THE STANDARD

HENRY GEORGE, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR.

VOL. II.—NO. 25. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1887. PRICE FIVE CENTS

CONFISCATION.

In another column will be found the third of a series of articles entitled "Land, Labor and Taxation," which Professor Richard T. Ely of Johns Hopkins university is writing for the *Independent*. His two previous articles have been mainly devoted to an admirable statement of the nature and causes of rent and to tracing "the development of the land tax theory," beginning with "the first school of real political economists, the Physiocrats," through Adam Smith and John Stuart Mill, to the present day. In these articles Professor Ely shows that economic rent "is an income derived from current industry without toil on the part of those who enjoy it," and "if all rent should be appropriated by the community it would not stop productive processes" or increase the amount that the user of land has to pay to the owner. In the third article, which we reprint, he goes on to discuss the appropriation of rent to public purposes by means of taxation, as proposed by the united labor party and advocated by THE STANDARD.

Professor Ely effectually disposes of all the economic objections that are usually made to the single tax and concedes in terms or by implication all the enormous advantages that are claimed for it. But, as if from an unconscious aversion to going too far, Professor Ely brings up a moral objection. It would not be just to existing land holders, he contends, to take for the public use what society has permitted them to consider as theirs. This he puts in its strongest form when he says, "If we have all made a mistake, should one party to the transaction alone bear the cost of the common blunder?"

If a people, who up to that time had acceded unquestioningly to the treatment of land as the absolute property of individuals, were suddenly called upon to decide as to the *immediate* resumption of common rights to the "unearned increment," Professor Ely's argument would unquestionably be a plausible one. But such a case, though supposable, is practically impossible. It is certainly not the case as it is presented to us to-day. For not only is it impossible to educate public opinion up to the point of any legislative action looking to the appropriation of land values for public purposes without a prolonged agitation, during which those owning land and those thinking of buying land may have ample notice of what is coming, but such legislative action, when it takes place, must necessarily require time, and will consist in a series of steps. The objection which to Professor Ely appears so grave in the realm of the abstract loses all its force in the realm of the practical.

It is true, as Professor Ely says, that we "propose to take all of a certain species of property without a cent of compensation," but it is also true that this taking can only be gradual, and would consist in successive changes in our system of taxation, which reducing the taxes now levied on industry and the products of industry would increase the taxes now levied on land values. Surely, Professor Ely would not say that there could be anything in any one of these changes to shock the moral sentiment? Surely he would not say that the state is estopped in justice from imposing or increasing a tax on land values unless it at the same time makes compensation to land owners? Is property in land values more sacred than property in things produced by labor? Has the land owner any better right to compensation when he is taxed than other people have when they are taxed? We do not compensate smokers when we tax tobacco; nor the final purchasers of dry goods when we tax dry goods; nor the people who use houses when we tax houses or the materials that enter into houses. We do not compensate saloon keepers when the keeping of saloons is interdicted by prohibitive law, nor does anybody propose to compensate them. And with his wide study of the effects of taxation Professor Ely will be able to recall many instances where businesses to which no objection on the score of morals could be made, have been crushed out of existence by the imposition of taxation. He will not, however, recall an instance in which the men so injured have been compensated. Should a proposition to apply to land owners the same rule which we habitually apply in all other cases of taxation shock the moral sense?

But there is a very great difference in effect between the change in taxation which we propose and the taxes by which we habitually take the property of individuals for public uses without making them any compensation. In the case of all these taxes the individual has simply to "pocket his loss" and get along as best he may, notwithstanding the fact, as Professor Ely is very clearly showing in a series of lucid articles in the Baltimore *Sun*, that the greater part of these taxes are what he terms regressive taxes, falling on the ultimate payers with greater weight as their incomes diminish. But in the case of the substitution of a tax on land values for the taxes now laid on other species of property, whatever loss there might be to land owners would be, in some degree at least, compensated for by the improvement in general conditions. Such a change, as Professor Ely very clearly sees, would greatly augment the production of wealth and greatly equalize its distribution. This increase of material prosperity would inure to the benefit of the individuals who happen to be land owners as well as to that of other people.

Of what is at present our favorite method of taking individual property for public purposes, Professor Ely very truly says in one of his Baltimore *Sun* articles:

Indirect taxation does not discriminate between the last dollar of the poor widow and the dollar which is only one in an income of a million. It raises prices, reduces the value of income and forces some who are already near the awful line of pauperism to cross it, and thus puts to death higher aspirations in a class of citizens and lowers the level of civilization. But the absurdity of the thing is seen in this, that when the tax has destroyed the value of a man as an industrial factor in the community, what has been taken away is given back in alms!

How different would be the effect of appropriating rent for public purposes, even though we should take it to the last penny. Such would be the opening of natural opportunities, such would be the stimulation of industrial enterprise, such would be the demand on all sides for labor, that we would not be forced to maintain the ex-land owners by alms. They could go to work.

All this is upon the assumption that Professor Ely seems to make when he comes to treat the moral question, that property in land does not essentially differ from other property. But that he is, when treating of the economic question, fully conscious of the essential difference, other parts of his articles clearly show. We who propose, as fast as we can arouse the intelligence and moral sense of the people to its expediency and justice, to take land values for public uses "without a cent of compensation," do not rest our case upon the proposition that the earth is the gift of the Creator to the whole human race, and that no one can show a title deed to it from the Almighty. While this may be with many of us a favorite mode of calling attention to the obvious distinction between property in land and property in things produced by labor, the argument on which we would rest the case for the appropriation of land values without compensation, is one that will appeal as strongly to those who do not believe in God as to those who do. Nor yet would we justify ourselves by asserting that "property is but a means to an end—the welfare of the race," nor reply to those who invoke against us the command "Thou shalt not steal," as Professor Ely does for us when he says:

Very true, my friend. But God equally said: "Thou shalt not murder." Yet we send men to battle and certain death in war. We compel them to go and lay down life for us.

We arraign private property in land—or, rather, to speak more precisely, since we are dealing with an economist, private property in rent—on the ground that it is in itself a violation, and a continuous violation, of the rights of property; on the ground, only not that it is based on robbery or springs from robbery, but that it involves robbery. This robbery is not a robbery that once committed is over and done, but a fresh and successive series of robberies that must continue as long as the private appropriation of rent is permitted to continue. To appropriate rent for public purposes is not in reality to really take anything from land owners—it is to put a stop to their unjust taking of the fruits of other people's industry.

All this is perfectly plain to Professor Ely while he looks at the matter with the clear eyes of the economist. He says in the article which preceded the one we reprint:

Men who obtain the right of private property in land by conquest, robbery, inheritance, or purchase, have it thus in their power to exact an annual charge for its use, and this is called rent. Now this rent must come out of the fruits of the industry of other classes, and others must toil for it.

And, again:

A man may fence in a square in a great city or a rapidly growing one like Minneapolis, and, without a stroke of labor, while even obstructing the labor of others, grow in wealth daily until he is able to levy a tribute on the toil of all future generations for having injured the present generation.

Professor Ely thus sees the true nature of private property in rent as clearly as any one can. And yet seeing this he coolly declares that, as a matter of justice and good morals, we must continue to permit one class to appropriate the fruits of the industry of other classes, and allow men "to lay a tribute on the toil of all future generations for having injured the present generation"—until, forsooth, we compensate them for what they might in the future be able to despoil honest industry of if permitted to keep on.

Professor Ely is a man to be spoken of in sorrow rather than in anger. He is, as these articles show him to be, the clearest, the fairest and the most painstaking of all our college professors of political economy. But when a man like he gives expression to such hazy notions of *meum* and *tuum*, how shall we wonder at some of the queer utterances of Professor Sumner of Yale! Clearly, however, some sort of primary instruction in moral philosophy ought to be given in our colleges. For though Professor Ely may be relied on to work his way in time into a clearer moral atmosphere, this cannot be hoped of all college bred men.

Happily, we who really believe in the fundamental assertion of the Decclaration of Independence and would carry it out; we who recognize in the command, "Thou shalt not steal," an injunction to stop all forms of stealing as soon as we get the power, have too clear a conception of the rights of property to permit us to entertain any notion of compensating landowners as a condition of taking for the use of the community those values which attach to land by the growth and improvement of the community. But it is instructive to observe that were we to so far ignore the clear principles of honesty and justice, it would be to postpone to the Greek calends the great reform we would carry out. For not only would an admission of the rightfulness of compensation be an admission of the rightfulness of private property in rent, and thus make it impossible for us to appeal to the only power by which any great reform can be carried into effect—the moral sense of the masses; but it would be to prevent our advance, could advance still be possible, from lessening the difficulties in our way and bringing about a gradual adjustment of private interests to the new order. Compensation assured, land grabbing and land speculation would go on unchecked, no matter how much public opinion should be educated to the utility of the public ownership of rent. Prospective land values would continue to increase up to the point of final legislative action, and even with the prospect of legislative action, just as the value of land now increases when it is needed for public purposes; and a great reform that otherwise might be accomplished easily and gradually, would involve such an expenditure and such chances of fraud and corruption that practical men might well relegate it to the care of dreamers and utopians.

Rev. Dr. D. S. Bates of St. Paul's Episcopal church of Cleveland recently, on invitation, delivered an address before the land and labor club of that city in criticism of "Henry George's land theories." Several friends in Cleveland and vicinity send me newspaper reports of the lecture, and ask me to answer it in THE STANDARD. Inasmuch as Mr. Bates's criticism consists mainly in the comparison of and comment on isolated passages from "Progress and Poverty," I could only answer it by reprinting what he says, and then going over what I have said in "Progress and Poverty," in order to show by their connection and relation that I am not so careless a writer and reasoner as Mr. Bates thinks. This would be a waste of energy and space, as all I could do in this way is already more satisfactorily done in "Progress and Poverty" itself, and to that book I must commend those who would see what I deem to be an answer to Mr. Bates's criticisms. I say this in reply not only to the friends who have written to me in this case, but also to those who have addressed me in similar cases. If I had attempted to answer such criticisms I would for some years past have been able to do nothing else, and would even then have been but "threshing straw." That despite all such criticisms "Progress and Poverty" has steadily made its way in public opinion is proof that I have been right in believing that "it is not what is written of the book, but what is written in the book," that ultimately determines its place and influence.

But I think the Cleveland land and labor club did well in asking a reputable and intelligent opponent like Mr. Bates to address them, and would like to see their example in this followed where opportunity offers by other associations of our friends. The more criticism and the more discussion the better. It will, I am convinced, by putting them upon inquiry, not only more firmly ground them in the belief in the justice and efficacy of the single tax, and enable them to see more clearly and more fully the relations and the beauty of the theory of which it is the practical outcome, and to more readily answer objections, but it will lead others to inquiry. Truth is propagated by discussion, and becomes the clearer the more it is attacked. The very simplicity and coherence of our theory causes, at first at least, distrust in many minds, and the simplicity of the practical measure we propose makes it difficult for them to realize its far reaching character. What quickest brings such men to our side is for them to see how weak are the arguments that can be made against us, and how trivial are the measures that can be urged in lieu of those we propose. But when our friends invite criticism and objection they ought to do the answering themselves. If they are distrustful of their own powers of speaking and writing so much the greater the reason that they make the attempt. Our cause needs speakers and writers, and they are only to be developed by practice.

J. F. Gannon of White River Junction, Vt., writes to suggest the advisability of the establishment by land and labor clubs, anti-poverty societies and our friends generally, where they can get two or three together, of a system of schools in which our doctrines can be taught and explained, saying very truly that it would not only confirm those who now believe in our principles and enable them to answer questions addressed to them, but would turn out teachers of our doctrines by the thousand.

This is a good idea, and it has already been carried out in this city to some extent in the Progress and Poverty club, which has for a year or so held weekly meetings in the upper part of the city; and is now being carried out on a larger scale in the political economy class which meets Wednesday nights at Cooper union, under the leadership of Louis F. Post.

Mr. N. Helmer sends me a drawing and description of an air ship which he thinks will be entirely feasible. Like the great majority of inventors, he lacks the means to put his plans to fair experiment, and he suggests that if the Anti-poverty society or any of its members will furnish the necessary capital, he will surrender a forty-nine per cent interest in the invention, which is patented. I print this for the benefit of Mr. Helmer and for that of any member of the Anti-poverty society who may wish to make such an investment. The Anti-poverty society itself cannot go into that kind of business, but I for one would not be unwilling to see the government of the United States go into it to the extent of appropriating a million or two, to be paid as premiums for successful inventions or to try experiments under the direction of a competent board. It would be a much better use of money, not only than that proposed in the various plans for getting rid of the surplus, but than that involved in many of our regular expenditures.

A few government air ships would be of much more utility than the iron clads we are said to be building. They might at least be decked with flags, and set to cruising over the continent in order to give the American people a chance to see their navy, which would be a much greater satisfaction than they will ever get out of their iron clads. But so long as congress is protectionist, it is safe to say that no public money will be used to promote aerial navigation, though the treasury vaults should burst with the surplus. For what would become of "protection to American work people" if the air were to become a navigable ocean? Clearly the only way to save our delicate infant industries would be to roof in the whole country, and put an army of custom house officers on the roof.

Mr. Michael Murray of the Laborers' protective union introduced into the Central labor union last Sunday the following resolution:

Whereas, The price of coal has been raised to exorbitant rates while the wages of the miners of Pennsylvania have been forced down to a starvation point and the demand of the men for living wages is used as an excuse for extortion from consumers of this necessity of life;

Resolved, That congress should admit coal from the British provinces free of duty, as a small degree of protection to consumers against the plans of the coal monopolists to force the entire community to pay dividends upon their enormously watered stock.

It is to be hoped that the resolution will be adopted, if for no other purpose than to show protected monopolists that labor is beginning to refuse to longer kiss the hand that smites it. It is true that there is no duty on anthracite coal, with which New York and New England are supplied from the eastern coal fields of Pennsylvania; but this is due to the fact that Pennsylvania has, so far as this section of the world is concerned, a monopoly of anthracite coal, and the duty on bituminous coal suffices to shut out on our Atlantic seaboard any competition with the Pennsylvania coal barons of European or Canadian coal. And the falsity of the pretense that "protective" duties protect labor can be seen in the Pennsylvania coal fields with sufficient clearness to satisfy even the most bigoted protectionist. The "protected American miners" get but enough to enable them to live in miserable fashion at the best of times, and are only kept from virtual serfdom by labor associations and frequent strikes. What "protection" does is to increase the royalties of the owners of the coal veins, who get more for the privilege of breaking the coal out of the veins than the miners get for doing the work, and the dividends of the railroads that control transportation. It is to swell the profits of these monopolists, by enabling them to extort scarcity prices for an article of prime necessity to every family and to every branch of industry requiring heat and power, that the coal duty is maintained.

By way of response to President Cleveland's "free trade" message, the *Mail and Express* wants the people of Connecticut (by which it of course means the protected manufacturers) to take advantage of the constitutional centennial of their state to organize a demonstration in favor of protection, such as "will bring before the people of that state and of the country vivid pictures of the operations in that state of the American system of protecting American labor and capital against the unfair competition of redundant English capital and pauper labor, in the development of a prosperity unequaled among the same number of people anywhere on the face of the planet."

One contribution to these vivid pictures of the prosperity of the Connecticut people will be found on the eighth page of this issue of THE STANDARD in the shape of an abstract of the reports made to the Connecticut bureau of labor statistics from forty-six families of protected "work people." From these it will be seen that the average income per family is $58.80 per month or $1.74 der day; the average daily income per person being 35½ cents. The average expenses are $60.01 per family, $1.90 per day or 40 cents per person. Such a vivid picture as is thus presented of the operations in Connecticut of "the American system of protecting American labor and capital" ought surely to make the American heart swell with pride. What would become of Connecticut "work people" if they were not protected by our beneficent tariff?

Another vivid picture, which would suit the same occasion, is furnished by a wage worker of Connecticut, who sends us his individual report of his industrial condition on a blank form intended for use by the bureau of labor statistics. From this it appears that his trade is that of a pocket knife grinder; that his earnings when in full work are $1.75 per day; that he has been out of work since April last, and has no immediate prospect of obtaining employment; that he came to this country in 1848, to use his own words—

when everything was free except color and we had the Sheffield statement price for all work. Since that time there have been many reductions, for the humbug of a so-called protective tariff has been the ruin of our trade and all others.

It appears from this man's report that during the flush times following his arrival in this country he managed to save enough to purchase a house, which is mortgaged for $350. His age is sixty-four and the net result of the protective system in his case seems likely to be that, after forty years' labor at an "infant industry" in the state of Connecticut, he will find himself a pauper.

HENRY GEORGE.

An Anti-Poverty Meeting at Akron, Ohio.

AKRON, O.—At the anti-poverty meeting held in this place on December 5, there were, despite the mud and rain, some five hundred people present. The speaker was Rev. John B. Barnhill, of the Meadville, Pa., theological seminary; and seated on the platform were Rev. C. E. Nash, Rev. A. M. Waxmar, Rev. M. J. Firey and Rev. J. B. Shontz—all pastors of Protestant churches in Akron, and the Jewish Rabbi Rabino. Mr. Nash presided.

The speaker of the evening confined himself to an exposition of the class distinctions, the helplessness of the poor and the increasing power of the rich, which are becoming more and more apparent in this country, and he defended the fundamental idea of the Anti-poverty society, that these conditions were mainly due to social injustice, and were therefore remediable by legislation. In the truest sense it was a hopeful and optimistic discourse. The Akron *Daily Beacon*, however, in reporting it, managed to entirely change the sense of the whole lecture. It reported Mr. Barnhill as saying, for instance, "Life is a mockery and a curse;" whereas, what he said was, that "To thousands of our fellow creatures life is a mockery and a curse." They reported him again as saying, "If present tendencies are to continue growing worse let us sink into eternal night and tumble the universe into chaos." Whereas, he really said, "If present tendencies are to continue growing worse, without hope of check or reversal, let us sink," etc. Then, after having thus made out the anti-poverty philosophy to be of the most gloomy and misanthropic character, consigning the world to the "demition bow-wows," the *Beacon* proceeded editorially to say:

It cannot otherwise than be the prevailing sentiments that extremists and alarmists of so pronounced a type as the speaker of yesterday would seem to be, ought to be compelled to go to Europe and work for thirty or forty cents a day for a period of ten years or so with the peasant classes there. Their views on the situation in America might then be more intelligent and discriminating.

The clergymen who were present at the meeting were interviewed by the *Beacon* as to their opinions on the subject discussed and the lecture. They for the most part agreed that the matter was one for legislative action. Rabbi Rabino said:

As a whole his lecture was very good. He gave a good picture of the great evil that is prevailing in society. I had wished that he would refer to the legislation of Moses, by which poverty and riches were prevented in a practical way, and advise us to take this as the best model of solving this great question.

Mr. Barnhill, however, made his point and made it well, that poverty is not a divine institution, and that men can by social regulations cause involuntary poverty to disappear.

Believes in an Aggressive Warfare and Protection and No Presidential Nomination.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal.—Many recent correspondents of THE STANDARD seem to think that we should run a ticket in '88. I think they are wrong. We have the same classes to fight as the free traders in England had, and we ought to learn from them. While the fight lasted they did not run for every office in sight; on the contrary, by subscribing £50,000, £100,000 and £250,000, or $2,000,000, they had means to send out pamphlets and lecturers all over the country. The anti-corn law league was formed in 1838, and after eleven years of hard work the present tariff took effect —1849. If we in the same short time can win, I think we will do remarkably well. Before we can win we must have an honest election and an honest count, this can only be accomplished by the introduction of the Australian election system, which would make it impossible to see if a paid voter actually voted the ticket and would effectually kill the bosses.

I think we should fight the protectionists with all our might and main; we must convince the masses that capital, not labor, is protected by any kind of protective tariff. We must carry on an aggressive warfare—fight as the abolitionists fought.

W. NIEEL.

Then and Now.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—So great a man as Mr. Webster in 1838 repelled the idea that an aristocracy of wealth was springing up in Massachusetts. In the course of a speech March 12 of that year in the senate on the independent treasury bill, which was dubbed by the whigs of the day as the "sub-treasury," Mr. Webster said:

"Aristocracy, it is said, is stealing upon us, and, in the form of accumulated wealth, is watching to seize political power from the hands of the people! We have been more than once gravely admonished that in order to improve the times and restore a metallic currency for the benefit of the poor, the rich ought to melt down their plate! Whatever such a melting process might find to act upon elsewhere, Mr. President, I assure you that in Massachusetts it would discover little. A few spoons, candle sticks and other similar articles, some old family pitchers and tankards, and the silver porringers of our nurseries, would be about the whole.

"Sir, if there be any aristocrats in Massachusetts, the people are all aristocrats; because I do not believe there is on earth, in a highly civilized society, a greater equality in the condition of men than exists there. If there be a man in the state who maintains what is called an equipage, has servants in livery, or drives four horses to his coach, I am not acquainted with him. On the other hand, there are a few who are not able to carry their wives and daughters to church in some decent conveyance. It is no matter of regret or sorrow to us that few are very rich; but it is our pride and glory that few are very poor. It is our still higher pride, and our just boast, as I think, that all her citizens possess means of intelligence and education, and that, of all her productions, she reckons among the very chiefest those which spring from the culture of the mind and the heart."

How unlike the present condition of things is this picture, drawn by the hand of a master, fifty years ago!

And another picture the same hand drew, twelve years later. It was in the course of his memorable speech of March 7, 1850, that Mr. Webster said, in reply to a remark of Mr. Downs, of Louisiana:

"Why, sir, he took pains to run a contrast between the slaves of the south and the laboring people of the north, giving the preference, in all points of condition and comfort and happiness, to the slaves of the south. The honorable member doubtless did not suppose that he gave any offense or did any injustice. He was merely expressing his opinion. But does he know how remarks of that sort will be received by the laboring people of the north? Why, who are the laboring people of the north? They are the north. They are the people who cultivate their own farms with their own hands—freeholders, educated men, independent men. Let me say, sir, that five-sixths of the whole property of the north is in the hands of the laborers of the north; they cultivate their farms, they educate their children, they provide the means of independence; if they are not freeholders they earn wages; these wages accumulate, are turned into capital, into new freeholds; and small capitalists are created. That is the case, and such the course of things with us, among the industrious and frugal."

These remarks were made before modern civilization had evolved the million of tramps and had crowded hundreds of thousands of the destitute poor into tenement houses. What will another half century bring forth?

DANIEL R. GOODLOE.

New Edition of Progress and Poverty.

There have been many demands for a somewhat better cheap edition of Progress and Poverty than the twenty cent issue of which such large numbers have been sold. To meet this demand a new edition, uniform with the thirty-five cent edition of "Protection or Free Trade?" is being printed and will be ready by the 1st of January. It will be printed on better paper, in larger type and will be better bound than the twenty cent edition; and will retail for the same price as "Protection or Free Trade?" thirty-five cents.

It Should Be Our First Aim to Defeat the Democratic Candidate.

TROY, N. Y.—As matters now stand I think it is our most urgent duty to exert our "balance of power" in this the "pivotal state" to secure the defeat of the democratic presidential candidate next fall.

The united labor party owes it to its manhood to help to drive from power the corrupt party whose organs have been for over a year constantly insulting and misrepresenting our candidates.

A. J. NUGENT.

Believes in Nominating State Officers Only.

PEEKSKILL, N. Y.—In regard to our policy in next year's elections, would it not be a good plan to make our nominations for the highest state officers to be elected in each state and so get ourselves counted, leaving us all free to vote for whichever candidate for president we chose? Remember that party lines are never more closely drawn than in a presidential campaign, and how slow men are in breaking off entirely with old associations.

D. C. HASBROUCK.

Run a Candidate, If Only to Provoke Discussion.

PORT CHESTER, N. Y.—Here, we are in favor of running a presidential candidate. It will provoke discussion, and that is what we need to spread our principles. Of course we ought to have anti-poverty societies in every town and village, but by running a candidate we would get our principles discussed in places where there might be no room for anti-poverty societies.

FRED J. HUPPERT.

Louis F. Post Will Speak at Stapleton, S. I.

WEST BRIGHTON, S. I.—The united labor party of Richmond county will hold a public meeting at Franklin hall, Stapleton, which will be addressed by Louis F. Post. The organization is preparing for earnest work during the coming year.

Will Double Next Year.

CEDAR RAPIDS, Ia.—We are going straight ahead here. We cast 600 votes for the united labor party in this (Linn) county this fall, and will make it more than double that next year.

H. C. MARTIN.

The Way the Infant Industry of Living on Other People's Work is Protected.

St. Louis Post-Dispatch.

Milton Tootle, of St. Joseph, died possessed of 148,000 acres of land in Missouri and Iowa, and 139,000 acres in Kansas, beside much valuable city property in St. Joseph and other cities, and large interests in several business firms. But although his personal property alone was legally appraised at over $2,000,000 it was found to be assessed at only $116,000; and when the board of equalization for Buchanan county ventured to raise the total assessment of his local estate to one-third of the sworn appraisement of his personal property, it was contended that no taxes at all could be collected, because the clerk had neglected to swear in the board of equalization.

ANTI-POVERTY.

FREE TRADE AS A STEP TOWARD REFORM.

Henry George Discusses the Protective Theory as an Obstacle to Industrial Emancipation—We Are Protecting Ourselves Against Ourselves—The Self-Inflicted Boycott of the Tariff—Brief Addresses from Professor Scott and Dr. McGlynn.

Free trade or protection was the subject of discussion at the thirty-fourth public meeting of the Anti-poverty society in the Academy of Music last Sunday evening. The proceedings were opened by the Concordia chorus, led by Miss Agatha Munier, singing "My country, 'tis of thee." Professor Scott presided. In the opening address he said:

Within the past two weeks a great question, not by any means a new question, has been brought into the arena of national politics. It has been placed there by the president of the United States. (Slight applause.) In his message he has presented it to congress and the nation with such a train of statement and reasoning that his enemies call it an elementary advocacy of the principles of free trade. It has been particularly praised by a portion of the press as a document of surprising ability. To others it does not commend itself as remarkably novel in statement or profound in argument. It would probably be allowed the praise of being a plain and business like paper. In many quarters the president has been praised for his courage in expressing his convictions. Does he deserve such praise?

Let us for a moment look at this. What is the condition of things. The national treasury is overflowing with money. In this lies threatening danger to the finances of the country. You and I of the Anti-poverty society would be glad to realize only for a little while that very condition—an overflowing pocket book. It is very different with a nation. Here is an immense surplus locked up in the treasury, a surplus that goes on increasing to an alarming extent. It is as useless for the trade of the country as though it were buried in the mines. It is moreover a constant menace to the prosperity of the country. (Applause.)

Two questions have kept steadily forcing themselves to the front: What shall we do with the surplus? How shall we stop its further accumulation? Assuredly courage is not demanded in bringing such a question before the country. But perhaps the courage appears in the president's method of handling it. Let us look at this also: Any proposed remedy would have provoked criticism. The president surely could not have expected to please the republican party. If courage were needed it would best be shown in running counter to the opinions of his own party. The comments of the democratic press show that he is in entire agreement with that powerful organ of opinion. It is idle to pretend that the president had not sounded the opinion of his own party. The white house is like the ear of Dionysius. It is constantly open. Most assuredly it will not be claimed that the great democratic press was converted to the president's views by what may be styled an elementary lesson on free trade. Surely the high sounding praise for courage awarded to the message might with great propriety be limited.

