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THE CASE OF DR. M'GLYNN.

The case of Dr. McGlynn brings up in definite form the most important issues which have ever been presented in the history of the Catholic Church in the United States. It has in fact an interest far transcending this country, inasmuch as the question which it involves is the attitude of the greatest of Christian churches toward the world-wide social movement of our times, and its decision will be fraught with the most important consequences, both to the development of that movement and to the Church itself.

Whatever may have been his communications to his ecclesiastical superiors, Dr. McGlynn has to the public at large maintained a most prudent and dignified silence. What has been given to the press has come from the archbishop himself, or the familiars of his palace and ecclesiastical council. From these sources the public know that Dr. McGlynn has been deprived of his pastoral charge and his means of livelihood and has been ordered to report to Rome, not because of any moral offense, any shortcoming in personal duties or any theological heresy, but because of his expression of certain economic beliefs and political preferences. Never before in the history of this country has there been such a barefaced attempt to use the Catholic Church as a political machine—such an audacious exercise of ecclesiastical power to stifle political opinion and control political action. Yet this outrageous attempt to use the power of Rome in American politics has excited no remonstrance on the part of the press, dominated, as the press is, for the most part, by influences which would gladly see the Catholic Church used to keep down any questionings of social injustice, and to prevent any political action on the part of workingmen. With few exceptions the leading papers have manifested an evident satisfaction that an extinguisher, as they suppose, has been put upon the radical utterances of "the Priest of the Poor," and even journals ordinarily most sensitive to "papal aggressions" have softly patted Archbishop Corrigan on the back as an enforcer of discipline and a savior of society. Mr. Joseph Pulitzer, of the *World*, has, indeed, remarked that deposition was too severe a punishment. Some punishment, he assumes, ought to be visited upon the priest who ventured to oppose the "Fatty Walshes" that in the recent election rallied round Mr. Hewitt to save society, but in the kindness of his heart and the magnanimity of a victor, Mr. Pulitzer would evidently be satisfied with the sending of the most eloquent and best beloved of New York pastors from the largest of metropolitan parishes to some obscure country station, where he could not prove a stumbling block and an offense to New York rings.

On the other hand, many of his co-believers, while deeply indignant at the treatment of Dr. McGlynn, have, in the absence of any word to the contrary, assumed that he must go to Rome, and some of them seem to think that it would be well for him to go for the purpose of making a clear issue before the authorities of the Church as to the action of the archbishop. Thus the matter stands at this writing.

Born in New York of parents whose mother tongue was Irish, Dr. McGlynn received the first part of his education in our public schools and graduated with honor into the Free Academy; but, selected by Archbishop Hughes because of his promise and of his desire for the vocation of a priest, he left the Free Academy to become a student in the Propaganda College in Rome. In that famous college, where students of all races, colors and languages meet on a footing of perfect equality, he not only acquired a thorough classical education, a mastery of the Italian and other continental languages and laid broad and deep foundations for theological studies that did not cease with his student days, but he learned that truly catholic lesson that only intercourse with men of different races and conditions can give—the lesson that "He hath made of one blood all the nations of men"—that "a man's a man for a' that." Returning with high honors to his native land, a priest and doctor of divinity, Dr. McGlynn served for three years as chaplain of a military hospital during the war, was for some time pastor of St. Ann's, until ill-health compelled him to take a trip to Europe; and was associated as assistant with two of the most notable of New York Catholic pastors, Father Farrell and Dr. Cummings, both devoted Catholics, but at the same time both deeply imbued with the free spirit of American institutions. At the decease of Dr. Cummings in 1866 Dr. McGlynn became pastor of St. Stephen's, the largest though not the wealthiest parish of New York—for its congregation is mostly drawn from the east side.

Dr. McGlynn does not owe his prominence to the attention excited by the efforts to punish him for his political opinions. Recognized by common consent as the ablest and strongest of Catholic priests in New York, public opinion pointed to him as a natural successor to the archbishopric of a diocese, and had it not been for his attitude on the school question, he would doubtless long ere this have reached the archiepiscopal dignity and perhaps the cardinalate. As it is, he was selected some nine years ago to go to Rome as the representative of the metropolitan diocese, carrying a Latin letter to the pope. And as a mere parish priest Dr. McGlynn has by force of his learning, eloquence and character, stood in the front rank of the great clergymen of the United States and wielded an influence second to that of no man in the metropolis—an influence which sprang not merely from his ability, but in still greater degree from the love which his de-

votion has inspired among all who came in contact with him. If he has never forgotten that he was an American citizen, Dr. McGlynn has been first and all the time a priest—a minister to the deepest of human needs. Instead of living luxuriously and growing rich, as many Catholic priests with opportunities inferior to his have done, he has voluntarily embraced poverty, living in the simplest and plainest fashion, and not only giving away the greater part of the little stipend of \$800, which he permitted himself to draw from his church, but the considerable bequests which have from time to time come to him from relatives. St. Stephen's, during all the years of his pastorate, has been pre-eminently the church of the poor; few aristocratic carriages rolled up to the door of its parochial residence, and liveried footmen seldom rang the bell; but there has been all these years a constant procession of the over-wrought, the distressed and the despairing.

Dr. McGlynn has never established a parochial school, but the revenues of the church that remained after dealing with the immense debt with which it was burdened when he assumed his pastorate have been expended in giving every facility and aid to devotion. St. Stephen's has been noted for its magnificent music and for the beauty of its altars and its paintings—a single one of which is worth more than the furniture of the residence that has accommodated Dr. McGlynn and his eight assistants. Every day in the year St. Stephen's church has stood open to those who might seek it for religious aid, and beginning at half-past five in the morning eight masses have been said, besides vespers service in the evening and a daily service in Bellevue hospital. In addition to this, Dr. McGlynn has during his pastorate established a home for orphans and destitute children that now embraces three establishments—one in New York, one on Staten Island and one in Fordham—that together shelter six hundred children.

In the collection of a rich lady recently deceased, placed on exhibition last year in this city prior to its sale by auction, there was a little picture by a French artist that brought under the hammer thirty thousand dollars. And for those who can afford to buy great paintings this was none too much for the little picture of perhaps a couple of square feet. It was not merely marvelously drawn and colored, but was one of those paintings at which one can look long and look again, because of the meaning they express. This painting, which now adorns a railroad millionaire's mansion, instead of hanging, as it ought to hang, on the walls of some public art gallery, is entitled, "The Missionary's Story." In the magnificent salon of a Roman palace a simple monk of one of the missionary orders is telling a story of hardship and martyrdom in some far off heathen land to two young cardinals seated easily on a couch. In the middle ground another dignity of the church is helping himself to refreshment from a well-filled table, while a handsome dog, on his hind legs, wistfully begs, and in a corner of the apartment the heads of some of the great orders are gossiping and laughing. The earnestness of the monk on the one side, the abstraction and languor of the two cardinals as they listen to what to them is "a tale of little meaning, though its words be strong," and the utter indifference of the other dignitaries, produce an impression which it is hard to convey fully in words. It is the contrast between the earnestness and devotion of the men who have carried the banner of the Cross throughout all lands and the worldliness of the polished hierarchical aristocracy, who out of their devotion and their sacrifices enjoy the sweets of power and the luxuries of wealth.

Take the history of France and read of princely cardinals, of luxurious bishops and abbots and of supple, cringing abbots, fawning and intriguing in the court of Versailles, and you will understand how the Revolution, stung to madness, decreed the abolition of Christianity and set up the altar of reason. Turn to the pages that tell of the poor priest driving the dead cart in the plague; of Vincent de Paul serving the galley slave; of sisters of charity toiling among the poor like ministering angels, and you will know how Christianity has endured and yet endures.

So it has always been. Christ was crucified in a manger, and came forth from the home of a working carpenter to preach to the tramp and the outcast. Peter was a fisherman, Paul a tent-maker. It was among the despised and down-trodden and the generous-hearted who felt for the oppressed that the gospel of hope for the poor and of menace to the rich made its way. Christ's declaration was that he came not to destroy the law, but to fulfill it; yet to the high priests of Jerusalem, as to the pontiffs of pagan Rome, the gospel of the common brotherhood of man and the common fatherhood of God was rank communism, to be trodden out with anathema, with steel and with fire, because it threatened the privileges of the rich and powerful. Hunted, persecuted, through the toils of its missionaries and the agonies of its martyrs, Christianity made its way, until it had become a power which the greatest of politicians could not despise, and in what is called the "conversion of Constantine," Roman imperialism, with all it represented, was married in form with Christian truth. From that time, and in every land where it has become a dominant religion, the very powers that at first fought so bitterly against Christianity have sought to use it. This has been true of forms of Christianity. The Catholic Church has been used to bolster the power of tyrants and to keep the masses quiet under social injustice; the Greek Church to support the absolutism of the Czar. Luther

hurled his direct anathemas against German peasants driven into agrarian revolt by the unbearable oppressions of their lords; the English Church has been the staunch supporter of regal tyranny and landlord robbery, and Presbyterian ministers have preached to Scottish clansmen that in resisting eviction from their homes they would be resisting the will of God, while in our own day and place the popular preachers of the great liberal denominations, however careless they may be of the charge of heterodoxy, are careful to temper the gospel to their wealthy sheep.

The most Catholic—indeed, it may perhaps be said, the most religious people in the world to-day are the Irish, and it is to the Irish that the growth and power of the Catholic Church wherever the English tongue is spoken are mainly due. Ireland owes no debt of gratitude to Rome. The church of Patrick, the church of the days of Ireland's glory, maintained a semi-independence of Rome, and it was to subdue this independence that the first English invader received a papal warrant to conquer Ireland on condition that he would compel the payment of Peter's pence. But in Ireland for generations past the Catholic faith has been the religion of the poor and oppressed, the religion of national hope and social aspiration. The priest, hunted and persecuted with his people when adherence to the Catholic faith was made the badge of an inferior caste and the mark of the most atrocious penal laws, became the devoted friend, the trusted guide, the father and leader of his flock in things temporal as in things spiritual; and while atheism and indifference have rolled their waves over France and Germany and Italy, the Irish heart has remained devotedly and intensely Catholic.

But this devotion has been put to some severe tests. Since persecution has ceased, the English government has sought to use the national faith to insure Irish submission, and there has grown up among the Irish Catholics a wealthy class eager for social "respectability," that have come to be known as "Castle Catholics"—fawners at the court of the lord lieutenant and the bitterest opponents of any movement that has looked to the assertion of popular rights. The priests for the most part have remained true to the people and to their aspirations; but the hierarchy has too often been but a tool in the hands of the oppressor. The solicitations of the English government gained for the Irish Church at Rome a recognition which its devotion had never attained by the appointment of an Irish cardinal in the person of Cardinal Cullen; and he and his successor, Cardinal McCabe, were as devoted to English dominance and landlord interests as though they had been the direct appointees of the landlord oligarchy. While Cardinal McCabe lived no priest in his diocese dared say one word in public for the national movement, the single curate in Dublin, Father Kane, who attended a land league meeting, being compelled to publicly apologize and then withdraw into the Dominican order. Even the noble-hearted women, who, when the Irish leaders were cast into prison, kept the cause alive, were condemned in an archiepiscopal pastoral.

On the death of Cardinal McCabe, the appointment of a successor of the same kind was only defeated by the determined attitude of the Irish priests and people, led by such prelates as Archbishop Croke and Bishop Nulty, who, in unequivocal language, told the Roman authorities that the course to which they were prompted by the English government and the Castle Catholics would inevitably lead in Ireland to just such a revolt of the masses from the Church as had already occurred on the continent.

Here in the United States the same condition of things is presented. The Catholic Church, which has grown mainly by the multiplication of the Irish element in our population, is a church of the poorer masses; but in it the rich Catholics of the same genus as the Castle Catholics of Ireland, have to a large degree influenced the hierarchy in the same way. Dr. McGlynn is a representative of the *Soggarth aroon*—the "dear priest" whose devotion and patriotism have made Ireland so loyal to the Roman Church. Archbishop Corrigan is a representative of the "Castle Catholics" of New York, an American Cardinal McCabe.

There is another thing worth noting. Ireland was never conquered by the Romans, as were England and the Scottish lowlands, and the idea that land could be made private property so as to shut out any class of the people from all legal rights to the use of the earth, opposed as it is to ancient Irish law and custom, was only forced upon Ireland in comparatively modern times, by the force of English arms and the treachery of Irish chiefs, bought, as were the Scottish chieftains, to betray their countrymen by the promise of a change of the tribal tenure of land into an individual tenure which would make it absolutely their own; and it is only where the English tongue has supplanted the Irish tongue that Irishmen have forgotten their ancient traditions and become accustomed to regard private property in land as a matter of course.

"God bless you, my son," said the venerable Bishop Duggan of Clonfert to me when I was in Ireland five years ago. "In what you say of the equal rights of all men in the soil of their native land there is to me nothing new or startling, nor will there be anything new in it to any man who was held to the breast of an Irish-speaking mother. Your doctrines are the old beliefs of our race. When a little boy, sitting in the evening in the group about a turf fire in the west of Ireland, I have heard the same doctrines from the lips of men who never spoke a word of English. Our people have bowed to might; but they never

have acknowledged the right of making land private property. In the old tongue they have treasured the old truth, and now in the providence of God the time has come for that truth to be asserted. I am an old man now, and may not see the victory; but I tell you that no matter what may be arrayed against it, there is no earthly power that can stop this movement."

And this is characteristic of the Gaelic people, as I afterward found it, not only in the west of Ireland, but in the west of Scotland. To the thoroughly Anglicized Irishman the doctrine that "God made the land for the people"—the doctrine that property in land cannot have the sanction that attaches to property in things produced by labor—may seem a new-fangled notion; but to the descendants of the men who were driven into the hills and bogs of the west, with the cry of "To Connaught or to hell!" and who with the old language have preserved the old traditions, it comes like a half-forgotten, but still familiar and self-evident truth; and the rallying cry of "The land for the people!" with which Michael Davitt raised the banner of the Land League, wakes a quick response in the bosom of the Celt.

This is the stock from which, like Michael Davitt and Patrick Ford, Dr. McGlynn comes.

I refer to Ireland because it is necessary to a full understanding of the case. It is not only that the Catholic Church in the United States derives its strength and importance from Ireland, and that both Dr. McGlynn and Archbishop Corrigan are the sons of Irish parents, and represent types which are presented in Ireland with perfect distinctness, but because the first attempt on the part of Rome to throttle an American priest for the exercise of his rights as a man and a citizen had relation to the Irish movement.

In 1882 came the darkest day of the land movement in Ireland. A temporary rent-reduction bill had been passed by the British Parliament in the hope of staying the radical wave; Parnell had come out of prison on an understanding, expressed or implied, that the radical features of the agitation with relation to the land were to be dropped; the Land League was abandoned; the word "land" was dropped out of the title of the Irish National League; Davitt, who, on his release from Portland, had again raised the old standard of the land for the people, was hounded as a creator of dissension, and Errington had the ear of the ecclesiastical authorities at Rome, and was through them exerting a pressure upon such of the Irish bishops as had been true to the people's cause.

Just at the time when almost every voice was stilled that had championed the cause of the "Land for the People," a new voice rang out. In welcoming Michael Davitt to New York, Dr. McGlynn, of whom previous to this nothing had been heard on the land question, made a speech in which he re-echoed in the clearest tones the same truth proclaimed by the Bishop of Meath—the truth that the land of every country belongs by grant of their Divine Creator to the whole people of that country, and that any compromise which should fall short of securing their equal rights in the land to the humblest of the people would be an injustice and wrong that could not stand. In ringing words he bade Michael Davitt go back to Ireland and preach the gospel of man's natural right to land without care for consequences.

Such a speech, from such a man, at such a time, produced a marked impression. To the English colony at Rome, intriguing to use the ecclesiastical power—already fearful of everything denounced as socialism—to put down the Irish rebellion, such an utterance from an American priest was gall and wormwood, and doubtless at the instigation of Errington, a letter was sent by the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda directing Cardinal McCloskey to suspend Dr. McGlynn. Cardinal McCloskey was too wise and just to do this, but Dr. McGlynn was ordered to make no more Land League speeches and he obeyed, remaining silent for years.

In the fall of 1882, after my return from Ireland, and after the speech to which I have referred, I made Dr. McGlynn's personal acquaintance, and learned to reverence his deep but unostentatious piety, his broad Catholic spirit, and his devotion to the cause of the poor, to respect his mental grasp and acumen, and to admire a character in which the impulsiveness and warmth of the typical Celt is blended with an iron steadfastness and strength of will. It was his counsel that I peculiarly sought when a desire on the part of the labor convention to nominate me for the mayoralty of this city placed upon me a responsibility I would gladly have avoided. It was his view of what he deemed my duty that determined me.

Nominated by a convention of the trade and labor associations of New York upon a platform which embodied a principle which I believe to be of the utmost importance, Dr. McGlynn gave me his earnest support, and I received assurances of like support from other Catholic clergymen. It came, however, to my ears that Archbishop Corrigan was much offended by the attitude of Dr. McGlynn, and to an old and valued personal friend of mine, the head in this country of one of the great Catholic orders, who had called on me to express his satisfaction at my nomination and to proffer his personal testimony in my favor, I expressed a desire to call upon the archbishop, should he be willing to meet me, that I might explain my real position in regard to the right of property, a matter as to which he was evidently under the grossest misapprehension. Before I again heard from my friend in this matter, Dr. McGlynn himself suggested that I should call on the archbishop, having received from him a letter expressing his anxiety

about Dr. McGlynn's supposed relations with Henry George, and his concern about a Catholic priest even appearing to coincide with socialism. Dr. McGlynn gave me the following letter of introduction to the archbishop:

NEW YORK, Sept. 29, 1886.

Most Rev. and Dear Archbishop—I beg to introduce and to recommend to your esteem and kind attention my very dear and valued friend, Mr. Henry George, whose published works have placed him in the front rank of American men of letters and writers on political and social science. Mr. George's—his and intellectual gifts do not exceed his—his and graces of heart and character and his profoundly reverent and religious spirit. It seems to me a providential occurrence for which we should be thankful, that the labor organizations have chosen for their leader so wise and conservative a man, and one so utterly opposed, as all his writings show, to socialism, communism and anarchy, as Mr. George is. I, in view of my rights and duties as a citizen, were not surrendered when I became a priest, am determined to do what I can to support Mr. George; and I am also stimulated by love for the poor and oppressed laboring classes, which seems to be particularly consonant with the charitable and philanthropic character of the priesthood, by which I which it has gained everywhere its greatest triumph. As in a recent letter you showed some anxiety about a Catholic priest even seeming to coincide with socialism, I have thought that I could not do better than to send Mr. George himself to you, as none other, so well as he, could prove to you the groundlessness of your fears by a frank statement, and by pointing out to you pertinent passages in his works.

Very sincerely,
Your obedient servant,
EDWARD M'GLYNN.

I called accordingly on the archbishop, who received me courteously, but gave me little opportunity to speak on matters as to which I could speak with propriety, inasmuch as he opened the conversation by reading to me two letters from the propaganda, dated in 1882 and addressed to his predecessor, Cardinal McCloskey. In these the suspension of "the priest McGlynn" was demanded at the express order of the pope, because, in his Land League speeches, he had taught doctrines openly contrary to the teachings of the Catholic Church, and he was censured because, in other ways, he had shown "propensity to favor the Irish revolution." The archbishop gave me at some considerable length a history of the matter, the essential point of which was that the execution of this sentence had at that time been suspended on the understanding that Dr. McGlynn should make no more public utterances. The archbishop said that that understanding had now been violated by Dr. McGlynn—so much so that a Protestant gentleman with whom he had recently dined had complained to him of the scandalous declarations of the doctor in regard to the rights of landowners. The archbishop told me that he had called his council to meet at 12 o'clock that day for the purpose of taking into consideration the case of Dr. McGlynn, and, as I understood, of at once suspending him.

