

THE STANDARD

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CAMPAIGN NOTES.

Geneva, where I spoke on Wednesday evening, the 5th inst., is one of the most beautiful towns in the state. It has long been the residence of a number of comfortable families—hereditary naval officers and so on—and their houses, running along the bluff that overlooks the lake, have the advantage of a situation than which none prettier can well be imagined. I had been invited to speak in the afternoon at the Geneva fair, where a very large concourse of farmers was expected, but the bad weather forced the postponement of the fair. Father McManus, pastor of St. Mary's, seems to be the bitter opponent of the anti-poverty movement. He has been telling his people that if they went to hear Dr. McGlynn they would become *ipso facto* excommunicated, and has used his influence to prevent the formation of any united labor club. But his efforts do not seem to have had much result. I spoke in the evening at Linden hall to a large and highly appreciative audience. Rev. Donald Grant, pastor of the Baptist church, presided and introduced me. Rev. Mr. Formosa of the Methodist church, now located in Philadelphia, and Rev. C. H. Wright of the Methodist church at Geneva also occupied seats on the platform, while in the audience were Rev. P. H. Stevenson of the Presbyterian church and Rev. J. P. Foster of the Episcopal church. The students of Hobart college were there in large force, and were among the most interested listeners, expressing their approval in college fashion at the close of the proceedings by shouting in chorus as they left the hall: "What's the matter with Henry George?" "O! He's all right."

As usual, after my address I answered a large number of intelligent questions put by the audience. But this was not enough. A great many remained after the meeting had been adjourned and clustered round the stage, and I held something like what the Methodists call a protracted meeting, answering in an informal way the questions put. Then all were requested to leave the hall except those who wanted to join the club. About twenty-five gentlemen signed the roll and a temporary organization was made by the election of Andrew Charters as president and Mart Quinn as secretary. The only organization we have had in Geneva has been an informal one started a few weeks ago, Messrs. P. J. Duffy, M. Pender and A. Michaelson having acted as a committee to arrange for the meeting.

Among those present from other places was Mr. R. G. Ganoung of Seneca Falls, a member of the executive committee of the united labor club of that place, and a very active worker. Though only started a few weeks ago the Seneca Falls club already numbers forty. They are taking in new members at the rate of ten or twelve every meeting, and are confident of a large vote.

The members of the Geneva club not only propose to do all they can in the town, but are also taking measures to distribute land and labor tracts in the surrounding towns and country.

In spite of the badness of the weather there were present quite a number of farmers from short distances around the town. The accounts agree that the interest taken by the farmers in the question of the single tax is already great and is very rapidly increasing.

I was to have spoken on the morning of Thursday, Oct. 1, at the agricultural fair at Ovid, the county seat of Seneca county, where a great audience of farmers was expected. But, like the fair at Geneva, the Ovid fair had to be postponed on account of the bad weather, and we kept on to Ithaca.

Geneva is a beautiful town, but I am inclined to think Ithaca even more beautiful. Cornell university has an ideal site, and its large buildings loom up grandly over Cayuga lake and the surrounding country, now clad in the glorious autumn foliage. We put up at the Clinton house, which, when it was built in 1829-30, must have been one of the finest hotels in the Union. Its proprietor, Mr. Thompson, is probably the oldest hotel keeper in the state, his memory recalling distinctly events that happened over seventy years ago. He is still hale and hearty, and though when I bade him good night in his office it was nearly 1 o'clock, yet when I looked out of my window at 6 o'clock in the morning I saw him sweeping away the dried leaves from the pavement. When this hotel was built Ithaca was expected to become an important commercial town, taking the travel and trade of southern New York and northern Pennsylvania, which found an outlet through Cayuga lake. It participated in the great speculative land fever of the thirties which culminated in the revulsion of '37, and for a long distance around it land was staked out into building lots, and passed from hand to hand at prices which would now seem preposterous. Many of the lots that were then staked out in the swamp which surrounds the inlet to the lake are still held, I am told, by the descendants of people living in other parts of the country, who bought them at speculative prices.

Cornell university has given something of new life to Ithaca, and as it becomes—as it certainly is destined to be—one of the great universities of the world, Ithaca, like Cambridge and Oxford, will be known far and wide as a university

town. I had not time to go through the university, but two farmers, the Messrs. Pearson, drove up in a wagon that they called their "Democrat," through the grounds. Cornell university is now very rich, mainly through the land grant made by congress for the establishment of agricultural colleges. Many of the states sold their agricultural scrip at prices as low as seventy-five cents per acre, but a good part of the New York grant was by arrangement of the trustees located by Mr. Cornell on timber lands in the northwest that have now become very valuable. The great college of the state of New York is thus being supported by the development of values which really belong to the newer and poorer states of the northwest. But under our pernicious system these values, had they not gone to Cornell, would have merely gone to the making of millionaires. The university has also received large benefactions from Mr. Cornell, Mr. Sibley and others, and is to-day one of the best types of the modern university, opening its doors to women as well as men and possessing large facilities for technical instruction. It has ample space over which to spread, and one who sees it to-day cannot help thinking what a grand institution it may become in the next century. It gives, by the way, a practical illustration of the absurdity of the idea that absolute ownership of land is necessary to improvement. The comfortable houses in which its officials and professors dwell have mostly been built by themselves, but the university retains the title to the land, making an agreement with the builders by which in case of death or of retirement the houses may either be sold to some approved purchaser or taken by the university at an assessed valuation.

The university grounds are already surrounded by a number of beautiful mansions, Mr. Cornell's, Mr. Libby's, and others—largely those of men who have made great fortunes by getting hold of timber lands. The most striking of these mansions, and perhaps, taking it altogether, the most tasteful and beautiful house (though, of course, not the largest) that I can remember to have seen, is what is called the McGraw-Fisk mansion. It was built by the only child and heiress of a man who made a great fortune in timber lands, who, within a year of her death, married Professor Willard Fisk of the university. The house, which its mistress never entered, has cost some \$350,000 and is yet unfinished in the interior. It was left by her, together with the bulk of her property, to the university, after she had given \$300,000 to her husband and made some large bequests to relatives. Prof. Fisk tried to come to an understanding with the university by which he should be permitted the use of the grounds and house during his lifetime. This being refused, he commenced suit to break the will. The suit was decided in favor of the university; but the decision was reversed by the supreme court, and the case is now pending before the court of appeals, the ground of the contest being that the university already holds all the property which its charter permits it to hold.

The two Pearson brothers, Pierce and Nicholas, who took up on the hill and over the university grounds, furnished a good illustration of the way in which the doctrine of the single tax is affecting the class of men who it has been said would be most bitterly opposed to it. They are natives of this country and own large and exceedingly well cultivated farms near the town, but so far from seeing any injustice in the proposition to put all taxes on land values, they realize that such a system would do away with the injustice of taxing a man upon his enterprise and industry and thrift. "If one farmer," said Mr. Pierce Pearson, "cultivates well and raises five hundred dollars worth of potatoes from a field of no greater value than that of another farmer who cultivates shiftlessly and raises but one hundred dollars worth, I cannot see why the one should be taxed a penny more than the other." And he told me of a well known farmer of the neighborhood named Hildebrand, who, having that year painted his barns and outbuildings, found that the assessor had on this account raised his valuation four hundred dollars, and thus levied upon him in increased taxes a fine of something like ten dollars. Though the wealth held in Ithaca has very greatly increased since 1860, Mr. Pearson told me that the personal property assessment had decreased in that time a quarter of a million dollars.

Mr. C. C. Platt, a very intelligent young man, who is doing a flourishing drug business in Ithaca, is the member for this congressional district of the united labor party state committee; and the doctrine of the single tax has already secured the support of a number of active men, both in the town and in the university, some of them, like Mr. H. Mente, having taken active part in previous labor movements, and others having belonged to the old parties or being entirely new to active political work.

The meeting in the evening was held in the Ithaca rink, which was crowded to the utmost with an audience of nearly three thousand. Cornell university was well represented by a large body of students, both male and female, and a dozen or so of the professors and instructors. After the meeting our party was entertained at supper by a number of the university men, and a land and labor university club was formed, Mr. Byron

W. Holt, a very active and earnest advocate of our principles, being elected chairman, and Mr. H. B. Bessemer secretary. Mr. Holt was congratulating himself on being a member of the first university club devoted to spreading these doctrines, till he was reminded of the splendid work done during the last campaign in New York by the club of Columbia college.

Leaving Ithaca in the morning of Friday, with the consciousness that the good seed had been well scattered in the pretty university town, we took the boat for Cayuga at the foot of the lake. The day was dull and overcast, but for all that it was a delightful sail. The lake country, its people say—and journeying through it one can well believe them—is the garden spot of the state; and when the banks of this beautiful sheet of water, now resplendent with the varied tints of October, are lined—as some day they will be—with tasteful residences, they will be worth a long journey to look upon.

In Auburn, where I spoke on Friday night, we had another great meeting, every foot of space in the opera house being packed by half-past seven o'clock, when the doors had to be closed and a crowd that would have filled two such houses turned away. Rev. F. H. Hinman, pastor of Calvary Presbyterian church, presided, and a number of other clergymen, among them Rev. F. V. Brown of the Church of the Disciples, were present. The audience was extremely attentive and at the close very enthusiastic, and the questions addressed to me and the knots that gathered for discussion after the meeting had adjourned showed clearly how thoroughly interest in our principles had been aroused. I met here Mr. H. W. Benedict, principal of the business college, who was a delegate to the Syracuse convention and is an earnest worker in the cause; Mr. J. C. Freeland of Seneca Falls, who made a most favorable report of our movement in that town; Mr. W. E. Churchill of the *Temperance Herald*, who is much interested in our views; Mr. Nolan, one of the editors of the *Auburn Dispatch*, a bright, independent daily paper, which has treated us with fairness editorially and devotes considerable space to news of our movement; and Messrs. M. J. Meagher and Jno. W. Ketcham of Skaneateles Falls, who had come over purposely to attend the meeting. These last-named gentlemen told me that the large population in that busy manufacturing town had begun to think earnestly about the questions raised by the united labor party and were anxious to get more light. To like effect spoke a number of men from other neighboring towns.

All our friends speak of the good work that is being done by the land and labor tracts and by the copies of THE STANDARD which the recruiting fund is enabling us to send out; they reach where it is impossible for speakers to go.

R. G. Parker is chairman of the committee in Auburn, and a most active and intelligent worker. The Auburn men look with confidence to carrying the city. At the municipal election last spring they came within seventy-five of the democratic vote. Two candidates for assembly have been nominated by the united labor party, John P. Mosher for the First district, and Thomas Cunningham for the Second district.

On Saturday night I spoke at New Brighton, S. I. On Sunday I spoke at a great anti-poverty meeting in Newark, N. J., and afterward at a meeting of the letter carriers in New York, at the Anti-poverty meeting in the Academy of Music, and in Madison square garden under the auspices of the Eleventh assembly district. Of these New York city meetings it is unnecessary to speak. At New Brighton I met a very intelligent audience, embracing quite a number of people who do not usually take much interest in politics.

Mr. A. B. Stoddard presided after the meeting had been opened by Mr. Costello of the New-Brighton land and labor club. Quite a number of questions were asked, some of them evidently the result of a good deal of thought.

Our friends on Staten island say that the movement has taken a firm hold, and that the different towns are well organized and an active canvass is going on. They expect a large vote.

New Brighton will always be associated in my mind with a man to whom, of all others, I would have wished that a few more years of life might have been given that he could have seen this day—Francis G. Shaw of West New Brighton. Mr. Shaw was a man whom to know was to respect and admire, and to know well was to love. The son of a wealthy Boston merchant, he inherited a competency, and belonged all his life to that class who are most disposed to accept with equanimity "things as they are." He was a man of pure life, high culture, large reading, much travel and fine literary taste. Most of all, he was a man whose heart and conscience were always prompting him to do what he could for the benefit of his fellows. He was an earnest abolitionist in the days when to be an abolitionist meant to confront ostracism, abuse, and sometimes violence; and his means enabled the underground railway to carry many a slave from bondage to freedom. The war which saved the union and destroyed negro slavery cost him his only son, that Colonel Shaw who was "buried

with his niggers," and his son-in-law, the brave General Lowell, whose widow, Mrs. Josephine Shaw Lowell, has long been so active and useful in philanthropic work in New York. Fully aware that the destruction of negro slavery had only ended one form of oppression, and deeply conscious of the social injustice which exists in the so-called free countries of the civilized world to-day, Mr. Shaw was unable to see any remedy until, in 1881, he read a copy of "Progress and Poverty." From that time on, to the day of his death, a space of something over a year, his whole heart was in the work of what has now become the great anti-poverty movement. He spent some thousands of dollars in distributing copies of "Progress and Poverty" to individuals and associations where he thought they might do good; it was his money that enabled me to get out in England the sixpenny edition of the book, of which over 150,000 copies were circulated, and his generous aid enabled me to do various other things that I could not have done without him. He had full faith that the day would come when men would assert their natural rights to the land, but at the time of his death, in 1882, he did not foresee how quickly the movement to this end would take shape in the United States, and urged me to remain in Great Britain, as some of my English friends wanted me to do, as he thought the first battle would be fought there. The death of a good man is not to be regretted—at least it ought not to be by those of us who believe it only the calling to a higher post—yet I cannot help but wish that he might have lived a few years longer, to have seen how widely and vigorously the seed that he helped to sow is springing up.

Cohoes, where I spoke on Monday night, affords some very striking instances of land monopoly and its effects; but as one of our local friends has promised to write an account for THE STANDARD, I will leave the matter to him. Our meeting was held in the opera house, and was crowded, large numbers of people being unable to get in. Some of the front seats were sold at twenty-five cents apiece, and in addition to this a collection was taken up. Between the two the club not only defrayed the expenses of the meeting, but netted a profit of some twenty-five dollars, which goes into the treasury for future use. Dr. J. W. Ross, president of the club, presided. The little speech he made in introducing me was a suggestive one. He said that a year ago he had regarded Henry George as a crank and a demagogue, considering his doctrines preposterous on their face, and believing that if he had any following at all it could only be among the ignorant, who could be deluded with specious words. Thinking thus, he was utterly astounded by the vote of \$3,000 which was polled in New York. "There must be something in this movement that is worth attention," he said to himself. "No matter how absurd they may be, doctrines that can command such support and arouse such enthusiasm demand examination." He sent for "Progress and Poverty," read it and closed the book a firm believer and enthusiastic advocate of the very doctrines he had so despised, and determined from that time on to devote all his energy to their dissemination.

Dr. Ross's case is that of thousands of men in New York and throughout the country. Our great gain in bringing the anti-poverty movement into politics is in compelling discussion and arousing thought. Busy men will not pay much attention to any question so long as it seems to them purely speculative; but when such a question enters into the realm of action and men are called upon to vote on it, it compels that general discussion which enlists the attention of all classes. This is the great importance to us of the election this year; every additional vote that we get will add to the force that is driving the land question into universal discussion. And discussion can have but one result. The present system cannot survive it.

Patrick J. Cummins of Amsterdam, our candidate for state treasurer, was present and made a brief speech. As master workman of the Knights of Labor of this district he had official charge of a large strike of mill operatives through this part of the county some time ago that ended disastrously, and, as is usual in such cases, brought some unpopularity to the men in the lead. The many way in which Mr. Cummins faced this opposition seemed, however, to disarm it completely. After a brief statement of the principles of the party, and a declaration that the laboring masses were at last moving upon the lines which could alone permanently better their condition, he adjured his hearers to vote for the principle whether they voted for the man or not; and if they did not like him, to scratch his name off the ticket, or to trade him for a vote for the head of the ticket; but above all things to vote for the principle of the land for the people, which is really the thing at issue. His address excited great enthusiasm.

David Reeves Smith is an engineer of Cohoes, who some time ago wrote a pamphlet in which, admitting that land is rightfully common property, he declares that since all articles consist of land they are also common property, or at least contain an element which belongs to all men in common. He proposes a general tax of two per cent on all property, which he calls

a "death rate tax," on the supposition that the whole population changes twice a century. He challenged me to divide my time with him here. As I know of only three believers in his theory—one himself, another Mr. Edward Gordon Clark, and the third a gentleman in Buffalo, I did not think it fair to the audience to divide time with him unless they should express a desire that I should do so. I put the question to the audience, and as they emphatically desired to have me proceed I went on with my address, offering Mr. Smith an opportunity of asking me any questions or making any objections at its close. This opportunity he did not avail himself of, but many others in the audience did. After I had concluded Mr. Edward J. Lee and Mr. P. S. O'Heaney of Albany, the one the united labor candidate for the state senate and the other for congress, made brief speeches. The meeting was very attentive, enthusiastic, and satisfactory.

We have in Cohoes a strong club which meets in the office of Dr. J. S. Crane; but here, as everywhere, our friends assert that the quiet vote will largely exceed the vote of which there are open indications.

Among the influential men whom I met after the conclusion of the lecture was Master Workman Fitzpatrick of the ax makers' assembly. He has only within the last month or so become a convert to our views. Opposed to them at first, he decided after the holding of the Syracuse convention that it was time to look into them, with the result that they have now no more earnest supporter. "I am a poor man," said Mr. Fitzpatrick to a friend: "I have to work hard for my living and am a good deal of the time out of work. Twenty thousand dollars would be a fortune to me; yet even if within my lifetime we were never to bring these doctrines into practical effect I would not for twenty thousand dollars exchange the satisfaction which the belief in them has given me." Many readers of THE STANDARD well know what Mr. Fitzpatrick meant.

