

# The Standard

## Volume 1 February 5, 1887

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#### A Statement From Dr. M'Glynn

Archbishop Corrigan having seen fit to publish a statement giving letters and parts of publication with such documents concerning the censures upon my course as I have been able to lay my hands upon, accompanying them with some necessary explanation.

The letter of August, 1882, from Cardinal Simeoni, to which Archbishop Corrigan refers, I am not now able to find, but, it is true, as he states, that this letter complained of my land league speeches as "containing propositions openly contrary to the teachings of the Catholic church." The doctrines thus stigmatized were those I have held and taught before and since namely, that all men are equally entitled to the use of the general bounties of nature, including land, as well as sunlight, air and water, and that human laws ought to be so changed as to conform to this dictate of natural justice. I affirm that, while acknowledging the right of exclusive ownership in all that is produced by human industry, I would at the same time compel those who enjoy exclusively a larger or a choicer portion of the bounties of nature to pay to the community an equivalent in the way of taxation to the full amount of the rental value.

It is absolutely false, although stated by Archbishop Corrigan on the authority of Cardinal McCloskey, that I "recognized my errors and professed to be sorry for them." On the contrary, in my interview with Cardinal McCloskey I reaffirmed the doctrine and explained it, and defended it from his misunderstandings and misapprehensions. He said to me: "You wish to divide the land of Manhattan Island into little bits and give every one of us a bit." I told him that I desired to do nothing of the kind, and gave him his first lesson in the new political economy, assuring him that, to secure the equal rights of all to the land of a community, it would not be necessary to disturb the present holders of land from the occupation thereof, but only to change our methods of taxation so that no taxes should be levied on buildings or improvements or any other products of human industry.

I told him substantially that I know my theology well enough not to sin against it ignorantly, and that I loved my religion too well to sin against it willfully. I voluntarily promised to abstain from making land league speeches, not because I acknowledged the right of any one to forbid me, but because I knew too well the power of my ecclesiastical superiors to impair and almost destroy my usefulness in the ministry of Christ's church, to which I had consecrated my life.

It is true, as Archbishop Corrigan states, that a second letter came in September, 1882, before Cardinal McCloskey's letter had time to reach Rome. This letter is as follows:

Most Eminent, Most Reverend and Most Worshipful Sir—

In consequence of information received from various parts about the scandal caused by the priest Edward McGlynn of your city by his violent speeches in defense of the Irish land league, in

which he has defended propositions openly contrary to the teachings of the Catholic church, and has used language utterly unbecoming in an ecclesiastic, the holy father has just now commanded me to write to your eminence to suspend the above mentioned priest, McGlynn, from his sacred ministry, unless you should judge such measure excessive considering the various circumstances, which you on the spot are better able than any one else to appreciate in your well-known prudence.

While executing with this letter the venerated command of the holy father, I am sure that in any case your eminence will not fail to use those means which you shall judge most opportune to reduce McGlynn to sounder counsels and to desist from the course of action which he has recently followed to the surprise and scandal of all those who have at heart the principles of justice always taught by our holy religion.

In the meanwhile I most humbly kiss your hands.

Your eminence's most humble and most devoted true servant.

John, Cardinal Simeoni, Prefect.

D. Archbishop of Tyre,

Secretary.

Rome.

From the Propaganda,

12<sup>th</sup> Sept. 1882.

To the Most Eminent and Most Reverend Cardinal John McCloskey, Archbishop of New York.

It is true, as Archbishop Corrigan states, that in May, 1883, another letter complained of the to Cardinal McCloskey. This letter was as follows:

Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda,

Secretary's Office.

Rome, May 10, 1883.

Most Eminent, Most Reverend and Most Worshipful Sir:

Last year I had occasion to write to your eminence about the priest McGlynn, who in certain meetings held to favor and aid the Irish land league, had uttered propositions contrary to the doctrine of the Catholic church. Monsignor Corrigan, in the name of your eminence, on the 11<sup>th</sup> of September, 1882, wrote to me that the aforementioned priest "acknowledged his errors, professed due contrition for them, and promised to abstain in future from all such meetings." Although I have not seen any public retraction from him to repair the scandal publicly given, yet I had hoped that he would have kept the promises made to his archbishop; but instead I find in a Boston journal that he has again spoken in one of these meetings, and although he has not used the fiery language of last year, yet he has shown

himself very much inclined to favor the Irish revolution. Your eminence knows full well how terrible are the passions aroused by political and national aspirations and how difficult the proper exercise of his ministry must be for a priest who not only abandons himself to such passions, but seeks by voice and example to maintain and foment them among the people. I therefore beg you to again forbid to the Rev. McGlynn this kind of life and declarations, since I am sure it all results in injury to souls, to the salvation of which he has dedicated his studies, his talent and his life itself. Meanwhile I most humbly kiss your hands.

One of the results of this letter was the following note from Vicar-General Quinn:

Cathedral Fifth Avenue,

New York, May 21, 1883.

Rev. Dear Sir: The cardinal requests me to inform you that it is his wish that you would not attend the league meeting this evening. Yours truly,

William Quinn, V. G.

Rev. Dr. McGlynn.

The meeting referred to was the meeting at Cooper Institute, to be addressed by Alexander Sullivan, the newly elected president of the league. I should add that I had manifested no intention of attending that meeting, similar letters were sent to other clergymen.

In response to Cardinal Simeoni's letter of May 1883, I wrote to Cardinal McCloskey as follows:

Your Eminence: I have received the copy which you sent me of the letter of the 10<sup>th</sup> of May from the cardinal prefect of propaganda. I regret very much that the cardinal prefect has found new cause for displeasure in a report in some Boston journal. The meeting must have been held in this city in February last, which was not a land league meeting such as I had voluntarily promised you not to attend, but was for the relief of people suffering from famine in Ireland, and was held by a union of Irish county societies under the name of the Irish confederation of America. I find in a journal an account of the sending of the money raised at that meeting, with a letter of Bishop Nulty showing how it was used to relieve distress in Ireland. I inclose this article and I beg you to consider it a part of this letter. In speaking for the relief of distress I alluded to the injustice which is the cause of it, and urged the duty of redressing such injustice. In this I thought I was but favoring that demand for justice to Ireland which was made by O'Connell and the bishops and priests of Ireland, and by many of our own, especially Archbishop Hughes, and which has been, I think, a commonplace in the St. Patrick's day's sermons.

I shall henceforth refuse to take part in any such meeting, even though it be for charitable objects.

To satisfy the apparent desire of the cardinal prefect I shall cause to be published in a Catholic journal a statement that will show that I condemn any report or interpretation of my words contrary to the doctrines of the Catholic church.

The archbishop states that on May 26, 1883, Cardinal McCloskey suggested that I might if I chose take a summer vacation in the form of a trip to Rome, and thus have an opportunity of making in person a more satisfactory explanation to the cardinal prefect of propaganda. As this suggestion was made through Archbishop Corrigan I sent to him the following letter:

St. Stephen's Church,

New York, June 1, 1883.

Most Reverend and Dear Archbishop: I send by this post a letter to Cardinal McCloskey, such as he desired you to ask from me.

I do not desire to avail myself of the cardinal's permission to take a summer vacation in the shape of a trip to Rome. My absence at this time would cause a serious interruption | and derangement of efforts and plans for the further diminution of the debt of this church. This urgent duty and also the very subject matter of this correspondence impress upon me with peculiar emphasis and in more senses than one the value of the maxim that charity begins *at home*. I am, most reverend and dear archbishop, very sincerely, your obedient servant in Dom.,

Edward McGlynn.

Most Reverend Archbishop Corrigan.

In fulfillment of my promise to Cardinal McCloskey I caused to be published on July 1, in the New York *Tablet*, the following:

Dr. McGlynn was asked for an expression of his views on the Irish land question and most important of Irish questions, and that the blessings expected from home rule would prove to be in a great measure illusory if home rule should not bring with it the settlement of the land question on the lines of strict justice. This would consist in so readjusting public burdens that the land should bear its share thereof, fully proportionate to the benefits it has received from the state or community. This would be the justice that consists in rendering an equivalent, or a *quid pro quo*, and that underlay the original grants of land by the state in view of military or other service to be rendered as an equivalent. And this was acknowledged in principle by the legislation of Mr. Gladstone laying new burdens on the land."

The doctor further remarked that this view, as he understood and held it, would secure all the better to individuals their rights of property, and therefore had nothing in common with communism or socialism as condemned by the Catholic church: and that he, of course, condemned and repudiated any report, or interpretation of any words of his contrary to the doctrines of the Catholic church. He declared that he was in full accord with the fathers of the church as to the rights and duties of property, and quoted the following interesting passages:

St. Basil, in Sermon, Sup. Luc. xii., 18:—"Sient qui-pravenions ad spectacula prohiberet adveulentes appropriando sibi quod ad commanem usum ordinatur, similes sunt divites, qui communia quae praecepaverunt assimant sua esse."

St. Ambrose Sermon 64 de Temp:—"Proprium nemo dicat quod est commune. Plusquam sufficeret sumptul, violenter obtentum est."

St. Augustine, Tract VI. In Joan:—"Quod haec villa sit mea et illa tun, est ex jure imperatorum."

Clement I., Cap Dilectissimus, 12 q. 1:—"Communis usus omnium, sed per sunt in hoc mundo, omnibus, esse debuit, sed per iniquitatem alius dixit host esse suum et allus istud, et sic inter mortales facta est divisio.

The substance of the above quotations is that the rich falsely claim as their own that which is common: that a person holding more than is necessary for one's subsistence takes from the poor that in which in justice belongs to them: that the source of property is in the state: that all things in the world should be used in common: that if this is mine or that is yours it is so through sin.

I shortly after received the following letter:

452 Madison Avenue,

New York, July 2, 1883.

Reverend Dear Doctor: The cardinal has received a copy of this week's *Tablet* containing your promised statement. He desires me to ask whether you accept this article as a correct exposition of your views.

He also thinks it well to call attention to the fact that the passages attributed to St, Ambrose and St Clement are commonly considered spurious, and that St. Augustine, in the passage alluded to, is arguing *ad hominem* that heretics can allege no right to church property. I am, reverend dear doctor, very truly yours, in Christ,

M. A. Corrigan,

Coadjutor.

I answered as follows:

New York, July 3, 1883.

Most Reverend and Dear Archbishop: I had sent for a copy of the *Tablet*, with the intention of sending the promised statement to the cardinal archbishop, and had just received it when I received your letter. I inclose for the cardinal a slip from the *Tablet* containing the statement.. I am responsible for the article, and I accept it as a correct exposition of my views. I am responsible for making the quotations from the fathers to illustrate the truth that property, especially in land, has its duties as well as its rights. But beyond this I leave all responsibility for the passages (omitting purposely to translate them) to the authors themselves and to the *corpus juris*, and to the eminent writers by whom and by which the passages from St. Clement and from St. Ambrose are accepted as genuine. I remain, most reverend dear archbishop, with best wishes, very sincerely, your obedient servant, Edward McGlynn.

Most Reverend Archbishop Corrigan.

Before going further, I would state that among those who denounced me to Rome for my land league speeches were Bishops Gilmour of Cleveland, and Chatard of Indianapolis, the former the author and the latter the apologist of the famous or infamous Cincinnati pastoral letter, which was in a great measure a deliberate thesis against Thomas Jefferson's declaration of independence.

Other bishops, as opportunity offered, did not fail to manifest their intolerance. I will illustrate this by a letter, which shows that on flimsy pretenses they would interfere with the right of a priest to address public meetings that could not be said to be even of a political character. On the 15<sup>th</sup> of March of last year, I went, at the request of Archbishop Corrigan, to Washington, to recommend to President Cleveland Brig. Gen. John Newton of the engineers for promotion to a vacant major-generalship. On my return I found a letter from Archbishop Corrigan, which, though marked "private," I here publish. I feel myself no longer under any obligation of secrecy, since while I was keeping silence the archbishop published a long series of letters concerning me, all of which by their very nature should have been considered private. The following is the letter referred to:

[Private.]

452 Madison Av.. New York,

March 15, 1886

Rev. Dear Doctor—The bishop of Brooklyn has called to direct attention to the inclosed circular, in which you are announced to speak at a meeting *presided* over by Henry Ward Beecher. As the meeting is to be held in his diocese, the bishop objects vehemently to a Catholic priest publicly appearing in such company, inasmuch as he conceives that great disedification and scandal will be the result.

At his request I make his views known to you; and I am forced to say that I too would feel humiliated to find a priest of the archdiocese openly associating with a man of such unhappy reputation as Mr. Beecher, and even Howard Crosby, who only last year insulted us all by saying that our country would rise in its might against Romanists and crush them into dust because we simply asked that our poor children be permitted, according to the constitution, to worship God with liberty of conscience.

I am, Rev. dear Doctor,

Very truly yours,

M. A. Corrigan.

I answered the foregoing letter as follows:

St. Stephen's Church,

New York, March 17, 1886.

Most. Reverend and Dear Archbishop:

I received a telegram from Gen. Newton on Thursday evening conveying thanks for my intended journey to Washington in his behalf, but saying that his chances seemed so slight that he could hardly wish me to go. I deferred the trip, and new morning I received a letter from him in the same sense. On further reflection I felt that I should go to give him whatever additional chance my visit might, and to leave nothing undone to gratify your wish. I went on Sunday night, saw Gen. Newton and the president, and the result, though not absolutely promising success, was very gratifying to the general, and much more favorable than either he or I expected. I returned on Monday night at 11

o'clock, and then found your letter telling me of the bishop of Brooklyn's visit and protest against my speaking to the meeting of the Brooklyn Excise league. It pained me to learn from you that you would feel humiliated by my openly associating with Mr. Beecher, who was to preside, and even with Dr. Howard Crosby. But as you did not forbid me to go, probably doubting your right to do so, nor even advise me in such delicate circumstances to break my engagement, and as you marked your letter "private" I would have had to cause a public scandal by breaking so important an engagement without being at liberty to give the reasons. The scandal would have been much increased by the more or less accurate surmises as to the cause, and no doubt by the speedy publication of the true cause, which publication, no matter how great might be my reticence, would probably come about through the indiscretion of friends of Bishop Loughlin himself. I, therefore, determined to keep my engagement, and all the more readily, as I was confident both from general principles and from several past experiences for my own in similar matters that your apprehensions and those of the bishop of Brooklyn would not be verified. As a matter of fact. my presence on that platform drew from both Mr. Beecher and Dr. Crosby strong and eloquent testimonies in favor of the Catholic church. My joining with these men was to promote the cause of law in the interest of morality and temperance. and in keeping with the spirit of the. Council of Baltimore, which was quoted with great approval by Dr. Crosby. I felt that in doing this I surely was not making any compromise with alleged faults in Mr. Beecher's private character, nor with Mr. Crosby's utterances on the freedom of worship bill. Besides, we would do well to remember that a jury, after a long trial, failed to find the allegations against Mr. Beecher true, and that it is a wise maxim both in church and state and in society which says, "*da locum penitentie.*" We should also remember that Mr. Beecher is today regarded as one of the greatest and most illustrious of America us, and that his advocacy of any good cause is a tower of strength to it. As to Dr. Crosby, he will not improbably lose a good deal of his asperity in consequence of such meetings as that between him and me last evening, and that between him and Father Walworth a few weeks ago, in Albany, in the interest of the excise bill. I can conceive it as not impossible that a few friendly talks between us might remove his objections entirely. I may mention as pertinent to the subject that it was stated by leading physicians of the department of charities that the vacant commissionership in that department was offered by our Catholic May or Grace to the same Dr. Crosby.

It may be well in similar matters to remember the recent example of the pope, who sent to an arch-persecutor of the church the decoration of the order of Christ, and of whom the newspapers said a few days ago that he had sent a special courier to thank Bismarck for some complimentary remarks made in an after-dinner speech. I may mention that I took occasion to explain and justify this action of the pope at a recent meeting of the nineteenth Century club, in answer to the not at all bitter remark of one of the speakers, who, regretting the non-fulfillment of the Christian hopes of peace in the world, said: "And the pope the other day sent the decoration of the order of Christ to Prince Bismarck, who is surely not the prince of peace." I sent a telegram to Bishop Loughlin last evening, before starting for the meeting, telling him that he would receive a letter from me today making explanations. The letter to him will consist of an extract from this letter to you, containing the whole of it except what relates to my trip to Washington, I remain, most reverend and dear archbishop, very sincerely, your obedient servant in Christ,

Edward McGlynn.

Most Rev. Archbishop Corrigan.

The next day I received the following:

452 MADISON AVENUE,

NEW YORK, March 18, 1886.

Rev. Dear Doctor:

I am very much indebted to you for your kindness in making the trip to Washington, and for your good offices in behalf of General Newton.

I am, dear doctor,

Very faithfully yours,

M. A. Corrigan,

In the part of his statement which Archbishop Corrigan marks "Fifth" he says:

"Having resumed the practice of speaking in political gatherings, Dr. McGlynn was gently reminded, Aug. 21, 1886, of the impropriety of such conduct I do not know if Mr. George's name had been mentioned at that time as a candidate for the mayoralty. At all events my lot for simply deprecated interference in politics in general, without thought or mention of any special party whatsoever."

The only political gathering that I can remember at which I spoke shortly before the date of Archbishop Corrigan's letter of Aug. 21 was the great labor demonstration on July 5, in Union square, in favor of Gladstone and Parnell. during the parliamentary election. I confess it did not occur to me that any one would at that late date hold me bound by the voluntary promise I had made three or four years before, since Rome itself had been forced to change its attitude toward the Irish question, and since even Archbishop Corrigan had at last deemed it politic no longer to oppose the movement in aid of the land of his parents.

The archbishop's letter does not "deprecate me interference in politics in general." and it does not make express mention of Henry George. All this appears clearly from the letter itself, which is as follows:

452 Madison Avenue.

New York, Aug. 21, 1886,

Rev. Dear Doctor : [The introductory paragraph alludes to some of the priests of St. Stephen's church attending the ecclesiastical retreat, to which I also, as usual, had been invited.] During the retreat I hope you will think over your relations with Henry George (according to the newspaper reports), and I could feel much easier in conscience if you would leave aside anything that may be not unto edification in the Catholic priest. I mean anything that would *seem* even to coincide with socialism. I am, dear doctor, very faithfully yours,

M. A. Corrigan.

Besides the hint given in the above letter of the archbishop, I received intimations coming from his intimates that there was danger of serious collision between the authorities of the diocese and myself because of my advocacy of the doctrines of Mr. George. Wishing to do all that I could to avoid a



scandal, I asked Mr. George to call on the archbishop. He had volunteered to do so when I told him of the archbishop's reference to him in the letter of Aug. 21. On Sept, 29 Mr. George called upon the archbishop, with the following letter of introduction:

New York. Sept 20, 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 genius and intellectual gifts do not exceed his gifts 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, which were not surrendered when I became a priest, am determined to do what I can to support Mr. George; and I am also simulated 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 virtue of which it has gained every where its greatest triumphs. 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 McGlynn.

Mr. George informed me that his efforts to explain his doctrines to the archbishop were wasted, and that he might as well have been talking to the marble of the cathedral, since the archbishop was entirely preoccupied with the idea of suspending me, and actually informed Mr. George that he had summoned his council to meet at 12 o'clock that very day for the purpose. He professed to base his action on the Roman letters of four yours before, and my alleged violation of my promise.

The next day I received from him a letter dated Sept. 29, which he has published, and in which occurs the following clause:

“As your bishop, I now forbid you in the most positive manner to attend the proposed meeting in Chickering hall on Friday night, or to take part in future in any political meeting whatever without the sanction of the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda Fide.”