On leaving the archbishop I called on Dr. McGlynn and informed him of the result of my interview. He said that his understanding of the promise he had felt himself obliged to make in 1882 was that he should deliver no more speeches on the Irish question, which promise he had kept; that he had since made speeches in behalf of Mr. Cleveland, to which there had been no remonstrance whatever, and that although he had not up to that time received any inhibition from speaking at the Chickering hall meeting; yet even should one come he could not, now that he had been announced to speak, refrain from doing so consistently with his own self-respect and without publicly renouncing the rights of an American citizen.

As my visit to the archbishop had not accomplished the purpose I had intended, I forwarded on the next day the following letter:

16 ASTOR PLACE,
NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1886.

M. A. CORRIGAN, Archbishop of New York.
Most Reverend Sir: I enclose you with this letter from the Bishop of Meath, which, though not written for the purpose, will show by its incidental allusions that he fully shares the views I hold with respect to property in land. I have been unable to lay my hands upon a copy of his letter to the clergy and laity of his diocese, in which the fundamental proposition that all human creatures have equal rights in the land into which their Creator brings them is definitely set forth, but hope that one will send it to you.

I also send you copies of all my works. If you will do me the honor to look over them you will clearly see that there is nothing in them inconsistent with any of the teachings of religion, and I think you will agree with Cardinal Manning, who declared to me that there was nothing in the principles I have advocated in regard to the treatment of the land that the church had ever condemned.

Your ideas of any views have undoubtedly been founded upon the misrepresentations of opponents. I respectfully submit to you that, now that these views are becoming widely diffused, and are held by an already large and rapidly growing number of men, it is neither just nor wise to judge of them by misrepresentations founded upon ignorance or malice.

I am extremely anxious that you should inform yourself of the character of the doctrines as to property in land, which I hold in common with such men as Bishop Nulty, Dr. McGlynn, and many others of the clergy of your church, because, from our conversation of yesterday I fear that your misapprehensions of these doctrines will lead you to action which, from my point of view, could only be productive of ill effects. In reference to our conversation of yesterday, will you permit me, with all proper respect, to say that the suspension of Dr. McGlynn for leading aid to an attempt of the workingmen of this city to legally redress abuses which they deeply feel, could but give point to the assertions of those who are striving to alienate workingmen from the church, by declaring that its authorities have always exerted their power against any attempt to emancipate labor. Between the time of which you spoke to me yesterday, when Dr. McGlynn was censured from Rome for making speeches in behalf of the Irish Land League, to the present time, he has made many political speeches, without any interference of the ecclesiastical authority, for in the last presidential canvass he rendered most effective aid in the election of President Cleveland, without any ecclesiastical objection. If you should step in now and prevent him from

expressing his sympathy with the organized labor associations of this city, it will seem to that great body of citizens as if your ecclesiastical authority had been exerted for the express purpose of breaking up a movement which has for its aim the destruction of political corruption and the assertion of popular rights. Yours, respectfully,

HENRY GEORGE.

To which I received in due course the following reply:

ARCHBISHOP OF NEW YORK,
SECRETARY'S OFFICE, 432 MADISON AVE.,
NEW YORK, Oct. 1, 1886.

MR. HENRY GEORGE:
Sir: I am directed by the Most Rev. Archbishop to convey to you his acknowledgments of receipt of your letter of yesterday and of the copies of your works you sent him. His Grace also directs me to return you Bishop Nulty's letter.—I am, respectfully,
C. E. McDONNELL, Sec'y.

I also deemed it my duty to communicate to Mr. John McMackin, chairman of the executive committee of the labor convention, and himself a Catholic, as well as a prudent and sagacious man, the result of my visit to the archbishop, and my impression of his intention. Whereupon Mr. McMackin wrote to the archbishop the following letter, which, together with the reply, he has given me permission to print:

NEW YORK, Sept. 30, 1886.

M. A. CORRIGAN, Archbishop of New York.
Most Reverend Sir: I learn from Mr. George that a conversation with you has left upon his mind the impression that it may be your purpose, by the exercise of your episcopal authority, to prevent Dr. McGlynn taking part in aid of the workingmen's movement for the election of a mayor of this city.

As a practical Catholic, devoted to my faith, I most respectfully protest against any such action on your part. As president of the conference of Trade and Labor organizations which nominated Mr. George, I know the strength of the movement and the feelings and desires which animate it. I can assure you that it has nothing which should prevent any Catholic from taking part in it, and that it is animated solely by a deep desire to reform the corruption of our government and ameliorate the condition of workingmen.

The clergy of the city have been permitted to take part in other public movements. The basements of the churches and the assistance of the clergy have been given to the aid of a similar movement in Ireland, and you yourself have sanctioned, by your presence, the extension of moral and financial assistance to the political party which in England and Ireland is struggling for the emancipation of the masses by the same legal methods which we propose to use here. Dr. McGlynn himself made a number of speeches in the last presidential campaign, for the Democratic party without ecclesiastical prohibition.

To now interdict him from helping the workingmen of New York in a supreme effort to right their wrongs through the ballot would seem to them as though the Church, while willing to permit its clergy to aid the old political parties, only interposed its authority when honest citizens, tired of the corruption of our politics, made an effort to break down the rule of machines and selfish interests.

As a Catholic, devoted to my religion, I deem it my duty to respectfully represent to you the great scandal which such action on your part will cause. Dr. McGlynn is loved and venerated among us as the priest who has been pre-eminently the faithful friend of the oppressed, and it will be believed among the great body of citizens who have taken hold of the movement with an energy and determination of which, I think, you have little idea, that your action has been taken at the instance of the corrupt politicians who see in this revolt of the workingmen the overthrow of their power. No action of the kind can prevent the success of this movement, which will prove stronger by opposition; but it will give a handle to those among us who are constantly preaching that the Church is the enemy of labor, and that the first step which the workingmen must take to secure their just rights is to emancipate themselves from all reverence for religious authorities.

I write to you thus frankly, because I believe it to be my duty to lay before you facts and considerations of which I cannot believe you to be sufficiently informed, and which my position as the official head of the workingmen's party enables me to know. I trust you will see in this communication no presumption, but only a sincere desire to prevent, until you have more fully considered the matter, such action as I am convinced would be deeply injurious to everything that is good. I am, most reverend sir, with profound respect, devotedly and obediently yours,
JOHN M'CLACKIN.

This was the reply:

432 MADISON AVENUE,
NEW YORK, Oct. 1, 1886.

MR. JOHN M'CLACKIN, Chairman, &c.
A single remark is quite sufficient answer to your communication just received. The only politician who has ventured to approach me, directly or indirectly, in the campaign you refer to, is Mr. Henry George.

I am, sir, your obedient servant,
M. A. CORRIGAN, Abp.

In relation to the intimation of the archbishop's letter, I have only to observe that no living man can say that I ever, directly or indirectly, asked his support in the late campaign in any other way than in my public speeches, and that my visit to the archbishop was solely with the view of removing from his mind misapprehensions which I thought were based on ignorance, and of thus relieving the embarrassment of a noble-hearted friend, who, although I am not of his faith, is to me, indeed, the *soggarth aroon* of the Irish peasant.

Dr. McGlynn went to Chickering hall and spoke, though the other Catholic clergymen who were to have been present did not come, having, as I afterward learned, received an express command not to do so. I did not hear Dr. McGlynn's speech, but I know how it impressed those who did. A lady who was present, and who had no idea of the situation, said to me after the meeting, "Dr. McGlynn spoke like a man who expected this night to be his last." She did not know that he spoke under the shadow of what to a Catholic priest is worse than death.

Dr. McGlynn informed me the next morning that he would not speak again during the campaign, and, as far as we could, Mr. McMackin and myself prevented anyone from asking him. And he kept his own counsel. Not until weeks after the campaign, and until the matter, bruited about from the archbishop's palace had found its way into the press, did I learn, or had I the faintest suspicion, that on the morning after that speech Dr. McGlynn had really been suspended for two weeks. I do not think that even Dr. McGlynn's assistants knew it, so anxious was he to preserve

the authorities of the Church that he loves from the scandal of thus trying to coerce an American citizen in the exercise of his political rights.

Dr. McGlynn made no more speeches in the campaign, obeying to the letter the command of his ecclesiastical superior. But he did show his sympathy in all non-biblical ways, and when, on the eve of the election, "Monsignor" Preston, the archbishop's right-hand man, issued a pronouncement designed to prevent Catholics from voting the workingmen's ticket, which pronouncement was distributed at the church doors, Dr. McGlynn volunteered to ride around with me to the polls—in this silent way to show that a conscientious Catholic could and did support me.

The attitude of silence which Dr. McGlynn maintained in regard to his suspension during the campaign he has maintained since. The public knows that he has again been suspended since the election, and has been summoned to Rome by the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda; but this information has been given to the public not by Dr. McGlynn, but by the archbishop and the members of his ecclesiastical staff, who seem to have sought every opportunity to publicly degrade and punish the priest who has dared to show any spark of the manhood of an American citizen.

Let it be observed that there is and can be no pretence that Dr. McGlynn in taking part in politics has done anything inconsistent with his duty as a Catholic priest. He is not punished for having taken part in politics, but for having taken a side in politics which Archbishop Corrigan does not like. The Catholic Church does not deny the propriety of the priest exercising all the functions of the citizen. To say nothing of the past, when bishops and cardinals held the highest political offices, in Germany and France and Italy, the Catholic clergy have been in recent times energetic politicians, and sometimes hold elective office. In Ireland, Catholic priests have long taken the most prominent and active part in politics, and candidates issue their election addresses to "the clergy and people." Archbishop Hughes was noted as a consummate and persistent politician, and the influence of the Catholic hierarchy was thrown in the last election in support of Mr. Hewitt, in spite of the wish of many priests who were second into silence. But as a priest, Dr. McGlynn has never taken any part in politics. He has never interjected his discussion of a burning question into a sermon, as did the archbishop into his pastoral, and has never, in his character of a priest, presumed to offer political advice.

What Dr. McGlynn is punished for is for taking the side of the workingmen against the system of injustice and spoliation and the rotten rings which have made the government of New York a byword of corruption. In the last presidential election Dr. McGlynn made some vigorous speeches in behalf of the Democratic candidate without a word or thought of remonstrance. His sin is in taking a side in politics which was opposed to the rings that had the support of the Catholic hierarchy.

Whether Dr. McGlynn will go to Rome is something which rests with himself; whether he ought to go to Rome is a matter which may properly be discussed. Some of his friends, following the lead of the impulsive Michael Davitt—who, on the eve of his marriage with a charming lady, was disposed to take roseate views—have seemed to think that Dr. McGlynn ought to obey the summons to Rome, in order to present the case of those Catholics who believe in the common right to land, and force the question to an issue, which would forever still any pretense that this doctrine was condemned by the Church.

This might be all very well if Dr. McGlynn could go to Rome after some such unequivocal popular expression as would convince the Roman authorities that he was the ambassador of American Catholics, and that they did not propose to be trifled with. But for him to go to Rome as a suspended priest with an expectation of getting a hearing as against an archbishop, backed up by all the influence of the rich Catholics of the United States, and by all the powerful influence of the English colony and English intrigues at Rome, would be folly. Dr. McGlynn would have no chance in Rome to make any presentation of the case, even if the Propaganda were a perfectly impartial tribunal.

But it is not. The Cardinals of the Propaganda are a set of Italian Bourbon politicians, bitterly opposed to everything saving of freedom and progress, and committed in advance against Dr. McGlynn and the doctrine of "the land for the people." Michael Davitt himself knows how bitterly they opposed the Irish movement. Is it likely that they would give any hearing now to the "priest McGlynn," whom they condemned four years ago because of his partiality to the "Irish revolution?"

It is true that the patriotic Irish prelates, with the all too unanimous sentiment of Catholic Ireland behind them, did back down the Propaganda and defeat the Errington influence in Rome by forcing, a year ago, the appointment of Dr. Walsh to the archbishopric of Dublin, instead of the "Castle hack" who had been selected for the position. But this was done by a practically united Irish hierarchy, consisting of an archbishop and bishops, and under the open declaration that the bishops, priests and people of Ireland did not propose to be bullied by England through Rome any longer. What chance would a simple priest—a suspended priest—at that—with his own archbishop against him, have before a tribunal where united Catholic Ireland could barely get consideration? Instead of the Irish victory furnishing any precedent, the Bourbons of the Propaganda, inspired at their Irish defeat, would be all the more sure to wreak their vengeance upon the American supporters of the "Irish Revolution."

Not that there is any fear of Rome deciding against the doctrine regarding

God's gifts to man which Dr. McGlynn has so ably championed. It is too politic for that. What it would do if Dr. McGlynn went to Rome would be simply to sidetrack the issue and to drop Dr. McGlynn, metaphorically, through some ecclesiastical trap-door. He would be worried and heart-broken by delays, compelled to defend himself against all sorts of side charges, and finally sent into some convent or ordered off to Africa or China. As Puck, chuckling over the suppression of Dr. McGlynn, declares, "The Church hath a million ways of squelching the insubordinate, and Dr. McGlynn is marked for squelching. The job will be done delicately, but it will be done effectively." Nor does "Monsignor" (my lord) Preston have any doubt as to what will become of Dr. McGlynn if he goes to Rome. "He is not sent for to be complimented," says this "My Lord" Preston; "he is sent for to be disciplined."

The truth is that having Dr. McGlynn ordered to Rome is a cunning scheme to get rid of him with the least possible remonstrance from his congregation. It would be unpleasant, to say the least, to try to cut off his head here among those who know him and love him, so he is to be sent away to be executed, and time is to be allowed to dull feeling.

But all this is merely in answer to those well meaning persons who say that Dr. McGlynn should go to Rome. What might happen to Dr. McGlynn in Rome is not in itself a reason that a man such as he is might regard. But there are the strongest possible reasons why he should not go to Rome. In this matter a great principle is at stake. Does an American citizen cease to be a citizen when he becomes a priest? Is an American citizen, because he is also a Catholic priest, to be held to answer before a foreign tribunal because of his action in American politics? If this is so, then the sooner we know the better.

The charge is often made that the Catholic Church is the foe of human liberty—the sometimes stealthy, but always persistent, enemy of real progress. This is not true of Catholic doctrine. There is nothing in Catholic faith which prevents a believer from being a good citizen and a social reformer of the most radical type. But it is too true of those who control the ecclesiastical machinery. And the issue is now made in the case of Dr. McGlynn between the freedom of Catholic theology and the spirit of reaction that controls the ecclesiastical machine.

To say that there is nothing in Catholic doctrine inconsistent with the largest political liberty may seem to many non-Catholics far too strong a statement. But, as understood by intelligent Catholics, the doctrine of papal infallibility means no more than the expression of a trust that when it comes to speaking in his official character as head of the universal church the Divine Providence will not permit any false teaching on matters of faith. In the Catholic view the pope, in all other capacities and on all other subjects, is no more infallible than Archbishop Corrigan, and Archbishop Corrigan is no more infallible than the butcher who opens the door of his marble palace, or the butcher who brings meat to the kitchen.

In matters of faith the Catholic holds that he must submit to his Church (though even in matters of faith Catholic dogma is much more elastic than most Protestants suppose), but in matters beyond the sphere of faith and morals no intelligent Catholic attaches any more importance to the dictum of ecclesiastical authority, be it that of priest, bishop, cardinal or pope, than is due to the character of the man and the reasonableness of the opinion. That there have been stupid and vicious ecclesiastics; that even incumbents of the chair of St. Peter have been vile and wicked; that Catholic authorities have declared against the rotundity of the earth and its motion round the sun, have instigated wars, massacres and persecutions—are to him no argument against the Catholic faith, for he sees in them only the aberrations of the human element. That in all ages there have been ecclesiastics or ecclesiastical rings who, prompted by the lusts of the flesh or the desire to please the powers of the world, through ignorance of the limits of their own functions or through a desire to impose upon the ignorance of their flocks, have attempted to stretch ecclesiastical authority beyond its proper domain, any intelligent Catholic will readily concede; but he contends that in all such cases ecclesiastical authority loses its binding force, and that the duty of the true Catholic is to set it at defiance.

No Catholic who really understood his faith would say that the Catholic Irish who fought against the English invaders, armed with the bull of Pope Adrian, incurred any spiritual penalty, or were any the less Catholics. On the contrary, he would say that the very fact of their being Catholics made it the more incumbent on them to resist such an unwarranted stretch of papal power. Archbishop Hughes, in a public speech in this city, gloried in the fact that the Catholic Venetians fought a pope when he tried to use the papal power to destroy their republic, and declared that American Catholics could and would do the same thing if papal aggression ever threatened their liberties.

It is not exactly papal aggression which now threatens the liberties of American Catholics, but it is something which endeavors to shield itself behind the papal authority and to use the machinery of Rome to control American politics. The pope himself probably knows as much of the case of Dr. McGlynn as the new Warden of the Tombs does of the binomial theorem, and the Italian Cardinals of the Propaganda can know but little more. Dr. McGlynn has not been summoned to Rome at the instance of Rome, but at the instance of Archbishop Corrigan, prompted undoubtedly by the "Castle Catholics" and the ring politicians of New York.

But whether the Roman ecclesiastical

authorities are used through Errington by the British government, or through Archbishop Corrigan by a New York ring, or whether they act in American politics on their own motives and for their own purposes, makes little difference. The prime fact is in the outrageous claim that the American Catholic clergy, perhaps for their numbers the most influential class of men in the country, are to be in their political action the puppets of a foreign power, four thousand miles distant in space and many centuries distant in ideas; that these men, each of whom may influence hundreds and thousands of votes, are to be subject to disgrace and punishment, to be thrown out of their homes and means of livelihood if their political action does not suit the Italian Cardinals of the Propaganda or the worthy gentleman who lives in the twelve-hundred-roomed palace called the Vatican. If American Catholics have not more spirit to submit to this, then is Catholicism indeed utterly inconsistent with free institutions!

But I am confident that there is too much spirit in American Catholics to submit to such dictation, and for my part I would rejoice to see Dr. McGlynn make the issue clear and plain by utterly refusing to go to Rome to answer for his conduct as a citizen. In his case the point has long been passed at which endurance ceases to be a virtue. His submission when arraigned for favoring the Irish revolution has merely encouraged ecclesiastical tyranny. The time has come when he ought to make a stand for the sake of his brethren in the priesthood, as well as for the sake of the principles of American liberty.

Even without going into the question of why the government of a world-wide church should be allowed to rest in the hands of a knot of reactionary Italians, it is clear that the organization of the Catholic church in this country is not such as self-respecting American Catholics ought to be contented with, or as is suited to the genius of our institutions. The organization of the Church in this country is autocratic in the last degree. The American Catholic priest has no such independence as belongs to the priest of Italy, France or Spain. Ecclesiastically he is under martial law, for by a fiction which the ecclesiastical politicians of Rome have seen fit to preserve, this country, like Ireland, is considered as a missionary country, and is, therefore, under the absolute government of the Propaganda. Some pretence of securing to American priests a little show of independence was made at the council of Baltimore, but what it amounts to may be seen from the fact that there are in New York city only nine pastors who cannot be removed at a moment's notice by will of the archbishop. As for Catholic congregations, they have no more choice as to their pastors, and no voice in church matters, but have no control whatever over the edifices they build and the property their contributions create. The congregation of St. Stephen's and now see their beloved pastor thrown out of the church their contributions have raised and beautified, and they are helpless to prevent it.