Besides our Cohoes friends, a number of active sympathizers from surrounding towns were present, among them J. D. Van Ornum of Troy, who constantly carries with him a bundle of tracts and some copies of THE STANDARD, doing missionary work wherever he can, and A. A. Herrington of Cambridge, N. Y., where Dr. McGlynn spoke some time ago. These gentlemen gave us information concerning the spread of our ideas and sympathizers in other small places, such as McKownsville, Duwonsville, Knowersville and Manny's Corners, where the farmers are evincing great interest, and in some cases taking active part in the work.

At Whitehall, where I spoke on Tuesday night, our friends are full of confidence. The Knights of Labor here number some three hundred, and there is general disgust with the old parties.

Mr. James W. Busted, president of the club, presided and introduced me; and in the audience were Rev. H. W. Finch, pastor of the Presbyterian church, Rev. F. G. Rainey, pastor of the Methodist church, and ex-Assemblyman Emerson E. Davis. Mr. Busted, who is an architect and builder, has been an active democrat, but about five weeks ago cast in his lot with the true democracy, the united labor party.

I was glad to meet in Whitehall some friends from Rutland, Vt., who had come over to hear me, Mr. John P. Ryan and his wife and Hon. George A. Weather. The labor men carried Rutland at the last municipal election and elected Mr. Fay, an avowed advocate of the single tax, president of the town. They want to bring the question into Vermont state politics at the election next year, and say that they can poll a great vote, and with a good canvass may carry the state.

Mr. Ryan has been traveling through the farming districts of Vermont. He says that as a rule the farmers are extremely poor and heavily mortgaged, and that he finds them everywhere ready to accept our doctrines when they understand them.

Speaking of farmers, readers of THE STANDARD may have noticed a few weeks ago in the Publisher's Notes the warm letter inclosing a contribution to the recruiting fund of twenty-five dollars, from D. C. Leonard of Stockton, Cal. Mr. Leonard is a farmer near that city, and owns several hundred acres of fine land. I did not know him prior to the publication of "Progress and Poverty," but when that book was printed in a small author's edition in San Francisco in 1879, he got hold of a copy, and at once sent for sixty dollars' worth of the books, which he put in circulation in his neighborhood, passing them from hand to hand. I mention this as one of the many evidences that I have had that the farmers of the country will constitute no barrier to the carrying out of our principles.

I have now in press, and will next week publish, a German edition of "Progress and Poverty." The translation is that of C. D. F. Gutschow, which was first published in Berlin in 1880 by Elvin Strode. Although the book has been so long published in Germany and many copies have been circulated in that country, the price at which it could be sold here, after adding costs, has been by far too high to permit of a large sale, and there have been many demands for a cheap German

edition. The new edition will supply this want. It will be printed on good paper from new type, neatly bound in the same style as the cheap edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" which has been recently issued, and will be sold at the retail price of thirty-five cents. I hope for a large circulation among German-Americans.

A good friend in Charleston writes me this:

CHARLESTON, S. C., Oct. 8, 1887.—Our papers are full of the infamous lie started by the *Star*. Your denial should not be delayed, for although we are used to political slanders, such reports do harm to the ignorant. Personally I have studied your writings too long to believe one single word against you, but those who have not may believe, and add one more to the difficulties we have already to encounter. For God's sake, send me a few lines to be read at our meeting next Thursday night. Do not wait for the next STANDARD. I am aware your time is frightfully occupied, but make time to do this.

BENJ. ADAMS.
My friend must excuse me. I have something more important to do than to spend time in denying falsehoods that may be circulated about me. If I were to accede to his request and deny that I had ever been a pirate, I would next be called upon to deny that I had ever been a horse thief or a bigamist. I have never bothered myself with denying any such personal charges, and never propose to. I can safely leave my reputation in the hands of those who know me.

Falsehood and abuse are ever the weapons employed against truth, and the man who attempts to do battle against a great social injustice must expect them, and will, if he be wise, learn to be careless of them, content with knowing that—

Share of truth was vainly set
In the world's widely fallow.
HENRY GEORGE.

Tide Rising in Dunkirk.

DUNKIRK, Chautauque County.—There was a big attendance at the Opera house on the occasion of Henry George's visit. The audience was very intelligent, and among the most prominent persons present were Messrs. Oliver Peat, Mayor William Bookstaver, ex-Assemblyman Julian T. Williams, Rev. Mr. Day, pastor of the Presbyterian church, Dr. Blackham and David Wright. Rev. E. P. Adams, who some time ago came boldly out in advocacy of the doctrine of "the land for all the people," presided and said in his introductory remarks that he stood on that platform because he wanted to give what help he could in the new politics which Mr. George represented. Mr. George's speech was a telling one and has had an appreciable effect on the people of Dunkirk. We are chiefly engaged now in distributing tracts among the farmers.

FRANCIS LAKE.

From Cattaraugus County.

ELLIOTTSVILLE, Cattaraugus Co.—This county, the chief occupations of which are farming, oil producing and refining, timber cutting, and manufacturing of various kinds, is republican; the town is democratic, and both have been carried by the greenbackers. I think the united labor party will draw all most equally from the democratic and republican vote.

E. D. NORTHURGE.

A Land and Labor Club in Lansingburgh.

LANSINGBURG, Rensselaer County.—We have organized a land and labor club here and shall commence active work at once. The officers are Geo. Vincent, president; James McMann, secretary, and Charles Ward, treasurer. We have ordered a sufficient supply of tracts and mean to let the people of Lansingburgh know just what the united labor party want.

JAMES McMANN.

Spreading Among the Knights of Labor.

PORTCHESTER, Westchester Co., Oct. 10.—We have been holding meetings and distributing tracts and in every way possible urging discussion. We have large support among the Knights of Labor. The Portchester Enterprise has recognized our importance as a factor in politics and reports our movements generally with fairness.

FRED J. HUPPERT.

Braceville is in Earnest.

BRACEVILLE, Ill.—We have a live land and labor club of as earnest men as ever engaged in any cause. The roll call will reach a hundred, and another club will be established in our village before long—as soon as the boys can be rallied together who are already in favor of the tax reform.

ROBERT CUMMING.

Strong in Rensselaer County.

LANSINGBURG, Rensselaer Co., Oct. 10.—The fifteen branches of the united labor party in this county have 1,000 members. Largely attended meetings have been held. If tomorrow were election day Henry George would poll 1,500 votes. The democratic party will be the heaviest loser from our movement.

JOHN HUNTER.

Just Starting In.

CANAJOHARIE, Montgomery County.—The people of Canajoharie don't as yet know much about the principles of the united labor party, and for this reason we have plenty of work before us. One thing in our favor, however, is that they are not prejudiced against the movement. We have tracts and hope soon to hold meetings.

WILLIAM SCHULTS.

Recruits Enlisting in Tioga.

OWEGO, Tioga Co.—Our mass meeting last week has already been productive of much good, and recruits are coming into our ranks daily. Dr. Alfred S. Houghton of Cincinnati, Robert Crowe and Louis F. Post delivered the addresses, and were listened to attentively.

P.

To Our Friends Throughout the State.

THE STANDARD invites correspondence from its friends throughout the state relating to the progress of the campaign, and giving facts which may illustrate or bear upon the principles advocated by the united labor party. Such correspondence should be brief, and confined to the recital of facts, to avoid undue pressure upon our columns.

ANTI-POVERTY.

THE TWENTY-FOURTH PUBLIC MEETING OF THE SOCIETY.

Speeches by Henry George, Dr. McGlynn, John MacKinnon and Victor A. Wilder. Outspoken Resolutions on the Union Square Outrage—The Police Interference with the Anti-Poverty Fair.

The meeting at Madison square garden on last Sunday evening told somewhat on the attendance at the Academy of Music. That is to say, there were for the first time some empty seats at an anti-poverty meeting in the academy. The crowd, however, numbered thousands, and if brought together in support of any other cause would be considered enormous. McLaughlin's orchestra, which has been employed at the Anti-poverty fair, was present and furnished the instrumental music. Miss Munier's chorus sang in the course of the evening both at the garden and the academy. At 8 o'clock W. T. Crossdale, Victor A. Wilder and Henry George appeared upon the stage and they were hailed with more than ordinary applause.

Mr. George, who was the first speaker, spoke mainly on the events of the previous week relating to the movement. He said that he had spoken during the week in the interior of the state to immense audiences. The doctrines of the Anti-poverty society were surely taking root in the cities and towns as well as among the farmers of the country. He hardly hoped to make many converts by speaking to an audience for an hour or two, but what he did expect was to get men to thinking, and the discussions that follow the meetings are sure proofs that the leaves are already beginning to work through the whole lump. After returning to the police outrage of the night before at Union square, Mr. George spoke of the great anti-poverty meeting in Newark in the afternoon, remarking that in the case of Rev. Mr. Pentecost the prophet was not without honor in his own country.

Mr. George's speech was in subject and in general tenor similar to that delivered by him on the same evening at Madison square garden, a report of which is given elsewhere in the account of that meeting.

THE UNION SQUARE OUTRAGE DENOUNCED.

When the applause which greeted Dr. McGlynn's speech had subsided, Chairman Crossdale, on behalf of Mr. John MacKinnon, chairman of the county committee of the united labor party, moved the adoption of the following:

Whereas, It has been brought to our notice through the public prints that a peaceful assembly of citizens to discuss public and pressing issues, was forcibly dispersed by the organized police force of this city; and

Whereas, The constitution of this state and of the Union guarantee as the right of free speech and peaceful assembly to all citizens; and

Resolved, That the Anti-poverty society, in meeting assembled, while it differs widely from the party conducting the dispersed meeting, yet enters its most decided and emphatic protest against this wanton and unprovoked outrage, and against the scandalous use of the forces of the organized police of this city against a peaceable and law-abiding meeting of our fellow citizens, as a crime against liberty and a deadly blow at the foundation of law and order and the public peace.

John MacKinnon, speaking to the resolution, said that while the progressive labor party had differed with the united labor party, there was no difference between the two in the view taken by them of the unlawful and unwarrantable action of the police in this case. He regarded the men who held the meeting as honest and peaceful in their intentions and sincere in their ideas, and they had the same right as other citizens to preach the doctrines they believed in. The united labor party wanted a full expression of opinion from every class of American citizens. When intelligent men come to consider the great questions immediately related to American liberty, there could be but one opinion. The liberty of speech of every citizen must be respected. Speaking of the bill that was intended to give to the united labor party the fifth election inspector, Mr. MacKinnon said it was the only crumb the party could get from the legislature. When the bill had passed, a committee waited upon the governor of the state, and he had the audacity to say: "Gentlemen, what are you leaving the democratic party for?" He added, "We will give you any office you want."

Victor A. Wilder, candidate for state comptroller, followed Mr. MacKinnon. He characterized the clubbing of the socialists by the police as the work of anarchists, spoke of the march of monopoly as seen in the absorption of the Baltimore and Ohio telegraph line by the Western Union company, and contrasted the position of Mayor Hewitt with respect to the principles of the united labor party.

The resolutions were then put to the vote and carried amid great applause.

THE POLICE INTERFERENCE WITH THE ANTI-POVERTY FAIR.

Mr. W. T. Crossdale then gave an account of the police interference with the sale of "random purchase tickets" at the Anti-poverty fair, and read a letter to the patrons of the fair, the substance of which is printed in another column. Mr. Crossdale said that in justice he ought to say that the annoyance experienced at the fair had not come from the direct action of the police itself, but had been inspired by the same men at police headquarters who were trying to defeat the law in order to beat the new tax polls.

Rev. C. P. McCarthy explained to the audience that the statement that he had been present at Union square on Saturday night was incorrect.

The chairman then announced Dr. McGlynn, who was received with the usual demonstrations of welcome.

DR. MCGLYNN'S SPEECH.

Dr. McGlynn's speech was a masterly demonstration of the truth that no political action can be deemed expedient, or even excusable, except it square exactly with the principles of justice ordained by the Almighty; and he pointed out that at every crisis in history, when the crimes and blunders of men had apparently rendered social dissolution inevitable, God has in some way foreseen by man, brought order out of chaos, and guided humanity to a higher plane by the light of eternal truth reflected from human errors.

On every hand, said he, we are constantly receiving new evidences that the providence of God is shaping our course and overruling even our mistakes and blunders to give a perfect and speedy success to this movement that we have undertaken for the love of Him and for the love of our brethren. And we should be recreant to the clear call of God if we were to permit any false modesty or diffidence to cause us to ignore the plain fact that God does call upon us to speak a new truth, but a truth that justice is the original law of God; that even perfect justice to all men is God's law for developing in humanity those capacities and faculties that make man like unto God, and which, if they have but free play, will necessarily impel human society onward and upward till the prayer and prophesy of Christ shall be literally fulfilled and God's whole family here on

earth shall be found doing the Father's will, even as it is done in heaven. (Applause.)

We have all manner of clear signs that this is God's cause; the peculiar malignity with which it is attacked and misrepresented, the fear with which the truth is heard by those whose selfish interests impel them to guard their privileges by denying the law of justice to all men. The sword in which we are engaged has on the one hand the sanction of all the powers that work for God as it clearly has on the other the opposition of all that work for evil. And there is a wonderful analogy between this movement of ours and the great movement, the shouts of triumph for the accomplishment of which are still ringing in our ears—the movement for the abolition of property in men. In a few eloquent sentences the speaker showed how every great movement for human freedom has been met with insult, contumely and misrepresentation, until persecution has almost come to be a test of truth.

But against all these powerful antagonisms we have, said he, the consoling Christian faith, which is with me a faith just as strong as anything that can be scientifically demonstrated, that aiding us in every good work, stamping us with every good thought, giving eloquence to our tongue when we preach messages of emancipation to men, are spirits of goodness, ministers of Christ, who rejoice in doing the Father's bidding and guarding His chosen ones lest they should hurt their feet against a stone, and so guiding the doings and the words and thoughts of men that the very wrath of man is made to work the will of God.

It is a great thing, a glorious, an inspiring thing, to be permitted to take any part in a conflict like this for making practical among men the simple law of justice, the perfect will of God. The very simplicity of the remedy that this united labor party and this Anti-poverty society propound for the social evils that are the cause of poverty and its attendant vices, and miseries, and crimes, stamps it with one of the highest characteristics of the works of God. It is like the law of gravitation, so simple, so regular, so precise, that it causes the pin or the mote to fall to the ground, and holds in their proper orbits the circling planets and the suns.

This simple remedy that can be summed up in the one word, "justice," gives us the law of civilization; the one clear, straight path that shall lead the human family to a civilization, to a perfection of virtue and goodness, of which we have hitherto scarcely dared to dream. And so it ever is; the truths that are so simple that they go straight to the minds and hearts of the least of God's children are the highest and the sublimest. And thus it is that this united labor party platform, and the principles of this Anti-poverty society, convey all the charm and grace and benediction of sweet religion in simple teaching men that God is a father, and all mankind but brethren—the fatherhood of God, the brotherhood of man. (Applause.)

And is it not becoming every day more justifiable for us to say, "Surely this is the work of the finger of God?" Wherever we go we find that the soil has already been providentially prepared for us; we are agreeably surprised at the welcome we receive; we find that the minds of men have been stirred, and their hearts have been moved; that calumny and misrepresentation have only quickened their curiosity and stimulated their zeal. (Applause.) The men who come here from curiosity go away convinced that they have heard a great truth. Where they came perhaps to scoff, they remain to bless; where they came to oppose, they go away sympathizing and resolved to help. (Applause.)

It is a thousand pities that brethren should not be permitted to dwell together in unity. It is infinitely sad that children of one Father, brethren of one family, called to one sublime, eternal destiny, should not during their brief sojourn in this, the Father's schoolhouse and workshop, dwell together in harmony and peace. It is an inscrutable mystery that such things should be under the government of so wise, so powerful and so loving a Father. But we may, perhaps, discover some little of the meaning of the mystery. It is, perhaps, that out of the conflict there may come more perfect peace; as in music, the ear that for a time is set on edge, rejoices with the new melody, in the perfect accord that follows. And it may well be that the very doubts and fears, the cares and sorrows and the sins of men shall, all in God's good time, serve the purpose of bringing out of apparent chaos and confusion, that perfect harmony for which our souls are ever sighing, that perfect repose and peace for which we are ever yearning. When out of the darkness we come into the light, we shall enjoy the light all the more; and after the weariness, the cares, the sorrows and the sins of life we shall, throughout eternity, enjoy all the more the perfect grace and fellowship of the Father, and be all the better, all the happier for what we shall have gone through.

And thus it is that we can at once justify the way of God to men, and at the same time that we can hasten the coming of that blessed day when men shall have emerged from darkness into light, from warfare into peace, from the barbarism of our present social condition to that perfect civilization that will inevitably come if we but follow steadfastly the simple law of justice. We have no quarrel with, or wish to destroy, our present civilization. Our only quarrel is with the injustice that permits men to forget the golden rule, to usurp more than their share of God's bounties, and under the pretense of the right of property to rob others of those unalienable rights which Thomas Jefferson enumerates, and in telling of which he is but in another form giving us a transcript of the gospel of Christ. (Great applause.) For to tell men so different in stature, in strength, in mental powers, in tastes, in acquirements, that they are born equally endowed by their Creator with the unalienable right to life, liberty and happiness, is simply to make a most magnificent profession of faith in God, that God is the Father of all and that, in spite of the accidental inequalities of men, just because God is the Father of us all, we do enjoy the equality of children of one family endowed with the same essential rights to life, and therefore to that liberty and that right to the pursuit of happiness without which life would be for most of us a mockery and a snare and a delusion. We find unspeakable comfort in discovering that the essential principles of the great charter of our liberties is in such perfect consonance with the teachings of natural and revealed religion. And so we take heart of hope and assert with perfect confidence that the principles of this society and this party alone represent the basic truths on which our republic is founded. We assert with confidence that the sages who asserted our liberties and founded our constitution, if they were here to-night, could stand on no other platform than ours. (Great and prolonged applause.)

