder determined on victory.

C. L. DEDRICK.

Finds Republicans the Readiest Converts.

MIDDLETOWN, N. Y.—In traveling about the country on business I find it is the republican who listens to the gospel of the new crusade most readily and is most anxious to learn Mr. George's views more clearly. I buy STANDARDS at the news stands as I go along and give them to whoever will read them. I find that a good way.

EDWARD HAYES.

MY THANKSGIVING DAY.

I do not know that I ever enjoyed my dinner more than on Thanksgiving day. I had gone to bed very early the evening before, and was in no hurry to get up in the morning. A cup of strong black coffee had been brought to my bedside early in the morning, and after sipping it I took a little nap, and then settled myself comfortably in bed and read the morning papers until I was called for the Thanksgiving feast.

All the papers told me that the day was going to be an unusually happy one. Care had been taken, so they said, that the inmates of the various public prisons and asylums should have plenty of turkey and trimmings; the orphan asylums had been looked out for, and so had the hospitals; the numerous church organizations and public charitable institutions had made preparations to give the poor under their jurisdiction a good dinner; and a number of private charities and benevolent individuals had, as far as they could, scoured the city in search of needy poor and furnished them with a plentiful allowance of the things that go to make up a good meal—all in honor of this Thanksgiving day. For one day at least out of the three hundred and sixty-five New York was to have enough to eat, and the poor as well as the rich were to be able to feel that this wasn't such a bad world to live in after all.

What I had read, and the anticipation of the dinner I was to have, served to put me into good spirits; and when I sat down to my own dinner it was with a feeling that I was about to take part in a feast in which all the people of New York were to be participants. And what a meal was spread before me! There was a tureen of soup, a roasted Boston green goose (the lady who presides over my house had been advised to take it instead of a turkey) stuffed with sage and onions and mashed potatoes, celery, a salad, various relishes, bread, butter, a mammoth pumpkin pie, tarts, cider, nuts and raisins, apples and a pot of coffee. It was easy enough to give thanks with such a dinner as that spread before me. My appetite was keen after a long fast, and I set to. The goose was cooked to a turn: everything was delicious; and after amply supplying the inner man I drew my chair back thoroughly satisfied with the world and myself.

Only two incidents had happened to mar the pleasure of the dinner. My door bell rang when I was about half way through, and when I answered it I saw a little girl, thinly clad. She belonged to a family living down the street. She was whimpering. There was nothing in her house to eat, she said; her mother was crying and the other children were hungry; her father had been out of work ever since election, and he had searched in vain all the morning for a friend who would lend him enough to buy him a meal—ever so poor—for his family on this great American feast day.

I thought to myself, This family must have been overlooked when the general distribution of good things took place; but as there are only three at my table, and as my wife has cooked up dinner enough for a dozen, I will make up a basket of food from my table and send it down by the child. So I brought the little one up to my dining room, told my wife what I had in mind, and, after giving the child a plate of soup to warm her up a bit, set about making up a dinner for my less fortunate neighbors. A portion of that delicious goose, potatoes, stuffing, bread, butter, celery, tarts, nuts and raisins and half of that majestic pie went into the basket; and after the child had finished a couple of plates of soup, my wife wrapped a small shawl about her, put the basket on one arm and a tart in each hand, and started her off home with a beatific look on her face. I told her to tell her father I would drop in on him during the day.

Soon after I had finished my dinner I went into the front room and settled down with a pitcher of cider and some nuts and raisins and apples. I had intended to nibble at the latter, and perhaps enjoy a quiet smoke before going out to take a walk to settle my dinner. I sat there watching the target companies, and various grotesque processions go by, and the happy-faced people walking up and down the street. My attention was distracted from the crowds by hearing my gate slam. A woman was coming up the walk. I could see her pull my door bell, and then I heard my wife go down stairs to answer it. I heard voices, and then the footsteps of two people coming up my stairs and into my dining room. Soon after my wife came into the front room. She told me that the woman—who used to come to our house when any extra sewing was to be done—had told her a pitiful story of hunger and privation; and, as there was still plenty of our dinner left, she had sat her down at the table and told her to eat and drink her fill.

I thought to myself, This poor woman has also been overlooked in the general distribution of good things; but it may have been an accident; I have plenty yet—let her also be able to say that on this great American holiday she had reason to be thankful—let her, as my wife invited her to do—eat and drink her fill. But at the same time a doubt entered my mind as to whether my morning papers had told me the truth when they said that the public and private charities "had scoured the city in search of the needy poor and furnished them with a goodly allowance of the things that go to make up a good meal."

I had not been invited anywhere, but I thought I would devote the afternoon to visiting some people I knew well, and perhaps other people I knew only slightly; so I lit a cigar, put some more in my pocket, buttoned my overcoat close about me and started out for a walk.

My first visit was to the house of an earnest worker in the cause of the new crusade. My friend is a man of brilliant education, a forcible writer, an able and convincing speaker; a man of singularly pure life, who, for the sake of principle, has neglected opportunities to acquire wealth which men of baser minds would have grasped eagerly. I knew he was poor, but how deep his poverty was I did not know until I entered his rooms and saw for myself.

He and his wife and daughter were about to have their Thanksgiving dinner. They invited me into their front room and seemed to be glad to see me, but at the same time they were ill at ease. The old man affected the jovial manner, and I at once fell in with his mood. "Had I had my Thanksgiving dinner?" "Oh, yes; a splendid dinner;" and I went on telling what I had had. I could see the tears well into his eyes, and into the eyes of his wife and daughter, while I was naming the good things that had been on my table, and I was at a loss to understand it; but I kept on talking and trying to smile until I reached a point where I felt as if I should choke. If any one had asked me to explain my feelings at that moment I could not have done so. There was a silence, during which I looked from one to the other; and finally, when I could stand it no longer, I blurted out, "What the devil is the matter?"

Then the women gave vent to their tears, and the old man, with dewy eyes—for a strong man never weeps—came to where I was sitting, placed his hand on my shoulder, and said: "William, the dinner you have been describing to us is much better than the one we will sit down to on this Thanksgiving day. You are among the fortunate ones. But come and join us. You will be able to see more at a glance than I could tell you in hours."

We went into the kitchen and seated ourselves about the table, and his good wife and daughter set before us plates, knives and forks, cups and saucers, a loaf of bread, a pot of tea and, last, three red herrings! Three red herrings! No butter, no milk, no dessert, no anything but bread, tea and three red herrings!

I was dumfounded. Here at my right hand sat a good man, bright, intelligent, honest; who had given to the poor liberally in his better days; who by his services in behalf of other men had earned a right to at least a comfortable living; here were his wife and daughter, both gently reared, who, to my own knowledge, had done much for their kind, on this day of thanksgiving, in this free country, about to celebrate the day with bread, tea, and three red herrings!

The old man said grace, and silently and with what seemed to me a pathetic sadness, the good family began eating their Thanksgiving dinner.

It was indeed a gloomy meal. They offered me a cup of tea, but my heart was in my throat. I felt as I used to feel when first going into action. If I had taken a sip of the tea it would have choked me.

When I had somewhat recovered from the amazement, the rebellious feeling against a world that permitted such good people to have so little, I said to the old man:

"——, why have you permitted this? Why did you not call on your friends for assistance? Why did you not take advantage of the numerous charitable offerings to give, at least for this day, a good dinner to all who might need it?"

"William, my boy, I have some pride left yet. Let the world give me a chance to gain a living for my family and myself. I don't want, and I won't have, any of their charity. This world owes me a living; God guaranteed it to me the day I was born. I could have it out for man's injustice. I may starve, but I will have no charity—no sir, no charity."

I will not attempt to describe the old man as he appeared while speaking. His eyes were uplifted, as if he were gazing in protest upon the face of his Master; his hands were raised appealingly. He spoke as if he were addressing not me, but an invisible person. His wife—dear, good, patient woman that she was—came around to where he was sitting and placing one hand on his shoulder and an arm about his neck, softly, gently and soothingly spoke to him, saying, "Never mind, dear; you know, the darkest hour is always just before dawn. May be next Thanksgiving we will have such a dinner as William described to you a little while ago."

"Please God, dear wife, I hope so," said he.

It was evident to me that if I stayed much longer I should break down, and join them in their tears; so, as soon as I could decently, I bid them good day and got out into the open air. It was a great relief to me to get away from them.

There is a feeling that comes over a person in a house of sorrow that can only be driven away by contact with the open air—by the cold wind, snow, or better still, the sleet driving in his face. That was the feeling I had when I left this family—a hot, burning, indignant sensation.

Thanksgiving day was an unusually mild one; there were no cold winds to beat against my face; and so I walked and walked until I again felt something like myself.

I had almost forgotten the visit I had promised the father of the little girl that came to my house in the morning; but, remembering it, I turned my steps that way.

This family lived in one of the squalid tenements that disgrace our city. When I reached the house I met one of the dwellers coming out. He bade me good day, and as he showed a disposition to stop and chat I asked him:

"Have you eaten your Thanksgiving turkey yet?"

"No, sir, I have not, and the prospects are I won't; neither will the wife and children!"

"What's the matter? Down on your luck?"

"Well, you see, times are dull. I've been on strike for a month and more, and now winter's coming on and we're going to have a hard time getting through the cold snap, and even if the strike is over there'll be nothing doing in my trade. I've got a good grocery man and butcher, though, and I guess I can stand them up for grub; but I've got to keep money on hand for the rent or the landlord'll bounce me quick. No credit there. Cash on the nail is what he wants and will have. And that's the reason why my folks don't have turkey to-day."

"But," I said, "you could have had a turkey and the make-up of a good dinner if you had wanted. The public and private charities, so the papers say, were giving out dinners to everybody they came across. How does it happen that you didn't get some of the good things that were floating round?"