However, there is one thing they can do. They can keep a tight grip of their money. That would be the most effective means of bringing the ecclesiastical autocracy to its senses.

In the meantime American workingmen might as well make up their minds that in their fight for the enfranchisement of labor they must meet the opposition of the Catholic hierarchy.

HENRY GEORGE.

FREE TRADE.

An Important Meeting to be Held at Cooper Union Next Week.

A vigorous protest is to be made during the coming week by the New York free traders against the attitude of Congress toward a reform of the tariff, through the medium of a mass meeting at Cooper Union, on Wednesday, the 12th inst., at which Capt. F. W. Dawson, of South Carolina; ex-Governor Dorsheimer, Henry George, and possibly Colonel Fellows and Congressman Belmont will speak. Jackson S. Schuler will preside. The more aggressive element among the free traders have been learning very rapidly of late that their true policy is to take the offensive on the broad ground that the protective tariff is oppressive to all classes of the community. They are growing impatient at the temporizing policy of the "moderate" tariff newspapers, which advocate a reduction of duties mainly because there is a surplus revenue, and at the timidity of political leaders in Congress, who hold their tariff convictions so entirely secondary to their party machinery, and dread taking a positive stand which they fear may prove unpopular.

The coming meeting is said to be projected with the hope that it will stir up these lukewarm advocates to something like a definite course of action and give an opportunity for a clear statement of belief that the workingmen of the country are not benefited by the tariff, even through a nominal raising of wages. The protectionist fetish of protection to American labor has been worshipped so blindly in the past that even ultra free traders have until recently been somewhat chary of accepting the challenge given them by protectionists on this branch of the subject; but since it has begun to dawn on the public, that landism and not the tariff is the cause that governs wages, the advocates of lower customs duties have found their strongest weapon in demonstrating the cheapness of the labor that goes with high wages. The committee who are to draft resolutions for the meeting on Wednesday state that they will devote special attention to this point, and emphasize the failure of the protective system to really advance the interests of workingmen in manufacturing industries. It is trying to find this radical sentiment growing among free traders, and to observe the Catholic spirit in which the list of speakers has been made up.

Why Texans are Poor.

FORNEY, Texas.—I am a farmer and landowner. Twelve years ago land here could be bought for \$3 an acre; now it is worth \$30. Then land went begging for renters; now renters go begging for land. The man who owns this black, rich soil is better off than the man who owned slaves before the war. He is complete master of the situation. He not only dictates the amount of rent, but the method of cultivation.

(It is in Texas that 20,000 people are officially reported as destitute of shelter, clothing and food.)

"FATTY" WALSH.

A NATURAL PRODUCT OF THE TRADE OF POLITICS.

Walshes and Divvers in Every District—The Services They Render Their Constituents—Helping Men Out of Jail—Walsh Once Sentenced to Prison.

Politics is a business to a constantly growing number of New York's citizens. Men like "Fatty" Walsh, the new warden of the Tombs prison, and Alderman Pat Divver, are in every assembly district, only their neighbors do not find them out so completely. They will perhaps become better known now that a new force in politics has become aggressive. The favors that these politicians do for their neighbors are turned into votes, and the more favors they do the more votes they get.

Ever since the new warden of the Tombs, "Fatty" Walsh, was able to show himself in society, he has been a politician. He learned the trade of gold-beating and worked at it long enough to become heartily sick of work and anxious for some other employment. He fell in with Pat Hayes, who had then the reputation of being the smartest and sharpest faro player in New York. Hayes informed Walsh that if he would only put a little money into his game at 40 Bowery he could make lots of money.

"Fatty" made the investment, and in four years was worth \$100,000. His reputation grew in the community, and as his father and his brother, the latter of whom was once elected county clerk, were a power in politics, it is safe to assert that the authorities kept their hands out of Walsh's affairs. He had a gambling business at No. 5 Mulberry street until he offended them. Walsh himself began to take a hand in politics in 1875, and notably when his brother "Billy" was running for the office of county clerk. In that contest, which was marked by strong and bitter feelings, Jerry Hartigan, who was Walsh's factotum, killed his man. He was tried, convicted, and by means known to those who can exert political influence, freed. Walsh himself was frequently before the courts for fighting, since it is necessary to maintain one's position in politics just as often and as hard as anywhere else. Judge Dowling sentenced Walsh to six months in the workhouse as a common fighter, but that judge had not nerve enough to stick to this decision, and he discharged "Fatty" from custody before he was put in the jail. Speaking of the event afterward, Judge Dowling said: "I'd a-given \$1,000 to have been able to look up Walsh and make him bring bonds for his good behavior tomorrow. I hope I'll be able to do it some day."

It was in 1880 that "Fatty's" gambling place in the Bowery was "pulled." He had offended the men in Tammany Hall, with whom he had trained in politics for years, and they had their scalping knives out. He was in the assembly and his friends were all beset at home by Tammany. As happens frequently in politics, Walsh was never prosecuted, for the reason it is generally considered that he was too useful a man to put in prison. Benjamin K. Phelps, who was then district attorney, made reprisals, and it is safe to say that some of the most honest voters he assisted should be made Republicans come out of the Fourth and Sixth wards through Walsh's assistance. People ask, "How 'Fatty' lives?" "He lives," says a prominent citizen of the Fourth ward, "as a good many other people live. He has been an assemblyman and an alderman. He was on the payroll of the department of public works. The people ought to take care of him since he is so serviceable to them in many ways. Besides, we don't know what this district would do without 'Fatty' Walsh, and now that he is in the Tombs in charge of things, and with the eyes of the whole public on him, he cannot be of the same service as when he was out. I'm for bouncing him."

The district in which "Fatty" Walsh lived is a very peculiar one. The police dominate it as though it were their private property. Men, women and children are hauled off to jail just at election time that they may send and bring their friends and get them out. For the last two or three years back, since the public had frowned upon gambling, Walsh's house has been beset by all sorts of people, seeking favors at his hands. In the hallway of his house, 27 City Hall place, a man whose wife is in jail for drunkenness, or fighting with a neighbor, justifies another who has come to ask "Fatty" to give him a note to some of his friends and beset that they may be let out of jail. Walsh has been looked up "Fatty" goes with the first to the Tombs after giving the other a note to his friend, Barney Golden, the tailor of 97 Baxter street. On his way down to the City Hall, which was his lounging place in the middle of the day, "Fatty" was hailed by a half dozen friends who had been warned, more energetically perhaps than at any other time since the election, to remove obstructions from the front of their doors or to abdicate the nuisance that had been in operation since the last election.

Perhaps the commissioner of jurors had sent word to a juror, who is a busy man, that he must appear and state his reasons. The juror asks "Fatty" to go and get him excused. The commissioner of public works wants a man to put in a new water meter, and "Fatty" is asked to get permission to let things stand as they are. One of the people, if "Fatty" succeeds in getting what they want, will support him with their votes and get all their friends to do likewise. They will stand an assessment, too, but as a general rule Walsh depends for his income on other sources. It has repeatedly been said in the district that in the year 1884, when Walsh was elected alderman, Mayor Grace gave him \$1,000, and that in the year he was defeated Grace gave him \$5,000. But the greater part of the money Walsh's election comes from the many friends who desired "Fatty's" election to an office.

In the year 1884 all the gamblers in town who had been accommodated, by "Fatty" clipped in to help elect him alderman. Jerry Hartigan went around and collected the assessment. It gives Walsh pause to acknowledge that he has never since been in a position to repay any of the favors, for the boodle board made the alderman so disreputable that they could no longer help anybody.

William P. Kirk, the indicted boodle alderman, was until his indictment in charge of affairs in the second assembly district, and he is now in charge of things, but he has not the grasp that he had. He is the man behind Divver, and he negotiated the putting of Walsh into the office of warden and the removal of Warden Finn. Finn for years was keeper in the Tombs. He was also a police man.

"I made Finn constable, policeman, keeper in the Tombs and warden, and now I am going to make him the superintendent," William P. Kirk, the indicted boodle alderman, said to the writer. "Whatever I says goes," he complacently added. Warden Finn was made superintendent of the district prison three days afterward. Had Kirk been interested in power, Walsh never would have been appointed warden. The office has always been considered as the property of Tammany Hall. When Walsh was beaten by Divver for Alderman, in 1885, he said to his friends that he would like to be made warden of the Tombs. It looked as if he was going to get it when Dr. Charles G. Simmons was made commissioner of public charities and correction; but many politicians said that if the appointment was made it would turn the town upside down, and the commissioners of charities and correction put Mr. Walsh's character in their pigeonholes to be used when the times were more quiet. Last fall Mr. Walsh aimed to be made com-

gressman from the Seventh district. It was all arranged in his district that he should receive the nomination and Mr. Patrick Divver should be made the alderman, while Timothy D. Sullivan, the undertaker, was to be the assemblyman. Mr. Divver, who is now in charge of Tammany's interests in the second district, consulted with Alderman Kirk, and this arrangement was agreed upon. The leaders of the Labor party upset matters considerably. Their candidate for mayor named "Fatty" Walsh as a specimen politician in his letters, and it was believed that should Walsh be made the candidate for congress the district would be lost to the Democrats. They thereupon determined upon heroic measures. John R. Fellows, who was willing to stand in any district if the politicians would furnish him with the money, picked out "Fatty's" district for himself when the politicians told him they had no money to give him. "Fatty's" friends informed Mr. Fellows that if he ran in that district he would be beaten out of his boots by the workingmen. Other politicians who wanted the nomination were frightened off in the same way, until Lloyd C. Bryce appeared. Mr. Bryce is the son-in-law of Edward Cooper. Mr. Cooper's brother-in-law, was friendly to him. Mr. Cooper, through Police Justice Daniel O'Reilly, told "Fatty" Walsh that if he would withdraw from the race for congressman he would be taken care of. He asked what he would get. He was told that he would get the appointment of warden of the Tombs. Both factions of the Democratic party were united and he positively would get this position. "Fatty" went to the convention and voted for himself once, but it was agreed three days before that General Bryce should be the nominee for congress. The bargain was adhered to, and "Fatty" has got his appointment.

"I do not know why the people are raising such a fuss about this appointment of 'Fatty' to be warden of the Tombs," ex-Coroner W. H. Kennedy said. "He has been a great service to the County Democracy down in this district, and he ought to have something. I myself have spent a good deal of money in politics, and I think it is only fair and just that 'Fatty' should have a job. He was promised it and he ought to have it, and there's an end. It would have made a great difference in the number of votes that Hewitt polled in the Second Assembly district had 'Fatty' Walsh been in bed on election day instead of his polling place in Park street. All his 'injuries' would have held up their hands and quit work. 'Fatty' got the biggest bulk of money in money to distribute at the polls, and he made good use of it, for Hewitt got more votes in his district than in any other."

THE SITUATION IN PHILADELPHIA.

The Labor Party Has a Good Chance—The Bosses Select the Regular Candidates.

PHILADELPHIA, Jan. 4.—The coming contest for the mayorality of this city promises to be close and exciting. A new party has entered the field, and if properly managed will give the Republicans and Democrats a hard race.

The United Labor party holds its convention on the 24th of January, and as the situation stands at present, it has a good chance of polling a large vote, providing the convention nominates men of honesty and ability. At this stage of the party's existence the character of the nominees is of vital importance. By nominating men of well-known honesty and ability the party furnishes a guarantee of good municipal government, while the platform brings to the front the great national issue of the land question.

The situation is peculiarly favorable toward the new party, because of the disaffection which is already beginning to show itself in the ranks of the Republicans. The history of the selection of the probable Republican nominee is, to say the least, peculiar. Seventeen men met last month in a building on Third street, and kindly relieved the rank and file of the party from any further trouble in making a nomination by selecting for the candidate a well-known millionaire.

This method of selecting the candidate in this city is new one; the only difference is that the candidate is usually selected by five men on Seventh street, while now he is selected by seventeen men on Third street. But the selection of the nominee in this case is significant for two reasons; one is that the candidate was selected by rich men for the sole reason that he has a barrel, and has tapped it liberally in previous elections, and the second is that twelve of the men who took part in nominating the candidate have heretofore been more or less active in opposing personal dictation in politics. Most of them were members of the committee of one hundred, or some other similar reform association. How they justify their action in this case is not clear to the average citizen. It is still an open question who the Democrats will nominate, but they are pretty sure to put up some second-rate politician if Boss Randall runs the election. On the whole, the situation is peculiarly favorable toward the new party, and if they don't poll a large vote it will be their own fault.

A meeting of the Henry George club of Philadelphia was held December 31, 1886, at Broad and Filbert streets. This organization has been formed to disseminate the doctrine of land nationalization as expressed in "Progress and Poverty." Its membership is rapidly growing, and the educational work which it is doing will prove of great value to the cause.

Numbers among its members several newspaper men and many leading merchants and manufacturers, men who occupy prominent positions in society and exercise a large influence. Temporary quarters have been secured at 1018 Chestnut street, and the regular meetings of the club will be held on the second and fourth Tuesdays of each month. The following officers have been elected: President, E. M. Chandler; secretary and treasurer, A. A. Stephenson.

Those who are interested in the work of the society are requested to send their address to A. H. Stephenson, secretary, P. O. box 190, Philadelphia.

Soggarth Aroon.

Who, in the winter's night,
Soggarth Aroon,
When the cold blast did bite,
Soggarth Aroon,
Came to my cabin door,
And on my earthen floor,
Knelt by me, sick and poor,
Soggarth Aroon!

Who, on the marriage day,
Soggarth Aroon,
Made the poor cabin gay,
Soggarth Aroon,
And did both laugh and sing,
Making our hearts to ring,
At the poor christening,
Soggarth Aroon!

Who, as friend only met,
Soggarth Aroon,
Never did flout me yet,
Soggarth Aroon,
And when my heart was dim,
Gave, while my eye did dim,
What I should give to him,
Soggarth Aroon!

Och! you, and only you,
Soggarth Aroon,
Did do both laugh and sing,
Soggarth Aroon;
Ja love they'll never shake,
When for old Ireland's sake,
We a true part did take,
Soggarth Aroon!

—By John Banian.

THE CONVENTION.

REPRESENTATIVES OF ALL POLITICAL SCHOOLS SHOULD BE THERE.

Obstacles That May Be Interposed—Possible Delays—The Duty of the Legislature—The People's Mandate.

The great political American statesman, Thomas Jefferson, never uttered a truer remark than when he declared that every generation of men need a revolution to purify and renovate the functions of government, and to bring these to the standard of contemporary wants and convenience.

The State of New York, wisely recognizing this teaching, and preferring that the methods of revolution shall rather be peaceful than violent, contemplates a review of its framework of government every twenty years. The question of the revision and amendment of our State constitution was therefore submitted to popular vote last November. About 600,000 votes were polled, of which 570,000 were in favor of revision and amendment and 30,000 against. The majority is unprecedented, and gives proof of the existence of a public opinion which many persons who are generally careful observers had not suspected. It now becomes the constitutional duty of the legislature, in session at Albany, to "provide by law for the election of delegates" to a convention.

However small the vote cast against the holding of a convention, the interests adverse to it are great and numerous. These interests may be grouped as either partisan or capitalistic. Those with whom the world is doing well naturally desire no change. That patient ass, the public, is joggling along quite acceptably to them, under the impulse and direction of their own bridle and spurs, and they fail to see why any alteration should be made in his gait. It so happens that neither the Democratic nor the Republican party organizations of this State favored constitutional revision at the election. They passed no resolutions, they issued no appeals, they furnished no ballots. The 540,000 majority is not of their making. It was given in spite of the indifference or hostility of the managers of both the old parties, and very considerably to the surprise and discomfort of them all. And now that the 570,000 affirmative voters come to ask the Democratic governor and a legislature Republican in both branches, for a convention, in which their discontents can be expressed, their demands heeded, and the reforms they desire accomplished, it becomes an interesting question to ask what they are going to do about it.

Neither the Democrats nor the Republicans have the right to expect that they shall have a majority of the delegates. Under the circumstances it should be neither the Democratic nor the Republican party, in which no party should have absolute control. The representatives of all political schools should receive a hearing—not only those who fancy we have arrived at the full end and fruition of governmental progress, but also those who believe we are yet a great distance away from Utopia. There should be no delay, for any cause or pretence, in passing the act for the convention, and the day for the election of delegates, and the day for the assembling of the body itself should be the very earliest practicable. Otherwise the work of the convention may not be completed in time to be voted upon at the polls in November next, and the questions it may involve may be carried over into the next year's presidential canvass—not, perhaps, to the profit of whoever may be found responsible for needless delay. It is not apprehended that any serious obstacle will be made to juggle over the words "election of delegates," and to pass a law for their appointment by the governor and senate. Such a proposal has indeed been made in print, but it will doubtless be abandoned as impracticable and dangerous to its inventors. The question is not whether delegates shall be named by the governor or by the sovereign people, but whether, by any means, they will be prevented from having any convention at all. For nobody has yet discovered any means of compelling the law-making power to perform a duty which may have been expressly charged upon it by the constitution. If, therefore, either the Democratic Governor or the Republican Legislature is resolved to prevent the holding of a convention, either can find excuses enough to prevent. Suppose that one insists on adapting the constitutional appointment under the census of 1880, as the basis of representation in the convention, while the other adheres to the legislative apportionment under the State census of 1875. Suppose both sides get to be very earnest in the dispute, party spirit becomes roused, time fleets by, the convention bill falls through, and the voice of 570,000 citizens is set at naught. And the census question is only one of a dozen issues which might be seized upon with more or less concern to thwart the popular will.

Even this danger we are inclined to dismiss as imaginary. Whatever reasons should be adduced for an adjournment of the present session without a proper convention law, that result would be disastrous to all concerned. The agitation would not be quieted by such means; it would be intensified. The constitutional question would then enter, with all that it implies, into the presidential campaign of 1888. The precedents of the "People's Resolution" of 1845 would be recalled and followed. As was the case in 1845, the delay and exasperation would but render the malcontents all the stronger, and the changes required by the people more sweeping and comprehensive. The men at Albany have heard the muttering of the storm; they will not be likely to provoke its fury. The legislature is probably wise enough to pass, and the governor wise enough to sign, a non-partisan convention bill.

GIDEON J. TUCKER.

Tariff for the Boss.

CHICAGO, Illinois.—The following example shows that a tariff cannot benefit laborers when the "labor market" is overstocked: Of a certain article let one man in a foreign country produce one gross per year worth \$10, his wages being \$1.50. Lay a 50 per cent duty, and a gross imported into this country must bring at least \$15. The same article made here may be sold for \$12, a gross and leave the manufacturer a good profit after paying the workman double foreign wages. But then the foreign workman comes here and competes until wages fall to say \$2. To the foreigner this is an apparent increase of 50 cents; but to the American workman it is a decrease of \$1, and the manufacturer pockets the difference in wages because the tariff protects him from foreign competition.

FR. WILKIN.

Land Values in Los Angeles. —ORANGE, Los Angeles county, Cal.—Land here which was valued a few years ago at \$1 or \$2 an acre, having been found suitable for grape raising, is now held at from \$100 to \$500 an acre, unimproved. Fully one-half of the nominal owners are heavily mortgaged. Large holders complain of high wages, which are but \$1.50 a day in busy times. Everybody is looking for relief to a proposed duty of five cents a pound on foreign raisins.