I felt it to be my duty to disregard this prohibition, and on the day of the meeting I sent to the archbishop a letter which I cannot now find, in which I said that as I had-made the engagement- before receiving his letter, and had been very extensively advertised to speak, my failure to keep the engagement would precipitate a public scandal and be of grave injury to the cause, and would be in the nature of a breach of contract which I did not feel at liberty to make, and something very different from what it would have been if I had simply declined, when invited, to attend the meeting; that I therefore thought it better to keep my engagement, while assuring him that I would respect his prohibition during the rest of Mr. George's canvass.

The next day, Oct. 2. I received a letter from the archbishop, which he has published, and by which he suspended me from all sacerdotal functions for the space of two weeks. I religiously

respected this suspension, and yet he and his vicar general, Preston, east discredit on me by informing people of the suspension and circulating the false rumor that I had continued, in disregard of the suspension, to say mass.

In that part of his paper which he marks “seventh” the archbishop says:

“Next came the sad sight of a Catholic priest riding in an open barouche from poll to poll on election day.”

What law, human or divine, forbade me so to do? If it was a some what unusual thing, yet I was impelled to it by a sense of justice to the noble cause Mr. George represented, as a partial offset to the influence of the widely published political manifesto of Monsignor Preston addressed to the chairman of the Tammany hall committee on resolutions, and also as a much-needed protest against the denunciations which had been hurled from several Catholic altars against Mr. George and his party on the Sunday before the election; against the abuse of the confessional, in which men had been coerced from attending Mr. George's meetings by the threat of the refusal of absolution; and against the influence which the archbishop had brought to bear upon clergymen to induce them to do what they could to defeat the constitutional convention, which the best interests of the state and the convictions of a great majority of the people imperatively demanded.

The archbishop tells how I was again suspended by him on Nov. 26 because of a reporter's talk about me in the *Tribune*, and he gives as a reason for the continuance of the suspension that I did not withdraw the main statement that private ownership of land is unjust.

The following is the archbishop's letter concerning the *Tribune* interview:

New York, Nov. 26, 1886.

Rev. Dr. McGlynn, Rector of St. Stephen's Church:

Rev. Dear Sir—This morning's *Tribune* publishes an interview in which you speak so offensively of our holy father, Pope Leo XIII. (although without mention of his name) that I am painfully forced once more to have recourse to ecclesiastical censure to keep you within proper bounds. By tomorrow's steamer your words, as reported in the *Tribune*, will go to the cardinal prefect of propaganda, and making allowance for time to hear from him I hereby withdraw your faculties and suspend you from all sacerdotal functions from the date of this letter until the end of the present year.

At the same time I place the Rev. Dr. Curran in temporary charge, of St. Stephen's church, conveying to him by another letter, of even date, all necessary powers to act ;ts administrator, both in temporals and spirituals, for the time being and until further notice.

As the teachings of even the holy father seem to have no weight with you, I can only humbly beg God to grant you grace to recognize in time the error of your ways.

I am, rev. dear sir,

Very truly yours in Christ,

M. A. Corrigan,

Archbishop of New York.

The same day I sent to the archbishop by the hand of my friend, the Rev. Dr. Curran, the following:

St. Stephen's Church, Nov. 26, 1886.

Most Reverend and Dear Archbishop: In your letter of this date you seem to have fallen into misapprehensions which I think it well to correct. The words in *Hie Tribune* are not mine. During my conversation with the writer for that paper he did not take a note. I did not mention the pope, nor think of him. nor of any utterance of his. What I did say could be summed up in the truism that prevention is better than cure. Very respectfully, your obedient servant in Christ,

E. McGlynn.

In my card in the *Tribune* of Dec. 3, which the archbishop calls a quasi retraction, but in which I really retracted nothing, I explained and affirmed what I had said to the reporter. I showed how the desire to do justice through social readjustments did not conflict with the true view of Christian charity, and I quoted from my recent lecture in Jersey City on "A Christian View of the Labor Question." It may not be entirely impertinent to give here a letter which that lecture called forth from Bishop Wigger of Newark, which was sent to me. with the endorsement as printed below, by Archbishop Corrigan. It is as follows:

Seton Hall College,

South Orange, Nov. 13, 1886.

Your Grace—Will you kindly notify the Rev. Dr. McGlynn of St. Stephens church, in my name, that for the future he is not to preach or lecture in my diocese "I do not at all admire the principles he holds concerning property, etc. Some of them are very strange, not to say heretical.

With great respect, I remain,

Yours very sincerely,

W. M. Wigger,

Bishop of Newark.

To the Most Rev. Dr. Corrigan.

Archbishop of New York.

Rev. Dear Doctor—As the above note is sufficiently explicit, it is unnecessary for me to add anything to it beyond the expression of sincere regret.

Very truly yours,

M. A. Corrigan.

I sent to Archbishop Corrigan a clipping of the card in the *Tribune*, of Dec. 3. The next day I received from him the following:

452 Madison Avenue,

New York, Dec. 4, 1886.

Reverend Dear Doctor: His eminence, Cardinal Simeoni, by cablegram received this moment, orders you to proceed immediately to Rome. The words of the dispatch are: "Alumnus McGlynn immediate Romani profisciscatur. Cardinalis Præfectus." I am, reverend dear sir, very truly yours,

M. A. Corrigan.

Two weeks later I received the following:

New York, Dec. 18, 1886.

Reverend Dear Sir: Two weeks have now elapsed since you received the cablegram from Card. Simeoni directing you to report immediately to Rome.

I have not yet heard that you intend to obey this summons, and I now write to inquire *specifically* what you propose to do in the premises, as I wish, to take such further action for the church of St. Stephen as I may deem proper in view of your presence or absence. I am, Rev. dear doctor, faithfully-yours,

M. A. Corrigan. Abp.

Rev. Dr. McGlynn.

This I answered as follows:

New York. Dec. 20, 1886.

Most Reverend and Dear Archbishop: I find that I shall not be able to go to Rome. There are several personal reasons, any one of which must be sufficient. I have had reason to feel concerned about my health for some time, and my physician orders me not to undertake the journey. [Here follows other reasons] You have not told me why I am summoned to Rome; but I can gather from your telegram to the *Tribune* newspaper that it is because I am an advocate of certain doctrines about the ownership of land. This I can gather also from your letter to me just before you procured the telegram from Rome. You said in that letter that the result would have been more satisfactory if in my card to the *Tribune* I had retracted the latter portion of the *Tribune* report, in which I had been made to reaffirm the said doctrines about land. As I cannot go to Rome to give an account of my doctrine about land, I would say that I have made it clear in speeches, in reported interviews and in published articles, and I repeat it here: I have taught and I shall continue to teach in speeches and writings as long as I live, that land is rightfully the property of the people in common, and that private ownership of land is against natural justice, no matter by what civil or ecclesiastical laws it may be sanctioned: and I would bring about instantly, if I could, such change of laws all the world over as would confiscate private property in land,

without one penny of compensation to the miscalled owners.”

In the archbishop's published statement he gives only the latter portion of this letter, beginning with the words. “My doctrine about land,” etc. The reader may well wonder that the archbishop, while stating that I said I could not go to Rome, suppressed all of the reasons which I gave for my inability to go and also the reason which I gave for reaffirming my doctrinal position.

Next came the following letter :

452 Madison Avenue,

New York, Dec. 29, 1886.

Rev. Dear Doctor: Your note of the 20<sup>th</sup> inst. brought the painful intelligence that you declined going to Rome, and that you had taught, and would continue to teach, the injustice of private ownership in land, no matter by what laws of church or state it may be sanctioned.

In view of such declarations, to permit you to exercise the holy ministry would be manifestly wrong. Unless you withdraw them, as I hope and trust you will, the censure now in force will be prolonged *ipso facto* until the receipt of the letter of instruction from Card. Simeoni, now on its way to this city.

I regret that under existing circumstances I do not feel able to act differently from the course first indicated. The remedy is in your hands. I am, rev. dear doctor, very truly yours,

M. A. Corrigan, Abp.

Rev. Dr. McGlynn.

A few days later I received this card:

452 Madison Avenue,

New York. Jan. 7, 1887.

Reverend Dear Doctor: Please call to see me this evening or tomorrow morning, as I have a letter for you from Cardinal Simeoni.

Very truly yours,

M. A. Corrigan.

The archbishop says: “He was invited to call and receive it, but refused—I will not come to see you.” The full text of my reply puts the matter in a somewhat different light.

210 East 105th Street,

New York, Jan. 7. 1887.

I have received your note asking me to call to see you. as you have a letter for me from Cardinal Simeoni. I am indisposed and I will not call to see you. You may send the letter to me at the above address, where I shall be for several days.

The letter of Cardinal Simeoni, which the archbishop describes as a “most kind and conciliatory” one mingles with some flattery severe reproaches for my former utterances for the land league, and for my public adhesion to the doctrines of Henry George—doctrines which I know have never been and cannot be condemned by the holy see in its highest utterance as the supreme tribunal for the decision of doctrinal questions. And yet before I could have reasonably been expected to start for Rome I am censured for the delay, and am practically told that my case is already prejudged in Rome, as it has been most effectually prejudged in New York by my suspension from priestly functions and my sudden expulsion from my church and home. Cardinal Simeoni ends his letter with the threat that if I should fail to go he would be placed under “the painful necessity of having recourse to measures and of adopting provisions which surely would be unpleasant for me.” These threats of the cardinal might have had more weight with me if the unpleasant things which he threatens had not already been inflicted on me, so that it is hard to imagine what other or more unpleasant things he could devise.

In answer to Cardinal Simeon's letter, I informed Archbishop Corrigan that the grave reasons why I could not go to Rome which I had given him my letter of Dec 20, still held good, and would continue to do so for it long time. The story of my expulsion from St. Stephen's by Archbishop Corrigan and his agent, the Rev. A. J. Donnelly, has been sufficiently told in the archbishop published letter and in many other published reports.

On Jan. 16, after Cardinal Simeoni must have received, according to Archbishop Corrigan's own statement, an account of the grave reasons of my inability to go to Rome, one of which was the positive order of my physician not to go, he nevertheless sent the following telegram to the archbishop.

[The translation is the archbishop's.]

“Give orders to have Dr. McGlynn again invited to proceed to Rome, and also to condemn in writing the doctrines to which he has given utterance in public meetings or which have been attributed to him in the press. Should he disobey, use your own authority in dealing with him.”

The next day another dispatch from Cardinal Simeoni said:

“The pontiff commands the alumnus to come to Rome at once.”

One sufficient answer to all this strange urgency has already been given; but I now have further to say: Reaffirming what I said in my letter to the archbishop sent by the hand of Mr. Henry George that, in becoming a priest I did not evade the duties nor surrender the rights of a man and a citizen. I deny the right of bishop, propaganda or pope, to punish me for my actions as a man and a citizen in the late municipal canvass, or in other political movements. I deny their right to censure me, or to punish me for my opinions in political economy, unless they can show that those opinions are clearly contrary to the teachings of the Christian religion. This they have not shown, and I know that they cannot show it. I have not appealed to Rome from the judgments of the archbishop, and I have no desire to do so. I deny the right of bishop, propaganda, or pope to order me to Rome. The “vow of obedience” of the priest, of which so many absurd things have been said within the last few weeks, is simply a promise to obey the church authorities in matters concerning the priest's duties of religion. It were monstrous to imagine that this promise has not clear and well-defined limitations. My obligation, taken us a student

of the propaganda, was not, as some seem to imagine, to go wherever and to do whatever that institution should see fit to command, but simply to return to my native place and there devote myself to the ministry of religion.

In an interview published in the *World* during the late municipal canvass I took occasion, from Monsignor Preston's political letter, to admonish him and other ecclesiastical dignitaries of the grave danger of repeating the folly and the shame of condemning scientific truth as religious heresy—a shame and a folly of which their predecessors had been guilty in the condemnation of Galileo and Copernicus. It seems that they are fated to repeat this crime and blunder, and to add another to the many reasons that have made men look upon ecclesiastical authority as one of the greatest toes of scientific progress, of national development, and of rational liberty, and in large part a hindrance, rather than a help in the way of bringing to the whole world the light, the purity and the comfort that come from the teachings and the ministrations of Christ.

Edward McGlynn.

## **Invading The Confessional**

### **Sacrilegious Violence of the Rev. Donnelly and Policeman Ryan**

Rev. Arthur Donnelly appears determined to maintain during his brief connection with St. Stephen's a consistent reputation for the brutality that marked his entrance into that unhappy parish. On Friday of last week the basement of that church was open, as has long been the custom, for the purpose of hearing confessions. At 9:30 p. m., when dozens of penitents were' around the confession boxes of Father O'Callaghan and Father Barry, Rev. Mr. Donnelly entered accompanied by his blue-coated assistant in the work of bulldozing the parishioners, Police Captain Ryan, followed by half a dozen other policemen. The people were unceremoniously ordered to "get out."

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They protested, but to no purpose. The police pushed them back from the confessional. Mr. Donnelly then rapped loudly on the confession boxes of Fathers O'Callaghan and Barry and in a loud voice ordered them to come out. The clergyman, who were at the moment engaged in bearing confessions, did not obey with sufficient promptitude and the angry priest knocked again and peremptorily ordered them out. Probably no more disgraceful or sacrilegious act was ever perpetrated by any of the infuriated know-nothings who sacked and burned Catholic churches in Philadelphia many years ago. This was perpetrated, however, by a Catholic priest, the instrument any trusted councilor of the archbishop of New York. Father Barry was hearing confession for the last, time in St. Stephens, as he was to leave next day.

This outrage was too much for his overwrought feelings, and he pressed through the crowd, with tears coursing down his cheeks, while weeping women clung to him as he passed. "No more nonsense, now; hurry up!" shouted Capt. Ryan as the indignant people slowly moved out. One old man halted to look at the clock. It was not yet ten, the usual hour for closing. "What are you loitering here for?" demanded Capt. Ryan, seizing the old man by the collar and violently shaking him. The brute

followed up the assault by cuffing his aged victim and then sent him to the station house. The old man was released, however, without a hearing. The police followed the people out to the sidewalk and compelled them to disperse. The crowd submitted, as New York crowds always do submit, to the lawless ruffianism of the police, but their feelings were none the less bitter because all expression of them was forbidden by uplifted clubs.

Father Donnelly's chief of staff, during his whole campaign against the people of St. Stephen's parish, has been this same man, Capt. Ryan of the Thirty-fifth street station. Ryan seems to have blended in his hitherto insignificant person both church and state, and he joins religious zeal and assumption of ecclesiastical knowledge with the political unscrupulousness of a Tammany haller, enforcing his views with the civil authority of a constable. He recently assured a reporter of the *World* that although "Father Donnelly was not at all alarmed," he, Capt. Ryan, would be on hand on the following Sunday with "perhaps a dozen or so of policemen in citizens' clothes scattered around the church." But despite these elaborate preparations, the captain did not think there would be any disorder, because "we Catholics always respect the house of God; especially when the blessed sacrament is there, no matter what our personal feelings may be." He further informed the reporter that in his opinion "Dr. McGlynn's refusal to go to Rome was a defiance of holy church," but failed to say whether in uttering this dictum he spoke as a Catholic or a Tammanyite. Capt. Ryan's tender respect for religion was illustrated in his performances at St. Stephen's on Friday night; but however lacking it may have been, it was unquestionably equal to that manifested by Rev. Arthur Donnelly.

## **Close The Ranks**

### **A Catholic Paper's Appeal to the People to be Firm**

Catholic Herald.

It is cleverly calculated in a certain quarter that the people will cool down in standing by and defending the priest of the poor, Father Edward McGlynn. They reason that the present tempest of indignation is but the result of momentary passion, which will pass away, leaving no trace behind it. They conclude that the power of their concentrated machinery will crush the individual priest to powder, and that those who now feel aggrieved because of the wrongs inflicted on one whom they trust and cherish, will gradually become reconciled to the inevitable.

Never was greater mistake made, nevertheless, the fact that the supposition is made by astute men, should urge all who believe in "The Land for the People" to close their ranks.

The personality of Father McGlynn is dear to us. But dearer than any individual could possibly be is that grand Irish principle which has come down to us with the blond of our forefathers, from the ages when Catholic Ireland—Ireland obedient to Rome—Ireland the light of civilization, knew not the fell slavery of the system which strangled her liberties in later times; which curses her chores today; which turns a land of beauty into a desert of despair: against which the energies of our race are directed with a determination so fierce that it shatters policies, overturns governments, is the Nemesis of British prime ministers and the enigma of Italian cardinals.

That system is undoing the work of the fathers in this republic, because, like the black



inheritance of negro slavery, it came into our social and political life with many other evil things from England. But whether it is to live or die in this country the men who believe it wrong in Ireland should see that the principle of "the land for the people" be not injured by any falling away from the ranks of Father McGlynn's friends.

United, let us stand together, facing power with the dignity of men who know their rights and will dare maintain them to the end.

### **A Voice from the Southwest**

Louisville, Ky., Jan. 24.—You are correct in exposing the Romish hierarchy in their efforts to crush those who struggle for liberty of thought and action. The Italian cardinals are all despotic, yet ready to cringe to power they cannot control. It was the belief in the United States that the hierarchy were endeavoring to interfere in American politics, and by priestly control over the minds of men and women to direct their action in secular matters which led to the overwhelming demonstrations of thirty years ago, when in twelve months the know nothing party swept the country.

The advisers of the pope in Italy and their instruments in the United States are very unwise in making such an issue as this in the case of Dr. McGlynn. The temporal power has been destroyed, and now the spiritual power will be diminished in this great Catholic stronghold if the propaganda or the pope should persist in claiming submission from American citizens or priests upon any questions outside of plain religious doctrines. I have been a student at two Catholic colleges and Protestant, as I and all my family are on both sides for six generations, my relations with cardinals at Rome and other high Catholic dignitaries have been of the most cordial character, so that I have now what no other American citizen can show, a passport from Pius IX, constituting a Roman citizen, and which would protect me in the wilds of Thibet, the jungles of Africa, or anywhere that a Catholic priest had the power to aid me. And so with my kind feeling toward Catholics, and hoping yet to see Christian unity spreading a true light and brotherhood over the world, I can only regard the present action toward Dr. McGlynn as the most supreme folly, which will if perverted in, disunite and divide the Catholics, and deprive the pope of means to do good. despite the hatred of the political, monopolistical press and leaders to you and your peculiar views, the discussion of this question will bring responses to you after a while which will startle and astonish the corrupt men who parol your arguments, and present falsehoods as the views advocated by you and Dr. McGlynn and others. I agree with you that Dr. McGlynn should stand upon his rights as a freeman and a Catholic, and remain in New York. If the Italian cardinals desire a conference or discussion with him, they can send a representative to New York.

Blanton Duncan.

### **Donn Piatt on the Corrigan Case**

Mac-O-Cheek, O., Jan. 24.—The publication of Archbishop Corrigan and Father McGlynn's statements put a new light on that affair altogether. I am much grieved to know that the authorities at Rome could be guilty of such a monstrous error. It will do more harm to the church in America than all the gates of hell. There is not an American Catholic living but will resent such interference. The evil

effect upon the Protestant world cannot be measured. It looks as if Archbishop Corrigan, Monsignor Preston and their backers at Rome were courting another know-nothing excitement. Give my heart-felt sympathy to Father McGlynn and believe me. Yours truly,

Donn Piatt.

### **Vote as Conscience Dictates**

Brooklyn, E. D., Jan. 31.—While looking to the church for instruction in the faith, and while entertaining a profound belief in Catholic teachings, I also think that, as an American citizen, I ought to vote accordingly as I see my duties as a citizen. Dr. McGlynn has thousands of Catholic supporters in his course. They will be faithful to him.