You and I, my friends, are chiefly concerned about the recommendations of the president. I speak here without consultation or agreement with anyone, and I don't know how far I may differ from our great friend who is to follow me, but I cannot help saying that in the light of what I have learned from "Progress and Poverty" (applause) and from that scarcely less able book, "Protection or Free Trade," the recommendations are exceedingly unsatisfactory. They are recommendations that stop at the threshold. They are born of no enthusiasm for a great idea. They have none of the perfect vision, of the seeing power, of great reformers. They have awakened no electric impulse. They want the courage of the Hebrew prophets. For this reason I presume they are denominated statesmanlike. (Applause)

The reception the message has met with has been most singular. The democratic party, nervous in regard to the approaching presidential election and especially solicitous, as they always say they are, about the workingmen are on the anxious seat, fearful of the effect that might be produced by the cry of free trade, and so they call it revision of the tariff. The republican party, equally nervous and for the same reason, wish to force the fight and under the cry of protection for American labor are whetting their swords for the battle. In England general public opinion regards it as a free trade message. This is a curious state of opinion. The democrats deny that free trade is in the message; the republicans attack it on that very ground; England accepts it as free trade teaching. Surely "if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself for the battle?" (Applause.)

It is this ambiguity of the message that is its very great defect. If it means free trade it commends itself to the advanced opinion of the nation. (Cries of "hear! hear!" and applause.) If, on the other hand, it means partial measures, pruning remorselessly here and there, striking certain industries and leaving others untouched, it cannot but be productive of mischief. Still further: Do you believe that the great manufacturers who have grown rich under the tariff will in the intervals of these experiments stand idle, not knocking at the doors of the committee rooms at Washington? Depend upon it, they will be heard, and we shall then be brought face to face with fresh modifications and compromises and bargainings. Meanwhile trade will suffer. Nothing is worse for labor of all kinds than an atmosphere of uncertainty. (Applause.) Constant fear of change unnerves the steadiest minds. It is prolonged and accentuated misery. Besides, radical changes in policy like that of free trade cannot be tried by half or partial measures. (Applause.) History abounds in examples of failure under such circumstances. To muzzle any industry in an attempt to realize the true benefits of free trade is to expect to reap where we have not sown.

The profound interest that attaches itself to this question is, after all, the alleviation of the poor; for if free trade cannot be shown to give the poor man a larger share in the products of his labor, then it is not an evangel to the poor. No! Men and women of my way of thinking are indifferent to the trial of a mere theory. Such a trial might be interesting to cold-hearted professors of that most dismal of sciences—political economy. But it is a question of life or death to the wage worker. There must be no theory here. If free trade is to open wider the door of opportunity to the struggling poor, then every honest anti-poverty man and woman will bid it godspeed, but not otherwise. (Applause.) It may sound like a platitude to repeat from this platform that no nation can hope for enduring progress that neglects the interests of the masses. If it does so it builds on ground that palpitates to the very center with the light of earthquakes. Rome in her imperial grandeur forgot this great lesson and doled out to her abject poor bread and the bloody games of the circus. France forgot this great lesson and tried to unite the highest polish of modern society with the most squalid misery and hospitals for the poor. England with the most enormous aggregation of wealth and luxury of modern times has forgotten this great lesson, and Ireland, emaciated and well nigh crushed, raises her bleeding hand filled with curses that carry terror to the hardened hearts of those insular pillagers.

The mere free trader, were he successful, is on ground that must give way under him. Free trade without free land cannot settle the question. (Great and repeated applause.) Were free trade as explained by its most pronounced advocates adopted to-morrow, it would not meet the necessities of labor. It would not furnish the opportunity which it is the great purpose of this society to keep constantly demanding. The gifts of nature must also be free, and free trade, no longer asserted fragmentarily, must become a part, an integral part, of the great movement of social forces that is seeking to elevate humanity. (Applause.)

Professor Scott then introduced Henry George, who said:

Henry George's Speech.

Ladies and Gentlemen—I am inclined to take a much kindlier view and a much more hopeful view of the message of President Cleveland than has our friend Professor Scott. (Applause.) Among the numerous interviews that it has called forth I read of one with a very prominent republican politician who said: "Thank God for President Cleveland's message!" From very different motives I re-echo that cry: Thank God for President Cleveland's message! (Applause.) It is true, as Professor Scott has said, that it is not the message of a man inspired with the spirit of a Hebrew prophet. (Laughter.) But do you think a man inspired with the spirit of a Hebrew prophet would ever get a democratic nomination for the presidency, much less be elected? (Great laughter and applause). Nor is it such a message as we might expect from a member of the Anti-poverty society; but Grover Cleveland, unfortunately, has not yet joined the Anti-poverty society. (Applause, and a voice, "He's coming that way.")

It is not the message, as I understand the term, of a free trader. But it is the message of a president of the United States who is inclining toward free trade. (Applause.) It is the message of a man who, if timidly, yet clearly, sets his face toward freedom. If not a thoroughgoing free trade message, it is yet an anti-protection message. It is something more than a mere recommendation for the reduction of taxes in order to get rid of the surplus. It is an argument against the system that has produced the surplus—against taxation for the sake of taxation. Mr. Cleveland is as yet a man-afraid-of-his-horses (laughter), but this message gives hope that when his horses get fairly started they will carry him much further than he now thinks of going. (Laughter and applause.) If, from our standpoint, its language is halting in its conclusions, inadequate, it yet seems bold and almost thoroughgoing when we think of the timidity and stupidity of the party that Mr. Cleveland has got to lead. (Laughter and applause.)

I am glad of the message. I am glad of it because I recognize in it a great step in advance for a man in President Cleveland's position to take—a step that even, though it may be, as Professor Scott says, only a coming to the threshold, is still a coming to the threshold of our principles. And I am still more glad of it because of the great work in the way of agitation that it is going to do—nay, that it is already beginning to do. (Applause.) It is bringing up the discussion of the tariff question on the line of underlying principles. Mr. Cleveland seems to disclaim the intent to do this, and says: "Our progress toward a wise conclusion will not be improved by dwelling upon the theories of protection and free trade;" and yet, though in timorous way, that is precisely what he does in his message, and that is precisely what the discussion his message has aroused is causing the popular mind to do. It is this that gives the message its power for good. The only possible way in which the American people can progress to a wise conclusion upon the subject of the tariff is by a discussion of the theories of protection and free trade. (Applause.) And the hopeful thing is, as we see already in the press and in common talk, the discussion of the theories of protection and of free trade that is now coming up. There is nothing, as I have believed for years and written over and over again—there is nothing that in my opinion will so conduce to the education of the American people in our direction as such a discussion. (Applause.) For a discussion of the theories of protection and free trade is a discussion of theories which it is necessary for the people to understand before a wise conclusion on the labor question can be reached. (Applause.) I am here to-night in response to an invitation to speak upon the question of free trade or protection—of the principles of the united labor party. I agree most thoroughly with what Professor Scott has said, that there is nothing that can permanently improve the condition of the working masses of a country so long as their natural rights in the land are denied. (Applause.) I believe free trade would be an enormous improvement that would very greatly add to the production of wealth. But the railroad, and the telegraph, and a thousand and one inventions which have been utilized within our own time have been improvements which have added enormously to the production of wealth. But they have not abolished poverty, nor improved the condition of the mere laborer. Nor yet would freedom of international exchange. So long as one set of men own the land of a country and another set of men have nothing but their power to labor, no matter what improvements we may make, whether they be mechanical or political, the constant tendency must be to the crowding of the wages of the mere laborer down to the point that will give but a bare living. (Applause.)

As between a protective tariff and a revenue tariff I care nothing; as between a protective tariff and no tariff at all, if we could stop there, I would care nothing. But for the underlying principles I care a great deal; and, in the beginning of the discussion of these principles I recognize a great advance. The road toward free trade is the road that leads to freedom—not merely to freedom in trade but to freedom in all things. This may not be recognized by many of the men who are now willing to travel it a little ways, thinking that they will then stop, but it is, nevertheless, true. Most of the men who now even go so far as to call themselves free traders are in reality not free traders at all; they are mere revenue reformers. Free trade carried to its logical conclusion—full free trade—true free trade—will bring us to where we of the united labor party want to go—to the abolition not merely of all taxes upon imports, but to the abolition of all taxes upon industry or the products of industry, and hence to the raising of all public revenues from land values. (Applause.) If we got so far as to look to land values for such public revenues as were needed it would be but a step further to look upon the "unearned" value of land, what economists call rent, as something that should be taken as near as may be for public benefit, and, indeed, this is required by the theory of free trade pushed to its logical conclusion. For if free trade is good it is because free production is good, and production cannot be fully free until the speculation and forestalling which shuts up from labor the natural opportunities of production is prevented. (Applause.)

As to which, the theory of free trade or the theory of protection, consorts best with the principles of which the united labor party is the political exponent and this society has been the representative of the religious side, there can be no question. What is our theory? We believe that poverty is an utterly unnatural thing. (A voice, "So it is," and applause.) We believe that poverty does not come by reason of the laws of God, but from human enactments which in contravention of His will limit the freedom of men to avail themselves of His bounty. We believe in the fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man. (Applause.) We believe that the remedy for low wages and poverty is not charity, nor beneficence, nor protection, but justice and liberty. (Applause.) We stand upon the principle enunciated in the Declaration of Independence: "We hold these truths to be self evident, that all men are created equal and are endowed by their creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." And, as expressed in the platform of the united labor party, we do not propose that the state shall attempt to control production and distribution or in any wise interfere with the freedom of the individual to use his labor or capital in any way that may seem proper to him and that will not interfere with the equal rights of others. (Applause.)

What, now, is the protective theory? I care, as I said, very little indeed about the protective system, but I care an enormous deal about the protective idea. (Applause.) For, what is that protective idea, that protective theory? It is that labor is a poor, weak thing that must constantly be protected. It is that the only way to secure national prosperity, the only way to get good wages for those whom the convention of republican clubs that has just adjourned call "our work people" and "our working people" is to put up tariffs around our coasts and along our boundary lines and to employ a lot of men to seize and to search and to spy and to inform and to tax everybody who comes across that boundary line with any goods. It is that the Almighty has so made the world and so made man that under natural conditions—that is to say under conditions of freedom—labor would starve, and that the only way in which the wisdom of legislatures and parliaments can avoid the sad results of this oversight of God is to impose tariffs and levy fines and demand oaths and employ seizers and searchers and spies and informers to prevent the people of each country from ruining themselves by trading with the people of other countries. Does that consort with our principles? (Applause.)

Mr. George went on to point out how the idea that nations must protect themselves by tariffs from the trade of other nations contravened the idea of the brotherhood of man and the teaching of Christianity that strife is wrong, that war is evil and that we can only fully attain our best interests by seeking the interests of all. He dwelt upon the absurdity of the notion that a nation of sixty million people on a continent so rich as ours required "protection" from smaller nations, and upon the inconsistency of admitting trade between our various states to be good while trade between our nation and foreign nations was bad, and in this made reference to Mr. Blaine's Paris interview. The reference to Mr. Blaine brought out faint applause followed by hisses, then louder applause and cheers followed by great hissing. Mr. George responded by a hope that Mr. Blaine would not be hissed, as he was doing a good work in his way by stimulating the discussion of the tariff question, and, by his thoroughgoing advocacy of the tariff, showing its absurdity. There is no consistency whatever, Mr. George contended, in the protective theory. The whole protective scheme is merely one for the advancement of selfish interests at the general cost, and the so-called reasons by which it is defended are only excuses. Where one would not do protectionists are at no loss to find another. In this country, where the standard of wages is high, protectionists insist that a tariff is needed to protect our high labor; but in countries where the standard of wages is low the protectionists want a tariff all the same, though they do not say that it is for the protection of their low wages. He showed that the political divisions of the world into countries and nations were mere arbitrary divisions, constantly changing, and insisted that, if our states had remained as they originally were, sovereign and independent, protectionists of New York would now be clamoring for a tariff to keep out the products of the pauper labor of New Jersey.

If the real reason of protection were to protect labor by a tariff, said Mr. George, it assuredly would not be a tariff on commodities, it would rather be a tariff on labor. (Renewed applause). "Our work people," as the republican clubs condescend to call them, "our work people" that these protectionists are so anxious to protect, what do they sell? They sell labor and they buy commodities, and these people propose to protect them by keeping out commodities, but they are perfectly willing to let in labor. (Great applause).

And protectionist practice is as inconsistent as protectionist theory. Here for instance is Mr. Blaine. Mr. Blaine in Paris dictates an interview in which he tells us that as a matter of patriotism, a matter of duty, we all ought to impose upon ourselves a tariff that will compel us to sleep under blankets made in America of American wool. What kind of blankets is Mr. Blaine at this moment sleeping under? (Applause and laughter.) He goes over to Europe, taking with him means that according to the protective theory ought to be expended in enriching American industry (laughter, "hear, hear!" and applause), and he actually sleeps under blankets made of foreign wool by foreign labor: he eats bread made by those pauper bakers of Paris, and drinks wine that would not be let into this country unless it first paid a high protective duty. And when Mr. Blaine comes back, unless he is a very different kind of a protectionist from any protectionist I ever saw—and I have seen a good many of them—he will come back with his trunk stuffed full of foreign goods. (Great laughter and applause.)

Now, if we are going to have protection let us have all round protection; let us have square and fair protection. Let the rich man be as much subject to it as the poor man. If we who have to stay at home because we have not money enough to go abroad are forced to pay two prices for all of the foreign products that we want to use, why, let us put a heavy duty on the Americans that go abroad to spend their money there. (Great applause.)

Protection! Who are we protecting ourselves against? Protectionists would probably answer, we are protecting ourselves against foreigners, who want to deluge us with their goods. But, as a matter of fact, are there any foreigners who want to deluge us with their goods unless they get back something from us in return? If there are not, how could such exchange injure our industry? If there are, ought that to be such a bad thing? Christmas time is approaching, and if any of you want to deluge me with goods, or overwhelm me with two or three suits of clothes or some boxes of cigars, go ahead! (Laughter.) I don't want to be protected. (Applause and laughter.) And why should a nation?

Protection means to prevent, to defend. What is it that our tariff prevents? Well, it prevents trade. Who is it that is trying to trade that we must prevent? It isn't, certainly, only the foreigners. Two people have to agree before there can be any trade just as two people have to disagree before there can be any quarrel. And what, as a matter of fact, is it that brings goods over the sea to us? It is our own demand for them. It is because we want them. (Applause.) As a matter of fact, international trade is not conducted by the manufacturers of goods sending them to another country to be sold at a venture. The iron, the woolen goods, the wines, the things of all sorts that come to us from foreign ports come in pursuance of orders sent from here. (Applause). And the cause of these orders does not lie with the importer, nor with the wholesale dealers, nor yet with the retail dealers, but with such people as you or I who come into the stores and ask for such and such things. Thus protection is not a protecting of us against foreign enemies, it is a protecting of us against ourselves, a preventing us from doing what we want to do. (Applause.) I, for one, don't want any of that kind of protection. And I don't think the American people, if they are true to the principles upon which the republic was founded, if they are true to the American spirit, really want any of that kind of protection.

What we want is the full liberty to do what we may deem right, so long as we do not interfere with the equal liberty of others. Life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, these are inalienable rights. But if in the pursuit of happiness an American walks across the bridge at Niagara, and sees there a shawl or a coat or something that he would like to have, he cannot bring it into his own home without either smuggling it or paying one-third or one-half the value of it as a fine. Is not that an interference with the inalienable right of the man and the citizen? (Applause.) To carry out the protective theory to its logical conclusion—a nation means nothing but an arbitrary association, the family is the real unit—to carry out the protective theory to its logical conclusion we should not stop until every family was protected from every other family (applause) so that they might fully employ their own labor in satisfying the demands of their own market.

The very same impulse that leads to trade between individuals leads to trade between nations. Some men can do things better than other men. The man who confines himself to doing one thing or one series of things acquires skill and power in that direction. And the same number of men working at different things and exchanging their labor will produce many times the aggregate amount of all those things that each individual or each family would if they were to attempt to do everything for themselves. So it is with nations. And that the creator has not intended this world to be marked off by lines of protective tariffs is shown by the fact that the natural powers of the earth differ in different places, so that some things can be purchased with greater advantage in one place and other things in another place. By producing the things that they can produce to the most advantage and freely exchanging with others, all peoples can get very much more of all the things they want than if, refusing to trade with each other, they were to attempt to supply their own wants. (Applause.) And the demand that finds expression in the trade between countries is simply the desire to get the largest amount of the things that we all need with the least exertion.

We, in protecting ourselves against ourselves, in putting this tariff to prevent ourselves from trading as we want to, are doing what we do to our enemies in time of war. You remember during the war of secession we kept a fleet in front of Charleston harbor, and prevented ships from bringing in goods. We were protecting the Charlestonians. (Laughter and applause.) As a matter of sheer protection, what difference would it make whether a line of custom houses along the coast took one-third or one-half of the value of the goods landed from foreign ports or a hostile fleet lay outside and did the same thing? (Laughter.) Yet according to the protective theory that would be to improve the prosperity of the country, that would be to increase wages—the only way to prevent our labor from falling to a pauperish condition.

It is just as important either to a nation or an individual to be able to buy as to be able to sell. What would happen to an individual if he were fully protected? Here is Mr. Redpath (applause) on this platform—a man who in the term "boycott" has given a new word to the English language. Mr. Redpath can tell you what it was that those patriotic Irishmen did to Captain Boycott. They simply protected him. (Laughter.) That was all. They fully and completely protected his home market. They would not let any one sell him any milk. They would not let any one sell him any bread. They would not let any one sell him a horse or hire him a wagon. They would not allow him to trade with anybody around him, so that he fully and completely enjoyed his own home market. But so far from being made very prosperous through that process he liked it so little that he got up and left the country. What the Irish land leaguers did to Captain Boycott is just precisely what we are in degree doing to ourselves by these protective tariffs. We are really, so far as they extend, boycotting ourselves. (Applause.)

And the plea on which this is urged is that it is for the sake of the American laborer, the American workman. Well, now, just think of it. The protective effect of a tariff, what is it? It is simply this: When a duty is imposed upon a certain class of goods the protective object is to make it more difficult to bring those goods into the country and therefore to raise the price of similar goods that are manufactured here (applause), thus enabling the manufacturer to get a larger profit. (Applause.) Well, now, does the fact of the manufacturer getting a larger profit bring with it any surety that his laborers are going to get higher wages? (Cries of "No! No!" and applause.) Do manufacturers make it their rule to raise wages as fast as their profits are raised? If so what is the use of labor organizations?

One day, before the car drivers had organized, as I was riding on a Brooklyn car talking with a driver, he was complaining of his hard times and the low wages and the long hours. I said to him: "Would it not be a good thing if the legislature were to pass a law enabling the company to raise the fare from five cents to six cents, so that they could raise your wages?" He looked at me for a moment as if to see what sort of a crank I was (laughter), and then he said with an expression rather more forcible than polite: "They raise our wages if they got another cent! Not much! (Applause.) They would raise their dividends (applause) but they would not raise our wages until they were compelled to. (Applause.) Whether you made the fare six cents or sixty cents they would not raise our wages so long as there are thousands of men standing around ready to take our places at the prices they are now paying." Is not that so? Is not there in that the whole philosophy of the wage question? (Cries of "yes" and applause.)

There are, of all the workingmen in the United States, ranked in the census as laborers of any kind, some seventeen millions. Those that are engaged in the protected industries do not amount to more than one-sixth of that number. Now, even supposing that the tariff increased the profit of protected employers, how would it be possible to raise the wages of this small number of men, while leaving the great mass of laborers in the same condition as before. (Applause.) Wages are fixed by the competion for employment, and until that is lessened wages cannot be raised. (Applause). Such raising of wages as has occurred in the protected industries has been accomplished by the strong hand of the labor associations shutting out competition. (Applause.) And, as a matter of fact, look over this country. Protection raises wages, does it? Look at the protected cotton mills of New England, where, according to the official report, wages are so low that children must go to work to support the family. (Applause.) Go into protected Pennsylvania and see the condition of those protected coal miners. (Great applause.) Go into the iron district and see the condition of the protected iron miners. Protected! Heavens and earth, have not the protectionists had their way now for years and years? Have not they been piling up duty upon duty until we now have a protective tariff such as was never dreamed of in the days of Carey and Clay? And yet, is it not true that in our country to-day men and women are working for wages that will only keep soul and body together. (Applause.)

No; what we want to improve the condition of the working classes, what we want to give labor its fair and its full earnings, is not protection, it is freedom (applause), not charity, but justice. (Applause.) Now, I do not say that any settlement of the tariff question will permanently raise wages. But I do say that any thorough discussion of the tariff question will help the masses to see what will raise wages. What we want to get rid of, most of all, is the idea so common among our people, that poverty can be cured by benevolence (applause), that the condition of the workingmen can be improved by paternalism. And I hail this discussion that is beginning as a great means of accomplishing that. I have looked for it and long hoped for it. Under the present condition of affairs that discussion cannot go on very far without leading many men to see what free trade fully means. (Applause.) It may begin simply by a controversy that has for apparent issue only the difference between a protective tariff and a revenue tariff, but as it goes on—for I am glad to say the protectionists will fight hard—people will begin to see that a revenue tariff is just as illogical, aye, even more illogical than a protective tariff. And as they advance they will come to believe in sweeping away all duties and having no tariff at all. (Applause.) And then, going on, they will see that the very same reasons that condemn tariffs as restrictions upon trade, and, therefore, restrictions upon production, also condemn the levying of taxes upon things produced within the country; the very same reason that we should free trade from restrictions condemns taxes upon improvements, condemns taxes upon the building of houses, upon the opening of farms, upon the erection of machinery. And it will be only a short step further to see that for free production the natural elements also must be free. (Applause.)

And while we are striving to advance to this end on the direct line set forth in our Syracuse platform, we may congratulate ourselves that this tariff discussion has come to make our work easier. It will do much to enlighten the dense ignorance which now rests over the masses of the people upon all economic questions. It at least brings up the discussion of the great principles of political economy, questions of labor and of capital, and of work and of wages and of the incidence of taxation. What we want is discussion; what we need is light. And I am inclined to believe that as much has been accomplished by the bringing of this great question into political discussion as we could have accomplished if our most sanguine hopes had been fulfilled in the last election. (Applause.) Or, as we said then and have said repeatedly, what we care for is not so much how men vote as how they think. (Applause.) Our aim is to arouse thought, to excite discussion. And now thought is being aroused and discussion is being excited and it must go on and on and on.

It will clear away misunderstandings, prejudices, misapprehensions that now blind men to the truth we would show to them. It will make it easier for the principles that we stand for to find entrance into their minds. (Applause.)

I believe that we have very largely contributed to bringing up this discussion. (Applause.) We have shown that there were men who did dare to advocate free trade in its fullness. (Applause.) We have done something to dissipate the belief among politicians that every workingman was so foolish as to believe that a protective tariff was putting something in his pocket.

And this tariff question cannot now be discussed in the United States in any half way manner. (Applause.) It cannot be a mere dispute between protective tariff men and revenue tariff men, a mere question as to whether we shall have a little higher tariff or a little lower tariff. There are enough men now who know what is really the trouble with labor, what is really the question that lies at the bottom of the tariff question.

Protection is simply robbery—(applause)—the robbery of some for the benefit of others. But whatever its effects may be, they are insignificant as compared with that system of robbery which compels men to pay for the use of natural opportunities. And though we should abolish protection, so long as we leave that great system of robbery intact it cannot do any permanent good. But as things now stand in the United States, now that the labor question is forcing itself upon attention, now that we are here (applause), the discussion of the tariff question must lead further than the tariff.

What does lie at the bottom of this notion of protection; what does commend it to the working men, is this: a condition of things in which work itself seems a privilege; that is to say a condition of things brought about by the monopoly of the natural opportunities without which labor cannot be exerted. (Applause.) We have become habituated to look upon work as a boon. The opportunities for labor being shut up, the man who has merely the power to labor being obliged to sue and to strive to get from some other human creature permission to toil, learns to think of work in itself as a good thing and to want to keep foreigners from doing our work and to keep in our own country our own work. The mere revenue reformer does not dare to go to the bottom of the tariff question. But we can. And as this tariff question is discussed, it is to that point that we can direct men's minds, and therefore I say let it go on; let us do what we can to hasten it! Let us be for freedom always and in all things, for even partial freedom may help us to a greater freedom. (Great applause.)

The Christmas Night Meeting.

After the conclusion of Mr. George's speech the chairman announced that on next Sunday, Christmas night, Dr. McGlynn would deliver the address in the academy. There were loud calls for Dr. McGlynn from all parts of the house, and he finally arose and said:

Dr. McGlynn's Remarks.

Dr. McGlynn, after referring briefly to Mr. George's remarks, turned to the consideration of the Christmas night meeting. He said:

The discourse of next Sunday evening may in some sense be an appropriate corollary of the great discourse that we have listened to with so much delight this evening. We can see how Christmas day means in wondrous fullness that perfect form of exchange, not merely of products, of manufactures, but of thoughts, of affections, of charities and of justice between all the people of the world, that shall make this earthly habitation the kingdom of heaven on earth. (Applause.)

This society of ours, it has often been said, has for its object largely, chiefly, to present to the world the religious aspect of the self-same truths which it is the object of the united labor party to present to the world under their social, economic and political aspects. It is particularly gratifying for us to find that in the world of politics so much is doing, no doubt under the ruling of a special providence of God, to prepare the world for the preaching of the gospel.

The speaker then briefly showed how, in the providence of God, the crimes and mistakes of earthly leaders were often made to serve the cause of truth, and drew a glowing picture of the time when men shall indeed live according to the precepts of Christ, in charity and love with each other, and in obedience to God.

Tremendous applause followed Dr. McGlynn's words; and the exercises closed with singing of "The Cross of the New Crusade" by the choir."

Attention, Cincinnati!

CINCINNATI, O.—The Anti-poverty society of Cincinnati will be inaugurated by a meeting at Elks' hall, 200 Vine street, at 3 o'clock on Christmas afternoon. Among the speakers will be the Rev. E. P. Foster, Dr. A. S. Houghton and Dr. David De Beck. Others will also contribute to the interest of the programme, the choral portion of which will be under the direction of Mr. R. W. Harrison. We deem it most appropriate that on Christmas day we should voice in spirit and melody the song which the angels sang at Bethlehem of

Peace on earth, good will toward men,
Hosana in the highest.

Christ exborted His disciples, "Search the scriptures; for in them ye think ye have eternal life, and they are they which testify of me." So with all reverence we exhort the people to inquire into this living movement. See if there is not in it the promise of justice and holiness, both for the life that is and that is to come. See if it does not bear witness to the true God in hastening the time when his ministers may say in truth to the victims of poverty and oppression, "The eternal God is thy refuge, and underneath are the everlasting arms." This is the gospel. It is God's spell, and under that holy spell let us come together in a deeper, richer, kindlier fellowship than this pro-poverty world has yet permitted us to enjoy. C. H. F.