ROBERT E. TEXER.

Illinois Farm Mortgages. —BARRY, Ill.—There certainly never was a better time to expound the doctrine of shifting all taxes to land values than the agriculturists of Pike county, for I am reliably informed that three-fourths of the farms are mortgaged. The mortgagees are actually reuters, paying rent in the shape of interest. No doubt the same state of affairs prevails more or less in many other counties of Illinois.

F. H. CRANDALL.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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SALUTATORY.

I begin the publication of this paper in response to many urgent requests, and because I believe that there is a field for a journal that shall serve as a focus for news and opinions relating to the great movement, now beginning, for the emancipation of labor by the restoration of natural rights.

The generation that abolished chattel slavery is passing away, and the political distinctions that grew out of that contest are becoming meaningless. The work now before us is the abolition of industrial slavery.

What God created for the use of all should be utilized for the benefit of all; what is produced by the individual belongs rightfully to the individual. The neglect of these simple principles has brought upon us the curse of wide-spread poverty and all the evils that flow from it. Their recognition will abolish poverty, will secure to the humblest independence and leisure, and will lay a broad and strong foundation on which all other reforms may be based. To secure the full recognition of these principles is the most important task to which any man can address himself to-day. It is in the hope of aiding in this work that I establish this paper.

I believe that the Declaration of Independence is not a mere string of glittering generalities. I believe that all men are really created equal, and that the securing of those equal natural rights is the true purpose and test of government. And against whatever law, custom or device that restrains men in the exercise of their natural rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness I shall raise my voice.

Confident in the strength of truth, I shall give no quarter to abuses and ask none from their champions. The political corruption that shames our democracy, the false theories that assume that a nation's prosperity lies in shutting itself in from free intercourse with other nations, the stupid fiscal system that piles up hundreds of millions of dollars in our treasury vaults while we are paying interest on an enormous debt; the aping of foreign nations that insists upon standing armies and navies modeled on aristocratic plans; the judicial system that offers a mockery of justice on one side and condones evil-doing on the other; the false philanthropy that gives a dole while it denies a right; the lip-worship of a just God and the heart-worship of the Golden Calf—all these are to my mind parts of one connected whole whose foundations are in the denial of the equal rights of man to the use of Nature's bounty; and in attacking and exposing them as opportunity may offer, I shall render easier the exposure and abolition of the great wrong from which they primarily spring.

I shall endeavor to conduct this paper by the same rules on which a just man would regulate his conduct. I shall not wittingly give currency to an untruth, and, if I inadvertently do so, will endeavor to repair the wrong. I shall endeavor to be fair to opponents and true to friends. I do not propose to make everything that shall appear here square to my own theories, but will be willing to give place to views which may differ from my own when they are so stated as to be worthy of consideration. I hope to make this paper the worthy exponent and advocate of the great party yet unnamed that is now beginning to form, but at the same time to make its contents so varied and interesting as to insure for it a general circulation.

I ask for THE STANDARD the active aid of all who wish to see such a paper firmly established, and I trust they will not be satisfied with ordering the paper themselves, but will try to obtain for it other subscriptions or orders.

HENRY GEORGE.

POLICE BRUTALITY.

The World is exposing a shocking police outrage. It appears that Officer McGinley, of Captain Washburn's precinct, arrested a respectable colored woman, Mrs. Fanny Belkizer, without cause, and when she resisted and screamed struck her in the face with his club. In this condition, and her clothing saturated with blood she was brought to the station house, where, unable to distinctly answer questions, she was thrust into a cell and in the morning taken before Police Justice Gorman. One of the line of unfortunates gathered in during the night, she awaited her turn to be rudely pushed to the prisoners' rail by the policeman who arrested her.

"What is it, officer?" asked the judge, as McGinley stepped up to the desk.

"Drunk and disorderly," was the reply.

"What have you got to say?" the judge inquired of the woman. She could not speak, and the summary proceeding was closed.

"Ten dollars," said the judge, as the prisoner was shoved away to make room for another.

Mrs. Belkizer's husband, upon paying the fine, discovered how badly his wife was hurt, and took her to Dr. Flemming, who states that "her jaw lay on her breast," and describes her as "a terrible sight to see." By his advice she was removed to Mount Sinai hospital, from which, after undergoing a painful operation, she was discharged eight days later.

It happens that Mrs. Belkizer and her husband have influential friends, and the policeman is threatened with vigorous prosecution. He denies the clubbing, and maintains his charge of drunkenness. This would be enough if Mrs. Belkizer were a white woman; but as it is, he may have to

plain how he came to maltreat any person, drunk or sober, in the condition Dr. Flemming found this woman when she left the court room. As to the clubbing, circumstances are against him; as to her sobriety, the most beastly intoxication, even if her good name did not corroborate her denial, would not excuse his brutal conduct.

But if the officer's conduct was brutal, what of the sergeant at the desk, the captain of the precinct, and the justice of the police court? Is it possible that the prisoner's injuries escaped the sergeant's notice? If they did, his indifference amounted to cruelty. Is it possible that Captain Washburn knew nothing of her condition? Then he owed it to himself to prosecute the officer and complain of the sergeant. Did Police Justice Gorman really suppose he had a case of "drunk and disorderly" before him? He had no right to suppose. It was his sworn duty to know as well as evidence could inform him. Although it is customary with police justices, it was a moral crime for him to act upon the uncorroborated story of the policeman.

Mrs. Belkizer's case is not exceptional. It may be more horrible than others, and the officer was unlucky in pitching upon a victim of good reputation with wealthy friends. But brutality among patrolmen, indifference of their superiors to outrage and suffering, and a farcical administration of justice in police courts, have become so common and attracted so little attention in the cases of the friendless, that cases like Mrs. Belkizer's are necessary to bring these official offenders to justice.

OFFICIAL CONDESCENSION.

When slaves were suddenly freed and made citizens, condescension in efforts to improve their condition was not out of place; but how does it sound to hear the governor of a state talking in that tone about workmen who were born citizens—as Governor Hill does in his message?

"It should be our aim to study their wants," he says, "to respectfully and attentively listen to their complaints, to dispassionately discuss their proposed projects, and in a kindly spirit to intelligently distinguish between their real and their fancied grievances." Pray, governor, to whom do you allude when you speak of "our aim," and who is it that is to attentively listen, dispassionately discuss, and kindly distinguish? Is there in truth a governing class, of which you are a good-natured representative, to whom men that work must present their grievances as an humble subject might kneel at the foot of a throne? Or are the workmen of the state, whom you make the objects of your gracious condescension, citizens whose commands, when expressed in legal form, must be obeyed?

When you recognize that workmen are demanding rights, and not begging for privileges, you will be able to discuss labor questions more intelligently.

MR. WARDEN WALSH.

WHY all this outcry against "Fatty" Walsh? Mayor Grace says that the Sixth ward statesman "is probably the most representative man of the Second assembly district." A glance at the official returns of the last election shows that the Second assembly district cast 4,072 votes for Hewitt, 1,682 for George, 879 for Roosevelt, and 8 for Wardwell. When it comes to "saving society" Walsh's bailiwick proudly comes to the fore as the banner district. "Fatty" appears to be a savior who saves. Is society, now that it has been saved, for the time being, going to show itself ungrateful?

"Fatty" Walsh is the natural product of the conditions long existing in our politics. The system by which moneyed men exercise absolute control necessitates such men as Walsh and his rival, Pat Divver. Wealthy gamblers on the stock exchange and in the faro banks and business men would not soil their hands by such work as Walsh and Divver do. They have neither the time nor the inclination to get their constituents out of jail or attend to the interests of the push-cart men. The politicians who do this work must be "taken care of" or they will quit working, since no public interest prompts their political activity.

Of course the attempt to show that "Fatty" has reformed was a failure, and Pharisees of the press are greatly shocked that an "indicted gambler" has received an important appointment; but they were perfectly content to accept the services of all the gamblers a few months ago, to assist in maintaining the political system that rests upon just such activity as Walsh displays.

These people have no right to complain. "Fatty" Walsh has but recently been inaugurated warden of the Tombs. He was really appointed by the enthusiastic voters who accepted a candidate at the hands of Croker and Power and elected him mayor of New York.

HOW RAILROAD MILLIONAIRES ARE MADE.

The general railroad act of New York was enacted in 1880, and has served as a model for nearly all the railroad legislation of the United States. The eighty-fifth section provides that "at least one thousand dollars of stock for every mile of railroad proposed to be made must be subscribed to the articles of association, and ten per cent. paid thereon in good faith and in cash to the directors named in the articles of association."

It results, therefore, that all the actual cash required to give a railroad company corporate vitality in this state is an actual cash investment of one hundred dollars per mile!

Furnished with cash or credit to this extent of allience, a band of would-be millionaires are thus invested with all the enormous power given by the laws of our state to these semi-public enterprises.

They are now at liberty to erect there-upon a structure of "mortgage bonds," "income bonds," "construction bonds," and "car trust securities," limited only by the extent of their combined rapacity!

We can form an idea of the extent of the wealth thus illegitimately acquired through the form of law from a consideration of

some figures derived from the report of the railroad commissioners of New York for 1885:

The total number of miles of track built and operated by railroads in New York State was 18,820.

Their total capital stock was \$650,500,000. As at this time the bonded indebtedness of these railroads was \$557,800,000, it is evident that with a cash investment required by law of but \$92,700,000, the projectors of these roads have been able to issue and sell securities representing twelve hundred millions of dollars!

Can we wonder that the agricultural producers of the Empire State groan under the weight of discriminating transportation charges required to pay interest charges on this accumulation of corporate plunder?

With an increase of railroad dividends each recurring year brings to them only a smaller reward for their toil.

They are at last beginning to turn with eager eyes to their industrial brethren of the cities, also victims of monopolies. The day of their union in political co-operation will mark a new departure in American politics.

PRACTICAL POLITICS.

Captain Michael Cregan is a practical politician. As engineer of the Republican machine of the Sixteenth Assembly district in the city of New York he has done such valuable work that the Republicans send him to conventions and the Democrats keep him in a lucrative office. He is in every respect, save one, a model "savior of society." The exception is his engaging frankness. This quality was conspicuously displayed by the captain last week, when he testified before a committee of his party relative to the congressional campaign in his district.

Allen Thorndike Rice was the Republican candidate for congress against Francis B. Spinola in the district lately represented by Mayor Hewitt. Although the district was Democratic by over 7,000 majority, Mr. Rice came within less than 500 votes of election, and it was evident that he would have defeated Spinola but for the treachery of Captain Cregan. An investigation was ordered by the republican committee, at which testimony was given to the effect that the captain had instructed his election-day subordinates to work in a ballot box and then for Spinola. When Cregan testified he denied this, but it was not his denial that made the captain's testimony interesting. It was the candor with which this "savior of society" disclosed some methods of practical politics, and gave his reasons for refusing to explain others.

"I tell a man the night before election," said the captain, "here's your tickets and here's your money. I want so many votes. Go and get them." Asked about a certain polling district he said: "I never go there. It's no good. I go somewhere else where I can get 'em for their rent money." The persons vaguely alluded to here by the decapitated pronoun are supposed to be voters. The process of getting them Cregan declined to explain, saying, when asked by the chairman what payments he made on election day, and saying it with a smile: "I'm a practical politician, I am. It would be a new thing for me to tell you that, and might land me in the state prison." It will be noticed that the captain's reverence for the eleventh commandment is quite up to the "society saving" standard.

But when asked what he meant by having said that Mr. Rice could have been elected for \$10,000 more, Captain Cregan lost patience. He had said so, and meant it; but he was a practical politician and did not want to go on record in exactly that way. He wanted to be understood in this way: "If Mr. Rice could do it without Spinola's knowing it, he might have overcome that little majority for almost nothing. But if he put in money and Spinola knew it, Spinola would put in money too. Here were two rich men running for office. If one spent money, the other would. That's practical politics. In such a case Rice might have been elected for \$10,000."

Michael Cregan is no better and no worse than the average New York politician. He is a good fellow, as the others are—until they land in state prison. In his comings and goings, as a practical politician, he is a representative of a class whom the respectable "saviors of society" employ on election day to buy and bully the pauperized and degraded victims of social injustice. They furnish the political connection between the millionaire and the tramp.

"OUTSIDE INTERFERENCE."

Many employers imagine that they plant themselves in an impregnable position when they declare that they will treat only with their own men and tolerate no interference by outsiders—that is, by officers of trades unions or Knights of Labor. Such men only demonstrate their ignorance of what has already been accomplished by the movement to organize labor.

So long as men could only deal as individuals with their employers they were absolutely powerless to compel any redress of wrongs or betterment of their condition. If they were not satisfied the employer could safely tell them to go, sure that he could readily supply their places from the mass of disorganized workmen always seeking employment. It was to remedy this very condition of affairs that labor organizations were formed.

The dispute is now, as much as it ever was, between the employer and those in his employ. The difference is that the latter have a powerful body at their back, which can at least make it difficult for the employer to find new men if he arbitrarily discharges those who state their grievances and ask a remedy at his hands. The declaration that no "outsiders" will be listened to is a direct blow at the very foundation of organized labor, and is absurd when made by those who admit the right of labor to organize.

No conceivable perfection in the organization of labor can compel employers to pay wages that will cause them to manufacture at a loss, or even without some profit. They would naturally shut up their

shops rather than submit to such a demand, and labor, having overreached itself, would be subjected to even greater loss. All that organization can do is to enable workmen to stand up with courage and confidence for as fair a bargain as is possible under existing conditions, and that they will do no matter how many petty railway presidents or other employers resent "outside interference," and assert their right to make both sides of the bargain between labor and capital.

DISREPUTABLE houses are in New York sources of exceptional profit to landlords and of frequent perquisites to the police. Rents are high and official reminders regular. Not long ago an attempt was made to close up one of these places on Thirteenth street, between Second and Third avenues. The neighbors complained to the captain of the precinct, McCullagh, who promised to suppress the nuisance, but did not. A law and order association was then formed, which employed a lawyer and began proceedings to evict the occupants. Preliminary to these proceedings a search was made for the owner, who proved to be a resident of Spain, a woman named Luz Farres de Mora; her agents in charge of letting the house were Couder Bros., the law firm of which Frederic R. Couder is the head. The case was tried before Justice Stecker, who found the facts as they were alleged by the neighbors and issued warrants to dispossess the occupants of the house. At the trial a witness testified that a monthly stipend was paid to the police. A neighboring house belonging to Conrad Dorman, of Fort Lee, N. J., was proceeded against at the same time with like result; but new tenants immediately took possession and continued its use for the same unlawful purpose.

The surplus in the Federal treasury seems to worry some people very much. But why should it? Would any individual be in doubt about what to do if he had plenty of money in the bank and was under heavy interest bearing obligations? He would pay his debts and stop the interest unless he could use his money more profitably. That is what the government should do. And it would do it if it were not for the banking monopoly, which has set up a gold dollar for popular warfare.

"THE YEAR 1885," says the Tribune, "has been distinguished by remarkable uprisings of organized labor, yet it will end without evidence that the organized workers have gained anything on the whole by these surprising efforts." Our contemporary reminds the workmen that they have neither gained control of the municipal government of New York nor of the national house of representatives, and it insists, on probably insufficient evidence, that most of their strikes have failed. It suggests that organization has practically been shown to be useless, by the fact that the improvement in business has brought to unorganized labor quite as much increase in wages as organization has secured for other labor. This is amusing. If there have been instances in which employers have advanced wages of their own motion, simply because they felt able to do so, the Tribune has not had the enterprise to report them by telegraph. The only important thing about all this is the evidence it affords that the class for which our contemporary speaks evidently hopes that labor is sufficiently dismayed by defeat to give up the fight. Again, the Tribune says that "in the political field the net result so far is defeat of the labor candidates in almost every important contest, although the laborers had a clear majority of votes in every case had they been united." Very true; but it is the fact that they were more nearly united last year than ever before that leads the Tribune and other papers of its class, to discuss the matter with such unaccounted gravity. The positive evidence afforded last year that a little closer union would assure certain success will have a wonderful effect hereafter. The new party is yet in its infancy, but it is too bright to stupefy itself by the Tribune's soothing syrup.

WHATEVER opinions one may hold respecting capital punishment, the course pursued by the governor in the case of Mrs. Druse must be approved. It is his duty to enforce the law, and although arbitrary power of pardon is lodged with him, he has no right as the executive of a democratic commonwealth to exercise it capriciously. By granting a respite he enables the law-making power to save the state from a disgrace which it is not within the province of an executive officer to avert.

WHEN the wrong of private property in land is attacked a favorite remark is: "There is plenty of land to be had free one or two hundred miles from every city of the continent; why don't those who grumble about their poverty take it up?" They don't take it up because the land is worthless. If it were not worthless it would bring a price. It is valueless either from insularity, as the swamps of Long Island; from infertility, as the alkali plains through which the Union Pacific railroad runs; or from remoteness from markets, as in the case of the free lands in the Canadian northwest. If produce has its value eaten up in being wagoned and freighted to market, what inducement is there to raise the produce? It is cruel mockery to tell needy men that they can relieve their poverty by taking up free (?) lands, when they lack capital to work it, experience to make their plowing, sowing and reaping successful, when by the very essence of the offer the land they are asked to accept is worthless.

THOSE illustrated papers which appeal to vulgar tastes by libelously caricaturing public men while they live, and celebrating these writers in weak attempts at art when they die, sometimes drift into embarrassing situations. Such was the experience of Puck when a caricature of General Logan, prepared during his life, appeared while the press was filled with laudatory obituary articles.

WE ARE indebted to the enterprise of the San Francisco Argonaut for an interesting letter in regard to the recent mayoralty canvass in New York. Mr. Pixley vouches for the author as a person "worthy of credence," "Solid on everything else," says the writer to Mr. Pixley: "except the European theory of protection, you are all wrong on the George business. He was nominated in 'town meeting' called by 35,000 citizens, the signatures having been obtained in sixteen days. It was the revolt of decent people against the machine. He had the signatures of 123 clergymen, 486 lawyers, over 500 physicians, a majority of the members of the brokers' exchange, of the publishers of the city, of over 3,000 shop-keepers (not one gin-mill keeper), nine-tenths of the newspaper men. There was no," he says, "a run-shop for George." That tells the story and the truth. The writer says further that no statement

could be more viciously and maliciously inaccurate than the impression which Mr. Pixley had striven to convey, that the Henry George vote had come from "the criminal, unemployed and discontent element." "It might," says the correspondent, "with more truth have been said of George Washington than of Henry George." We cannot add to the force and truth of this observation, and it only remains for us to congratulate Mr. Pixley upon his magnanimity in printing so severe a condemnation of his own rash and crude criticisms.

A CORRESPONDENT of the Baltimore Sun is much amused over the ignorance concerning America displayed by a Persian governor, who recently asked: "How many kings have they in America now?" Well, we have quite a number of kings, and some of them live in Baltimore. How many have we?