Amid the jarring of factions united together on the one side and on the other in a vulgar and ignoble conflict for the spoils of office, we say of each and both that they are unworthy. For to name that they so proudly vaunt, that they are unworthy of the true significance of either name, and that this party of ours is the only democratic party, this party of ours is the only republican party (great applause), for it is the only party that, with perfect and absolute

conviction, with clear vision of a great truth, demands a government of the people, for the people and by the people. (Great applause.)

The united labor party is the only party that in its every principle and assertion is simply demanding the common wealth; it is the party that wishes to destroy all privilege and to assert simple equal right and justice. If Abraham Lincoln could stand again in the flesh to-night, what other platform could he find to stand upon than the united labor party's platform? (Applause.) For this is the party of emancipation; this is the party that would abolish the slavery of men; this is the party that would destroy a slavery that in so many of its features is more crushing than chattel slavery. This is the party that seeks to abolish poverty simply by destroying industrial slavery. In this one platform we unite the teaching of the very essence and core of all religion with the teaching of those principles that have made the glory of our republic. We are asserting those great principles that the one hand are necessarily religious and on the other best adapted for the social and political welfare of men.

Whatever concerns the best interests of men must necessarily be religious, since man is the child of God, made in His image. And thus this political platform becomes all radiant with religion, illuminated with light from heaven. What else is it that brings out on this stormy night thousands to this hall, and perhaps as many more to the Madison square garden, where I was this evening? What is it that, wherever we go, brings such multitudes to hear that no hall will hold them? Is it not simply because to-day the same truths are true that were preached of old by the sweetest and divinest of teachers, whom the common people heard gladly, and who, when the occasion, the forerunner, John the Baptist, sent men to inquire of him if he was Messiah, bade them tell John that they had seen how the gospel, the glad tidings of emancipation was preached to the poor?

And standing upon this platform as upon the eternal rock of justice, what matters it what shall befall us? Whatever fate may be in store for us we can await it with supreme indifference. We can go smiling to the stake, to the block or to the dungeon, if need be, for the cause of justice, and feel it to be the greatest gain to lose all else, that justice may triumph; and while life and liberty and the peaceful pursuit and enjoyment of domestic bliss and of happiness is God's will for the masses of men, they are consecrated for a higher purpose and for a holier destiny who may sacrifice their very life and liberty, and pursuit of happiness, that all men may enjoy a fuller life, a nobler liberty and a high and holier happiness. (Great applause.)

Thus it is that, with indifference to surrounding things, they who see the light clearly and are permitted to believe that they enjoy the fellowship of the Father, count all loss a gain; count whatsoever comes to them as a loving dispensation from the best of Fathers. Thus it is that we begin to feel that it is good for us to be here; that life is worth the living, the battle is worth the fighting, and the burden is worth the bearing; that the lessons of time shall have their perfect fruition; and that for the tasks faithfully and lovingly performed here in obedience to the Father's will, we shall one day have the unspeakable reward of the Father's loving invitation: "Well done, thou good and faithful servant."

A Commercial Traveler on Some Pro-Poverty Aburdities.

DAYTON, O.—I am a commercial traveler and have the opportunity of reading a different newspaper almost every day. I cannot help enjoying the manner in which the poor editors of the pro-poverty press are struggling with the land question. Sept. 25, the Sunday Cincinnati Gazette opens its leader with a review of "McGlynn and the Methodist Bear Garden," in which it ridicules George's land theory, which, it claims, designs to make the land owners landless and give the land to those who have none now. Right on the heels of this theme the editor works himself into a gentle fury on account of the western cattle barons and the water monopolies which sell the precious fluid at \$2 per acre. Further on comes the Irish land question, and here our friend chuckles at the idea that the democracy of England, Scotland and Wales will soon make short shrift of the British land law. But a short time ago the Chicago Tribune magnanimously admitted that "Mr. George is honest and means well," but his land theory went "wrong." "How is he going to collect this tax unless he takes payment in advance?" he asks; "and as you declare products of labor free, what will prevent a farmer from harvesting his crops and moving off, and will his successor agree to pay the defaulted rent or tax as well as his own, or will he do as his predecessor did?" Such bosh in a reputable journal! If that honest farmer moves off and attempts to defraud the community we will in all likelihood proceed against him as we do now to collect debts, and if we seize his chattels this would in no manner constitute a tax on labor products.

All the objections brought forth against the land value tax theory so far have been utterly without force, and the hostile emanations of the press are either deliberate knavery or unpardonable stupidity in the case of men engaged in so responsible and important a pursuit as public journalism.

GEORGE G. GUENTHER.

Hard at Work in Buffalo.

BUFFALO, Oct. 12.—Judge Maguire's address was listened to by an audience of five hundred mechanics, clerks, salesmen, etc., and notwithstanding the sneering comments of the press, the good effects of the meeting are manifest. We find that whenever the principles of the party are even remotely understood, it is easy to make converts. We are hard at work distributing tracts, making personal efforts at conversion, and arranging for public meetings.

J. W. NEIL, Secretary.

Another Worker in the Field.

Mr. C. A. Poage, who was for many years the managing editor of the *Occident*, the Presbyterian paper of the Pacific coast, but who is now engaged in active business in this city, has taken the platform for the cause of the united labor party, and will devote to it all the time he can spare from his business. It will not be possible for him to go very far away from this city, but his voice will be heard in the cities and towns about the bay and up the Hudson. Mr. Poage has already addressed audiences in Poughkeepsie and Nyack.

Rapid Growth in Poughkeepsie.

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.—The Sunday meetings of our Anti-poverty society are well attended, and the constant appearance of new faces shows that the interest is spreading, while the membership roll increases steadily. We have appointed our county and city committees, and are going in for active campaign work.

Several adverse articles have appeared in the newspapers, but they have been ably answered, and the effect has been good.

W. C. ALBERO.

MADISON SQUARE GARDEN.

THE GREAT BUILDING THROGGED WITH AN ENTHUSIASTIC AUDIENCE.

Henry George Denounces the Outrage in Union Square—Bright Prospects Throughout the State—Dr. McGlynn Shows the Harmony of True Religion and True Politics—An Announcement From the Managers of the Fair.

Madison square garden was the scene last Sunday night of an imposing demonstration under the auspices of the Eleventh assembly district association of the united labor party. Long before 8 o'clock, the hour for the meeting, a large crowd had assembled, filling the space reserved for seats. The tables at the fair were covered with cloths, but the decorations were still visible. Part of the galleries on each side of the garden and a large part of the dancing floor were occupied by the seats, and these were all filled, while a number of persons remained standing on outskirts of the line of seats. It was an enthusiastic crowd, and when Miss Munier's chorus entered the young ladies were received with cheers and applause.

Dr. Anketell opened the proceedings by introducing Dr. Miller, a colored gentleman, as the chairman of the evening, and he in turn introduced Dr. McGlynn.

Dr. McGlynn's address was to a large extent the same as that delivered at the Academy of Music, a report of which is given elsewhere in this issue of THE STANDARD. He drew attention to the many indications that the fortunes of the new crusade are in very truth guided and controlled by an overruling and approving providence, and the platform of the united labor party the teaching of the very truth of God.

"If," said he, "the platform of this united labor party (cheers) and of the Anti-poverty society (applause) were merely a political platform in the accepted, hackneyed, much abused and justly despised sense of the word political, then I should not be here to-night standing upon it (applause), for I am by taste, by nature, by vocation from my earliest childhood, from my very consecration in the flower of my manhood, a priest and a minister of the altars and the truths of Christ; and the one irresistible attraction of the principles of this society, of this party, for me is that they are all radiant with light from heaven, that they are but in another form the old, primeval teachings of the saints and sages and seers of every age and of every land; they are but in another form a transcript of the gospel of Christ." (Applause.)

Dr. McGlynn dwelt eloquently upon the harmony of the crusade against poverty with the sublime truths of revealed religion, and showed how the very simplicity of the remedy proposed is one of the strongest proofs of its efficacy. Then, looking into the future, he described civilization as it will be when industrial emancipation shall have been accomplished. He said:

"We have no quarrel with a denser population than there is to-day. But the one essential thing is to see to it that it shall be the law of our country for all time to come that with the happy increase of population we shall maintain perfect equality, absolute, even justice. And when that shall have been secured, then we may well believe that our country shall easily lead in the advance of nations, that all other nations will be compelled by the force of example to imitate the doing of justice that shall have become common among us; and thus shall we be the forerunners in that magnificent work of hastening the day that shall prepare the earth itself to become, as Christ prayed and prophesied that it should be, the very kingdom of heaven on earth. (Applause.) Thy kingdom come, Thy will be done on earth as it is in heaven." (Great applause and cheering.)

A PERSONAL EXPLANATION FROM REV. C. P. MCCARTHY.

At the conclusion of Dr. McGlynn's address Rev. C. P. McCarthy made a brief personal explanation. He first read a paragraph from the New York *Sun's* report of the police outrage in Union square on Saturday night, in which a bystander is quoted as saying that "he had heard Rev. C. P. McCarthy, a George man, who stood at the time near the cottage in the park, exclaim, 'This is my work.'"

Mr. McCarthy characterized the statement as an outrageous slander, stating that he had not been in Union square at all on Saturday night, but had spent the whole evening at the Anti-poverty fair in Madison square garden. The reverend gentleman's explanation was received with applause and cheers.

Dr. Miller then announced Henry George, who was greeted with prolonged applause and "three cheers for our next secretary of state." Mr. George looked slightly worn with the fatigues of the campaign, but his voice was as clear and his delivery as eloquent as ever. He said:

Ladies and Gentlemen of the Eleventh Assembly District: I was glad to hear Mr. McCarthy's statement. I knew, as every one who has the pleasure of his acquaintance knew, when I read that paragraph to-day that it was utterly false (applause), and I am glad to know that even the slightest possibility of truth is taken away from it by his statement that he was not at Union square at all last night. (Applause.) And I hope it is also true that no members of the united labor party in any way disturbed that meeting. (Applause.) I hope our friends will most carefully refrain from any attempt to interfere with or annoy the meetings of our opponents. (A voice: "We are not anarchists.") No, we are not anarchists. (Applause.) We are defenders of law and order. (Applause.) We have banded together for the purpose of bringing about great reforms by peaceful and constitutional means (applause), and for that reason, for the reason that we are not anarchists, for the reason that we are opposed to anarchism in all its forms, we ought to be foremost in expressing our indignation at the crime committed in Union square last night. (Applause.) That was anarchism of the worst kind. ("Hear! hear!" and applause.) When men wearing the uniform of the police, upholders of the law, intrusted with authority for the purpose of defending public order and securing respect for the rights of property and the rights of person—when such men set the law at defiance, make an assault upon the persons of citizens and charge and club a peaceful assembly, that is anarchism of the worst and most dangerous kind. (Applause.)

An offense against the law is far more reprehensible, and ought to be punished with far more severity, when committed by a sworn officer of the law. (Applause.) Power involves responsibility, and the police who committed that outrage at Union square last night ought to be held—and an indignant public opinion ought to demand it—to the strictest accountability. The police captain in charge there says it was a blunder. (A voice: "I guess it was a blunder.") If it was a blunder, such a blunderer ought not to hold that position for another day. (Applause and cries of "Good! good!") But it was not a mere blunder. That line of

policemen would never have dreamed of setting foot upon, using their clubs upon the heads of inoffensive people assembled in the exercise of their constitutional right to peaceably express their opinions upon public questions if they had not become habituated to such acts. (Applause and cries of "Hear! hear!")

We boast that this is a land of liberty. Right here in our harbor stands that grand statue of liberty enlightening the world. (Applause.) But there is no other great city where the English tongue is spoken—nay no other great city, I think, in the civilized world—where the rights of persons are set at open defiance by the police authorities as they are in this city of New York. (Applause.) I bring no charge against the great body of the police. I have for them a high respect. But this is certain, that brutality and defiance of law have been encouraged among them. Every day we hear of clubbings by the police. It has become a common thing, so that a policeman is apt to consider that he has a perfect right to constitute himself judge, jury and executioner, and to club anybody that he thinks ought to be clubbed. (Applause.)

When I ran as your candidate for mayor of this city last year (cheering) I pledged myself when accepting your nomination that if elected mayor of this city I would see to it that such outrageous violations of the law and of the rights of citizens on the part of the police should be stopped; and that if I could not stop them I would resign the office. (Applause and repeated cheering and waving of handkerchiefs.) I know that under the vicious system of government that obtains here the mayor of the city has no direct control over the police, but I have enough confidence in public spirit, in the regard for law and justice on the part of the great masses of our population; I have sufficient reliance upon the public spirit of such great newspapers as the *Herald* (applause and cheers) and the *World* (voiciferous applause) to believe that if the chief magistrate of this city, acting as a private citizen, or as the first citizen in the metropolis, were to set himself to see these outrages punished, a stop could be put to them. (Applause.)

I say that such outrages could not be perpetrated, would not be perpetrated, in any other great city where the English tongue is spoken. I am certain of it as regards England and Scotland, and even Ireland. Such an occurrence as took place in Union square last night, had it taken place in London, and had it been supported by the government, would have led to such an outburst of popular indignation as would have hurled that government from power. (Applause.) And I hope and trust that such will be the case here. I hope and trust that there will be such a manifestation of public indignation against the outrage committed last night that the police authorities shall be taught that the police are defenders of the law, and are not to be permitted to violate the law. (Applause.)

We pay too little regard to the rights of persons in this city. Because the men who met on Union square last night hold opinions that what we would regard as dangerous, is no reason why we should condone any offense committed against them. (Applause.) It is not against them alone, it is against the whole people. ("Hear! hear!") It is against the spirit of American liberty, and I hope and trust that from this time forward no member of the united labor party will go to the meetings of any other party with any disposition to interfere or to annoy, and that we will unite with good citizens of all other parties in endeavoring to bring the force of public opinion and of law upon the uniform violators of the rights of the citizen. (Applause.)

Dr. McGlynn has been speaking to you (applause) of the great principles for which we stand. They are the principles of American liberty. To carry out to the very fullest all that we desire we require no change in our fundamental institutions. What we aim at, what we would bring about is simply the application in spirit and in truth to our laws of that great principle declared in the Declaration of Independence, the equality of all men. (Applause.) And wherever this platform of ours is fairly brought before the people, wherever our principles are set forth in their simplicity and their truth, we are making converts. And when we get a man we hold him. (Applause.) I can say to you that my experience in my trip through the state for the last week, and for the two weeks before that, has increased my confidence that we are destined to secure an early and a sweeping triumph. (Applause.) Whether we elect our state officers or not this fall, it is already certain that we will poll a vote that will give us just such a moral victory as we gained in this city last year. (Applause.) And with the state of New York fairly in the movement, then all over the Union we will begin to see flocking to our standard the great body of men who have been engaged in vague labor movements—the great body of good and faithful citizens who now see that something, something radical, something at the root, is wrong with the present state of society.

I came this afternoon from a great meeting held in Newark (applause), where our friend, the Rev. Mr. Pentecost (cheers and applause) has been nominated for mayor. (Applause.) It was not a political meeting. It was better than that. It was an anti-poverty meeting (applause), and the Academy of Music in Newark was crowded to its very capacity by an enthusiastic audience. In Philadelphia, in Boston, in Chicago, in Cincinnati and in San Francisco (applause) such organizations have already been formed. The new crusade is everywhere going forward. (Cheering and applause.) The cross that was raised here is everywhere gathering to itself an army of devoted men, and we can rely upon it that from this time onward this movement will never know stoppage or retreat. (Great cheering and applause.)

THE INTERFERENCE WITH THE FAIR.

The chairman then read a communication from the managers of the Anti-poverty fair, detailing the police interference with the sale of "random purchase tickets," and announcing that articles for which tickets had been sold would be disposed of at auction, and the proceeds directed pro rata among the holders of tickets. The reading of the communication was interrupted by frequent cries of "Shame! shame!" and other expressions of disapproval of the action of the police.

The meeting concluded with the reading of the Syracuse platform by Mrs. J. H. Hackett, and the singing of a chorus by Miss Munier's choir.

A Considerable Vote in Northport.

NORTHPORT, Suffolk Co.—With proper effort there is a considerable vote here that could be obtained. Men are ready to listen to anything new, and most of the farmers who have difficulty in making ends meet will jump at any measure for relief if they once see it. The *Journal* of Northport and the *Port Jefferson Times* are well disposed, and are printing some short articles of mine on the land question.

J. K. RUGGARD.

Speakers Worth Hearing in Brooklyn.

John J. Clancy, nominee for mayor of Brooklyn, and Louis F. Post of New York will address the citizens of Brooklyn on Sunday evening, October 16, in the Academy of Music, at Madison street, under the auspices of the Kings county Henry George land club.

A CRITIC BECOMES A BELIEVER.

On Re-Reading "Progress and Poverty," He Announces His Acceptance of Its Views.