Kentuckians, Attention!

NEWPORT, Ky.—Readers of THE STANDARD in Kentucky, as well as all others interested in the single tax reform, are requested to communicate with the undersigned.

We have organized land and labor club No. 2 and we propose to do some tall fighting, not only in our own city but throughout the state of Kentucky. What we most need is ammunition in the form of tracts to fire at the enemy. We have already fired a number of Ring's "Case Plainly Stated," and that they have done some effective work is plain to us from the way the people are becoming interested in this great principle of truth and justice. Will send an order shortly for more tracts.

JOS. L. SCHRAER,
Secretary Land and labor club No. 2, 247 Southgate street, Newport, Ky.

Organization in Brooklyn.

The Twenty-third ward association, united labor party, met at 133 McDonough street on Sunday afternoon, December 18. The following officers were elected: President, Major A. R. Calhoun; vice president, Walter Carr; secretary and treasurer, T. B. Preston. The following delegates to the general county committee were elected to serve from January 1: Gaybert Barnes, Charles Sibley May, William B. Stout, Gustave Becher and George H. Ramsden.

The New Rochelle Land and Labor Club.

NEW ROCHELLE, N. Y.—A meeting of the land and labor club of New Rochelle was held December 15 at the residence of Dr. Huntington. The following officers were chosen for the coming year: President, Dr. Huntington; secretary, William J. Sexton; treasurer, Dr. H. L. Foote. We hope to do some splendid work in this town before next fall. WM. J. SEXTON, Secretary.

The Seventeenth Assembly District Organization.

NEW YORK CITY.—The united labor party of the Seventeenth assembly district will meet at 747 Ninth avenue on Thursday, December 22, at 8 p. m. The nomination of officers for the ensuing year has been made the special business for this meeting. Members are specially urged to attend.

M. F. FINN, Recording Secretary.

Worcester, Mass., Believes in Running a Candidate.

WORCESTER, Mass.—At the regular weekly meeting of Land and labor club No. 10, of Worcester, Mass., held Tuesday evening, Dec. 13, the following resolution was unanimously passed:

Resolved, that it is the unqualified opinion of this club that the united labor party should place a presidential candidate in the field in 1888. E. K. PAGE, Secretary.

A Pamphlet Worth Circulating.

Mr. John A. Hostettler, of Canal Dover, O., has published in pamphlet form the text of a remarkably able speech on "the land question" delivered by him at the Knights of Labor celebration in Canal Dover on July 4 last.

We trust Mr. Hostettler's speech will have a wide circulation not only in Ohio but throughout the country.

The Dr. McGlynn Fund.

The publisher of THE STANDARD acknowledges the receipt of $6 for the McGlynn fund: $2 from 'ammer, 'ammer, 'ammer; $1 from Wm. H. Grove, of Salem, Mass.; $1 from H. Levasnan and $1 from L. N. Glaze, of San Jose, Cal.

QUERIES AND ANSWERS.

Sufficiency of the Single Tax.

D. C. Hasbrouck, of Peekskill, N. Y., would like to see a demonstration that the taxes raised under the single tax system, "remembering the resultant decrease in the value of land," would be amply sufficient to meet all the possible wants of our government. Mr. Hasbrouck himself appears to be satisfied, but wants proof to submit to others.

This is the latest form in which opposition to the single tax is manifested. Formerly it was objected that the revenues would be so enormous as to make government even more corrupt than it is. But Professor Harris, in a magazine essay which was completely answered in these columns some months ago, made a computation from which he concluded that land values would be insufficient; and since his alleged discovery it has been quite popular with adversaries of the single tax.

To meet this objection it is by no means necessary to prove that it is not well founded in fact. Even if it prove true that land values would not yield sufficient for the necessary expenses of government, that is no reason why we should take labor products for public use before exhausting land values. If the single tax is economically wise and morally right it should be adopted and labor products freed from taxation. When it becomes necessary to tax labor products in order to eke out the legitimate revenues of government it will be time enough to determine whether such an emergency justifies the confiscation for public use of laborers' earnings.

No trustworthy data exist for proving that land values would be sufficient for public use. None can exist. An extensive collection of statistics might show what the single tax would yield on present values, but no one can tell how much the tax would shrink those values. A fair basis for estimate was furnished however by Mr. Croasdale in his Sailor's Snug Harbor tract. Taking the Snug harbor farm as an average of land values below Forty-second street, and it is a low average as every one knows who is familiar with the property, Mr. Croasdale thinks that $100,000,000 would be a moderate estimate of the annual ground rents of New York city. Therefore, and inasmuch as the tax levy of New York city is only about one-third of that amount, it is evident that the ground rents of that city, even after allowing for shrinkage and for federal revenues, would be ample for the present expenses which New Yorkers contribute to government. As of New York so of the rest of the country. In most cases it will be found upon investigation that as taxes increase ground rents increase; not that the increase of either causes the increase of the other, but that the same conditions that make government expenses higher make land more valuable.

"An Apostle," who was interested in converting a Chicago friend to the anti-poverty faith, sent some tracts to him; but the Chicago friend was as adamant and promptly returned two or three objections of the "chestnut" order which our correspondent wishes us to answer.

The Chicago man thinks the primal cause of poverty ignorance rather than injustice. It is in fact ignorance *and* injustice. If it were not for the ignorance of the masses the injustice could not continue an hour in a country where manhood suffrage prevails.

But the kind of ignorance to which I refer is different from what the Chicago man has in mind. I mean ignorance of the distinction between justice and injustice, and ignorance of natural economic law. He means ignorance of reading, writing, arithmetic and such, for he says: "The history of immigration to this country from other lands, where the population is dense and educational facilities limited, shows how soon these people have cast off their mantle of darkness, when in so many thousand of cases they have become prosperous and enlightened citizens." It is strange that any intelligent American, who may be supposed to have been born without the mantle, should be so bewildered. Our educational facilities are less limited now than they were forty years ago, and yet the immigrant of forty years ago had far better opportunities of becoming prosperous than has the immigrant of to-day. Besides, educational facilities are not limited in all the countries from which our immigration flows. And does not our Chicago man know that education without opportunity to utilize it produces the most galling form of poverty; while opportunity without education at least offers a living?

The Chicago man will find in his own city an instance that ought to strike him dumb with his nonsense about ignorance as the primal cause of poverty. Some years ago a German, now residing in Chicago—let us call him Limburger—came to this country, and without casting off his mantle of darkness, for he cannot be said even now to have an education, went into the lumber business. He had no capital; he needed none, except an ax. Up in the forests of Michigan he went, and floated timber down a stream to a mill below. After a time, by his industry, he had accumulated enough capital to erect a mill of his own, and then another, and another. Up to this point he was a useful immigrant, who by his labor and skill proved what a poor and ignorant man can do with an ax in a country *where forests are free*. But from this point he made of himself a social parasite. In company with others he bought up forest lands, and now he is a millionaire. His millions, however, have not come from his labor, but from the monopoly of forest land which he acquired. What opportunity is there now for an immigrant like Limburger to do what Limburger did? To one the forests were free, and though he had no capital he could utilize his labor on the bounties of nature; the other, if he would cut timber in the forests of Michigan, must beg the privilege of Limburger, and as Limburger makes money by selling such privileges, the beggar must be prepared to pay either with cash in advance or by a discount on his earnings. It is not lack of education that makes our people poor; it is lack of opportunity to work.

The same Chicago objector notices that "actual suffering from poverty exists mainly in large cities, and is rarely seen in the country." That might be because in the country, where people know each other, actual suffering is often prevented by neighborly good will, a factor in the problem that is not present in centers of population. But the most important reason for the greater prevalence of poverty in cities than in country places is the same reason that accounts for the remarkable fact that there are more headaches in cities than in country places—there are more heads to ache.

Finally, says the Chicago critic, "there are thousands of acres owned by the government which may be had for settlement at $1.25 per acre," and "several southern states offer land free." And then with an air of simplicity quite foreign to the typical Chicago man, he "wants to know why the poor do not seek their way out of the slums and into the sunshine of country homes?" There are several reasons, but a few will do. Not all the denizens of the slums know of these opportunities; fewer still are able to avail themselves of such opportunities, and the opportunities are not worth as much as they cost. The only possible benefit of settling on any of these lands is the chance of getting rich by an increase of land values due to increase of population. The reward of labor is not perceptibly better there than in New York city. If it were people would go there for work.

To the suggestion of the Chicago man that the Anti-poverty society ought to raise the means to send these people out to the lands to which he refers, I have no right to answer for the society, but answering for one of its members I should say that it is no part of the business of that society to work up "booms" in western and southern real estate.

The Banks and Money.

H. V. H. asks the meaning of that clause of the Syracuse platform which demands that the government issue all money without the intervention of banks; and wants to know whether it is proposed to have the government issue the money to itself and then circulate it by paying national expenses, or to issue it to all who furnish adequate security. I cannot undertake to speak for the party to any greater extent than it has spoken for itself. It does not define for what purposes government should issue money, but only declares that whatever money is issued, irrespective of the purpose of issue, shall be issued directly by the government without the intervention of banks, thus proposing to abolish banks of issue.

He also asks how the people will gain if the banks are abolished; whether the shareholder gets something for nothing, or a return equivalent to what he can secure by applying capital in the direction of natural forces. National bank notes are secured by United States bonds deposited at Washington, on which the banks draw interest at the rate of not less than three per cent; as there are in round numbers $350,000,000 national bank notes of which the banks have the use for loaning purpose, their bonds are to that extent for all practical purposes paid by the government, which gives currency to their notes by its guarantees; nevertheless, they receive full interest on their bonds. This is equivalent to a public tax of $10,500,000 annually, which could be saved by issuing the notes without the intervention of banks. Although the banks individually make very little by this, to the extent of what they make they get something for nothing. It is on what they lend for commercial purposes that they get a return equivalent on the average, plus an indefinite monopoly profit, to what could be secured by applying the same amount of capital directly to productive uses.

Free Trade.

R. L. of New York, who has read in "Progress and Poverty" that though methods of taxation are improved, the laboring man is no better off, is curious to know if free trade coexisting with our present land laws, would not oppress labor, and whether it is not absolutely necessary that land value taxation should be adopted before any other changes are made in our institutions. The question is frequently asked by men who see the benefits of making land common property, but do not freely understand the single tax.

The tariff is a burden on labor, as every other tax on labor products is. It increases the price of commodities, and thereby contracts opportunities to work. The consumer is forced by the higher price to contract his demands; that makes production less profitable, and it falls off, and that involves less labor, which throws men out of work, who, being themselves consumers, contract their demands, and thus perpetuate the downward tendency of production and consumption. To abolish, or to reduce, such a tax, even under present land laws, is to benefit labor; for by reducing prices it enables the consumer to increase his demands, and that increases production, which in turn improves wages. But it is true that this benefit, land being monopolized, would be only temporary. Higher wages attract workers from low wage countries; higher production excites the cupidity of land owners; and increased consumption is evidence of ability to pay higher rent. So the benefit at first enjoyed by laborers would be ultimately transferred to land owners.

If, therefore, the tariff were reduced or abolished labor would be the gainer only for a time; but it would be a step in the right direction, and an object lesson of the beneficent possibilities involved in absolute free trade.

It is just and beneficial that labor products should be exempt from taxation, and the more complete the exemption the more perfectly justice is observed and the benefits enjoyed. As reduction goes on this will come to be more and more clearly understood by the masses of people; and then, when the temporary character of the benefit is noticed, arises the inquiry, Why? The benefit was and it is not; why? Wages rose as the tariff fell, but when the tariff had settled at a point, they fell again; why? If the tariff be still further reduced, they rise only to fall again when the reduction ceases; why? Let those questions once be asked by the people and the private ownership of land is doomed.

A Carpenter in the Wilderness.

Here comes a carpenter from Berlin, Wisconsin, whose letter interests me intensely, principally because he thinks he has "seen the cat," when in fact he hasn't quite seen it. He has, as he says, done his share of hard work, and yet for forty years has kept abreast with questions of reform. He is very anxious for the success of our crusade at the earliest possible moment, but recognizes the rule that radical reforms are not accomplished in a day nor without much hard labor and endurance. It is indeed as he says that "between Egypt and Canaan is always the wilderness." But what think you does he suggest to relieve the hardships and monotony of the journey? Why, he would tax personal property as well as land values. Not that he believes in it, for he does not; but because he wants to "get to Canaan a little way at a time." Surely he did not take time to think before writing; if he had he would have seen that he is not proposing to "get to Canaan a little way at a time," but to turn back toward Egypt.

And why would he turn back toward Egypt? Because he wants to? No, but because he has lost his bearings. He objects to the claim that "whatever a man earns with his labor of brain or muscle should be free from all taxes," because "one man may have a clear and active brain and be able to see the future with much of certainty, while another with muscle and a little brain capacity labors honestly and faithfully, but is made a stepping stone to lift the first into ease and luxury." He thinks the first ought not to be free of taxes. But does he think the first ought to be permitted to make a stepping stone of the second? And does he think that taxing the first on what he gets from the second will interfere with the stepping stone act? Why, Mr. Carpenter, you are in the wilderness in more senses than one. When we say that whatever a man earns with his labor of brain or muscle should be free of taxes we mean what he *earns*, not what he gets by using some one for a stepping stone. If you abolish taxes on labor products and tax land up to its full value nobody will be able to make stepping stones of other people, and consequently there will be no personal property to tax except what the owner has earned.

Turn back, Mr. Carpenter, turn back! Let us camp in the wilderness for forty years, or forty times forty if need be; but when we do move let us move toward Canaan. And meantime let us set up no Egyptian idols to please those of the multitude who may still feel the influence of Egyptian superstition. LOUIS F. POST.

Wise and Foolish.

San Francisco Weekly Star.

There was a man in our town,
And he was wondrous wise;
He stepped upon a piece of ground,
And held it for a rise.

And when he saw the people come,
He said, "Its very plain,
I must buy lots and lots of land,
To hold for further gain."

There was another man in town,
Who was not wondrous wise;
He stepped into a wagon shop,
And there his trade he plies.

And when the people swelled the town
He saw it very plain,
That lots went up and wages down;
Yet did he not complain.

But overworked and bent and gray
He slaved with all his might,
And to his boys would always say,
"Whatever is, is right."

Rev. Dr. Parker Repudiates the Doctrine of Private Ownership of Land.

ALLENDALE, N. J.—I was one of the many clergymen who attended the farewell lecture of the Rev. Dr. Parker, given at Chickering hall on the 9th inst. The subject, "Wm. E. Gladstone," was a great one, and the preacher's treatment of it most masterly. He is personally well acquainted with the ex-premier of England, and drew for his audience a series of living photographs, so that we seemed to be in the presence of the greatest statesman as we were actually in the presence of one of the greatest preachers of the age. At the close of the lecture every auditor was enthusiastic, and Dr. Parker, notwithstanding his mishaps with the memorial committee, goes home crowned with American laurels. As one who, years ago, listened many times to the learned preacher, a word of personal tribute may not be inappropriate. Dr. Parker is not heard at his best in the first sermon you listen to. His mannerisms are strange and an apparent pomposity and self-consciousness are somewhat repelling.

He is, however, an orator whose power over you increases every time you hear him, and you never leave his church without feeling yourself a stronger and a better man from the mental and spiritual food of which you have partaken.

Had Dr. Parker remained with us America would have been a great gainer and England a large loser. A man who for eighteen years has preached thrice weekly to one of the best congregations in London, and who numbers regularly at his Thursday noon services more ministers of the gospel than does any other living preacher, is not one to be despised or lightly esteemed. Had American churches known his worth he would have received, doubtless, many calls. I mention these things to show the popularity of the man and to give weight to some of his utterances which, singularly, were omitted in most of the reports of his Gladstone lecture, given by what you call "the pro-poverty press."

Said Dr. Parker, speaking of the aristocracy and democracy of England:

"It is difficult for us to enter into the thoughts and feelings of an aristocrat. He is trained up so differently from ourselves. From infancy he is led to believe that the land belongs exclusively to him and to his class. The fact is, the higher truth is, that the land belongs to no one, or rather it belongs to all; it belongs to the people. 'The earth is the Lord's and the fullness thereof,' and he has given it for the benefit of the human race, for the benefit of humanity at large. Humanity is greater than any one element in it.

"Soon the son of man will come and humanity shall then urge and receive its full rights."

Such an utterance places the great London preacher and leader of thought squarely on record as a believer in the new political economy and an advocate of the equal rights of all to the natural resources of the earth.

(REV.) W. P. GEORGE.

LAND, LABOR AND TAXATION.

By Professor Richard T. Ely, Ph.D., Johns Hopkins University.

The Independent.

Henry George is the logical successor of John Stuart Mill in the development of the theory of land taxation. Mill desired, as we have seen, to appropriate the future unearned increment of land values. Mr. Henry George takes a long step in advance and says: "Let us take the entire unearned increment of land values, past and present;" in other words, let the public take all that has been created by the efforts of the general public as opposed to what individuals have in their individual capacity created for themselves. Henry George holds that the entire economic rent of land, both in city and country, rightfully belongs to the people and should by them be taken for their own benefit, that is, for public purposes.

Now let us see what he proposes to accomplish by this appropriation of rent by the public. First, he holds that the proceeds should be used to defray the expenses of government, thus taking the burden of taxation off from current industry whereby it would be greatly stimulated. Now I must surrender a part of what I produce to the public in taxes; but after the introduction of the tax on land values, exclusive of improvements, I could keep the entire fruits of my toil. "What we propose," thus reads the platform of the united labor party (the Henry George party), "is not the disturbing of any man in his holding or title, but by abolishing all taxes on industry or its products, to leave to the producer the full fruits of his exertions, and by the taxation of land value, exclusive of improvements, to devote to the common use and benefit those values which, arising not from the exertion of the individual, but from the growth of society, belong justly to the community as a whole."

2. He belives that a surplus would remain which could be used for public purposes, such as providing better training for the young both in mind and body, providing more public parks and play grounds, establishing more free public libraries, purchasing street car lines and running them without charge, as elevators in office buildings are run, purchasing steam railways and telegraph lines and operating them for the public benefit, and for doing other things of like nature which improve the race of men and offer them greater facilities for gaining a livelihood and promoting their own welfare. It is to be noticed that he proposes to leave every one to make the most of his opportunities. The basis of his proposed reformed economic society still remains individualism as opposed to socialism.

3. Henry George holds that his proposed reform would open up unused natural opportunities of vast magnitude, and would compel men to work for a living who now are enabled to live like parasites upon the toil of others. Were his system of taxation in force, no one could grow rich by withholding land from the market, for its entire annual value would be taken by the community. While then existing titles would not be disturbed, it would be necessary for all holders of land either to improve it, or to surrender it to others.

4. It is interesting to notice a return of Henry George to the view entertained by eighteenth century philosophers of nature. Like them he holds that provision has been made in the natural order of things for the happiness and welfare of every human being. Like them he holds that iniquitous human contrivances have so far defeated the beneficent purposes of nature, and that they are responsible for crime and poverty. While rent is not exactly due to the bounty of nature, in it we can see how the creator provided in advance for the growing needs of this great, rapidly growing human family.

As population grows, its needs for common public purpose continually increase, but rent likewise increases, because the demands of men upon land augment. Cities expand in area and density, an increasing proportion of men seek a home in cities, and ground rents rise. It likewise becomes necessary to cultivate less fertile lands or to go further for food, so that the rent from well situated and at the same time fertile agricultural lands also increases. Improved means of communication and transportation and agricultural improvements, whereby more produce may be derived from an acre, can only retard the movement of rent temporarily, but cannot hinder its permanent augmentation. Thus it is that rent, if taken by the public, grows of itself spontaneously, automatically as it were, in proportion to the growth of public needs.

Suppose we put away all considerations of right and justice and endeavor to understand better Henry George's theory by trying to give ourselves an idea of how it would actually work in a city like Baltimore. As already explained we have a permanent ground rent system in Baltimore, and a fair ground rent is simply an annual charge for the land. These ground rents are now paid to private parties. What will be the effect on the city of Baltimore if these rents should be confiscated by the municipality?

As tax commissioner of the city I have had some opportunities for gathering information, and I have given the subject some thought. While I can offer, at present, no estimate of the total annual economic rent of land in Baltimore, I feel confident that it is sufficient to defray all municipal expenses, all Baltimore's share of state expenses and to leave a surplus for public improvements, such as parks, better school facilities, including splendid opportunities for industrial training, the purchase of street car lines, and the reduction of fare to two or three cents—not, however, free transportation, such as Henry George proposes. Now, if we should introduce the single land tax in Baltimore equal to the annual rental value of the land, is it not manifest that it would be an immense advantage to the industry of the city? Manufactures and commerce would be free from all taxation, which ought to assure the superiority of Baltimore over every other American city in both respects. Any man in coming to Baltimore would know that however much he might extend his business he would not be obliged to pay any tribute to the public on the fruits of his enterprise. He would be obliged to pay annually the annual value of the land he occupied, but that would be all. Let us suppose I am doing business on Baltimore street in a building which I own, but on leased land for which I now pay a fellow citizen $1,000 per annum. If the single land tax is introduced, what change will be effected in my situation? As before, I still pay $1,000 per annum ground rent, but to the city and not to my fellow citizen. Now, after paying ground rent, I must still pay taxes on the ground, on the building and on my business, and the larger my business the greater the amount of the tax. After the introduction of the Henry George reform, all taxes would cease, but my fellow-citizen would lose every cent of his annual income of $1,000.

It is nonsense to talk as some do as if all improvements would stop if the rent of land were confiscated. They go on in Baltimore now. Why should they cease if it should become necessary to pay ground rent to a public body? I would prefer to do it because it would relieve me of other burdens. Some say that more improvements are now affected on account of our ground rent system. A workingman, for example, can own his own house with a small outlay because he is not obliged to buy the land. He pays for his house, and so long as he pays his annual ground rent no one can ever disturb him. It is absurd to talk about the impossibility of one's planting a tree and eating the fruit of it, of building a house and living in it in security, should the state confiscate rents. Baltimoreans now pay rents and enjoy the benefits of their improvements as other people do.

When we come to the moral aspects of the proposed reform, there can be no doubt that it must at first shock the conscience of every honest man. It is proposed to take all of a certain species of property without a cent of compensation. The justification offered is a very simple one. The earth is the gift of the creator to the whole of the human race. God made it, not man. How dare any one fence off a portion of the earth's surface and say, this is mine? Let him show his title deed from the Almighty. This is impossible; and it is held that all titles to land are null and void because they assume that some human being at some time had an exclusive right to a portion of the earth's surface. Henry George and his friends believe, on the contrary, that the title is vested by the Almighty in the human race and is inalienable. Their argument is chiefly one of natural law, but the Mosaic legislation and various passages in the Old Testament are occasionally adduced as additional proof. "The land shall not be sold forever; for the land is mine; for ye are strangers and sojourners with me." This was the command of the Lord to the children of Israel; and the psalmist exclaims: "The earth is the Lord's, and the fullness thereof."

I do not feel at all inclined to criticise the attitude of those who put the claims of humanity above the claims of a single individual. The whole is more than a part. We hold all that we have by a secondary and derivative title. The first title is a higher one. No Christian can dispute this without denying the fundamental principles of his religion; and I believe it is valid as underlying legal principles, to which constitutions and laws should be made to conform. Property is but a means to an end—the welfare of the race, the well being of God's children. When it is proposed to alter the laws of property in any way, some shallow person is sure to repeat to us the commandment, "Thou shalt not steal;" as if that stood forever in the way of change. "Thou shalt not steal." Very true, my friend. But God equally said: "Thou shalt not murder." Yet we send men to battle and certain death in war. We compel them to go and lay down life for us. The truth is this: neither ethics nor law can recognize such a thing as an absolute and unconditional title to life or property in any private individual. It never has existed, and it never will exist.

Yet when I have granted all this, I am unable to agree with the ethics of the confiscation; or, if you will, the appropriation of rent.

The land of the United States belongs first of all to the people of the United States. Now the question arises, How shall we make the best possible use of it? Up to the present time we, the American people, have supposed that the best thing we could do with our common possession was to divide it up into small parcels and dispose of both the right of property and the right of possession in it to private individuals. This is still the opinion of the vast majority of the American people. We have invited and still invite all the world to come to us, and on compliance with common prescribed conditions to acquire land. Many of our own people and many from abroad have in response acquired the right of property in land in good faith. This has not been a matter of generosity on the part us, the American people. We have thought that we in this manner conferred the greatest benefit on ourselves; that in this manner our common heritage would yield us a larger return than in any other way, and I do not believe it will ever appeal to the conscience of the American people to break faith with those who have acquired landed property under laws which we have voluntarily imposed on ourselves. We hear the emancipation of slavery quoted as a precedent, but this was a radically different case. Slavery came in the course of time to be morally offensive to the American people. It was a thing odious in itself, and all contracts based on slavery were declared null and void because they were believed to be founded on a thing iniquitous in itself. Ferdinand Lassalle wrote a work, "System of Acquired Rights," which, in spite of its radicalism, was declared by legal luminaries to be one of the most remarkable legal treatises of the past two hundred years. Lasalle laid down this principle in his book: All contracts contain a silent clause, and must contain such a clause: "This contract is valid so long as it implies nothing condemned by the moral sense of the community. Then it becomes null and void." Now such a clause might come in force in the case of slavery, or even in the case of the liquor traffic. But it will be a long time before it appeals to the moral sense of a modern nation as something wrong in itself to hold property in a thing, in land. The question involved is one of utility. How shall we derive the greatest benefit from our land? And if we have all made a mistake, should one party to the transaction alone bear the entire cost of the common blunder?

The case of the soldier might perhaps be cited. He must lay down his life. Why should not landlords lay down their titles for the common good? If it were really necessary they ought to do it. But is it not necessary; consequently it is a needless hardship; consequently cruelty and injustice. We have not yet decided that private property in land is not, after all, the best thing. If we do so decide, any burdens which that decision may entail can and should be distributed according to some equitable rule among all the people.

The New Treasurer of the Anti-Poverty Society.

Benjamin Urner, treasurer of the Anti-poverty society since its organization, has resigned his office, and Mr. E. J. Shriver has been chosen treasurer in his stead.

Mr. Urner's resignation was prompted by the feeling that he could not properly spare from his business affairs the time necessary for due attention to the large correspondence of the treasurer's office.

Communications for the treasurer should hereafter be directed to room 30, Cooper union, New York.

A Woman's Opinion.

NEW YORK CITY.—I am opposed to nominating a candidate for president. It seems to me that Mr. Cleveland is only waiting to be re-elected to carry his free trade ideas much farther than he has yet pushed them. Should he prove to be only a partial free trader he may at least effect enough in the way of showing people the benefits of free trade to make the way easy for us in 1892.

JOANNA ROCHE.

A PRACTICAL ILLUSTRATION.

BAY SHORE, L. I.—A very effective method of showing the evils of slavery, much in vogue in anti-slavery days, was the contrasting of the workings of the two systems of labor, free and slave, as they were seen in two different states, separated only by a river, as in the case of Ohio and Kentucky.

The south side of Long island presents a similar opportunity of contrasting the working of the two systems of common and private property in land.