"Well, I'll tell you. I couldn't get anything of that kind if I wanted to, and I wouldn't take it if I could get it. You see, I haven't got a pull. All those good things are given out to pets. When these charitable people come around, they don't ask you if you're hungry or in need, but they want to know what church you belong to, and often they pump you to find out how you stand in politics. You've got to be a lying hypocrite or a political heeler—that is, unless you're in jail or on the island—before you can get these free Thanksgiving dinners the papers talk about. If I had thought I could stand the landlord off until work got good, I would have had a good dinner to-day; but I was pretty certain I couldn't, so I went light on the dinner to-day, as I have to do on other days."

"You just said you could stand off your groceryman and butcher. Why didn't you get a good dinner on credit?"

"Why, what do you think they would have said if I ordered turkey and such and then told them to charge it on the book?"

"Very true."

"I'm not much of a prophet," said my friend, dogmatically, "but either it's going to be easy to get plenty of work at good wages, or rents and price of food will come down, so that us people can have a Thanksgiving dinner every day if we want to, or else some people are going to get up on their ear and find out the reason."

Decidedly, my friend was warming up. And why should he not? He was a worker—and worked whenever he could get fair wages. He was not a beggar, and as he said, must be a "hypocrite or a political heeler" to get any favors either from a charitable or other sources. He could get credit for food, but must pay up his rent "on the nail." However, he treated the fact that he was not able to give thanks on this Thanksgiving day over a good and plentiful dinner in a dogged, philosophical way that went to show that outwardly he did not give a snap. He recognized, however, that the only thing that stood in the way of his having a Thanksgiving dinner was the "lack of work at good wages," or "the high rents and cost of food."

I bade him good day and entered the tenement to call on the little girl's father.

After climbing the stairs I reached the door of the room in which the little girl's father lived. The door was opened by the child herself, and as soon as she saw me her eyes snapped, and she called out to her folks who I was. I was cordially invited in and given the best chair, while the father, mother and three children distributed themselves about the room, the mother smiling on me gratefully, the father shaking my hand cordially, my visitor of the morning nestling close to my side, and the other two children gazing at me with that look of awe common to children who see for the first time a person whose praises they have heard sung.

It was embarrassing to me, for I felt that all this cordiality on the part of the mother and children was only on account of what I had done in the morning. The father I knew well. He was an active and energetic member of the assembly district organization of the united labor party to which I belonged. I did not want him to feel that I had done any more for him than I would for any one else, or than I would like him to do for me were our positions reversed. In a choked voice he expressed himself as grateful for what I had done, the wife blessed me, and the two children, in a bashful manner, with their fingers in their mouths, sidled up to me when I invited them to shake hands. My little girl of the morning kissed me, and said the soup she had had at our house "was lovely."

After a time we became sufficiently acquainted to think of something else besides compliments, and began talking seriously. I knew the father neither drank nor smoked, and had no small vices. He had for a number of years been employed in one of the city departments (one of those in which men have to work for their money), and had proved himself so useful that before it had not mattered what his politics were. For four years we had worked together politically, assisting to keep life in labor politics. When the movement of last year developed a distinct party he and I had endeavored to add strength to it, and mainly through his efforts we had carried the district for our candidate. I knew after the election of '86 that he had brought down on his head the anger of the democratic leaders of the district, and I knew also that once they had succeeded in having him removed; but he had friends with some influence in the democratic party who insisted on his being restored, so that up the last election he had been retained in the city's employment. But his work was irregular. Somehow, he seemed to be the first man selected when men of his grade were to be laid off, and the last when men were put on. A few months before election, when the democratic leaders were fixing their fences, "places" were lavishly distributed in the district, and among others my friend was offered "something soft" on condition that he would drop "those labor blokes." The bait attracted many men, but did not draw my friend. He was emphatic in his refusal, telling the place givers that he didn't intend to mortgage the future of his children for the sake of a job. Then he was warned.

Election day came round and he was, if possible, a harder and more faithful worker for our party than he had been the previous election. All the night before election he was either at headquarters or around the district giving advice and counsel and orders for the next day's work. Then, from the time the polls opened until they closed, he moved around the district seeing that things were being properly conducted.

Two days after election (he had been on leave of absence) he reported for work. He was told to go and see the superintendent, who told him that orders had come from "up stairs" to dismiss him. He had expected this, though not so soon, for he had heard the day after election that all the branches of the city departments were to be "purified" of all men suspected of being in sympathy with the united labor party. He had not felt the real hardship of the dismissal until Thanksgiving day, when his children—full of the stories of what the neighbors' children had said they were going to have for their dinner—found that their dinner was to be nothing. The political persecutors of this man had even gone so far as to influence his grocery man and butcher not to trust him, hoping that by putting the screws on wherever they could they would either crush him or drive him out of the neighborhood in which he had lived long and had considerable influence. And how they had succeeded is told in the earlier part of this story.

Somehow or other I was not enjoying Thanksgiving day as much as I thought I would. The day had become dark; again I felt that a cold blast against my face would do me good; so, wishing the family better luck next time and good bye, I started out for another walk.

I wandered around for an hour or more to cool off, and had turned my steps homeward, when I came upon a little knot of shivering, lightly clad men and boys in front of a brightly lighted house. Ah, yes. This was the home of one of the "leaders" of the district. The window blinds were open and the warm light streamed into the street. There, in full sight of the lookers-on, were the "leaders" and numbers of their satellites gathered around a bountifully spread table. They were apparently having a good time, and the hungry-looking wretches outside were watching their movements with eager interest, especially the the eating and drinking.

Who were they?

Well, at the head of the table sat the "leader"—a "self-made" man. Fifteen years ago he landed at Castle garden from Ireland, dressed in corduroys; and with his worldly possessions tied up in a handkerchief slung on a blackthorn stick, he walked up Broadway inquiring his way to his brother's saloon. He went to work as a bartender, and graduated from his brother's employ into ward politics. He became a ward leader because he was a first-class "slugger;" was appointed to place after place, and finally rose to be an alderman and the "leader" of the assembly district. And though he has never done a day's useful work since he landed, he has drawn from the city treasury in various ways over three hundred thousand dollars within less than ten years, and is now a "respectable" member of society and a regular church goer.

At the leader's right hand sat the brother he so anxiously inquired for the day he landed at Castle garden—a gray haired and gray whiskered Irishman, respectable looking, from a distance; also a self-made man: once a saloon keeper and a rough; then a political heeler, then a leader. He also has been fed liberally at the public crib. In Tweed's days he held high official position, and now lives off his rents; and on last election day, such was his patriotic fervor, that he carried to the polling place in his arms a filthy, drunken wretch to vote for the "grand old democratic party." He is another regular church attendant.

At the leader's left hand sat the leader of another wing of the democracy—a square built man, whose chief claim to greatness is "that he is good wid his props." He distinguished himself on election day by the eminent ability he displayed in a financial direction. As yet he has been only moderately fed at the city crib; but in view of his services in "vindicating the principles of the party" he will be properly taken care of. He also goes to church every Sunday.

Down the table sat a curly-headed young man, known as the leader's "shadow," who has hopes of being a bright light in the political world one of these days; meantime he shines by reflection.

There were others at the table. They were the heelers of the district and appeared to bask in the smiles of their leader and looked supremely content with the situation. Evidently they had not been overlooked when the good things were being distributed.

And the wretches on the sidewalk looked hungrily on, and as I stood by I caught scraps of their conversation:

"Jees, but dem blokes is a havin' a good time."

"Wish I was wid dem."

"Say, I knowed —— when he tended bar in —— (his brother's) liquor store. Many's de dollar I run over dat bar."

"He ain't sellin' no more gin now. He's high toned, he is; he b'longs to a swell club now; don't talk to any of de gang now 'xcept on 'lection day."

"Well, he trows out de boodle den, don't he! Narthin' mean about him on 'lection day."

And so on.

"Say," said one of the speakers, "some of dat grub and lush ought to come dis way; or we ought to git sumthin' out er him so we could go eat. Don't yer tink so, fellers?"

Omnes—"Yeah!"

"Well, I've a notion to ring de bell and pan handle him. He knows me, or he ought ter—his workers has given me many a dollar. If youse fellers stan' wid me I try an' work him—we'se all good democrats."

Omnes—"We're wid yer."

Thereupon the bold spirit ran up the steps and pulled the door bell.

I thought the fellows, however contemptible they might appear, were right. Had it not been for such as they, the "leader" would not now have been drinking wine in his own residence after a magnificent Thanksgiving dinner, but would still have been peddling drinks or filling "growlers" over a dirty bar. They had surely a right to expect from him a share of his good things on this great and only American holiday.

The door opened and a white-capped maid appeared.

Then there was a pantomime between the girl and the fellow on the stoop, she evidently trying to dismiss him and he persisting. Finally she shut the door and left him standing there. A moment after I could see that the attention of the people inside was attracted to something in the farther end of the room. The "leader" shook his head several times, evidently in answer to some (to us) invisible person, and then he rose quickly and disappeared.

"I guess he's goin' to see Johnny," said one of the group outside.

Soon the front door flew back on its hinges, and the "leader" appeared. He said:

"Walk off, I tell yer, or I'll help yer off!"

Whispers by Johnny.

"Go on, now! I won't give yer narthin'—understand!"

More whispers by Johnny.

Suddenly Johnny fell down the front steps and the door was banged to, and a moment after I could see the "leader" reseating himself at the table apparently somewhat ruffled.

When Johnny was picked up a chorus of voices asked what was the matter.

"Oh, de bloke trun me out; but I'll get even wid him—see if I don't."

Which I translated to mean that Johnny and his gang, if they expected to eat a Thanksgiving dinner, would have to get it elsewhere. They were good enough to "vindicate democratic principles" on election day at so much a head, but not good enough to get a dinner out of their "leader" on Thanksgiving day.

I walked on, thinking to myself that the day had not been one of such happiness to the people of New York after all. I had not been over two blocks from my house since I started out for my walk, and yet I had seen good people and bad people who had no reason to give thanks; I had seen human vultures partaking of the fat of the land, and lovers of their kind partaking of husks.

When I got home I was ready to eat a light supper, and said to my wife that I thought I would like a cup of tea and a cold bite off that Boston green goose and the other things left over from dinner.