About two years ago there was put before the public a book entitled "Rational Communism," the author withholding his name, and simply announcing himself as "a capitalist." In many respects it was a work of genuine merit. Its descriptions of the common methods of wealth-getting in this country were truthful; the changes of social and industrial conditions in the past thirty or forty years were portrayed with an accuracy which showed that the author had watched them closely, and many of the undeniable grievances of the working classes were stated forcibly, plainly and sympathetically. The shams of false religion, the platitudes of superficial economists, the injustice in our social organization, the perversion of the principles on which our republic was founded had aroused the indignation of a nature that detected wrong doing, and the contents of the book bore abundant testimony to the author's honesty of purpose and his determination to leave his fellow men the better off for his having been among them. The author believed that men could find their way to social prosperity and happiness through a communism controlled by reason. One might differ from his conclusions and decline to accept his theory of social advancement, yet no one could fail to perceive his sincerity of purpose or to appreciate the many significant truths contained in the pages of his book.

A few days ago a STANDARD writer met the author of "Rational Communism," and was informed by the latter that time had effected changes in his opinions, especially as to the results that might be reached through a taxation that would absorb the annual rent of land. The gentleman said:

"I can now see that the comments on 'Progress and Poverty' in my work were not supported by a knowledge of the more remote effects of the proposed tax. I will be candid. I passed judgment upon a book that I had merely skimmed over. Its teachings, as a whole, I did not appreciate. In truth, I had prejudged the work before I had ever seen a copy of it, deriving my opinion of it from the screeds of book reviewers, who had been unable, perhaps from the hurried and consequently superficial character of their work, to see fully the effects of preventing the locking up of natural opportunities of the vast sumption by the public of whatever businesses in their nature pertain solely to the public, and of returning to the community the values of natural agencies created by the community. I adopted in my book the opinion that Mr. George's theory for bettering the condition of mankind rested merely upon a plan for placing all taxes upon land, and it seemed to me that he had not reached down to the root of the evil, that poverty could not be abolished by that method, or even the condition of the laborers much improved. Hence, when his work finally came into my hands I passed it aside without fully understanding it, in fact without any just conception of the principles it teaches, embracing, as they do, a comprehensive plan of social reorganization, to which justice is the key. However, I subscribed for THE STANDARD, believing it to be right to assist in promoting every effort toward social reform. Upon reading a few copies of the paper I began to comprehend the importance of 'Progress and Poverty.' Gradually it dawned upon my mind that the results of virtually abolishing private property in land reached vastly further than had at first appeared to me; that the opportunity thus afforded for the laboring class to rise above its servile position was far beyond the bounds of my first conception. I then turned again to 'Progress and Poverty,' and this time with a determination to fathom it to the very core. The result was to convert me in general to Mr. George's industrial and economic views. What I regarded, when I wrote my work, as a fundamental error in the scheme for the taxation of land values, was the argument that any increase of taxes would remain on the land, and that it could not be shifted from the landlord to the tenant through increased rent, and from the tenant to the public at large. But Mr. George is right in that argument, I now see. Yet the assumption that such a tax can be shifted from the land is an error that is general among those who have never investigated the subject closely. I think that the fallacy of this view should be frequently exposed in the columns of THE STANDARD with clearness and in detail.

"No one, not even Proudhon, has taken a more decided stand against the system of individual property than I have in my work. Observing, with a hatred of the wrong, how systematically and effectually the laboring classes are swindled out of their just dues, under the established system of unrestricted private property, and being able to discover, after years of reflection, how this wrong could be avoided under the system, I denounced the system with all the ardor of a nature that hates injustice in any form. I look forward now to a process of evolution, perhaps of long continuance, by which mankind will become elevated and attain a state of happiness in which private property may gradually become extinct. Mr. George proposes, however, something that is eminently practical under present conditions—something that can be put in practice at once, and that would improve the condition of the laboring classes to an extent not to be seen until the effects of his simple plan are maturely considered. Mr. George, in fact, points out a middle ground between ultra-individualism and ultra-socialism. This ground, it seems to me, can be taken by all who are laboring to better the condition of the race. I would urge upon those whose hearts are with practical and far reaching reform, but who have not been able to embrace Mr. George's teachings, to conscientiously study those teachings. Perhaps there are many well meaning men, advanced thinkers, who would, like myself, join hands with Mr. George were they to study for themselves his doctrines, instead of receiving them at second hand. If there are any such men, I earnestly beg of them to read, not glance at, 'Progress and Poverty.'"

Would Like to See the Voter in Ellenville Without Tracts.

ELLEENVILLE, Oct. 12.—We are making converts fast, and our organizations are daily becoming stronger. On the streets and in public places we hear nothing talked about but Henry George and his theories, and as for tracts, I would like to see the voter in this place who hasn't been supplied. The regular meeting of our land and labor club on Thursday evening last was well attended, and an address was delivered on the subject of the local tax.

TOM CLAYTON.

President L. and L. No. 21.

Suffolk County Active.

SAG HARBOR, Suffolk Co.—A third of the entire voting population turned out to attend the united labor meeting in Masonic hall. Mr. Hughes presided and Carl Christman acted as secretary. Strong speeches were made by John J. Bealin and James J. Gahan, after which a branch of the united labor party was organized. It is quite clear that a very large vote will be cast for our nominees.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

The Service and the Product.

MARIETTA, Ohio.—In an article entitled, "Is it a crime to own land?" in the *American Magazine* for May, John Phillips Phillips (whoever he may be) says: "It has been said that man cannot justly become the owner of land because land was not made by man, but by the Creator. Iron, lead, copper and various other metals were made by the same being who created land. Is private ownership of these metals wrong? The Lord created all kinds of animals, but does this fact prove that private ownership of a cow or a horse is a crime?"

Again, Prof. W. G. Sumner (Social Classes, page 68) says: "Man did not make land. A man cannot 'make' a chattel or product of any kind whatever without first appropriating land, so as to get the ore, wood, wool, fur or other raw material."

Now, my question is this: If by bestowing labor upon a log the original owner in it, which God created, becomes absolutely his own, why does not the bestowal of labor upon a piece of land make the original soil in it, which God created, absolutely his own?

E. B. A.

For the same reason that your bestowal of labor upon the ocean (as by catching fish, planting oysters or sailing a ship) does not make the ocean absolutely your own.

What you draw forth from the land is yours. That harms nobody, for the source from which it comes is practically limitless; and if it were not, the product soon returns to the source again. But if the source is to be yours, as well as what you draw from it, then there will soon be no chance for others to exercise their right, equal to yours, of drawing forth from the land. When you take water from the spring, the water you have thus drawn forth belongs to you; but how do you argue, from that act, a title to the spring which would enable you to make all who must draw water from that spring dependent on you for the right?

The Phillips whom you quote is answered by the answer to your question. But what Professor Sumner says is true. No man can produce anything without first appropriating land so as to get the raw material. It is for that very reason that we oppose ownership of land, which enables the owner to prohibit other people from getting raw material, and gives him an income that he does not earn, through his power of charging producers for producing.

Natural Co-operation.

NEW YORK.—In your editorial of Sept. 3 you endeavor to show how the land tax, through the freeing of the natural elements from the grasp of monopolies, would increase production.

Your example is the production of coal, coal mining. You say truly (in one sense), that the simplest form of labor suffices to produce coal. In the sense that no special skill is required to dig coal, coal mining is a very simple kind of work that anybody can do. But in another sense, and in a sense that bears most directly on the matter at issue, coal mining is a complex kind of labor. In order to mine coal a number of men must combine, some to work at the necessary pumping, others at the hoisting, others at the breaking, etc. Coal mining is, therefore, combined or social work, not performed by a single individual separately, but by means of the social or associated efforts of a number of individuals, and in that sense complex work, which a man can never do singly to any extent. Therefore when you say of coal: "Man has but to go and take it. Suppose a citizen of Pennsylvania could take a ton when he wanted it, and do what he pleased with it," you assume a wholly impracticable state of affairs. In the first place "a single citizen" cannot mine coal, as before shown. In the second place, as his (the miner's) labor is only a part of the labor necessary to produce the ton of coal, he cannot "do what he pleases with it," but out of the proceeds or price of that ton of coal all his co-laborers must be paid.

But granting that when you said "single citizen" you meant one member of that multiple or collective body, consisting of a number of citizens who are associating their labor at some one mine for the purpose of digging out coal—is it true that such need but to go and dig coal? Must he not arrange to work conjointly with the other necessary co-laborers? Must not there be hoisting machines, pump works, cars, breakers, etc.? Must not somebody else transport that coal to some center of distribution along with a lot of other tons of coal? Must it not from there be distributed to the consumers and is it not only then, after all this has been done, that the coal is exchanged for money—that is, sold?

Now, have not all those who stand between the miner and consumer of coal the power to levy tribute on the labor product of the miner as a condition of allowing the miner to receive any return? Suppose the nation owned the natural element part of the mine and the miners and their co-workers at the mine had organized to work conjointly, and some one else owned the hoisting machines, cars, etc.; or some one else again owned the instruments and agencies for the necessary transportation and distribution of said coal. Could not these owners of these instruments and agencies levy tribute on the product of the workers of the mine as a condition of allowing them to use these indispensable agencies? And, after forming a union, pool, or, as it is now called, "committee," could they not meet monthly and say how much is to be permitted to be produced? Again, is not some intelligent, centralized, general direction of work necessary to prevent work from being done out of time or proportion to the nation's needs or uses? Hence, is not the nationalization or common or social—call it what you may—ownership of such instruments and agencies necessary, to the end of securing to the workers the full equitable return for his labor? And is not some central direction or guidance necessary in such a social system of production? Would not the chance or guess plan of production lead to endless trouble and irregularities?

Is it not absurd to talk about a citizen getting a ton of coal whenever he wants to?

CHARLES FELD.

If coal lands were free, any one could get coal for his own use, and even for the supply of a small local market, without the aid of any of the great instruments of coal production and exchange. Therefore, no one in the coal region could suffer for want of coal, or of any of the products of that region which were exchangeable for coal. This in itself would be a great stride in the direction of abolishing poverty.

But coal mining for the supply of the world's market is, as you say, a complex kind of labor, performed by associated effort or co-operation, and out of the price of a ton of coal the wages for every variety of labor employed in its production, transportation and delivery to the consumer must be paid. It is not necessary, however, that this co-operation should be deliberately organized. The demand for coal in the markets of the world evolves the co-operation; it induces the mining of coal, which in turn induces the transportation of coal, and the manufacture of machinery for transportation on the one hand, and the manufacture of mining machinery on the other. Every demand gives rise to supply. At first the demand is for coal, and labor turns to mining; mining creates demand for implements, and other labor turns to the production of implements; then comes the demand for transportation; and other labor turning to the manufacture and operation of instruments of transportation creates demand in still other directions which make still other demands, and, reacting, make new demands for coal; and thus, supply responding to demand, and every supply or effort to supply making further demands, the coal mining industry interlinks itself with all other industries, and evolves a more perfect co-operation—not of a village, state or nation, but of the world—than even omniscient statisticians or managers of industry could conceive or direct.

Such co-operation prevails now, modified and crippled by monopoly. Paralyze the hand that grasps natural opportunities, and by the control of public franchises lays burdens on industry and interferes with exchange, and the co-operation is complete and harmonious in all its parts. Those who stand between the miner and the consumer of coal would not then have power to levy tribute on the miner. They could get no more than they earned; that they ought to get, and the miner would be willing that they should have it. If the owners of the hoisting apparatus or of the agencies of transportation and distribution undertook to tax the miner, a demand for new hoisting apparatus and new agencies of transportation would immediately arise, to which labor would at once respond. Suppose the return to the owners of hoisting apparatus to be 1, the usual return to similar effort, and that they should undertake to charge 2; then it would be exceptionally profitable to own and operate hoisting apparatus, and some laborer otherwise employed would make hoisting apparatus. But the mere fact that this would be so would prevent the owners of hoisting apparatus from trying the experiment, just as the fact that a competitor might come into the village will prevent the village storekeeper from charging exorbitant rates for staples. And similarly of the owners of machinery of transportation and distribution.

No pool could be formed to defeat the harmonious operation of this simple social law. What makes pools effective now is not control of existing hoisting apparatus, which may be duplicated, but of mining opportunities, which cannot be duplicated; not of locomotives and coal cars, but of public highways.

No "intelligent, centralized, general direction of work" can be equal to the task of preventing work being done out of time or proportion. That can be regulated only by demand for work. Demand may cause a temporary over supply of some things relatively to other things; but, since the wants of men are unlimited, any such over supply can be but temporary. No one can claim perfection for demand. It may make waste here and there at times, when seeking a new level, but it does not make the waste that a "manager" would, and it is not arbitrary. Most of its waste now is due to the monopoly of natural opportunity.

Production in response to demand is not a guess plan of production. The social body is no more a nerveless organism than is the physical body; a rise or fall of demand for coal in the general market is communicated to the mines and along all the commercial nerves that lead to them as certainly as a rise or fall of demand for food in the stomach is communicated to the fingers.

It is not absurd to talk about a citizen getting a ton of coal whenever he wants to. If he lives near a coal mine in respect to which no one can say, "This belongs to me," he can unquestionably get a ton of coal whenever he wants it, without other capital than a pick. If he lives far away from a coal mine, but where fish are plentiful, he can get a ton of coal whenever he wants it without other capital than a hook and line, for his demand for coal will be a demand for every form of labor that produces, transports and delivers coal, and will give rise to a demand for fish in exchange. And if he lives in a great city where demand for work is constant he can get a ton of coal whenever he wants it by working for whoever wants him and exchanging his wages for coal. In every case his demand causes the supply to be produced. In the first place he produces the supply with his own hands; in the other two he hires other men to produce the supply, while he supplies something that they demand.

Monopolize natural opportunity or interfere with freedom of exchange and you disorganize this co-operation; destroy monopoly in natural opportunities and abolish all obstructions to trade and you make the co-operation as perfect and constant as the movement of the planets.

Shifting the Tax.

HAMILTON, O.—Will not the consumer have to pay the tax under your system of taxing only land values?

M.

Yes; the landlord is the only consumer of land values, and he will have to pay the tax. Read tract No. 37.

Notes.

A DOUBTING THOMAS.—(1) A man who invests his money in cultivated land and continues to use and improve the land is not as justly entitled to the profit that may arise from the increased value of the land (the increased value that is due to the growth of the community) as is the man who puts his money into a savings bank paying ten per cent interest to depositors. In the one case it is not the increment of his product, but the demands of other people that makes the profit; in the other it is the increment of his product. The owner of a horse is justly entitled to the foal she produces, but the owner of a ship is not justly entitled to the ocean on which she sails. By the way, where is the ten per cent savings bank? I know people who would like to transfer their accounts. (2) I don't know

whether or not the history of land transactions shows that the profits are not equal to ten per cent on the investment, and I don't care. It is not probable that the history of slave dealing would show any very exceptional profits, but that proves nothing as to the justice of slavery. (3) The freeing of land will do away with tenement houses by making it possible for every one who can build a house to get a place for his house for nothing, and by making it profitable to put houses on land, and unprofitable to keep land out of use. (4) Land is not cheap in tenement districts. The owners of tenement house lands, who live in the tenements, are not as poor, nor nearly as poor, as their tenants. They bear a similar relation to the landlord system that the owner of one "nigger" bore to the slave system. (5) The single tax would not make the farmer pay a greater tax on his land than he now pays on his real estate. There is very little farming land that is worth more than twenty or thirty per cent of the value of the farm. At present the farmer pays on a valuation of fifty per cent. But even if the farmer's direct tax were more, his indirect taxes—those that he pays whenever he goes to the store, and which would be wholly abolished—would make his burdens a great deal less than now, to say nothing of the benefits of better markets for his produce. (6) The reason that men get rich at the expense of others, without dealing in land, is that the monopolization of land by limiting natural opportunities for employment creates an unemployed class, which makes labor cheap, and enables speculators in labor to get much for little. MEN.—You would do well to read "Progress and Poverty."

H. W. STARR, Rockford, Ill.—(1) I am inclined to think that the distribution of direct taxes by the federal government among the states according to land values would be better than according to population. (2) I do not think that the adoption by the states of the present federal plan of direct taxation would remove any serious obstacle in the way of the land value tax.

H. W., New York.—When you say that to make man independent he must have access to machinery as well as to land, you might as well say that he must also have access to food, clothing and shelter. Machinery as well as food, clothing and shelter, comes from the land; and when man has access to land, he will, through division of labor, be able to enjoy the benefits of food, clothing, shelter and machinery on equal terms.

ANTI-POVERTY IN BROOKLYN.

Judge Maguire the Principal Speaker at a Meeting of the Kings County Club.

The Kings county Henry George land club held another public meeting on last Sunday evening at the Brooklyn Academy of Music. Although the weather was bad the house was comfortably well filled. Mr. J. P. Kohler, president of the club, opened the meeting with a short address, and was followed by G. T. Klinger, who also spoke briefly. The principal speaker of the evening was Judge Maguire. He dealt with the question of land monopoly chiefly from its legal point of view. He said he was amazed wherever he went at the intense enthusiasm that had been excited by the principles of the united labor party. Speakers before the meeting had said it was mainly due to their almost boundless land possessions. More people had been driven to death through evictions within the last forty years in Great Britain than had died through legal process in the course of recorded English history. The condition of the toilers to-day was like that of animals pursued by hunters intent on capturing them alive. They were ensnared into a pit, permitted to be overcome by hunger, and kept in a state of subjection by that process. In San Francisco, on thirteen of the principal business blocks but one person was said to own property on which his store was situated. The burning words the judge described the frightful hardships of the Pennsylvania coal workers, and denounced the men in the pulpit who attributed to the Almighty the distress that arose from man's greed. Brooklyn, he said, was called a city of homes, yet he would ask how many of the toilers of this city owned their homes. He closed with a logical presentation of the argument for a single tax on land values.