The territory of Long island was originally granted by patents from the crown to certain individuals having influence at court or by purchase, some of which grants were confirmed by subsequent colonial governors, and some were repurchased from the Indians, who lived upon it. Most of these grants extended from the sound to the ocean, and consequently included the bay that intervenes between the south shore of the island and the outer beach, a narrow strip of sand separating the bay from the ocean.

With one or two exceptions these grants have not been held to cover or convey any right to the waters of the bay or to its bottom, if covered by water. As a consequence, the bay and its natural products have been held and used, as they were, by the Indians who lived on its margin when this country was discovered. Every person, at least every person residing in the town which claims jurisdiction over it, is free to launch his boat, and take from its waters its natural products without any restrictions except such as are binding upon all, and enforced by the town for the good of all. If any revenue is derived from renting portions of its bottom or for the privilege of cutting grass on its islands, that revenue goes into the treasury of the town, not into any private pockets.

Here, then, is an example of natural opportunities, which by some good fortune escaped the clutches of monopoly, and are now, as they have ever been, free to all who choose to use them. The general result of this is, that nowhere in the United States is there less suffering, less poverty, and more independence than in those towns bordering on the Great South bay. Here there are no strikes, no lockouts, no beggars and no poor, except from misfortune or vice. In times of financial depression and business stagnation, when want of employment converts skilled workmen and wealth producers into homeless tramps, the towns of Long island bordering on the bay do not feel the "hardness of the times" as it is felt elsewhere. And why? Because natural opportunities are never closed to any one. When a man can do nothing else or find nothing else to do, the bay, with its inexhaustible store of wild fowl, shell and other fish is open to him at all times without the permission of any one and without the necessity of paying some one for the privilege. Hundreds of men in all the towns bordering on the bay do now, as their ancestors have done for generations, "follow the bay" for a livelihood, and from the earnings of which many are enabled to own their homes, but which is becoming more and more difficult to do, because of the monopoly of the land near the shore; which natural opportunities from their enhanced value (being held from use for speculative purposes) are no longer accessible to any but the rich. Grants conferred by some king or governor, long since turned to dust, and who had no more right to give away the land of Long island to the then existing generation, than he had to convey territory in the moon, much less to deprive the men of succeeding generations of a natural right, enable a few to hold the land from those who could use it, awaiting the coming of the wealthy, who, because of its advantages near the sea, will give for it a sum which the baymen can never hope to possess.

Now, supposing the same system had obtained on the water as on the land, how different might not the condition of the baymen have been to-day! Instead of ownership by the town, there would have been many private ownerships or landlords. No man could then have launched his boat upon the bay without somebody's permission. On every bushel of shellfish he brought to shore, and on every "take" of fish, he would be required to pay a tax, just as the barons of the Rhine used to exact a toll of all who sailed past their castles, the former tax being no more justifiable than the latter. As a result of that system, we should have seen palatial residences (modern castles) in every town erected by the descendants of the original grantees out of the rents levied on the industry of the baymen, who, from a condition of independence and comfort would become dependent and poor in proportion as their landlords became rich. Or it might happen, as it has happened in Scotland and Ireland, where whole counties have been depopulated because it became more profitable to let the land for game preserves for the pleasure of "my lord" than for legitimate industry.

Who can doubt that if the bay was in private hands to-day it would not be long before it would lapse into the possession of the Goulds and Vanderbilts, and be used by them exclusively for pleasure.

The baymen's occupation would then, like Othello's, "be gone," and with the loss of those natural opportunities would commence a fiercer struggle for existence than they or their ancestors have ever felt before, which would result, either in emigration or a gradual reduction to the condition of the peasant on the coast of Ireland, who in addition to the ground rent of their poor holdings are compelled to pay for the sea weed cast up by the waves, which is used to fertilize the barren land.

If then the system of common property as applied to the Great South bay, is so equitable and just, and has been so conducive to the general welfare of all classes, why would not the principle when applied to land be equally promotive of the best interests of all? And is it not a fact, patent to all not blinded by prejudice, that the same evils that we have shown would inevitably have resulted from making the bay private property have resulted from the application of that principle to the land.

If then common property as exemplified in its application to the Great South bay has worked so beneficently, why not extend the principle to the land also?

"It is never too late to mend," and, notwithstanding the unequal distribution of land consequent on the present system, the "single tax" as advocated by the united labor party, will, by taxing only land values, gradually restore unused land to the people without injustice to any. HUGH B. BROWN

Sentiment Can be Built up Most Effectually by Naming a Full Ticket.

TOLEDO, O.—Any controversy in regard to placing a candidate in the field for president is hurtful. Our duty is plain. Away with policy. Sentiment is what we want to build up; and that can be done most effectually by placing a full ticket in the field.

A. R. WYNN.

When We Meet the Enemy, They Are Ours.

BRADFORD, Pa.—We have organized a land and labor club in this metropolis of the oil regions, and are full of enthusiasm. We court opposition, which we will no doubt have, but when we meet the enemy they are ours. B. J. BERNEY, Secretary.

THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

Published weekly at
8 ANN STREET, NEW YORK.

TERMS, POSTAGE FREE.

One year, $2.50; six months, $1.25; single copies, 5 cents.
Entered at the postoffice, New York, as second class matter.

Communications and contributions are invited, and will be attentively considered. Manuscripts not found suitable for publication will be returned if sufficient stamps are sent for return postage. No notice will be taken of anonymous communications.

Contributions and letters on editorial matters should be addressed to THE EDITOR OF THE STANDARD, and all communications on business to the PUBLISHER OF THE STANDARD.

THE STANDARD wants an agent to secure subscribers at every postoffice in the United States, to whom liberal terms will be given.

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

Sample copies sent free on application.

SATURDAY, DECEMBER 24, 1887.

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

PLATFORM OF THE UNITED LABOR PARTY.

Adopted at Syracuse August 19, 1887.

We, the delegates of the united labor party of New York, in state convention assembled, hereby reassert, as the fundamental platform of the party, and the basis on which we ask the co-operation of citizens of other states, the following declaration of principles adopted on September 23, 1886, by the convention of trade and labor associations of the city of New York, that resulted in the formation of the united labor party.

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

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

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

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

While declaring the foregoing to be the fundamental principles and aims of the united labor party, and while conscious that no reform can give effectual and permanent relief to labor that does not involve the legal recognition of equal rights to natural opportunities, we nevertheless, as measures of relief from some of the evil effects of ignoring those rights, favor such legislation as may tend to reduce the hours of labor, to prevent the employment of children of tender years, to avoid the competition of convict labor with honest industry, to secure the sanitary inspection of tenements, factories and mines, and to put an end to the abuse of conspiracy laws.

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

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

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

THE AMERICAN MERCHANT MARINE.

The protective tariff men are worried about it. They generally are; but this year they are more energetically worried than ever. The situation is so opportune, the circumstances so helpfully combined, that if ever anything is to be done for the building up of that American merchant marine we hear so much about, it must be done now or never.

Here we are, with an immense and steadily growing surplus in the treasury which must somehow be got rid of or it will ultimately absorb all the money in the country. As every tyro in political economy knows, the proper way to reduce that surplus is not to lighten the load of taxation and so encourage the wicked anarchists and paupers of Europe, Asia, North and South America, Africa, and Australia to trade with us. Not by any manner of means. The only way to protect Americans from the competition of foreign laborers is to bring the foreign laborers here, where they can—that is where they will—pshaw! Mr. Blaine and the *Tribune* have gone into the subject fully, and there's no need to explain it here. What we were going to say is that the proper thing to do with the surplus is to spend it in developing some infant industry.

Now, do you see how things are working together? Here's the infant industry of having an American merchant marine—a mewling and a puking infant, very rickety and bitterly crying for the pap of protection. And here's an enormous surplus requiring to be spent. Devote that surplus, or a big slice of it, at least, to the development of that infant industry, and the result cannot fail to be an American merchant marine such as neither England nor any other country could produce for twice the money.

Do you doubt it? Come now, just consider the evidence. Here is Admiral Porter, a man who has been to sea. He tells us that from 1830 to 1885 the British government expended $248,500,000 in subsidizing steamship lines, and says we ought to spend at least $10,000,000 a year in the same way, or, say, $550,000,000 within the same space of time. And here is the *Tribune*, which is very often all at sea, pats the admiral on the back and indorses every word he says. And there isn't a ship builder on the Delaware who doesn't know that the assurance of $10,000,000 yearly subsidies for foreign trading steamships would fill his yard with American laborers from Scotland eager to go to work at reasonable wages. The whole thing is very simple. An American merchant marine comes high, but it's only a question of money after all, and if $10,000,000 a year won't pay for it why $20,000,000 or $30,000,000 certainly will. And think of the joy of having it—a genuine American merchant marine, built by protected American laborers from Great Britain, out of iron made by protected American laborers from Hungary; burning coal mined by protected American laborers from some other European country, and spreading sails of cotton duck made by protected American laborers from Canada. To possess such a vigorous, lively, shouting, kicking infant industry as that would be a boon indeed!

Only—only—what the deuce are we going to do with the infant industry after we've got it? It's all very fine to build ships, and a glorious thing to see ships flying the American flag; but suppose you you haven't got anything for your ships to do—eh? Ships are meant to carry goods, and we have made it a penal offense to bring goods to the United States. We fine the people who do it, and cast them into prison if they try to evade the fine. It is as though having made prohibition the law of the land, we were trying to encourage the infant industry of making brandy bottles—the two things won't work together, so to speak. And then those unprincipled English and French and Germans and Italians have got their ships already—plenty of them—and have an unholy desire to keep them running. What if they go in for protection, too, and nurse their mercantile marines a little? Suppose that England, to speak profanely, sees our $10,000,000 yearly subsidies, and goes $10,000,000 better? She is capable of it; the Cobden club can make her do anything. What shall we do then? Differential duties, of course, could be resorted to, but even at that game two players can amuse themselves Truly, things are very much mixed.

However, there are few questions so knotty that they can't be solved somehow, and perhaps we can find a way out of this difficulty that shall be at once simple, feasible and satisfactory to Admiral Porter and the *Tribune*. At all events it can do no harm to try.

What is it the admiral and the *Tribune* want? Clearly, not more trade with foreign countries. That would be to betray the sacred principle of protection and to admit that it is right to buy in the cheapest market and sell in the dearest. What they really wish is that such trade as unfortunately is carried on with foreign countries should be done in vessels built in the United States and flying the American flag. How simple do the most perplexing questions become when subjected to logical analysis.

Well, since that is all they want, the protectionist champions can get it easily enough, and in a much less risky way than by building a lot of ships for which there will be no employment. Let the United States set apart $10,000,000 or $20,000,000—whatever they please—to be expended yearly in shipbuilding. Then arrange with some of the foreign steamship lines—those unprincipled foreigners will do anything for money—to transfer their offices to this side of the Atlantic, burning their ships behind them, and become American corporations, on condition that we give them a certain number of brand new vessels free, gratis, for nothing, every year, and pay for the burned steamers in cash besides. Ten or twenty million dollars judiciously expended in this manner every year would, within a generation, sweep every foreign flag from the sea, transfer the whole shipbuilding trade of the world to our shores, use up dead loads of American coal and wood and iron, and make things hum generally. In time ship building would become a lost art outside of the United States, and when that happy day should arrive we could hold a grand final review of the American merchant marine, burn or blow up the whole business, and thus, since without ships there could be no ocean trade, we could carry out the noble principle of seaboard protection to its fullest extent by irrevocably cutting adrift from the rest of the world and thereafter going it alone. Europe would dissolve into an undiscovered country; the corrupting gold of the Cobden club would cease to grease the unpatriotic American palm and we should live happy ever after.

And really it wouldn't cost so very much after all. Admiral Porter and the *Tribune* had better think it over.

THE PANIC OF THE RICH.

There are a great many well meaning people in this country who are permitting foolish fears to make them false, not only to their own true interests, but to their natural tendencies and honest convictions. They view the steady growth of monopoly with increasing alarm, but they do nothing to prevent it. They hate boss government and ring rule, yet they take part in contests that have no other real object than a decision as to which of two hostile bands of predatory politicians shall have the privilege of preying on the public. They believe in democratic institutions and feel their hearts stirred now and then by the old time passion for liberty, and yet shut their eyes to the steady growth of a public sentiment among the friends of monopoly in favor of a "strong government" that will depend on force alone for the maintenance of public order. Why is this? Simply because men have shut their eyes to the causes of the existing conditions, and now that angry thousands are venting their discontent in foreign cries for socialism or anarchy, Americans in frantic fright forget their Americanism and look for a remedy to a despotism as distinctly foreign to the spirit of our institutions as socialism or anarchy.

The abandonment of faith in the natural forces of democratic government for the righting of social wrongs is already making the talk of reform more difficult. We can all see that the rotten borough system was the great obstacle to all reform in England, an obstacle that required threats of revolution to force its removal; yet what is New York city to-day but a rotten borough, the choice of whose representatives in the state and federal governments is dictated, despite universal suffrage, by bosses and boodlers who look for support and direction to modern money kings who wield a power more subtle and dangerous than that of the great nobles and land owners who seized the English boroughs as their prey and dictated the choice of their representatives? The same forces that established the rotten borough system in England are active to-day in establishing the power of the money king and the boodle boss in New York. Agitation against economic oppression is no new thing. Labor troubles marked the whole Tudor period in English history. Riots against the robbery of the barons and tradesmen who were then engaged, under the sanction of a parliament of landlords, in inclosing the common lands, were of frequent occurrence. Green, in his "History of the English People," says:

Throughout the time of the Tudors the discontent of the labor class bound the wealthier classes to the crown. It was in truth this social danger which lay at the root of the Tuder despotism. For the proprietary classes the repression of the poor was a question of life and death. Employer and proprietor were ready to surrender freedom into the hands of the one power which could preserve them from social anarchy. *It was to the selfish panic of the landowners that England owed the Statute of laborers and its terrible heritage of pauperism. It was to the selfish panic of both landowner and merchant that she owed the despotism of the monarchy.*

Has not this history repeated itself right under our eyes here in the city of New York? It is to the selfish panic of the land owner and the merchant that we owe the establishment of boss rule in this city on a firmer foundation than it has had since the overthrow of Tweed. It was the senseless panic that marked the Hewitt campaign that gave the bosses who nominated Hewitt the courage to nominate Fellows this year, and to carry his election by the most sweeping and audacious bribery ever seen even in this city. It is to the senseless panic among the class that forms such institutions as the Chicago union league that we owe such treasonable propositions as that of Congressman Adams to endow the president of the United States with the power of a czar and to overthrow by a single enactment the rights of free speech, free press, habeas corpus and trial by jury. The discontent of labor that in the times of the Tudors bound the wealthier classes to the crown is to-day causing the wealthier classes in America to turn toward the methods of despotism as the proper ones for this democratic country, and employer and proprietor are nearly as ready as they then were to surrender freedom into the hands of the one power that promises to preserve them from social anarchy. The first thought among such people is one of repression, not reform. They do not seek the causes of social discontent with a view of removing them and thus establishing social content and domestic tranquillity, but they rather contrive how they can best club into submission or terrify by arms a seething mass of men rendered all the more dangerous by the remembrance that they were once freemen.

However profitable this condition of affairs may be to political bosses, however natural it may be under influences that are constantly aggrandizing the political power and social importance of a plutocracy, it is shocking and alarming to every patriotic American who believes in the principles of democracy, and it threatens intolerable evils to those who have been most affected by these panics—the so-called middle class. Under a despotism or a condition of anarchy there are two classes alone that can escape robbery—those so rich that they have power to defend themselves and those so poor that they have nothing to lose. Will our business men still continue to imagine that their interests are on the side of the all-devouring trust or the side of the people? Will they return to reason and democracy or permit the wrath of a few madmen to still scare them into the camp of the monopolist, the boss, and eventually that of the military despot? This is a serious question, on the answer to which depends the hope of a peaceful removal of difficulties thus far easily within lawful settlement at the ballot box.

INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT.

Another effort will be made at the present session of congress to have an international copyright law enacted. Of course international copyright ought to be established. Simple honesty requires that authors, as well as all others, shall receive the full reward of their labor. The great difficulty encountered in getting congress to act only demonstrates how little real respect there is, after all, for the most sacred right of property. That which a man actually produces by his head or hand is his as against the whole world, and the reported failures of congress to do anything to secure simple justice to American authors show in a ludicrous light the falsity of the congressional pretense to great solicitude for the "protection of American labor."

Why is it that a legislative body making such professions refuses to one of the most honorable and useful classes of workers the simplest and most obvious justice? One answer has already been suggested, and that is that the politicians have no sincere regard for the rights of labor and that their demonstrations of pretended regard are dictated solely by a desire to win or retain the votes of the millions of workingmen. The authors, on the other hand, are a small class without political influence. For this last they are themselves largely responsible. They affect conservatism. They have a good enough opinion of their own importance, but this too generally expends itself in claims for social recognition at the hands of their intellectual inferiors. They do not seek to make for themselves a place in the popular regard that would make it unwise for politicians to neglect their just demands. In democratic America, with the largest reading public in the world, there are few prominent writers of fiction who do not seek the favor, flatter the pride and conciliate the prejudice of those who cherish aristocratic notions or ape aristocratic ways. When an American novelist introduces a workingman into his story he almost always manages, by contrast or otherwise, to place him in a position more or less ludicrous or awkward and to mar any sign of sympathy with such a character by some mark of condescension.

According to our fiction writers the one road to success for a man born poor is through money making, and for a woman it is through a rich marriage. Doubtless the flood of English novels precipitated upon our country through the failure of our laws to protect English authors from robbery by American publishers has had its influence in creating a demand among fiction readers for a sentiment to which an American writer who would succeed must pay some deference; but most of our novel writers need little encouragement in this direction. However noble may be the traits they attribute to the honest farmer or the intelligent mechanic who figures in a story, they always manage to indicate that such a character can never quite get rid of signs of his humbler origin that more or less perturb those aristocratic descendants of the dishonest adventurers and honest cabbage growers who now constitute what is called Society in New York. Perhaps one of the best results of a law that would assure to our authors their just rights would be the growth of a body of writers more American and more self-respecting.

But no faults or frailties can justly subject any body of men to robbery. In this preposterously "protected" country one body of men is subjected to a disastrous competition, not with the products of "pauper labor," but with stolen goods, and in order that this plunder may continue we consent that our own citizens shall be similarly robbed by the people of other countries. If an American citizen, dwelling, of his own motion, in the remotest province of Turkey, were robbed of ten dollars, and all redress refused by the local authorities, the "outrage" would be denounced by the press, and it would become the subject of grave diplomatic negotiations that might lead to war; but we take our ablest authors living here, at home, under the protection of our laws, and practically say to the world: "Here are our best brains; you are welcome to rob them as you please, and we will square the account by robbing your authors." Thus is an infamous treaty for reciprocity in robbery actually forced on foreign states by our own government's willful dishonesty.

That the tariff should loom up as an obstacle to the righting of this wrong is quite natural. That is a way the tariff has. Itself an unnatural system, founded upon exploded errors, and persisted in through the greed of a few and the delusion of many, the tariff is a kind of boil on the body politic that is sure to hit against something whichever way we attempt to move. But the tariff, after all, presents no effectual barrier to the establishment of international copyright. Let the silliest of tariffs keep English books out and it will offer no reason why the authors of such works may not have the legal right to sell to American publishers the exclusive right to the publication of such works in this country. The pretended fear that this would deprive our people of cheap literature is simply an expression of a desire on the part of our publishers for the power to beat down the demands of foreign authors by threatening to steal their wares if they do not sell them cheaply enough. Has, then, the lack of foreign competition prevented the establishment of cheap newspapers in this country? The desire to furnish the American people with cheap literature plays no part in the matter. The only thought of those making the pretense is to obtain by theft cheap raw material for a book factory, which is run for the purpose, not of enlightening the American people but for making money out of them. The only people who still profess to believe in benevolence as a motive power in manufure are the protectionists.

Of course the desire of the book manufacturers to obtain cheap raw material is a legitimate one, and if this question is to be discussed with an utter disregard of all moral considerations that desire will continue to be gratified. The two obstacles to the establishment of international copyright are the interested desire of a few men to continue stealing because it pays and the indifference of the many to a dishonesty by which they personally profit. It is with this reform as it is with all others that have a solid foundation in justice: the appeal must not be made to the selfishness of men, but to their conscience. It is time to stop tinkering and dickering and to begin preaching with fire and vigor the old commandment—"Thou shalt not steal!"

IS DEMOCRACY A FAILURE?

The New York *Times* rebukes those republicans who are still "trying desperately to make an issue of the alleged suppression of the republican vote in the southern states," and while admitting its own belief in such suppression it tells the agitators with brusque frankness that the northern people care nothing about the matter and that they "are entirely willing to leave the election in southern states to the people of those states," suppression or no suppression. It assigns as a reason for this feeling the lack of faith in the efficacy of federal interference. If this be true it merely goes to show that the republicans have learned from experience that there are certain natural limitations to the federal power that can only be overstepped in time of war; but it is very questionable if this is the real reason for so great a change of opinion as that marked by the *Times* article.

The writer goes on to declare that negro suffrage worked badly at first in the south and arrayed the negroes "against the people who had the largest interest in the good order and good government of the reconstructed states." These are evidently the rich people of the south, and the *Times* declares that in at least three states "the men who paid the taxes and had the intelligence and character to maintain decent government" recovered their control of government by violence and outrage. "By one means or another," it continues, "the negro vote was to a large extent suppressed, and there is no question that in several states it has since been kept down *so far as was necessary to enable the native southerners who owned property*, who paid taxes, and who controlled intelligent public sentiment in their states, to direct the management of their public interests." There are in the article other allusions to the "intelligent and property-owning citizens" of the south, and the assumption throughout the article is that intelligence and the ownership of property are equally monopolized by a single class and that a class which has a right to rule.

Whether it ought to be true or not it nevertheless is true that in the long run the property owning class will have its way in the government of any community the majority of whom are poor. The question of relative intelligence need not "be considered, for the rich can always have plenty of brains and thus control what we call public sentiment.

The interesting thing about the *Times* article is the complete abandonment of the old fashioned ideas of democracy, indicated by the fact that such an article can be printed in a leading newspaper without exciting surprise or arousing any other than a merely partisan controversy. Yet if it be true that a comparatively small property owning class has a natural right to control public affairs, Jefferson was mistaken, the Declaration of Independence is a piece of sophistry, and democratic government is only practicable when modified by shotguns in the south and by bribery and threats of non-employment in the north. That this is the growing conviction of the class now potential in business and politics throughout the country is becoming daily more apparent.

There is on the other hand a growing sentiment of unrest and disgust among all who really believe in democratic institutions. They begin to see that something must be done, but they are not agreed as to what that something is. Many of them willfully shut their eyes to the only thing that can put an end to the tendency that enables rich men to rule. It is poverty, not ignorance, that makes voters submissive. Ignorance does not make men humble; it makes them conceited. It is dependence, not fear, that enables the rich man to carry his followers to the polls as the old baron took his retainers into battle. It is as true in politics as it is in war that "the rich man's wealth is his strong city; the destruction of the poor is their poverty." The only salvation for republican institutions is the abolition of the system that makes the many dependent on the few for the opportunity to earn a living. Until this is remedied the men who own property will continue to direct the management of public affairs, and they will take whatever measures are necessary to enable them to continue such control or to recover it if it is temporarily wrested from them.

If it is true that "the price of wool has always been higher under a low than a high tariff," as Robert P. Porter, the protectionist high priest, told the Commonwealth club, why should wool raisers want wool protected? They would make more if it were free. Is it possible that the protective theory turns greed into benevolence? Do men who charge high prices for wool when there is no tariff generously reduce prices when a tariff enables them to raise prices? There must be some such harmonizing principle in the tariff theory, for the effect, it seems, is not confined to wool. "What is true of wool," says Mr. Porter, "applies with equal force to the other articles proposed for the free list." Then we must believe, after all this talk about keeping cheap goods out of the country by a tariff, that the effect of the tariff is to make goods cheap. Here's a pretty kettle of fish. Cheap goods make cheap labor, say the protectionists when they are skirmishing for the votes of "our work people." But the higher the tariff the cheaper the goods, is their plea in after dinner discourses. Now, what is the obvious inference? Why, that high tariffs make low wages! Thinking people will no doubt say the inference is sound enough, however shaky the reasoning may be which leads to it.

Not long ago the pastor of a handsome, newly erected church in New York gave thanks for the providential manner in which the building fund had been created. Several years before, an old man who owned vacant land up town made a present to a church society of a few lots of slight value. During all the years that passed between then and the erection of the church the congregation worshiped in a small wooden structure; but they did not let go of the land. At last, though, they set apart part of the land for a church site, and selling the remainder for $175,000, used the proceeds to build with. This was a very fortunate state of affairs for that church society; but when you think of it, who built the church, the original donor of the land, the church society, or the people of New York, whose presence gave such great value to the land that was sold?

Those interested in the effort to have Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost preach regularly in New York on Sunday mornings are anxious that the subscriptions shall be completed within the next week in order that a hall or theater proportioned to the amount of such subscription shall be hired early in the new year. Such subscriptions may be sent to Wm. T. Croasdale, 721 Broadway, and we hope that they will be sufficient to enable us to announce the completion of the preparations in our next number.

Maurice Thompson, an ingenious contributor to the *Independent*, has discovered the cause of anarchy in the United States. It is the absence of international copyright!

A CHRISTMAS CAROL.

Oh, sweet and clear the carol rang down
from the Syrian heaven,
The sweetest song of hope and cheer to mortals ever given.
"Peace and good will," where warring hate
had held rude sway so long.
Oh, well might angels come from heaven to
sing that Christmas song.

Again the music of the song was heard in
human voice—
Christ spake, in our humanity, to make mankind rejoice,
"Love God with all thy heart and soul, from
selfish fear set free,
And love thy neighbor as thyself, even as
God loveth thee!"

Long centuries have passed away since first
the song had birth,
While scant response its teachings won from
this sin blinded earth.
Men failed to catch its meaning, even while
its words they spoke—
Those heavenly words in their dulled hearts
no brother love awoke.

But now we hear it's ringing forth, in accents
loud and clear,
"Because your Father loveth you, love ye
your brothers here;"
The words He spake so long ago, beside that
eastern sea,
Ring o'er the wide Atlantic now, from distant
Galilee.

Their clarion call, from church and hall, rings
on the busy street;
They fall on sad, down trodden hearts, like
music rich and sweet;
They ring a knell to selfish greed, with menace
stern and strong,
And bid the poor, oppressed, look up and hear
that heavenly song!

The stars shine bright, though dark the night,
for watching eyes to see;
And the anthem of the new crusade the
angel's song shall be!

AGNES MAULE MACKAR.

Miss Munier's Concert.

Tickets for Miss Agatha Munier's complimentary concert in the Academy of Music on Sunday evening, January 15, are now for sale and may be obtained at THE STANDARD office. General admission tickets are fifty cents. A portion of the house will be reserved at a slightly extra charge. A number of popular artists have volunteered their services for the occasion, and a very enjoyable entertainment is promised. Miss Munier's unceasing labors in behalf of the cause entitle her to the heartiest encouragement and support which an overflowing house can give.