G. Crain.

### **Which is Culpable?**

New York, Jan. 31.—For goodness sake don't fail to send the last number of THE STANDARD to Rome, to enable the holy father to judge who bad better be disciplined, Dr. McGlynn or Archbishop Corrigan.

F. C.

### **Three Cheers for Dr. McGlynn**

Pennsboro, W. Va., Jan. 28.—Three cheers for Dr. McGlynn and American citizenship free from foreign dictatorship. I advocated here in 1874 that our church property ought to be deeded to the congregation of the parish, and so, when the ground here was bought, the title was drawn up in the name of three of us. But the priest had it changed to the bishop's name. If this ever occurs again I will never contribute a dollar. If St. Stephen's property was deeded to the congregation who paid for it they would have the control of their own house.

Garret J. Eustace.

### **Good Words from an Ohio Man**

Akron, Ohio, Jan. 31.—I am glad to say the Catholic workingmen of Akron stand by THE STANDARD in its fight for the rights of that good priest Dr. McGlynn—God bless him. We are organizing a land and labor club of sixty, and we intend to keep the bail rolling and light it over with the ballot.

Thomas J. Reilly.

### **A Priest's Suggestion**

One of the oldest Catholic priests in the province of New York ordering copies of THE STANDARD from the first number to be sent, at his expense, to a number of the bishops and clergy of Ireland, and warmly approving its course in reference to the persecution of Dr. McGlynn, and suggesting what “if monster petitions should be signed by Catholic lovers of fair play here and in Ireland, threatening to abbreviate Peter's pence, it would have a most salutary influence upon the cardinals of the propaganda.” He declares that a majority of the Catholic clergy are, like him, in full sympathy with Dr. McGlynn. but, like himself, afford to say so publicly.

### **The Church Deep in Politics**

Caledonia, Minn., Jan. 22.—In making what the papers who fear you term a “fight against the Catholic church,” in what is simply your protest against the propaganda's interference with the rights of American citizenship, you have spoken a thought that is in the minds of many. With singular perversion of positions you are charged with “forcing religion into politics.” To my view you are simply forcing it out of politics. A church which permits the active partisanship of a bishop and deposes Father McGlynn for advocating his opinions is very deep in politics. Did the pope forbid all priests any interference with political questions and parties no one could complain with reason of its course with Father McGlynn.

P. J. Smalley.

### **No More Corrigan**

Newark, N. J., Jan. 20.—Though I was brought up in a hot-bed of Methodism, nothing I have read in history has touched me more deeply than the superb outburst of affection and honest indignation evinced by my Catholic fellow citizens in the case of Dr. McGlynn. Had Christ possessed such followers they would have died to the last man ere they permitted him to be nailed to the cross. It is utterly impossible to read the weekly reports without tears. Never before did I so fully realize the simple grandeur of *vox populi vox dei!* This attempt is so utterly anti-Christian that no man with a heart can remain silent. God bless the women of St. Stephen's. They are always a man's best friend. They were the last at the cross and the first at the sepulcher. In a word, it is not a church squabble that is going on; it is a sublime poem. Whenever the heart speaks out clearly the whole world must listen. As many Father McGlynn's as you please, but no more Corrigan's!

Augustus Watters.

### **The Saints on Property**

Cincinnati, O., Jan. 28.—I am a Catholic who believes in the faith said “to be delivered to the saints.” Archbishop Corrigan is a Shepherd who claims to represent the apostles and carry on the work of the Savior, but who rat her represents the moloch mammon, and sustains the robbers of the poor. He prates of “the rights of property,” but has not a word to say against the malefactors who legislate for monopoly and enable aristocratic idlers to strip labor of its just rewards. That the early followers of the church did not aid and abet monopoly or advocate private property in land is clear.

St. Basil says: “The rich man is a thief.”

St. Chrysastom, the golden tongued: “The rich are robbers. Better all things were in common.”

St. Jerome, the compiler of the scripture: “Opulence is always the product of theft committed, if not by the actual possessor, then by his ancestors.”

St. Ambrose: “Nature created community; private property is the offspring of usurpation.”

St. Clement: “Iniquity alone has created private property.”

These saints have been canonized holding these opinions, while Father McGlynn is crucified for declaring God's bounty to be common property.

Julia O'Hare.

*571 Forrest street*

## **Stop the Persecution**

New York, Jan. 29.—Your advocacy of the cause of Rev. Edward McGlynn deserves the heartiest commendation of all unbiased and fair-minded people, irrespective of creed or nationality, in this great city and country, and I sincerely trust that the very able championship you assume will effect its end and completely vindicate the distinguished Christian priest and place him before the American public as an example of emulation for his thorough Christian virtues and his manly expression of the sacred opinion, he upholds for the amelioration of the condition of the great mass of toilers of this republic.

I, as one who has been reared in the Catholic faith, cannot rest content without giving vent to the feeling of indignation aroused within me at so grievous a wrong inflicted upon so noble a man for fearlessly advocating right against might and espousing throughout his career as priest and man some grand charitable object for the large numbers of laboring and suffering poor of the old and new world. I respect fully call the attention of the authorities of the Roman Catholic church to the fact that there are matters of grave import concerning the honor and good name of the Catholic church that should have been strictly investigated and corrected, if need be, before the committal of such an act of injustice toward Dr. McGlynn. One of these is the case of a most prominent pastor of a popular parish, who was openly accused by the public press at the lime of aiding and abetting the escape to Canada from the jurisdiction of the United States court of Mr. John C. Eno for fraudulent use of the Second national bank funds. Will Archbishop Corrigan take cognizance of these facts and stop persecuting Dr. McGlynn for his laudable endeavor to benefit humanity? By so doing he will oblige all liberal Catholics.

C. C. H.

### **Priests Have Rights in Germany**

Bryn Mawr, Pa., Feb. 1.—I am astonished at the fuss made over a few political speeches by the Rev. Dr. McGlynn. In Germany, my native land, it is a common occurrence for a priest not only to go on the stump, but run for office also; and not only is there nothing said about it, but they are encouraged from Rome. There are several priests and bishops members of the German reichstag.

Louis Klein.

### **Church Fathers with Dr. McGlynn**

New York, Feb. 1.—Dr. McGlynn has been preaching no new doctrine. 'Tis as old as creation! The ablest of the doctors and fathers of the church have condemned the iniquity of “private ownership in land.” Even Blackstone pronounces such illegal, and a man whom we are told will soon be added to the calendar of the saints, Sir Thomas More, has given expression to more radical and “communistic” ideas than has ever been uttered by Dr. McGlynn. All honor to the martyr priest for the noble stand he has taken in defense of right and justice. Today he is more revered, honored and loved by the Catholics of America and Ireland than even when he directed the affairs of St. Stephen's.

J. Ryan.

340 E. 59th St.

### **Equal Under the Constitution**

New York, Feb. 1.—The archbishop cannot, by the laws of this country, and consequently cannot by the laws of any other country, attempt to influence elections or bulldoze an inferior officer into voting for one candidate, of the archbishop's own choosing. He cannot, by the constitution, prohibit a priest from exercising his free will in the matter of election and voting for the candidate the choice of his head, his conscience and his heart.

H. L. de Z., M.D.

### **A Word From Miss McCaffery**

New York, Feb. 2.—In today's New York *Times* is the statement: “Miss McCaffery says that Dr. McGlynn must go to Rome.” I wish to contradict this. I have never said that Dr. McGlynn must go to Rome; nor have I ever presumed to say what Dr. McGlynn must do or ought to do.

Sara J. J. McCaffery.

### **No Political Economy from the Church**

St. Louis, Jan. 27.—The course pursued by Dr. McGlynn and yourself seems to be almost unanimously indorsed by all honest, unprejudiced persons in the United States. If the responsibility of suspending Dr. McGlynn is not borne entirely by Archbishop Corrigan, then the question arises, are American polities to be controlled by Rome or the American people? As much religion from the church as you please, but no polities or political economy.

K. Alexander,

### **Stand Out of the Way**

Parkersburg, W. Va., Jan. 30.—I am pleased with THE STANDARD's manly defense of Dr. McGlynn. The car of progress is moving, and Archbishop Corrigan had better step out of the way or he will have to take the consequences. This is a greater movement than the barons' revolt or the uprising of Watt Tyler.

J. W. Marsh.

### **Sadness**

His good graciousness the archbishop of New York rolls his eyes to the ceiling and says that Dr. McGlynn's riding around in a carriage with the labor candidate last election day was a "sad sight." It was a sad sight for the Corrigans and the O'Donoghues and their Tammany confederates. But it was a glad sight for all the rest of us. Men began to think that a Catholic priest was not, *ex-officio*, the enemy of anti-Tammany polities. Perhaps this is the reason it made the archbishop so dreadfully sad. It didn't occur to "his grace" that there was anything sad in his own political methods. He could use his greater power in secret and *ad libitum*, and there wasn't anything sad about that. He could pounce on his priests by private mandate, ordering them not to help the candidate he was pleased to oppose or bidding them defeat the popular inquest into our fundamental law. But when, man-fashion, one of his clergy had the temerity to declare *his* preferences, not in cryptogram, but in open day, then "his grace" fell all of a sudden into overwhelming sadness. Might I venture to suggest to "his grace" that his sadness is of the sort that rhymes with badness and with madness.

Gladness.

### **A Voice from Philadelphia**

At the regular meeting of the Henry George club of Philadelphia (Jan. 25), the following resolutions were unanimously adopted:

Whereas, The Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn of St. Stephen's church, of New York, has been removed from his pastorate by his ecclesiastical superior, for the sole reason of his advocacy of the principles on which this club is founded;

Resolved, That we heartily approve of the action of Dr. McGlynn in refusing to renounce his convictions at the bidding of Archbishop Corrigan, and tender to him our heartfelt sympathy; and,

Resolved, That, as American citizens, we protest against the dictation of any church or sect; we hold that the priest or minister, as such, does not surrender any of his political rights as an American citizen, and may still exercise them as he may see fit; and,

Resolved, That the doctrine of "the land for the people," as taught by Dr. McGlynn and Henry George, so far from being immoral, is based out he simplest dictates of justice: we hold it to be a self-evident truth that that which is the gift of the Creator to all mankind should be used for the benefit of all; and,

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be forwarded to Rev. Dr. McGlynn and Archbishop Corrigan.

A. H. Stephenson, see,

*Henry George Club of Philadelphia, P. O.*

*Box 190.*

## **A Western Opinion**

Toledo, Ohio, Jan. 17.—It is unsafe to conclude that the Corrigan-McGlynn controversy is similar to one between American churches and American politicians. All American churches of any considerable influence and all our political parties are ultimately controlled by the people. The only elective officer in the papal church is the pope, and t h e electors are not the laymen nor the priests, but prelates who have been made prelates by the pope. Let the members of the cabinet of the United States government elect our president, and our people would participate in the election of president as much as the Catholic masses do in shaping the government and doctrines of their church.

American liberty was imperiled no more by the British law of taxation without representation than it now is by denying the people the right to decide themselves how land shall be held.

"The powers not delegated to the United States by the constitution nor prohibited by it to the states are reserved to the states respectively or *to the people*," is the sacred language of our glorious charter of liberty. That charter further declares that "the United States shall guarantee to every state in this Union a republican form of government," and that "this constitution and the laws of the United States, which shall be made in pursuance thereof . . . shall be the supreme law of the land."

Let us hope that Archbishop Corrigan will read our constitution and become a loyal American.

Charles Eaton.

### **“Long May It Wave”**

Metuchen. N. J., Jan. 10.—The course of THE STANDARD in defense of Dr. McGlynn ought to be enough to make every Irishman in this country rise up and call you blessed! Hope your paper may live as long as did Methuselah and grow stronger and better every week. May THE STANDARD increase in strength. It needs no additional courage. “The righteous is bold as a lion.” It is fortunate to have knowledge and courage equal to its zeal. It strikes hard and right. Long may it wave.

L. W. Thickstorm.

### **Against Castle Religion**

Washington, D. C , Jan. 24.—Being a practical Catholic, and having traveled both in this country and in Europe, I feel justified in saying that I never heard of a precedent for a gang of political strikers, thieves, murderers and alleged saviors of society (God save the mark), desperate at being shorn of their power over an outraged public, seeking to gag popular suffrage by dragging our beloved religion into politics. I for one protest against this outrage, and warn those political wolves and vampires to seek their holes and not contaminate honest, pure people with their foul presence. I voted for Mr. Hewitt, being a democrat, but if the good Lord in His infinite mercy and love sees fit to overlook my weakness, I shall never be guilty of such an idiotic proceeding again. I have seen castle religion both in England and Ireland, and I hope and pray to God that I may never see it in our glorious, free America. We propose to settle this affair in the way it should be settled, and when that is finished we propose, with God's help, to settle in a political sense the two old parties, already in their dotage.

Will. F. Foly.

### **A Catholic Layman's View**

A Catholic layman contributes to the *Independent* an article on the case of Dr. McGlynn, written in the spirit of true loyalty to his church. He says: “In Ireland, not so long ago, bishop was arrayed against bishop, an archbishop against a cardinal. Archbishop Croke denounced Cardinal McCabe in the public press. Cardinal McCabe was the relentless and persistent opponent of the land league. He knew nothing of the people, and certainly showed in public love for them, whatever his private feelings may have been. He denounced every public attempt to obtain justice for Ireland, and he, with Bishop Higgins and Archbishop McEvilly, stood alone and were called by the people 'castle bishops.' If Dr. McGlynn has taught any political theory involving a negative to or an affirmative contrary to the plain and distinct teaching of the Catholic church, it is not merely the archbishop's right, but it is also his duty to correct him. Further, if Dr. McGlynn disobeyed any reasonable command of his archbishop the archbishop could subject him to ecclesiastical discipline, as such disobedience is contrary to his



ordination vows. It may be said, however, that a good priest can always appeal with certainty of justice to the holy see. There never was a greater or more mischievous fallacy. It is true, and I could bring forward many cases in proof, that at the present day justice can generally be obtained in Rome. But the favor or the right is purchased at too dear a cost. The priest who dares to take a case against his bishop to Rome is a marked man. He may gain his case in Rome, but he comes back to break his heart in America.”

## **Yes, the Day is Past**

Boston Commercial.

It is very evident from the statement of Archbishop Corrigan that he and the late Cardinal McCloskey were divided in their views as to how far the Catholic clergy may go in political matters, for the archbishop says in his statement: “In September, 1882, a second letter came from Cardinal Simeoni in the name of the sovereign pontiff, ordering Dr. McGlynn to be suspended a divinis unless the cardinal archbishop thought best to adopt some milder means.” Yet, notwithstanding this order from Rome, the late cardinal of New York did not see fit to suspend Dr. McGlynn; but now his successor does. One thing has been openly shown up in this controversy, and that is that now, as in the past, Rome intends to have a hand in the political pie of the world. Her hand, too, against the Irish nationalist movement in 1882, when Dr. McGlynn made speeches in New York in its favor, shows from the censure he received that England, by diplomacy, was using the strong arm of Rome to keep the Irish people in subjection! But the day is past when American Catholics or Irish Catholics will receive their political instructions from Rome.

## **No One Proposes Such a Thing**

W. E. Lockard, in a letter to the *Minneapolis Journal*, quotes the remark in Archbishop Corrigan's pastoral, that no one would take the trouble of raising crops if some one else could gather them, and he asks who ever proposed such a thing. He thus answers:

“Certainly not Mr. George or any of his disciples. We propose simply a different manner of holding land, a system that will make every man secure in his possession so long as he pays his rent to the government, a system that will most effectually prevent the holding of large bodies of land for speculative purposes, and that will, we think, raise from squalor and distress to plenty and happiness millions of industrious people, while bringing no real hardship to any.”

## **Angry Castle Catholics**

The *Irish Ecclesiastical Gazette* understands that, in consequence of Dr. Walsh, the Roman Catholic archbishop of Dublin, giving his adhesion to the “plan of campaign,” he is boycotted by a large number of the Roman Catholic upper classes in Dublin, who both refuse to dine at his grace's table or meet him elsewhere.

## **“My Lord” Preston in Politics**

New York Mail and Express.

Mgr. Preston, more than any other priest in New York, is most open to the charge of having interfered in political matters. During the year when the freedom of worship bill, which caused Mr. Cleveland so much trouble, was before the legislature, Dr. Preston was head and heels in political matters, and not a few aspirants for legislative honors had their hopes dashed by a few words from him; and in other political matters as well the vicar general has figured largely, if quietly.

## **An Ohio Opinion**

Sandusky Local.

A good many stones are being recklessly thrown at Henry George and his new paper, THE STANDARD, but they are mainly thrown by people whose range of aim is not high enough to hit either. Henry George is not a creation of a day, to die and to be no more at set of sun, nor are the ideas he puts forth in THE STANDARD of merely ephemeral growth and duration.

A man claiming for all mankind the inherent right of man to live upon the soil of a common birthright, and that this soil shall not by any process be taken from under his feet and owned by monopoly while he is ejected from his equal natural possession of a common share of it, is uttering oracles for his race that cannot die, but will prove prophetic as the world crowds with population.

His time for appreciation will come and the publication of his ideas will live, as the true prophets and their sayings are enshrined and live after these who have cast stones at them are dead and dishonored.

## **The Press on Dr. McGlynn**

There must be no mistake as to the cause of the excitement among New York Catholics over the case of Dr. McGlynn. It is not a matter affecting the faith of the people or the spiritual authority of the church. It is only a revolt of the people against the interference of the spiritual with the personal opinions of a priest on a matter of civil policy, or the civil rights of man. It is, in other words, the American idea of freedom cropping out against the Italian traditions of the church.—[Kansas City Journal.]

Archbishop Corrigan is using the power of the pope of Rome to disgrace a priest who exercised the right of an American citizen by voting for and advocating the election of the man of his choice for mayor of New York. Will American citizens permit such a disgrace to go unnoticed? Will Catholics permit such an archbishop to longer live in their country? Will united labor submit to this outrageous proceeding on the part of the Catholic power? We say no.—[Buffalo, N. Y. , Excelsior.]

## **The Press on Dr. McGlynn**

Michael Davitt, the great Irish Leader, leaves no room to doubt his own position with respect to the matter. His sympathies are with Dr. McGlynn, and as a leader of the Irish cause, he declares himself plainly. He goes further, and charges Cardinal Simeoni, who is at the head of the propaganda, with being in league with the English government and supporting its coercive policy.—[St. Paul (Minn.) Globe.]

A historical painting of Mary Halligan, the cook, barring the way to the pulpit of St. Stephen's church—or should it represent her in the attitude of beating back Father Donnelly's locksmith in his attempt to break into Dr. McGlynn's room, with Father Donnelly himself crouching in the background?—would seem to be in order.—[Boston Post.]

Here is great news! Father McGlynn's parishioners are standing by him and refuse to receive his successor, Dr. Donnelly, appointed through the pope of Rome. Father McGlynn's only crime was speaking in behalf of Henry George and the labor party in the late mayoralty contest in New York city, which he had a right, as an American citizen, to do.—[Pendleton East Oregonian.]

Father McGlynn is the peerless priest of the Irish race in this country. He is suffering now because he dared uphold with the magic of his eloquence the glorious principle of "The Land for the People."—[Catholic Herald.]

Father McGlynn, if he stands firm upon his manhood and rights as an American citizen, and refuses to go to Rome and do penance, will be the Martin Luther of this century and will effect a reformation as needful. That reformation is this: "As much religion as you like from Rome, but no politics." American polities are things that of right belong to Americans. Religion is another matter.—[Ocala, Fla., Banner.]

## **For the Fund**

The reporters of the daily press profess to know of a letter received during the week by Archbishop Corrigan from Cardinal Simeoni bearing on the case of Dr. McGlynn.