A SKETCH printed elsewhere gives an abstract of the political opinions of Sir Thomas More. Sir Thomas was certainly a man of excellent head and heart, with views far in advance of his time. THE STANDARD cannot endorse the extreme socialistic ideas of this devout old Catholic, who died a martyr to his belief in the supremacy of the pope. This is not through any failure to appreciate their nobility and generosity, but simply from a conviction that the system suggested by More needlessly throws away the advantages of individual effort and ambition. We freely admit, however, that it is, as More claimed, much closer to the teachings and example of Christ than the existing system, and we shall gladly join our Catholic friends in honoring the author of Utopia, should the proposal long under consideration to canonize him be carried out. But what will become of "His Grace," of New York, should St. Thomas More take his place on the calendar of saints?

Two out of every three farms in Marshall and Franklin counties, Alabama, are said to be under mortgage, and yet the farmers there imagine that they belong to the landlord class.

THOSE constantly recurring "accidents" in the construction of the new aqueduct, by which many workmen have been killed and many more maimed for life, failed to excite any attention from the press until a man labeled "Anarchist" fell a victim. His case passed unheeded for two months, until the label was discovered. And now, what is the comment? Why, that this man has "saved society some trouble" that "the news of this death does not cause very deep grief" that few people are sorry he "is out of the world" and so on. Yet his death resulted from an accident in an honorable occupation. If workmen were to comment thus on the accidental death of some pampered savior of society their conduct would be promptly denounced as brutal. Does it, then, make a difference when the other man's ox is gored?

THE New York correspondent of the Albany Journal says that if the new party succeeds in getting a respectable representation numerically in the constitutional convention it will make things very lively for that body. He is right.

The brutal levity of police justices on the bench is scandalous. With two or three exceptions these officials are in the habit of making sport of the misery that daily comes before them. Recently Justice Patterson imposed a ten dollar fine for drunkenness upon a man whose name is more easily spelled than pronounced. The prisoner begged to be let off with six dollars, all the money he had, and the judge replied: "No; a man that's got such a name as you have ought to be fined ten dollars." For the law that licenses drunkenness at the rate of ten dollars and imprisons men who cannot pay the tax, Judge Patterson is not responsible; but his remark in this case was cowardly. Had he and the prisoner been upon an equality it might have passed as a piece of stupid pleasantry or as an insult to be summarily resented. Under the circumstances it ought to be made a ground of impeachment.

GOVERNOR HILL has at last discovered that people who work for a living are not satisfied with the way things are going. In his message he says: "It is useless to shut our eyes to the fact that there seems to be a growing discontent among the industrial classes." Of course the causes of discontent are beyond the governor's vision, and even to the fact that there are causes he is officially indifferent. His aim therefore is "to alleviate and pacify" the discontent, not to remove its causes, and so he advises the legislature.

IN their bill providing for the constitutional convention, the labor organizations propose that women shall vote for delegates and upon the adoption of the constitution when prepared. Even opponents of woman suffrage in general should not object to this. Women are citizens and subject to the law, and this convention is to define the limitations of law. For women to vote upon such a matter will not interfere with their domestic duties, nor impose upon them those military and civil obligations which are supposed to be corollaries of the suffrage; and it is absolutely essential if the constitution is to be what it will purport to be—an organic law emanating directly from the whole people.

THE Irish World says that editors who misrepresent the land question know that the majority of mankind are mere echoes, and therefore make such senseless cries as communism, socialism, anarchism, when speaking of land taxation. They might as well apply these terms to any other system of taxation. It is not proposed to confiscate any value that has been created by human industry. This would be robbery. But when the community creates wealth it is entitled to it as much as the individual is to the wealth he creates.

THE latest issue of Lovell's Library Twilight Club tract on "Questions of the Day," edited by Chas. F. Wingate, contains a score or more bright, pointed and taking essays by some of the ablest American writers, including James Redpath, Rev. Dr. Rylance, Henry George, Louis F. Post, Lyman Abbott, John Swinton, Prof. Hawley, Thos. G. Shearman, E. E. Hale, Graham McAdams, Jas. Parker, Capt. Codman, David A. Wells, Stewart L. Woodford and others. It is marvelously cheap at twenty cents a copy, and deserves a large circulation.

IT OWNS TOO MUCH LAND.

Speaking of Rev. Dr. McGlynn, the Salt Lake Tribune, an anti-Mormon paper, says: "The Catholic Church cannot afford to keep in America a priest who does not believe in private ownership of land. Object to the ecclesiastical ownership of land and half the wealth of the Catholic Church in America would go at one swoop."

A LANDLORD'S QUERIES.

STOCK CTRY, Iowa.—As an American landlord, possessing the freehold of 3,374 acres, divided into one farm of 2,000 acres and six farms occupied by tenants, I find your views very interesting. I admit your arguments, but there are two points I insist on your demonstrating. First, the American landowner bought his land, in many cases paying hard cash for it to the government or to the soldiers who homesteaded it. Now, why should I lose all my capital, which was money earned in manufacture, and Vanderbilt retain his countless millions? I paid in hard cash \$38,000 for this land ten years ago, and in every case my title took its seat in a patent to a soldier from the United States government. Second, demonstrate by example how a landlord is to lose his grip on the land by all land being equally taxed to its full value. Success to the cause of humanity. Let me have a clear answer, as I am only a farmer and very busy.

A. BARLOW.

[First: The equal right of every man to the use of land is inalienable. As he cannot sell himself he cannot sell his right to that upon which he must exist. Much less may his government divest him of his right. Still less may he or his government divest his unborn children of their right. Slaveholders paid hard cash—some of it earned possibly in manufacture—for "niggers," but that gave them no moral right to their human property. The equal natural right of all to the use of the globe upon which they are born once conceded, vested interests, however acquired, must give way when they deprive any of the human family of his share. But suppose this were not so, how does the fact that you paid \$38,000 for your land ten years ago give you a moral right to that increased value which it has acquired from other causes than your own improvement? And do you not give too much importance to the fact that your interest in land would be diminished by the tax, and none at all to the fact that your wages—you say you are very busy—would be increased, that your capital would pay no taxes, and that you would be freed from the great variety of indirect taxes which you now pay? Vanderbilt's millions will soon go when private property in land is annulled. That is the keystone of the arch. But why do you draw this comparison between yourself and Vanderbilt? His mere dwelling occupies more land—in value—than you own.

[Second: It is not proposed to tax all land equally. It is not proposed to tax any land. What is proposed is to tax the rental value of land as distinguished from the value of improvements. If you collect this rental value, the tax will take it away from you if you do not collect it, but keep the land out of use, the tax will take as much from you as you might have collected. What kind of a "grip" have your six tenants on you so long as you can compel them to pay for the use of the land they use. What kind of a "grip" will you have on them when you are obliged to pay back that rent? As you are independent of them now they will be independent of you then. There is a further answer: The land value tax will open up for use, free of rent or tax, great bodies of land everywhere, on which men can make a comfortable living. So long as such land is available no man will work for another for less than a comfortable living; and that will put an end to every kind of "grip" by which some men live by the sweat of other men's brows.]

Virginia Lands.

Philadelphia Times.—That part of Virginia which suffered most severely by war and was oftenest wrested from either contending army by the other, is the most prosperous to-day. The old order is changing in the northern counties. Fertile farms and tastefully built houses on either side remind the Pennsylvanian of his native State, for in this section of Virginia reconstruction means more than the political struggle commonly suggested by that name. It signifies that the old proprietors have already in large measure divided their farms into smaller ones and sold them to enterprising newcomers, and all, having less to manage and more capital to manage it with, have concentrated their resources and managed better. But when you get further south into the latitude that was subjected only to occasional raids, the landscape bears a dead and desolate appearance. The houses are of the plainest architecture and are generally destitute of paint; scrubby forests of pine and fields of broom-sedge stretch wearily away to the right and left, and the cultivated fields to be seen here and there have a poor and worn-out look. The proprietors have not had many opportunities of welcoming the friendly Yankee and selling him a little farm. In fact, the friendly Yankee has not crowded the trains or the hotel lobbies or the real estate offices in search of worn-out farm lands, and nobody who sees how badly worn out they are can blame him, considering the prices asked for them.

Oh, Most Wise Judge!

Mr. Grottkan, editor of the Arbeiter-zeitung, at Madison, Wisconsin, was recently sentenced to thirty days' imprisonment for contempt because he had printed some verses reflecting on Judge Sloan of that place. Judge Sloan, in imposing sentence, displayed a most exalted opinion of the dignity of the bench and an abominable ignorance of the present condition of laboring men. He said: "There is but one security in this country for its citizens—the independence and dignity of the courts. When that is gone the whole fabric of government falls. If there be wrongs to be remedied—fancied wrongs many of them are—existing between capital and labor, an appeal can always be made to the common, sober sense of the people. The laborer of to-day is the capitalist of to-morrow. There never was a time when the laborer was in better condition or enjoying more prosperity than at present. The tendency of civilization is toward the betterment of the lowest laboring man."

Reform for Chicago.

A committee consisting of representatives of the United Labor party, the Iroquois club (the leading Democratic organization of the city), the Union League (Republican), the Commercial club, and the Citizens' association has drafted a bill for the reform of the government of Cook county. The measure proposes in the first place to elect next April a new board of fifteen members—ten from the city and five from the county—the same day that a mayor and aldermen are elected for Chicago, and that trustees, supervisors, etc., are elected by the county towns. It proposes also to confer on the chairman of the county board veto powers and to vest the county clerk with the powers of controller. In addition, it provides that specific appropriations, which under no circumstances can be exceeded, shall be made during the first three months of the fiscal year.

Government by Committee.

Lancaster, Pa., Intelligence.—Philadelphia has a population of nearly a million. She wants a mayor. A committee of some kind propose four names and ask the big city to choose a name. And this is our boasted government of the people. It seems very much like the crowned heads of Europe choosing a king for the Bulgarian people.

THE WEEK.

Mr. Hewitt signalled his entrance into the mayor's office by a public reception attended by many placemen and politicians. The mayor was in the best of humor. In the course of the day Mr. Hewitt denounced liars on the press who attributed to him what he did not say. This is ungrateful, since Mr. Hewitt owes a great deal to journalists added to this habit. When he shook hands with Commissioner Purvey he said, "The last time I saw you were getting me into this trouble." Croker and Power were among the callers, but their candidate's remarks to them are not recorded. Among the local statesmen were Tim. Costigan, Frank Duffy, Col. Mooney, Police Justices Duffy, White and Murray, Tim. Campbell, Eddie Cahill and many others naturally jubilant over the success of their efforts to save society. The occasion was a cheerful one to all concerned, and Mr. Hewitt's amiability was such that Mr. O. B. Potter congratulated him on the good beginning he had made.

Joseph P. McDonough, one of the circuit clerks of the supreme court, has been removed by County Clerk Plack, and a Tammany ex-assemblyman has been appointed in his place. The position was held by McDonough for several years, and the fact that his organization, Irving Hall, endorsed the workingmen's candidate for the majority.

The details of the deal that united the city democrats last fall are coming to light. The first revelation involves Henry R. Beckman, a typical savior of society of the patrician class, now president of the board of aldermen; Maurice J. Power, leader of the County Democracy, and Richard Croker, leader of Tammany Hall. Tammany had forced the nomination of Mr. Hewitt for mayor, and a dispute arose over the other nominations. The County Democracy insisted that it should name the president of the board of aldermen, since Tammany had named the mayor, while Tammany claimed the nomination on the ground that his nominee for mayor belonged to the County Democracy. The dispute was temporarily adjusted by referring it to Mr. Hewitt, who chose Mr. Beckman, then park commissioner. Mr. Croker, on behalf of Tammany, objected that Beckman was a personal friend of Mayor Grace, and that he should not be named in the park commissioner's office. Mr. Hewitt took the office of mayor. Mr. Power, on behalf of the County Democracy, promised to obtain the pledge, which he did. After election this transaction got into politics. The County Democracy reporter obtained a statement from Mr. Beckman, who said that he had not at first believed Mr. Beckman capable of such conduct. He had nevertheless asked him if the story was true, and Mr. Beckman had admitted giving the pledge. Mr. Grace said he told the park commissioner rather forcibly what he thought of such bargains, and referred to his pretense of reluctance to run for president of the board of aldermen, and to making an improper promise in order to secure the nomination. After his call on the mayor Mr. Beckman is said to have declared that he had just spent the worst fifteen minutes of his life. The absence or disability of Mr. Hewitt, the park commissioner, by virtue of his office, look after the foundations of society and ward off chaos.

Mayor Hewitt, having been confined to his house, Mr. Beckman, who became president of the board of aldermen by a pre-election deal, has been acting mayor. Should Mr. Beckman also fail in his office, the vice-president of the board and clerk of the board, Mr. Walsh, would preside over the destinies of the city. The descent is regular.

The general term of the New York supreme court, Judge Daniels writing the opinion, has decided that corrupting articles of food or other necessities is a criminal conspiracy. Judge Daniels says it is nothing less than respectable robbery. With a statute as old as the state prohibiting combinations to injure trade or commerce, and gigantic corners dealt in the centers of trade, it is curious that until now the state has been forced only against mechanics for combining against some shoe shop.

Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt gave a dinner to a large number of the employees of the New York Central and West Shore roads on New Year's day. The dinner consisted of oysters, corned beef, tongue, ham and all kinds of vegetables and dessert. The men were told, "we were loud in their praises both of the dinner and of Mr. Vanderbilt. This seems to indicate that they are not accustomed to such dinners, yet the bill of fare is a plain one, the materials by no means costly, and such a meal ought to be easily within the reach of a fairly paid workman every day."

The cheerful face of Miss Agatha Munier has disappeared from the choir of St. Stephen's church, and is not likely to return until the reinstatement of Dr. McGlynn. For fifteen years Miss Munier has engaged in the sacred service of this edifice, and the music, under her skilful leadership, has long been known for her excellence. But old associations were not strong enough bonds to hold her where she believed injustice was being done, and until the venerable priest who built up St. Stephen's is returned she will not set foot in the choir loft.

William Morrison, a Third Avenue car driver, was held to bail on New Year's day for striking a balky horse with a car hook. This, perhaps, indicates a growth of human feeling on the part of the management of that company that may, if encouraged, reach a height that will include men.

The inequality of taxation upon personal property was aptly illustrated by Thomas G. Shearman, Esq., at the last dinner of the Twilight club. "What is personal property?" he asked. "Umbrellas!" exclaimed the redoubtable Capt. Codman. The laughter that followed was varied with an assortment of allusions to the communal nature of this kind of property, but it suited Mr. Shearman's purpose well, and he went on: "Certainly, umbrellas are personal property. Now, suppose you tax umbrellas, who will pay most taxes? Men with only one umbrella, of course. The assessor would assume that every man had one; therefore, every man not wholly destitute of umbrellas would have to pay taxes on one or more, perjury. But the more umbrellas a man has, the easier could he escape his proportion of taxes. In guessing at the number of umbrellas the assessor would guess above the limit of the poor man and far below that of the rich man, as he does now with all kinds of chattels. A tax on umbrellas is an excellent example of the inequality of personal property taxes."

Senator Murphy's constitutional convention bill provides for two delegates from each assembly district and thirty-two at large. This would exclude third party delegates unless they came from districts in which the third party was either a first or second party. Speaker Husted's bill provides for ninety-six local delegates, thirty of them from the senatorial districts of New York, Kings and Richmond, and thirty-two at large. This would make a compact convention of one hundred and twenty-eight delegates, which it might be neither troublesome nor expensive to arrange with. The Labor Law bill provides for three delegates from each assembly district, for only one of whom any elector can vote, and thirty-two at large. This enables a third party of respectable strength to send a working delegation. It would make a large convention, but the delegates would be elected by committee, and from a final vote the very size of the body

would afford reasonable security against corruption.

Last Sunday the case of Nelson P. Pearson, charged with bribery at the late election, was for the fifth time before a police court. Four times it had been postponed to accommodate the defendant, and the fifth it was "hung up" to accommodate the judge. Frederick C. Leubuscher, Esq., who was authorized by the district attorney to represent the People, had ineffectually attempted to force the case to a hearing before Justice Duffy, who finally adjourned it to a date when Justice Power would sit. Justice Power is the leader of the County Democracy. He refused to hear the case, saying that no other judge had a right to police court ethics, may be true, but as a matter of police court ethics, the circumstances and the importance of the case were explained by Mr. Leubuscher, Justice Power refused to either hear or adjourn it, and now it is out of court. Defendant's counsel did not appear at all; it was not necessary.

The lowest bidder for supplying meat to the board of charities and correction of New York for 1887 offers to furnish 1,200 tons of chuck beef at 4-10 cents per pound, salt beef at 4½, veal at 12, pork at 8, mutton at 9, corned beef at 8, sirloin steaks at 10, roasts at 10 and extra diet beef at 10. The total amount of meat required is about 3,500,000 pounds.

Governor Hill's message was read to the legislature on Monday. He recommends a permanent system for the employment of prison labor, free from the objections to the contract system, which was abolished by popular vote in 1883. He also urges some measure for spring municipal elections in the city of New York, and a law permitting naturalized citizens to register without producing their papers. A law limiting preferences in general assignments, a census act, a commission to revise the charter of New York, abolition of the regents of the university, abolition of the state board of charities and the state board of health, a law to enforce religious freedom, provisions for appeals in murder cases directly to the court of appeals and an act restricting the power of corporations to issue stock and bonds, are also among the governor's recommendations. His suggestion that the legislature employ a special counsel to draft bills in legal form and to advise members and committees is valuable, and if adopted would save much useless litigation. More popular, perhaps, but less valuable, is his recommendation of the abolition of real and personal, upon an equal footing for purposes of taxation. This proposal, submitted with a view to the favor of farmers, is losing its attractiveness, as farmers learn that the proposed abolition of their farms bears a very small proportion to the values of their improvements and stock.

Mayor Whitney of Brooklyn, in his message to the aldermen on Monday, said: "Our growth has been great; our wealth has increased; our debt has decreased; our tax rate has been reduced." He might have added, "Our rents have gone up."

Congress resumed on Tuesday. Before the holiday recess the house had managed to kill any proposal to reduce tariff taxation and to pass a modification of the Reagen railway bill. The bill is still in committee of conference, and the senate can be depended on to shape it in the interests of the railways as far as possible. Each house has also passed a separate bill providing for the division of Indian lands in severalty. This question will also go to a conference committee, and all friends of justice to the red men hope that there will be a failure to agree. Both bills are bad, and any combination of them is likely to be worse than either.

The president had sufficiently recovered from his rheumatic attack to enable him to receive on New Year's day. The newspapers give glowing accounts of the splendor of the ladies' dresses and of the gorgeousness of the army officials and diplomats at the official reception, but fail to dissent on the costumes of the people who attended the larger reception in the ballroom of the Waldorf, wherever they may be. They are evidently an inferior class of people, however, in whose clothes our contemporaries are not interested.

There is an active and successful effort in progress to raise a fund for the widow of the late Senator Logan and up to Tuesday over \$2,000 has been subscribed. The money will be invested in Mrs. Logan's name in United States four per cent. bonds.

The federal commission of agriculture complains to Governor Oglesby that the Illinois Live Stock commission has interfered to prevent the success of the efforts by the general government to suppress pleuro-pneumonia among cattle in the Chicago stock yards. Unless there is a change, the commissioner says he will be compelled to admit that the Illinois commission is not enforcing all reasonable measures for stamping out the disease. This matter vitally concerns consumers of western beef.

There will be a sharp and eager competition for the seat in the United States senate rendered vacant by the death of Gen. Logan. Gov. Oglesby announces that he will not be a candidate. The probability is that the largest purse will secure the prize.