"You'll have to be satisfied with bread and butter and tea to-night," responded my wife.

"What? There was a pile left when I went out to-day."

"It's all gone; I have given it away to people who needed it more than we do."

This is the true story of my Thanksgiving day. As a picture of scenes of actual life within the space of two city blocks it may be of interest to the readers of THE STANDARD; perhaps some may even derive instruction from it.

WILLIAM MCCABE.

"The Man with the Shanty."

Correspondence Poughkeepsie Enterprise.

Henry George meets him at every public assemblage. Not that the ubiquitous personage makes an actual appearance, and solicits attention to his claims and grievances. He is merely present by proxy. He has many patrons apparently much interested in watching after his welfare and protecting his rights against the unjust wiles of the new land theorists. The lawyer, the doctor, the conservative clergyman, the professional politician; but, more pertinaciously the millionaire land speculator—in fine, the entire pro-poverty saviors of society loudly clamor against the iniquity of taxing the shanty man for the occupancy of a plot of ground equal in value to that on which his neighbor has erected a ten thousand dollar cottage or a decent residence for his family.

It makes no difference whether the latter has been thrifty while the other has been a spendthrift, or whether a mortgage presses on the resources of the cottager. This man has adorned the street and enhanced the value of adjoining property by his neat structure, yet the other, who insists on the unseemly squalor of the shanty as an obstacle to common improvement, must be rewarded by exemption from equal taxes.

But where do we actually find him, after all? Walk down Fifth avenue and you meet this economic phantom at every block. You meet him, of course, on Broadway, where his shanty has been religiously preserved by the present system of taxation, and by both the great parties who divide between them the sacred duty of his guardianship. Seriously, where is this mythic personage to be met with? Simply in the brain—no, not the brain, but in the fancy of the sophist.

In reality, how many industrious poor men who, from their scant savings and mortgaged hopes of future earnings, erected houses even in this town, but have been forced to give them up to the tax gatherer and to the speculator, from whose grasp he would be secure under the new theory of taxing land values only? We know them here in town, and we know the rich corporations and land sharks who, under the present system of taxing the products of industry and thrift, keep down the great masses of wealth producers. It is for the welfare of this great army who form the backbone of the community that the honest law maker will labor, while the mythical shanty man will be the tool of the selfish politician.

The Landlord "Fossil."

Tulare County, Cal., Times.

It is probable that we have more fossils in proportion to the population in Tulare county than can be found in any other part of California. These "fossils" all own land. In fact, the majority of them are large land owners. They got land when it could be had for the taking. They have become rich by its enhancement in value. And that is just what is the matter with our "fossils." They take as much pride in our soil and climate as if they had made them. To hear them talk the credulous stranger would believe that to them belonged the credit of developing the country. These men are waiting for the boom. Their land is not for sale, or, if it is, they demand for it prices which would only be fair if it were in a high state of cultivation. They are a dead weight on the community. All they have is due to the enterprise and industry of their neighbors. If they had been consulted there would never have been a railroad here, and cattle raising would still be the only industry in Tulare county. They won't cultivate their land, and they won't give anybody else a chance to do so. The only occupation in which they indulge is that of "waiting for the boom." They know that if a large portion of our land does not pass into the hands of men who are willing and able to improve it, the country will make no progress; but, despite this knowledge on their part, they decline to make improvements themselves, or, by selling any portion of their lands, to permit others to do so. They are confident that some of their neighbors will improve their land or sell it to those who will. As far as they are concerned, "they are doing well enough; they never were farmers anyway, and they don't propose to sell at present 'figgers.'"

Englishmen Striking at the Cause of Poverty.

London Democrat.

The agitation in favor of the taxation of ground rents is advancing with giant strides. The London municipal reform league and the English land restoration league have formed a "United committee," of which Lord Hobhouse has consented to be the chairman. Many members of parliament have given their approval to the proposal for altering the system which allows buildings in London worth £212,000,000—the produce of labor—to pay £7,000,000 in rates and taxes while land worth £418,000,000—an unearned increment labored for by the many and enjoyed by the few—pays no more than £500,000. Such a system increases the gulf between the rich and the poor by giving to the idle the rewards of industry, restricts building enterprise, and, therefore, becomes largely responsible both for the overcrowding of our towns and the stagnation of trade; and, last but not least, leads to the non-cultivation of great tracts of land, owing to the fever of land speculation, which is its dire result.

"The Game of Politics"—Southern Edition.

Charleston Dispatch.

Does our George friend, Mr Adams, think he could influence a legislative body elected by and from such voters with Henry George's land theories, or successfully put chapters from "Progress and Poverty" against the influence of silver dollars and race or party prejudice?

If he has confidence in his powers we would like him to fix a day for joint discussion before an audience of rice field voters, have Henry George and Dr. McGlynn on one side and George Sass or the old ring tailed roarer of the Santee on the other; the one with the learning, massive diction and clear reasoning of a master of political economy; the other with an old-fashioned radical whoop.

We know what the result would be. Sass and the roarer would vote the last man in the crowd for any man they might select, known or unknown, alive or dead.

Well, Why Can't We Have Government Railroads?

Agricultural News, Ozark, Ark.

All the railroads in India and Australia are owned by the governments; the same of Egypt. Hence we find the American farmer not only competing with the pauper and cheap labor of the world, but also with cheap transportation government railroads, which enables the cheap labor of India, Egypt, Russia and Australia to send grain and cotton to the European markets at rates that ruin American farmers to compete with them. If American farmers had the cheap rates afforded by the government railroads of other countries, it would be worth to them 20 cents upon every bushel of corn and wheat sold to foreign countries, and $5.50 upon every bale of cotton raised in the Mississippi valley north of Vicksburg, and in inland Texas.

Sir Cyrus Field Gives Judgment.

Mail and Express.

George's new land system, as distinguished from the system advocated in his book, is either a silly scheme or else a sly scheme invented for the purpose of promoting Mr. George's political ambition.

SCARCITY VALUES AND GLUT VALUES.

How the Poor Are Driven into Tenement House Life and How They Will be Enabled to Obtain Houses of Their Own.

Des Moines, Ia., Herald.

Rev. Mr. Evans told his audience yesterday how certain pieces of real estate in Des Moines had increased in value in the past few years under prohibition from $12,000 and $16,000 to $50,000 and $55,000 or thereabouts. Mr. Evans didn't tell them that prohibition was the direct cause of this increase in value, but that idea might be inferred from his remarks. Now, neither prohibition nor license booms the value of real estate. We have real estate booms in temperance cities and in license cities, as instanced by Wichita in prohibitory Kansas, and Omaha, Minneapolis and St. Paul, in the license states of Nebraska and Minnesota. Under our present system the selling value of land is enhanced in two ways, first by speculation, a legalized method of fleecing the people; second, by the increase in population which makes an increased demand for the land. The first class of land owners get rich by misrepresentation and by exciting the imagination of their proposed victims. The second class gets a big price by standing around with their hands in their pockets, waiting for the energy and enterprise of their fellows to make a demand for the land. If these men who hold large tracts of real estate for speculative purposes were compelled to pay taxes on their land equal to the taxes on adjacent improved land, they would be compelled to put improvements upon it or dispose of it at a reasonable figure to those who would. For instance, we understand that the proprietor of the new Savery hotel paid $31,000 for the land it stands upon. Now, who is worth most to the community, the builder of this magnificent monument of business enterprise, or the man who held the land for speculation? Certainly the former. If the assessed value for taxable purposes was as great as the selling value when there is a demand for the land we would find no fault, but it never is. The land speculator gets off with a light tax on the plea of non-improvement. And after a while he gets a big price for his land on the plea that the demand gives it its value. The building of the Savery has enhanced the value of every vacant lot in that section of the city, yet the proprietor of these lots will get off with a light tax upon the plea of non-improvement, while the proprietor of the Savery will be assessed a higher value on the land under the hotel because his energy has given it an increased value; and he will also be assessed upon the building itself and pay big taxes thereon. Practically he will pay the city of Des Moines, and the county of Polk a big premium for the sake of being energetic and enterprising, while the former owner of the land was encouraged in his speculation and given a premium for idleness in the shape of a light tax upon his vacant lot. Verily, it pays to consider these things.

Down in the Seventh ward there are a great many vacant residence lots waiting for purchasers. Who owns them? Why, men who got them for a song, and are holding them for a big price. This ward is inhabited almost entirely by what we call laboring people. Suppose a laborer by industry and economy saves one thousand dollars. He concludes he will build himself a home. The first step is the purchase of a lot. He knows a lot for which the owner is assessed only $75. The lot suits him, and he concludes to purchase. The owner wants $500. "But," says the laborer, "you are paying taxes only on $75. If your land is worth $500, why not pay the government taxes on that amount?" "Oh, well," says the owner, "the selling value of land, and the taxable value are two different things. I got off with a light tax because the land was not bringing me in anything. I charge you $500 because your wants make a demand for the land." The house will cost him $800. So he pays down $200 on the land, builds his house, and the original owner takes a mortgage on the house and lot for the other $300, upon which the laborer pays ten per cent interest. Suppose it is the custom to assess lands and houses one-half of their value for taxable purposes. If the original owner sold the land for its real value, then the laborer would have been able to purchase the land for $150. He could have built his house, paid for his land, and had $50 left for fencing and other improvements. Now he is $300 in debt. He will pay taxes next year on one-half the value of the lot represented by the purchasing price, and one-half the value of the house, or taxes upon $650. If he builds a barn and other improvements worth $200, he will pay taxes on an additional $100, or altogether on $750. Under our present tax of 32 mills for city and county purposes, he would pay a tax of $24, besides $50 interest on the $300 debt. The original owner paid only $2.40 tax. The man who builds the house furnishes employment to labor, and is a benefit to the community. The land speculator furnishes no employment to labor; lives in idleness, and fleeces the laborer who is anxious to build a home for himself and family. The law encourages the first man in speculation, in idleness, in fleecing the laborer. The same law compels the laborer to pay a tax for the privilege of building himself a home.