McGlynn Catholics.

Last Friday's meeting of the McGlynnites of St. Stephen's parish, was held in International hall as usual. The speakers were John McMackin, Mr. Smith and Mr. Caffrey of Greenpoint, all favorites with the parishioners. Chairman Feeney announced that there had been added to the doctor's personal fund during the week and at the meeting $122.

SHALL WE NOMINATE?

Edward J. Shriver Says No, and Gives His Reasons—Devotion to Principle, That Refuses to Promote the Principle Except in One Way is Mere Fetich Worship.

Mr. Croasdale's thoughtful article on our policy for 1888 has certainly fulfilled its declared purpose by arousing discussion, and so confident do I feel that he and Mr. Post are right that I cannot refrain from adding my mite. At least it is hardly fair to charge them with faltering in the cause or to doubt that the sole question with them or any other of our earnest men is what is the best method to secure the triumph of our principles. We are all working toward the same end, and no hackneyed traditions of how best to build up a party, no mere sentiment of liking to "stand up and be counted," should be allowed to block the way to success. Devotion to principle is a most excellent thing, but devotion to principle that refuses to promote the principle except in one admittedly ineffectual way is mere fetich worship.

I can thoroughly sympathize with those men who are eager to maintain, out of sheer love for honest political action, a party of high principle, with a lofty and definite aim; for since the moral death of the republican party, I have myself fairly hungered for the rise of an organization that I could conscientiously support. Yet, did I believe that the best way to restore the people their heritage of the land was to abandon political action, it would seem to me my duty to waive what, after all, is only a strong desire for my personal gratification. But the question is not whether or no we shall abandon our party organization, but how to make it most effective to fulfill its destiny.

The notion that the presidential contest is the only one worth our consideration is simply a tradition, dating back to the time when party lines were not so rigidly drawn as now. Every party that has followed it since the war has failed. True, there has been none with so vital a principle as ours. But our principle is not vital to those who have not considered it, and to make them do so we must attract their attention. And that we cannot do in the din of a personal squabble over the presidency.

The natural comparison is with the prohibitionists; and here I am free to say that their creed and their policy seem to me equally wrong. They advocate, in my opinion, a species of socialism that amounts to a tyranny, and they do not deserve to succeed. But they would have had a better chance of success with different methods. They forced themselves into the national contests, where the good sense of the people at once saw they did not belong; and they could not hold their own vote. For the mere sake of a chance to be counted, they have repeatedly thrown away very good prospects of bringing individual states to an indorsement of their doctrines, and thus relieving at least a portion of the country from what they deem a curse.

In like manner, we have no concern with the presidency, except in so far as the veto power is concerned. Ours is not an issue that can be advanced or retarded by administration. It is the laws that we must amend: the laws of the states as regards local taxation, the laws of the nation as regards the tariff and the internal revenue.

Perhaps here is the rub with some of your correspondents who have opposed the plan of confining our fight to the congressional districts. They have not seen the cat. His claws or his tail have begun to appear to them, but not the whole image. They have grasped the central truth as to taxing land values, but they cannot rid themselves of the superstition that the protective system guards American labor. Theoretically they must admit that we cannot reach the single tax without abolishing the tariff, and yet practically they do not favor free trade. For one I cannot consistently condemn such half believers, for I too was a disciple of "Progress and Poverty" before I had fairly learned to be a free trader. But if there are any such they are no more ready to go on with us yet than were the voters who fell away on the 8th of November. The protective tariff "protects" neither trade, manufactures nor labor; it is only a means of augmenting the evils of landlordism. Its abolition is an essential part of our work, and we, less than any other set of men, can afford to compromise any part of our doctrine. The very men who are most eager to fight for principle, regardless of the outcome, should recognize this, and should know that it is only in congress that we can carry on this part of the agitation; that the half a dozen congressmen whom we can certainly elect will do more ten times over for this branch of the cause than all the propaganda that would be gained by a few hundred thousand votes for an impossible candidate for president scattered all over the Union.

If it is mere agitation that we seek and not necessarily the election of any of our candidates—and the agitation is undoubtedly the most important part—the congressional plan of action is the better. Which will best make the public think of what we advocate—a vote for president so small as not to be a factor, or a dozen districts closely contested? We nearly elected Mr. George in 1886 and we aroused in a moment a tremendous discussion. Our county ticket was a hopeless third in 1887, and our state ticket an even less important factor, and much of the discussion outside our own ranks has died away. Next year we must again bring ourselves to the front in the public mind; we must strengthen the doubting ones in the faith and awaken the unbelievers to find out what we want, and to do this we must make running fights as nearly even ones; we must make a series of brilliant sorties, rather than perform our own funeral march.

It is by no means necessary that we should indorse either of the candidates for president; it is not even desirable. Our men may vote as they please on that; far better still not vote at all, and thus emphasize their indifference to the meaningless politics of the day. In 1879 there was a movement in New York which was popularly dubbed the "Young Scratchers." They were much laughed at, but they revolutionized the politics of New York, and, through her, the Union. They were republicans who refused to vote for the stalwart candidate, Cornell, and yet would not indorse Lucius Robinson, to whom Tilden gave the democratic nomination. Only Kelly's bolt saved Cornell from defeat, and next year the republican convention dared not choose either Blaine or Grant, because there was a conscience vote in New York state that would have defeated either. That was a good example for us to follow, not for the sake of holding a balance of power, but to notify the politicians and the people that there is one body of men in America who do not care to trifle with the question of who shall appoint postmasters, because they have better and more serious work to do. And, to my thinking, our national convention should distinctly recommend this course of action in regard to the presidency; should instruct the districts to put up sound free traders for congress; should adopt a declaration of principles on which every district should stand, and select a new name for the party.

EDWARD J. SHRIVER.

Take Position in Front of the Enemy, But Don't Fight Unless Compelled to.

WASHINGTON, D. C.—I agree with you that "when existing parties begin to divide upon (cur) principle, even if the difference between them is comparatively a small one, then it may be that the most effective means (of bringing that principle into politics) is to utilize their light and to devote the energy that might be expended in a separate movement to urging them on."

What I advise is this: Let us, the radical free traders, extend our organization as a separate party into the national sphere and make it as efficient as possible not only in that sphere, but likewise in those of the congressional and state legislative "districts." Having done this let us—acting always as a separate and organized party—formally promise and actually give the party's vote as such to that one if any of the candidates for the given office whose platform and personal attitude upon our issue are distinctly a nearer approach to our own platform and attitude upon the subject than are those of the candidates opposed to him. Just in proportion as our propaganda, by lectures, talks, tracts, etc., succeeds in making the party's vote worth bidding for, just in that proportion will candidates and parties bid more and more against each other to secure that vote. It is plain that we may thus come to be a "balance of power" having the "casting vote" in elections and consequently influencing legislation even while still far too small a party to succeed in electing a separate candidate of our own over those of both of the two old parties. If indeed it were true that our recruits are all (or nearly all) to come from one party exclusively, then our policy might be to defeat that party out of existence by running as a third party and so cause its members to choose between the other of the old parties and our own. But if, as is more likely, the recruits are to come from the one party about as much as from the other, then until we have actually grown enough to rival both of the old parties—our participation in elections will simply reduce the total vote of each of those old parties without making it less certain than it is now that one or the other of them must succeed, or exerting any more influence upon legislation than if our people had died or emigrated instead of coming into our ranks. Let the national convention meet and nominate candidates for president and vice president, to run only if the national committee shall decide—about October 1, 1888, say—that neither of the old parties has by its candidate, platform and campaign made it worth our while to assist it against the other. And so in every congressional and state legislative district.

As to the expense and difficulty of a national campaign I, for one, do not see that our party either need, or can, or should do either more or less "campaigning" than it is bound to do in any event, to wit: all the preaching, and lecturing, and meeting, and talking, and book and tract distributing which its members can possibly afford to do. The regular "machine" methods of "campaigning" we should have nothing to do with. As for the ballots, every mother's son of us can write his own and "distribute" it to himself!

I myself am a democrat, and fully hope that the democratic party will (by gradual steps) get so much nearer, at each election, to our principles than its adversary as to make it clearly our wisest plan to assist it to victory over what will then be more and more clearly seen to be the party of monopoly and reaction.

A RADICAL FREE TRADER.

Believes the State Legislative Districts Mark the Line of Least Resistance.

MASCONTAH, Ills.—The very general interest felt by adherents to the single tax doctrine all over the country in the future policy and methods of the party founded upon it, especially with reference to the course to be pursued in next year's national campaign, must serve as my reason for offering some suggestions in anticipation of a call for a national convention.

In the first place the name chosen for the party which is soon to become a factor in national politics should give a clew to the fundamental doctrine that the land of a country belongs to the people of that country, and that it belongs to the present generation of people quite as much as to any preceding generation from whom existing titles have in great part been derived. The Jeffersonian land reform party is a name which would give this clew, and which would, in its legitimate appeal to sentiment, derive in my judgment far more strength from all classes and all sections of our common country than could the title of free soilers. As a matter of fact, is not the new party the only truly Jeffersonian party now seeking recognition from the people? Are not its cardinal doctrines necessary and logical deductions from that sublime declaration by Jefferson of the inherent and inalienable rights of man? Many scores of thousands of voters would be prompted to investigate the principles advocated by Jeffersonian land reformers, who would look askance at the free soilers, and decline for a decade to investigate the doctrines of the united laborers.

But of yet more practical importance is the plan of campaign. Every legitimate means of exciting attention and provoking discussion should be utilized to the utmost. Then shall we concentrate our strength upon a congressional campaign, and lay especial stress upon free trade as being of equal moment with the basic doctrine of the single tax on land values? That would be to divert attention and discussion from the fundamental reform proposed to another which is dependent on it and which is of secondary importance. That would be to abandon our present vantage ground and to attack the works of the combined armies of both the old parties at a point doubly fortified by custom and prejudice. We would gain votes, no doubt, but would fail to gain many thousands that are legitimately ours. Let us rather concentrate upon the point of least resistance, at the same time keeping up a fire all along the skirmish line. I am discussing simply a question of political expediency, and on that ground I think it would be a serious error to confine our efforts to the election of congressmen, or, indeed, to make more than a perfunctory fight in that direction with the hope of possibly securing the balance of power in the lower house.

But, aside from expediency, suppose a majority in congress to-day were in favor of the single tax on land values, and therefore necessarily of free trade also. Yet their hands would be tied as to legislation looking to the single tax until such time as the legislatures of three-fourths of the states shall have ratified an amendment to the constitution, proposed by a two-thirds majority of both houses of congress. The constitution gives congress the right to "lay and collect taxes" as well as "duties, imposts and excises," but requires that "no capitation or other direct tax shall be laid, unless in proportion to the census;" and that "direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states according to their respective numbers." Under this provision of the constitution it would seem utterly impossible to levy a national tax on land in proportion to values, but only in proportion to the population within the boundaries of the various states; and it is at least very improbable that in any two states the ratio existing between population and land values would be the same, or even approximately the same. The extremest divergence would probably be found in comparing the respective land values and populations of Nevada and New York. A national tax on land values then must under the present constitution yield the same sum per capita of revenue from Nevada as from New York or Pennsylvania. But this would evidently be a tax on population, and not on land values. And while land values are derived from population there is no fixed and unvarying ratio between the two.

It seems to me that the most promising field for political effort in gaining adherents to the single tax doctrine is in state legislative districts. At any rate, it seems clear that nothing could be accomplished, even with a two-thirds majority in both houses of congress, unless such majority is backed up and sustained by the legislatures of three-fourths of the states. Undoubtedly the state legislative districts constitute the point of least resistance in the enemies' line, and furnish us at the same time the best field for compact organization and concentration of attack. But while the thickest of the fight must be there, and there defeat sustained and victory won, let the skirmish line deploy across the whole field, striking a blow and firing a shot wherever opportunity offers. Agitation, discussion, reiteration at all times and everywhere, must keep the subject before the people, and a national victory may yet be won in 1892.

BOYD CORNICK, M. D.

Thomas B. Preston Thinks a Nomination Not Only Expedient But Necessary.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Since you invite comments on the expediency of a presidential campaign, permit me to say a few words as to why it is not only expedient but necessary.

The remedy proposed for the abolition of poverty, the taking of the full rental value of land in taxation, is applicable to all times and all countries. It is one of those reforms which, like Christianity or the abolition of slavery, are furthered by the very opposition they excite. The broader the field into which they are introduced the greater will be the opposition, the more discussion will be excited and the sooner will the final triumph of our principles be brought about. It is only through political action these reforms can be secured. The universality of our principles demands that they should be introduced into as wide a field as possible. In fact the world is our field.

We will have to rely upon our friends in other countries to carry on the fight in their own lands, each according to the political opportunities which their systems of government afford. They are beginning it already. Witness the decision of the British trade congress to enter politics as an independent party, our candidates in the recent Glasgow elections and the splendid work of the Anti-poverty society of Toronto. Shall we offer to them an example of hesitation and begin to discuss questions of prudence or economy? The nature of our principles demands a presidential campaign.

This should also be entered into for the purpose of spreading a knowledge of the truths in which we believe and not for any good the general government could do us. I doubt if it could work out our reforms. Suppose the fight were concentrated on congressmen, as Mr. Post and Mr. Croasdale seem to advocate. Suppose, moreover, that we were completely successful and elected a president and every member of congress and converted every senator. What could they do to introduce land value taxation? They could enforce it in the territories as long as they remained territories and in the District of Columbia. To concentrate on congressmen would be to concentrate on the District of Columbia for the application of our world wide principles.

The result of such a contest would also inevitably be to make the tariff and free trade question the main issue. Now the free trade question is not the land question by any means. Let us first get the taxation of land to its full rental value and then the tariff will be sure to go. Indeed, in my opinion, it would be inadvisable to make the tariff a leading issue, or the railroad question either for that matter. The land question is our one sure principle. Let us stick to that and make no compromise whatever. The more planks we add to the platform the more difficult it will be to get voters to unite on them.

A presidential campaign would bring the land question into every town and hamlet in the United States. We would be sure to make some converts—say only a hundred voters in each state. They would form a nucleus for state organizations in the future.

Again, many voters like to deposit a ballot in each box. In our ward in Brooklyn, to my own knowledge, we lost several votes simply because no ward officers were nominated and we could not give the voters a full set of ballots.

If no presidential campaign is undertaken the hundreds of thousands of men who have become dissatisfied with the old parties will gather around the greenbackers, or the prohibitionists, or some minor faction, to the ignoring of the only remedy that can save our civilization from destruction.

Another reason why the presidential campaign should be entered into is because the rank and file of the party, the members of the land and labor clubs and anti-poverty societies, will insist upon a campaign whether our leaders like it or not. They will go into the fight as an organized mob, even if they have to write their ballots, as some have hinted. Do the isolated county tickets put up in Pennsylvania and Texas at the last election convey no lesson? They show a demand on the part of the rank and file which should not, cannot, be ignored.

The truth is, Mr. George has vitalized a principle and made a living issue embodied in the minds of thousands of men who will lose no opportunity to advance it at every cost: and Mr. George and all the party leaders combined could no more stop the movement, even if they were so inclined, than they could set back the planets in their courses.

A presidential campaign is necessary to extend our membership. It is possible without nominating any presidential candidate. Electoral tickets could be put up in each state, and those who voted thus would give an example of voting for principle which would be not ridiculous but sublime. But to nominate presidential candidates would be, of course, the best plan. The chief thing would be to print sufficient ballots and get them in the hands of the voters. That could be done even without an active campaign by political speakers and the expense would not be very great. We should at least have the advantage of knowing how many men we could count on to support our principles through adversity or prosperity to the death, trusting to others to carry on the fight after them.

Those of us who, like myself, were converted six years ago by the reading of "Progress and Poverty" in its first San Francisco edition, and through all these years have been watching the progress of our principles in Great Britain and America with the most intense interest, have become so imbued with the doctrine of land value taxation that it is to us a part of our lives, as necessary as our heart's blood; and our advocacy of the principle can only cease with the ceasing of our heart's pulsations. We can never retreat. Let us never yield an inch, but from this time forward carry on the fight; politically by nominations for every office and organizations in every election district; economically by assisting in business relations those who think with us; socially by making our relatives, friends and acquaintances interested in the question; and generally by doing whatever our hand finds to do that will advance the cause of justice.

THOMAS B. PRESTON.

Thinks We Must Have Our Own Candidate for President and Vote for Him.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—The present peril of the united labor party is such that a heavy sense of duty urges me to give my voice for what I believe to be the right and only sure path for us to walk in.

Organization or no organization, money or no money, we must have our own candidate for president and vote for him; our own platform and stick to it. Let the voters in each voting division, where we have voters, print their own ballots (or write them), if the party has not money to do it. Our position is such now that any other course would be retreat and disaster.

It is very true, "the question whether a great reform can be best promoted by independent political action is not capable of an unvarying answer," but we have adopted political action, and the question is no longer open to us.

To make the issue in the coming campaign free trade or protection implies our aid to the democratic party. We would gain nothing but the hatred of the republicans and the derision of the democrats. We would be but a cat's paw to pull the democratic chestnuts out of the fire.

We surely know that any free trade plank which may enter the democratic platform will be but a bid for our vote or some other vote. Free trade may be "in the direction of the reform we propose," but it is not the reform itself. If we separate and take up with this part of our platform, we drop the rest (and most important part) of it out of sight. We will be known as free traders and nothing more. And we will be unable to explain this away. Explanations count for nothing in politics: the history of many campaigns proves this. A winning political battle must be so conducted that explanations are not called for. If we want all of our platform it will not do to be satisfied, even temporarily, with less.

The position of the united labor party upon the tariff question is unmistakable; "all taxation shall be upon land values, nothing else shall be taxed." In a campaign with the single issue of the tariff, free trade can and will be discussed, "without bringing up the economic principles in our platform." I feel certain that our platform will be entirely forgotten, except the free trade part.

There is another point; the smoldering feelings in the breasts of our members must be considered. You in New York have mostly been democrats, we in Philadelphia have mostly been republicans; upon the old issues of the parties there may be some feelings left. The great leaders of the united labor party have democratic traditions; should they declare for the democratic candidates their action is liable to be misunderstood. We have come together under at least an implied pledge to abandon all other parties.

Maintaining our own principles intact and voting for our own candidates cannot cause dissensions among ourselves, but supporting either of the old parties, any different or half way measures, may.

JOHN DOLMAN, JR.

Believes in Nailing the Colors to the Mast.

VINCENNES, Ind.—Shall we put into the field a full ticket in 1888? I have put this question to many of the friends of the movement in this and other parts of this state since November 8.

From those who stand in the bright sunlight of this glorious movement the universal answer is, "Yes, by all means." From those just emerging from darkness into light, who feel there is a great wrong somewhere in our social system, but do not as yet fully comprehend the blessings that would flow from the single tax,—the answer comes: "Anything for a change; we cannot make matters worse." My judgment is this: All those who have fully mastered "Progress and Poverty" will fight it out on this line if it takes a lifetime. They can never turn back. Those who see as by moonlight, would, by aid of a campaign, be brought into the full sunlight. While millions of the oppressed who are ripe for any change that promises relief would hear the truth, thousands of them would see the light and cheerfully take up the cross of a new crusade.

Inaction begets inaction. If we fail to put into the field a national ticket in '88 many a Peter will go a fishing, and thousands of those who now see as through a glass darkly, would return again to the flesh pots of Egypt. Millions will think the movement dead. Politicians will sneeringly say, "I told you so."

Let us nail our colors to the mast-head in the name of God and humanity.

NOAH HARRIS.

Wants a Presidential Ticket, and the Sooner it is Put Up the Better.

KANSAS CITY, Mo.—What is the matter with those fellows who are talking of giving up our national ticket for next year? Is that the way to encourage the thousands of earnest workers who are hammering away night and day for this mighty cause? To be discouraged over last fall's vote would be as silly as though a farmer having gathered his harvest and put it out again in the spring without cleaning should expect the chaff to return as great a yield as the grain.

We want a ticket next fall and want it bad, and the sooner it is put up the better. We want discussion; and by putting up a national ticket we can have discussion. We should have a congressional ticket in every district, and it will be found when the returns are in that we will have seed enough to plant the whole United States in the next campaign and reap the whole crop.

A. R. GOEDECKE.

If No United Labor Candidate is Nominated Old Prohibitionists Can do Better than to Vote for Either Democrat or Republican.

SPEEDSVILLE, N. Y.—The president's message and the Blaine interview have involved even the agriculturists of this little community in the general commotion. We have the tariff question constantly popping up wherever two or three of us are gathered together, and you may be sure we crusaders are not slow to put in our little contribution to the discussion. We let everybody know that if he is not thoroughly conversant with the tariff question—that is, if he is not an intellectual blotting sheet for the New York *Tribune*—we can put him on a track of a work that will give him the true inwardness of the whole question. This is good news to many.

Please send me ten copies of "Protection or Free Trade?" for inclosed postal note for $3.50.

Mr. Croasdale's letter, followed by Mr. Post's to the same effect, was a good deal of a damper on us at first—not that we felt the slightest doubt of the sincere devotion to our cause of those two gentlemen, but we could not cipher out, and cannot to this day, how we could cast more votes for congressmen than we can cast for a presidential candidate unless we traded, and if we resorted to that most objectionable and unsavory method (which we wouldn't) how about the moral influence of our vote? But don't let anybody ask us to vote for a republican or democrat, even as a matter of "dicker." We are old prohibitionists and can do better!

GEO. B. ROUNSEVELL.

Wants a Chance to Shoot Straight at the Mark.

ALMA, Wis.—I have great respect for the opinions of Louis F. Post and Mr. Croasdale, but they are wrong, it seems to me, in discouraging the idea of a national conference and ticket for '88. Viewed from where they are located the situation may appear to require only a congressional campaign, but I can't see it. To throw away such an opportunity to make propaganda for our cause looks to me worse than folly. I for one want a chance to shoot straight at the mark, and so do our friends whom I have consulted. Granted the prohibitionists are foolish in putting a national ticket in the field; of course such a sideshow as that cannot expect the patronage of the people who are waiting patiently for us to come along with the "greatest show on earth," the menageric that contains the "live lion and the wild kangaroo."

THEO. BUEHLER.

Buffalo Voters Believe in Running a Candidate.

BUFFALO, N. Y.—I have talked with 620 of the men who voted right at last election, and they are unanimous that we should put up a candidate for president, and not either disfranchise ourselves or let ourselves be forced to vote for a corrupt party. Up with a standard bearer and on to victory! I, who cast my first vote for the united labor party, never want to cast it for any other until our ends are accomplished. Meantime send me fifty blank petitions for the Australian system of voting.

Our anti-poverty society held its fourth meeting on December 10 and was well attended, in spite of wet weather. Mr. Barton Ross read an able paper on free trade. We are bringing in fresh recruits at every meeting. Buffalo is enlisted for the war.

C. C. WHITTEMORE.

Wants a Presidential Ticket—Success Can Only Come by Steady, Persistent Effort.

NEW YORK CITY.—We ought to place a candidate for president in the field next fall by all means. If the united labor party had as good an organization as the prohibition party have in every hamlet, which they have gained by steadily persistent effort, we, with our broader, truer and better cause, could sweep the state. I would work and vote for the cause of truth and justice if I was the only one. I stood alone at the polls in my district from early morn till the close, and by that effort I got nine votes, and I call that future success, as the people here were ignorant of the movement. I never felt more encouraged than now; for years I have been looking forward to the time when the first dawn of God's love and justice should make its appearance.

L. D. HOMES.

Philadelphians Want a National Convention and a National Ticket.

PHILADELPHIA, Pa.—At the regular meeting of the Henry George club of Philadelphia, held Dec. 11, the following resolutions were adopted and the secretary was instructed to send a copy of them to THE STANDARD for publication:

Resolved, That the Henry George club of Philadelphia invites all persons in Pennsylvania outside of Philadelphia who are in sympathy with our aims to become corresponding members of the club. This class of members are not required to pay any dues. It is the aim of the club to consolidate our forces in Pennsylvania.

Resolved, That it is the opinion of the Henry George club of Philadelphia that a national convention should be held as early in 1888 as possible and a national ticket be nominated.

A. H. STEPHENSON, Secretary.

Wants to Stand Up and be Counted.

BROOKLYN, N. Y.—I regret exceedingly that Messrs. Post and Croasdale have given their voices against a presidential nomination, and that even Henry George seems to favor their idea; but I hope that the almost unanimous expression of a contrary opinion that I find in the correspondents of THE STANDARD may prevail on them to change their minds. I feel that I can add nothing in the shape of argument to what has already been so well said in last week's STANDARD by many correspondents. I only wish to add my name to the list of those who desire to stand up next year and be counted in favor of a presidential candidate standing squarely on the Syracuse platform.

MILLER A. SMITH.

Our Work Must be Educational for Years to Come, But We Ought to Run a Candidate Next Year all the Same.

MORRISTOWN, N. J.—I suggest Judge Maguire of San Francisco as the presidential candidate of our party.

The influence of Mr. Henry George in the movement will be much stronger if he is not a candidate. He is already carrying as much as any man can carry. For some years to come our object must be educational. We must teach the voters how to stand up for certain definite, moral, specific principles, and thus break the cohesion of the old parties whose only aim is to poison the minds of the masses with fallacies, and thus rivet their own chains with their own ballots.

JOSE GROS.

Wants the Syracuse Platform Pure and Simple, and a Convention in Philadelphia.

BALTIMORE, Md.—I would like to suggest that in case of the call for a national convention being issued the convention simply indorse the Syracuse platform verbatim. This action should be taken, not only as a matter of principle, but because of its economy. Philadelphia, on account of its geographical position and also for its being the stronghold of enemies—the hot bed of the humbug of protection—would be my favorite place for holding the convention. The audacity of the idea would be its best advertisement.

Agrees With Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost.

MIDDLETOWN, Pa.—Since reading Hugh O. Pentecost's views in the last STANDARD I am more than ever confirmed in my opinion that we should run a candidate next year. We have twenty-five readers of THE STANDARD in this small village and hope soon to have a land and labor club. Our Knights of Labor are strongly in favor of the reform you advocate.

WM. BECK.

STRAWS WHICH SHOW THE WIND.

Check land speculation by taxing land to its full rental value. Put the question, Is land speculation an evil?—to the sixty millions of people in the United States, and fifty millions of them will answer an emphatic yes. That being true, and the remedy at hand, why should it not be applied at once?—[Vincennes, Ind. News.

What is mightier than a monopoly? It is the power of the people—the power to destroy monopoly. Heretofore only the poor workingmen have to any extent felt the grip of the giant. All the people now feel his clutches, and are getting ready to throw off the yoke.—[Craftsman.

Under instructions of the people the government has the right to take possession of the coal mines. It will have to be done sooner or later, for we have about reached that point where the government will have to take possession of the coal lands or the coal barons will take possession of the government and freeze the people out.—[St. Paul Globe.

In all our efforts to subdue pauperism, ignorance and vice, to aid the feeble, to lift the fallen, to restore the erring, to relieve the oppressed, we need to look far deeper than the surface facts or the actual evils we would banish. "What is the source?" should be our constant inquiry; and against that, when we have found it, should our chief efforts be directed.—[Philadelphia Ledger.