Patrick Ford of the *Irish World* announces that the net proceeds of the Davitt reception, about \$4,000, will be contributed to the McGlynn fund.

## **Before A Jury**

### **Criminal Charges Against Standard Oil Company Agents**

Buffalo, N. Y., Feb. 1.—In the second number of THE STANDARD there appeared an abstract of an argument before Judge Child, of the court of oyer and terminer, in this city, on a demurrer to

indictments against John D. Archibald, Henry H. Rogers and Ambrose McGregor of the Standard Oil Company in New York and Charles M. and Hiram B. Everest of the Vacuum oil company of Rochester, The charges are conspiracy and subornation to per jury. The defendants were, among other things, accused of planning an explosion to destroy the works of the Buffalo lubricating company, a concern that has opposed the Standard monopoly.

Judge Child handed down his decision today denying the motion of the defendants, and it is expected that they will be tried at the term of court that begins here next week.

## **Evictions in New York**

Westchester, N. Y., Times.

While so much is being said about evictions in Ireland, it is worth while to consider how many families are evicted every year in New York. Last year the number exceeded 20,000. In four district courts alone over 10,000 dispossess summonses were issued, giving notification to families to pay their rent or go. There were live marshals attached to each one of these district courts who were kept busy in enforcing these legal proceedings. But the dispossessors' proceedings in these courts by this means give the full number of families evicted. Thousands go on notification by the landlord or his agent without waiting legal process. The average number of persons in these poor families would, at a low estimate, reach more. That means 120,000 men, women and children, most of whom were unable to earn a sufficient living, were turned out on the streets last year for non-payment of rent. Many of these families sold their furniture and their children were sent to asylums and homes to be maintained at public expense. Rural Ireland does not witness any sadder scenes than some of these in the streets of New York. Intemperance is at the bottom of much of this misery, but sickness and a lack of work are the main causes.

## **Made No Money**

Hutchison, Kan., Jan. 17.—Two gentlemen on the train, a few days ago, were talking of the money that is made in Wichita in real estate. I listened awhile and then said, “that money is not made in Wichita.” They wanted to know where else, then; a friend of theirs bought lots for \$7,000 and sold them for \$20,000, so he made \$13,000 in Wichita. I said, “No; the other man made or earned: the \$12,000 some where else, and your friend simply euchred him out of it by giving him a lot of of Wichita dirt for it.” They looked at me as if I were an escaped lunatic, but finally admitted I was right.

T. O. F.

## **An English Radical Talks**

**His Views of the Social Revolution in the British Isles**

Samuel Bennett, one of a number of bright journalists who for some few years past have been associated with the radical press of London, has come to this country, where he intends to settle. Mr. Bennett was the originator of the Anti-coercion association of England, and for a time conducted the *London Radical*, an advanced weekly paper, which strongly advocated land nationalization.

“Things are moving very rapidly across the water,” said Mr. Bennett to a STANDARD representative. “They are going at break-neck pace. Men's minds have been suddenly opened, and events beginning with the Irish crisis of 1881-82 and culminating with Gladstone's conversion to home rule followed in such regular sequence as to suggest providential arrangement.

“The radicals supported Mr. Gladstone's home rule bill for the reason that, though his scheme of home rule was very feeble, it still recognized the right, of the Irish people to self-government. Besides, it involved a more radical consideration of the land question than had hitherto been contemplated. It was the entering wedge, by which we hoped at last to bring about the true solution of social ills. The greatest objection was the principle of compensating landlords; for if there was any compensation it ought rather to be given the people who had suffered from landlordism.

“But the radicals did not object to Mr. Gladstone's *method* of compensation—namely, making the British taxpayer responsible for the amount of blood-money. This would bring Englishmen to their senses, for, as my friend William Saunders, ex-member of parliament from East Hull, said, there is no part of the person of a British taxpayer so vulnerable as his breeches pocket. You can curtail his liberty or knock him about as you please; but propose to tax him a few pence more in the pound and you make him squirm. However, if the landlords were wise they would have accepted Mr. Gladstone's offer and would have subscribed for a memorial to him, by way of showing their gratitude, as they had far more chance of getting indemnity for their land than they will get at any future tune.

“But instead of doing this they moved heaven and earth to defeat the Gladstone measure, and joyfully accepted the assistance of Joseph Chamberlain, though his strongest objection to it was that landlords should get any compensation at all.

“As matters stand now the tories propose to settle the Irish question by a land bill and no home rule, their idea of land reform being simply an extension of the land purchase system; while, on the other hand, the radicals are raising a cry for home rule and no land bill, which simply means the giving to the Irish the absolute right to govern themselves, including the power of dealing with landlords in the way they may consider right. I have no doubt in the long run which party will win, and I cannot but think that when the landlords find they have been left to stew in their own juice they will bitterly lament the evil genius which induced them to decline Mr. Gladstone's offer. If the question is left to the Irish parliament to settle the landlords have no right to expect any mercy.

“In the tide of the affairs of men there is, I believe, as regular an ebb and flow as there is in the Atlantic ocean. Just now the tide, in so far as the landlords are concerned, may appear to have gone a little way back, but already I fancy we can see the wave advancing which will sweep them off the land. I believe that in Ireland landlordism has broken down, and can never be rehabilitated. And in Scotland and England there are indications that its days are numbered. This is seen in Ireland from the inability to collect rents, even with the assistance of the government, and in England and Scotland on the changed opinions with regard to landlordism. It is no longer a 'divine right' institution. The circulation of 'Progress and Poverty' and the work of the land nationalization organizations have opened the eyes of the people to the fact that private property in land, instead of being as ancient as the hills, is quite a modern institution. The proposal of Mr. Gladstone to make British taxpayers responsible for the cost of

expropriating Irish landlords made the people of England and Scotland first of all ask themselves why *they* should compensate Irish landlords. Whereupon they were asked if the 'starving peasantry of Ireland should be called upon to do so?' The answer was, No, they should not. Step by step many have come to believe that no one should be charged and that there should be no compensation at all.

“Formerly, when the agitation against landlordism was confined to Ireland, the hatred of the Irish—partly social and partly religious—led even the laboring people of England and Scotland to look upon the grievances of the Irish with a distorted vision. They were taught to believe that the Irish peasantry were a lot of lazy vagabonds, who could pay their rents and keep themselves in comfort if they only chose to work. Now that is no longer the general opinion. Landlordism fortunately showed its hoofs in other places besides Ireland, and the complacency of English farmers was disturbed by the continuance of agricultural depression. The highland lairds are entitled to our especial thanks for the part they have taken in the work of enlightening the public mind. Whatever might be said about the indolence of the high celts, there were hundreds of thousands of canny Scots who would, on no account, allow any similar allegations to be made against their brethren, the Scottish celts.

“The ill treatment of the highland crofters by the landlords, coupled with the manner in which the brave crofters have conducted themselves during their trying ordeal, has had quite a miraculous effect in converting the people of Scotland to land nationalization. I happened to be in Scotland during the last two general elections, and was filled as much with amazement as delight at the revolution which had taken place in the views of my I country men. Wherever I went the opinion seemed general that the land laws were at the root of all our ills, and the only difference was as to how far and in what way they should be altered. Glasgow, in particular, I found thoroughly advanced, and a large part of the population advocating out and out land nationalization.

“As to the future I am full of hope, and that is the feeling generally shared by our democratic friends in England, Scotland and Ireland.”

### **A Vessel Damaged by Dynamite**

The Old Dominion steamship Guyandotte sailed for Norfolk on Monday afternoon, but returned in the evening with two great holes in her decks, caused by a dynamite explosion when she was off Long Branch. The explosive had been put in a closet on the starboard quarter, about 100 feet aft of the boilers. The joiner work of the cabin was torn away and the after part of the cabin badly wrecked. A hole fifteen feet square was torn in the hurricane deck. and the downward force of the explosive tore a great hole in the main deck. No serious damage was done to the hull, however, but Capt. Kelly decided to come back to the city, as he entertained fears of another explosion. One young man was slightly injured.

### **For Land and Labor Clubs**

San Francisco, Jan. 19.—The suggestion that we should have readings on the land question at the meetings of our land and labor club has been adopted, and tomorrow night we will begin by reading a chapter of “Progress and Poverty.” It seems to me that it would be an excellent idea to have every land and labor club in the land adopt the same rule.

Joseph Leggett.

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### Labor's Protest

#### **Ecclesiastical Interference In Politics Rebuked**

##### **A Great Meeting at the Academy of Music Under Direction of the Central Labor Union— Protestants and Catholics Join in Vigorous Condemnation of the Archbishop**

Shortly after the suspension of Rev. Dr. McGlynn for taking the part of the workingmen in the last, municipal canvass the Central Labor union appointed a committee to take some action in support, of the man thus persecuted for sustaining the cause of labor. Last week the committee issued a call for a mass meeting of workingmen at the Academy of Music on Sunday evening to “protest against ecclesiastical interference in politics and to express the sympathy of American citizens of all creeds” with Rev. Dr. McGlynn.

The spacious temple of fashion and mammon was crowded from pit to dome with an audience differing as widely in personnel as in motive from those accustomed to gather there to listen to, or pretend to listen to, the famous singers of all lands. The audience of Sunday night was sober in costume and earnest in manner, but no diva ever received such a welcome as was given by it to the prominent speakers and leaders of the labor movement as they appeared on the stage or were presented to the audience.

Robert Crowe, a delegate from the Tailors' union, presided. and made a most eloquent and impassioned speech, in which he said that Hie spirits of the dead—that of the late archbishop Hughes [applause]—could but view with shame and sorrow the treatment of one for whom he had detected the making of a good man while he was yet a boy receiving his education in our public schools. [Enthusiastic applause.] Archbishop Corrigan [hisses] and My Lord Preston [hisses and laughter] on this side and Cardinal Simeoni [prolonged hissing] on the other had stricken down the *soggarth aroon* at the dictation of the “saviors of society.” The truth is, the speaker declared that Father McGlynn has long been an eyesore to the archbishop. One lives in a marble palace, consorting with the O'Donoghues [hisses], the Kellys [hisses] and other moneybags of the church, while the other lives humbly on his salary of \$800, and spends half of that on the poor. “The humble priest and the archbishop,” exclaimed the speaker. “What a contrast ! Hyperion to a satyr!” [Applause and laughter.] The archbishop, Mr. Crowe declared, had selected as Dr. McGlynn's successor one who, though invested with priestly authority. has failed to exhibit in his conduct the slightest semblance of the gentleman. If political considerations have no influence in this matter, said the speaker, why does not the archbishop meet the challenge of Henry George? [Cheers.] “Because,” said Mr. Crowe, “he knows that he would be beaten in an argument,” and new terrors be thereby occasioned among his friends, the O'Donoghues, the Kellys, the Crokers and the other “saviors of society.”

At the conclusion of the chairman's eloquent speech the secretary of the meeting, Thomas

Moran, offered the following resolutions:

Whereas, A Catholic archbishop has seen fit to use for political ends his ecclesiastical authority by forbidding Catholic clergymen to give their support to the united labor party, while leaving them at full liberty to aid the old corrupt political organizations; and.

Whereas, The same archbishop has seen fit to issue a pastoral aimed against the principles of the united labor party, and a venerated priest has been deposed, ordered to retract the doctrine that all men have equal right in the land of their country, and summoned to Rome to be punished for his advocacy of that truth: therefore, be it

Resolved, By this meeting of workingmen of New York, called together by the Central Labor union, that while freely recognizing the right of every citizen, be he layman, priest or bishop, to participate by voice and vote in all public matters, we resent any attempt of any ecclesiastical authority, in or out of the United States, to drag religion into politics and to coerce its ministers in the exercise of their rights of citizenship, as a violation of that principle of the absolute separation of church and state that is, and ever has been, one of the chief bulwarks of American liberty.

Resolved, That the American Catholic priest should enjoy the full rights of his citizenship, unquestioned by ecclesiastical authority. We therefore protest against the suspension and deposition of Dr. McGlynn as an interference of ecclesiastical authority in American politics. and we further protest against his summons to Rome to account for his political opinions and acts as an attempt to establish the dangerous precedent that an American citizen can be questioned in a foreign country for his course in American politics.

Resolved, That, speaking not only for Catholics and Protestants, but for that body of workmen who are connected with no church, we declare that nothing has done so much to counteract the widespread impression that the church is arrayed against the efforts of workingmen to obtain their rights as the sincere devotion of Dr. McGlynn to the great cause of human liberty in Ireland and in America, and that nothing could be better calculated to compel workingmen to the belief that in their efforts for the emancipation of labor they must meet the opposition of organized ecclesiastical authority than this attempt to crush the "priest of the poor."

Resolved, That Dr. Edward McGlynn, the virtuous and public-spirited citizen, the eloquent and fearless champion of right against might, the advocate of justice to all, the man who has bravely stood by the masses against the classes, has our earnest sympathy; and that we pledge ourselves to stand by him as he has stood by us, and to support- him by all the means within our power, moral and material: and,

Resolved, That we call on the united labor party and all associations of workingmen in this city and throughout the United States to join with us in protesting against this effort to array religion against justice, and to co-operate with us in our support of Dr. McGlynn.

The question being put, one mighty aye went up, accompanied by applause and cheers. Three men sitting in the orchestra circle when the negative was called for loudly voted "no." Their action called for a few hisses, but was otherwise unnoticed.

Mr. James Gahan of the *Catholic Herald* made a strong protest against ecclesiastical interference in politics, and declared that as an Irish Catholic, in whose veins there was not a drop of



Protestant blood, he would inform Archbishop Corrigan that if he declared next Wednesday a fast day he would obey him with child-like submission, but that if the archbishop told him that he must vote for this or that man he would resist and defy him, telling him that in that matter they stood on an equal plane. In spiritual matters, said the speaker, the archbishop is my Superior; but in the field of politics I am James Gahan, an American citizen, and he is simply Michael Augustin Corrigan, another, and my equal. The speaker said he had been called a vile man by a Cleveland Catholic paper because of the stand he had taken, and he said he was willing to be accounted vile if it made him so to maintain the oath he had taken when he was naturalized to renounce allegiance to all foreign powers. He said calling hard names was a sign of weakness; and, citing a Catholic paper that had called Mr. George "a little red-headed Ignoramus," the speaker declared that as a Catholic he was proud to shake hands with him, suiting the action to the word. The incident was greeted with a storm of applause. He declared that he had read all that Mr. George had written on this subject, and that every word of it was true. In the course of his speech Mr. Gahan protested against the interference of Italian cardinals, and declared that neither Jacobini, Simeoni nor [text missing] should be allowed to dictate to Irish [text missing] Catholics how they should vote. The speaker appeared to hesitate for a word after using Simeoni's name, and when he brought out the word macaroni the audience indulged in peal after peal of laughter. He also declared that whether Dr. McGlynn went to Rome or stayed at home the Catholics, and especially the Irish Catholics, would stand by him.

The chairman then said he would present one who needed no introduction, "labor's champion." As Henry George came forward he was greeted by a storm of cheers and applause, accompanied by the waving of hats and handkerchiefs, which lasted, according to the daily paper reports, from two to ten minutes. Mr. George said:

Let no man mistake the temper of this meeting. In all times when the standard of rebellion against wrong has been raised the city has always gone up, "It is against religion." [Applause.] It is false. [Tremendous cheering.] There is nothing in the temper of this meeting that is against religion or any of its forms. [Applause.] I for one have always held, and still do hold, that the only spirit strong enough for the regeneration of the world is the religious spirit. [Applause.] I have always discountenanced scoffs at religion. [Renewed applause.] And I do so now. What we are here tonight to protest against is not the action of any church; it is not the tenets of any faith; it is the gross interference of an arbitrary power with the rights of an American citizen. [Prolonged applause.] It is the attempt to array against social reform, against the best and the truest instincts of man, the forms and the sanctities of religion. [Renewed applause.] It may not, perhaps, beseem me, who am not a Catholic, to dispute as to the Catholic faith with an archbishop: but I at least can deny, as a slander upon Catholics, what the monopolistic press has been urging. [Applause.] Some of our daily papers say, "Why doesn't Dr. McGlynn leave the Catholic church?" The reason, and the good reason is that he is a Catholic. [Loud and prolonged cheering and waving of hats.] He leave the Catholic church! He abandon the Catholic faith, whose ancestors were Catholics when the people of England were heathen! A man of that race who through the direst persecution has stood firm to the Catholic faith; a man whose example as a priest among us has endeared that faith to many outside its pale! Cannot he be an American citizen and yet a Catholic too? [Applause.]

I know, on the authority of prelates far more distinguished than the Archbishop of New York, that the doctrine for which Dr. McGlynn has stood in this community is a doctrine that any Catholic can entertain. [Applause.] Mr. George went on to tell some pathetic stories which an Irish prelate had told him of his experiences as a priest, showing the bitter wrong of landlordism, and how that priest, became a bishop, had lifted up his voice against the giant wrong, and how his words declaring that "the land of every country is the common property of the people of that country," were proclaimed through

Ireland when the land league seemed all but crushed. That Catholic bishop, he said, who thus proclaims what Archbishop Corrigan says is against the Catholic faith, is Thomas Nulty, Bishop of Meath. [Tremendous applause and repeated cheers.] He then recounted a conversation with Cardinal Manning, in which the cardinal declared that no one had authority to say that the Catholic church condemned the doctrine that land should be treated as the property of the whole people. He spoke of another Irish bishop, a venerable man, a representative of that type pictured by Victor Hugo in the story of the bishop who with his silver candlesticks bought Jean Valjean's soul from evil to good. and told how the old man had said to him that no human power could stay the assertion of the principle that all men have equal rights in the bounty of their Creator; but that what he feared was that the higher ecclesiastical authorities would try to oppose this truth in the name of religion, and so drive men from the church, as they had already done on the continent of Europe. That is what is being attempted in New York today. The monopolists, who support the archbishop, want Dr. McGlynn put under foot, not out of regard for religion, but in order to use a potent power against the demand for human rights. [Great applause.]

Mr. George then told, as illustrating the position of many Catholics, how Michael Davitt, on being released from Portland, had raised in Manchester the standard of "the land for the people," and how a few days after, at Liverpool, he had so far modified this as to propose some little compensation for Irish landlords: and how on the next morning he (Mr. George) had called on a Catholic bishop in Dublin. I said to him, "Have you read Michael Davitt's Liverpool speech?" and he said, "Yes." But there was no light in his eye. It had pleased me. It didn't seem to me of much importance that Davitt advocated a little compensation, for I knew, if the movement went on, the Irish landlords never would get compensation. [Prolonged cheering.] But I was a little surprised and I said, "Don't you like it?" The bishop raised his spectacles and looked at me and then said, "Mr. George, I have now read your 'Progress and Poverty' three times [applause], and I desire to say to you again, with more emphasis than I did before, that I approve of every proposition it contains, from the first page to the last. [Applause.] But the best chapter, to my mind, is that in which you prove conclusively the injustice and the wickedness of paying the landlords any thing." [Loud and long continued applause.] And then he went on to say that this question was a moral question, and that in suggesting any compensation Davitt was abandoning the strength of his position. "Either the land belongs rightfully to the landlords," he said, "in which case the other people of Ireland have nothing to say about it, and all this agitation is wrong, or it belongs to the people by inalienable right as a gift of the Creator, and the people should not pay a penny when they resume the possession of it." [Applause]

Mr. George went on to tell how Michael Davitt came to America, and how in a speech in that very hall seemed, harassed as he was, to somewhat apologize for his course in advocating the doctrine of the land for the people, and how then a voice rang out, "Stop your apologies, Michael Davitt! Go back to Ireland and preach the gospel of the land for the people!" It was a voice up to that time unheard, the voice of Dr. Edward McGlynn. [Tremendous applause and waving of hats, again and again renewed.] At that time I did not know who Dr. McGlynn was, and I went to one of the Dublin clergymen and asked, "Did you ever hear of Dr. Edward McGlynn of New York?" "Yes," he responded; "of course I have. Dr. McGlynn is one of the most distinguished of the New York clergy. He is "the priest who only a few years ago headed a delegation of New York clergy that went to Rome." Since that time I have learned to know the man, and I have learned to love him. I love him for his deep piety, for his unassuming charity, for his unfaltering support of every thing that is right. This is the man who is struck down. [Great applause.]