The audience paid close attention to Judge Maguire's address, and heartily and frequently applauded him, his apt illustrations especially winning approval. Those who had not already understood the objects of the new party must have felt the power of his earnest and persuasive manner, as well as the force of his reasoning.

In appearance, the people present were rather of the class that love justice, and would shield all citizens from enforced poverty rather than that at present distressed by poverty itself.

IF THEY SHOULD READ "Progress and Poverty" in order to relate its arguments they would become converted.

WEATHERFORD, Tex.—The books and tracts reached me less than two weeks ago. I thought them, like nearly every one that takes his ideas from newspaper comments, that the single tax theory was tinged with communism. But I find that it is really a step, and a long one, too, further from communism than our present system, in the fact that it does not even take a tax off what a man may accumulate by his labor. I believe all that is necessary is to get the people to read sufficiently to get an idea, and they will study out their own conversion. Since I have converted myself I have made several converts and set a good number of others to thinking. I loaned "Progress and Poverty" to our district judge to-day. The opposition to advancing, and they might make themselves better off by it. But if they attempt that they will come out like the gentleman in the last STANDARD, who read "Progress and Poverty" to refute its arguments; they would become converts.

WILL M. BUELL.

Spreading the Anti-Poverty Doctrine in St. Louis.

St. LOUIS, Oct. 10.—We had an enthusiastic meeting of our Anti-poverty society last night at Excelsior hall, Ninth and Franklin avenues. Among the interesting features was the recitation from memory of an entire chapter of "Social Problems" by W. C. Balaunon, a telegrapher. We meet again in the same place in two weeks from last night.

CHARLES M. WILSON, Secretary.

Good News from Steuben County.

BATH, Steuben Co.—The outlook in this county is so encouraging that we shall put a full local ticket in the field. We have got the ball rolling in this town and are pushing the work in all the other towns in this congressional district. We are putting out quantities of tracts where they will tell.

T.

Very Hopeful at Glen Cove.

GLEN COVE, Queens County.—It is pretty generally believed among our men that the candidates of the united labor party will get the largest number of votes in this village on election day. We are to have a county ticket in the field and are hopeful of its success.

JOHN MURRAY.

HARD AT WORK.

WHAT INDIVIDUALS AND ORGANIZATIONS ARE DOING.

Letters from Men in the Thick of the Fight—Interest Awakening Everywhere, and People Anxious to Hear the Truth—Facts and Experiences.

The following extracts from reports and letters received by the state executive committee will serve to convey some idea of the zeal and activity with which the campaign is being conducted:

H. H. Freeman, who is organizing through the center of the state, reports:

"I had a conference with numbers of earnest men in Hudson, and they have gone to work. In Utica I found that much interest in the principles of the party had been awakened by the recent overflowing meeting addressed by Dr. McGlynn and Mr. Glackin. The local organization will, in a few days, be perfected. Utica is going to make a good record."

George E. Bedell of Herkimer writes: "The meeting here, at which Dr. McGlynn spoke, has helped us greatly. Every seat in the hall was filled. The audience was the most intelligent that ever assembled in Herkimer on an occasion of this kind. Dr. McGlynn was introduced by Hon. George W. Smith, the finest orator in the county."

J. R. McCarthy of Little Falls: "I for one am satisfied that this town, with its numerous manufacturing industries and long established farming interests, if properly cared for, will, on election day, yield returns that will satisfy even the most exacting or enthusiastic voter now within the ranks of the united labor party."

Tom Clayton of Ellenville.—The land and labor club here has had a large and enthusiastic meeting, at which John J. Beulin and James J. Gahm of New York made excellent speeches. Quite a number of converts were made—in short, we had a glorious time. Send us some more speakers as soon as possible, as we wish to keep the pot boiling. There are quite a number on the fence who will come over on our side as soon as they understand what we advocate.

H. B. Brown, Bay Shore, L. I.—There is no organization here yet, not so much because the principles of the party are not understood as because men are slow to break their old party affiliations. They will come over, however, when they have heard Rev. Hugh O. Feunteun or some such speaker. In the meantime, I am putting out what tracts and copies of THE STANDARD I can get.

Thomas Leary, Ellipticville.—There is not much of a stir here yet in politics, but if we get some speakers through this section the candidates of the party will poll from twenty to thirty per cent of the total vote.

—Buffalo.—An indication of awakening interest is the fact that the men in our organization here have just sent thirty new subscriptions to THE STANDARD office. We are distributing copies of THE STANDARD and tracts at our meetings, and the demand nearly always exceeds the supply.

John Mourie, Greenbush.—The people here are very anxious to hear Dr. McGlynn and Henry George, and have the principles of the party explained. At our last local election the labor candidates polled more votes than both of the old parties together. There are still a few of our people who do not understand the theories of Henry George, and we want tracts and some good speakers.

H. B. Hawkins, Oneonta.—We had a successful meeting here on the 6th. The hall has been set in motion. We are spreading the light and will try to put tracts and copies of THE STANDARD into the hands of every voter in the county. We are making active preparations for a big meeting on the 13th, at which Dr. Houghton of Cincinnati is to address us.

Martin S. Kelly, Schenectady.—The meeting addressed by Dr. McGlynn and Everett Glackin was an immense success, the hall being crowded to its utmost. By the way, our parish priest showed Dr. McGlynn many attentions and invited the guest priest to spend the evening with him, which he did.

H. C. Romaine, Green Island.—I have been in several villages in Washington county and find them in prosperous condition. Whitehall is in good working order and will soon call a county meeting. There are committees at work in both the polling districts. The men in Whitehall will take care of the three or four villages close by. At Port Edward I found things ripe, and on Wednesday night, the 5th, I helped to organize a club. Dr. M. V. Van Derberg was elected president and L. H. Atkins secretary. The president of the village, who was elected by the Knights of Labor, is a member of the club. Mr. Quinlan, at Glen Falls, is doing good work. He is making speeches through the county. The indications are that Glen Falls will poll a large vote.

T. J. Sanford, Troy.—We had a rousing meeting last week in Valley Falls, and have six other meetings in this county arranged for.

James Bartley, Amsterdam.—We had a magnificent meeting on the evening of the 5th in our handsome opera house. It was crowded with nearly two thousand people. On being requested to signify their approval or disapproval of the proposition of taxing land values as presented to them by the speakers the audience almost unanimously voted in favor of the tax.

B. S. Warner, Hurleyville.—An organization has been formed here with Rev. William Hamilton as chairman and William Youngs as secretary. The club is composed of good men, who will be able to increase their numbers considerably as soon as they get down to work. The farmers of this county will support our party almost in a body as soon as they get a true understanding of the land plank in the platform.

John H. Quinlan, Glen Falls.—I am satisfied that our state ticket is becoming more and more popular every day in this section. I spoke at our county seat on Monday evening in the court house. It being court week, men from all parts of the county were in town and attended the meeting. A good deal of interest was manifested in the speeches.

Thomas Fassett, Plattsburgh.—Everything is looking well in this quarter. We are urging forward the work in every way—by holding meetings, distributing tracts and such other ways as suggest themselves.

Herman Shader, Kingston.—We are making a strong fight in this city. We have organized clubs in four out of nine election districts, and will organize in the other five in the course of a week or two.

Many Active Supporters in Hornellsville.

A correspondent in Hornellsville, Steuben county, says: When Henry George spoke here during his trip last week through the southern tier of counties he was listened to by a large audience, representing all classes. A noticeable departure from the usual style of political meetings was the presence of ladies. George H. Van Winkle presided, and among the prominent men in the audience were ex-Mayor J. W. Neal and E. W. Robinson, secretary of the Farmers' club, an organization of considerable strength, which publishes a

farmer's paper, and every year holds a fair here.

Hornellsville has many active supporters of the new party, who are doing good work, and the ballots will be well distributed before election day.

The Duty We Owe to the Farmers.

"I tell you half the farms of Orange county are mortgaged."

"Is that so?"

"Yes, replied the lawyer, 'and even a much larger proportion, I think. I am frequently called upon to draw new mortgages, but in my practice of six years I have not met with an instance where a mortgage has been paid off with the earnings of a mortgagee. My experience may be somewhat unusual in this respect, but I am positive that relatively very few mortgages are discharged of record except by transfer of the farms, foreclosure, or, which is the commonest method, by raising a new mortgage to pay off the old one.'"

If this is the case with Orange county, the famous feeding grounds of the New York city milk market, what must the facts be in less favored localities?

What a flood of light the lawyers of our county towns could throw upon this subject. Slaves could work no harder nor fare much worse than millions of our back country farmers.

If the united labor party does not succeed to power this fall it will be because the farmers have not understood its principles. There is hardly a citizen in our cities and towns who has not one or more rural friends to whom he owes it as a sacred duty to furnish the means of enlightenment on this subject. Manifest the truth. The farmer, above all others, is the one who will be immediately and directly benefited by the triumph of our principles. The united labor party can convert the granger element in this state if only the farmers are enlightened as to the aims and purposes of the new party. Let us who have access to the literature be up and doing. A little effort in this direction now will yield big returns.

B. F. HENLEY.

A Visit to the Anti-Poverty Society of Boston.

BOSTON, Oct. 10.—Being here on business, I dropped in to see how the Anti-poverty society was progressing, and my experience may interest your readers.

Their meeting was held in Horticultural hall, on Tremont street. There was a good attendance, with a fair sprinkling of ladies. The speaker of the evening was a Mr. Roach, a splendid specimen of intellectual and physical manhood. His speech was deliberate and methodical; but oh! what sledge hammer blows of solid argument he did deliver, and yet so plain and simple that a child could comprehend them. He was interrogated right and left, and answered everybody very satisfactorily.

On motion of a member it was resolved that next Sunday be a New York night, when an effort should be made to raise a substantial sum by collection to aid you in your campaign.

It was a splendid audience—serious, deliberative and determined. I enjoyed the meeting very much. The chairman announced that in a couple of weeks the society would be addressed by a Harvard college professor and a minister of the gospel, whose names he was not at liberty to announce just yet.

WILL F. FOLEY.

Judge Maguire at Hoosick Falls.

HOOSICK FALLS, Oct. 10.—Our meeting on the 8th inst., which was addressed by Judge Maguire, was attended by fully 800 people, who listened attentively and showed by their applause that they appreciated the speaker's arguments and illustrations. Some contemptible fellows are trying to check our movement by tearing down the bills announcing our public meetings, but political feeling here is at fever heat and we have no difficulty in getting well advertised. The general feeling of the community is becoming more favorable to us as our strength increases, and both local papers give very fair notices of our meetings.

Our club membership is rapidly increasing. We are distributing tracts and STANDARDS very effectively, and hope in this manner to reach a large number of farmers.

F. S. HAMMOND.

Good Effects in Amsterdam.

AMSTERDAM, N. Y., Oct. 10.—Dr. McGlynn's lecture here was a grand success and awakened an interest in the teachings of our party such as nothing else could have done.

It is admitted by all that the audience was representative of the intellectual as well as the laboring class of the place. Doctors, lawyers, teachers, professors, clergyman, manufacturers and leading business men were well represented.

One local paper remarked only yesterday that "Dr. McGlynn and his lecture are still the all-absorbing topic of the town, and the criticisms are as varied as numerous."

RAY D. CHAPMAN,

Vice-President Land and Labor Club.

A New Lesson in the Concord School of Philosophy.

CONCORD, Mass.—The indifference shown to Henry George's views in rural localities is, of course, attributable to ignorance, but it must be borne in mind that there is a cause for this ignorance. I find that those who follow Mr. George here do so—first, because they have read his books; and second, because they belong to the class which is neither poor nor rich, and have had the leisure of mind and heart to ponder upon the questions he is agitating. I find that those who call either a pestilent fellow or an amiable visionary distribute themselves into two classes. First, the class whose daily recurring need of keeping body and soul together gives them no leisure for instructive reading and even hardly the leisure for sympathetic emotion or thought of any kind; and secondly, the individuals already amply equipped with incomes, whose minds and hearts simply seem to have become palsied in the daily recurring effort to amass still greater wealth than they now possess. Neither of these two latter classes can be properly said to participate in any intelligent effort at government. They will vote either the republican or democratic ticket when the time comes. Ask these people to account for the fact that an amiable dreamer or a pestilent fellow can awaken 68,000 voters in New York and they cannot answer you.

It is instructive to observe in a country town like this, which may serve as an illustration for many another, how shallow is the observation or how paralyzed the conscience which turns a deaf ear to the cry of this reform.

In this community the same conditions of life obtain as in a thousand other non-manufacturing towns in New England, viz: There is no great poverty and no great wealth. It is almost a distinction to be a pauper here. Taxes are not inordinately high. Farmers may grumble a little at them, but that is the prerogative of their class. On the whole, every one is pretty well satisfied. Briefly stated, these conditions exist in a great many farming communities. But in addition to this there are

some special features of life in Concord which render the town what may be called a unique community. At the far end of it in one direction is a little chapel dedicated to pure philosophy. Many of the most distinguished thinkers in America have discussed the problems of destiny therein. It is a pleasant experience to sit there through a summer day and realize, perhaps for the first time, how rich is the heritage of exalted thought which the ages have given us. At the far end of the town in another direction is a stately bulk of masonry. In it are confined no less than seven hundred young men for whom society can find no better use than to place upon them a brand of infamy—a mark which it is needless to say years of rectitude and good behavior after their release cannot wholly obliterate. The institution in which these beings are confined is the state reformatory. The only reproach which has been brought against it is that it habituates its inmates to more humane treatment than they experience outside of its walls, and thus places a premium on crime. It is true that once in a while some young wretch, born and suckled in a Boston slum, feels ungrateful for his detention. He has a heritage of vice and ignorance which dates back, heaven only knows how far. He has been known with one blow of a heavy tool to irretrievably shatter a delicate machine which has cost the taxpayers a thousand dollars. You see the deeds bequeathed to him by his father and mother have been kept in him, and he is perhaps for many months, but have not been exterminated. In a moment of passionate resentment against his lot they overmaster the fear of punishment or the hope of reward. When the culprit views the ruin he has wrought he calls it "his way of getting even with the state." He has simply thrown himself against a wall and has been crushed in the process. After ten days in the "solitary," the state, by way of getting even with him, places a scarlet suit upon him—that means "dangerous."

In other words, the state meets brutality with answering brutality. But there are not many who wear the red jacket. Most of the inmates keep quiet. For a while, at least, they feel sure of shelter and food.

These, then, are the conditions existing here. Because Concord is a farming town there is no great wealth, and the absence of manufacturing prevents great poverty because there are no interruptions to industry. Philosophy has its seat in the Hillside chapel, religion finds a sanctuary in five churches, and philanthropy does what it can to soften the lot of the wicked man "who will not turn from his sin and save his soul alive." The optimist will, with a contemptuous gesture, point to these facts and ask you to prefer the optimism of the prophet what more you can ask. In his opinion these obvious evidences of material ease and philanthropic achievement outweigh a whole library of books on progress and poverty. It is true that he has never read any of Mr. George's books. In the face of the facts I have described he will tell you that he does not require to read them.

But there is one fact which I have not mentioned—a fact so obvious that it could only have escaped the observation of a thrift which has become self-complacent—a philosophy which finds an end in itself, and a philanthropy which forgets that there should be no need of philanthropy; and that fact is that during the year 1886 we fed and lodged in this town no less than 1,117 tramps.

I watched this army come and go while I sat by my comfortable fireside last winter. In snow and sleet, half clad and half fed, these outcasts passed, sometimes in small gangs, sometimes in large ones. Twice I counted a compact gang of twenty-five. I have talked with scores of them, and always to receive the same answer, which was this: "We were not always tramps. Work gave us a home. We do not like to tramp, and we prefer it to the obloquy of becoming paupers; therefore, 'Do you blame us?' And in my heart of hearts I could only answer, 'No, I do not blame you.'"

Will the editors of our leading city newspapers, who study life from behind a pile of manuscript, kindly consent to come down out of the clouds? Is it not worth their while as guides of thought and legislation to try and inform themselves just a little about the verities of life?

I commend to them these two verities, which they might have witnessed at my threshold with these people who pass the year in the care of a man to whom I gave breakfast. I noticed that his hand trembled so much that he spilled his coffee. He was well dressed, and had an honest but emaciated face. I said to him, "You are sick?" He looked up to me from where he was sitting, but his white lips could not frame the answer for a while. He was too weak to cry much. Presently he said: "Yes, I am sick; but when I get to Boston I hope to get into the hospital there. My old employer in the city knows that I am a steady man. For two months I have had the ague, and my money is gone." He seemed bewildered when I asked him fare on the train which would take him to his destination. He had not asked for it. The second instance was that of a young fellow who asked for breakfast, but would not eat it because there was no work he could do about my premises by way of compensation for his meal. I urged him to eat, but he was firm. He said "tramping was new to him, and he would go hungry till he could find some work." Perhaps the optimists will answer that the 1,117 tramps all lied when they said they did not like the pursuit of tramping; that the sick man was shamming, and that the one last mentioned declined his breakfast because his belly was full. I have heard the optimists say this. Which shall we pity most, the arrogant indifference of the well-to-do and educated, or the suffering which often comes from ignorance and poverty, and drives men, like wild beasts, hunting in gangs for food and shelter?

ROBERTSON JAMES.