Drunkenness is not the cause of the poverty of workingwomen, for the women do not drink. Idleness is not its cause, for no one works more hours and more diligently than they. Thrift is absolutely unavoidable on their meager earnings. Thus is dispelled the illusion of some papers that temperance, toil and thrift will produce abundance. They are not remedies for poverty when employment is not to be had, or only to be had at starvation wages.—[Brockwayville (Pa.) Record.

We hope in a few days to place before the people of Minneapolis the experience of all the principal cities in the country in dealing with this problem of street lighting, and we believe we shall be able to demonstrate so conclusively to the people of Minneapolis that the proper solution of the question is for the city to manufacture its own light that they will require of the city government that that system be inaugurated here.—[Minneapolis Evening Journal.

It is proposed to adopt the system of balloting which has been used with great success in England, under which there would be no solicitation of voters by candidates and their friends, no opportunity to exercise coercion or intimidation, no chance to bring to bear the moral pressure which is always exerted when men are allowed to influence others at the polls and follow them to the ballot box. There is much to be said in favor of some such election reform.—[Topeka Capital and *Farmers' Journal*.

We do not aim at equal division of the land, but we do aim at the state becoming the sole owner by the simple device of taxation. And we would tax small farms just the same, according to the ground value—the unimproved value—as large ones. Which means that if a man had an acre of land worth a pound a year he would be taxed a pound a year, and if he had a square half mile of city allotments worth fifty thousand pounds a year he would be taxed fifty thousand pounds a year.—[Lithgow, New South Wales, Enterprise.

I have before me last week's *Co-operative News*, and I find that at least one society pays its members seventeen and one-half per cent. Do not, sir, think that I am underrating the value of co-operation. What I ask is, how does it help the unemployed? It helps them in employment, but does it create employment? What is wanted is productive work, and what I mean by this is something produced which is not produced, and which ought to be, from our own land.—[Correspondence London Echo.

President Cleveland's message on one thing has stirred the country and obtained attention throughout the world. What to do with the surplus and how to diminish the revenue are questions unknown elsewhere. It is amusing to read the party organs: "dull," "stupid," "plagiarized," "ruinous," "short sighted," "imprudent," "absurd," "magnificent," "statesman like," "philosophical," "practical," "able," "great," "the note for election." All agree that it furnishes an "issue."—[New York Christian Advocate.

So bright a gentleman as Mr. Chauncey M. Depew is talking about a balance of trade in its favor as conclusive evidence of a country's prosperity. This "balance of trade" delusion has been effectively illustrated in this way: "A man starts with $50,000 in goods for Europe. He sells them so advantageously after he gets there, and he buys other goods from the proceeds so shrewdly, that he brings home goods to the value of $100,000. He enters these at the custom house. Result: Balance of trade against the country, $50,000. But if the ship goes down that contain these goods, and they are all lost, then the balance of trade in favor of the country is $50,000. That is, the more individuals who compose the country lose in trading with foreigners the richer the country becomes. Could there be a fallacy more transparent or a more absurd claim advanced as growing out of it?—[Boston Herald.

The middle class is neither rich enough to get married with eclat nor poor enough to face wedlock with heroism. Consequently there are a great many honest, industrious and well-disposed young fellows in New York who, however earnestly they may desire to take wives and build up a home of their own, cannot exactly see their way to it. There are young lawyers and doctors and dentists, brokers and bankers, clerks and others of good family who earn just enough income to keep themselves carefully dressed with a trifle of pocket money over, but without enough ability to give any hopeful promise of the future against the host of competitors whom they rival in their professions or vocations. These young chaps have no particular smartness of brain, nor any particular talent to make headway in the world. They cannot look into the future with any fancy of ambition, nor see that to-morrow will make them any richer by their own exertions than to-day.—[The Earth.

Experiences of a Man who Went to the Far West.

J. D. Bailey in Chicago Labor Enquirer.

I feel like telling you of my experience in California. I am, as you know, an average carpenter, and can command the prevailing wages. When I arrived here, nearly three years ago, I found more carpenters and workers of all classes than there was work for. Result, I did not get steady work and could not get much ahead. At one time going out in the country to work, for $2.50 a day, I took my old blankets, helped to cook and slept in the granary; I was also so tired when night came that I could sleep anywere. I have a friend here who is getting fifty cents more on the day than he was last year, and his landlord (land pirate would be a better name) has doubled his rent.

You will see in the public press statements of high wages being paid in southern California. It is a fact that wages are a little better here than in the east, but those who live by their wits from rents, profits, etc., have advanced everything more than wages, so the wages are all consumed and return to those who do not toil, but only scheme, and live in luxury and idleness.

I was here fifteen months before I could get my family here. Last year we started to buy a home on the installment plan (said by the manipulators to be so easy), paying about $25 per month, with interest of course. If we have no bad luck, keep at work and do without half the things we ought to have, possibly we can pull through. However, if reverses come the mortgage which hangs over the place we call home will swallow it up as easy as an alligator catches flies. No one knows the trials and struggles I have passed through in the last seven years. I would not speak thus of myself only that I know the great majority of those who work for wages are in the same leaky boat. Why will they not organize and make a united effort at a peaceable emancipation of the wage slaves!

ANTI-POVERTY'S CASE IN AUSTRALIA.

The following is an address delivered in Ashfield, a suburb of Sydney, New South Wales, on October 31, by Edward W. Foxall, before a large audience. The chair was occupied by Hon. Francis Abigail, minister of mines, and among those on the platform were Mr. Schey, M. P., and the Rev. John Aull:

A CALL TO ACTION.

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen:—When, to describe my emotions in addressing you to-night, I employ the words of perhaps the most gifted orator that New South Wales has yet produced—Daniel Henry Deinchy—I sincerely trust that I shall not be suspected of affectation. Speaking on the hustings at Goulburn in 1857, whither he had gone to contest an election in compliance with an earnest requisition, Deinchy, in lamenting that he had not more time to fit himself for the great work he had undertaken, made use of the following memorable and eloquent phrase: "But when the beacon fires are reddening the hills at midnight, and the sharp tuck of the drum and the fierce, taunting invitation of the trumpet are abroad, that is not the time for the recruit to cry that his drill is incomplete."

The tocsin has sounded, and the roll of the drum has been heard giving the signal for a struggle of graver significance and more momentous import than that in which Deinchy engaged, and though fully conscious of the incompleteness of my drill, methinks I can detect signs among the ranks of the enemy that no such considerations of modesty keep them from the fray.

Devoutly could I have wished, for the sake of the noble cause of which I shall try to speak, that this task had been essayed by some one whose name—whose position—would have given to the question more of that intense interest which belongs to it by natural right—that the matter had been taken up by some one whose name would have attracted the attention of the press to the extent of securing for it that publicity for which all true advocates of reform hunger and thirst.

Nevertheless, I speak to-night with feelings of the profoundest assurance. An assurance based not only on the conviction that the principles I uphold are founded on the bed rock of eternal truth, but also on the knowledge—first hand—that these principles are at this moment making headway with almost incredible rapidity in that nursery of reforms, America, and that they already number among their adherents in Australia many of our brightest intellects and truest hearts.

I suppose there are few people in the British empire at the present day who possess the peculiar combination of folly and courage which would now be necessary for a public advocate of the institution of chattel slavery. The progress of modern thought and the spread of education, together with a better comprehension of the vital principles that underlie the Christianity upon which, as a nation, we profess to found our laws, have dealt that foul infamy its death blow. Yet the time is within the memory of many of my audience when chattel slavery wanted not for able, eloquent and conscientious advocates in the press, in parliament and—how strange it now sounds!—in the pulpit. A fact of this nature, "trite though its recital may seem," is valuable for my present purpose as a proof of several things. It proves the fallibility of popular ideas upon established customs, and the mere mention of it should therefore open men's minds to the temperate discussion of all parallel subjects. It proves the existence of a strong, humane sentiment against injustice, wherever it is thoroughly recognized as such; a sentiment which, though slow of perception, is seldom, if ever, appealed to in vain. The history of the abolition movement is full of lessons upon which we would do especially well to ponder, for it requires no wizard to foretell that we are now on the eve of a struggle in all essential respects similar to it, and in the course of which the same sentiment will be earnestly and forcibly appealed to, with in the end—however long that end may be delayed—the same inevitable and grand result.

SLAVERY NOT YET ABOLISHED.

The trouble is that slavery has not been abolished. The abolitionists were but fighting a chimera, and the victory which they gained was only over a shadow, while the substance still thrives in all its horrid viciousness.

The benefit that the abolition movement has accomplished is at present only sentimental. Let us not, therefore, despise it, for it has opened the way to a real benefit. The evils of chattel slavery being now admitted, if there be still in our social system an institution whose effects can be proved to be identical with those of chattel slavery, with the demonstration of that identicality, such an institution must stand condemned by every mind that is capable of grasping the mathematical axiom, that "things which are equal to the same thing are equal to one another."

To the task of demonstrating that such an institution does exist at the present time in the civilized nations of the world, that not only is its existence fraught with incalculable misery and suffering now, but that its continuance must inevitably lead to unthinkable disaster and the final overthrow of our boasted civilization, to such a task has Mr. Henry George, the subject of these remarks, devoted the untiring energies of a gigantic intellect and a noble, philanthropic soul. Nor has he been content to pose with metaphorical sack cloth or his loins and ashes on his head as a dismal harbinger of woe. Like a true physician, he has diagnosticated the disease under which our civilization groans and suffers, but he has also prescribed the remedy.

I do not propose to give any details, interesting though they might be, of the personal history and experiences of Mr. George, but shall confine myself to the consideration of the great questions upon which he has written and is still writing, and of the principles which have become identified with his name.

These principles are, in reality, only one; but as it has become the common practice—a practice which shows how little the man's works are read and understood by those who oppose him—to consider them as two, I shall, for convenience sake, make the popular division, and call them by two names, viz., Land nationalization and free trade. The attempted separation of these into two principles, involving as it does such anomalies as protectionists who believe in land nationalization, and free traders who denounce it, is one of the most curious and interesting incidents which occur in the study of the subject. I shall refer to these anomalies later on.

NEW SOUTH WALES HAS ITS POVERTY.

The full title of the text book of land nationalization is "Progress and Poverty—an inquiry into the cause of industrial depressions and of increase of want with the increase of wealth." I think that the title reveals no absurdity. I think that we, at least, in Sydney, N. S. Wales, cannot say that the inquiry does not interest us in consequence of our immunity from poverty and industrial depressions. I am rather of opinion that at the present time a hasty observer would be more inclined to dispute our progress than our poverty. Are we not, therefore, deeply, personally interested in this inquiry? Is it not a question with which the world's best men are perpetually wrestling, and from which so many turn disheartened, soured and despairing, because of the darkness in which it is enshrouded, and of the dismal hopelessness toward which it seems to lead? There is a baleful significance in the fact that hitherto "political economy" has been known among students and scholars as the "dismal science." But how could it be otherwise when its professors have taken as their fundamental fact an error whose unrecognized blasphemy has filled Christendom with infidels? Dismal, indeed, when it taught that the creator had so bungled his work as to people this planet on a principle which would justify, if indeed it did not necessitate, cannibalism!

A PROTEST AGAINST INJUSTICE.

A hundred years ago the war of American independence and the French revolution had set people thinking to whom the exercise was something of a novelty. The privileged classes had had before them in France a spectacle of what certain circumstances—though exactly what circumstances they were perhaps unable to tell—might bring to pass in their own land. Monarchs had seen a frantic rabble, when menaced by other monarchies, hurl in defiance at their feet the head of a king. The aristocracy and so called nobility had seen hundreds of their equals in blood and lineage doomed to unnameable indignity and death. Priests, parsons, bishops had seen churches wrecked, the clergy despoiled, degraded and destroyed amid a carnage as unexpected by them as it was frightful. In other words, a protest—diabolical, cruel, senseless, ignorant and suicidal, if you will, but still a protest—an emphatic and bloody protest, had been entered by the French people against the injustice of their lot. And although the extremes into which the revolutionists plunged, and the awful excesses which they committed alienated the sympathies of thousands in other lands who would otherwise have applauded and perhaps aided and imitated them, there was a widespread feeling among European nations, and not weakest in the British isles, that something was wrong. What was that something?

Among the numerous and conflicting theories that were propounded in explanation of the problem was one which possessed a great fascination and attractiveness for the wealthy and exercised a very soothing influence upon the classes "who, wielding the power of wealth, largely dominated thought." I allude to the "Essay on Population" by Thomas Robert Malthus, a clergyman of the church of England, which was published in 1798 (a year memorable in Irish annals). The main features of this essay have become familiar to all students of political economy under the name of the "Malthusian theory," and such deep hold has this theory taken on later economists and so deeply rooted is the idea in popular thought, that its principles are held and no doubt promulgated by many who never heard of Malthus or his theory. The theory, briefly stated, is that population has a tendency to increase faster than the means of subsistence, and that distress and poverty therefore arise from natural causes and are irremediable evils. In other words, the responsibility for the evils which exist in the world and to remedy which every Christian at least proposes to strive, is shifted from man to the Creator.

A DOCTRINE COMFORTING TO THE SELFISH.

Now the eagerness with which this doctrine was adopted, the wondrous power that it has wielded, and its singular effects upon differently constituted individuals and societies, together with the remarkable logical weakness and arithmetical inaccuracy of the doctrine itself, are a study upon which, forming as it does but one branch of my subject, I cannot linger for long. But as the demolition of Malthus is the foundation upon which Henry George's whole superstructure rests, and as if Malthus be not demolished then is George's preaching vain and my faith is also vain, some further reference to the doctrine may be permitted.

The strength of the Malthusian doctrine is in this, "That it parries the demand for reform and shelters selfishness from question and from conscience by the interposition of an inevitable necessity." It interferes with no vested interest and calls for the exercise of no self denial nor the putting forth of one single effort toward remedy.

"The tendency of population," says Malthus, "is to double itself at least every twenty-five years, thus increasing in a geometrical ratio, while the subsistence that can be obtained from land under circumstances the most favorable to human industry, could not possibly be made to increase faster than in an arithmetical ratio, or by an addition every twenty-five years of a quantity equal to what it at present produces. The necessary effects of these two different rates of increase when brought together," he goes on to say, "will be very striking," and he brings them together by supposing the population of England to be, at the time of his writing, eleven millions, and the product equal to the easy support of such a number; at the end of a hundred years the population would be 176,000,000, and the means of subsistence only equal to the support of 55,000,000, leaving a population of 121,000,000 totally unprovided for. Or, taking the whole earth instead of the one country, emigration would of course be excluded; and supposing the present population equal to 1,000,000,000,000, the human species would increase as the numbers 1, 2, 4, 8, 16, 32, 64, 128, 256, and subsistence as 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9. In two centuries the population would be to the means of subsistence as 256 to 9; in three centuries as 4,096 to 13, and in 2,000 years the difference would be almost incalculable. "Such a result," Mr. George remarks, "is of course prevented by the physical fact that no more people can exist than can find subsistence, and hence Malthus's conclusion is that this tendency must be held back either by moral restraint upon the reproductive faculty, which he styles the 'preventive check,' or by the various causes which increase mortality—such as vice and misery—which he calls the 'positive check.' This is the famous Malthusian doctrine."

Now, if this be true, of what avail is individual effort towards the alleviation of human distress? If the time must come when assistance will be impossible, why build hospitals, benevolent asylums, deaf and dumb and blind asylums, and, above all, foundling hospitals? Why make infanticide a crime, when it is writ on high that the infant may, or some remote descendant of his *must*, perish for want? Why execrate the memory of Herod, whose edict for the slaughter of the innocents must, if Malthus be right, be making our very life conditions to-day infinitely easier for us than had those children lived and multiplied? Why mourn over the Bulli disaster, or the "Ly-ee-moon" wreck? Why pray or sing "Give to us peace in our time, O Lord," when peace but serves to hasten a condition of affairs more horrible than the cruelest war? There is absolutely no reason why any individual effort should be made if this doctrine be true. Benevolence or charity, instead of being the robust virtues we are wont to consider them, are weaknesses—amiable weakness, if you will, but still weaknesses—with which nature has no sympathy. And therefore I repeat, in the words of Mr. George, that the strength of this abominable doctrine is in the fact "that it parries the demand for reform, and shelters selfishness from question and from conscience by the imposition of an inevitable necessity."

MALTHUS AND SUBSISTENCE.

Viewed in this light—and I hold that the position is unassailable—I feel sure that there is no kind heart which does not instinctively revolt both from the doctrine itself and from the unnameable, unnatural, though no doubt well intentioned, means which have been frequently suggested by way of postponing the spectacle of an overcrowed and starving world. These means would not only deserve, but demand consideration if the doctrine itself withstood the tests to which Mr. George subjects it. In the first place, a moment's reflection will suffice to show any one that the statement that population has a tendency to increase faster than subsistence is utterly erroneous and misleading. Population we understand to signify the sum total of the human inhabitants of the world. Subsistence comprises the vegetable and animal kingdoms from which man's food is drawn, and may also include all the natural forces which man can utilize in supplying his wants. Two questions also will be necessary to suggest a complete negative of Malthus's main proposition, leaving out his fanciful arithmetical and geometrical ratios: First, does the human race increase faster than the animal kingdom upon which it feeds? and second, does it increase faster than the vegetable kingdom?

As regards the first question:

Hark now to me, and silence keep,
And we will talk about the sheep.

I choose sheep because figures are at hand regarding them, because the homely sheep comes upon our table so frequently, in so many shapes and forms, from the stately joint to the modest hash, that we easily recognize it as a popular means of subsistence, and may without difficulty discover something concerning it. If we take the last fifty or sixty years of the growth of population in Australasia, I think we are doing fair justice to Malthus by not selecting a place or a time in which the natural increase did not have a fair show. I leave it to your imagination to suggest how much the present population owes to immigrants and their descendants since, say, 1820. The population of Australasia in 1820 was 34,400, and in 1883 it was 3,091,887. In 1820 the number of sheep in Australasia was about 22,120, and in 1883 there were nearly 80,000,000. Now, since 1820, there have been no immigrant sheep worth speaking of, beyond a few of choice brands for stud purposes; while, from various causes, men and women have been flocking here all the time. Then we have been continually killing and eating our sheep. While, notwithstanding our proud pre-eminence in the matter of capital punishment, and the praiseworthy efforts of some of our judges, the number of people that have been slaughtered in Australasia is not worth considering in this relation. During this time, too, some millions of sheep have died from drought and flood, and still these enormous figures stand forth to ridicule Malthus's preposterous ratios. I could multiply illustrations by reference to cattle, poultry, fish, rabbits and other animals, but I think it is hardly necessary.

As to the vegetable kingdom, the strength of its reproductive force is even more marvelous. These things show clearly that, let human beings increase to the full extent of their reproductive power, the increase of population can never exceed subsistence.

For the full consideration of this most interesting branch of the question, time compels me to refer you to the work which I have been largely quoting and paraphrasing—I mean "Progress and Poverty"—in which it is exhaustively treated. But before passing on I shall remark that, while Mr. George admits that animal and vegetable life do tend, under circumstances so improbable that we need not allude to them, to press against the limits of space, it is a false analogy to assert that this proves the same tendency in human life. Make man an animal only, and the analogy will hold good; but I do not think I am addressing an audience who consider themselves no better than the beasts that perish.

MAN THE UNSATISFIED ANIMAL.

"Man," says Mr. George, "is the only animal that is never satisfied. The ox of to-day aspires to no more than did the ox when man first yoked him. Of all that nature offers them, be it ever so abundant, all living beings, save man, can only take and only care for enough to supply wants that are definite and fixed. It is not so with man. He has his animal wants, as has the beast; but when these are satisfied the man and the beast part company. The beast never goes further; the man has but set his foot on the first step of an infinite progression, a progression upon which the beast never enters. Is not the gulf too wide for the analogy to span? Give more food, open fuller conditions of life, and the vegetable or animal can but multiply—the man will develop. In the one the expansive force can but extend existence in new numbers; in the other it will inevitably tend to extend existence in higher forms and wider powers."

We must now leave Malthus—the scarer of humanity and the slanderer of God—and his famous theory; his arithmetical and geometrical ratios. "The theory is as unfounded," says Mr. George, "if not as grotesque, as an assumption we can imagine Adam might have made had he been of an arithmetical turn of mind, and figured on the growth of his first baby from the rate of its early months. From the fact that at birth it weighed ten pounds, and eight months after twenty pounds, he might have ciphered out a result quite as striking as that of Mr. Malthus, viz: that by the time it got to be ten years old it would be as heavy as an ox, at twelve as heavy as an elephant, and at thirty would weigh no less than 175,716,339,548 tons!"

The question may now arise: "How did it happen that Mr. George discovered to be false what so many capable men before him believed to be true? How came it to be reserved for him to accomplish this feat, and what led him to the discovery?"

The reply is simple and convincing. The man addressed himself to the solution of the problem without any pre-conceived notions, and with an utter and entire absence of prejudice. The secret of his success is found at the conclusion of his introductory chapter, where he says: "I propose to beg no question, to shrink from no conclusion, but to follow truth wherever it may lead. Upon us is the responsibility of seeking the law, for in the very heart of our civilization to-day women faint and little children moan. But what that law may prove to be is not our affair. If the conclusions that we reach run counter to our prejudices let us not flinch; if they challenge institutions that have long been deemed wise and natural, let us not turn back."

WAGES EVERYWHERE TEND TO A MINIMUM.

In this spirit of fearless independence, then, he approaches the first question, and asks, "Why, in spite of increase of productive power do wages tend to a minimum which will give but a bare living?" That this tendency exists I think I need not stay to prove. It is recognized by workmen themselves, who keep it in check somewhat by the formation of trades unions and organizations for the maintenance of wages; but this expedient does not do away with the difficulty. It reappears in another form, by the increase in the numbers of the unemployed, caused by the stoppage of works which the high rate of wages make unremunerative to the employers of labor. Some employers then agitate for protection; that is, they ask that the general public shall contribute toward the profit which the interference of trades organizations has prevented the natural tendency of wages from supplying them with. The tendency of wages to a minimum is admitted by the chief exponents of political economy, and they endeavor to explain it thus: The wage fund, they say, is the amount of capital available for production at any given time, and as the increase in the number of laborers tends naturally to follow and overtake any increase of capital, then tendency of wages must constantly be to the lowest amount on which laborers will consent to live. Now this idea is the starting point and one of the chief strongholds of protection. The idea that what is called the "wage fund," that is, the sum to be distributed in any community, is a fixed sum, leads on to the idea that the competition of "foreign labor" must still further subdivide it.

In the clearest and most lucid manner Mr. George demonstrates in his work "that wages instead of being drawn from capital are in reality drawn from the product of the labor for which they are paid." (This portion of the inquiry, it is but right to mention, is confined to productive labor. Unproductive labor is dealt with upon its own demerits elsewhere.) Time will not permit me to follow Mr. George right through his explanation of this proposition, which has never been gainsaid by one single antagonist; but let me quote a few of the doctrines which are based upon the assumption that wages are drawn from capital, all of which fall to the ground with the disproof of this assumption, and then say whether it be not worthy of careful and earnest study:

DOCTRINES DISPROVED.

The doctrine that industry is limited by capital.

That capital must be accumulated before labor is employed and that labor cannot be employed except as capital is accumulated.

The doctrine that every increase of capital gives or is capable of giving additional employment to industry.

The doctrine that the conversion of circulating capital into fixed capital lessens the fund applicable to the maintenance of labor.

The doctrine that more laborers can be employed at low wages than at high.

The doctrine that capital applied to agriculture will maintain more laborers than if applied to manufactures.

The doctrine that profits are high or low as wages are low or high or that they depend upon the cost of the subsistence of laborers, together with such paradoxes as that a demand for commodities is not a demand for labor, or that certain commodities may be increased in cost by a reduction in wages or diminished in cost by an increase in wages.

This may seem an extensive list of doctrines to be disposed of by the disproof of one theory. But error is like a tree. There are several ways of removing it. You may, if you choose, get a long ladder and begin by lopping off the highest branches, or you may set to work to cut it down at the roots. If I may continue the figure, I should say that, so far as the tree of error in the domain of political economy is concerned, Mr. George has ringbarked it. The sap—the energy that is still within may enable it to send forth a few more feeble shoots; and may enable it to retain for a long time a semblance of the life it once possessed, but the forces of nature bud no more to nourish, but to destroy.

Now the theory of the pressure of population against subsistence is but a corrollary of the theory of the dependence of wages on capital. Buckle, in his "History of Civilization," regrets that Adam Smith, the author of the wage fund theory, died eight years before Malthus published his essay, and thus missed "the intense pleasure of seeing how in it his own views were expanded rather than corrected." "Indeed," says Buckle, "it is certain that without Smith there would have been no Malthus; that is, unless Smith had laid the foundation, Malthus could not have raised the superstructure." So that these two theories, each pretending to stand alone, have been buttressing one another up all this time, like a couple of tipsy men helping each other along. Remove one, and the other falls to the ground; or to quote again the words of Mr. George: "In proving that wages are not drawn from capital, we have raised this Antæus from the earth."

WAGES DRAWN FROM THE PRODUCT OF LABOR.

So far I have referred only to the laws of production. The theory which attributes want to the decrease of productive power, or, as John Stuart Mill phrases it, "the niggardliness of nature," is inconsistent with the facts, and is, therefore, no explanation of the problem. This negative involves an affirmative. For, if a thing must arise from one of two causes, and it can be proved that it does not arise from one, it must arise from the other. Now, the solution of the problem we are considering must be found either in the laws of production or those of distribution. And we have found that the chief support which the theory of decrease of production receives is, oddly enough, from those classes whose interest it appears to be to burke any inquiry into the laws of distribution. To the laws of distribution, however, Mr. George has devoted eight chapters. To these his aim has been to find out the law which determines what part of the produce is distributed to labor as wages. And here, in coming nearer to the problem, we find the value of the discovery that wages are not drawn from capital: for having ascertained that wages are drawn from the product of the labor for which they are paid, the inquiry leads us to search for what becomes of the rest of the produce after wages are paid.

THE LAWS OF DISTRIBUTION.

Now, at the risk of becoming tedious, I must endeavor to show how these laws of distribution, as explained by Mr. George, operate; and in doing so, I must beg your attention to one or two fundamental facts which require to be kept well in mind during the consideration of this branch of the question. Land and labor are the two primary factors of production and capital is the other (and a secondary) factor. The term "land" includes all natural opportunities or forces; the term "labor" all human exertion, and the term "capital" all wealth which is used in the production of more wealth. Among these three factors, then—land, labor and capital—the whole produce is distributed. That which goes to land owners as payment for the use of natural opportunities is called "rent;" that which constitutes the reward for human exertion is called "wages," and that which constitutes the return for the use of capital is called "interest." I cannot here dwell upon the gross misapprehensions which arise from confused and contradictory ideas as to what really is capital, or interest, or wages; but those who have the mind to follow up the subject may do so in the book which I have before mentioned, viz., "Progress and Poverty." There you will find clearly explained how many of these confusions of thought have arisen from the use of money, and how many and great errors in our commercial economy—every one of them involving more or less waste of productive energy—owe their origin thereto.