Under the Henry George land tax theory, the state would take the rental value of the land and no other tax. Suppose the average rental value of a building lot in the Seventh ward is $20 a year. And this rental value is collected whether there are improvements upon it or not. Now, the man who has been holding the land for speculation must improve in order to pay his tax. He has ten lots. He purchased these lots for $50 each or $500, and is holding them for speculative purposes. The George theory comes in and he must pay the state the full rental value of $20 per year for each lot, or $200 tax on the ten lots. What will he do? He will dispose of the land at once for a very reasonable figure for the sake of getting rid of it, or if he is a man of money he will build tenement houses thereon. Let us suppose that he builds ten four-room cottages at a cost of $500 each. The houses are built and he must find tenants to occupy them, for the houses have no value standing idle. Now, say the opponents of the system. "He will put that tax into the rent." Let us see if he can do that. The people of the city are already housed. Let us suppose that he knows of twenty families living in his ward who are living in ten houses of six rooms each, or three rooms to a family, and they are paying $8 per month, all they can afford to pay and live. He must fill his houses at once, so he goes to one family in each of the ten double houses and says: "I will rent you a four room house for $7 per month, and you will have a whole yard to yourself." The people accept his terms, but they wouldn't have moved if he hadn't offered them extra inducement. He has the houses, and he is compelled to compete with others who own tenement houses; and if every man who owns a vacant lot was compelled to build thereon, there would be a great rush from the double houses and from the noisy business portions of the city to the new tenements, and the health, comfort and convenience of the people would be largely increased. This building of new houses would give a great impetus to industry of every kind; wages would increase, and with the building of every tenement house the rent would be lowered, and there would come a time when the owner of several tenement houses would be glad to sell to the laborer for a fair price, and the laborer would own a home of his own.

Reciprocal Idiocy.

Philadelphia Record.

The government of the United States has imposed a protective tax of seventy-five cents a ton on the coal imported from Canada, and the Canadian government has imposed a similar tax on coal carried from the United States into the dominion. The effect, as well as the design, of this petty warfare is to diminish in each country the consumption of imported coal. Will some protectionistss be good enough to explain who is the gainer by such a policy?

THE GRANGER MOVEMENT.

In the November number of the *Popular Science Monthly* Charles W. Pierson describes the rise and growth of the order officially called Patrons of husbandry, but commonly called the grangers. It appears from this sketch that the order originated with six government clerks in the agricultural bureau and in the treasury and post office departments at Washington and one fruit grower. The story of the work of these seven men in organizing the national grange and of the audacity and real self-sacrifice by which one of the promoters managed to get a number of real agriculturists interested in the movement is amusing as well as interesting.

When the interest of the farmers was once aroused, however, the movement swept like wildfire over the country. In 1874 there were 22,000 separate granges, with an average membership of forty each. This number, Mr. Pierson says, is greater than that of all the lodges of Masons and Odd Fellows in the world. At this time the grange treasuries were overflowing, the dues to the national grange alone amounting to $348,532.20 per annum. The order strenuously insisted in its constitution that all politics and sectarianism should be excluded from its granges, but the men composing the order were politically influenced by the new associations and they manifested the tendency of that influence by their votes. This was the era of "granger legislation," during which laws to regulate the charges of railways were passed. The formidable proportions and rapid growth of the order of Patrons of husbandry simply brought the politician to the feet of the farmer, and with that ignorance that always characterizes the mere politician when facing a new force he concluded that any demand made by any number of farmers was backed by the whole power of the grangers, and hence much legislation was hurried through in the name of the order that never received its sanction or approval. Nevertheless, it is true that the granger movement deserves the credit of forcing congress and the state legislatures to give some attention to land grabs, subsidies, railway discrimination and other exactions, and the impulse thus given has been continued by other forces.

But the granger movement reached its maximum and died away just as the greenback movement did, and the unthinking partisans of the old parties point to its subsidence as the evidence that it must ever be so, and that no new party can ever make itself a permanent factor in our politics. A close examination of the rise and decay of the order of Patrons of husbandry shows that there is no warrant for such a conclusion. So far as that movement had any political aim or influence it went toward making a party. Such a movement must always fail. Parties are not made—they grow. It is futile to gather a body of farmers together and, making their vocation the real bond of union, try to construct a platform on which they will all agree to stand. It is equally futile to try the same thing with a body of wage earners. No sincerity of agreement can be reached by such a process, and the bond of union being avowedly one of selfish class interest there is no good reason to expect that an appeal to selfish individual interests will not bring about desertions.

The cause of the ephemeral character of the success of the grangers was the lack of any sufficient reason for its continuance. That something was wrong was apparent. The perception of this assured attention to almost any call on the farmers to unite for the betterment of their own condition. They came together and a remedy was proposed, or rather, numerous remedies. The order of Patrons of husbandry itself never committed itself to even these proposals. It held aloof from politics. It was rather proud of its illogical position as a secret teacher of doctrines that it would do nothing to carry out. The moment that its members as individuals began to apply its notions they formed new alliances and began to lose interest in it. Again, all of its remedies were superficial. They went to the root of no difficulty, but aimed at a never ceasing parental regulation of the dangerous power created when the control of the chief public highways was confided to private hands. Laws rushed through with a grand hurrah failed to accomplish any good and were quietly repealed without exciting public protest. A great movement found that it did not know what it wanted, and it went to pieces chiefly for that reason.

The distinctive workingmen's movement seems to be coming rapidly to a similar end. Trades unions will of course continue to exist so long as they serve the strictly business purpose for which they came into existence. The Knights of Labor will continue so far as they serve a similar purpose on the part of unskilled labor; but the workingmen's movement, as a political propaganda, seeking to accomplish in some manner the uplifting of labor and the righting of the wrongs of workingmen is apparently falling away just as the granger movement fell away, and for precisely similar reasons. It has never proposed a radical remedy for the evils complained of, and the remedies that it has proposed have, to a considerable extent failed on trial. In many states some one or more of the demands of organized labor have been granted, and nowhere has any permanent good result been achieved. The laws are not enforced, and queerly enough the men who demanded their passage cease to ask for their enforcement. There is, I believe, an eight hour law on the statute book of New York to-day. There certainly was one a few years ago.

But the politicians are mistaken in assuming that the failure of the greenback and the granger movements, and the anticipated failure of the labor movement, prove that no new political movement can ever succeed. These efforts simply show that men have gone the wrong way about satisfying a need clearly felt by themselves and others. They have forgotten that a new party has arisen in this country and that it is to-day one of the so-called old parties. For years before the rise of the republican party the question of African slavery was ignored by common consent as the vital question of to-day is ignored. Continued democratic supremacy caused numerous attempts to create new parties that could win. The chief attempt of the kind was the know-nothing movement. It failed because it deserved to fail, and finally the true issue forced itself to the front, and a party of principle grew around that principle which finally triumphed and overthrew chattel slavery.

This must be the process by which the evils now threatening us will be successfully attacked. The futile efforts to make parties merely indicate the general consciousness that a new party is needed. The party when it comes must be a party of principle bound together by some higher feeling than mere selfish interests or class feeling. It must grapple with real issues, not try to invent new ones. It must represent the conscience of the people and know definitely what it wants to accomplish. We already have the nucleus of such a party. It has probed to the root of all monopolies, and it strikes at the parent of all others—the monopoly of land. Its growth may be retarded not merely by the difficulty that is always encountered in propagating a new gospel, but by the selfish interests that lead many to shut their ears to disagreeable truths, but it will triumph in the end, because in its triumph lies the only hope of the rescue of our civilization from impending ruin.

The granger movement has accustomed the farmer to think of legislative remedies for the evils under which he suffers, and the new party is prepared to show him the guiding principle that must animate such legislation if it is to succeed. The workingmen's movement has turned the wage earner's eyes toward legislation as a remedy for his wrongs, and the new party tells him what the only remedy is. The granger and the workingman may cling for a little time longer to their discredited devices, but they cannot hold out forever, and when they once open their minds to the truth they will be animated by a hope that will fill them with a higher purpose than they have hitherto known and make them enthusiasts for the overthrow of the evil system that causes poverty to dog the steps of progress. The movements that have failed are not without their uses. They have shown that expedients and half measures can accomplish no permanent good and they have prepared men to look to political action for the removal of evils to which in the past politicians have paid little if any attention. Thus, the granger movement, though it has first flourished and then decayed, has left behind it an unsatisfied longing for something better that will prove of use toward bringing the farmer into accord with the wageworker in the great movement that will finally succeed through an appeal to conscience in behalf of truth, putting aside all prejudice and class distinction and demanding the support of all who love justice.

WM. T. CROASDALE.

Why Editors Should Support the New Crusade.

Because its success would insure a more equitable and general distribution of wealth and leisure and thereby enlarge the class of readers and buyers of papers and by "making times easier" enlarge the advertising patronage of journals—that is a purely professional and selfish reason, but it is worth considering all the same, as such additional prosperity as would fall to editors would be mere Dives crumbs when compared to the people's share, and this consideration eliminates a large proportion of the merely selfish class interest. Because editors are (or ought to be) "the priests of the nineteenth century," the advocates, defenders and promoters of every good work, and no better work than to restore to the people their birthright ever was attempted by a political party. Because the bringing of the people to the front would destroy the worst foes of journalism—the politicians whose interest lies in corrupting, thwarting and belittling the legitimate influence of an independent press. Because until specially privileged classes are destroyed—until the laws grant equal rights to all, special privileges to none—equality of rights everywhere, monopolies nowhere—the press will never have the influence it deserves; for just as long as it is possible to procure special privileges by legislation or through the action of political parties, just so long will there be class journalism, and just so long will a certain proportion of editors be bought to advocate schemes inimical to the general interest by classes to be benefited at the expense of the masses. Lastly, editors should support the new crusade, because editors are men, and therefore have an interest in everything that benefits mankind; because the press is benefited in exact proportion as prosperity and intelligence are diffused throughout the population, and the best schoolmaster is general prosperity. The patronage of classes has been as fatal to journalism as the patronage of the state has been to religion.