But it is said that we who are not Catholics should have nothing to say about it. I say it is a question that interests every American citizen. [Applause.] No one need fear the influence of the priest in politics if the priest is free. [Applause.] But if a class of men, influential as the Catholic clergy

necessarily are, having the love and respect of their people, if they are to be pulled like puppets in politics, and to be told to speak or to keep silent at the dictate of an irresponsible power, then I say that that kind of Catholicity is a menace to free institutions. [Loud cheers.]

No pretense has been made that Dr. McGlynn has taken any action in politics that is in itself unbecoming in a priest. He is not punished for taking action in politics, but for taking a side that the archbishop did not like. [More cheering.] In the last election the influence of the clergy was freely east against the united labor party. But the Catholic clergy—and there were a number of them—who came and volunteered to help us were compelled to keep silent—to be as still as mice.

The great principle we stand for here tonight is the principle of individual liberty, the principle of the separation of church and state. Let every man believe as to religion whatever he pleases; it is no business of any one else. Let him yield all allegiance he pleases to the properly constituted spiritual authorities in the matters that concern his religion; but when that authority comes out of its proper sphere and attempts to control political action, then it becomes dangerous. [Applause.] And I know, moreover, that this is the feeling of the great mass of Catholics. I think I can certainly say from personal contact with them—of the great mass of Irish Catholics, at least, [applause] both on this side of the water and on the other—that there is nothing that an Irish Catholic priest so quickly resents as the imputation that, in things political, he must obey the spiritual authorities. [Cheers.] This has been shown in Irish history. [Renewed cheers.] Ireland has been true to the Catholic faith. Irishmen do reverence and love the priest, because in Ireland the priest has stood by the people; but when cardinals have tried to coerce the priest into taking sides against the people, the people have rebelled.

[A voice, “The *soggarth aroon*.”]

Aye, the *soggarth aroon*. [Applause.] No sweeter, no truer, no brighter Christian character than that same *soggarth aroon*, the “darling priest.” [Prolonged applause.] The *soggarth aroon* is represented here in New York by Dr. Edward McGlynn. [Continued applause] And this meeting here to-night, as well as the other meetings that have taken place, are proof that, no matter how much ecclesiastical authority may frown on him, how much they may try to calumniate and degrade him, the great heart of the people is true to him, and, let come what may, they will stick close to him. [A voice, “For ever!” Cheers.] Dr. McGlynn suspended, degraded, thrust out into the street from his old home, is yet today by far the best loved priest in New York city. [Applause.] He has been true to his conscience; he has been true to the people, and the people will be true to him. [Cries of “we will,” “we will,” and more cheering.] I believe, although it has brought suffering upon one we all dearly love, that this event will do good. It will make clearer the issues which the future must solve. I believe now, as I have always declared, that it is to the religious spirit we must look for the regeneration of mankind—that the desire that must animate us is not so much what we can do for ourselves, but what we can do for others. And I believe that Christianity—the Christianity that converted the pagan world—has yet in it, freed from the curse of ecclesiasticism, the power to reconquer the world. [Loud applause.] If every where men seem to be leaving the church, it is because the machinery of the church has been turned to do the work of oppression; has been used to put down the best interests of the masses; to erect barriers against that advance of the people that seek the true Christian ideal—a state of society in which there would be no poverty; a state of society in which every child that is born into the world shall have the opportunity to fully develop all the powers its Creator has given it.

James E. Quinn, master workman of District Assembly 49, Knights of Labor, was introduced with an allusion to the fact that he had been arrested the day before in connection with the great coal strike. He was greeted with great enthusiasm. He declared that the doctrine for which Dr. McGlynn had

been persecuted and called to account was the only one that offered relief for the existing evils in society. Our be loved Father McGlynn, he said, is in the same position in which the autocratic corporations would place if they could, not only every physical worker, but every mental worker like Henry George and every mortal worker like Dr. McGlynn, that is under the ban. But even if they should put such men under the ban; aye, even if they were under the sod, the great work will now be carried on. The seed has been planted in the hearts and brains of all classes of workers, and no power of state or church can prevent the acceptance of the theories now being established in America for the welfare of humanity. The movement for participating in which Father McGlynn is persecuted demands the recognition of the equal rights of every one of God's creatures to the possession of the land. [Applause] The sea of troubles that environs us today, threatening to overwhelm the industrial masses, is due to the fact that a few are permitted to own the land, while the great body of the people are excluded from any share in the common inheritance. [Applause.] "While this condition of things exist; while the thousands of evictions—twenty thousand last year—are taking place annually in this city; while a body of armed ruffians, known as Pinkerton's detectives, [hisses] are exhibiting their brutality and shooting down defenseless children; while poverty is a crime and starvation a declared road to heaven, it is nonsense to be talking about American liberty and the glories of our republican institutions. No matter whether it be in a republic, a kingdom, or an empire, the men who own the land will be the rulers and the landless will be subjects, and it is for proclaiming this truth that Father McGlynn has been struck down. It is the duty of the workmen to stand by him as he has stood by them, and the speaker admonished them not to let this protest die out, but to be steadfast and continuous in their support of one who has suffered in their cause.

Frank Ferrall, the colored delegate from 40, whose presence occasioned such excitement at Richmond, said: Many have claimed Dr. McGlynn as their kinsman because he is an Irishman. I claim him as mine because he is a man. He was a man, too, who personally concerned himself with suffering and misery, and no abode was too humble for him to visit. Father McGlynn was not the kind of man, the speaker said, who would take \$25,000 a year for himself and then preach the doctrine that toiling masses could live on bread and water. [Applause, and groans for Beecher.] Mr. Ferrall went on to protest against the attempt to attack in the person of Dr. McGlynn the dearest rights of American citizens. Every speech was frequently interrupted with applause, and each mention of Dr. McGlynn's name was the signal for enthusiastic cheering. As the audience dispersed there were more cheers for the soggarth aroon. The enthusiasm and determination manifested at the meeting proved that the inspired declarations of the daily press that the excitement over Dr. McGlynn's removal is dying out are utterly without foundation. No change whatever is shown in the feeling toward the beloved priest; but the hisses for Simeoni, Corrigan, Preston and Donnelly that increase in volume at each meeting show that there is a rising tide of bitter feeling against the ecclesiastical authorities who have joined in the outrage on Father McGlynn.

## **Tax the Land Values**

The Hazleton (Penn.) *Plainspeaker* says editorially: "One of the greatest drawbacks the merchants and business men of our borough have had to contend with for a number of years past has been the excessively high rents demanded of them by the property owners. In many cases the profits of merchants have been entirely eaten up by the rent, and failure in their business has been the result."

# The Great Strike

## **The Knights Bending All Their Energies To Win It**

### **The Forces That are Facing Each Other—The Great Crisis of Organized Labor and Organized Capital—The Arrest of Master Workman Quinn—Strike Notes**

The strike of the “Weehawken coal-handlers of a month ago has developed into the most formidable uprising of labor yet witnessed in this country. On the one side is a handful of obstinate coal, railroad and shipping magnates, and on the other a vast army of workingmen who have organized with the purpose of combating the laws of unrestricted competition in labor with the force that lies in refraining from work. Broad principles of our social organization are involved in the contest. Upon its issue hangs the fate of labor organizations, slowly and persistently built up in the hope of controlling the disposal of all labor of their kind within reach of the metropolis.

The Knights of Labor aim at a unification of all wage-workers bound by the pledges of a fraternity. They recognize as a class separate from the rest of the people those men who, having little or no property, are obliged to sell their labor in a market always overstocked, and consequently one in which the seller standing alone offers his labor at the terms of the buyer. The knights have organized under the principle that, with wage-workers, “No man liveth unto himself,” and have promoted their growth and influence in the conception that “an injury to one is the concern of all.” They accept as one principle that no patronage will be given to those who oppose labor and as another that labor is a brotherhood which ought to make common cause of an act of oppression exerted upon any breach of its vast network of organization. These principles are now being brought to the test in New York and the vicinity, and, knights and monopolists here are facing a crisis.

The syndicate that Controls the anthracite coal industry is made up of these six railroad companies—the Philadelphia and Reading, Lehigh Valley, Wilkesbarre Coal and Iron company, Pennsylvania Coal company, Delaware and Hudson Canal company and the Pennsylvania Railroad company. The output of the syndicate for 1886 was 32,000,000 tons, but if the mines had been worked to their full capacity it could have been 50,000,000 tons. Each company is allotted a percentage of the amount agreed upon as the yearly production at an annual meeting of representatives of the syndicate. The combination thus creates an artificial value for its fuel, and by working its miners on short spells keeps them on the brink of pauperism. For example, the Lehigh and Wilkesbarre companies in 1885 gave only 170 days of employment to their miners. The corporations interested also regulate the freight rates on coal so as to yield them an income on capital watered to double the cash investments. They have also acquired by lease the control of all the waterways from the mines of Pennsylvania to tide water, in order to remove competition by this cheap system of transportation. The anthracite coal syndicate—the coal barons—have in their hands, therefore, the means of bringing the cost of coal to themselves to the lowest point at every stage of its production and of selling it at a price fixed entirely by themselves. The operations of the managers do not cause here, but with hardly an exception extend to the manipulation of prices of railroad shares in Wall street, based on dividends which they themselves declare.

The coal ports on the New Jersey side of the North river are: Weehawken, for the Delaware and Hudson; Hoboken, Delaware, Lackawanna and Western; Commnripaw, New Jersey Central; Bergen Point. Lehigh and Wilkesbarre; Elizabethport, Philadelphia and Reading and Susquehanna railroads. At these points all the coal used in New York city and New England is transferred. The handlers are of two

classes—top men, who handle the coal on the dump and wheel it to the boats by the hour, and trimmers, who level it in the vessels and work by the piece. These men do not work for the coal companies. Their pay is considered a charge on the vessels they load, but as the captains do not always have the cash to pay them the companies have assumed the payment. Formerly the men made the collections from the captains through one of their own number, paying him a percentage on the amount collected. When the companies found out this percentage was considerable, they undertook the payment of the men themselves, and for a time retained the amount that the men had given their collectors. This practice, however, was stopped in consideration of work done for the companies' boats at lower rates than was charged for loading other boats.

Last spring the trimmers at Bergen Point and Elizabethport were granted an advance of half a cent a ton on all but open boats, and top men were given an advance of two and two and a half cents an hour. The men at all the other ports made similar demands, but they were neither refused nor granted. On the Monday before the 1st of January of this year notices were posted at Bergen Point and Elizabethport that on the 1st the companies would resume the old rates of wages. The men struck against the reduction, and this was the beginning of the great strike.

The coal handlers are in three district assemblies of the Knights of Labor, Nos. 103, 122 and 49, but all power for negotiation was handed over to the arbitration committee of 49. The strikers entered into the contest in confidence. They looked upon the organization of all the workmen connected with the coal trade as perfect. They regarded as possible the plan to prevent any man in a labor organization from using or handling coal transferred to boats by non-union men. Even if the coal companies could replace the thousands of their laborers, the fight would not end, for organized boatmen would not carry the coal, stevedores would not load it, engineers would not use it, factory hands would not operate machinery driven by steam from it, and in its distribution to consumers everywhere it would meet such obstacles as to paralyze trade and cause such an outburst of public sentiment against the coal companies' managers as it was believed would make them quail before it.

But the coal operators say they neither sell the coal nor employ agents to sell it. They bring it to the coal ports and leave it there. Brokers then take up a link in the chain between mine and consumer, and sell the coal to dealers and large consumers. The coal operators reckon upon an annual consumption of coal that cannot be reduced materially by strikes. The coal and railroad companies advertised for new hands when their handlers struck against them. Pinkerton men were hired to protect the green hands, and work was carried on to some extent. The striking coal handlers looked to their fellow laborers who are organized to take up in turn their duty in the program of opposition, and the unions and assemblies of boatmen and 'longshoremen responded to the appeal and adopted resolutions that they would not handle "scab" coal. The steamship companies then employed what non-union men they could to put coal in their bunkers. The 'longshoremen struck, and they have been followed in turn by gram handlers, bodies of ship-workers and laborers employed along the docks, and finally railroad freight handlers and railroad freight-train hands. The strike was complicated by that of the 'longshoremen who were already refusing to handle Old Dominion line freight. The two strikes and boycotts crossed each other's lines, and are now practically merged into one. In all, the number of men who have gone out on strike is estimated at between 40,000 and 45,000.

It is difficult to trace accurately the effects of the strike upon the industries immediately affected. The managers of the steamship and railroad lines in their communications with the employes have been as defiant as were the coal operators. The determination on the side of employers not to concede anything to their men has seemed as strong as that of the organizations that their principles should be enforced.

The coal handlers' strike began a month ago. Besides engaging new men to some extent, the managers and brokers employed new methods to send coal to market. The elevated roads are being supplied with coal sent across the river at points fifty miles north of the city and brought down over the New York City and Northern railroad. Brooklyn gets some coal which is transferred in cars on floats to Long Island city, and sent thence to the heart of the city by a circuitous route. The coal companies have, according to the union boat timer, but a small number of boats engaged in coal transit on the North river. The operators at Port Johnson, Perth and South Amboy and Weehawken say they have men enough to do the work needed. On the other hand, in New York the retail dealers are selling only to old customers. The print mills of Alexander Smith's Sons at Yonkers closed down on Monday for lack of fuel; the Jones Milling company, employing 2,500 men, on Saturday discharged them all until the strike is ended; the linseed oil works of J. Dean & Co. at Richmond, Staten Island, were closed on Saturday, and many accounts represent a wide-spread coal famine in New England.

The steamship companies' managers seemed united from the first in a decision to resist the strike. On Thursday of last week more than 10,000 'longshoremen quit work, but the companies set to work to get new men, and in some cases put their crews to handling freight. The foreign steamship lines on Saturday were represented by their managers to be getting along with more or less success with new men. But there were serious detentions in the departure of the vessels of some of the lines and a "tie up" in other cases. The Gallia, a Cunarder, was detained a day although her cargo was almost made up on Thursday. The Erin, National, was detained a week, and the Helvetia will be behind time about as much. The Republic, White Star, and the Wyoming, Guion, were a day late. The National line was represented on Monday to have sixty men at work, the Bremen to have had no trouble, the Cunard sixty men, the Guion a full force of Italians, the Red Star one hundred and fifty men, and the White Star, Netherland and Wilson from half to a full force each. The Morgan line employed Italians to unload the steamer El Paso, but when the New York, of the same line, came up to her dock she lay for a day with her hatches unopened. The Mallory line was seriously inconvenienced, having on Wednesday but a small force of green hands at work. The companies owning the Sound steamers felt the effects of the strike more than the ocean steamship companies. At Fall River no tickets were sold to passengers on the Old Colony hue for several days, and all but one of the freight boats ceased running. The men on the New Haven and Stonington docks went out. Non-union men on Ward's line, the Cromwell, the Mallory and the Fall River line were among the strikers.

The 'longshoremen's officers maintained that there were no such number at work as was represented by the companies, and that green hands could not perform the amount of work which a force of old men smaller by one-half could do. The new men were mostly Italians or of a class that could not be depended upon to continue at hard work steadily.

On Tuesday the strikers were re-enforced by about 5,000 men from the railroad freight piers, including freight handlers, weighers, checkers and clerks. In consequence, on Wednesday, while the piers were open to receive freight, work went on slowly. At this time the strike had assumed enormous proportions, the unions and knights were standing hand in hand with one another and there had been no break in the ranks of the organized. An officer of district 49 asserted that the strikers could keep up their opposition for two months, and that if necessary the united workers of the country would be called on for financial assistance.

Last Friday a suit was begun in the United States circuit court by the Old Dominion Steamship company against James E. Quinn, John J. McKenna, Thomas McGrath, Thomas McGartland and T. P. Putnam. Mr. Quinn is the master workman of district assembly 49, K. of L. The other defendants

except Putnam are officers of one of the 'longshoremen's associations.

The first step in this suit was an application to Judge Shipman for an order of arrest, which was granted. The proceedings leaked out, apparently through the connivance of the plaintiff, whose object it seems to have been to frighten the men; and when the deputy marshal called at the Stephens-Fennimore institute on Saturday he found Mr. Quinn waiting for him. Mr. Quinn immediately gave bail, which Judge Shipman had fixed at \$5,000 for each defendant. The other defendants afterward came in one by one, as bondsmen were found for them, and surrendered. Although the defendants were arrested the suit is not a criminal proceeding. It is an action for \$20,000 damages for injury to the company's business. The complaint charges the defendants with having created discontent among its men, which resulted in their abandoning its employment; with warning warehousemen and foreign steamship lines not to receive Old Dominion freight, and with soliciting the employes of this and other companies to withdraw from their employment; and alleges that in consequence of these acts the company has been put to extra expense in employing other men and has suffered serious loss of profits. The case is brought in a federal instead of a state court, because the company is incorporated in one state, Delaware, while the defendants are residents of another, New York.

Orders of arrest in such cases are not allowed as a matter of course, but in the discretion of the judge to whom application is made. The ground of arrest in this case is that the action is for an alleged injury to property, the object of the arrest being to keep the defendants within the jurisdiction of the court in case judgment goes against them. In that event an execution against the defendant's property would be issued. If the marshal failed to find any property, an execution against the person would follow, and the present bondsmen would be required to surrender the defendants, who, being again in the custody of the marshal, might abide in either Ludlow street jail or give bail that they would not go beyond the limits of the county. Should they remain in jail they would be entitled to an absolute discharge from arrest in six months, but if they gave bail they could be discharged only upon an application to the court after turning in an inventory of their effects, inclusive of every thing from wardrobe to real estate, and assigning whatever was not exempt from execution.

The case will not be reached for trial before eighteen months or two years. Meantime the defendants will remain under bail unless the order of arrest is vacated. It is understood that such a motion will be made at an early day, and that in every other respect the defendants will push the case.

## **Returning Lands**

Gov. Larrabee of Iowa has certified back to the general government 20,000 acres of land in the counties of Plymouth, Woodbury and Osceola in Iowa. This land was originally granted to the state of Iowa for use in construction of railways. The state in turn gave it to the Sioux City and Pacific railway, but that company and its assignees having failed to fulfill under the contract the governor return the title to the national government.

## **Hard Toil Down South**

**Land Monopoly Destroying Farmers and Laborers**



New Orleans, Jan. 30.—Traveling through the south I had a good opportunity to observe the progress of land monopoly there. Of late the south has attracted the attention of capitalists. Alabama especially just now is having a boom; that is, the land sharks and speculators are fencing in all the best lands and putting their private mark on all the timber, iron and coal mines. The good people of Alabama applaud with both hands and say “they are developing our state.”

Before long all the good things that God created for the use of all will have passed into a few hands. At Birmingham, for fifty miles around, values have been increased by the anticipated rise of five and ten years. In a good many places legitimate business and honest work are almost at a standstill. Speculation has become a fever—a fury. Every body talks of buying and selling lots or farms. The extent of this demoralization upon a community can hardly be appreciated.