But although a true understanding of what really constitute capital and interest would enable you to see still more clearly the truth and force of Mr. George's demonstration, it is very obvious, even if the vulgar interpretations only of the terms be allowed. The demonstration is as follows:

"Three things unite to production—labor, capital and land.

"Three parties divide the produce—the laborer, the capitalist and the land owner."

Therefore, if with an increase of production, the laborer gets no more, and the capitalist no more, it is a necessary inference that the land owner keeps the whole gain. And the facts agree with the inference. The tendency of wages, as material progress goes on and wealth increases, is downward; the tendency of interest proper, and even of interest as we ordinarily understand it, is also downward: but the invariable accompaniment of progress, and of poverty, is the increase of rent—the advance in land values.

PRODUCE DIVIDED INTO RENT, INTEREST AND WAGES.

Rent is what is paid or charged for the exclusive right to the use of the valuable capabilities or forces of land. When land is purchased right out the payment of the whole sum down is but rent capitalized. Rent is not interest, though it is often mistaken for it, because very few people who receive it care what it is, so long as it takes the popular form of coin. But in dealing with this subject properly and scientifically, it is necessary to be precise. If I have a piece of land with buildings or other improvements thereon, and let it to another, properly, and in the economic way of speaking, only that part which is paid for the bare land could be called my rent; that which is paid for the buildings or improvements is in reality interest. Labor—human exertion—has been employed in the latter case. In the former only the forces of nature. Rent is simply land value—bare land value; and, what may seem startling at first, does not arise from the productiveness or utility of land. The value of land is created by the whole community, and is not interest in the land itself. It is an involuntary creation, too. A population concentrates about any spot which has become a center of industry, the value of land steadily increases, notwithstanding that its beauty, its healthfulness or its productiveness may be rapidly increasing all the time. And here we begin to see in its proper light the relation of the laws we have been considering. Increase of population means increase of productive power, for ten men can do more than ten times the work of one man. Increase of productive power carries with it at least a corresponding increase in the value of land. This increase is recognized and anticipated by individuals, who possess themselves of large (or small) quantities of land which they cannot use, but which they can afford to hold until such time as the individual comes who does want to use it, and then the would-be user has to pay what the monopolist chooses to demand or go to other or inferior land. "Rent is in fact the price of monopoly arising from the reduction to individual ownership of natural elements which human exertion can neither produce nor increase."

Now, as wealth or production is the result of land, labor and capital, and the produce consequently goes to the land owner, laborer and capitalist, in the form of rent, wages and interest, we can call in the aid of one of the exact sciences, algebra, and make a very simple and comprehensible equation of it, as Mr. George has done:

Produce equals rent plus wages plus interest, therefore produce minus rent equals wages plus interest.

If the value of land increases proportionately with production all the increase will be swallowed up by rent, and wages and interest will remain as before. But if the value of land, by the operation of competition and speculation, increases faster than productive power, rent swallows up more than the increase, and wages and interest have a loss to divide between them. And if, by organizations and strikes, laborers combine and refuse to allow wages to fall, capital—true capital—being unproductive, must waste, and depression—widespread and general—must result.

Our demonstration is, I think, nearly complete. I do not claim to have proved all the propositions I have brought forward. That, within the limits of the time at my disposal, were an impossibility. But I do claim that Mr. George, in his work, has left not one of the great questions I have merely glanced at unproved.

THE PRINCIPLES APPLIED IN AUSTRALIA.

But let me bring this great question closer. "Progress and Poverty" was written in America, and the principal allusions and illustrations therein are to and from American and European life. Australia is barely mentioned throughout the work. Do our commercial crises and periods of depression arise from the same cause? Let us see.

First of all, what are the current explanations of these periods of depression through one of which we are now passing? It has been noticed, no doubt, by most of you that good times and bad times—flush times and hard times—alternate. This alternation has also been noticed in the treatises of economists on the subject, who see therein some connection between the two. Good times, they say, induce speculation; speculation loses its head, and runs into excess, and a period of depression is the consequence as naturally as a headache in the morning follows a spree overnight.

This, you will say, is true, and I admit it. Depression is caused by over speculation. But over speculation in what? In commodities? Pointing to warehouses filled with goods that cannot be sold at remunerative prices, to mills and factories closed or working on half time, to mines shut down and steamers laid up, to money lying idly in bank vaults, and workmen compelled to idleness and privation—some men say that over speculation in commodities has gone on until production has exceeded the demand for consumption, and consequently they affirm that the immediate cause of the depression is over production. Now this theory, conjoined with Malthusianism, gives birth to nihilism, communism and every other species of ism with which people are accustomed to associate the idea of vengeful violence. Tell a strong, hungry and ignorant man that he is a superfluous being—one of millions too many on the earth—and also that there have been produced too much of the things which are necessary to supply his wants—that, in fact, he is to starve because there is too much bread; that his wife and children are to shiver through the winter because there are too many blankets in your warehouses; that they are to go without fuel because there is too much coal. Tell him all this, and how can you wonder that crude schemes of redistribution and impossible ideas of equality suggest themselves to him? A man in his condition—and how many thousand of them are there?—falls an easy prey to any glib demagogue or unscrupulous agitator who will address him from a tub, a stump, or a "pedestal." He recognizes what we must all recognize, that there can be no such thing as overproduction of wealth while the great masses of men want more wealth than they can get, and are willing to give for it that which is the basis and first cause of all wealth—their labor!

Over speculation in things which are produced by labor is prevented or cured by the operation of the law of supply and demand, and does not result in widespread disaster. The speculation which causes industrial depression is speculation in something which is not and cannot be produced by labor, but which is necessary to the production of wealth—that is, land.

SPECULATION ANTICIPATING TRADE.

We have recently passed through a period of industrial activity, caused, among other things, by the carrying out of large government works (with borrowed money, it is true; but do not lay too much stress upon that fact, for although the question of interest affects the matter somewhat, it is only a small branch of the tree. There are those who would like to concentrate all your attention on that branch in the hope of sparing the root). During this period of industrial activity land values have steadily risen, culminating in speculation which carried them up in great jumps. Speculation in land involves the withdrawal of wealth from production, and is, therefore, invariably followed by a partial cessation of production; this causes dull trade (persons not being able to purchase rather than not wishing to) and the consequent accumulation of unsalable stocks, which is mistaken for over production. Has not this been the case with us? Has not the advance in land values—the increase of rent—exceeded the increase of production, leaving labor and capital a large loss to divide between them? One illustration, and a familiar one, I shall use in this particular to make it very clear that rent has increased and does increase faster than productive power among us. Facility of communication is a most valuable aid to trade, and trade, be it remembered, is a form of production. Railways enormously increase the facilities of trade, and therefore largely augment productive power. But can a railway assist production before it is constructed? Can it assist production before the tenders are called? Can it assist production before the plans are drawn, or when the surveyors are merely on the ground marking out a proposed route? Yet at every one of these stages the value is anticipated by individuals, syndicates and land companies, until by the time the railway is opened the only benefit the ultimate purchaser, the user of the land, can get—if it be a building allotment he has bought—is the temporary advantage of a little fresher air, for as population increases this soon becomes contaminated. But all this time land value—rent having increased faster than production, and having, in so doing, checked production, wages and interest—labor and capital, are suffering.

WHAT IS THE ESSENCE OF SLAVERY?

Here then is a clear and unmistakable diagnosis of the disease under which we and all other civilized communities suffer to-day. "Labor cannot reap the benefits which advancing civilization brings because they are intercepted. Land being necessary to labor and being reduced to private ownership, every increase in the productive power of labor but increases rent—the price that labor must pay for the opportunity to utilize its powers, and thus all the advantages gained by the march of progress go to the owners of land and wages do not increase. Wages cannot increase, for the greater the earnings of labor the greater the price that labor must pay out of its earnings for the opportunity to make any earnings at all." And it must be evident that if the effects of private ownership are to gradually but continually lessen the share of the produce which labor receives in proportion as that tendency operates, so must laborers approach the condition of slavery. "The essence of slavery is the robbery of labor." A slave is one who works for another but receives no more than suffices to keep him. It is the slave owner's interest to keep his slave healthy and strong and moderately contented; but this interest is not so great nor so pressing in the case of the slavery which arises from the robbery of labor caused by private ownership in land. Employers of nominally free labor get infinitely more out of their workmen at current rates of wages than they would if the men were their chattels; and if you were to give any large employer of free labor the option of making his men slaves and taking all the responsibility of keeping them and their families—housing, clothing and feeding them—even without paying a capital sum down for them in the first instance, you would be laughed to scorn! "To a British or Australian proprietor the ownership of slaves would be a burden and a loss, when he can get laborers for less than it would cost to maintain them as slaves, and when after they have become ill or infirm he can turn them on the parish." Why, an Australian operative or clerk or shopman thinks himself fortunate, as a rule, if after a period of sickness he be allowed to return to his employment at all. It is only in very first class situations or government offices that a clerk gets paid if he is away ill. A stonemason, bricklayer, carpenter or "laborer" would be "docked" half a day if he wanted to attend his child's funeral!

In the opinions of most thinking people, the little fiction about "Britons never being slaves" is growing threadbare. It is becoming recognized that only one particular form of slavery has been abolished, while an institution still remains among us which entails slavery—masquerading in the garb of freedom—of a far more insidious and comprehensive character, for it applies to the white man as well as to the black. Shall we be content, then, to hypocritically applaud the abolitionists, while a greater evil still flourishes in our midst?

CLEAR THE WAY.

The first step toward the remedy of an evil is to remove the cause. And it has become plain that the remedies which have been tried heretofore to extirpate poverty and suffering are vain. The French people, one hundred years ago, thought that aristocratic institutions were at the root of their evils, and in a long fit of frenzy, they slew their aristocracy. Yet in the greatest democracy of to-day, the United States, there exist large numbers of people on the verge of starvation, with every now and again a few toppling over; proving conclusively that the form of a nation's government cannot cure the evil. In communities with widely differing religious beliefs and ideas the same problem appears, as if in mockery of the attempts of ignorant bigots to ascribe it to the prevalence or absence of any particular set of religious doctrines. In countries with differing fiscal systems the same old, old story of "Progress and Poverty" is repeated, showing that revising of tariffs will not remedy the evil. But in all these countries—Roman Catholic, Protestant, Greek church, limited monarchies, despotic monarchies, republics, protectionist countries and (so called) free trade countries—there exists one principle in common, the principle of private property in land. The common disease can be traced to the existence of this common principle. Clearly, then, the remedy is, in the first place, to remove the cause, and abolish private property in land; that is, make land common property.

How is this to be done? Not by any wild scheme of redistribution. Not by attempting to give every living person an equal amount of land or to take away a part of somebody's land and give it to somebody else. Not by disturbing any owner who is putting his land to legitimate use. All these things are, at one time or another, set up as the objects of land nationalization, the modus operandi of which I regret to say, appears to be very much misunderstood.

NO NEW FUNCTIONS FOR THE STATE.

Mr. George says: "I do not propose either to purchase or to confiscate private property in land. The first would be unjust, the second

needless. Let the individuals who now hold it still retain possession, if they want to, of what they are pleased to call their land. Let them continue to call it their land. Let them buy and sell and bequeath and devise it. We may safely leave them the shell if we take the kernel. It is not necessary to confiscate land, it is only necessary to confiscate rent. Now, to take rent for public uses is it necessary that the state should bother itself with the letting of lands and take the chances of the favoritism, collusion and corruption which that might involve? It is not necessary that any new machinery should be created. The machinery already exists. . . . We already take some rent in taxation. We have only to make some changes in our modes of taxation to take it all. . . . In this way the state may become the universal landlord without calling herself so, and without assuming a single new function. In form the ownership of land would remain just as now."

A STRUGGLE WITH THE GREATEST INTEREST IN THE WORLD.

It will be seen by the foregoing quotation that any misunderstanding as to the mode of land nationalization must arise from a too hasty reading of its text book, and cannot be charged upon the ambiguity or inexplicitness of the author. The remedy is like all true remedies, simple and easy. It is to appropriate rent, that is bare land value, by taxation; in other words to tax land up to its full value, irrespective of improvements, and to abolish every other form of taxation.

Now this idea, strange though it may seem at first, will appear more and more natural and just the more it is considered. But, as Mr. George says, "there are few of the classes most to be benefited by it who at first see its full significance. It is difficult for workingmen to get over the idea that there is a real antagonism between capital and labor." Workingmen cannot easily realize that the reason why the capitalists cannot accede to their demands is that very often behind the capitalist is the land owner. And so frequently is the capitalist a land owner as well that the difficulty of separating the results of his actions in the two capacities may readily be excused. Then there are men who combine in themselves the three functions of capitalist, laborer and land owner, and who only see what they might lose in the one capacity without also seeing what they would be sure to gain in the other two. "It is difficult for small farmers and homestead owners to get over the idea that to put all taxes on the value of land would be to unduly tax them." It is difficult for the owners of small cottages on small allotments to recognize that land nationalization would not increase the sum total of their taxation, but reduce it. All taxation would then come in a direct form and be noticed, instead of sneaking in in the form of increased price of commodities on every article a man used from his cradle to his coffin. This confusion of ideas arises from ignorance. Ignorance is the parent of prejudice and the arch enemy of reform. "But behind ignorance and prejudice there is a powerful interest which has hitherto dominated literature, education and opinion." This interest, the greatest in the world—the landed interest—feels itself attacked by the new evangel, and has already shown signs that it will not die without a bitter struggle.

With some of the literary small fry of Sydney, who feel it incumbent upon themselves to rail at Henry George, I took occasion to deal about three years ago in a magazine article, which was, as a matter of course, damned with much unction and expedition by the reviewers as a unique exhibition of literary crassness. But while I was doing my best here in a humble way to defend Mr. George from the attacks of anonymous paragraphists and literary cornermen, Mr. George himself was engaged in a contest with the most able and representative opponent he has yet had to encounter—his grace, the duke of Argyll. This contest, as a literary tournament alone, is exceedingly interesting. The duke is a practiced and finished writer, and may be taken as a type of the cultured and leisured British aristocrat; if there be any unfairness in this typification, it is to the individual and not to the class. To this gentleman, who, besides being an aristocrat, is also an author, Mr. George took the liberty of sending a copy of "Progress and Poverty," intending, as he himself said, "to pay a tribute and give a pleasure to a citizen of the republic of letters, not to irritate a landlord." But it did irritate the landlord part of the duke very much indeed, so much so that he appeared to forget that he was a scholar and a gentleman, and to remember only that he was a duke and a land owner. Seizing his little pen he wrote what filled twenty-two pages of perhaps the leading magazine in the world—the *Nineteenth Century*.

THE METHODS OF THE DUKE OF ARGYLL.

The duke was very angry. He began by pretending that he was only amused and interested, and attempted to draw a parallel between the reasoning of Mr. George and that of some "crank" who, he says, sent him a book at about the same time, the object of which was to prove that the earth was flat, remarking that "the Californian philosopher had one immense advantage." "No one," says the duke, "has any personal interest in believing that the world is flat. But many persons may have an interest, very personal indeed, in believing that they have a right to appropriate a share in their neighbor's vineyard."

It doesn't appear to have struck the duke, all through his angry philippic, that the insolent prejudices of his class—who postulate their right to all the privileges they enjoy—were preventing him from seeing that to introduce the question of "personal interest" into this subject—was to tread upon very delicate and dangerous ground. For what other motive, may I ask, than that the duke felt that his interest was attacked, did he wander through the maze of speculative metaphysics in an attempt to find a reason for a falsehood, plausibly suggested by himself? Finding that he could not overthrow Mr. George by the usual canons of discussion—viz., by a disproof of his premises, or by pointing out flaws in his reasoning—he propounded a new and interesting theory, which is in effect that a thing may be wrong without being able to be proved so; that although a man's intellectual faculties may be relied on to revolt against absurdity, his moral faculties cannot be trusted to revolt as surely against iniquity. To the further consideration of this question he airily promises to return some day when he has a few months to spare, thus sneaking away from any responsibility for the incompleteness of his peculiar theory.

"And yet," says Mr. George, "the duke's whole article is addressed to the moral faculties." He cannot reduce "Progress and Poverty" to absurdity, or how readily he would do so! But he tries to reduce it to iniquity. "He appeals," says Mr. George, "to the moral sense, because he instinctively feels that with all men its decisions have the highest sanction; and if he afterward seeks to weaken its authority, it is because this very moral sense whispers to him that his case is not a good one."

One or two excerpts from the duke's article will suffice to show the character of the ablest reply that has yet been made to Mr. George. *Vanity Fair* was charmed with it. In its notice of the April number, 1883, of the *Nineteenth Century*, *Vanity Fair* smugly remarks: "The first article in this number is by the duke of Argyll, and is devoted to a demolition of the fallacies propounded by Mr. Henry George. The last is an essay, and a pleasurable one, and is satisfactorily performed." Exactly so. Listen. "There are," says the duke, "at least a few axioms in life on which we are entitled to decline discussion"—and the orthodox duke thinks that a short quotation from the well cured infidel, Voltaire, is sufficient justification for him in refusing to treat this subject with common fairness.

ROBBERY AND PROPERTY.

How different is this tone of lofty arrogance to the calm and dignified assurance of Mr. George when he says: "I propose to beg no question, but to follow truth wherever it may lead." Of the two, which is the more likely to reach the right? and whose behavior is more in accordance with the apostle's advice to "Prove all things and hold fast to that which is good"? "In this paper," says the duke at the conclusion of the article, "it has not been my aim to argue." Regarding this, Mr. George correctly points out that it is generally waste of time to reply to those who do not argue, and expresses the very just wish that it had not been his aim to misrepresent. But the duke did try to argue. He was trying his hardest all the time to argue, and by every device of disingenuous ingenuity to prove, by argument and illustration, colored with the reddest tint of falsehood, that Mr. George was a "preacher of unrighteousness," an "abolisher of the decalogue," an "immoral leader," a man "who denied the primary obligations both of public and of private honor." Not his aim to argue! Why, he might as well have said that it was not his aim to write!

"I accept," said Mr. George, "the reduction to iniquity. I am willing to submit every question of political economy to the best of ethics. . . . There is no dispute between us as to the issue to be joined. The duke charges me with advocating violation of the moral law in proposing robbery. I agree that robbery is a violation of the moral law, and is, therefore, without further inquiry, to be condemned. As to what constitutes robbery, it is, we will both agree, the taking or withholding from another of that which rightfully belongs to him. That which rightfully belongs to him, be it observed, not that which legally belongs to him. As to what extent human laws may create rights is beside this discussion, for what I propose is to change, not to violate, human law. Such change, the duke declares, would be unrighteous. He thus appeals to the moral law, which is before and above all human law. Landholders must elect to try their case either by human law or by moral law. If they say that land is rightfully property because made so by human law, they cannot charge those who would change that law with advocating robbery. But if they say that such a change would be robbery, then they must show that land is rightfully property irrespective of human law."

And then, following up this question, he takes the duke back to the time when land usurpation began, and caustically touches upon the duke's own rights. "The duke of Argyll," says he, "has written a great deal about the rights of land owners, but has never, I think, told us anything of the historical derivation of these rights. He has spoken of his own estates, but has nowhere told us how they came to be his. This, I know, is a delicate question, and therefore I will not press it. But while a man ought not to be taunted with the sins of his ancestors, neither ought he to profit by them. And the general fact is that the exclusive ownership of land has everywhere had its beginning in force and fraud, in selfish greed and unscrupulous cunning."

THE LIFE OF SCOTLAND'S POOR.

The institution of private property in land is, doubtless, one of the "few axioms" in life upon which, fortified by the example of Voltaire, the pious duke deems himself entitled to decline discussion. But Mr. George asks him to test it by its fruits in Scotland, where the duke's own estates lie. "What there," he asks, "are its results? That wild beasts have supplanted human beings; that glens which once sent forth their thousand fighting men are now tenanted by a couple of gamekeepers; that there is destitution and degradation that would shame savages; that little children are stunted and starved for want of proper nourishment; that women are compelled to do the work of animals; that young girls who ought to be fitting themselves for wifehood and motherhood are held to monotonous toil in factories, while others, whose fate is sadder still, prowl the streets; that while a few Scotsmen have castles and palaces, more than a third of Scottish families live in one room each, and more than two-thirds in not more than two rooms each; that thousands of acres are kept as playgrounds for strangers while the masses have not enough of their native soil to grow a flower, are shut out even from moor and mountain, dare not take a trout from a loch or a salmon from a stream. With the same thoughtful attention he has given to the way of an eagle in the air' let the duke consider a sight he must have seen many times—a Scottish woman toiling up hill with a load of manure on her back. Then let him apply 'the reduction to iniquity.'

"Let the duke not be content with feasting his eyes upon those comfortable houses of the large farmers which so excite his admiration. Let him visit the bothies in which farm servants are herded together like cattle, and learn, as he may learn, that the lot of the Scottish farm servant—a lot from which no industry or thrift can release him—is to die in the workhouse, or in the receipt of a parish dole if he be so unfortunate as to outlive his ability to work. Or let him visit those poor, broken-down creatures who, enduring anything rather than accept the humiliation of the workhouse, are eking out their last days upon a few shillings from the parish, supplemented by the charity of people nearly as poor as themselves. Let him consider them, and, if he has imagination enough, put himself in their place. Then let him try 'the reduction to iniquity.'

"Or let him go to Edinburgh, the modern Athens, of which Scotsmen speak with pride, and in buildings from whose roofs a bowman might strike the spires of twenty churches, he will find human beings living as he would not keep his meanest dog. Let him toil up the stairs of those monstrous buildings; let him enter one of those dark houses, let him close the door, and in the blackness think what life must be in such a place. Then let him try 'the reduction to iniquity,' and if he go to that good charity (but alas! how futile is charity, without justice!), where little children are kept while their mothers are at work, and children are fed who would otherwise go hungry, he may see infants whose limbs are shrunken for want of nourishment. Perhaps they may tell him, as they told me, of that little girl, barefooted, ragged, and hungry, who, when they gave her bread, raised her eyes and clasped her hands and thanked our Father in Heaven for his bounty to her. They who told me that never dreamed, I think, of its terrible meaning. But I ask the duke of Argyll, did that little child, thankful, for that poor dole, get what our Father provided for her? Is he so niggard? If not, what is it, who is it, that stands between such children and our Father's bounty? If it be an institution, is it not our duty to God and to our neighbor to rest not till we destroy it? If it be a man, were it not better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he were cast into the depths of the sea?"

Such is the character of the memorable controversy, in the course of which Mr. George gained—a title. Not one of the cheap appendages which in this precious year of jubilee have been retailed to plutocrats and sycophants—but a genuine title. In a fit of futile sarcasm, the duke of Argyll bestowed a name upon Henry George which he deserves in sober earnest. The name has adhered to him ever since, and bids fair to adhere to him for all time. Even hostile critics now use the phrase with no intention of irony and no sense of incongruity. That title, I need hardly say, is "The Prophet of San Francisco."

PROTECTION AN INSULT TO LABOR.

But the struggles of the landed proprietors, mighty though they would assuredly be, would be of no avail against a movement for the abolition of the iniquitous institution of private property in land, were it not for the ignorance which leads men to treat the ills of society as mere fiscal disorders which can be cured by paltry boluses of protection. I do not deny that protection directly benefits the particular industry in whose interest a duty may be imposed; but the benefit can only be temporary, and, what is worse, must confer a corresponding injury upon other industries. One remarkable fact with regard to protection is its own unique and singular idea of the result of its universal adoption. The logical tendency of protection is toward barbarism—every man, as in the savage state, supplying his own wants by his own labor. What is civilization but a state of society in which, by the division of labor and the exchange of products, man is able to produce in greater quantity, and superior quality, the things which he needs for the satisfaction of his desires? What is trade but the exchange of products? And what is protection but a prevention and a hindrance to trade? But the protection that we are asked to support is, we are told, to be abolished when the industry it is required to bolster up shall be able to walk alone. So that the protection millennium, after all, is a condition of universal free trade!

I tell you that protection is in its very essence and by its very name an insult to labor. Labor is not a poor, weak thing which needs protecting. It is a strong and mighty giant who, like Gulliver in Lilliput, has been bound in his sleep by pigmies and who is now awake and struggling to be free. If we have the sense of the Lilliputians we will free this giant of our own accord, and haply he will serve us against our enemies. If we do not, by a violent effort he may burst his bonds himself and crush both friends and foes beneath his vengeful feet. Labor needs no protection—no patronage. What it wants is justice, and justice says simply that a man is entitled to what he earns.

Labor is a duty. St. Paul said: "If any would not work neither should he eat." And yet there is a large class of people who call call themselves Christians, too, who never do any work at all. They pride themselves upon the fact that for hundreds of years their ancestors have never done any work, and they look with contempt not merely upon the man who works, but even upon the man whose grandfather had to work. Yet I fancy, somehow, that they eat. I have often wondered what people like these think of that other text about the camel and the needle's eye; but a friend of mine told me lately that the text had been discovered by recent researches among ancient manuscripts to have been strangely mixed, and in the next revised version it will read, "It is easier for a needle to go through the eye of a rich man than for a camel to enter into the kingdom of heaven."

An English writer has divided all men into three classes—workingmen, beggarmen and thieves. "This classification," Mr. George points out, "though uncomplimentary to the 'upper classes' is economically true. There are only three ways by which an individual can get wealth—by work, by gift or by theft. And clearly the reason why the workers get so little is that the beggars and thieves get so much. When a man gets wealth which he does not produce it is manifest that he gets it at the expense of those who do produce it."

WHERE TAXATION OUGHT TO FALL.

The way to secure to a man the enjoyment of what he earns is not to set capital and labor fighting together over a tariff question, but to induce them to unite and utilize the tariff question as a means by which to defeat their common enemy. Protection involves a conflict between capital and labor, between whom there is no natural antagonism, and it diverts the great question from the real issue. All existing tariffs fall eventually upon industry. "They operate," says Mr. George, "upon energy, industry, skill and thrift like a fine upon those qualities. If I have worked harder, and built myself a good house while you have been content to live in a hovel, the tax gatherer now comes annually to make me pay a penalty for my energy and industry by taxing me more than you."

Does it not seem a more feasible way of benefiting the poor man to remove taxes, rather than to impose new ones? Remove all taxes, and the lifting of so great a weight from production would give such a stimulus to industry as has never yet been seen.

Now, as we can hardly expect to get a government just now which will remove all our taxation at once, there is one thing that we can do in the sphere of practical politics towards hastening a consummation so devoutly to be wished. We can advocate free trade—not the miserable abortion which goes by that name in Macquarie street, but true free trade. We can support the party which pledges itself to remove the most taxes, and we can insist that every deficit shall be met by a tax on land, direct. All taxation has eventually to be drawn from the land: then why not take it therefrom in the first instance, instead of imposing it in a way that enables it to be passed on from one to another, until it reaches the laborer—the man who comes into immediate contact with nature, and who, poor wretch! can pass the cheat no further?