AN EDITOR.

All That is Needed is to Be Patient and Keep the Truth Before the People.

RICHMOND, Va.—Having had a similar experience to that which you recently passed through in New York down here in Richmond, Va., I can, on the one hand, sympathize with you, having been "downed" by those in whose interest our fight was made.

All that is needed is to be patient and keep the trouble long enough before the people to enable them to brush from their eyes the webs of prejudice which have, up to this time, prevented them from seeing the trouble as it is. One of the most encouraging omens of future success that I know of is the fact that when the simple tax idea once takes hold it never lets go, and the new convert to the faith, in nine cases out of ten, becomes a missionary and immediately sets about spreading the light in order that others may see their way out of the gloom in which ignorance has so long kept them enshrouded.

I regard THE STANDARD as the cleanest, purest and best edited paper in the country to-day, and if it is read as thoroughly and as eagerly in other portions of the country as it is here, it is but a question of time when its circulation will rival that of any weekly paper published in the United States. It is my candid opinion that Dr. McGlynn, with two simple texts, one from the Golden Rule and the other from the Lord's Prayer, has taught more true religion in the great city of New York, in the last few months, than has been taught in all of its magnificent churches put together in as many years. "The people hear him gladly."

I expect to have, inside of a month, a land and labor club in full blast in this city. As soon as I get it organized I will let you know.

JOHN T. CHAPPELL.

A Call for a State Convention at Topeka, Kan.

F. M. P. Donnelly, secretary of Land and labor club No. 1 of Kansas City, Kan., forwards us the following call for a state convention to be held at Topeka, Kan., Feb. 9:

KANSAS CITY, Kan., Nov. 22.—The citizens of the state of Kansas in favor of the Syracuse platform adopted by the united labor party of New York, are requested to meet in mass convention at Topeka, Kan., on Feb. 9, 1888, at 10 o'clock a. m., to elect a state central committee and take such measures as in their judgment may seem best calculated to secure the success of the united labor party in the near future. No person opposed to the single tax on land values will be permitted to participate in the deliberations of the convention.

By order of united land and labor club No. 1 of Kansas City. DR. C. H. BLAKESLEE, President.
F. M. P. DONNELLY, Sec.

A Suggestion.

EAST ORANGE.—If it is practicable would it not be well to call a mass meeting in New York for Monday, Jan. 2, 1888, to begin the work for the presidential campaign? Also, to call upon our friends throughout the Union to hold meetings at that time. The 2d will will be the first working day of the new year, and if meetings were generally held on that day it would be a surprise to those who now believe that we are about "crushed out," and we certainly would receive big advertising.

One of the faith, E. C. ALPHONSE.

THE SITE OF WASHINGTON CITY.

Land Values, Assessments and Vacant Lots —The Sufficiency of the Single Tax.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Nov. 25.—The two following extracts from local papers of recent date in reference to the assessed and true valuations of property in the District of Columbia present a conclusive answer to those persons who seem to think that there will be difficulty in determining the value of land apart from that of the improvements on it, and they also overthrow all such arguments as that of Professor W. T. Harris in the *July Forum*, which endeavor to prove that the single tax on land values would be insufficient to meet the present expenses of government, and that the private ownership of land involves an almost imperceptible burden upon the working classes.

THE TAXABLE PROPERTY OF WASHINGTON.

The following statement of the assessment of the real estate and personal property for the tax levy of the fiscal year ending June 30, 1888, has been made by Assessor Ros. A. Fish:

Real estate—Grounds—Washington, $49,765,547; Georgetown, $1,982,645; county (non-agricultural), $2,045,316. Total, $53,793,508. County (agricultural), $2,910,872—$56,704,380.

Improvements—Washington, $40,664,750; Georgetown, $2,925,700; county (non-agricultural), $1,589,950. Total, $54,180,300. County (agricultural), $860,150—$54,040,450. Total, Washington, $90,430,297; Georgetown, $4,908,345; county (non-agricultural), $3,635,166. Total, $107,973,808. County (agricultural), $3,771,022—$111,744,830.

Personal—Washington City, $9,980,765; Georgetown, $847,360; county, $225,333—$10,943,458. Grand total, $122,688,288.

Tax levy—Real estate, $107,973,800, at $1.50; $1,619,607.12 real estate, $3,771,022 at $1, $37,710.22. Personals. $10,943.48 at $1.50, $164,151.87. Total, $1,821,469.21.

ASSESSOR FISH'S PLAN—HE COMPARES OFFICIAL ASSESSMENTS WITH THOSE OF THE EQUITABLE BUILDING ASSOCIATION.

Assessor Fish has made his annual report to the commissioners, to which he appends a statement which is destined to show the inadequacy and inequality of the present method of assessing taxes. It is a comparative statement of the district's assessment and that of the Equitable building association for one year, and Assessor Fish uses it as an additional argument in favor of his plan to create a permanent board for assessing property.

The following is the statement: District assessment: Ground—Washington city, $181,380; county, $13,807. Equitable assessment: Ground—Washington city, $323,902; county, $39,565. District assessment: improvements—Washington city, $183,110; county, $11,100. Equitable assessment: Washington city, $287,756; county, $34,275. Totals—District assessment, Washington city, $364,490; county, $24,907—$389,397. Equitable assessment: Washington city, $611,658; county, $73,840. Total—$685,498. The assessment of the Equitable is made at two-thirds of the true value; therefore add one-third, giving a total of $914,997. This shows that by the district methods the assessment amounts to only 42½ per cent on the value of the property and the actual tax is sixty-three cents on $100.

These tables show that neither the assessor of taxes nor the shrewd and conservative business men who conduct a successful building association find any difficulty in arriving at the value of the ground separately from that of the improvements.

It will be noted in the extracts above given that in commenting upon the figures of the building association the assessor makes an erroneous calculation: $685,498 is not two-thirds of $914,997, as stated, but of $1,028,247. Of this total true valuation $545,200 is ground value, and $183,047 is value of improvements. Disregarding the divisions made between city and county property, which are of local interest only, it will be seen that the assessed valuation of the ground is $195,187, which is 35.8 per cent of its value. The property assessed by the building association is scattered about in every portion of the district so that it affords an excellent test of the true value of all the ground in the district. If all of the ground is assessed at this ratio the total ground value of the District of Columbia now owned by private individuals is $158,392,123, or $35,703,835 more than the present assessed valuation of all the ground, improvements and personal property. So that if all taxation in the district were abolished except one on true land value the present rate of taxation would yield 29.1 per cent more revenue than is now obtained by attempting to tax everything in sight.

But the true ground value is really more than that given above. The Equitable building association loans only on improved property, advancing money as the improvements progress, so that the above total valuation assumes that all of the land is improved. But it is notorious here that improved ground is rated much higher than adjoining and equally desirable unimproved property. Moreover, in the suburbs a great deal of unimproved property is assessed as agricultural lands, which has not seen a plow or felt a hoe this century, and whose only crop consists in real estate agents' signs, and this property bears a lower rate of taxation. Taking these matters into consideration, it is safe to say that a single tax on ground values would produce at present rates 33 1-3 per cent more revenue than is now obtained.

The total amount now raised annually in the District of Columbia for local governmental purposes is slightly less than $2,000,000. The amount of the federal revenues paid by the residents cannot be definitely known, but it cannot be far from $2,500,000 annually. The district residents thus pay now $4,500,000 for governmental purposes. A four per cent ground tax based upon true ground values would produce a revenue of over $6,000,000, which would meet all present requirements and leave a handsome surplus for needed public improvements.

And what is more, this increased revenue would be raised not only without appreciably adding to the burdens of the residents, but at a great saving to them. Washington is preeminently a city of landlords and tenants. A smaller proportion of the inhabitants own their residences than in any other city in the country, with the possible exception of New York. So that now the great body of landless inhabitants not only pay all of the governmental expenses of the community, but they pay the full ground rental as well. And beyond all this must be taken into considera tion the enhanced cost of nearly everything they consume resulting from the present outrageous system of federal taxation. The single land tax would undoubtedly be of great advantage to our citizens.

THE District of Columbia affords an excellent example of the truth that ground value is due solely to the growth of the community. Its 40,000 acres would, omitting land owned by the government, make about 200 averaged sized western farms, and had it not been for the lucky accident which made it the seat of government the farms of which it was composed 100 years ago would be worth no more to-day than other Maryland farms, certainly less than $50 an acre. But to-day the heirs and assigns of its original occupiers have given to them the privilege of compelling the people brought here by the growth and prosperity of a great nation to pay them an annual tribute of over $6,000,000 on account of values created by the nation itself.

If the farmers of the country think that the single land tax would oppress them, and if they believe that the land values lie in the agricultural districts, let them estimate how many it would take to possess an aggregate ground value of $160,000,000, and then let them compare this number with the 200 farms constituting the site of the District of Columbia.

ARTHUR S. BROWNE.

Harlem Anti-Poverty Meeting.

On last Sunday evening Mr. A. G Sullivan of Brooklyn was the principal speaker in Arthur hall, Sixth avenue and 126th street. His address was founded upon the text, "The poor ye have always with you." In referring to Mr. Sullivan the Rev. Charles P. McCarthy said that when, ten years ago, he was teaching his friend Greek he had no idea that unknowingly he was working for the promotion of the Anti-poverty society. The masterly and valuable criticism of this now familiar text which we have listened to with such interest is an evidence that we were both even then working for this cause, for Mr. Sullivan has shown this evening from the original Greek that Jesus was in favor of the land reform of Henry George and that the Anti-poverty society sustains the doctrines of primitive Christianity.

The meeting was also addressed by Messrs. Edelman and Gorsuch and enlivened with duets and solos by the Misses Leubuscher and McCarthy and Mr Pegram, whose efforts to add to the evening's enjoyment and profit were enthusiastically encored. At ten o'clock the meeting was adjourned to 7:45 next Sunday night.

The Single Tax Doctrine Quietly Gaining Ground.

LANSING, Mich.—An incident that occurred here lately shows how the doctrine of the single tax is quietly gaining ground in men's minds.