Hungry for the Tracts in New Orleans.

NEW ORLEANS, La.—Tracts

THREE WEEKS IN THE STATE.

SYRACUSE, N. Y.—Let no one deceive himself with the notion that the united labor party will cast a small vote outside of New York city. After a trip of three weeks' duration, in which I have been in a different populous center every day, I am convinced that within another three weeks the question on men's lips will be not, "How many votes will the united labor party poll," but just as it was a year ago in New York city, "Which of the two old parties will be third in the race?"

The process of partisan disintegration is manifest everywhere. Party ties have become ropes of sand. Allusions in public speeches to the corruption that festers in the old party organizations and to the total absence of live issues in their platforms are heartily applauded even by those who listen silently to expositions of the Syracuse platform. The most difficult work of a new party—convincing the people that the old organizations serve no useful purpose—was complete before our campaign began; and curiosity to learn the doctrines of the new party brings large audiences together in every town. They assemble to gratify curiosity, and in nearly every instance they separate with enthusiasm for the new movement. Those that come to scoff often remain to pray, to inquire, to learn, and to declare their adherence to the united labor party.

Before a first meeting is held in a town the place is very possibly dead to the movement. A few earnest and active men are doing what they can, but in most trying circumstances and with fear and despondency. But when the people respond to the call for the meeting it is invariably more largely attended than was expected by its organizers, and on the following day "Henry George and the land question" is the talk of the town. The visit is overcome.

And while work like this is being done in populous centers, from which its effects rapidly radiate over the surrounding country, voluntary missionaries are everywhere and at all times advancing the movement. Drummers talk about it to their customers on the cars and in the hotels. And not only do they talk, but many of them carry tracts, which they make it a point to place where they will do the most good.

"Are you a Henry George man?" said one drummer to another, in the midst of a conversation on the cars.

"I am, from top to bottom," was the reply. "Well," said the first, "I have never read anything about George except what I see in the newspapers, and you don't look like a man who would advocate such nonsense. Won't you tell me briefly what Henry George wants?"

"Certainly. He believes that land values, which are created by the growth of the community, should be a public fund, and that all labor products should be untaxed."

A few questions and answers followed, resulting in a declaration by the inquirer to the effect that he recognized the justice of such a policy, and could see how it would make business boom and bring in better times for everybody. And now there are two drummer missionaries where there was one before.

Dr. Wood of Gloversville carries a supply of tracts with him as he carries his medicines. Whatever the nature of the political or economic disease he finds, he has a prescription for it at hand. One day recently he was on a railroad train, and noticed in a seat in front of a drummer who was listlessly looking out of the window. Without a word Dr. Wood dropped one of Pentecost's sermons into his seat. The drummer picked it up, read it and threw it down on the seat, picked it up again, folded it carefully, placed it in his pocket, and again allowed his eyes to wander over the fields. Encouraged by what he saw, Dr. Wood handed over a copy of David Dudley Field's cross-examination of Henry George, saying as he did so:

"Have another dose?"

"Yes," said the drummer, "I guess I will." He began to read, but stopped after a few paragraphs, and, beckoning to the doctor, said:

"Come over here. You are a Henry George man, ain't you?"

"Yes."

Well, I can read this tract later on, but I may not be able to talk to a live Henry George man. Now, I want you to answer a few questions. The questions were asked and answered satisfactorily until the doctor intimated that the "George theory," if put into operation, would abolish poverty. At that the drummer objected.

"Now, look here," he said, "when I used to work in a store in Boston I got only \$15 a week and saved money, and another fellow got \$20 and was always short. He was in poverty and I was not, although I got less than he did, and I have always thought that I went the right way to abolish poverty. What have you to say to that?"

"You wish me to infer, I suppose," said the doctor, "that if everybody were economical poverty would disappear?"

"Exactly."

"You are a drummer, are you not?"

"Yes."

Well, if everybody were economical, how long do you think you would be on the road?"

"By thunder," the drummer exclaimed, "I never thought of that before. I'd lose my job in less than six weeks."

And so another missionary went forth.

One afternoon I was sitting in front of the Mansion house at Troy, talking with Robert Crowe of New York and Clarence Moeller of Chicago, both of whom had spoken in Troy a few days before. It was just after Glackin and McGlynn's great meeting there, at which the opera house was packed, and more were turned away than got in. A very intelligent, bright-looking, comfortably-appearing man spoke to Crowe and Moeller, saying that he had heard them speak, and was so affected that he wanted to look at the matter further, and had intended to hear Father McGlynn. On mentioning it to his brother-in-law, the latter wanted to know if he was crazy, and spoke of George and McGlynn as a pair of corrupt money makers; whereupon he showed his brother-in-law the *World*, which the brother-in-law looked upon as a daily gospel tract, and called his attention to an editorial in which the *World* declared that whatever might be thought of the opinions of George and McGlynn, their sincerity and honesty were not open to question. That disposed of the brother-in-law.

I had quite a long talk with this stranger.

He told me he had studied Wayland's Political Economy at college, and I explained to him the points of difference between George's elements of political economy and the subject as it has been taught. He readily recognized the defective analysis and limping logic of the old economists, and without hesitation assented to George's propositions as to the origin of wages, the distinction between land and capital, and so on. As he was leaving Mr. Crowe handed him a copy of *THE STANDARD*, which he put in his pocket, and, shaking hands with me, said:

"I am going to think over this matter, and if you hear of a fellow making speeches to the farmers, and the newspapers say he is crazy, you'll know it's me."

The country can well afford to be overrun with such lunatics.

I always believed it would be easy to convince the farmer of the benefits to him of shifting all taxation to land values, but it is easier than I thought. All through the lake section the land value of farms does not exceed twenty to thirty per cent of the total value of the farms, and it is exceptionally good land and exceptionally poor improvements where the proportion of land value is not much less. It does not take long, therefore, to convince a farmer in that section that Governor Hill's fears that the George system of taxation would throw public burdens on the farmer are not well grounded.

"I should like to come to your hotel and talk this matter over," said a farmer to me after one of my speeches. I made an appointment, and he came. The conversation lasted two or three hours, during which many points were discussed, but the main features of the conversation can be boiled down to a few questions and answers.

"How are you going to get the farmers with you?" he asked.

"You are a working farmer?"

"Yes."

"What is your farm worth?"

"Five thousand dollars. I could get that, but wouldn't take it."

"What is your basis of real estate taxation?"

"Twenty-five hundred to three thousand dollars."

"If a cyclone and a fire should sweep over your place, leaving nothing but the land in its natural condition, what would your farm be worth?"

"Oh, I couldn't get a thousand dollars for it."

"Very well; you are now paying taxes on a valuation of from twenty-five hundred to three thousand dollars, while we would tax you on a valuation not to exceed a thousand dollars—the value of the bare land. But beyond that," I added, "if you improve now, you must pay a higher tax, while we would tax you no more; if you go to the store you must pay a great variety of taxes, in the price of goods, on everything you buy, while we would exempt all these things; moreover, your stock and all the produce you consume is taxed now, while we would free it. What is your objection to the change?"

"None at all. I shall vote for Henry George."

It is not alone in New York and Brooklyn that the religious spirit of this movement has commended it to clergymen. In Rochester the Rev. Mr. Copeland, a leading Methodist, is active in the party and has undertaken to form an Anti-poverty society, for which he has engaged a large hall for every Sunday night for a year to come, while in Auburn the leading Presbyterian minister has agreed to preside at every meeting of the party. And I have been recently told of a Christian woman who objected to taking a class in a Presbyterian Sabbath school, because of the restrictions she would be under in teaching such passages of scripture as the Sermon on the Mount. The conversation was with the pastor, who, after listening to a sermon from her, with the Sermon on the Mount as a text—such a sermon as he had never listened to before, though it fell from lips that would have quivered and been silent before an assemblage—said to her:

"If that is the land question, you take a class in my Sabbath school, and you may teach the land question to your heart's content."

My three weeks' trip has been an extensive one. On the 10th of September I found an audience of 350 at Buffalo, from which thirty-four new members of the club were got, and which was followed by a packed hall when Mr. George came.

Thence to Lockport, on the 20th, where 350 were present. "The largest labor meeting," said L. J. McParlin, "ever held in the town." Here there is a female Nicodemus, who wrote to Mr. McParlin, offering pecuniary aid to the campaign as he should require it. "I have been in reform politics a long time," Mr. McParlin said to me, "but I never had that kind of an experience before."

Lockport is a beautiful village. Oppression there is lightly felt, for just beyond the border of public improvements building lots are very cheap. Any one willing to forego the benefits of gas, water service and sewerage, may have a home only a block or two away from these conveniences. It is a town where education triumphs over brutality in public institutions. There is a complete school system with seven school buildings, and not a single armory. An attempt to provide an armory was frustrated by two greenbackers, who procured the erection of a new school-house in its stead.

From Lockport I went to Rochester, where the popularity of D. C. Feely, our candidate for attorney-general, has concentrated the labor vote in favor of the united labor party. Thence to Canandaigua, a farming centre, where an expected audience of a dozen swelled to a hundred, which increased to seven hundred for Mr. George.

From Canandaigua I jumped to Ithaca, the seat of Cornell university. One of the most active members of the land and labor club there was head man of the junior class last year and another is the leading druggist. On the Sunday following the meeting the land question was the breakfast table talk of the students (about 150 of whom attended the meeting, besides 300 citizens), and such a favorable interest was developed that it was determined to organize a Henry George economic club in the college.

At Auburn, which cast 1,200 labor votes last fall, the court house was crowded, and the audience responsive from the start. The Rev. Mr. Hinman of the Calvary Presbyterian church presided, and although he expressed himself as not yet prepared to advocate our method of abolishing poverty, he was in sympathy with the aim, believing that pov-

erty was not a decree of God, and in the united labor principles he recognized what he called "the right thing."

At Fort Plain seed was sown in an audience of three hundred, which has already sprouted, and in Gloversville, the home of Dr. Wood, where an audience of 250 met me last June, we appeared before an audience of 1,200, all the seats were occupied, and behind them men stood two, three and four deep.

At Lansingburgh there was an audience of seventy-five, from which several recruits came, and at Green Island an audience of fifty (compelled to stand because a democratic politician, who had control of the benches usually used in the hall, refused to let us have them), stood through three speeches, extending over a period of two hours and a half, and the club's membership was augmented by several votes.

At Yonkers, though the night was stormy, and Saturday is a bad meeting night there, there were from 300 to 400 present. This was not a first meeting as all the others, except Gloversville were, and there is every indication that, even if the election were to-morrow, we should poll a large vote.

An eleven-hour ride over the Erie and the Northern Central brought me to Penn Yan just in time for the meeting, at which 300 were assembled. The town was completely dead to the subject, save among three or four citizens. The deadness is gone, but the prospects are not good. Towns near Elmira are corrupt to the core. I am assured that from 200 to 250 votes in Penn Yan are purchasable, and these are by no means all poor men's votes. Even business men are among those who look to election day for profit as certain as to a fair week. The bribery is open. No attempt at concealment is made, and both parties engage in it. Two dollars is the ruling price. It is the same in Oswego, where I next went, but in Oswego the meeting had such an effect in introducing a living issue into politics that there is every reason to believe corruption at the polls will be less than ever before.

At Albany there was a large audience, more than two-thirds of the Academy of Music being full. The audience was not only attentive, but enthusiastic. A great amount of good work has been done in this city, some of the results of which have appeared in the adoption of the Syracuse platform by the local labor convention and the affiliation of the citizen's committee of three hundred. Albany is accounted good for at least 5,000 votes.

An all night ride took me to Plattsburgh, where a very satisfactory condition of affairs exists. Thomas Fassett, one of the best known and respected citizens of the county, has been active for several months, and the single tax is fairly well understood. So it was that we found more enthusiasm in the audience of three hundred that met us there than in any other village at the initial meeting. There is a large demand for "Progress and Poverty," and the land question is the current topic of debate.

It was not so in Malone, a few miles west. There are a few active and intelligent workers, but the town is retrogressive and the growth of land values is consequently in the wrong direction to excite attention. However, over 250 people gathered at the meeting, and although they were not demonstrative as at Albany and Plattsburgh, they were attentive and apparently interested.

In Syracuse the movement is crippled by dissensions in organized labor. The Knights of Labor and trades unionists are very bitter toward each other, and to complicate matters Deputy Factory Inspector Guettig is an energetic worker for the democratic party as an aide-de-camp to Governor Hill. Still there is ample evidence that while organized labor has not gone boldly into the movement here, organized laborers will very generally vote with it. The reports of the political corruption of the shops, made by members of the party who work in them, is indicative of a heavy silent vote. And despite all local difficulties the party organization numbers 250 members in good standing.

It is here that I have first found any footprints of the progressive labor party outside of New York. The socialists of Syracuse to the number of sixty have organized politically under that name. Their strength, such as it is, is solely due to the Rochester trades unions.

One of the interesting facts I have noted is that wherever the Knights of Labor are well organized, and wherever the greenbackers ever had a working organization, the united labor party is well established. Knights of Labor and greenbackers are the leaven that has leavened the lump through out the state. They not only understand the question readily from their study of political economy, but they are familiar with practical politics, and know what ought to be done to perfect organization and spread the doctrine. Some of the old greenbackers hold aloof, still infected with the notion that if the money system were right all things would be right; but most of them realize that though the money system were never so right, it would only make things so much the better for landlords if land were still treated as private property.

LOUIS F. POST.

Leading Citizens in Elmira Interested.
ELMIRA, Chemung Co.—The opera house held a large gathering of sympathizers on the evening Henry George spoke here. A number of our prominent men were present, among them Senator J. Sloat Fassett, Rev. Thomas K. Beecher, Rabbi A. M. Radin, Rev. W. T. Henry, ex-County Clerk A. C. Eastis, and ex-Mayor Flood. Rufus A. Wilson, managing editor of the *Telegram*, presided, and introduced the speaker. Several men in the audience asked questions after the address was finished, which Mr. George answered readily. The leading men in the united labor party are expected to make a strong fight in Elmira this fall, and expect the backing of the earnest thinking men who are disgusted at the fearfully corrupt condition of our politics. *THE STANDARD* is sold extensively by the newsdealers in this city, and sample copies distributed at the meeting, as well as tracts, found ready acceptance.

Working Among the Farmers.
OSWEGO, Tioga Co.—We have a land and labor club here, but are too poor to push the work as we would like to see it pushed. However, we are putting out tracts and doing what we can to get people thinking. There are plenty of farmers about here who find it difficult to make ends meet. Their sons find farming so unprofitable that they come to the villages. I am one of them. If a few of these farmers get a fair idea of what the single tax means, it won't take long for the doctrine to spread far and wide. J. A. D.

PREACHERS OF THE NEW CRUSADE.

Why Should Not Our Young Men Go Forth, Taking No Thought for the Morrow, and Preach the Gospel to Every Living Creature?

This new movement of the united labor party and Anti-poverty society is a crusade. Then why not adopt the methods of the original crusaders! The Savior and His apostles belonged to the poorest of the poor class; but the world yet feels the effects of their work. They tramped from place to place and begged their food and shelter. Why cannot men be found now who will undertake to carry the banner of the new idea all over this country in the same manner that the apostles did of old? In these days of high rents and low wages it is meet that self-sacrificing men should rise up willing to go out among the people and tell them why things are as they are, and how a better condition of life may be brought to pass.

We are poor. We have no money to pay railroad fares and hotel bills. Unless great sacrifices are made it may be years before we can thoroughly arouse the people to a sense of the wrong that is being done them every day and every hour. And meanwhile the gorged ox of monopoly, the appropriators of the common wealth—the stiflers of manhood and murderers of independence have full sway, and are pressing down and down the creatures of God, whom He has sent here to partake of and enjoy the things so lovingly placed here for all.

I propose that a corps of young men be raised who will pledge themselves to go out through the United States to tell the people what is the matter with the civilization of to-day. They must make their way from place to place as best they can. For food, shelter, clothing and transportation they must depend upon the people to whom they speak. They need not speak in halls, but under the open sky, from street corners, in fields, by the roadside, by the sea sands and from the tails of carts.

The thing is feasible. This new movement takes firm hold upon the hearts of those who hear what our speakers have to say, and I have not a doubt that the way of these young men would be made smooth wherever they might go. Men with families could not take a hand, because of the daily grind necessary to support the little ones; but for young men with no ties to bind them, what a career is open!

When the religious spirit is abroad all reforms are possible. Forty years ago the Mormons laid the foundations of an empire. They were poor—miserably poor. They had been driven from place to place in the west until they found themselves in the arid valley of the great Salt lake, far from their civilization, far from men who hunted them as wild beasts. They made their home here, and began sending out missionaries—who were to rely on their own resources—to preach to the oppressed of the world that in the land of the Latter Day Saints no one who wanted to work would be without food and shelter. These missionaries were ordered to make their way to all parts of the world. The task was a hard one, but the religious sentiment proved strong enough to overcome all obstacles. It is the boast of the Mormon church that there is not a Mormon in any of the stakes (cities or towns or settlements) of Zion who is not certain of his supper, bed and breakfast. To-day the Mormons still send out their missionaries. Persecution and all the indignities that can be heaped upon them do not deter them from doing the work marked out for them by their prophet. "Doing the work of the Lord" is in their God's creatures from the miserable poverty that seems to be the rule of our civilization.