My limited experience has shown me that the bare probability of a tax on land interferes with its selling value. One or two real taxes would soon destroy much of the speculative value of land, and if it were known that the next deficit would be wiped out by an appeal to landlords only, millions of money that is now locked up in land would flow into other and untaxed channels. The free trade which consists merely in the advocacy of a revenue tariff as against a protective tariff is unworthy of the name. To see a candidate addressing a constituency over the tariff question as it is now presented reminds one of the celebrated French caricature of which Carlyle speaks, which depicts a rustic addressing the poultry of his barn yard. "Dear animals," says he, "I have called you together to consider what sauce I shall dress you with." "But," exclaims a fat young rooster, "we don't want to be eaten!" "My friend," replies the rustic, "you wander from the point."

THE MOVEMENT RELIGIOUS, BUT NON-SECTARIAN.

No remarks on this subject would be complete without some reference to the newspaper which was started by Mr. George in New York in January of this year—THE STANDARD. This paper, in the skill of its conduct, the beauty of its diction and the sublimity of its sentiment, transcends all praise. And when the history of this movement comes to be written for our posterity, side by side with the name of Henry George will be the names of his two eloquent coadjutors, Father Edward McGlynn (a Roman Catholic priest, excommunicated by the pope for refusing to allow the papacy to dominate his rights as an American citizen, but still a priest) and the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, Congregational minister. These men, with other noble colleagues, are making history to-day in New York, and I am assured by Henry George himself that the work that has been done by THE STANDARD during the past ten months has far exceeded his most sanguine hopes. The presence and co-operation of these men, while imparting a fervent religious tone to a great national movement, which has been well styled by them "A New Crusade," has also served to rescue it from the foul taint of sectarianism. I would deal very tenderly with any one's conscientious susceptibilities in the matter of religion, but I affirm, in all sincerity, and with no intention of offense, that the profession of the Christian ministry is not, and cannot be expected to be, more free from the presence of narrow minded ignoramuses and unscrupulous self-seekers than is any other profession. And the whole environment of a nineteenth century clergyman's life is to place him in a false position, for while his profession is to the masses he lives, moves, has his being among, shares the prejudices of and joins the sympathies with the classes. Is it not still fresh in all your memories that in this present year, while wails of distress were reaching us from the toilers (or would be toilers) all over the world—while the masses were seething with discontent and writhing under injustice—and while the world's best thinkers, bearing the no mean tortures of nineteenth century persecution, were tracing the social diseases to causes for which what is called "society" is responsible—that, notwithstanding all this, the order was given to rejoice because society's God had reigned for fifty years. The order was carried out and society rejoiced accordingly, while the people starved and muttered within sight and smell of the most luxurious extravagance. What was the attitude taken by the churches of Christ by the professed (I had almost said professional) followers of Him who knew not where to lay His head? For the most part it was, to put it mildly, an attitude of approval, expressed or implied. I do not say that consciously any Christian minister would approve of such hollow mockery, or bitter injustice, if it were realized as such; but therein lies the complaint. So few of them realize the tendency of these great movements, or understand the possibility of conforming the laws of men with the law of God. If they did, from every pulpit in Christendom on jubilee Sunday, instead of the semi-idolatrous blasphemy which reached no further than the rafters, would have thundered forth the solemn warning words of Him whom they call their master, "Woe unto you who laugh now, for ye shall mourn and weep."

A deeply religious spirit pervades this great movement in America, and men who once used, in their desperation, to blaspheme the name of God, to whom in their ignorance they attributed the authorship of evil, now recognize that "He doeth all things well," and that the laws which regulate his kingdom are merciful, just, wise and equal. And so they are led to pray and work for the coming of that kingdom on earth. Recognizing that even the laws of human progress, amid all the complexities of advancing civilization are yet capable of complete conformity with the eternal principles of truth and justice, and realizing the possibility of conforming the laws of their country with the law of human progress, the united labor party in America have nominated for their representatives in the coming election (next month) men who hold the same view that I have been trying to explain to you to-night, and in a few days we shall have flashed across the ocean news which will show the voting power, even at this early stage, of the new crusaders. It is, perhaps, almost too much to hope for victory yet. But is not the growth of the movement to fighting dimensions in itself a victory?

AUSTRALIA EMBRACING THE NEW DOCTRINE.

But what of this, our country, Australia? I tell you, my friends, that this grand doctrine is spreading here to an extent that would astonish some of you almost as much as poor old Elijah was astonished when "the still small voice" came to him saying that there were yet left 7,000 in Israel "who had not bowed the knee to Baal." Don't sit moping in the wilderness you who realize the grandeur of this contest. Let every man who has a heart within him capable of feeling one sentiment of pity for the suffering thousands around him—suffering for no fault of their own, but because they have never had the opportunity to escape from the conditions of that poverty which entails the bitterest of suffering. Let every such man, or woman, range themselves under the banner on which is emblazoned the pure white cross of the new crusade. And in the words of that noble clergyman, the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost, "if it be smitten from our hands into the dust of defeat, let us pray that other hands may be raised to carry it on until it be planted on the battlements of the city of God."

I need say no more, except to commend this question, and the books upon the subject—especially "Progress and Poverty"—to your earnest attention. The concluding chapters of that book are couched in language the most beautiful and touching, well justifying the contention of the author that he had freed the dismal science of political economy from her shackles and gags, and transformed her into a science radiant with hope.

I confess that I began to read the book in much the same spirit that the author says he began the inquiry in; and I put it down with similar emotions to those with which he concluded. He says: "When, in mind, I set out on this inquiry, I had no theory to support, no conclusions to prove. Only when I first realized the squalid misery of a great city, it appalled and tormented me, and would not let me rest, for thinking of what caused it and how it could be cured. But of this inquiry has come to me something I did not think to find, and a faith that was dead revives."

That this great truth will ultimately prevail is certain, but the forces that are opposed to it will doubtless delay it long.

But every new recruit adds strength to the cause and hastens the day of victory. The opposition we shall meet is of no new pattern; and in the histories of similar movements we can find noble examples of courage and perseverance.

"Near nineteen hundred years ago, when another civilization was developing monstrous inequalities, when the masses everywhere were being ground into hopeless slavery, there arose in a Jewish village an unlearned carpenter, who, scorning the orthodoxies and ritualisms of the time, preached to laborers and fishermen the gospel of the fatherhood of God, of the brotherhood of men, who taught his disciples to pray for the coming of the kingdom of heaven on earth. The college professors sneered at him, the orthodox preachers [when they could spare the time from squabbling about heredoses or exhorting young men to work hard to save their money and buy land, so that those who had it to sell might live without w[illegible] the orthodox preachers denounced him. He was reviled as a dreamer, a disturber, as a 'communist,' and, finally, organized society took the alarm, and he was crucified between two thieves. But the Word went forth, and, spread by fugitives and slaves, made its way against power till it revolutionized the world, and out of the rotting old civilization brought the germ of the new. Then the privileged classes rallied again, carved the effigy of the man of the people in the courts and on the tombs of kings, in his name consecrated inequality and wrested his gospel to the defense of social injustice. But again the same great ideas of a common fatherhood, of a common brotherhood, of a social state in which none shall be overworked and none shall want begin to quicken in common thought.

"When a mighty wind meets a strong current it does not portend a smooth sea. And whoever will think of the opposing tendencies beginning to develop will appreciate the gravity of the social problems the civilized world must soon meet."

At the conclusion of the lecture a most enthusiastic vote of thanks was passed to the lecturer, the chairman remarking, amid great applause, that he hoped the day was not far distant when Mr. Foxall would be sent by some important constituency to advocate the views he had enunciated in the parliament of this country.

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

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

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

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

PUBLISHER'S NOTES.

This comes to us from a law student in a southern city—a town with a boom, where, within the last few years, great fortunes have been made by speculation in land, and where to-day men are hunting for employment, while unused natural opportunities lie all around them.

I desire very much to get your work, "Protection or Free Trade." I have inquired for it in all the book stores here, but have been unable to find it. Will you please let me know the price of it, and, if convenient, send me a price list of all your works. I should like to get them all. I have never seen any of your books, except "Progress and Poverty," which I read during the past summer, and have recently reread or, rather, studied. And I intend to do with "Progress and Poverty" as Lord Campbell advised a young student to do with "Coke upon Littleton." The young man inquired how to learn the law? Lord Campbell replied, "Read Coke upon Littleton." The young man said he had read it. Lord C. answered, "Read Coke upon Littleton over again." The student replied he had read it thrice over. "Now," said Lord C., "sit down and make an abstract of it."

I regard your argument in "Progress and Poverty" as having the force of mathematical demonstration. I have found very few in this part of the country who have read the book, but all those whom I have met that read it with any degree of care, agree with me in this opinion. Your theories seem to me impregnable, and reading your book marks an epoch in my uneventful life. Uneventful so far, though, taken as a whole, I hope it will bring forth events to forward the cause of truth and right. I am now only twenty-two. For truth and justice I shall wear the motto of the blind old king of Bohemia, "Ich dien," and shall be only too happy, like him, if I can go far enough into the battle to strike just one blow in her glorious cause.

The feeling of the average man in regard to you, and such reforms as you propose, has just been tersely expressed by a member of this law firm. I told him I was writing to you. He asked, "How much money is following the theories of that crank going to put into your pocket? You had better be studying your law books. His theories are all very pretty to read but are thoroughly impracticable." H. ——.

The lawyer's criticism to our correspondent is one very often made, both tacitly and in so many words. There is no money in these theories, say the busy men who are piling thousands upon thousands by successful business operations. No money in them, say many of that far larger class whose lives are one long agony of struggle to maintain a precarious footing on the very edge of the pit of poverty. In the rush and whirl and fierce competition of this nineteenth century life, when every man who has been lucky enough to find employment for his brains or muscle knows that there are hundreds eager to thrust him back into idleness that they themselves may grasp the boon of work, too many think they have no time to study anything which does not give promise of cash return. Social problems and political economy are all very well, they think, but what have we to do with them? Let the clergy and the charitable societies, and the politicians wrestle with questions of relieving poverty and securing better wages for the laboring classes and all the rest of it. Such things are their business, which they are paid to attend to. As for us, the care of our own interests is as much as we can attend to.

But even from their own standpoint these men are wrong. The merchant, the lawyer, the farmer, the worker for daily wages, the man who has employment, and the man who is seeking it, have all a direct interest—not merely a moral interest, but a pecuniary one—in seeing that equal justice is done to their fellow men. The punishment for social crime falls upon society as a whole, and every man who forms a part of the social whole must bear his share of punishment. Ask any merchant if it would not pay him to put an end to those periods of "over-production" and depression and stagnation which overspread the country like a blight three or four times in a generation, and see what he will say. Ask the farmer and the manufacturer if it would benefit them nothing to have all men made sure of permanent, profitable employment; ask the bookkeeper and the salesman, the miner and the laborer for daily wages if they would not be better off if there were no idle men hungrily longing for employment, and they will give you but one answer. Every one of them knows that such a change would make him richer in purse, and far, far happier in mind. Ask the father if it would relieve him of no dreadful weight of anxiety to know that, happen what might to him, his children could never know the pressure of want, and he will answer that nothing on earth could make him happier. From the m[illegible]ire to the tramp every one of us takes h[illegible]e of punishment for the great social c[illegible] and none are more quick to complain of the penalty than those who refuse to acknowledge that any crime is being committed.

The simple truth is that following "these theories" will "pay" even in a money sense. He who follows the banner of the new crusade is not working merely for the benefit of others. He is working to benefit himself as well.

A correspondent in New Zealand sends us these verses. In the note accompanying them he writes:

There is no country under the sun in which agrarian monopoly and usury have made such frightful progress as in this colony. Whole county sides are owned by one man and the banks rule with a rod of iron. In fact the masses of the people are actually greater slaves to landlords and shylocks than the negroes were in your southern states before the war.

WORK IS PRAYER.

New Zealand's plains are fruitful where waves the golden grain;
New Zealand's hills are verdant where falls the springing rain.
Aye! hill and dale are flowing with milk and honey, too;
But what great Nature sent for all is taken by the few.

Lo! one man standing on the soil (the birthright of the poor);
He waves aloft his parchment scroll, and locks the storehouse door,
And grinds the faces of the poor to gild his pompous home,
And cares not (so that he be rich) how many poor may roam.

No man can justly own the air, the ocean or the sod,
For these are Nature's gifts to all—the heritage of God:
But human laws are based upon dark centuries of Wrong,
And thus what Labor earns by sweat is tribute for the Strong.

"Give us to-day our daily bread"—it is a faithful prayer;
And Nature's endless answer is, "Go toil and earn thy share.
"In Land is bread for every one; aye, wealth and golden store;
Go, take what I have given and pray in words no more."

New Zealand's plains are fruitful where grows no golden grain;
New Zealand's hills are fern clad where falls the springing rain;
And wealth untold lies sleeping beneath its surface deep,
While thousands beg for work to do, and children mourn and weep.

ARTHUR DESMONDE.

NEW YORK CITY.—I send herewith $1.05 for seven four weeks' subscriptions to inclosed addresses. I mean to send a like sum every month. This is a mite I consider given to the best form of charity—the charity which seeks the abolition of poverty. I have given next to nothing to the poor for years, as I considered the remote mediate effect to be more full of harm than the near immediate effect was good. Now that a charity has begun that is not open to this objection, money should flow in like water. C. A.

NEW YORK CITY.—Reading your Publisher's Notes has quickened me to a sense of duty. I have felt myself addressed as "John Smith," and though I do not write from Australia or New Zealand my efforts will tend in the same direction. I have got six new subscribers for THE STANDARD. Please send me blank subscription forms and I will forward names and addresses before the close of the year.

JOHN J. HEARN.

DUNKIRK, N. Y.—I have read THE STANDARD, every word of it, since its first issue, and I sincerely hope I shall not be debarred that pleasure as long as I live.

But from what I read in Publisher's Notes, it seems to me that the seventy-three thousand men who so energetically attacked the enemy's lines this fall are not doing their full duty to THE STANDARD. This has made me determined to do mine at least. The night I received the last issue I started out and got one subscriber. The next afternoon my wife brought in another. And I am now able to inclose you a list of seven in all. This is a small matter, but it seems to me it is possible for every one of the seventy-three thousand to do at least as much. FRANCIS LAKE.

CONCORDIA, MO.—I inclose $1.50 with list of ten addresses, to which please send recruit STANDARDS for four weeks. These are all personal friends of mine and I have written to each of them asking them as a personal favor to me to read the paper carefully and tell me wherein its views and principles are wrong. I got this last idea from one of Mr. Pentecost's communications in THE STANDARD, where he tells how he himself was brought to see the truth by trying to demonstrate to somebody else that it was not the truth at all. It is a first-rate plan to throw the weight of argument on the other fellow. Don't try to convince him, and so perhaps irritate his self esteem and make him mulish, but just tell him what you believe and ask him to point out the fallacy. It won't be long before he tangles himself up and begins to think, just as Mr. Pentecost did, that there must be something in the thing after all. I have tried this plan on two people here already, and though neither of them have acknowledged the truth yet, I can see by the way they bring up the subject when they meet me, that they're doing some heavy thinking. Yesterday one of them carried off my STANDARD, as he said, "just to see what the blamed paper had to say anyway." JOHN SMITH.

ST. PAUL, MINN.—Here are four subscribers, for which you needn't thank me, but H. F. Ring. That tract of his, "The Case Plainly Stated," will make any man who will really read it anxious to know more. When a man gets through with that, even if he doesn't see the whole cat he can make out the head, and then he can't rest satisfied until he sees the body, tail and feet as well. J. S. T.

——, N. M.—The inclosed $10 is to be applied as follows: Three dollars for inclosed list of tracts and the rest for subscriptions and recruit subscriptions as follows: . . . I have started a club in a small way here by getting a few of my friends to come to my house once a week to talk over the subjects of social reform. I can see the good effects already. J. ELLIOTT.

These letters from men who are working are full of suggestion to the friends of our cause who haven't yet commenced to work. There is not a reader of THE STANDARD who cannot, if he will but try, do something for the cause, by talking, by tract distributions, by recruit subscriptions, by canvassing for THE STANDARD. The army of workers grows, but it is still far too small. The John Smiths who sit idle, knowing the truth, and longing that their neighbors should see it too, yet shrinking from going out and proclaiming it, are far too many. Are you one of them?

These are our terms for subscriptions to THE STANDARD:

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One subscription, six months, . . .	1 25
One subscription, three months, . . .	63
Three or more subscriptions:	
One year, each, ...	$2 00
Six months, each, ...	1 00
Three months, each, ...	50

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

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

The contributions to the recruiting fund during the past week have been as follows:

P. Kearney	50
"Georgeism"	20
S. H. J.	5 00
J. L. Shoemaker	1 00
Total for the week	$6 70
Previously acknowledged	$1,978 57
Total to date	1,985 07

A Proposal for Missionary Work.

Detroit Evening News.

A workingman, writing to the *Free Press*, a few days ago, suggested land reform as the best thing for the redress of the grievances the masses are complaining of. The *Free Press* dismissed the subject editorially, by the high and mighty declaration that the proposition was based on the George doctrine, and was, by that fact, impracticable. Another workingman was so obtuse as not to see that the paper's mere dictum disposed of the matter, and he wrote to know where the impracticability lay. Thereupon the *Free Press* editor declared that the paper had no room for any discussion of the subject because the George doctrine had been discussed for years without practical result. He proceeded, however, to point out, to the everlasting condemnation of the doctrine, that it would be impracticable in view of the difficulties that would be met in trying to solve the puzzles: "How large a lot is each workingman to have?" "Where is it to be?" "Are Detroit workingmen alone to have lots?" Truly, the discussions of years have had no practical result in the case of the *Free Press* editor. He hasn't read them. It will be in order now for the advocates of the George doctrine to send one of their number, some man who can scarcely perspire through the grime of work that covers his face, whose hands are still with calloused lumps, who spent a very few years in a primary school, who has never read the *Free Press*, to tell that paper's conductor something of what George teaches and hundreds of thousands believe. It may then dawn on the *Free Press* that the George doctrine does not contemplate fixing the size of anybody's lot, nor telling him where it will be, nor where he must come from if he wishes to settle on it, nor anything else of the kind which would be an interference with his individual rights. Or, perhaps, the columns of the paper might be lengthened slightly to permit of a discussion in them, which appears to be so much needed, though not desired.

Evidently the "Inter-Ocean" Hasn't Learned the Difference Between Land and Land Values.

Chicago Inter-Ocean.

But what is raw material? It is something produced without labor, and therefore something in which cheapness may be attained without lessening the purchasing power of any body of citizens. If so, it would be well to remove import duties. But inquiry will show that there is but one thing which can truly be spoken of as raw material, and that a thing not capable of import or export, and a thing which, moreover, the most advanced of living free traders insists upon as being the only thing properly subject to taxation. For land is the only raw material known to art or manufacture.

THE WAGE WORKERS OF CONNECTICUT.

What They Receive in Wages and What It Takes to Live.

The following questions, printed in the blank form issued by the Connecticut bureau of labor statistics for the purpose of ascertaining the condition of the working men and women of the state, indicate the character of the work undertaken by the commissioner:

By whom and where are you employed? How many hours are you employed daily? How often are you paid? Do you belong to any labor organization? Any other organization? Have you engaged in a strike or been locked out during month? Which? What was the cause of the strike or lockout? What was the result? Have you life or accident insurance? If so, how much? Do your employers keep a store? Do you trade there? Do you own a home? Is it mortgaged? If so, for how much? What rate of interest do you pay on mortgage? Have you accumulated any savings during former years? Have your earnings been enough to support your family? Have you run in debt? What are the diseases peculiar to your occupation? What is the average daily product of your labor? State amount daily produced. Have you ever been in business? What? Amount of capital? Why did you give it up?

Besides these are other questions relating chiefly to earnings and expenses. The bureau has just issued an abstract of the reports for the month of October, received from forty-six families. They came from all parts of the state and represent twenty-nine occupations:

Number of families				46
Number of persons				225
Average per family				4.9
	Wages.			Average for eighteen month 31 days.
	Whole amount.	Average monthly.	Average daily.	
46 fathers	$2,006 95	$43 63	$1 90	$1 41
2 mothers	40 00	20 00	1 00	....
14 sons	318 41	22 39	93	....
6 daughters	115 00	19 16	80	....
Total	$2,475 36			
Average monthly income per family				$53 80
Average monthly income per person				11 00
Average daily income per family				1 74
Average daily income per person				35 1-2
Expenses.				Per cent.
Groceries and vegetables			$952 07	35 1-2
Meat and fish			417 12	15
Clothing, boots, shoes			480 31	17 2-5
Fuel and lighting			284 94	10 1-3
Rent			273 10	10
Society dues and assessments			36 47	1 1-3
Medicine and medical attendance			82 99	3
Family help			20 50	7-10
Education, books, newspapers			30 10	1
Insurance, interest, taxes			18 87	7-10
All other expenses			133 85	5
Total			$2,760 39	
Average, monthly, per family				$60 01
Average, monthly, per person				12 25
Average, daily, per family				1 96
Average, daily, per person				40
Excess of family expenses over fathers' wages				753 44
Average per family				16 39
Excess of expenses over family income from wages				285 03
Average per family				6 21
		Men.	Boys.	Girls.
Number of occupations		29	10	4
Hours daily		9 1-2		
Days per month		23	24	24
Average age			16 2-3	19
No. getting less than average wages		25	8	2
No. expending less than the average wages		26		
Lowest wages, daily		1 00	54	58
Highest wages, daily		3 86	133	86

Heaps of Thinking Going on in Canada.

Hamilton, Ont., Times.

Mayor Howland, of Toronto, in his evidence before the Royal labor commission the other day, made a statement with regard to the housing of the poor. We quote:

There is too little system here, he held, in the character of the houses of the poorer classes, as in any new place, and too little air room. He condemned especially the practice of building one house on the back of the lot behind another on the street. Again, the practice of putting a number of families in one house is being introduced in Toronto, and the witness said that he knew of any number of cases where families are living in two rooms. He recommended that all this matter of house building and sanitation be placed under strict government inspection. . . .

If Mr. Howland expects to make a record as a social reformer, he must advocate something more radical than placing house building and sanitation under government inspection. He must be aware that speculation in city lots has caused prices of land in Toronto to rise, and it is dearness of land, not scarcity of labor or of building material, that makes house rents high and drives workingmen out into the suburbs. If he will compare the assessment rolls with the records of land sales, he will ascertain that vacant lots are assessed for taxation at values away below the prices which the lands are sold *for*. Here is a clew to the remedy for the evil which he deplores. Let vacant lands be taxed more highly and their owners will either build houses upon them or dispose of the land to somebody who will build houses.

The Value of Location.

Correspondence Beaumont, Texas, Free Speech.

Land on the outskirts of the city of Dallas is worth $100 per acre; yet equally fertile land in the Panhandle is worth but $1 per acre; that is, equal labor applied to either will produce equal amounts of wealth. Why this difference in value? Simply because of the proximity of market, the faculty of exchange, the hundred and one advantages that are the result of the growth of the community, the pressure of population. This is the value the landlord now receives which the single tax theory would appropriate to the community; and therefore, dense populations, requiring the more expensive government, would pay the greater share of government expenses.

And What About Landlordism in America?

London Christian Commonwealth.

Landlordism hangs upon England's back just as the old-man-of-the-sea hung upon Sinbad's—a dead weight that must either be pushed off or will pull England down. We are all agreed that this is the case in Ireland. And yet it is only less so in England because the landlords are of kindred race with their people and because—though this is not always a boon—they live more commonly upon their estates. Agriculture can only be rendered a possible industry in either country by relieving it of the burden of ministering to the luxury and indolence of a class that "toils not, neither does it spin." This is the true remedy for agricultural depression.

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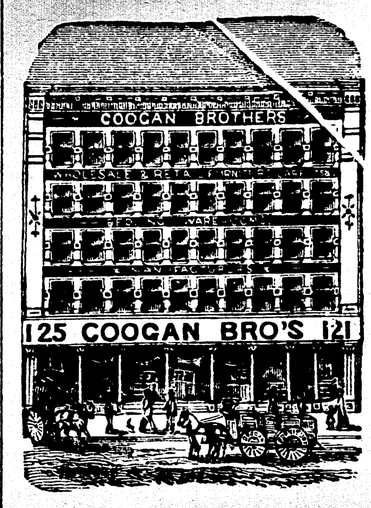
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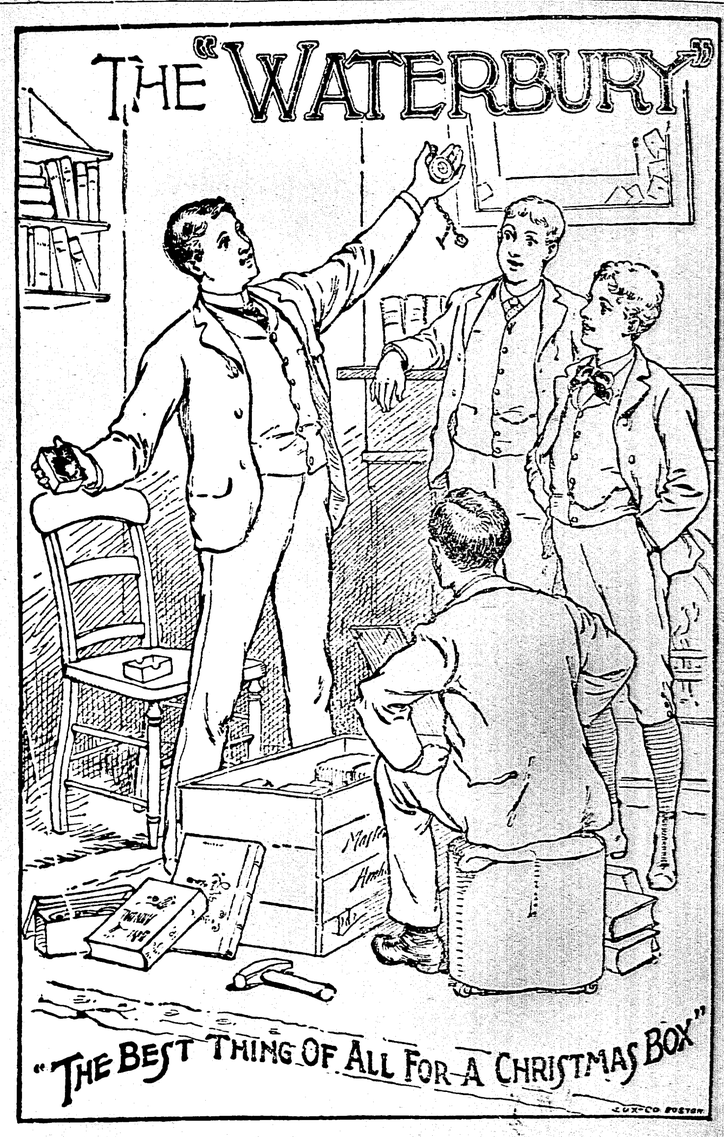
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In Philadelphia will hold meetings every Sunday evening during December at Knights of Labor hall, 806 Gerard avenue. Commencing Jan. 1, 1888, at Lincoln hall, Broad street and Fairmont avenue. The monthly business meeting will be held Thursday, Jan. 5, 1888, at Odd Fellows' hall, corner Broad and Spring Garden streets. Everybody invited to attend.

By order Executive committee.

WM. J. ATKINSON, President,
J. H. McINTYRE, Secretary.

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