The reports of famine in the drought-stricken districts of Texas are heart-rending. The county judges of the region affected recently met in convention and declared that the total number of people in those counties now in need of food, clothing and fuel is placed at 30,000, while thousands more are without seed to plant during the coming year. An appeal is made to the state and national legislatures, and to the country at large, to furnish at once \$500,000 to relieve immediate wants.

Mr. Robert S. Green, just inaugurated as governor of New Jersey, in the extent and richness of the patronage at his disposal, leads all other governors. He will have, for example, the appointment of a secretary of state for five years, at a salary of \$6,000 and fees; an attorney general for five years, at \$7,000 and fees; a chancellor for five years, at \$10,000 and fees; three judges of the supreme court for seven years, at \$7,500 each; a clerk of the supreme court for seven years, at \$2,000; and a state prison keeper for five years, at \$5,000. Another good paying office is that of prosecutor of the pleas at Jersey City, worth \$12,000 per annum, and a number of less important places, with salaries ranging from \$2,500 to \$5,500 each. Perhaps when "the poor people who have to work for a living" come to govern New Jersey in fact, instead of nominally, the "richness" of this patronage will be marred somewhat.

Minnesota has two governors. McGill, the Republican candidate, has been inaugurated, and A. A. Ames, the Democratic candidate, took the oath of office on Tuesday, and will contest the election of McGill.

The proprietors of the Boston Herald announced on the 1st inst. that during the current year they will share the net profits of their business with their employees.

The Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel association on Jan. 1 published a review of the year, which says our iron and steel industries were especially active during 1886, and that the activity was fairly distributed throughout the year. Improvement began in 1885. Our production in 1886 of pig iron, Bessemer steel and steel rails, open hearth steel, structural iron and steel and some other varieties has been much larger than in 1885, and our production

of pig iron, Bessemer steel, Bessemer steel rails and open-hearth steel has been much the largest in our history. During 1886 this country built over 7,000 miles of new railroad, against 3,313 miles reported in 1885. The general business outlook for 1887 is very favorable.

Arrangements have just been made for establishing large iron furnaces and improved charcoal factories at Nashville, Tenn. A company with millions of nominal capital has been organized to erect furnaces, rolling mills, a steel plant and a chemical works for the production of charcoal, wood alcohol, acetate of lime, etc. The local papers are jubilant over the prospect that Nashville's importance as a manufacturing center will thus be enormously increased. The new company has taken care to secure a good frontage on the Cumberland river, with a view to utilizing natural means of transportation, thus assuring favorable railway rates. It has also made less commendable water arrangements, by providing for the gratuitous issue of its \$1,000 of capital stock to each subscriber for \$100 bond. The organizers have also purchased over 2,700 acres of land at and near the site of the proposed works, on which they will erect dwelling houses for workmen and others. The promoters thus show their appreciation of the direction that the indirect profits of their enterprise will take, and prepare to secure these profits for all time. The comments of the Nashville press on the condition of the workmen in the city are at least very frank. Hence, will contrast favorably with their exuberant expressions of delight just now.

England hails 1887 as the year of jubilee in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of Victoria's accession to the throne. The newspapers descend on the wonderful progress made during that remarkable half century, and those who have shared in it are in a mood for happy retrospective. No serious proposal is made to imitate the custom of the Jewish year of jubilee, when the slaves were freed for two years, given, and the land restored to the people, and hence the great majority of the people may not participate with enthusiasm in the rejoicing, of which the London papers are so full.

Politics is troublesome despite the jubilee. The Liberals are content and biding their time. The Tories and Assistant Tories have not yet recovered from their consternation over the unexpected retirement of Lord Randolph Churchill from the ministry. This consternation is increased by the young man's threat to explain fully in parliament his objection to the war and naval estimate, which was assigned by him as a reason for retiring from the ministry. He insists that it was not because of unwillingness to make necessary additions that he protested, but because a very large portion of the fund already appropriated is used to support the army and navy, and that instead of for the purchase of guns and other man-killing apparatus. Any proposal to avert the storm by making overtures to Churchill were howled down by the older Tories, however, and the result is that Lord Salisbury has called Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, one of the Liberal deserters, into the cabinet as chancellor of the exchequer. Thus the coalition is at last formed. Things are not working smoothly, however, as the reconstruction of the cabinet is impeded by Tory jealousy. The Liberal deserters, as Mr. Chamberlain's Birmingham speech is an utterance that ought to open the way for an agreement between the opposing sections of the Liberal party. Parliament has been prorogued until Jan. 27.

The troubles experienced by the Tory ministry have had the effect of interrupting the enthusiastic campaign of suppression in Ireland, on which it had just entered. Now that the deserting Liberals have joined the Tories on a platform of refusing justice to Ireland, perhaps coercion will be actively resumed. Thus far the Tory effort has accomplished little more than to change the time for paying rents to the "trustees" under the "new plan" from day to night. Mr. Dillon has, on the advice of the Archbishop of Dublin and others, given bail, and patriotic Englishmen are alarmed by the spectacle of patriotic Irishmen at large. Tenant dissatisfaction threatens to extend to Ulster, where the super-patriotic Irishmen of English and Scotch extraction have discovered that the Catholic tenants of the other provinces have, by raising a row, secured twice the reduction in rent that has been offered to the Ulster men for keeping the peace, blessing the queen and damning the pope.

The Tories tell each other that if Gladstone can only be kept out of power for two more years his political activity will be ended and that all danger of Irish independence will then be at an end. Meanwhile the grand old man has just celebrated his seventy-seventh birthday and looks as fresh as a daisy.

There is talk in England of imposing a tax of £3 a year on all foreigners working in the country. The tax is specifically aimed at the Germans, who are becoming quite numerous as low wages tempt them to come to England with native English workmen, who see in it a promise of protection to English labor.

In France the patched-up Goblet ministry still holds together, and the talk in governing circles is of war. At his New Year's reception Mr. Goblet, in response to the expression of a hope for peace by some brokers, said that while nobody knows of anything that justifies anxiety, France was ready and need not fear war. The army is in fighting mood, and the expectation is general that war must shortly come. The only people who comprehend that France, like every other country, has a great deal to fear from war are the Socialists, who represent those who must be the targets of the bullets and cannon. Audin Boyer, a Socialist deputy, intends to offer a proposal for the general disarmament of Europe at the next session of the chamber. Socialist representatives in the German Reichstag will make similar proposals, but no one supposes that such efforts will have any effect. The trade of wholesale murder will continue to flourish in Europe until the masses of the people have the intelligence to understand what it means for them, and have also the power to put an end to it. Meanwhile the Paris press is gay as ever, thoughtless and careless of the humble people to which war brings desolation and woe.

Herr Tisa, the Hungarian prime minister, declared on New Year's day that the government adheres to the policy concerning Bulgaria and the Eastern policy already enunciated by himself and Count Kalnoky. He said that, notwithstanding the fact that all of the European states have been arming since the original proclamation of this policy was made, the government of Austria-Hungary sees nothing in the existing situation to diminish its hope that peace can be preserved. It will endeavor by every means to preserve peace so long as the vital interests or the honor of the country are not jeopardized. Like all of the other recent professions of the same character, this contains within it the suggestion that war may become necessary.

The powerful European syndicate known as the "Rothschild group" has decided against another loan to Russia, and it seems now probable that if the crazy czar wants war he will have to pay its expenses as it goes along. This is probably impossible, and the action of the money kings may preserve peace.

The belief is growing general in Europe that the czar has become crazy, and hence no extravagant action on the part of Russia will surprise the other powers. The autocrat's malady is likely to be increased by the reports of renewed activity by the nihilists.

A costly business. It costs Europe \$1,000,000,000 a year to keep the peace, and she doesn't keep it very well even at that figure.

BEFORE AND AFTER.

There was an incident attending the recent dinner of the New England Society in New York, which brought with it many thoughts. The president, Judge Russell, in eloquent, gentle words, made mention of those members of the society who had passed away during the preceding year, gentlemen, whose virtues and achievements held them worthy of reverent remembrance by all who valued the example of self-denying citizenship. The most notable of these departed members was ex-President Arthur. The company were asked to drink to his memory, and this was done in silence.

We were coming upon that hallowed season when a new sunshine seems to fall upon our homes, and we are taught by example, as well as by precept, the lesson of peace and goodwill, when the nation was called upon to mourn the death of John A. Logan. The sorrowful strains of the funeral music have scarcely died away. We read tributes in prose and poetry, of generous offerings in recognition of his fame, bringing comfort and substance to those whom he held dear, but whose claims upon him had been sacrificed to public duty in the senate and the field.

These and other spontaneous honors to Arthur and Logan might under changed circumstances be regarded as doing credit to the American character and accepted, in a certain sense, at least, by a critical world as our answer to the imputation that republics are ungrateful. "This," we should like proudly to say, "is our way of appreciating those who serve the state. Ribbons, stars, estates, dignities descending from generation to generation, gorgeous tombs, pageantry, titles, power, may illustrate the obligations of England to Wellington and the homage of France to sundry members of the house of Bonaparte. England's estimate of Nelson is found in an earldom and a pension; America's estimate of Jackson is seen in the number of postoffices named after him." One recompense we might add in our mode of self-felicitation, much valued as the other, when we recall the sacrifices made by the bravest and best of our people for an emblem called the flag, and such fame as finds expression in postage-stamp decorations and banknote engravings. This appreciation might be a just one if we did not know that in the souls of Nelson and Farragut, high above shadowy or material rewards, was a patriotic devotion to the nation they served, and which they would have served, as truly if honors and rewards were as substantial as a dream.

But while the flowers which the nation threw over the pall of Arthur and Logan have scarcely faded, and the new grief has not yet been assuaged, there is still fresh in another sentiment among the many now finding a sad expression, bringing its own reflections. If Arthur and Logan are to-day in their character, and in the lesson which that character must impress upon our sons, all that we are asked to believe in a thousand newspapers and by men of every party, what were they yesterday? It is well that passion should be hushed at the grave and that generous sentiments should be given to the dead. But while we do honor to the dead should we not do justice to the living?

There was not a gentleman who rose in answer to President Russell's recognition of the memory of Mr. Arthur who did not know the true character of the ex-president a year ago, as he knew him now. That the ex-president was a gentleman whose personal character was beyond reproach, of singular purity of mind and dignity of bearing; his life in New York, where he was esteemed long before the vision of his supreme destiny opened, even to the proudest and dearest friendships—a true life, so far as we could know it, knowing him as counselor, companion and friend; as far as we could see it, in those sacred aspects, which come from a pure and perfect home. There was no one in that company who did not know a year ago, as well as to-day, that the ex-president, in his public duties, began with their humblest performance in New York city, and ending in the splendor of Washington, was governed by serene, high courage and patriotism; true to his party; when party fealty was in question; true in the highest sense to the public's welfare, without regard to party, when the people called upon him—rising to every station, commanding the respect of mankind, by the felicity, integrity and tact with which he accepted every responsibility.

There is no one among the multitude who show their grief over the loss of Logan who did not know the true character of that unique and eminent warrior a year ago, as well as it is known to-day. Unique and eminent among his contemporaries, his life was upon whose sword's edge long depended the fate of the Union, to be honored to the end of time as the saviors of the Union, Logan was a type of a heroic class—a soldier of the people. Fortune gave him none of those advantages which disciplined the genius of Grant and Lee. He had no such background to his military career which, in the United States, at least, can only be found in West Point. The son of an Irish emigrant, thrown as a lad into the severe conditions of frontier life; a soldier in his boyhood, re-entering the army when the civil war began, and fighting his way from the lowest to the highest station, in many respects, the most picturesque development among the great men of our war. The private soldier in Mexico became a general commanding in Tennessee. Such a career all Americans who value the inherent fitness of their institutions for every form of intellectual development must cherish as a proud example to their children.

True, we now see what Arthur and Logan were to the country. Sorrow becomes ostentatious—eulogy leans to extravagance. The voices of calumny are now voices of praise—praise verging so nearly upon hyperbole as to inspire the hasty observer with doubts as to its sincerity.

This may be called human nature—political human nature—not expressly characteristic of our time, but in all ages, from that of Belshazzar to that of Napoleon. But in truth does it not, even if in sorrow we confess it, teach a lesson which should be borne in mind by those who represent, and whose duty it is to educate, public opinion? The tendency to scatter mud upon men like Arthur and Logan when living, and roses upon their ashes when dead, degrades the influence of our teachers at a time when that influence might serve the public good. Is it not because of this dipendency of criticism that public opinion in notable cases has drifted from all established leadership, going in obstinacy and sometimes in blindness its own way, heedless of advice and entreaty? Even a patient people will in time grow weary of insincerity, frivolity, the petulant political discussion and the animosities of political leaders. We shall then see phenomena like what was seen in New York last autumn, when a private gentleman, without money, influence or organization, appealing to the philosophy and not the passions of his fellow citizens, antagonized by the press, the most powerful hierarchy in Christendom, the most potent agencies of society and capital, by influences which, well directed, the people should accept as their guide, could create and develop a movement which carried to the polls sixty-eight thousand votes. That movement was a revolution of public opinion against every agency by which under proper conditions public opinion should be formed.

This and other phenomena, some, perhaps, much to be regretted, we shall see again—so long as our preachers in the press and on the hustings preach their gospel of trifling and insincerity. The contrast which a few short months, even weeks, has shown in the treatment of men like Arthur and Logan—the swift, smoldering change—from calumny to

commendation, from the extreme of depreciation before, to the extreme of adulation after, cannot be seen without pain. If we were sincere before, can we be deemed sincere after? More than this, we should gravely consider other consequences that must come from the recent revolts of the people in their political action against the influence of those who have led, and who when inspired by candor and wisdom, might again lead the people. Would it not be a step in return to that high possibility, an advance toward the re-establishment of an influence, whose accordance all must recognize, in dealing with our Arthurs and Logans, the same as well as the roses, to be just to the living as we are more than just to the dead?

COOKERY IN PUBLIC SCHOOLS.

In Boston and some progressive western cities manual training for boys and sewing for girls is admitted to the public school system of instruction. New York has yet to so far modify the prevailing methods of tuition as to rank with these places in meeting the popular demand for practical instruction.

The time has passed when the majority of public school pupils come from a class whose social aspirations and desire for culture exceed the limit of their finances. A quarter of a century ago parents may have desired that their daughters should acquire at public expense a degree of educational polish that they could not afford to secure privately. It is possible now that such aspirations may prevail to a limited extent so far as some grammar school pupils are concerned. But the number is small who attain any proficiency in such accomplishments, or who prolong scholastic life far enough to enter the normal school with the purpose of becoming teachers. A smattering of superficial educational graces may be called for by a small percentage of the mass of public school attendants who continue their studies beyond the age of twelve or thirteen years. This incomplete mental garnishing is all very well so far as it goes, but the fact must be considered that more than three-fourths of the pupils of both sexes leave school at the earliest age when they can begin to earn money.

The real issue, then, is to make the earlier grades of public school education serviceable to the greatest number of pupils. Other of the older countries set us the example of industrial training, and sooner or later we must follow it. The objection that such training is not feasible in our ordinary public schools, even to the details of cookery, has been set aside by actual performance.

As long ago as 1878 the Montreal board of school commissioners had successfully introduced sewing in girls' schools, and engaged me to practically instruct the graduating class of the high school in domestic economy. In 1879 a number of graduates of the Washington normal school attended my lectures in Washington, D. C., under the personal supervision of the superintendent of public schools of that city. In 1880 the consul-general of France in New York, by the direction of the home government, applied for my published works, and the details of my system of instruction, with the design of using both in the government schools of France. Five years later, in California, the subject was thoroughly canvassed by the Oakland board of education, which body sent one of its members east to investigate all schools where industrial education was in operation. At the instance of the board I made demonstration of the possibility of teaching cookery in the ordinary school-room, and a teacher was trained to continue the instruction. In the study of domestic economy, perhaps, more than in any other branch of education, success depends upon the individuality of the teacher, the conditions being capacity to sustain the first enthusiasm of the pupils throughout the detail of practice and ability to impart the most absolute scientific principles in a clear and practical manner. In 1885 the Public Education association of Philadelphia (under the guidance of Mrs. Weir Mitchell, Miss Pendleton and Miss Meredith) arranged with the local board of education for test lessons in cookery, which I gave in the Philadelphia normal school to the chemistry class of the third year. Details of work, elucidating some fundamental principles of the science of domestic economy, were successfully illustrated by pupils taken from the class without previous coaching, and their work was as perfect as that of trained experts in cookery.

The possibility of such instruction thus proven in different sections of the country, under widely diverse circumstances, and always without any previous training of the pupils, leaves no ground for further failure on the part of school boards in general to afford pupils the knowledge more intimately connected with their comfort and well-being than any other at present taught. Everywhere pupils receive the instruction as they can, by being quite as apt scholars as girls. In rare approval it is soon as they comprehend its practical nature, knowing, as many of them do, that the every-day conditions of life in many of their homes is usually fatal to system and perfection in household operations.

The lack of light and the scant supply of water above the second floor in most tenement houses are serious obstacles to neatness. A frequent comment during cooking lessons, even among working people is one of surprise at the absence of dirt and disorder. If no better result were attained than the spreading of the gospel of cleanliness and sanitary living, the proper teaching of cookery in the public schools would prove an incalculable blessing to the community at large.

Setting aside this possible advantage, the fact should be borne in mind that thorough home training in this country seems to be put out of the question by some influences inseparable from the mode of life prevailing among working people. Even if the house-mother has retained the ability from her own early training—as many mothers of German extraction have—she must be a strict disciplinarian indeed who can overcome the adverse influences her daughters meet among their associates in the streets, in the workshops or behind the store counters, and, worst of all, in the public schools, where, conducted, while back and book-learning cast a traditional slur upon every kind of merely manual labor.

The majority of young women and girls who leave the public schools to enter factories and stores have a profound contempt for domestic work of any sort, while the little learning they have acquired is wholly inadequate to fit them for earning money in any pursuit that demands intelligent execution. No matter whether they remain non-domestic workers or whether they eventually come to fulfill the duty of womanhood by becoming wives and mothers, the question is equally serious as affecting social advance. As individuals they would live more healthfully and comfortably, as part of the family more usefully, for such knowledge as could legitimately be imparted to them by a judicious engagement of the study of domestic economy upon the existing public school system. A school board must, in the nature of things, sooner or later, yield to the payable requirements of the people for this practical training which is so vital in its bearing upon the well being of the bone and sinew of the land, the workers who create all the elements of national prosperity and stability.

Yes, Why? Birmingham, N. Y., Republican. The Syracuse Standard says a republic "cannot afford to debar any considerable proportion of its male population from the ballot box. Why draw the line on the 'male population' when millions of women are better equipped for suffrage than millions of men who possess it?"

SHAM EDUCATION.

We should despise an ensign or a lieutenant in the army if, instead of attending to the duties of his position, he occupied himself in contemplating the delights of generalship and praying to the commander-in-chief to make him a general. The commander-in-chief, too, if he were a wise man, would probably give him a rather vigorous answer, and tell him that the way to become a general was to do his duty in his present position.

In like manner, we ought to despise any man who, instead of faithfully performing the duties of his life, dwells upon the glories and delights of the future life, and occupies his time praying to God to give him a high place, free from care, in that life. If God spoke in answer to such prayers we need not doubt but he would say that the way to secure a place in the higher life would be by performing our duty faithfully in this. It is, indeed, a piece of the purest charlatanism to try to make men believe anything else than this. "Thou hast been faithful over a few things; I will make thee ruler over many things." That is the divine law of life.