And it has been shown twice in my own experience that not even the religious sentiment is necessary—that is, it is not necessary to be expressed. When a man can be made to see that his bread and butter are in jeopardy he will make a good fight. In 1867 (or thereabouts) a man named D. O. McCarthy published in San Francisco a paper called the *American Flag*. He demanded of the typographical union a reduction of wages in his composing room. The union refused to grant it. It was a long and bitter fight, and finally he reduced his demand to one that was so near the scale of the union that it was hardly worth caviling over—twenty-five or fifty cents a week, I believe. He said he only wanted to appear before the public a victor. But the union was firm. McCarthy was nominated by the republican party for state printer, and the printers organized a crusade against him. They sent out missionaries among the farmers and miners to tell the story of their grievance against McCarthy. These men had to depend on their own resources, and to make their way over the state of California as best they could. They did so by telling their audiences exactly how they expected to get along; and they had not the slightest difficulty in getting from place to place. Some of them landed back in San Francisco with more funds than they had when they started out. The result of the work of these missionaries was that D. O. McCarthy was overwhelmingly defeated, running behind his ticket over 30,000 votes. There was no especial principle involved, only bread and butter, yet see what self-sacrificing men.

When the workingmen's party movement was sweeping over the state of California; and while it was considered an honest movement, missionaries were sent out to talk to the people. These missionaries had no money, yet they made their way successfully in every direction.

These things go to show that when people's hearts are in sympathy with a movement, or when an idea is being advanced that contains the elements of justice and right, the people will listen; and, if need be, will assist its missionaries on their road to preach to others.

Now, this doctrine that the unearned increment of land belongs to the whole people, and not to a portion, contains in it the elements of justice and right; the true religion is in it—the teaching that our civilization must be so reformed that all God's creatures shall be guaranteed a share of the bounties so liberally bestowed upon this planet by the Creator; and surely the experience of the Anti-poverty society and of every other organization or individual who has yet preached it, shows that like the gospel of Christ, of which it is an all-important part, the common people hear it gladly.

Let, then, some of the wise men of the new crusade consider the suggestion that a corps of young men be organized to go forth and preach the truths that our civilization is not being carried on a correct basis, to show the people how it is not, and to point out the way that leads to the making of this planet a paradise.

CRUSADE.

In Queens County.

LONG ISLAND CITY.—The united labor party has found a footing in this democratic stronghold, and one or more branches of it have been formed in this city, Flushing, Newtown, Glen Cove and Sea Cliff. The Glen Cove club has forty members. The campaign has been opened, and several well-attended meetings have taken place.

Members of the party predict that Henry George will receive at least 8,000 votes. It is

thought that the united labor movement in this county will weaken the democratic movement. The united labor party men say they do not care which party suffers. They are looking for votes they say, and will get them, no matter what party loses them.

An active member of the organization says he would not be surprised if the united labor party carried this city.

H. W.

AMONG THE GLOVEMAKERS.

An Interesting Meeting in Gloversville—A Manufacturer Who Says What the United Labor Party Will Do for Him—An Indelible Convert.

GLOVERSVILLE, N. Y., Oct. 8.—The largest political meeting ever held here was that of the united labor party, Oct. 6, when Dr. McGlynn and Everett Glackin spoke. Karson memorial hall held the largest audience ever gathered within its walls. Mr. Karson, the owner, said it was the severest test his building had ever received, there being, according to the count of himself and assistants, 1,650 persons present, while fully a thousand were turned away.

W. M. Colin of Johnstown, the united labor nominee for assemblyman from the Fulton and Hamilton county district, delivered a brief address, reviewing and defending the principles of the party. Mr. Colin is a working glove-maker, and, as the chairman said, had done his ten hours' work that day before coming to address the meeting.

Everett Glackin followed with an eloquent and forcible speech, carrying the audience completely with him, after which Dr. McGlynn followed with one of his soul-stirring appeals. The audience was appreciative and enthusiastic throughout, and many new converts were made.

On the following day Mr. Glackin and Dr. McGlynn visited several of the manufacturing establishments, among others, that of M. A. Klein, one of the leading glove makers, and an enthusiastic united labor party man. Mr. Klein presented the doctor with an elegant pair of driving gloves as a memorial of his visit to Gloversville.

An incident occurred as the doctor was leaving the town, which illustrates the effect of his teachings. A gentleman accosted him, and with a warm hand shake, remarked: "I have always been an infidel, and never felt kindly toward religion, but you have changed all that; I believe in it now."

W. C. WOOD, M. D.

Words of Sympathy and Cheer from New South Wales.

DUBBO, N. S. W.—The undersigned, on behalf of the Land value tax association, Dubbo, N. S. W., send you a friendly greeting, and assurance of confidence and good will. On our side of the globe, as on every other, labor has become practically enslaved, and looked in vain for a remedy till the full explanation of the merits of a land value tax as a remedy for undeserved poverty reached us through your printed works. As we are beginning to realize that the land reform movement means bread for the hungry, work for the bread-winners, an increase of production and a better distribution of what is produced, leisure for the thrifty, educational opportunity, and a vindication of the wisdom and justice of the All-Father, we, in gratitude, desire to thank and cheer yourself, Dr. McGlynn and the hundreds of co-workers of whose earnestness we are gradually learning. God speed the work. George Plummer, treasurer; D. Simons, Edward Hawton, Sr., Robert Elias Moore, Edward Hawton, Jr., William McKern, C. R. Knight, A. Frazer Cassin, A. Woodhams, Sidney R. Skeethorpe, W. Walker, K. N. Crichton, John Mcagher, W. R. Bowie, W. Thompson, W. Roth, H. Gimber, John Reidy, William A. Harris, J. L. Sammis.

How the Light is Spreading at the Antipodes.

WAGGA WAGGA, N. S. W.—The light is spreading here. A small but active body of us in different parts of the colony are doing our best to spread it by various means, such as contributing to the papers, giving away books, etc., etc. As soon as I heard "Progress and Poverty" was procurable in the colonies I got our local bookseller, Mr. W. C. Hunter, to get a dozen copies. I would be afraid to say how many dozen he has sold since then. I have given away seven dozen myself. I got the address of *THE STANDARD* from my friend and co-worker, Mr. G. Plummer of Dubbo. He told me he was sending for it and offered to send for a copy for me, but I said: "No; I will have it introduced in our own district." So I got Mr. Hunter to order half a dozen, offering to take for distribution any copies that he could not sell. The result is I can hardly get a copy for myself. Mr. Hunter informs me that he has increased the order to a dozen. As to the paper itself I am more than pleased with it. I am astonished at the progress of the movement.

Mr. Hunter has ordered for me 700 tracts, which I shall distribute on their arrival.

THOS. HALLORAN.

The Anti-Poverty Society in Topeka, Kan.

TOPEKA, Kan., Oct. 7.—The Topeka branch of the Anti-poverty society is increasing in numbers and vigor, notwithstanding considerable opposition from the local press. It is our intention to secure a hall for our meetings during the fall and winter months, where we can discuss every phase of the social system, especially the land value tax questions, and we shall invite our opponents to meet us on the platform.

We have had two or three addresses from clergymen on our Sunday evening park meetings, which is very encouraging. If we can but enlist the ministry on our side, we shall have a speedy triumph. The masses of mankind are longing for a religion of deeds, not creeds—a religion that shall rise to the level of pure justice, and offer comfort for the present, as well as hope for the future.

R. B. GASILL.

Sec. Topeka Anti-poverty society.

Some Figures About Land Values in New York State.

FORT EDWARD, N. Y.—As most of the objections made to taxing land values are based on the assumption that present values would not be changed, let us accept that assumption as a true one and make an estimate on that basis. As the land and improvements in this state have been assessed together, and at valuations varying from one-fifth to two-thirds their actual worth, no fair estimate can be made, from available statistics, of the land value outside the city of New York. But as California has for some years assessed land separate from the improvements, that can be used as a basis for determining the value of the land in this state. In 1850 the valuation of the land in San Francisco was \$129,000,000, and in the state at large \$297,000,000. The land values of San Francisco were, therefore, 349 per cent of the total land values of the state.

In 1850 San Francisco contained .269 per cent of the population of the state. In the same year New York contained .237 per cent of the population of the state, but as its growth has probably been more rapid than that of the state we may take for granted that it now contains twenty-five per cent of the population. Using the above estimate the proportional value of its land to that of the rest of the state can be found by the rule of three, thus: If San Francisco contains .269 per cent of the population of the state, and its land values .349 per cent of the land values of the state, then New York city, which contains 25 per cent of the population of the state, must have .324 per cent of its land values.

Now, a careful estimate of the annual land values of New York city, based on the rental of such properties as the Sailors' Snug Harbor and Collegiate church, places them at \$100,000,000. Taking this as .324 per cent of the annual land value of the state, the total must be \$308,950,000. This is the amount that we of this state are paying annually for the use of the land; less, perhaps, the cost of the state, county and municipal governments, which is about \$55,000,000, which would leave a balance of, in round numbers, \$250,000,000. Now, it is manifest that if this surplus were divided among the 3,617,610 (estimate for 1857) inhabitants, such a division would give each person \$41.50. This would not benefit the masses of the poor, but it would benefit the masses of the middle class, but the masses, when they discover it, know better.

But what effect would this have on the farmers. Let us see. The assessment of 1850 in California placed the land at .556 per cent of the total value of the land and improvements. Assuming that the farms in this state will average as much in value as they did in 1870, viz, \$37, and will average the same in size, viz, 103 acres, the average land value of each farm would be \$3,264.27, and the annual value, at five per cent this is what the Sailors' Snug Harbor is able to collect from its tenants, and the taxes are also paid by the tenants—would be \$163.21. This seems like an exorbitant tax, and altogether too large for the farmer to be able to pay; but he would draw his share of the surplus, which we have seen is \$44.50, and his wife and each child would draw a like amount. If there were four in his family he would draw enough to pay his tax, which would give him the use of his land free. If he owned only fifty acres his tax would be \$79.23, and his wife's and his share of the surplus would be more than enough to pay the tax, and each of his children would receive \$44.50, enough to decently clothe it. Under such a system children would not be a curse, as they very often are now.

Now, how about the poor widow who owns a house and lot in a country village of, say, about 3,000 inhabitants. Well, this is just such a place, and there is just such a widow here. She owns a house and lot on one of the streets near the business center of the village. She refused \$300 for it last week; but let us say, as it rents for \$96 a year, that it is worth \$1,000. Its land would be worth, on the above estimate, \$556—this is more than it would sell for by perhaps \$150; the tax would be \$27.80, or about \$18 more than under the present system. But her share of the surplus would pay it and leave her a balance of \$16.70, besides saving her the \$9 she pays now.

And now for the case mentioned by Mr. Leavens, of Litchfield county, Conn., in *THE STANDARD* of Sept. 24:

In 1850 the population of New York was 1,035,105 to the square mile; that of Connecticut was 131,091. Assuming that their increase has been proportional in the last seven years—and it nearly was in the last decade—their respective densities are, 119.5 in New York and 144.75 in Connecticut. It being an established fact that land values in the same country are proportional to the density of the population, therefore, the population of Connecticut is to that of New York as the land values of Connecticut are to those of New York, thus: 683,064:501,701::\$37,841,247:\$308,950,000.

Now, assuming that the expenses of the state, county and municipal governments are per capita about the same as they are in New York—about \$10—the total amount required would be, in round numbers, \$7,000,000; the surplus would be \$30,841,247, or \$44.82 each. The land value of the 166 acres that Mr. Leavens referred to would be, on the basis here used, .556

THE DISTRIBUTION OF WEALTH.

BY THOMAS G. SHEPHERD.

An Irish landlord, writing to the London Times, calls particular attention to the fact that, in case all the landlords should be expelled, the whole of Ireland, outside of the large towns, would be left without a single person whose annual income would exceed \$1,500. To the wealthy landlord who owns the Times this appalling fact seems to afford such conclusive proof of the desolation and misery which would follow home rule that he deems it superfluous to add a word of comment. He considers it quite enough to say that no such state of things exists in any civilized country. That it should be eventually brought about in Ireland, he evidently believes, must be considered by every sane man as one of the most frightful disasters which could befall the human race.

I am writing in Germany, the country from which have proceeded the most important additions to the intellectual wealth of the world during the last fifty years. The man who knows nothing of the contributions made to history, to theology, to science, whether abstract or applied, by German students, knows practically nothing at all. What have been the income of the men who have thus enriched the world? Rarely so much as \$5,000; generally not half that amount. Some of the world-famous German scholars accomplished their great achievements on an income of less than \$600 a year.

New England developed a marvelous degree of intellectual activity in the colonial period of our history, though confined within a narrow circle. But that was a period of small incomes and very little accumulated wealth; nor did the few wealthy men contribute anything of importance to the intellectual or moral development of the people.

What have the wealthy Irish landlords done for the development of the Irish people in religion, morality or intellect? What contribution has any wealthy Irish landlord ever made to literature, science, art or high thought of any kind? What benefit have these men of wealth conferred upon any part of the world in any direction? They have just held a solemn meeting to answer these questions, and their own testimony affords the best evidence against them. They claim to have advised their tenants to improve their stock, to introduce better methods of cultivation and to qualify themselves generally to pay higher rents, while they themselves have set excellent examples to their inferiors by taking good care of themselves.

Many years ago a practical joker inserted an advertisement in a daily paper to the following effect: "Wanted, by a young gentleman of good birth and breeding, board in a respectable family, where his Christian example would be considered sufficient compensation for his board." The Irish landlords do not advertise, but they get precisely that for which the young man advertised in vain. Their Christian example, however, has been chiefly directed toward hunting, horse racing and hard drinking. Certainly, down to a period less than fifty years ago, all accounts of Ireland agreed in this; and except that the drinking is conducted with more moderation, there seems no reason to believe that there has been any change.

But are the landlords of Ireland constituted of worse materials than landlords elsewhere? Are landlords anywhere naturally worse than other men? Would their tenants, if transferred to the position of the landlords, be any better than they? Is not human nature much the same, whether men are landlords or not? These questions answer themselves. The march of human progress does not depend upon the leadership of wealthy men, and their contributions to human welfare have always been and always will be infinitesimal when compared with their ability.

No harm, therefore, would ensue to any society in which wealth should be distributed with comparative evenness. We may safely assume that such a state of society is most desirable. The important questions are: 1. In which direction is society now tending? 2. What causes are at work to produce an unequal distribution of wealth? 3. What can be done to effect a more equal distribution without diminishing the production of wealth?

In modern society tending toward a more equal or a more unequal distribution of wealth?

This is a question which has only in recent years excited any active interest sufficient to induce the compilation of statistics casting any light upon its solution. The means of comparison with the past are therefore very imperfect; and for this reason all answers must be somewhat uncertain and largely colored by personal bias. Mr. Atkinson in America and Mr. Giffen in England have undertaken to show, by various statistics, that the tendency of the last forty years has been toward securing a larger share of the annual product for the masses of the people, and that there has been a general progress from poverty among the vast majority who labor with their hands for their daily bread. We shall, therefore, certainly be upon the safe and conservative side if we accept the statistics of these gentlemen as a basis for further argument. Let us do so, and thus avoid disputes as to these questions, which, as will soon appear, are matters of minor importance; since enough is admitted on all sides to make imperative and just the demand for a better state of things than that which now exists.

The figures given by Mr. Atkinson, from a select number of American mills and workshops, indicate an advance in wages of fifty per cent in forty years. The census of 1880, including that part of it which was taken under Mr. Atkinson's personal direction, does not indicate anything like this advance; and no statistics of farm wages have ever been given which justify the belief that they have advanced even twenty per cent in the last thirty years. And farm laborers outnumber manufacturing workmen by more than one-half of their whole number. No matter: let us assume that all wages have risen fifty per cent. Still, we are furnished with no statistics justifying the assertion that a larger share of the national accumulation of wealth has gone to the workmen, except the one circumstance that the profits of capital invested in manufactures and in loans have diminished. May not the amount of capital, however, be very much greater than it was thirty years ago? May it not have increased more rapidly than wages have advanced? We

have conclusive answers to these inquiries in the census returns, which show that the increase in invested capital, in every direction, has gone on at a far more rapid rate than the utmost advance ever claimed for wages. We need not ignore the fact that these returns of capital are very inaccurate. The inaccuracy consists solely in a great understatement; and therefore a correct return would only intensify the contrast between the growth of capital and the increase of wages. There is nothing, therefore, in the figures furnished by Mr. Atkinson which even tends to show that the working classes of the present day hold a larger share of the accumulated wealth of the country than the same classes held thirty or forty years ago. And it is certain that they pay three times the amount of taxes now which the same classes paid thirty years ago.

Mr. Giffen is able to make a better showing for England. He proves—at least as clearly as Mr. Atkinson does for America—that wages have risen over fifty per cent in England during the last thirty years. He proves conclusively that the price of everything which the laborer buys has been reduced in a far greater proportion in England than in America. Taxation in England has been shifted very largely from the shoulders of the poor to those of the well-to-do. The workman, who used to pay the most, now pays the least, especially if he does not use liquors or tobacco. The hours of labor in large factories have been reduced much more than in America. The general improvement in the condition of the mechanical and manufacturing workmen of Great Britain and Ireland has actually been far greater, within the last forty years, than among similar classes in America. Moreover, Mr. Giffen is able to show, as Mr. Atkinson is not, a decided increase in the proportion of the national wealth which is held by small owners, so far as personal property is concerned. If mere progress is a conclusive test, England must be the paradise of workmen. But not there is still a brighter paradise! Wages have risen more rapidly in Ireland than in any part of England or America. Ireland must, therefore, be the true land of milk and honey!