As for the lords of the manor who have laid their clutches on the natural resources of this part of the country, they will be able to get along very well indeed. All around are white slaves who have families to feed and who will give a large part of their labor for subsistence. There are also thousands of helpless and improvident colored laborers, who, though freemen now, are just as much beasts of burden as before the war, but who now have no one to teach them industry, foresight, dignity and. In short all those qualities that make manhood. Being ignorant, they are not skilful, and are compelled to sell cheap. The south ought to be the field of some hard missionary work in the cause of the land and labor movement, for, the middle class being in minority, there are a few rich and a great many poor people.

The condition of the farmer in eight cases out of ten, is most hopeless and wretched, if I may believe report. Not more than two or three farms are free from mortgages, money being taken at 8, 10 and 12 per cent. Having no ready money he has to buy on credit from the merchant who charges 15 or 20 per cent. extra, if he can. The merchant often buys his stock in New Orleans or Memphis on the farmer's mortgage. The money lender grinds the merchant, the merchant grinds the farmer and the farmer grinds his hands;—a grinding process all around—everybody for himself and the devil take the hindmost. The result is that the farmer toils and sweats year in and year out until landlord, merchant or banker, thinking their security no longer safe, foreclose the mortgage and sell him out.

Edward Fairview.

## **Anarchists And Socialists**

### **The Hostility Between Them Strongly Emphasized**

A mass meeting of anarchists was held at Florence hall in this city last Sunday, which was attended, says the *Herald*, by at least 500 men, generally full bearded and well dressed. They met to denounce the appeal made to German-American socialists to contribute money to assist in electing social democrats to the German parliament. They declared that the socialists are cowards and imbeciles, and that parliaments are nuisances. The meeting passed resolutions protesting against remitting money to Germany for election purposes, censuring the *Volks-zeitung* for refusing to print their advertisement, and expressing sympathy with the condemned men in Chicago. As the whole anarchist party were probably present the resolutions may be accepted as an authoritative statement of

its views. They are an amusing rather than an alarming body. Their bitter denunciation of the socialists, however, must be somewhat puzzling to the ignorant newspapers that have confounded the anarchists, who believe in no government at all, and the socialists, who seek the extension of governmental powers to the most extreme limits.

### **Kansas Militia**

Topeka Chieftan.

A determined effort will be made this winter to appropriate \$100,000 for the purpose of arming and supporting the so-called "militia" of Kansas. By reference to the adjutant general's report it will be seen that all the militia officers are men who have been in the employ of the railroad companies directly or indirectly. The privates are men whom it is supposed can be trusted to carry out the orders of their officers. It is not an organization of citizens as such, but picked men for special service. They are organized for what? Defense against Mexicans, Canadians, or Indians? Bless you, no! The man who fears these foes is a lunatic. They are organized in the direct interest of monopolies, to shoot down men demanding redress of social grievances.

### **Lutheran Ministers Opposing the K. of L.**

Rockford, Ill., Jan. 20.—We have an assembly of K. of L. here 600 strong: but many of our former members have withdrawn on account of orders from their pastors. Our laboring population is made up largely of Swedish people, and their Lutheran churches are making a light on us, and tell their members that they must give up the K. of L. or their connection with the church. We have offered to show them our constitution or other laws of the order, but they will not meet us for explanation.

J. D. Warwick.

### **Progress and Poverty Reading Club**

A few weeks ago the members of the Twenty-third assembly district organization of the united labor party started a club with the above name for the purpose of having informal discussions on social questions. The meetings, conducted by Messrs. Battle, O'Neil and Steers, have been very interesting and enjoyable. There are no dues or expenses, as the members and friends meet in the rooms of the organization. There is generally a discussion every Thursday and Saturday evening. The hall is on the southeast corner of 105th street and Third avenue. Visitors are cordially welcomed.

### **A Good Sized Town Evicted**

Memphis, Tenn., Avalanche.

So frequently has the term eviction been applied to the Irish tenantry, so much accustomed. have we become to going over the ocean for instances of the cruelty and oppression of landlords, that we overlook those which are transpiring under our eyes. It is calculated that no less than 120,000 persons were forcibly ejected from their homes in New York city alone during last year—120,000 men, women and children, penniless and perhaps ill clad, were turned out to bear the rain and sun and storms of summer and the icy blasts of winter as best they might.

## **Enemies of the New Party**

From the Cleveland Appeal.

The labor movement is cursed with a few men who would not vote for the angel Gabriel if he was running on the opposite ticket to that which they habitually vote. These are the men who do not want to see labor take independent political action. But labor is marching on to triumph, and these barnacles and hangers on will be forced out of the camp.

“Why congress retaliates—not for what Canada has done, but what she may do,” is a headline in the *New York World*. “Retaliation” for what may be done in the future is funny.

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### **The Strike**

The *Herald* wants to know what I think of the strike.

I think it a fight in the dark. the blind push of men squeezed past endurance. I think it the first passive form of a civil war, which steel-clad forts and armor-plated ships cannot guard us against—the kindling of passions and the arraying of forces that roused to full energy may give cities to the flames and destroy our very civilization itself.

What does the *Herald* think of the strike?

Can it not see in this passive war, in which forty thousand men lay down their tools and give up for the time their means of livelihood, something more than the spread of foreign ideas or the machinations of “walking delegates?” Can it not see in this paralysis of industry, this send-blockade of a great city, this hostile federation of capital on one side and organized labor on the other, the evidences of a deep wrong in the foundations of society, the premonitions of social dangers that the policeman's club will be powerless to ward off?

If the *Herald* looks it may see all this. And if it looks, it may see the cause and the remedy.

The reason why men having nothing but their power to labor are forced to light for employment, to form combinations to coerce employers and to push back the competition of laborers like themselves, is that labor is shut out of its natural opportunities for employing itself by the

monopolization of land.

Nothing can prevent these labor troubles, and nothing can prevent them becoming wider and more violent, save the acknowledgment of the right of all men to the equal use of nature's bounties. This can be done peaceably and easily through simple legislation, and this I have always urged upon workingmen. Those who are most responsible for what already is, and for the worse that will surely come, are those who tell workingmen that they have nothing to gain through politics, and that society as it is is society as it ought to be.

And even while they are fighting under spur of temporary necessity the feeling is deepening among these striking men, as it is among workingmen all over the United States, that striking can at best secure only temporary advantage, and that the root of all labor difficulties is to be found in the land question, and to be reached through political action. This was declared emphatically at Cooper Union last week by Victor Drury, T. B. Maguire and James E. Quinn, the three principal leaders of the great District 49, and is reiterated wherever workingmen meet. Amid the scurry of storm clouds light is breaking.

The proposition that the strikers should also strike against rent shows the tendency in the same direction. It is a pity that the landlord cannot be separated from the house lord. But such a strike might, perhaps, have some effect in impressing upon landlords the fact that they, too, are vitally interested in the settlement of the great social problem.

Henry George.

## **The Tenement Curse**

A correspondent in Pittsburgh sends us a ballad called "The Tenement House," written by C. H. Webb and published some thirty years ago, in which it is told how Popham Pophammer, Esq., got rich, built a fine house on Fifth avenue for himself, then built a house for his God, where Rev. Richman Rejoice preached every Sunday, and finally built a tenement house for the poor, which was very rickety and squalid, and finally burned down, women and children perishing in the flames. The verse is good enough to reprint, but not so the moral. That this city is disgraced by overcrowded tenements is not the fault of the Popham Pophammers. It is the fault of an unjust system, for which the whole people are responsible—as well those who live in tenements as those who live in Fifth avenue mansions—and from which all classes suffer, though in different ways. Tenement houses do not exist because there are greedy rich men, but because, there is a great class of our people so poor that they are glad to get even such miserable shelter. And until we get over the habit of attributing social evils to the wickedness of particular individuals we shall never see the way to social reform.

Charles F. Wingate, the sanitary engineer, is contributing to the *Morning Journal* a series of articles, illustrated with striking cuts, in which he is showing under what shocking conditions a great class of the people of New York are forced to live; and his articles have been supplemented by a large number of communications to the *Journal*, in which tenement dwellers make bitter complaint of the absence of almost everything that goes to make a habitable building.

The fact that the center of the population of New York is yet below Canal street shows strikingly how closely the great masses of our people are crowded together. Seven hundred and fifty

thousand human beings, almost one-half of the entire population of the city, occupy 18,000 houses which Mr. Wingate classifies as “low tenements,” having: reference to their character and not to their height. Most of these tenements are what are called “double-deckers,” four families living on each floor, and in a large part of them the lot is so fully built upon that the people in the rear of one house can almost shake hands with those in the rear of another, and the light is so dim that, as Mr. Wingate says, “the occupants are bleached out like plants, grown in a cellar.”

The death rate in the tenement districts is something fearful, having been 51.11 in the thousand in 1870 and 55.50 in 1884. In one quarter, known as the Mulberry street bend, sixty-five per cent of the children die before they are five years old; and a diagram is given embracing about two and a half blocks in this neighborhood in which there was a death every other day for three years and a half, the total number of deaths being equal to those that should ordinarily occur in a city of nine thousand people.

But the death rate is only an indication from which the curses which overcrowding brings upon humanity can be inferred. The physical and mental suffering, the moral and spiritual degradation, cannot well be indicated in figures. Mr. Wingate says, and every one who knows anything of New York will bear him witness:

In walking through the tenement districts at night or even in the day young girls will be seen standing in the doorways and alleys or seated on stoops talking to groups of men and grown up boys. The instinct of sociability must find gratification, and the street is the only source of relief from the cramped living rooms and from the surveillance of the family. In hot weather hundreds of men, women and children are driven from their stilling rooms to sleep on roofs. yards, stoops, in hallways and even in the street. Every empty cart, packing box or shed becomes a bedroom. A truthful representation of a July night among the east side tenements would require the pen of a Dickens and the pencil of a Dore.

There is constant noise in tenements, which is inevitable from their flimsy construction and the presence of so many persons. There are no carpets to deaden the sounds of heavy-shod feet or moving furniture. The laughter and wails of children resound through every apartment. A scolding woman or a drunken wife beater makes life wretched to his-or-her neighbors. The ceaseless whirl of the sewing machine is dreadful to an invalid or nervous person.

It is when it comes to remedies that Mr. Wingate is weak. Here is what he proposes:

1. Stop building any tenement upon an average city lot, 25x100, to contain more than two families on a floor.
2. Tear down and destroy all rear tenements which abut directly upon each other.
3. Clean out and abolish the stale beer dives as moral and physical nuisances.
4. Stop the overcrowding of tenements by the process of sub-letting—taking lodgers—so common in the Hebrew and Italian sections.
5. Insist that every tenement shall have a dry cellar, good drainage and an ample water supply.
6. Require the board of health to inspect every tenement once in six months, whether a complaint is made or not.

7. Abolish cesspools, and substitute indoor plumbing.

8. Appoint a sufficient number of women inspectors to give personal instruction in hygiene, cooking for the sick and the care of young children.

9. Vacate, and if necessary destroy, any building whose high death rate and condition prove that it is unfit for occupancy.

10. Gut light-shafts so as to supply every hall and interior bedroom with direct light and air.

11. Arrest, fine, and if need be prosecute, delinquent landlords under the criminal law, and filthy tenants as well.

12. Limit the number of liquor saloons in the tenement district.

13. Provide small parks and breathing places in every crowded section.

Here is the program which, with the aid of the press and the moral support which every humane man will give it, can be carried through. Let us “fight it out on this line if it takes all summer.”

And when we did “fight it out on this line,” the fight would have to be begun over again. Nobody probably knows this better than Mr. Wingate. He is proposing palliatives, not a remedy, doubtless because he thinks that the public are not yet educated enough to understand that there can be a remedy. But the only way to get any truth appreciated is to agitate it.

All such measures as those that Mr. Wingate proposes are attempts to repress the symptoms not to cure the disease. They are like devices to enable a drunken man to walk straight or to somewhat restrain his quarrelsomeness. A better way is to get the man sober. And so the best way of preventing the evil results of overcrowding is to remove the causes of overcrowding.

What are the causes of overcrowding?

It may be remarked in passing that this overcrowding is not confined to the poorest classes who inhabit what are called “low tenements.” What is generally known as the middle class—in fact all except the rich—are in New York crowded together closer than human beings ought to live.

The reason of this is, of course, that there are more people wanting house room than the existing house room can accommodate. Says Mr. Wingate:

Hardly an empty room is to be found either in tenement or French flat. Forty-five applicants were recently awaiting a vacancy in one apartment house near the Central park, and a hundred in another. New buildings of all kinds are rented in advance of their completion, and occupied before the paint is fairly dry, and while still reeking with damp from the plastering. The real estate agents are in clover, and the landlords contented and independent. Hundreds of new dwellings have been projected, and will be as eagerly leased and occupied.

With such a pressure to get houses why are not more houses built?

The answer to this is twofold. In the first place the building of a house is in New York a punishable offense. We fine people in New York for building houses just as we fine them for getting drunk or obstructing the sidewalk. No sooner does a man build a house than down comes a tax collector, and in the name of the city and state levies a tax upon him for having<sup>1</sup> ventured to do such a thing, and this line is repeated every year.

This lessens the incentive *to* build houses. It is true that the man who builds a house for rent, and is fined for having done so, puts off this fine upon the tenant in increased house rent. He is able to do this, because the fine falling upon all people who build houses as a punishment for having built houses, capitalists will not build houses for other people to live in unless they can get the ordinary returns to the capital invested, plus the fine. Or, to put it in another way, the tax upon the building of houses checks competition in the building of houses until house rent rises high enough to compensate for the tax. This does not at all lessen the need for houses, but it does lessen what economists call “the effective demand” for houses. The tenant having to pay higher rent than he would without the tax, and having no more means to pay it with, seeks to bring his rent within his means by putting up with smaller accommodations.

But in the second place—and this is the great reason why more houses are not built in New York—houses cannot be built without land to build them on, and land is very costly.

There is plenty of land in New York on which to build houses. Half the area of the city is, in fact, yet unbuilt upon. But when the man who wants to build a house goes to get a place to put it, he finds that for one of these vacant lots he must pay an enormous price.

The reason is that the people who own this vacant land in and around the city of New York know that the population of New York is constantly increasing, and so that the longer they hold it, the higher the price they can get for it. Vacant land does not eat anything. There is no danger of its running off, or being lost, or of any body carrying it away. The only difficulty that the owner of vacant land has in holding it for higher prices is the tax es upon it; and under our system the taxes upon vacant land are comparatively light, the owner of vacant land not being required to pay the tax imposed upon the man who builds upon or improves his land, and being taxed upon his land itself much less even than he would be taxed for the land itself were it built upon or improved.

It thus becomes a very profitable thing to hold land vacant in or about a great city, and great fortunes are made in this way.

George Storm, of the great cigar making firm of Stratton & Storm, is a man with higher ideas than those which relate to the mere making of money, and he has been for some time revolving in his mind a plan by which workingmen and their wives and children might in the summer time enjoy the fresh air and salt bathing of the seashore. Let us suppose that Mr. Storm, associating with himself other rich men of the same kind, were to put up a great hotel on some pleasant beach containing a thousand rooms, and were then to offer it to some association of workingmen on condition that they should run it. Suppose those who went down first were to say to themselves, “This is a beautiful place, and the people of New York will soon be crowding down here wanting rooms. Let us rent to ourselves all these vacant rooms at five cents a week, and when people begin to come down here in a rush we can charge them our own prices.” An artificial scarcity could thus easily be produced, and, with half the hotel vacant, there would be the greatest possible overcrowding in the rooms that were occupied.

What in such a case should we think of a sanitary engineer who, coming to view the place,

should propose as a remedy to cut air shafts in the overcrowded rooms, and to have a force of policemen going around to drive people out of the rooms in which there were too many, even if in consequence they had to sleep in the open air.

Yet this is about the way that the people of New York are managing their city, and the goody-goody remedies that are proposed to somewhat improve the shocking condition of our tenement districts are of just such an order. There would be no overcrowding in such an hotel if no one were allowed to hold a vacant room unless he paid as much for it as though he slept in it; and these would be no overcrowding in the city of New York if the man who held a vacant lot had to pay as much taxes as the man who on such a lot put up the finest kind of a building.

A simple and effective remedy for overcrowding is what the united labor party proposes in its platform—to abolish all taxes on buildings and improvements and to concentrate taxation upon the value of land irrespective of improvements. With this done it would cease to be profitable to hold land vacant in expectation of a rise in its value.

The people who are now holding one-half of the area of New York vacant would find their taxes so h e a w that they would be compelled to build houses upon their land in order to got an income from it, or else to sell it, at whatever price they could get, to those who did want to build. It would thus be much easier to get a lot on which to build a house than now, while there would be no fine imposed for building, as there is now. The consequence would be an enormous increase in the number of houses built, and tenants would do their own inspecting a good deal more thoroughly and more effectively than any corps of city inspectors could. No one goes into a poor and unhealthful house when he can get a good one.

But how thoroughly this simple measure of placing all taxes on the value of land would prevent the overcrowding of tenements can only be realized when it is seen that its general application would abolish that difficulty of finding employment which is the cause of the deep poverty that compels men and women to herd together in any shelter.

Just as the breaking up of land monopoly in New York would set all the building trades at work, so would the breaking up of land monopoly over the whole country set all trades at work. Land is the source of all employment, and when no one could monopolize land, everyone who wanted employment would be able to find it, and that cut-throat competition which now tends to force wages down to starvation rates would cease. Open land to labor and poverty is abolished.

But it will be said that in a great, steadily growing city like New York there must always be over-crowding at the center, because so many people want to live there. Now, they will not want to live there over-crowded if proper facilities for getting to the outskirts are provided. Our rapid transit facilities are a disgrace to the city. A passenger ought to be able to go from the City Hall to the northern boundary of New York or to the outskirts of Brooklyn or Jersey City in ten or fifteen minutes, and there is no reason whatever why we should not, as the united labor party proposes, carry passengers in this way without any charge at all. A tax upon the value of land would enable us to build and run such railroads free and do many other things besides without imposing any fine on industry. It would simply be using for the public benefit a fund which the public growth creates. Every man who comes to New York, every child who is born here, adds something to the value of land. Instead of allowing this great fund to go into the pockets of a comparatively small number of our people, and thus make a small class rich, we ought to use it for the common benefit of the whole community.



## **Is It Wise?**

Pomp and power, kings, kaisers, presidents and governors, legislation without ceasing, vast standing armies, Pinkerton detectives. steam and electricity in harness, huge national debts, burdensome taxes, stately prisons, palaces and villas, millionaires by scores, bribers and bribe takers, luxury beyond a dream, beautiful churches, ! saviors of society, hurry-skurry, hurly-burly, lying, cheating, scrambling after wealth, and devil take the hindmost—the Civilization of the nineteenth century.

Misery and destitution, squalid tenement houses, rum mills by the thousand, thieves, tramps and prostitutes, children perishing, despairing women, famine-haunted men, ignorant preachers of chaos, fierce competition, increasing immigration, a struggling, writhing class of humanity, fighting desperately for standing room in the slough of poverty, and the poor privilege of work at starvation wages—the Barbarism of the nineteenth century.

Dynamite, the tool of civilization, the weapon of barbarism.

BOOM! and a despot dies amidst his guards. Strangle a few nihilists, and play that nothing is the matter.

BOOM! and a great capital is stricken with a panic. Hang up a few Irishmen, and play again that nothing is the matter.

BOOM! And an awful shadow of dread falls on a fair western city. Sentence a few socialists to death, and once more play that nothing is the matter.

BOOM! And a stately steamship lies half wrecked upon the sea.

Shall we keep on playing that nothing is the matter?