On Sunday, Nov. 20, the National grange being in session in this city, its lecturer, Mortimer Whitehead of New Jersey, was invited to speak at the afternoon meeting of Ben Franklin assembly, K. of L. His remarks upon the evils of the day, especially in regard to monopolistic oppression, were enthusiastically applauded; but when he touched upon Henry George's land theories, and advised the knights to flee from such teachings, it fell like lead upon his audience. The expressions of disapproval that met the speaker seemed to dampen his ardor, and he immediately plunged into the alien landlord system with which we are afflicted, as if thereby to regain favor with his audience; but his exposure of this system only served to make the justice of the single tax reform more apparent; and if at the opening of the meeting there was a person who doubted the beneficence of Mr. George's theories, the evils of landlordism as set forth by Mr. Whitehead must have dispelled every doubt. SARAH E. V. EMERY.

The Campaign Fund.

The publisher of THE STANDARD acknowledges the receipt of $100 from Read Gordon, New York, for the campaign fund.

Protected Labor.

Exchange.

Rhode Island has been regarded as a hive of successful industry, and it might have been supposed that where so many large works are concentrated workingmen would enjoy a permanent prosperity. But the accounts which come from one of its industrial towns, namely, Bristol, do not bear out this flattering impression. It is stated that "hundreds of families are without bread," and that the destitution among the operatives is widespread and extending. The sights witnessed by a priest, who went about distributing food, were very distressing. Whole families of children were barefooted. Most of the boys and girls were without clothing warm enough for this season of the year. In few of the houses was any coal to be found, and the only wood seen was light brush that had been gathered from woods and clearings. Not one in five had vegetables of any kind: tea, coffee, batter o flour. In one house a woman was found, the mother of six children, one less than a week old, who had had a pint of milk a day and a little gruel to give nourishment for her babe. The husband and children had lived on bread and potatoes that had been sent them. One family had lived a week on a salt codfish and a little flour. Another had lived on clams and quohaugs for six weeks which the husband had dug on the shore.

Legitimate Business Preferable to Land Speculation.

In an interview with the Minneapolis *Evening Journal*, Mr. Plummer, a prominent real estate man of that city, said:

"Minneapolis has never really had a genuine boom. We came very near it in 1883, but the crisis at that time nipped it. We had just about reached the booming point last winter when excitement in Duluth and Ashland property diverted attention from the city. This fall the market has been held back by the pressure in the eastern money market. All this, in my opinion, has been very fortunate. It has tended to keep money in the legitimate channels of business improvements instead of permitting it all to go into unimproved property that is held simply for speculation."

This, says the *Journal*, seems to be the opinion of several other prominent real estate men with regard to the present real estate outlook.

Landlord Philosophy.

Toronto Globe.

The earl of Craven, who arrived in the city last night accompanied by his tutor, is only nineteen years of age. He has an annual rental of $180,000 and is patron of eight livings. A reporter found the earl at the Russell to-day, ruddy with health and beaming over with good nature. The reporter intimated that he would be pleased to hear anything of interest he might have to say. "I don't know a blooming thing," said the earl. The reporter asked what Lord Craven thought of Mr. Gladstone's chances of getting into power in England. The earl thought they were rather good. "It isn't that he ought to get in, you know, but a lot of Englishmen might vote for him just to settle the Irish question and get rid of the blooming nuisance."

What a Leading Canadian Newspaper Wants.

The Hamilton, Ont., *Times* says of itself:

It wants the protective duties eliminated from the dominion tariff, and the whole tariff abolished as soon as possible. It wants free trade with the United States at once, and it wants free trade with England and the rest of the world very soon. It wants direct taxation instead of indirect. It wants to see all the manufacturers' rings and combines broken up. It wants economy in public expenditures. It wants honest voters' lists and pure elections. It wants a fair arrangement of constituencies. It wants every man who produces wealth to have for himself the advantage of all he produces. It believes that when one man gets more than he earns another man must get too little."

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Indiana—Warren Worth Bailey, Vincennes.
Kentucky—Land and Labor Club No. 1, box 406, Cincinnati.
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Maryland—F. H. Garside, 159 West Lexington street, Baltimore.
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West Tennessee, Eastern Arkansas and Northern Mississippi—Land and Labor Club No. 2. Rooms, 9 and 10, Cotton Exchange, Memphis, Tenn.

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 V. H. Van Ornum, president of land and labor club No. 1, Room 61, 150 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.

ALL READERS OF THE STANDARD IN favor of a united labor party in the First assembly district, comprising the First, Second, Third, Fourth and Eighth 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.

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

Within a month from the date of this issue THE STANDARD will have completed the first year of its existence. It has been a pleasant year for us; pleasant, not only in spite of, but even on account of its anxieties, its hard work, even its disappointments. For amid anxiety and hard work and disappointment, we have see the cause of equal rights making steady progress; and though the hour of its final triumph is still undetermined, we know of a surety that it is coming—it is coming. The seed is planted far and wide; the green shoots are springing through the fruitful earth; first the blade, then the ear, after that the full corn in the ear; and then the harvest!

And now, you STANDARD readers, we want to have a little serious talk with you. You and we can accomplish a great deal during the coming year if we work together; we shall effect comparatively little if we don't. You and we are like a pair of scissors—it can't be said that either blade does the most cutting; but one thing is certain, that either blade will do mighty little cutting unless the other helps it. You are anxious for the abolition of poverty; so is THE STANDARD. You want to bring your friends and neighbors to see that poverty can be abolished, and to see *how* it can be abolished; so does THE STANDARD. Working separately, neither one of us can accomplish much; working together—really working as though we meant business—we can accomplish a great deal. We are ready for our share of the work, and mean to do it; are you equally determined to do your share!

This paper wants subscribers; it wants a wider circle of readers, it needs them imperatively. You can get them for it; will you do so? This must be your share of the work if our united efforts are to accomplish much.

This is an expensive paper to publish. It needs every dollar of support that it can obtain. Will you help support it?

The men who in their blinded ignorance oppose the principles which we are advocating are doing all in their power against us. Men are warned by priestly advisers not to read THE STANDARD; respectable citizens are not ashamed to use their influence with newsdealers to prevent the sale of THE STANDARD; the press, too, often misrepresents our utterances and the principles we are advocating. Against all these influences we have to contend without ceasing. With your aid we can contend successfully, without it we cannot. Do you mean to aid us?

This is your paper as well as ours. It is working for a cause in which you fervently believe. Its triumph means the triumph of your principles. its success will render the future of your children more hopeful, your own anxieties less keen. Will you help it to succeed?

Every new subscriber, every fresh reader you secure for THE STANDARD, brings just so much nearer the day when your cause and our cause shall triumph. Every time you get a new subscriber you strike a blow upon the fetters that restrain your own freedom and your brother man's. When blows enough have been struck the fetters will be broken. Will you strike a blow for freedom?

Now, John Smith, wherever you may be—in Maine or Texas, in Oregon or Florida—you are the man we are talking to—you, individually. What are you going to do?—you, yourself? Don't waste time thinking how much the other fellows ought to accomplish who have so much better chance to work, but let us hear from you.

You have friends around you. You know people in your own city or town or village. Right among them is your field of work, and if you wish THE STANDARD well you will lose no time in buckling to. Take your STANDARD in your hand and go out among your friends. Urge them, for their own sakes, to see for themselves what this movement is that is so stirring the souls of men. Talk to them as though you really meant it. Don't take no for an answer. Get their subscriptions for a year if you can; if you find that impossible get them for six months, for three months, for four weeks, if you can do no better; but make up your mind to get them anyhow and somehow, and don't leave them till you do. You can do it if you try, and when once you *do* try you will most likely be astonished to find what an easy piece of work it is. You will find that men who you never supposed had given a moment's thought to the new crusade are really very curious about it, very anxious to talk to somebody who can tell them something about it, and not at all disinclined to take a paper which will enable them to understand and judge it for themselves.

Is there a newsdealer near you? See to it that he keeps THE STANDARD on sale and keeps it regularly. If he tells you he has no call for it, tell him to get one, two, or three copies a week, with the understanding that you will take them if doesn't sell them, and if you have to take them off his hands, see that you give them to people who will read them. It won't be long before your newsdealer will find a sale for all the copies you have ordered. Then make him take one, two or three extra copies, and so keep on enlarging his sales. This may cost you five, or ten, or fifteen cents a week; cannot you spare that for the cause?

This is the work that we expect from you, John Smith—the share of cutting to be done by your blade of the scissors. Are you going to disappoint us? We hope not. We believe not.

Our terms for THE STANDARD are:

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

Three or more subscriptions:

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

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

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

LOS ANGELES, Cal.—I have all along been doing, in my own simple way, what I could to advance the cause of the united labor party in this city and county. In addition to distributing many thousand tracts of the Land and labor library, I have bought of the newsdealers and given away THE STANDARD to people who would read it. The fruits of my labor begin to be seen here in the shape of an increased demand for your paper. Two weeks ago I asked the newsdealers who kept your paper to order twenty copies more than they had been getting. They did so. I took what was left of them to the K. of L. assemblies and gave them round to the members, and also to the brotherhood of carpenters. I then asked the newsdealers to order as many more on account, making altogether 120 copies for this city. And to-night, within six hours after the arrival of the paper here, the supply is exhausted. W. H. HODGE.

A worthy record, truly, and one which shows how much can be accomplished in a single town by a man who is willing to throw a little energy and vigor into his work. What our friend has done in Los Angeles, someone, willing to work equally hard, might do in every city in the United States; and the more of that sort of work they did, the easier they would find it. Now who will be the first to imitate our good friend Dodge's example?

MANILA, Ind.—I received the copy of "Progress and Poverty," and the sample copies of THE STANDARD, and have been reading the book and papers whenever I could get time. Could they be placed in the hands of every voter in the United States who can read and comprehend it would not be long before the great injustice that now prevails would be done away with.