It follows that all education should be education for this life; since, if it is lived well, the next will take care of itself. The sole end of education ought to be to produce men capable of performing well all the duties of this life—men rich in intelligence, sympathy and helpfulness; men with free heads, free hearts and free hands. We ought to so instruct our young citizens that they shall be able to make a livelihood without being forced to sell their labor to any one, and without being deprived of all means and opportunity for self-education and the noble enjoyment of life; that they shall love things according to their true worth, and not be subject to such degrading desires as love of wealth, fashion, display, riotous living and fear of public opinion; that they shall think freely and boldly, without any regard to priest or pagan. Only men who do this are fit citizens for a free, progressive republic.

Tricked by this standard, our present systems of education, public and private, are miserably lacking.

Despite the fact that we pride ourselves so much on our educational system, and pay such enormous sums for its support, it is in a very large degree a mere piece of show and sham, both in matter and in method, and leads to some of the most lamentable results. In matter, it is a confused, unorganized heap of all means and ordinary prejudice and modern utilitarianism; in method, it is a mixture of formality and sentimentality. Its results are a condition of public intelligence of which the popular, gossiping, vulgar newspaper is the most fitting index, and an economic and moral condition that are threatening the very basis of our national life. It unites a large portion of our people for honest work; it encourages vanity and love of show; it breeds a spirit of selfish emulation. It utterly fails to fit the lower class of the community to earn an independent and honest livelihood, to resist the vulgar ambitions and vanities of the classes above them, and to perform their duties as citizens at the polls. It leaves our young men and young women without any comprehension of the social and political institutions under which they live, and of their duty toward these institutions. In a word, it is an education that in every way favors the designs of dishonest politicians, ambitious monopolists and generally of social vampires.

Our popular education requires to be overhauled from the very foundation, and a system introduced which shall train men and women to think for themselves and to resist every attempt of priestcraft, fashion or capital to enslave them. At present the large mass of our fellow citizens are the bondsmen of all the three, and hardly know that they are slaves, so cunningly their oppressors blind them with a false show of education, which in many ways is worse than no education at all. Most of our people are silly enough to believe that because this education costs a great deal it must necessarily be good. Could anything in the world be more characteristic? Expense and show are the baits and Ashtaroth of the American people; yea, they are the double Moloch to which the souls and bodies of our children are sacrificed. An end must be put to this great sham. We must not rest until we can obtain for all our people a system of education suited to our time and needs and the great destiny of our country—an education producing free, noble men and women, despising sham and show and capable of any sacrifice for freedom, truth and right.

There are three kinds of liberty, economic, moral and intellectual, and not one of them is fostered by our present education. For the sake of the first, we must establish schools for industrial training, in which every boy and girl shall be instructed in the art of earning an independent living. For the sake of the second, one must introduce into our present schools a system of moral training calculated to fire the heart and direct the will—a system-teaching by noble examples, and not by bald rules or threatening supernatural sanctions. For the sake of the third, we must introduce a careful training of true intelligence in the love of truth and in the use of the methods of teaching it—a training from which all that is dogmatic and unintelligible is rigorously excluded. Nay more, from our education, we must, once for all, exclude all rivalry, all selfish emulation, all shows and public exhibitions. The last are not only foolish, but absolutely demoralizing and wicked. Let the working men, let all the lovers of freedom and of their country take this matter to heart and insist upon a system of public education that shall be genuine, enlightening and elevating, instead of one that is a mere costly sham and an instrument of oppression and degradation.

Away with the present farrago of mediocrity, materialism, formality, sentimentality and vain show! Let it give place to an organic system of education, training the whole human creature, body, soul and spirit; hand, heart and head, to harmony, to freedom, to purity, to unselfishness, to helpfulness, to work in all ways.

THOMAS DAVIDSON.

Gas for \$1 a Thousand. A committee composed of William Sellers, J. C. Bailey, John Hunter and other wealthy business men of Philadelphia, protested recently against selling or leasing the gas works of that city to private parties. They insist that under proper city management gas can be furnished to individuals at \$1 a thousand feet with free public lighting and still a portion of the profits be left to set aside as a sinking fund. Philadelphia has owned its gas works for years, and despite enormous racialities the prices of gas there has generally been lower than in other cities.

The Cause of Freedom. FREEDOM still lives; one day she will reward him. Who trusted in her though she tarried long, Who held her creed, was faithful till her coming. Who for her sake strove, suffered and was strong. She will bring crowns for those who love and serve her. If thou canst live for her, be satisfied; If thou canst die for her, rejoice! Our brothers At least shall crown our graves, and say "These died Believing in the sun, when night was blackest, And by our dawn their faith is justified!" —E. Neill.

WOMEN WORKERS.

THE EAGER RUSH FOR WORK IN FACTORIES—PITIFUL SCENES.

Children and Old Women Begging for Work on a Boat—Why the Poorer Women Struggle for Domestic Service—Ladies and Good Mistresses or Capable Organizers.

Let any observant reader of the newspapers from Maine to California scan the columns headed, "Help Wanted—Female," and say which, of all the "wants" that appear there, is distinguished by its persistent, unvarying iteration, its unfulfilled and apparently unfulfillable desire, and he will, without hesitation, lay his finger upon this: "Wanted, a girl for general housework." There it stands, in perennial constancy, for three hundred and sixty-five days of the year; its frequency indicative of a market whose demand is forever at the maximum, while its supply is not only at a minimum, but of the worst material and the most meager choice. Like God's poor, it is always with us—a vexation, a thorn in the flesh, a riddle without an *œdipus*; and whatever its advertisement may be as a source of steady revenue to the editors, it is in its poor result a disappointment to the household who is sanguine enough to look for a harvest of applicants. Bound up with the housewife of respectable, happy, well-to-do American woman, the question why their more needy sisters stubbornly refuse to undertake their domestic labors, however well paid; to sleep under their roofs, however well protected; or eat of their bread, however plentiful, must be capable of intelligent solution.

The disadvantage of those who have hitherto considered the subject has been that they have viewed it only from the standpoint of employers seeking help, and they retire amazed and discomfited that their arguments and inducements are so signally unavailing. How the matter may appear to those whom they have been unable to move from their obscurity has yet to be written. Ten years of intimate knowledge and of close fellowship with the latter should entitle a sympathetic worker to speak for those who so seldom lift voice or pen to speak for themselves; and long-suffering with them as forewoman, head, and their confidantes, sharing their troubles and their doubts, should surely enable one of themselves to show new light upon a subject which, from a continual, one-sided presentation, has been worn into tatters. To that end a clear statement of facts, acquired behind the shabby desks in the work rooms of some of the principal wholesale houses in Philadelphia manufacturing white goods and clothing, may be serviceable.

Where and in what manner is this work conducted which has deprived the whole country of household keepers? Usually, in the upper parts of the large warehouses, stores and other buildings in the business portions of the city, in the third, fourth and fifth stories. Not originally designed for the uses to which they are now generally put, they have neither retiring rooms, water, nor sufficient drainage, and their sanitary arrangements are inadequate in the extreme. Narrow, dusty stairways lead to the third, broad hatchways and elevator shafts keep the grimy floors bitter cold in winter, and proximity to the roof and the glare of the sun in their unshaded windows render them suffocating in summer. In the latter season in the pressroom the thermometer stands at 115 and 120 degrees, and the girls who work there in clouds of steam are visibly wet to the waist with perspiration. As all winter fashions are prepared in the summer months, the pressers who handle these heavy goods, the cutters who cut them, the operators who make them, and the models who "try on," as Jenny Wren would say, have hard work. In the work rooms the operators sit at long tables, upon which are fastened the machines, which are driven by steam power. Sweltering in air that is blurred with foulness, or freezing in the icy draughts that sweep over their feet from the open hatches, girlhood, womanhood, old age, bend assiduously over the work before them. The hours are from 7:30 a. m. until 6 p. m., with half an hour for dinner; but there is no limit to any exacting which may be made in the busy seasons for longer hours, and work is often prolonged until 10 p. m.

This, of course, is to the pecuniary advantage of those who are paid by the piece, but in an factory where it was ever the fortune of the worker to labor did those who were paid by the week desire any benefit from this extension of time. It would be hard indeed to imagine surroundings more unwholesome, more unattractive, more depressing in which fifty to a hundred women could work, year in and year out. Penalties, prohibitions, warnings and notices bristle from the walls and the doors, hang from the gas jets, are painted upon the stairs. "No admittance," "No admittance except on business," and the more surly "Positively no admittance," shut out the world; no laughing, no eating, no loud talking, no singing, no loitering, no looking out the windows. Fines are levied for broken or lost, for work unfinished and for work spoiled. The compact, if it may be so called, between the firm and the hands is marked by the worst characteristics of that famous "Reciprocity Treaty" of which one of the two nations concerned complained that the "reciprocity" was all on one side. There is no appeal, for there is no tribunal.

If the hands rebel they rebel against powers unnumbered, and in the most unpalatable manner. Diction's humorous description of the methods of the firm of Spaulson and Jenkins finds its counterpart in every factory; but in practice the method ceases to be humorous. Spaulson lays the blame and the shame upon Jenkins, and Jenkins is the one man unavailably always. He is out of town, he is east or west, he is busy with buyers or sellers, letters or telegrams, but he will "see to it" when he returns, or is at leisure, which will probably be when they are all dead, and then, and then, and then, complaints are stifled, reforms languish, injustice is silently endured.

Advertising days at the manufactory brought hither, from the opening to the closing hour, applicants of all ages, all degrees, and all nationalities. There was no lack of material from which to choose. Little girls from nine years upward, young girls from school, widows, farmers' and mechanics' wives and daughters, and most pitiful of all, old women, dim-sighted, feeble, came with the rest to plead for work, any work whatsoever that they could do. Of late years it was noticeable that colored women also frequently presented themselves, and were a painful source of embarrassment to sit aside as ineligible, from the start, on account of race.

Though the work was manifestly womanly, men, too, ventured awkwardly enough among the throng. They thought to try their chances at the sewing machine, and made expert workers who never scrupled to leave when something better turned up. Abundant as were the applications, there were very few skilled hands among them, but there was no difficulty in selecting from such crowds the women out of whom excellent operators might be made. Even on days and at seasons when there was no necessity for advertising, applicants seeking employment came daily to the manufactory, with one question fluttering nervously from trembling lips:—"Have you any work you could give me?"—and one of the hardest of the most wearying, the most dispiriting duties of the forewoman was to turn away eager children, pale, miserable mothers, and despairing age when there was no possible use to which they could be put.

The inference drawn by a thinking mind from such facts would inevitably be that there must be some inherent advantage in the work to be done in the household; for, some attraction drew women who are governed more by instinctive impulses than by a logical use of their reason, to seek the factory with its whirling wheels, its roar of machinery, its dreadful monotony, its long hours, its stern government, in preference to an occupation whose chief, and one would fancy, its most alluring feature is that it confers the safety and the security of a home upon the toiler.

One important advantage which is utterly wanting in the other, and which will be mentioned hereafter, factory work has, but beyond that one the desirability, for many good reasons, must be conceded to domestic labors. The comfort of adequate pay, of being able to save, of decent living, of the unrestrained and varied exercise of the limbs; the pride of being valuable to the employer, of being well fed and well dressed, are all on the side of household work; but the best of all, the lighted in the delicately adjusted balance which determines the intercourse of women as mistresses and women as servants, then that solitary advantage to which illusion has been made, cannot be doubted. One dollar and a half per week were the wages of the little girls who carried messages, cut out embroidery, sewed on buttons, and waited on the operators. The wages of the latter and of the models and pressers averaged six dollars per week; the year-end, some earned more, but many less, for since 1876 the prices paid for the making of ready-made clothing have steadily declined. The finer grades were made in the building; the coarser, given to outside hands or contractors who lifted them, and the prices bore so little just proportion to the labor bestowed upon them that no girl, woman or man could earn enough at the work in one day to support life for that day, and yet there were a ways to be found people eager and willing to undertake it. It was a thing to be won at, where they all came from and where they hid themselves among the prosperous in the city of homes. They were not beggars, unless it is begging to ask for honest work—not objects of charity in the accepted sense; they were, as a rule, respectable and astonishingly trustworthy, and they were driven hither by one general cause, viz.: The failure of their natural protectors, fathers, sons, husbands and brothers, to provide for them. In one wholesale house two hundred women worked twice a week, and of this number not more than half a dozen were the wives of drunken husbands. The cutting down of wages, and the scarcity of work which paid enough to enable a man, however willing and industrious, to support a family, were the chief reasons assigned by the women for leaving their home duties to offer their labor in an overstocked market.

A few came, and these were always the young, enthusiastic and untired, because it is the fashion of the country to teach its daughters that it is a good and glorious thing to be self-sufficient, independent, free from masculine guardianship, and that it is a possible thing to earn a comfortable living in the arts, sciences and trades. Those who essayed the latter soon found to their sorrow and chagrin how bitter a right was theirs to an independent starvation; or, if by chance they succeeded, how high the price they paid in laying down youth, health, spirits, all the innocent joys of life, laughter, sunshine, freedom of time, and faith in God for so much wages per week. The more they worked, the more they found the physical organization of woman so delicately adjusted, that nature may almost be taxed with cruelty in having created a being capable of such exquisite suffering. Look at the American girl as she sits for ten, twelve or fourteen hours at the sewing machine, and declare whether such unnatural restraint fits her better for wife and motherhood. The terrible strain of her monotonous task lasts through the long, weary day; she is ill paid, ill housed, ill fed, she performs her labor in bodily revolt and discomfort. For her home life has no meaning, and outside of the factory she has only a bed and a night's lodging—nothing more. She hears it said by those in authority over her that she, and others like her, work in but a half-hearted, insincere way, and pick up a calling only (as a recent novelist expresses it) "until some fellow comes along who tells her to lay it down," and marries her. Looking at home, we cannot justly upbraid her for being on the outside of the circle of enlightenment of that folly and wickedness of which Ruskin speaks when he says, "The last and worst thing which can be alleged against a nation is that it has made its young girls sad and weary."

This overcrowding and anxiety for work had their natural effects upon unscrupulous and grasping employers into whose power it is thus put to grind the faces of the poor; but cruel and heartless as is the selfishness of each one of whose claims it that it adds to the sentiment, it is driven by a selfishness more cruel, more heartless, more ruthless than itself—that of fashion. The exactions of the latter impel the business of the world as the ceaseless rushing waters impel the mill wheels. It is not the fault of the wheels that the grain is crushed between the upper and the nether millstone, nor are employers on the whole so idiotic and so illogical as to be cruel to those whose claims it that it adds to the sentiment, it is driven by a selfishness more cruel, more heartless, more ruthless than itself—that of fashion. The exactions of the latter impel the business of the world as the ceaseless rushing waters impel the mill wheels. 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This image shows a vertical strip of a book's cover or endpaper. The main surface is a light, textured material, possibly cloth or paper, with a mottled appearance. Along the right edge, there is a dark, vertical binding strip. The overall image is oriented vertically.

RELIGIOUS.

AT THE CROSS.

Jews were brought to cruel madness,
Christians fled in fear and sadness;
Mary stood the cross beside:

At its foot her foot she planted,
By the cross her hand she clung;
Till the gentle sufferer died:

Feet off have some her story,
Poets decked her now with glory,
Priests her name have defiled:

But no worship, song or glory,
Touches like that simple story—
Mary stood the cross beside.

And when, under three oppression,
Goodness suffers like transgression,
Christ again is crucified:

But if love be there, true-hearted,
By no grief or terror parted,
Mary stands the cross beside.

W. J. FOX.

A SHORT SERMON.

By the Rev. William Paul, D. D.

Dr. Paley, who died in 1805, was one of the ablest divines and political philosophers that England has produced. His works fill five large volumes, and present much thought that no philosophy of more modern days has displaced. We collect a sermon from his "Moral and Political Philosophy," a university text-book.

"From reason, then, or revelation, or from both together, it appears to be God Almighty's intention that the productions of the earth should be applied to the satisfaction of human life. Consequently, all waste and misapplication of these productions is contrary to the divine intention and will. Such as what is related of William the Conqueror, the converting of twenty manors into a forest for hunting; or, which is not much better, suffering them to continue in that state; or the letting of large tracts of land lie barren because the owner cannot cultivate them, nor will part with them to those who can."

"From the same intention of God Almighty we also deduce another conclusion, namely, that nothing ought to be made exclusive property which can be conveniently enjoyed in common."

"It is the general intention of God Almighty that the produce of the earth be applied to the use of man. This appears from the constitution of nature, or if you will, from His express declaration; and this is all that appears at first. Under this general derivation one man has the same right as another. You pluck an apple from a tree or take a lamb from a flock for your immediate use and nourishment, and I do the same, and we both plead for what we do the same general intention of the Supreme Proprietor. So far all is right; but you cannot claim the whole tree or the whole flock and exclude me from any share of them, and plead this general intention for what you do. The plea will not serve you; you must show something more. You must show, by probable arguments, at least, that it is God's intention that these things should be much 'bounty' in it, but simply bounty. We should like to know whether robbery from God is to be regarded in a more venial light than robbery from man, and further, whether the fact of the king or parliament being the robbers necessarily makes such a difference morally in the Eighth Commandment as to distinguish the Whitechapel or Seven Dials ruffian from the crowned dignitary, or the members of the upper and lower houses of parliament. Money stolen from the Church is stolen from God, and those who receive the proceeds of it—no matter through how many generations it has passed—are simply the receivers of stolen property. The thing is plain enough. You can't legalize acts which are in themselves dishonest, unless you 'reform' the Decalogue and strike the 'not' out of the Eighth Commandment." The *Church Reformer*, quoting from the above, hits a hard blow, thus: "For 'lay improprities of tithes' read 'landlords'."

"For 'Church' read 'nation' and the above passage might almost be supposed to be an extract from 'Progress and Poverty.' We think of offering a special prize to any reader of the *Church Times* who can reconcile the above quoted passage with the denunciations of land nationalizers as breakers of the Eighth Commandment which have recently appeared in the same paper."

A committee appointed by Archbishop Elder, of Cincinnati, has presented a plan to liquidate the Purcell debts.

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The *Catholic Herald* states that some one, (a clergyman?) endeavored to organize a boycott against it because it believed God said, "The land is mine and it must not be sold forever." The *Sm* heard of it and got the editor's statement, but it was suppressed.

The Presbyterians on this side of the Atlantic do not wish an iota of the standards changed, but their English brethren are at work on the Confession of Faith, and mean to give the historic document a more liberal character than it has presented.

Church, of that part of the church which is liberal in giving alms for the poor and intolerant in refusing to heed a cry for the right of the poor, which is first generous and then not always just, assumes the role of defender of "certain clergymen, professors and theorists" who appeared in the George canvass, by charitably supposing that as they are workers among the poor their hearts are soft and their heads likewise. We think the gentlemen referred to are able to take care of themselves, and are not at all thankful for a defender who offers an excuse for their action.

Canon Shuttleworth, in one of his lectures on Christian Socialism, tells of a manufacturer who advertised for a clerk, offering £75 a year; next day he had a hundred answers, among them one from a man who offered to do the work for £45 a year. "What could I do, Mr. Shuttleworth?" he said. "His testimonials were by far the best, and business is business, so I accepted him." "What could you do?" was the reply. "Why you could pay him the extra £30 a year, you thought his labor worth it." By paying him the £45 you were simply trading on his hungry belly to the extent of £30 a year.—*Christian Herald*.