## **The Health Department Bill**

A bill has been introduced in the state senate by Mr. Daly and in the assembly by Mr. Crosby that proposes to revolutionize the health department of this city. It appears to be a good bill, calling, perhaps, for slight amendments. We hesitate to suggest an amendment lest it delay the bill, for the people are impatient for almost any measure that will put out of office the present members of the board of health. The whole department is demoralized because of the bad character and incompetency of the board, and the health and lives of over a million of people in the largest city of the continent are endangered. Epidemics of measles and diphtheria are with us, and now comes a threatened epidemic of smallpox. This city at all times needs the wisest, most vigilant, most energetic health supervision that can be had, because, notwithstanding its rivers have given it the best possible means of securing a healthful growth, its sanitary conditions are bad from the mean habitations and the overcrowding of its wretched quarters. Money enough is given to obtain the best professional oversight. But what have we? A department with four heads. One is the president of the police commission, who needs only to know what a wise health officer would require in the way of help from the police; another is the health officer

of the port, who holds his office at quarantine because of political favoritism, and who can do no more to protect the city from sickness by remaining at his post than by visiting the health department here; another is the president of the board of health, indicted on a grave criminal charge; and the fourth is a physician, against whose honorable name nothing can be said, but who, if he were competent, could have pulled this board, bad as it is, up to a higher sense of its duty. So far as the observation of the public can form any judgment of the last-named gentleman, he is useless or powerless where he is. Every member of the board should be compelled to retire.

Their energy and heroism have been exhausted in harassing the poor; and their prudence and discretion shown only in saving the owners of tenement houses from penalties. Let their highly-paid attorney go with thorn, to write useless letters and give discreet opinions for private persons who may think his services worth paying for.

The bill now before the legislature, if passed and approved, will put these persons out of office. That is so acceptable a promise that we hail the appearance of the bill with pleasure. Looking into its text, however, we find that it provides one commissioner of health, responsible to the mayor for the faithful and capable performance of his duty, and for a deputy responsible to the commissioner. This will throw the burden of responsibility where it ought to be, upon the mayor of the city; and now that sanitary science has become the study of some of the best Professional minds of our day, the commissioner will have no difficulty in finding a wise and efficient expert as a lieutenant.

The seventh section of the bill ought to provide for the publication in a newspaper of all new orders under the sanitary code in the homes of people affected by them, as well as in the *City Record*; but even without amendment the passage of the bill will give cause for public rejoicing.

## **Lawyers As Legislators**

The lawyers in congress are disturbed. A bill before the senate proposes to make it unlawful for any member of either house to accept employment as a lawyer, or payment for services of any kind, from railroads which have obtained charters or a land or money grant from the United States. Such a law would destroy a respectable mask for bribery. Hence the flutter.

The bill ought to be passed, and public opinion should demand the passage of a similar bill by even- state legislature. It would be well to make the prohibition even more general. If a merchant cannot, while pursuing his business, be secretary of the treasury, a lawyer while pursuing his profession should not be allowed to sit in a lawmaking body. Much of a lawyer's business may not conflict with a legislator's duties, but his profession admits of employment wholly inconsistent with such duties, and the line cannot be safely drawn short of the prohibition of its exercise while he is a lawmaker.

There is a danger from the influence which private interests exert upon honest men unconsciously; but there is greater danger in the opportunities which legal employment affords for the corruption of legislators. A law-making lawyer is exceptionally valuable to large interests that may be affected by legislation, and most of the fees of such lawyers come to them because they are law-makers. Thus they are under obligation to two masters—their clients who have legislative interests and the people whom they are sworn to serve. Which master has been best served may be learned by an examination of the railroad, land, currency and kindred legislation and non-legislation of the past thirty years.

The proposition to increase the number of general sessions judges by four can very well lie over until the three judges we have are harder pressed with work than now. Of the three, one is always idle, and those that work begin late in the day and quit early. Civil judges of ten have more work to do after leaving the bench than on it. There is reason, therefore, for short court hours in the civil courts. But in the criminal courts it is very seldom that any judicial work is done off the bench. These courts open in two parts only, at 11 in the morning, and usually close before 5, frequently earlier, with an hour's intermission in the afternoon. It is little wonder their calendars are 6,000 cases behind. Let all the judges sit at once; let the court open at 10 and keep open until 5, and the apparent necessity for more judges will vanish. The expense of four more judges, if devoted to preventing crime, would be far more effective for law and order than if spent in punishing offenders.

Clay Tilden, president of the Jersey City police board, offered to pay the expenses of decently interring the body of the boy whom Pinkerton's troops killed recently because, as the employer of the boy's father for over twelve years, he knew his circumstances financially. "This offer is not made as a city official," said Mr. Tilden, "but as an individual and employer to a worthy employe." What a commentary on our industrial condition that a worthy employe for twelve years should be an object of his employer's charity in so small a matter financially as the decent burial of his child!

The *Independent* is as gentle as a purring cat over the murder of young Hogan by Pinkerton's thugs. The thugs are "blameable, but not punishable," is its verdict. "He who opposes the arm of the law in any manner does so at his peril," it proceeds, referring to the fact that a party of boys while skating threw snowballs and pieces of ice at the thugs. "The police were assaulted and they fired upon the crowd, killing one of the offenders," it adds, in spite of the notorious facts that it was not the police, but the thugs, that were "assaulted;" that it was not a crowd, but a party of boys that "assaulted" them, and that the murdered lad was not in the party or in a crowd, but had stopped on the street on his way home to look at Pinkerton's troops. But the thugs "should have considered that their assailants were boys, and that the missiles were only ice and snow," murmurs the *Independent* in the tone of a pretty schoolma'am to the big, bad scholar on the back bench; and upon reflection it intimates that the boy's life may "have been taken needlessly." Still, it "doubts" if the officers—meaning the thugs—"will be convicted of any crime." The owner of the *Independent* does not appear to realize that society is "squat on" the safety valve just now, and that this kind of palliation of crime by society savers fans the tire\* under the boiler. Or is it true, as there is good reason to suspect, that men like the owner of the *Independent* and the word-juggler of the *Evening Post* have deliberately set about the task of irritating and inflaming the minds of men already well nigh desperate? If violence comes, on the heads of these newspaper anarchists will rest the responsibility. They are teaching a dangerous lesson—that murder is not murder; that it may be blamable but is not punishable when the rich are murderers and the poor their victims.

The *Herald* tells with pride that an advertisement in its columns for a bookkeeper brought 123, applications. But how many applications would a bookkeeper advertising for a situation have got?

The Philadelphia *Record* prints the record of sales of daily papers by a firm in Phoenixville, Pa., for the years 1885 and 1886. Of course Pennsylvania papers are chiefly sold there, but the record incidentally shows that while all of the other New York dailies have increased their circulation, the New York *Sun* dropped from 272 copies in 1885 to 60 in 1886. As the *Sun* was built up originally by the pennies of working men, and has since proved a traitor to their cause, as it has to every other that it ever espoused, such facts as this show that justice is overtaking that paper.

## The Scottish Land War

### **Progress of Exterminating Crofters from the Lands of Their Ancestors**

Glasgow, Scotland, Jan. 22.—All hail to THE STANDARD! May it go onward and upward until the land system which *now* grinds the souls of the masses is abolished. We in Scotland look to that banner with extreme interest and with dependence arising from the bad habit of relying upon the rich and influential classes. But this dependence, this want of self-reliance, is beginning to give way in the light of the new ideas spreading over Scotland. Mr. Gladstone's home rule bill, by the discussion of great, broad principles which it has induced, has been one of the best possible correctives of this habit of subserviency on the part of the masses toward the "better classes." In advance are the crofters, reduced to poverty and misery by exorbitant rents upon their little farms. They thoroughly understand and are acting upon the idea of "no more landlords to parliament." But they can have few direct representatives in parliament: for when the process of their extermination is not going on—the small farms being absorbed into the large ones—the dominant land owning class finds means to sap their influence.

The parochial school system has done much to disseminate knowledge among the people, though, strange as it may appear, the teachers, as a rule, are not in sympathy with the spirit of democracy, but are subservient to, because they are dependent upon, the aristocracy. This comes from the power of appointment being in the hands of the local lord, his factor, some of the larger land holders and the parish minister, who, of course, favor no one inimical to their interests. The result is that in all my travels over this country I have not found half a dozen teachers, who, in a dispute between a landlord and his tenants, have sided with the latter. One of these rare exceptions was Donald MacRae of Roskeen, in Rosshire, who, notwithstanding long and tried service, was dismissed for aiding the poor people in their demands for justice. However, in spite of the fact that their teachers are against them, the masses of the people are gaining a great deal from being taught to read and think for themselves, and the movement is going on after a similar fashion in other directions. Lord MacDonald, Col. Fraser, the Duke of Argyll and others, in attempting to crush out the new spirit in their tenants, have not only goaded to further action those they intended to subdue, but awakened to opposition thousands who, but for such measures, would never have revolted.

Perhaps the most notorious land owning tyrants in Scotland are Lord Macdonald, the Duke of Argyll and Col. Fraser. Lord Macdonald owns the Isle of Skye, one of the Hebrides. About five years ago occurred what is known as the "Battle of the Braes," which was caused by the landlord's superintendent, the factor, refusing to restore extensive pastorage on one of the hills named Ben Lee. The pasture was let to a large sheep farmer, regardless of the fact that the Braesusens were already paying rent for it; and when, after much struggling against adversity, they rose up in revolt against this injustice, a strong body of armed police was brought up from Glasgow to repress them.

The Duke of Argyll, who might well be styled the "Prophet of Consolidation," holds that the remedy for all highland and island ills is the concentration of land owning. And claims that great increases in rent follow as a consequence of such a course. He owns the Island of Tiree. When he came into possession there was a population of 4,400 souls. He and the potato disease have, according to the last census, reduced the population to 2,730 souls, or about 546 families. In his grandfather's time the rent was about £1,000 a year. According to the valuation roll of our day it is well on to £6,000.

Concentration of the land into large holdings has reduced a large part of the population to direst poverty, and last spring meal was sent by charitably disposed persons from a distance to keep some of the people from starving. Such tyranny on the part of the Duke of Argyll has resulted repeatedly in rebellion, which could only be put down by armed law, and several men are now confined behind bars for what "his grace" is pleased to call "mobbing, rioting and deforcement."

Col. Fraser, of Kilmuir, bought an estate for £80,000, and went to work up his rent roll, so that he could sell it at £200,000. In the course of a few years he made three additions to the rent. At last some of the victims refused to pay, which refusal was followed by disturbances in the townships of Garnfad, Borneskitovaig, Herbusta and other places.

A royal commission appointed to inquire into the condition of the crofters has in some cases caused reductions in rent to the amount of thirty, fifty, and even seventy-five per cent., besides wiping out considerable amounts of arrears. But these were exceptional cases. Being for the most- part in sympathy with the dominant class the commission did not prescribe those radical changes which alone could do justice to the unhappy crofters.

John Murdoch.

### **On the Monument Erected to Maxxini at Genon**

Italia, mother of the souls of men,

Mother divine,

Of all that served thee best with sword or pen,

All sons of thine,

Thou knowest that here likeness of the best

Before thee stands:

The head most high, the heart found faithfulest.

The purest hands.

Above the fume and foam of time that flits,

The soul, we know,

Now sits on high where Alligheri sits

With Angelo.

Not his own heavenly tongue hath heavenly speech

Enough to say

What this man was, whose praise no thought may

reach,

No words can weigh.

.....

City superb, that hadst Columbus first

For sovereign son,

Be prouder that thy breast hath later nurst

This mightier one.

Earth shows to heaven the names by thousands told

That crown her fame:

But highest of all that heaven and earth behold

Mazzini's name.

—*Myernon Charles Swimburne.*

## **Real Free Trade**

Mr. Benjamin Adams, in a two column communication to the Charleston, S. C, *News and Courier* on free trade, attempts to find out why it is that the protectionists are, many of them, willing to carry their doctrine to the extreme of prohibiting imports, while the so-called free traders are really mere patchers and linkers who shrink from any proposal to sweep away the protective system. He reaches the same conclusions as those of Mr. George in protection or Free Trade," namely, that beyond tariff restrictions there are other restrictions to freedom both of trade and production. These are, he says, monopoly of the resources of nature by private individuals. Abolishing import duties is but offering a stone to the starving workingman, he says, whereas real free trade in land and imports would raise the workingman, be he farmer, farm hand, null operative, storekeeper or clerk, white or black, from the hand-to-mouth poverty of today to a condition of ease and plenty."

## **The Brand of Cain**

“Cain corrupted the simplicity of the manners of former times and substituted fraud and artifice in the place of honesty and plain dealing. He was the original inventor of weights and measures, the builder of the first city in the world, and also 'the first man who divided the common property in the earth by inclosures and landmarks.'—[Josephus, *Antiq.*, book I, chap. II. Translated by Charles S. Clarke, D. D. London 1785.]

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### The Week

At a dinner of the representatives of New York's old Dutch families last week Mr. William Waldorf Astor responded to the toast, “William the Silent.” Mr. Astor said : “It is a fortunate thing for a country when its great men spring from the people and not from a privileged class.” Perhaps then it would be (rise for the American people to abolish the privileged class of earth owners which Mr. Astor is so conspicuous a representative, and thus give the people constituting it a chance to spring into greatness.

Of the 175 present at the dinner 65 had the proof of their azure blood in the prefix “Van” to their names. These descendants of the Dutch emigrants who preempted Manhattan island two hundred years ago, drank champagne and ate through nine courses in truly aristocratic style; it is very doubtful, however, if either the eatables or the style would have suited old one-legged Peter Stuyvesant or the various market gardeners who no doubt formed a large percentage of the ancestry these redoubtable rent-drawers.

The board of estimate and apportionment having somewhat reduced the appropriation at the disposal of the board of education, that body, presided over by a Wall street broker, proposes to economize by cutting down the salaries of the teachers instead of those of professors in the city colleges and of high priced officials who have a political pull. Teachers are wage earners, and the men who constitute majority of the board of education believe in cutting down wages whenever an opportunity is offered. By the way, it is a noteworthy fact that Isaac Bell, one of the leading directors of that plutocratic enemy of labor, the Old Dominion steamship company, and a former crony of Tweed's, is a member of the board of education.

The rigorous resistance of the *Herald* may prove effective, and there is some ground to hope that the present- agitation may result in the passage of a bill shortly to be introduced in the interest of the teachers, and which provides: 1. Line promotions of teachers in the order of seniority of appointment as fast as vacancies occur. 2. Salaries of each grade of teacher and principals shall be fixed by law, as in the case of firemen and policemen. 3. When the average attendance of a school diminishes during the year, the board of education shall not turn the teachers into the streets, but shall transfer them to fill vacancies in other parts of the city, with rank and salary as before. 4. Teachers who remain in schools whose attendance has diminished shall not have their salaries reduced.

A choice collection of saviors of society, members of aristocratic clubs, arranged a cock fight of seven battles, which took place last Saturday in a Fifth avenue mansion. Cock fights are prohibited by

law, and the projectors of this one showed the regular society-saving respect for law by keeping their amusement and the names of the “gentlemen” engaged in it a secret.

The liability of the elevated railroad for damages for depreciation in the value of real estate, occasioned by the erection of its structure, has been determined by the court of appeals in two cases decided by that court last week. The damages in one case are ten thousand dollars and in the other three thousand eight hundred and forty-one. The fight over the law having been decided against the company, the fight will now probably be renewed over the effort of the plaintiffs to collect their money. If the railroad cannot beat its adversaries on the judgment they will try to on the execution.

Assemblyman Finn has introduced in the legislature of this state a bill prohibiting individuals and corporations from combining to produce artificial scarcity in natural or staple products. The punishment for individuals is to be that already prescribed for conspiracy, and for a corporation it is to be the forfeiture of its franchise. Similar laws already exist, and no addition to their number can do any good so long as any political party remains in power that looks to the money of the wealthy men and corporations for its hope of success.

Congress has continued to indulge in buncombe concerning what is called the fisheries dispute. On Friday of last week Mr. Frye of Maine read with a great deal of dramatic effect a telegram from Eastport, in that state, announcing that Canadians were fishing in American waters, while American fishermen were vigorously excluded from British waters. “That is all!” exclaimed Frye. On Monday Mr. Hoar of Massachusetts, another political fisherman, presented to the senate resolutions passed by the Massachusetts legislature, demanding the retaliatory exclusion of all Canadian products by land or sea. In the house on the same day Mr. Lawler of Illinois introduced resolutions alluding to the belligerent tone of the Canadian press and the report that the British will back up the Dominion government, with a fleet, reciting the defenseless condition of our ports and calling on the president to inform congress what steps, if any, are necessary to meet this emergency. This piece of gaseonade was referred.

All of this bluster is simply the outcome of a desire to scare the country into costly and needless war preparations with the threefold object of maintaining the present high tariff, promoting robbery and giving us what the plutocratic class is fond of calling a strong government. In none of these objects have the workingmen, who would be drafted into the army in case of war, any favorable interest. The actual number of American Citizens engaged in the fishery business is very small. The chief men concerned are vessel owners, whose crews are largely made up of Canadians. These vessel owners demand that their boats and those of the Canadians shall fish side by side, enjoying equal opportunities in Canadian waters, but that when the fish come to market, those in Canadian vessels shall pay a high duty, while those in American vessels shall come in free. Canada is eager for a treaty that will give Americans and Canadians absolutely equal rights in British waters and equal rights to sell the fish thus caught in American ports free of duty. The Yankee vessel owners demand the right to raise the price of fish to every consumer in the United States for their own benefit. It is to preserve this privilege to a few vessel owners that men like Frye, Hoar and Lawler would subject our people to all of the horrors of war, and ask the mass of our workingmen to sacrifice their lives in defense of the great principle of high priced fish.

The purpose of some of this war talk is plainly disclosed by an Associated press dispatch, which, after describing a model of a gunboat displayed by Cramp of Philadelphia in the room of the house committee on naval affairs, goes on to say that “some of the members will take advantage of the favorable opportunity afforded by the pendency of the fisheries retaliatory measures to bring before the



house one of the bills now in the hands of the naval committee providing for a substantial addition to the navy.”

The senate gave some time last week to the consideration of a postal telegraph bill. Mr. Wilson of Iowa submitted a substitute for the Edmunds bill. It will be remarkable indeed if either Wilson or Edmunds shall frame, and the senate pass, any bill that does not guard carefully the interests the existing telegraph. It is well, however, that the subject should thus be kept before the public mind.

The senate has again rejected the nomination of Mr. Matthews for receiver of deeds in the District of Columbia. The rejection was due to the votes of democrats who do not think that negroes ought to have any political rights, and to republicans who think his possession of such rights ought to be made dependent on his continued support of the republican party. Mr. Hoar, the fat and fussy little senator from Massachusetts, has proposed an official inquiry into the right of the president to reappoint a man who has been rejected by the senate. On the other hand, the pastors of twenty-one colored churches, with Bishop John V. Brown at their head, have protested against the discrimination by republican senators against a man solely on account of color.

Senator Beck's Scotch blood is up on account of the treatment accorded to his bill to forbid congressmen from acting as attorneys for land grant railroads. The conduct forbidden is so reprehensible that no right thinking man would think of permitting it; but so many senators are thus engaged that thus far the bill has had no chance. On Friday of last week it was made the unfinished business for the following day. On Saturday it was discussed and then by a motion of Mr. Best of Missouri it lost its place on the calendar. Senator Beck was angry, and declared that he would move every day to take it up until he got a vote on it, and he was so persistent about it that he got it back to its place on the calendar. On Monday Mr. McRae of Arkansas submitted a similar bill in the house, and asked for its immediate consideration, but Mr. Farker from New York objected and it went over.

The river and harbor bill, bristling with jobs and extravagance, has passed the house of representatives. Several of the appropriation bills are well advanced, and the disposition seems to be to spend money freely in everything, and to do anything rather than leave the people to apply their money to their own uses instead of taking it from them by taxation to spend it in jobs.