We have now reached the true climax of absurdity. We see that progress may go on for long periods at a rapid rate without bringing the people into a condition with which they can be or ought to be contented, and without even giving them a materially larger share of the general wealth. We may well begin to doubt whether some important point has not been overlooked in these glowing pictures of prosperity.

As usual, we find that something has been overlooked, and that there remains an exceedingly important element, concerning which neither Mr. Atkinson nor Mr. Giffen furnishes any statistics. And, as usual, we find that it is our old friend, rent. Mr. Giffen, it is true, has some advantage over Mr. Atkinson, on this as on almost every other point. The rent of farm lands has declined of late years in Great Britain, and has been cut down by statute in Ireland. But the population of England is crowding more and more into the towns, and rent in towns shows no sign of falling, either in England or in America. That profits are falling is proved easily enough, without statistics, by the manifest fall in interest of money. That wages are, upon the whole, rising, may be admitted. But if rent rises faster than wages, the condition of the wage earner may be no more satisfactory than it was before.

Whether this omitted factor in the problem changes its solution or not, one thing is far too clear to be denied by men of common sense. Whether the condition of the great mass of people is improving rapidly or not, it is certain that the accumulation of large fortunes in the hands of a few persons has gone on in America at an unprecedented rate during the last twenty-five years. Mr. Atkinson estimates the average earnings of nine-tenths of the American people at less than \$450 for each family. He arrives at this by dividing the total product of the nation among all its workers in equal shares, except as to the first million or so, to whom he allows \$1,000 each. Here is no deduction for interest on capital or for the numerous incomes which are well known to exceed \$10,000, and the considerable number which range between \$10,000 and \$1,000,000 a year. No allowance is made either for the difference between the earnings of skilled workmen and common laborers, or between the incomes of farmers and their laborers. Making a very moderate allowance for these items, the annual income of four-fifths of American workers, including small farmers, would not exceed \$350 each. If the calculations heretofore given are at all correct, even this is an over statement of the case.

Now, suppose that the same class of persons did earn only \$233 thirty years ago; will any one pretend that the difference between their condition and that of the average rich man of to-day is less than that which existed between the average laborer and rich man of thirty years ago? Is the social chasm any the less a chasm, simply because both sides have moved in one direction, while one has moved a hundred feet further than the other? Suppose that the rich man does only gain ten per cent on his income of \$10,000 in the same space of time in which the poor man gains twenty per cent on his income of \$350, how many periods of twenty years each will be required to bridge over the chasm? Let us put it in figures:

Table No. 1.			
Laborer's earnings.	Rich man's income.	Difference.	
1850.....\$350.....	\$10,000.....	\$9,650.....	
1880.....500.....	15,000.....	14,500.....	
1890.....750.....	20,000.....	19,250.....	
1900.....1,000.....	25,000.....	24,000.....	
1910.....1,250.....	30,000.....	28,750.....	
1920.....1,500.....	35,000.....	33,500.....	
1930.....1,750.....	40,000.....	38,250.....	
1940.....2,000.....	45,000.....	43,000.....	
1950.....2,250.....	50,000.....	47,750.....	
1960.....2,500.....	55,000.....	52,500.....	
1970.....2,750.....	60,000.....	57,250.....	
1980.....3,000.....	65,000.....	62,000.....	
1990.....3,250.....	70,000.....	66,750.....	
2000.....3,500.....	75,000.....	71,500.....	

Now one of the most striking facts of our time is that this very table will raise a smile on many lips at the very idea of calling any man "rich" whose income is only \$10,000 a year. Already we have long passed that point; and it is a common saying that no one can "afford to live in New York" on an income of \$10,000.

When it is said, as it was said twenty years ago by David A. Wells, that the rich are growing richer, and the poor are growing poorer, every man of sense knows that what is meant by the speaker and understood by the hearers is that the relative share of the poor, and not their actual quantity of wealth, is diminishing. That this is true of the poor in America, even more than of the poor in England, is hardly disputable. That it is true of the poor in both countries is not disputable at all.

What causes are at work to produce an unequal distribution of wealth?

Many, of course, which are in the nature of men and things. Superior industry, skill, judgment, foresight, adaptability, inventive genius, economy, self-control, patience, perseverance, punctuality, promptness, diligence, honesty, truthfulness and other virtues, as well as superior bodily strength and powers of endurance, must all tend to give to their possessors great advantages over those who are inferior in any of these respects. It would be an unfortunate thing for the world if this were not so. In the future, even more than in the past, the services of great inventors and men of rare genius will be indispensable to human progress. If the vast mass of the poor are ever to be made rich and comfortable it must be by means of new developments of the power of man over nature, attainable only by means of incessant studies and experiments, proving every year more laborious and costly. The inventor can no longer work successfully without the aid of the capitalist; and the one must be repaid for his toil and the other for his risk. Both will inevitably make a much larger profit than any individual workman could possibly obtain, for if they could not do so they would not incur the labor nor the risk.

All that Mr. Atkinson says about the value of capital to labor is substantially true. Each is necessary to the other; and there is no conflict between them than there is between every buyer and seller. And the competition between capitalists for the services of laborers tends to increase more rapidly than the competition of laborers for employment—other things being equal.

Let us, for the present, waive the burning question of rent. Mr. Atkinson says that we can get land, free of rent, anywhere that we want it, to build a new mill or factory. We should like to see him do it, especially in a convenient part of Manhattan island; but no matter. There is another perennial source of inequality in the distribution of wealth, as to which Mr. Atkinson (though saying little about it in public) agrees with us, as indeed every one who has considered the subject at all, must do. This is taxation.

Very few ideas in these days are really original; and it is of little importance whether they are or not. The writer has worked out many problems in economic science himself, only to find, long afterward, that they had been better done by others long before. But there some advantages in this process, among which it sometimes happens that a new extension of the main idea may be found. Among the questions thus worked out, without aid from books, or a suggestion from any source, was the great discrepancy between the burdens imposed by indirect taxation upon the rich and the poor respectively, in proportion to their incomes. That point had been noticed many years before, although it had never received the attention which it well deserved. The independent study of this, however, led the writer to observe another point which, so far as he is aware, had never before received attention; namely, that in consequence of the impossibility of taxes being paid out of anything but savings, the burden of taxation should be estimated according to what each taxpayer is able to save, and not according to what he earns. The principle involved being practically recognized in the imposition of every income tax, it may be that it has been discussed in some of the debates which preceded the laying of that tax in England; but, if so, the writer is still quite unaware of any such debate or of any allusion to the subject, in any form, prior to his own public statement of it in January, 1882. Since that time it has gradually been recognized in many discussions of taxation, and it is fully conceded by Mr. Atkinson.

It may be as well to reproduce here, in a corrected form, the calculations by which it was shown, in 1882, that indirect taxation lays a burden upon the poor at least ten times as heavy, in proportion to their ability to pay, as it does upon the moderately rich, and a hundred times as heavy as that imposed upon the extremely rich. The fact is indisputable; it is not only conceded, but is insisted upon by the most strenuous supporters of the system of indirect taxation.

But the admission of this fact involves the admission of another, which has nevertheless been ignored by the supporters of the present system. The enormous disproportion between the shares of taxation borne by the rich and the poor respectively results in the inevitable concentration of wealth in the hands of the rich. The most extravagant estimates of the savings of the American people do not put them higher than fifteen per cent of the total income. Mr. Atkinson puts them at less than ten per cent. Actual statistics show that prudent, average laborers do not save more than five per cent of their earnings, after payment of taxes. Obviously, men with large incomes can and generally do save a far greater proportion of their incomes. The table given below is based upon what is believed to be a reasonable estimate of the savings of the different classes in view of all known statistics. In preparing this table an allowance of an increase of prices, by reason of the tariff, on domestic articles protected thereby, is made only to the extent of twice the tariff duties, or \$900,000,000 per annum. As the domestic articles outnumber the imported ones by about ten to one, this allowance is very moderate. Duties are not added to the prices of the domestic articles in quite the same proportion as to the imports; but only about one-fifth of that increase is assumed to attach to the home product. This estimate is absurdly low, and it therefore does not make the table as strong on the side here taken as the facts would justify. Fifteen per cent is added to the whole increase of price to represent the mercantile retail profit, which has to be added to the cost to the consumer, in order to compensate the three or more sets of merchants for advancing the duties and the corresponding increase of prices on domestic goods. All this is an unavoidable burden imposed upon the final purchaser by indirect taxation.

The amount to be added to indirect taxes, other than the tariff, is not so easily computed. Experience has proved that internal revenue taxes, as on liquors and tobacco, promote monopolies, and thus add a burden upon the consumer, far in excess of the nominal tax. The repeal of the tax of one cent per box of matches resulted in an ultimate reduction of price by two cents. But we will not undertake to estimate anything on this point. The mercantile profit, or rather the compensation for loss of interest and risk of loss, is, of course, the same upon excise duties as upon customs duties. It is not probably half so large upon the nominally direct taxes

levied by the several states and towns, which are mainly indirect, because charged on building and personality. We will allow only five per cent upon these as profit.

The entire taxation of the country for the census year, 1880, was, in round numbers, \$350,000,000 taxes upon imports, \$150,000,000 internal revenue taxes and \$800,000,000 in state and local taxes—\$700,000,000 in all. The total burden arising from this taxation, by the time that it reached the mass of consumers was about as follows:

Table No. 2.—The Present Burdens of Taxation.			
Duties upon imports.....	\$350,000,000		
Increased prices of protected articles not imported.....	500,000,000		
Internal revenue.....	150,000,000		
Interest and profits 15 per cent.....		\$525,000,000	
Local taxes.....	\$800,000,000		
Interest and profits 5 per cent.....	15,000,000		
Grand total.....		\$1,390,000,000	

Accepting the extravagant estimate of the gross earnings of the American people, for the same year, at \$10,000,000,000, which Mr. Atkinson thinks rather too high, and Mr. Nimmo rather too low, and dividing this income according to the best light which is thrown upon it by all the statistics heretofore referred to, we arrive at the following result:

Table No. 3.—Estimated Incomes of American People.	
Class 1—100 persons averaging \$1,000,000.....	\$10,000,000
Class 2—200 persons averaging \$500,000.....	100,000,000
Class 3—300 persons averaging \$300,000.....	90,000,000
Class 4—400 persons averaging \$200,000.....	80,000,000
Class 5—500 persons averaging \$150,000.....	75,000,000
Class 6—600 persons averaging \$100,000.....	60,000,000
Class 7—700 persons averaging \$50,000.....	35,000,000
Class 8—800 persons averaging \$25,000.....	20,000,000
Class 9—900 persons averaging \$10,000.....	9,000,000
Class 10—1,000 persons averaging \$5,000.....	5,000,000
Class 11—1,100 persons averaging \$2,500.....	2,750,000
Class 12—1,200 persons averaging \$1,000.....	1,200,000
Class 13—1,300 persons averaging \$500.....	650,000
Class 14—1,400 persons averaging \$250.....	350,000
Class 15—1,500 persons averaging \$100.....	150,000
Class 16—1,600 persons averaging \$50.....	80,000
Class 17—1,700 persons averaging \$25.....	42,500
Class 18—1,800 persons averaging \$10.....	18,000
Class 19—1,900 persons averaging \$5.....	9,500
Class 20—2,000 persons averaging \$2.....	4,000
Class 21—2,100 persons averaging \$1.....	2,100
Class 22—2,200 persons averaging \$0.50.....	1,100
Class 23—2,300 persons averaging \$0.25.....	575
Class 24—2,400 persons averaging \$0.10.....	240
Class 25—2,500 persons averaging \$0.05.....	125
Class 26—2,600 persons averaging \$0.02.....	52
Class 27—2,700 persons averaging \$0.01.....	27
Class 28—2,800 persons averaging \$0.005.....	14
Class 29—2,900 persons averaging \$0.002.....	5.8
Class 30—3,000 persons averaging \$0.001.....	3
Class 31—3,100 persons averaging \$0.0005.....	1.55
Class 32—3,200 persons averaging \$0.0002.....	.76
Class 33—3,300 persons averaging \$0.0001.....	.39
Class 34—3,400 persons averaging \$0.00005.....	.2
Class 35—3,500 persons averaging \$0.00002.....	.1
Class 36—3,600 persons averaging \$0.00001.....	.05
Class 37—3,700 persons averaging \$0.000005.....	.025
Class 38—3,800 persons averaging \$0.000002.....	.013
Class 39—3,900 persons averaging \$0.000001.....	.0065
Class 40—4,000 persons averaging \$0.0000005.....	.00325
Class 41—4,100 persons averaging \$0.0000002.....	.001625
Class 42—4,200 persons averaging \$0.0000001.....	.0008125
Class 43—4,300 persons averaging \$0.00000005.....	.00040625
Class 44—4,400 persons averaging \$0.00000002.....	.000203125
Class 45—4,500 persons averaging \$0.00000001.....	.0001015625
Class 46—4,600 persons averaging \$0.000000005.....	.00005078125
Class 47—4,700 persons averaging \$0.000000002.....	.000025390625
Class 48—4,800 persons averaging \$0.000000001.....	.0000126953125
Class 49—4,900 persons averaging \$0.0000000005.....	.00000634765625
Class 50—5,000 persons averaging \$0.0000000002.....	.000003173828125
Class 51—5,100 persons averaging \$0.0000000001.....	.0000015869140625
Class 52—5,200 persons averaging \$0.00000000005.....	.00000079345703125
Class 53—5,300 persons averaging \$0.00000000002.....	.000000396728515625
Class 54—5,400 persons averaging \$0.00000000001.....	.0000001983642578125
Class 55—5,500 persons averaging \$0.000000000005.....	.00000009918212890625
Class 56—5,600 persons averaging \$0.000000000002.....	.000000049591064453125
Class 57—5,700 persons averaging \$0.000000000001.....	.0000000247955322265625
Class 58—5,800 persons averaging \$0.0000000000005.....	.00000001239776611328125
Class 59—5,900 persons averaging \$0.0000000000002.....	.000000006198883056640625
Class 60—6,000 persons averaging \$0.0000000000001.....	.0000000030994415283203125
Class 61—6,100 persons averaging \$0.00000000000005.....	.00000000154972076416015625
Class 62—6,200 persons averaging \$0.00000000000002.....	.000000000774860382080078125
Class 63—6,300 persons averaging \$0.00000000000001.....	.0000000003874301910400390625
Class 64—6,400 persons averaging \$0.000000000000005.....	.00000000019371509552001953125
Class 65—6,500 persons averaging \$0.000000000000002.....	.000000000096857547760009765625
Class 66—6,600 persons averaging \$0.000000000000001.....	.0000000000484287738800048828125
Class 67—6,700 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000005.....	.00000000002421438694000244140625
Class 68—6,800 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000002.....	.000000000012107193470001220703125
Class 69—6,900 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000001.....	.0000000000060535967350006103515625
Class 70—7,000 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000005.....	.00000000000302679836750030517578125
Class 71—7,100 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000002.....	.000000000001513399183750152587890625
Class 72—7,200 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000001.....	.0000000000007566995918750762939453125
Class 73—7,300 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000005.....	.00000000000037834979593753814697265625
Class 74—7,400 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000002.....	.000000000000189174897968769073486328125
Class 75—7,500 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000001.....	.0000000000000945874489843845367431640625
Class 76—7,600 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000005.....	.00000000000004729372449219226837158203125
Class 77—7,700 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000002.....	.000000000000023646862246096134185791015625
Class 78—7,800 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000001.....	.0000000000000118234311230480670928955078125
Class 79—7,900 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000005.....	.00000000000000591171556152403354644775390625
Class 80—8,000 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000002.....	.000000000000002955857780762016773223876953125
Class 81—8,100 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000001.....	.0000000000000014779288903810083866119384765625
Class 82—8,200 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000000005.....	.00000000000000073896444519050419305596923828125
Class 83—8,300 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000000002.....	.000000000000000369482222595252096527984619140625
Class 84—8,400 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000000001.....	.0000000000000001847411112976260482639923095703125
Class 85—8,500 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000000005.....	.00000000000000009237055564881302413199615478515625
Class 86—8,600 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000000002.....	.000000000000000046185277824406512065993077392578125
Class 87—8,700 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000000001.....	.0000000000000000230926389122032560329965386962890625
Class 88—8,800 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000000005.....	.00000000000000001154631945610162801649826934814453125
Class 89—8,900 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000000002.....	.000000000000000005773159728050814008249134672072265625
Class 90—9,000 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000000001.....	.0000000000000000028865798640254070041245673360361328125
Class 91—9,100 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000000000005.....	.00000000000000000144328993201270350206228366801806640625
Class 92—9,200 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000000000002.....	.000000000000000000721644966006351751031141834009033203125
Class 93—9,300 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000000000001.....	.0000000000000000003608224830031758755155709170045166015625
Class 94—9,400 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000000000005.....	.00000000000000000018041124150158793775778545850225830078125
Class 95—9,500 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000000000002.....	.000000000000000000090205620750793968878892729251129150390625
Class 96—9,600 persons averaging \$0.0000000000000000000000001.....	.0000000000000000000451028103753969844394463646255645751953125
Class 97—9,700 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000000000005.....	.00000000000000000002255140518769849221972318231278228759765625
Class 98—9,800 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000000000002.....	.00000000000000000001127570259384924610986159115639114298828125
Class 99—9,900 persons averaging \$0.00000000000000000000000001.....	.000000000000000000005637851296924623054930795578195571494140625
Class 100—10,000 persons averaging \$0.000000000000000000000000005.....	.0000000000000000000028189256484623115274653977890977857220703125