I am a day laborer with a family to support, and I find it a difficult task to make tongue and buckle meet by practicing the most rigid economy. Farm hands receive from seventy five cents to one dollar a day here, and that only for about eight or nine months of the year, and out of that most of them have to pay house rent. Yet there are thousands of acres of land right around here in the state of Indiana uncultivated and doing nobody any good. EDGAR A. FINNEY.

Such men as Mr. Finney are welcome to the ranks of the new crusade. It is by gaining such men, one by one, that our cause must triumph in the end.

There are plenty of such men all over the United States—men whose minds are ready to receive the truth and who only need to have it told to them to bring them over to our side.

Friend Smith, how many such men do you know in your neighborhood? Not one, eh? Well, that shows you haven't looked for them. These men will never hunt *you* out; it is you who must find them. They are ready to acknowledge the truth when you tell it to them; to see the light when you show it to them; but they're not going round looking for truth and light. But if you will take the trouble to look for them as earnestly as you would if they were worth ten dollars apiece to you, you will find plenty of them before you look very long.

NEW YORK CITY.—Prior to our two last elections I was an independent—even accepting the ignoble title of mugwump—simply because I found my vote gave me only a choice of evils.

But the principles announced in the Syracuse platform now give my vote a clearly defined value, and I am recruited for the war, or until disabled. Circumstances force me to remain in the home guards, but if my field is small it will be thoroughly worked. Already I find thinking men, who at first cry "nonsense!" "crank!" etc., admit, after some thumping, that there are—well, there are really some good ideas in this thing. They contend, perhaps, that it is only a theory and can never be put in practice; but they do get interested even though they hardly dare acknowledge it to themselves, and before they know it they are reading the matter up and talking it over. Such men, I think, we may count on to be with us in the next election.

I inclose postal note, for which send me fifty copies each of tracts Nos. 1, 3, 5, 7, 13, 23, 27, 30, 31, 32 and 37. We will kill our enemies with kindness, let them hug their chains ever so hard. A VOLUNTEER.

"A Volunteer's" experience is typical. Men do get interested in this thing when you talk to them about it, even though they hardly realize it themselves, and once they are thus interested they hardly ever let go. Truth attracts men in spite of themselves. They can't help thinking about it in spite of themselves. They can't help acknowledging it in the end. So get to work, you John Smiths who are standing idle, and imitate "A Volunteer's" example. You will find that his experience will be yours.

We have decided to make a slight change in the recruit subscription system. Hereafter we will send THE STANDARD on the recruit subscription plan for four weeks, instead of six weeks, as heretofore, at a uniform charge of fifteen cents for each subscriber.

These recruit subscriptions ought to be used far more widely than they are. They do good work. They bring over to our side many an earnest man and woman who but for receiving THE STANDARD for a few successive weeks would have remained in ignorance of what our aims and principles are. Even when a recruit subscription doesn't make a convert, it still does good. It brushes away the mists of prejudice, shows a man what we are fighting for, plows up the ground of his mind for some future sowing of the seed. It is an actual fact that many a man whose mind has been thus prepared has afterward been brought to see the beauty and justice of the single tax on land values by the sophisms and misrepresentations of our opponents.

How many people do you know?—not in your immediate neighborhood only, but all over the country, or for that matter, all over the world? Make a list of them and see if, during the next year, you cannot manage to give each one of them in turn a four weeks' course of THE STANDARD. If out of your income you can spare thirty cents a month, let two of them get THE STANDARD each month; if you can spare ten dollars monthly, use it in the same way. Never lose sight of the fact that the problem before us is simply to bring a sufficient number of men over to our way of thinking. The recruit subscription system is one of the ways of doing this. Use it, then, to the very uttermost you can afford. And begin to use it now.

What is the matter with the recruiting fund? The receipts this week have been:

Georgian, city	15
'Ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer'h	2 00
Two Danbury hatters	2 00
Total for the week	$4 10
Previously acknowledged	1,960 47
Total to date	$1,964 47

STANDARD readers, this ought not to be. There is work to be done in the distribution of tracts and STANDARDS which this fund is set apart and pledged to do; and that work is languishing because of your remissness. The recruiting fund wants money. It depends on you to give it.

The System of Voting Must Be Changed.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—At the last meeting of our land and labor club the following officers were elected: Joseph Walter, president; J. Linemetz, vice-president, W. McGuire, secretary; and W. Boland, treasurer. We shall try and do all we can for the single tax in Onondaga county.

I do not think, however, that we shall make much headway until our system of voting is changed. On election day I went to the polls at 6.30 a. m., and such shameful work I never saw. Men were led up to the polls by party heelers, who gave them their ballots and watched them deposit them. JOSEPH WALTER.

No Need of Hesitation or Doubt as to the Outcome.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn.—I have just arrived from my country home and rested by reading THE STANDARD of Nov. 12 and 19. I was twenty-one years old to a day when I cast my first vote. It was for James G. Birney, of abolition fame, for president. In company with one other student of Western Reserve college, Hudson, Ohio, I walked up the aisle of the Congregational church of the village to vote near the pulpit amid the hisses of hundreds. There were six "liberty party" voters in Hudson, thirty-nine in the county of Summit, nine hundred in the state of Ohio, and seven thousand ("all the knees that had not bowed to Baal") in the United States. Four years later we numbered nine times as many, and four years after that three hundred thousand. You know the result.

In view of all this, 73,000 votes in one state seems decidedly respectable, so much so as to render quite ridiculous the dejection of friends or the triumphs of enemies.

"Speak unto the people" and cry "forward," as old Moses did, and there is no need for hesitation or doubt as to the outcome. THE STANDARD for Nov. 12 has the right tone; there is power in it and it encourages me more than those that were full of glowing prophecies before the elections. SENEX.

Wants a Presidential Candidate.

NEW YORK, Nov. 29.—I see by the last issue of THE STANDARD that some members of our party consider it inadvisable to contest for the presidency in 1888. Allow me, for one, to protest against such a view of the question. I would sooner be dead than voluntarily vote to indorse the crime and corruption represented by both of the old parties. We certainly will not gain any increase in vote by simply running for the legislature, and what good will the increase do us if we join with corruption in order to gain it? and I think it would be the best thing to happen to our party to know the exact number of people in the United States who are willing to cast their votes in the air for a just principle. If we only received one hundred thousand votes in the whole of the United States, does not any intelligent man know that they are worth five times that number of chance votes and twenty times that number of bought votes? Why should the policy of expediency frighten us away from standing on our merits and showing the same bravery as the prohibition party? Have we not as great a religious and eternal truth embodied in our platform as they? Cannot we do what they dare do? Is our platform so poor that if we work faithfully for one year, we will find fewer men who are willing to stand by us and vindicate our principles by indorsing the head of our ticket in 1888? I scarcely believe it.

GEO. R. BOWEN, M. D.

The Philadelphia Anti-Poverty Society.

PHILADELPHIA, Nov. 26.—Mr. Henry Read presided at last Sunday evening's meeting of the Anti-poverty society, at Knights of Labor hall, 814 Girard avenue. Addresses were made by the president of the society, William J. Atkinson, and by Messrs. Michael Geiselman, Herman V. Hetzel and William H. Johnson.

On Tuesday evening a committee went down to the meeting of Coopers' assembly No. 45, K. of L., at Southwark hall, Second and Catherine street, and after the closing of the assembly the committee was admitted, and speeches on the land question and the platform of the united labor party were made by Messrs. H. V. Hetzel, A. H. Stephenson, J. C. Frost and Henry Read. Much interest was manifested by the members of the assembly who were present, and the principles of the party were given a cordial hearing.

J. H. M.

The Latest News from Olympus.

St. Louis New Order.

Jove was out of humor; Juno had scorched the ambrosial flapjacks and the nectar was sour. Besides, when taking his usual morning drive, scattering thunderbolts around promiscuously, one of them flew off the handle and fell on his foot. He had a strong interview with Vulcan ab ut his defective workmanship, and told him very plainly that if such carelessness was repeated he would pay him off and send him adrift. He then betook himself to his private office to receive petitions from mortals and to transact such other business as might require his attention.

There happened to be, upon this particular morning, an unusual number of petitions from mortals in all parts of the world praying to him for success. The most of them besought him to secure them employment, to preserve them from eviction, from destitution and from famine. There being such an enormous and continual stream of them Jove began to think that some of the other gods had neglected their duties, so he telephoned for Mercury. When Mercury arrived Jove demanded to know what had gone wrong upon the earth that would account for the universal complaining and distress of its inhabitants. Mercury replied, that as far as he knew, nothing uncommon had occurred. Then Jove demanded why this unusual number of petitions for aid. "Not," said he, "that I usually pay much attention to them, for they are very wearisome and make me tired. I generally fall in a doze when I listen to them, and when I wake up it is time to go to luncheon. But to-day I was all upset, everything went wrong, Juno spoiled my breakfast and Vulcan's carelessness nearly cost me my foot. What I want to know is, what causes this general distress?"

Mercury replied, that "never having given the subject any thought, he did not know, but that the prevalent opinion among the earth's inhabitants was that there were too many people in the world.

"Don't tell me what those foolish mortals think," said Jove frowning, "I'd be a very stupid god if I hadn't provided against such a contingency. There will never be more people there than can be supported in abundance. There must be some other cause."

"Well," said Mercury, "I only tell you what I hear, but I know myself that the land is getting scarce."

"How getting scarce?" screamed Jove. "It can't have melted. I made it out of the best material in the market. I spared no expense. I don't work much, but what I do is always well done; it must be all there yet."

"Oh, yes," said Mercury, "it is all there, but still it is getting scarce. You must know that population has increased very rapidly; for even in that part known as America, the public domain is nearly all gone, all that is yet of any value is gone."

"All gone! of any value! Mercury, where are thy brains?" cried Jove; "where did it go; you said just now it was all there yet! America! Why Columbus only discovered it a short time ago, and it was very sparsly inhabited then! I don't understand you at all."