The *Church Reformer* (London) says: "On Sunday next before Advent the priest before every altar in England prayed for a divine excitement—'Stir up, O Lord, we beseech Thee, the wills of thy faithful people.' Men are beginning to see what is at the bottom of our misery. Henry George's enormous vote in New York has compelled attention to the fact that whether or not relief works and eight-hour bills and free dinners are to come, nothing can do any good permanently while the mother is divorced from labor, the father of all wealth. If then God's servants who did the church's work on that Sunday in Trafalgar Square, in creating a divine excitement, in asking the question how the hungry are to be fed, and in protesting against the oppression of the poorest laborer, are to continue their work to completion, they must go boldly for nothing less than the full restoration to the people of the whole of the value they give to the land; they may nationalize machinery, capital, what they like, but until they have nationalized the land the poverty of the workers will remain."

The *Church Times* (London) has more than one advertisement like this: "To be Sold, the Advowson, or next presentation to a desirable Rectory, 60 miles N. W. of London. Population 600. Incumbent in his 82nd year. Income £500.—Address, etc."

The "Title War" of Wales is being mainly fought in England. Church titles are on the land, the intention being that the lords of the land should pay them; but they shift the burden on the tenant whenever they can. The controversy is assuming the widest scope and is now bringing the whole land question before those who have refused to heed it.

The *Church Times* says: "If all the lay improprities of tithes—who are simply to be regarded in the light of receivers of stolen goods—were to restore their property to the Church, we do not see that there would be much 'bounty' in it, but simply bounty. We should like to know whether robbery from God is to be regarded in a more venial light than robbery from man, and further, whether the fact of the king or parliament being the robbers necessarily makes such a difference morally in the Eighth Commandment as to distinguish the Whitechapel or Seven Dials ruffian from the crowned dignitary, or the members of the upper and lower houses of parliament. Money stolen from the Church is stolen from God, and those who receive the proceeds of it—no matter through how many generations it has passed—are simply the receivers of stolen property. The thing is plain enough. You can't legalize acts which are in themselves dishonest, unless you 'reform' the Decalogue and strike the 'not' out of the Eighth Commandment." The *Church Reformer*, quoting from the above, hits a hard blow, thus: "For 'lay improprities of tithes' read 'landlords'."

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THE COTTON SEED TRUST.

A New Monopoly that Extorts Money from Southern Planters.

Mr. Alexander Campbell, of Concordia parish, Louisiana, writes to the *Wheeling, W. Va., Intelligencer*, describing cotton raising as now carried on in the South. In the course of his letter he says:

"Just as we began to see daylight, and have bright hopes the price of cotton was knocked down, and to add to this misfortune, some parties in the North and here banded together and bought most of the cotton seed mills and formed a 'Cotton Seed Oil and Trust company.' This company works after the methods of the 'Standard Oil company,' and it is un- doubtedly the worst monopoly in the South. The company was organized by some members of the 'Standard Oil company.' We formerly sold our seed to the 'Cotton Seed association' in New Orleans at what every planter thought a fair price. We received on the landing from \$8 to \$12 per ton for the past few years, but now comes this trust company and knocks the price square to 25 cents per ton, and all mills not in the combination are driven to the wall. Railroads and steamboats are in some way mixed up in the business. It is regarded by this company as proper to rob the now almost helpless planter. A seven-million bush crop of cotton would produce about three and a half million tons of seed. Not even a third of the crop is now manufactured into oil, cake and cotton seed meal. The other two-thirds are used on the land for seed to plant and as fertilizers. The product of a ton of seed is said to produce, by some process known to the trust company, 50 gallons of oil, worth 30 cents; 1000 pounds of oil cake, worth 1 cent per pound; 20 pounds cotton lint, 5 cents per pound; netting the company \$22.50 for what they paid \$6, and about \$2.50 or \$3 per ton freight. So you see what a sum is realized by the trust company for the manufacture of one ton of seed."

"While I have said so much about the extortion of commission merchants, they have their side of the question, and consider they have good reasons for conducting business in the manner they do, knowing the uncertainty of crops, the character of the laborers, and in many cases the planters themselves, who have no experience with free labor, and have had to learn by testing different plans, and in many cases making utter failures, the merchants have been liberal in many instances and have done more for planters than I would have done had I been engaged in the business and known what I do of the risks they take."

LABOR.

The old year closed amid general prognostications by the press that the Knights of Labor are about to divide, and that a bitter warfare between the original body and the new trade federation will follow. In so many cases the wish is father to the thought that these reports must be taken with many grains of allowance. Perfect harmony in so large a body as the Knights of Labor would be something unprecedented, and it is unquestionable that differences have arisen between the Knights and some of the regular trade organizations. Such differences are no greater, however, than have frequently arisen between other independent men aiming at one end, but holding varying opinions as to means. The more frank and vigorous the dispute, the sooner a reasonable basis of settlement is likely to be reached. The existing differences appear to be largely confined to officers and leaders, and the great body of organized workmen will never consent to any such outcome of the dispute as will cause a permanent disunion in their ranks. Not only is the necessity of union greater than ever before, but the power that they have, when united, displayed at the polls encourages all to insist with increased determination on harmony of action. The *STANDARD*, in summarizing the most important news of the labor movement, does not, therefore, regard it as necessary to dwell upon disputes that must in the very nature of things be eventually settled by a just compromise, and which meanwhile are not without some beneficial effect in keeping alive interest and thought throughout the whole labor organization.

The recent victory for organized labor in Brooklyn was as complete as it was prompt. The employees of eleven horse-car lines went out at 4:30 a. m. on Thursday last week. The president of the company controlling the lines had haughtily refused to permit any "outsiders"—that is, officers of Knights of Labor—to interfere between him and "his men." In the course of the day the president not only conferred with the executive board of District Assembly 73, K. of L., but with the mayor and State Arbitrator Donovan, and the company agreed to comply with the demands of the strikers. A day that twelve hours should constitute a straight day's work and fourteen hours one with swings. They agreed that a committee of one from each of the roads should settle all grievances. The demands of the men having thus been complied with, the strike ended that night. One salutary result is a reasonable expectation that the necessary arrangements for the new year will be made in New York without resort to any strikes. There is, however, some fear of trouble over the demands of the Broadway drivers and conductors for an increase of wages to \$2.25 a day.

The Railroad branch of the Young Men's Christian association met in the basement of the Grand Central depot on Tuesday evening. Mr. Cornelius Vanderbilt presided and Chauncey M. Depew was the orator of the evening. Both gentlemen expressed a high opinion of those railway workmen who never gave the companies any trouble, and both thought that things were really much better than the wicked agitators represented them to be. As Mr. Vanderbilt presided it is to be presumed that he is a member and therefore both a workman and a Christian. Mr. Depew boldly claimed that he was a workman, and as he had been moderately successful himself he felt that there was no great reason for complaint among his fellow workmen. The whole future looked rosy to him when he contemplated the fact that 10,000 members of the association had taken 50,000 baths. If this does not settle the labor problem, what will?

The 2,610 car-drivers who paid \$1 apiece for their licenses last winter can have their money returned by calling on the city paymaster, who has been authorized to that effect by the corporation counsel. The city ordinance making provision for the terms and price of the license was declared to be unconstitutional.

On the 3d of December the Equality association (salespeople) published a circular to the employees of the dry, fancy and gent's furnishing goods stores, a part of which was as follows: "Having determined to demand of the employers in these stores a shortening of the hours of labor, we desire to call your attention to the fact that on and after Saturday, January 8, 1887, we shall demand that six o'clock p. m. be the hour for closing the stores on Saturday, thereby making six o'clock the regular closing time for every day in the week."

One of the most prosperous organizations in this city is Furniture Workers' union No. 7. During the year just closed they won thirty-one of the thirty-five strikes they engaged in, and reduced the hours to an average of nine per day in fifty-four shops, and they paid out to members who lost tools by fire \$1,015. During the last three months wages have been increased in nine workshops. The quarterly election of officers took place Tuesday night. National Secretary Enrich says wages and work are good throughout the entire trade.

At a meeting of an organization of machinists the other night a motion was made that hereafter no person would be eligible to membership who had not declared his intention to become a citizen of the United States. The motion was not carried, but it was resolved to enjoin non-members—new and old—the duty of becoming citizens and voters.

The Progressive Bakers will hold a mass meeting in Pythagoras hall to-night. They have decided to draft for presentation to the legislature a bill forbidding more than ten hours as a day's work in bakeries, and will probably elect to-night a delegate to the state trades assembly which meets in Albany on the 15th, which will endeavor to get the endorsement of that body for the proposed measure before taking it to the legislature.

The United Framers have introduced a new plan for forcing the payment of wages from unjust and stubborn bosses. They have had a claim of \$90 against a Park place man placed in the hands of the Central Labor union's boycott committee for collection.

An organization of Knights of Labor in this city is named the Forcemand association. They are coal shovellers, and although, perhaps, doomed to hard work and low wages, they have bettered their present condition and prospects very much by organizing.

The Manhattan association of sewing machine salesmen are in daily expectation of a favorable settlement with the Singer company, whom they have been fighting nearly a year, for unjust treatment. A committee of the New York protective association have had several conferences with Manager Watson which promise well.

Among the members of Typographical Union No. 6 there is whispered hope of an early adjustment with the New York *Tribune*.

The New York Protective association (D. A. 49) now holds its meetings on Sundays in Pythagoras hall, beginning at 3 o'clock in the afternoon.

The New York Central Labor union was never before so well quartered as now. It has two floors fully furnished, heated and lighted in a building known as Central Labor Union hall, and the passing public are attracted to it by two large glass globes appropriately lettered and illuminated at night. The central body will hold its Sunday sessions

in the Eighth street hall after May 1, when the lease of Clarendon hall expires.

The Fifth avenue stage drivers are organized to a man into a powerful protective association. Recently their wages were raised and their hours reduced.

The suspender, collar button and necktie pedlars in the neighborhood of the City Hall, on the Bowery and along Fourteenth street, are organized into a protective association, with a price-scale and rules calculated to break the fierce competitive spirit that ruins the trade of other individual salesmen and canvassers. They were organized during the past year by the Jewish Workmen's union, and send a representative to the Central Labor union, where the voice of a Vesey street vendor is as respectfully listened to as that of a first-violin delegate from some musical union.

The workwomen's fair will be continued at 302 Bowery during the greater part of this month. It is stated that a \$2,000 installment has been granted to the trustees of the Leader Publishing association toward the new press.

At a meeting of the Manufacturers' Association of the Brass and Iron Trade held in the Monongahela house, Pittsburgh, May 11, 12 and 13, 1886, it was formally resolved:

"That we recommend to each member of this association to grant to the men in his employ five hours out of each week to be given in such manner as may be agreed upon with his employers."

The men on their part agreed not to ask for an increase of wages for the term of two years. To-day there are two hundred and ten strikers out on strike because members of the manufacturers' association broke their contract by taking away the Saturday half-holiday. Three months since the members of the manufacturers' association in this city made an attempt to force their men back on the old time schedule. The men objected on the grounds that the contract of May was to cover the term of two years, and was by them considered binding. The executive board of brass-workers decided that the men will not return to work until the manufacturers' association withdraws the binding force of the contract entered into last May. The funds of the executive committee are in good condition, and the watchword is no surrender.

The legislative committee of the Ohio State trade assembly met at Columbus on the 29th ult. to prepare labor bills for submission to the general assembly. Mr. Hysell, chairman of the committee, told a reporter that it is impossible to say whether there will be a third party in the field. The sentiment in favor of such a movement is growing, however, and is already especially strong in chess. Many farmers are inclined in the same way, and if the feeling grows among the latter there is no question that a new party will be promptly organized. A convention to decide this matter will assemble at Columbus on February 22.

The *Ohio Valley Budget*, published at Wheeling, West Virginia, has just put in a new press, the money for which was raised by the trades union of the valley. The first labor paper started in Wheeling was compelled to suspend because the local printers refused to print it. The labor organization thereupon began raising money to buy a press, and the *Budget's* machine is the result. A combination of the trades in support of the Wheeling typographical union has just succeeded in compelling the daily papers in that corporation-ridden city to take back their union printers.

The cases of the New Haven *Journal* and *Conner* boycotters will be argued before the supreme court bench, Hartford, Jan. 14.

The close of the old year was marked by the success of a great strike of the employees of the Philadelphia & Reading road in resisting an attempt to reduce their wages. The reduction appears to have been attempted with a view to throwing on the workmen some portion of the burden to which the unfortunate Reading company has been subjected by the blundering of its managers.

On the 1st inst. the board of arbitration, to whom was referred the differences between the coal miners and operators in the Mahoning valley of Ohio, decided that the wages should be advanced from fifty-five to sixty-five cents a ton. The three thousand men interested accept the decision and will return to work.

District Assemblies 57 and 136 of the Knights of Labor have issued a circular describing the active and successful efforts of P. D. Armour, "the largest pork and beef packer in the world," to prevent the success of the eight hour effort and to break it down after it was once temporarily established. The circular says:

"The eight hour system gave general satisfaction to the men, and nowhere upon this continent were there more cheerful and contented employees than in the trucking-trade. After the second week of the inauguration of the eight hour day, the men had reached and passed the old ten hour capacity. Notwithstanding the fact that the men had to work under a system which gave general satisfaction to the men, and placed him at no pecuniary disadvantage. Why? Simply because the man who had to work under it had for once been forced to yield a point to his workmen without his consent."

The circular declares that, despite the rescinding of the resolution of the packers to employ no more Knights of Labor, discrimination against organized labor still continues, and there is a steady importation of "scab" labor by the employers. The circular calls on workmen to treat Mr. Armour with the same hostility that he has displayed toward organized labor. The assemblies suggest that meat prepared in disregard of liberty and justice is not likely to be digestible in the stomachs of workmen.

Secretary Geis of the recently-formed National Clothing Cutters' union, says the prospect is for a large and powerful body. Already Milwaukee, Chicago, Cincinnati, Cleveland, Rochester, Syracuse, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Newark, Brooklyn, and, of course, New York, are represented.

It has been decided by the management of the Brooklyn *Eagle* to employ union forces in all the departments, from the composing-room to the press-room.

Five striking brewers were arrested in Philadelphia on Tuesday by a police lieutenant and two private detectives. When the prisoners were brought before the magistrate their captors testified that they had not seen the men commit any act of violence. The magistrate discharged the men with the remark that they ought not to have been arrested. Nothing has yet been done toward the punishment of the police lieutenant and the private detectives who perpetrated the outrage.

The men on the coal docks at Elizabethport, N. J., struck on Monday against a reduction of wages of two and a half cents an hour. A similar strike took place at Bayonne, N. J. As a consequence the collieries of the Wilkesbarre region shipping over the New Jersey Central road are idle, throwing eight thousand men and boys out of work. An attempt is made by the newspapers to throw the responsibility of this misfortune on the dock workmen, but it is difficult to see how the companies that took the initiative in attempting to reduce wages and thus precipitated the strike, can set up such a claim.

The second international convention of spring and axle workers began in Allegheny, Pa., on Tuesday.

It is said that the carpenters of Chicago are organizing to secure an eight-hour working day during the coming season.

The difference between the Baltimore and Ohio Railroad company and the engineers on the Pittsburg division of the road have been settled by a compromise.

A conference has been held in Pittsburg in regard to the settling of the wages of the employees at the Lucy furnace of Carnegie Brothers & Phipps for 1887. An advance was granted to the employees, which generally amounted to ten per cent. In several instances it was from fifteen to twenty per cent.

In his message to the aldermen, Mayor Whitney reminds street car companies that the notion that a company may at its option decline to employ the labor needed to keep its line in action unless it can have men on its own terms, is so preposterously at variance with the law and with common sense that he must attribute its existence to a long period of exemption on the part of our railroad corporations from the restraints alike of reason and public policy.

The Columbia Rolling mill at Lancaster, Pa., has increased the wages of puddlers to \$4 a ton, to take effect on Monday. This is an advance of 25 cents a ton over the present scale.

The compositors on the two daily papers in Montgomery, Ala., refused to work on Saturday unless composition was advanced from 35 to 37½ cents per thousand, the new price fixed by the union. Their places were partially supplied by members of the Printers' Protective Fraternity from New Orleans, and more are on the way from Jacksonville, Fla. The job offices are also involved. About forty men in all are on strike.

The Philadelphia Typographical society celebrated its eighty-fourth anniversary on Saturday evening.

The Boston bakers have determined to withdraw from the Knights of Labor and form an open trades union attached to the National Bakers' union.

The semi-annual election of officers to the Chicago Trades assembly took place Sunday. William Klevis was elected president and Frederick Long vice-president. The daily papers record this as a triumph of what they call the "radical" element.

The employees of the South Boston Street Railroad company met on Saturday night to consider the company's answer to their bill of grievances. The company conceded some important points, notably an advance of the hostlers' wages to \$10 per week. The meeting decided not to tie up, but on points not conceded to give the directors one week to comply with their demands.

The Law and Order society in Pittsburg on Sunday had all the cigar stores, confectioneries and "a large number of saloons" closed. "The cigar dealers threaten to retaliate by stopping the street-cars and closing up all kinds of business next Sunday."

Carnegie Brothers & Co., of Pittsburg, have decided to build a new steel rail mill at Brad-dock, and work on the structure will be started within thirty days. The new plant will cost upward of a million dollars and will demand the labor of a large number of men. The company's works will then have a capacity of 400,000 tons of rail per annum, or about one-third of the entire production of the country.

Wise Words to New Haven.

New Haven has a new town farm and when the paupers are removed the question is what shall be done with the old almshouse property. The proposal is to divide it into building lots and sell them. A correspondent of the *Workmen's Advocate* writes that the city shall leave the lots to citizens who wish to build homes for themselves. He argues that this land is very valuable, but it would not be so if the population was the same as when the town bought it, the people have given the value, and that now to sell it to speculators who are ready to gobble it up in a spirit of greed, is great injustice to the people. He also says that there was a motion made at the last town meeting that in future the town business should be considered in evening meetings, so that workmen might attend and have voice in levying the taxes, and that shouts of laughter greeted this proposition which was voted down by a large majority.

Drowning Tramps.

The Philadelphia *Press*, the protective organ, has no sympathy with the sentimentality that opposes confining tramps in flooded cells with the option to pump or die. It says the supervisors of Westchester county, New York, propose to build a jail with cells so constructed as to fill gradually with water unless the occupants shall keep diligently at work at a pump. We hardly expect to see this scheme carried out. It will strike the imagination of most people as barbarous, and any serious attempt to put it into operation would call forth such vigorous protests that the Westchester supervisors must ineffectually abandon the project as unfitted for a generation so bent as this is on making life easy for tramps and comfortable for criminals."

Monopoly and Autocracy.

From the Omaha World.

The Car—Brother Jonathan, do you know anything about the Standard Oil company?

Brother Jonathan—I should say I did. Why?

"They have been buying land and wells over here."

"They have? Have they made you an offer for your throne yet?"

"Oh! no."

"Haven't they hinted that you could make money by selling out now and retiring to private life instead of waiting until they squeeze you out?"

"Not a word."

"It's some other company, then."

TO SECRETARIES.

OF TRADE AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

We have received an order to send a copy of "PRO-TESTION AND FREE TRADE" to every trade and labor organization that may wish to have it, up to the number of one thousand. A copy will be accordingly forwarded to the secretary of any labor organization or local assembly of the K. of L. on receipt of twelve cents for postage. HENRY GEORGE & CO.

AN IMPORTANT WORK ON THE LABOR QUESTION.

Studies in

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