Mercury replied: "Know then, Mighty Jove, that mortals now use steam and electricity, and they spread out over a vast extent of territory in a short time. Land in and near the centers of population becomes very valuable and productive for use, and the land owners will not permit it to be used unless those who want to use it agree to pay the price they put upon it. This price is often excessive; but, on the other hand, if the owners keep it, population continuing to increase, the value of their land increases with it, and in the end they get their price. Besides, railroad companies have received large tracts of land from the government as an inducement to build them. Syndicates and speculators hold nearly all the rest, and that part which is yet unowned is either too distant from all convenience, difficult of access or is of such a nature that the use to which it is adapted has not yet been discovered."

"By the scythe of Saturn!" exclaimed Jove in astonishment, "the impudence of mortals is unbounded. To take my free and unconditional gift, to take the earth and call it theirs, and to exclude their fellows from a share except they pay them for permission! What's to be done? These land owners have already appropriated all my gifts, the land, the air, the light, the heat and the rotations of the seasons. If I were to expand the earth to twice its size, which would necessitate the alteration of the entire universe, it would do no good, for the land owners would grab it all. If I were to increase its fruitfulness a hundred fold the increase would go to the land owners. 'Twould be the same were I to rain down gold, these land owners would get it all in less than no time. But this must stop!"

And it is going to stop.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

The Burlington labor convention was a great success as a teacher of truth, notwithstanding the absence of many believers who, Nicodemus-like, absented themselves through fear of the boycott, the grand bounce, or the black list.—[Burlington, Iowa, Justice.

We hope the Yankees will stick to their resolution not to have free trade in natural products alone. Canada needs free trade in all sorts of products, and the people will have it as soon as the protection craze has worked itself out. England was starved into adopting free trade. The United States and Canada must be educated up to it.—[Hamilton, Ont., Times.

While a larger vote would have made the party more popular and drawn to it many who make popularity stand for principle, the defeat of the party does not crush its principles. The grand truth of "the land for the people" has come to stay and it cannot be kept out of politics. Whether it will be put into operation by one of the old parties, as was the principle of abolition, or it will be the cry to lead a new party to victory only time can tell.—[Rock Springs, Wyo., Independent.

We affirm that rack rents are the essential cause of overcrowding, and of consequent immorality, disease, drunkenness and death; that every charitable effort, every philanthropic gift, slips through the fingers of the poor into the pockets of the rent grabber; that rack rents benefit only the few and make the millions of London suffer.—[Manifesto London House Rent League.

No protection, no free trade, no charity can improve the position of the toilers so long as they allow this cursed system of unrestricted private ownership of land to continue. Force upon the people by protection or prohibition the use of Kapunda marble, the wages of those who work in those quarries will not be increased. But the value of the shares in the company which holds the Kapunda marble lands will rise.—[Adelaide, Australia, Our Commonwealth.

It grows more evident at each recurring election that the time is at hand when the adoption in this country of something like the English system of voting will be absolutely necessary. The existence of an immense army of heelers, bosses and ward room workers is an evil for which the excuse, at least, should be promptly removed. The indecent use of money, and, indeed, the extravagant expenditure for legitimate purposes, must also be prevented, unless government by the people is to be transformed into government by dollars.—[Somerville, Mass., Journal.

There will be a strong pressure brought to bear upon congress when it meets to establish postal telegraphy in connection with the postoffice department. For $15,000,000 the government can build as many miles of wire as the Western Union company has, and it could afford to deliver messages in any part of the union at ten cents for twenty-five words.—[Memphis Appeal.

It would be absurd to talk of compensation for a tax. All the compensation to a man who paid a tax on land values would be the use of the land, and that would be quite enough, for if it wasn't he wouldn't pay it or use the land. Mr. George would not at once confiscate private ownership in land. He would at once bring about such a change as would in all probability do so, but would never interfere at all with private possession of land, which is all that is valuable in ownership to anybody except to land speculators and rack renting landlords.—[Rockland, Me., Opinion.

The local George followers cite the Old South case as a forcible illustration of their theory. They say that that land was given that parish when it had no value. The community grew and gave that land a value which has been appraised at $148,400. The George men claim that the community, instead of the parish, created that value, and that it therefore belongs to the community. They maintain that there are but few interests which would be damaged more than they would be benefited by the adoption of the new system. Taking taxes off from buildings would stimulate building, set the unemployed at work, increase the number of homes and very greatly increase the general wealth of the community, but the opportunities of rolling up great wealth would be destroyed by the abolition of land monopoly.—[Worcester, Mass., Times.

What Say the Workingmen?

Philadelphia Record.

The protected monopolies are again gathering their funds and making their lobby arrangements for the fiftieth congress, and while they are thus engaged what say the workingmen of the country? In order to prevent a reduction of taxes upon raw materials of labor and upon necessaries of the family the enemies of tariff reform propose to expend the $100,000,000 of surplus upon vast schemes of expenditure, and they attempt to persuade the good-natured farmers and workingmen that the money will come back to them in a fructifying stream. While the masses of the people are paying excessive taxes upon their clothing, coal, sugar, salt, glass, earthenware, iron and other articles of necessity, professional workingmen will be found in the Washington lobby denouncing and threatening honest representatives for daring to vote against a repeal of the barbarous taxes.

Most of these taxes have been designed for the aggrandizement of the protected monopolies; and every workingman, upon comparing the taxes with his wages, can estimate how much protection the tariff system has afforded him. In making this interesting calculation he should bear in mind that the articles most necessary for the comfort and well being of his family have been subjected to the highest taxes and are most completely under the control of the tariff-fed monopolies. It is natural enough that the American tariff league should raise $100,000 to aid in the maintenance of such a policy, but it is not easy to see why the plundered workingmen of the country should longer give the system their support.

The Riddle of the Century.

Memphis Avalanche.

To read of the savings of labor accomplished by improvements in the use of steam, it would seem that civilization ought not to be in vain. Misery has never piled up so fast as in the last quarter of a century, and yet during that time four-fifths of all the engines now working in the world have been constructed. The force equivalent to the working steam engines represents—in the United States, 7,500,000 horse power, in England, 7,000,000 horse power, in Germany 4,500,000, in France 3,000,000, and in Austria 1,500,000. A steam horse power is equal to three actual horse powers, and a living horse is equal to seven men. The steam engines of the world represent, therefore, approximately the work of 1,009,000,000 men, or more than double the working population of the earth, whose total population amounts to 1,455,925,000 inhabitants. This is the interesting calculation made by the Berlin bureau of statistics. Theoretically it looks well.

The actual result is however that while the steam engines now do the work that million of hands formerly did, those unemployed hands have a hard struggle to find their daily bread.

Charity.

Prof. Thomas Davidson in The Open Court.

The great enterprises and competitions of modern industry have brought about conditions—mountains of injustice leading to spiritual and physical degradation—with which the old remedies are incompetent to deal. As well might one think to quench a Chicago fire with a few old-fashioned water buckets filled from a draw well as to settle the problems and difficulties of modern life with the old ways of doing good.

In spite of this self-evident fact, the great mass of our so-called good people are doing their good in the old ways, which are now often ways of doing evil. Their old-fashioned charities, for the doing of which so many people are considered worthy and good, are often only so much money thrown into the capitalists' already overflowing coffers. They simply enable the poor to be content with less wages, to accept a smaller share of the profits of labor from their employers, and thus, by increasing the power of the industrial aristocracy, to weld on more firmly the chains of their own slavery. The fact is, that charity in the old sense has not proper place in our world. A system that requires charity is already more or less rotten, because it is a system in which some parts are not self-sustaining, in which some human beings have to place themselves in the degrading position of dependence, of requiring good, without being able to perform any. Unfortunately such charity must, in extreme cases, be done, just as poison must sometimes be swallowed; but we ought never to blind ourselves to the meaning of such charity. In truth, charity is twice cursed; it curses him that gives and him that takes.

We must do our very best to put an end to charity, by putting an end to the need for it. We must, therefore, in the first place, without hypocrisy or fear, labor to discover what those social and religious arrangements are which cause the need for charity, by making men weak and incapable of self-help, and then we must labor with all our might to remove these conditions, and replace them by better ones. Moreover, if we find men and women, so-called respectable, who fail to do this, we shall have a right to condemn them as lacking in those virtues that are of any real moment. We shall have a right to call upon them to leave off their antiquated play-acting and come, like sensible people and virtuously live their own true life and the life of the present world.

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Subject,

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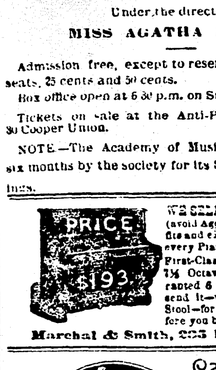
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Tickets on sale at the Anti-Poverty Society office, 30 Cooper Union.

NOTE—The Academy of Music has been leased for six months by the society for its Sunday evening meetings.



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ALLEGHENY COUNTY COMMONERS.—NOTICE—The regular meeting of the "Commoners" will be held on Friday evening, Nov. 19, 1887, at 7.30 o'clock sharp. The place of meeting is our hall above the bank on the corner of Fourth and Wood streets. Free discussion on land and taxation.

W. J. NESBIT, Secretary.
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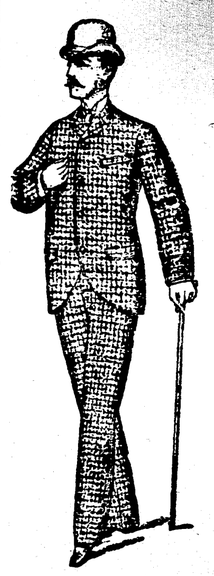
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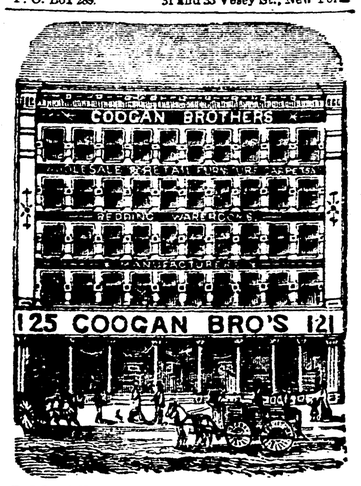
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