The house judiciary committee has reported adversely a proposed amendment to the constitution providing for the election of United States senators by the people of each state, instead of by the legislature. Despite the adverse report Mr. Weaver of Iowa got the joint resolution placed on the calendar, where it will, however, remain indefinitely.

Slow as congress moves in matters that concern the whole people, both houses managed to pass, with indiscreet haste, a bill giving away the streets of Washington to a cable railway company that is backed by a pool of real estate speculators, in which many congressmen are pecuniarily interested.

The senate passed on Monday a resolution introduced by Mr. Van Wyck of Nebraska, instructing the secretary of the treasury to report whether or not any national banks are loaning money on condition that it shall be repaid in gold.

On the same day a joint resolution was introduced in the house by Mr. Crain of Texas, proposing constitutional amendments changing inauguration day from the 4th of March to the first Monday in April, and providing that the fiftieth congress (that elected last fall) shall terminate Dec. 31, 1888, and that the fifty-first congress shall begin its session on the 1<sup>st</sup> of January, 1889. The last

named amendment ought to be adopted, The house of representatives now in session was elected in 1884. That chosen in 1886 will not meet until next December. Such an arrangement is preposterous. The same reasons that demand this change are equally potent, however, against the other amendment. The processes of electing a president need to be shortened, so that the new president shall come in with the new congress as soon as practicable after their choice by the voters.

The conference committee on the bill repealing the preemption and timber culture law and amending the homestead law have been unable to agree, because, the house members declare, the senate conferees are acting in bad faith and do not wish to compromise the differences. The measure is essentially a prohibition of the acquirement of public land by any but actual settlers, and by them not in excess of 160 acres per family. Another meeting of the conferees is promised in a few days. The senate, a stronghold of monopoly, will kill every such bill whenever it dares to do so. If it could only deal with them in its favorite secret session there would be no more of such measures passed.

Secretary Manning will soon retire from the treasury to take the presidency of the new Western national bank just organized in this city. It is astonishing how rapidly the treasury educates men into bankers. Mr. Manning might have lived in Albany a century without being called to New York city to become the head of a great banking institution. Mr. Manning differs from John Sherman in leaving the treasury before beginning his career as a New York banker. It is said that the new institution will pay Mr. Manning \$20,000 a year for serving it alone, whereas the United States only paid him \$8,000 a year for serving all of the national banks as secretary of the treasury.

The prolonged senatorial struggle in Texas ended on Tuesday in the nomination of Mr. Reagan on the thirty-second ballot in the democratic caucus, and this assured his election. The railway influence did all in its power to defeat Mr. Reagan, and his election is an evidence that the people are still more than a match for monopoly in Texas.

The long wrangle over the United States senatorship in New Jersey continues, and both parties are resorting to reckless, and even revolutionary tactics in order to win success. When a big office is in view the respect of the political saviors of society for law and order loses all restraining power.

The bitter fight in Indiana ended on Wednesday in the election of David Turpie, the democratic caucus candidate. Mr. Robinson, the democratic greenbacker, voted for Turpie and republican greenbackers voted for Harrison. The vote stood 76 to 74. Speaker Sayre of the house declared that there had been no election. and President Smith of the senate announced the election of Turpie. It is understood that the republicans will hold a joint convention of their own, vote for Harrison, and try to get the United States senate to admit him.

The senatorial contest in West Virginia promises to be a stubborn one. Thirty-eight democratic members have pledged themselves to stand by Senator Camden, the Standard oil and railroad candidate, to the end. Nine other democrats have pledged themselves never to vote for Camden. The republicans stick to Wiley; but Goff, another monopolist adherent, is their real choice. The greenbackers, who have several members, stick to Burdette. It is said that the railroads are prepared, in case of need, to deliver several republican votes owned by them to Camden, rather than permit the election of any anti-monopoly candidate.

A bill has been introduced in the Pennsylvania legislature providing for a state railway commission, modeled on that provided for by the interstate commerce bill. Unless the bill is satisfactory to the railroad it will have a poor chance of passing the Pennsylvania legislature.

In the Illinois house of representatives last week a member read a dispatch, dated Washington, Jan. 26, giving the text of a letter addressed to the president, signed by Ralph Beaumont, John J. McCartney and James Campbell, claiming to be the "national legislation committee Knights of Labor," opposing the interstate commerce bill, and requesting President Cleveland to veto it. Mr. Dixon of Cook county, leader of the labor party in the house, "branded the letter as a falsehood." and said "it had been promulgated in the interest of monopolies." Another labor representative thought that Mr. Dixon was mistaken. Whether he was or not, it is very unwise for any committee to declare in the name of the working people opposition to the first serious attempt, however imperfect it may be in detail, to subject the railways to legislative control.

Justice Bradley has ordered the discharge of Oscar T. Baldwin, who robbed the Mechanics' bank of Newark, N. J., of \$250,000. One of the grounds of the decision that the sentence of Judge Nixon was illegal is that it imposed hard labor, whereas imprisonment was alone provided for. This is the galling grievance of Baldwin, and his threatened suit for damages because he was compelled to work is now in order. The brutality of compelling a gentleman who stole a quarter of a million to work like a common laborer who never stole anything, infuriates Baldwin and his numerous line friends.

The tendency of the police to interfere with free speech was again illustrated by Detective Grissil, at Buffalo, who informed Mrs. Parsons that "The police had concluded not to allow her to speak." The woman was not intimidated, however, and as the detective thought better of his threat the speech went on.

At a meeting of the barbed-wire pool in Chicago last week, a general advance in prices of from live to ten per cent. was agreed upon, to take effect immediately. The pool has been gradually strengthening itself for four years and now controls the market. A combination with the Smooth Wire association is about being made, and "overproduction" in either sort will be avoided.

The queen's speech at the opening of parliament last week fell flat, and gave no information that the public had not received long before.

Lord Randolph Churchill relieved the monotony of the opening proceedings, however, by a declaration that he had resigned from the cabinet because of the extravagance of the war and navy estimates, and also because of the governments needless interference in the affairs of other nations. This statement was loudly cheered by the liberals.

Opinions naturally differ as to the effect of Churchill's performances, but there are indications of a disposition on the part of the younger Tories to flock about him, and that the old fogies begin to tear him is shown by the fact that the *St. James Gazette* denounces him as an unprincipled politician, who is playing his own game without regard to the interests of his party.

About the only definite program announced by the government is a plan for cutting of debate and preventing anticipated obstruction by Irish members through the invention of a more effective gag law.

The negotiations for a reunion of the liberal party do not appear to have accomplished much thus far, and the defeat of Goschen has so encouraged some of the more radical Gladstoncites that they oppose any further efforts at reconciliation.

How reconciliation is possible between true liberals and those led by Chamberlain it is difficult to see at this distance. Chamberlain made a speech at Birmingham last Saturday night, in the course of which he justified the secession of the unionists, declared that they were increasing in numbers, and that there were limits to their concessions. He said he would not submit to terms dictated by a portion of the Irish representatives in parliament, nor to a minority party representing an anti-English conspiracy. The whole tone of the speech indicates that Chamberlain's idea of conciliation is that Gladstone shall surrender to him on the Irish question. Mr. Chamberlain bitterly denounces "the plan of campaign."

Evictions continue in Ireland and the usual brutality characterizes the conduct of the bailiffs and the police. In several instances serious riots have been threatened. A surprising incident is the writing of a letter by the mother of Clifford Lloyd, expressing her sympathy for the tenants evicted at Glenbeigh. When Mr. Lloyd was special magistrate under Lord Spencer he was noted for the savage severity with which he enforced the laws against the tenantry.

Belfast indulged in another of its customary disgraceful riots on last Saturday night. The soldiers of the West Surrey regiment insulted a number of Catholics, and the latter retaliated with stones, disabling many of the soldiers. Numerous arrests were made.

On the arrival of the steamship *Alaska* at Queenstown on Tuesday, Michael Davitt was met by the mayor of Cork and a deputation from the Irish national league. He was escorted to Cork, where he was received with enthusiasm by the people and given a banquet by the municipal council. The Cork council, by the way, has, in response to a request by the Prince of Wales for subscriptions to the queen's jubilee, replied that it would be more appropriate for his royal highness to send relief to the Irish people in distress.

Germany and France are still watching each other and steadily preparing for the light that each of them professes a desire to avoid. Franco is gathering military supplies and Germany drilling the reserves. On Tuesday Emperor William said to the president of the Prussian landtag: "Once before we had to dissolve the reichstag owing to its refusal to vote an army bill, and then the differences between the government and the parliamentary majority were only brought to an end by a foreign war."

The Frankfort *Gazette* publishes a special dispatch from Rome, saying that the Vatican is surprised at the assertions of the organs of the Prussian government relative to the attitude of the pope. Prince Bismarck, the dispatch says, promised the pope the complete abrogation of the May laws in return for the Vatican's influencing the center party to vote for the septennate. To this proposition the pope responded that he was unable to interfere, but that he had caused the leaders of the Catholics to know that he would be pleased if the members of the center found voting for the septennate consistent with their political duty. The Germans appear to accept this astounding interference in their domestic affairs as quietly as do the daily newspapers of this city.

The Italian troops have met with a severe disaster in the Soudan, and instead of recalling them the chamber of deputies has voted the government \$1,000,000 to send them re-enforcements. The radicals proposed returning from the ill-fated enterprise, but they were howled down by the majority.

Among THE STANDARD's exchanges is the *Walla Walla Weekly Watchman* of Walla Walla, Walla Walla county, Washington territory. Well, we won't weary well wishers willfully with w's, as an ample alphabet allows another alternative.

## Answers To Queries

### **An Inquiring Vermonter**

Westminster, Vt., Jan. 25.—I am reading “Progress and Poverty” for the third time and want an explanation of one or two points. In Chapter I. of Book X. it is stated that the device of “placing all taxes on the value of land would be in effect putting up the land at auction to whoever would pay the highest rent to the state.” Suppose I pay ten dollars rent for the land on which my “hovel” stands and you do the same, but next year you build a house at a cost of three thousand dollars. The following year I offer one hundred and ninety dollars rent for your land, and I can afford to, for you cannot remove the house, and you must bid over me or lose the use of your land and incidentally the improvements on it. Could all improvements be taken up instanter and removed to another place without cost it would be different. Here is a farm worth about three thousand dollars. The improvements have cost probably eight thousand dollars. What rent should be paid on it? Suppose some “board” appraises the rental values; then a man must pay any rent they say or abandon his property, for the next man can afford to pay rent equal to the amount of the land and improvement rental. This, in effect, is taxing all property its full rental value, save such as can be put on wheels or afloat. Why not tax bodies of water as well as land? All the water power of the Connecticut river is in private hands.

W. H. Blanchard,

You are misled by confusing land with real estate. It is not both the house and the land that would go to the highest bidder, but the land alone. After buying land, if it were put up at auction for the benefit of the state, you would still be obliged to pay the owner of improvements for them. It is, therefore, not necessary to the plan that improvements should be capable of immediate removal. A farm worth \$3,000, the improvements of which alone are worth \$8,000, is not supposable. It is probable enough that the improvements cost that much and have deteriorated in value since. It is also possible that it would now cost that much to replace them, and when replaced that they would be worth far less than the cost, on account of poor situation. A grand hotel, erected in a swamp for example, would not be worth more than the value of old materials. The ground rent of such a farm, however, or indeed of any farm, could be easily ascertained by determining the value of the adjoining highway, on the assumption that there was enough of it for a farm. Your fear about unfair appraisements is not well grounded. Anything of that kind would soon correct itself. If too high, they would be subject to review; if too low, the community would interfere.

Why not tax bodies of water as well as land? Why. that is involved in the proposition, which is simply this, that the value of all natural advantages privately appropriated shall be taxed for public benefit.

If you read again the passage you quote, you will see that it is introduced as an illustration of the way a land value tax would bring vacant land into use. “Progress and Poverty” does not advocate the sale of land at auction for the benefit of the state; it advocates a tax laid solely on land values, so as to take for public use that value of natural opportunities which demand for them creates, and to throw upon those natural opportunities which are not in demand for present use, but are kept idle on speculation.

## Land Reform the Key to Independence

Newark, N. J., Jan. 31.—The *Leader*, the workingmen's organ of New York, says that “The ownership of their own homes by many of the striking coal handlers at Bergen Point is the mainstay of their ability to continue their strike. Is not this inconsistent with the idea that land should not be privately owned?”

L. E. T.

No. It is in perfect harmony with that idea, Those strikers who own their own homes are independent, because there is a part of the earth on which they can rest. the soles of their feet without somebody else's permission. If every workingman was similarly situated, a strike would be irresistible if once begun. But none would be begun. It would be a case of Captain Scott and the coon.

Under the existing system of land tenures very few workingmen can have homes. As population increases at any point, land values there rise above the ability of workingmen to buy. But if private property in land were done away with, every one could have a home. As the independence of the land-owning strikers in New Jersey is, so, many times multiplied, would be the strength of all workingmen, if land values were taxed so high as to open up all unused land to any one who wanted to use it.

The car-drivers' strike last summer could have been won if the idle land of this city had been in open to occupancy. The strikers then would have had no fear of being turned upon the street for lack of rent money, for a few hundred tents would have sheltered them till cold weather. As it was, although one-third of Manhattan island is vacant, there was no place upon which the car-drivers could have pitched a tent without trespassing.

It is not the greed of employers that makes all strikes difficult, and so many of them failures, but the greed of employers pressing in one direction and that of land lords pressing in the other. The employers flat, “Work for twenty cents an hour or got no wages at all,” meets that of the landlord, “Pay rent or quit!” and, between the two, workmen are crushed like grams of corn between the upper and nether millstones. Employers would be impotent if workmen could locate upon the nearest idle land.

It is not ownership of land that makes land animals independent of each other, but right of occupancy. He to whom that right is denied is not free, and private ownership operates to deny it to an increasing multitude. Put an end to private ownership by taxing land values, to death and the right of occupancy in all, and with it personal independence, will revive.

## Land and Cattle

NEW YORK.—Will not the arguments against private property in land, which I admit are very forcible, apply in the case of private property in cattle?

—A Reader Of THE STANDARD.

[Certainly not. It is evident that you have not read those arguments with sufficient attention to

know whether they are forcible; else you would not ask so foolish a question.

Land is limited; cattle may be multiplied indefinitely. Land is essential to human life; cattle are not. Cattle would disappear from civilization but for human labor; while the surface of the earth and all it contains would be the same if human labor ceased.

Cattle are as much products of labor as linen cloth. The natural forces necessary to both reside in the soil; if that be devoted by labor to the cultivation of flax, the product may be linen; if to grass it may be cattle. If to flax it tends to diminish the supply of eat tie; if to grass the supply of linen.

Literally, human labor makes nothing. It directs and shapes, but does not create. It produces cattle by the thousand herds when it devotes land to raising cattle; wheat beyond measure when it devotes land to raising wheat; lumber, iron, coal, clothing, when it resorts to land for those things. It can exterminate cattle by neglecting to breed and nurture them, as it can exterminate plows by neglecting to make them. And it is no more true of food and clothing than it is of cows and horses, that the continuing supply is due to human industry.

But not so of land. That is the source of everything we enjoy. It cannot be diminished by neglect or increased by industry. Its private appropriation limits opportunities to produce; but the private appropriation of products, whether cattle or something else, does not, so long as land is available. If one man owned all land nobody could keep cattle without his permission, but if one man owned all cattle, land being free, the cattle monopoly would soon end.]

## **Press Opinions**

What a blessing our tariff is—not alone to those who are “protected” by it—but also to custom house officials and all the dead beats and hangers on of that government almshouse, as shown by the mere cost of collecting all that boodle. The secretary of the treasury estimates that little expense bill for the next fiscal year to be a trifle over six and a half million of dollars. There was considerably more sense in the famed Chinese wall than there is in our tariff.—[Burlington, Ia., Justice.]

The coal handlers think they should have more money for unloading boats and ears, so they form a pool and say, “No more boats and ears shall be unloaded until we receive what we demand.” They are simply fighting their employers with their own, weapons. They will probably not be so successful, because they lack the power, which the latter possess, for enforcing their decrees as to prices. But there will be little sympathy wasted on the coal poolers who refuse to share with those who mine and handle the coal the tax which they levy upon consumers.—[Heading, Penn., Herald.]

No private individual or company should be suffered to take the law into his own hands and organize an independent army of his own by employing a number of Pinkerton's private detectives to shoot down strikers. For any man or any company to undertake to go to war on his own responsibility is an insult to the spirit of our government and an outrage upon democratic principles. The peace must be preserved by lawful authority, not by bands of armed men directed by private individuals.—[Richmond, Va., State.]

It is true, we believe, that the Pinkerton men are usually sworn in as special peace officers. But

experience shows that they do not act under that same feeling of responsibility and accountability to the law that is felt by regularly elected peace officers. They are hired men with the hired man's feeling of accountability to the party that pays their wages. They have less anxiety to preserve the pence than to serve the interests of their employers.—[Toledo Commercial.]

The tariff is what is called a “blind tax,” by which the people are taxed for the benefit of monopolists without realizing that, they are taxed. When a poor man buys a dollars worth of woolen goods at current prices he gets really, as an average. about 40 cents in goods and pays 60 cents tax. The bulk of this money does not go to support the government, but three-fourths to four-fifths of it goes to foster corporate and individual enterprises thus favored by a false and corrupt system of legislation. Do you wonder that your wives and children are poorly clad and scantily fed when the bulk of your earnings are demanded for “blind taxes” to be appropriated to building up colossal manufacturing and other favored industries fostered by partial, and unjust legislation?—[Alvarado, Tex., Signal.]

That public opinion has become aroused over the dangerous innovation by which hired mercenaries are brought into this and other states for the alleged protection of private interests, is amply proved by the introduction on Monday last of three separate bills, in the state assembly, each designed to put a check on this growing abuse.—[Newark, N. J., Evening News.]

It makes considerable difference where warlike demonstrations are made. A speech like that of Ingalls in any European parliament would have lighted the beacon fires on every hill in live empires. Here in America it causes a passing wonder what the gentleman ate for supper the night before.—[Chicago Herald.]

There are lobbies enough in Washington, and there is no need that the Knights of Labor should swell their number. Evil communications corrupt good manners, according to the old copybooks, and habitual intercourse with the lobby in Washington might corrupt the most virtuous of knights. John Jarrett went to Washington as a representative of labor, and he became the lobbyist of the Tin Plate association.—[Philadelphia Record.]

The employment of children at confining or arduous labor should be peremptorily forbidden, and the most stringent legislation should be enacted to prevent parents from evading the law.—[St. Paul Globe.]

The adoption of the Georgian system of taxing lands on their unimproved or ground rent value, and of exempting improvements from taxation, would break up forever the land monopoly system which has brought Ireland and Scotland to the very verge of revolution, and which is making such rapid progress in this country as to frighten all thinking men.—[Grand Rapids, Mich., Workman.]

Protection begets monopoly and monopoly destroys competition, and so the consumer must suffer. Will any protectionists deny this proposition?—[Dayton (Ohio) Democrat.]

Ideas do not die in their beds. They are shot down in the streets, tortured at the rack, burnt at the stake and crucified on the cross, and the more they are slaughtered the more they live. Like human souls, their immortal work begins with death.—[Chicago Express.]

## **A New Election Law**



In the Michigan legislature there has been presented a bill to "preserve the purity of elections/' Under it the state, county or city will provide all ballots, and the names of all candidates for state offices will be printed on a white slip, those for county office on a blue slip, and those for city offices on a pink slip. On election day the inspectors of each election district will have a requisite number of slips. The voter asks for one, takes it into a private apartment, and proceeds to punch a hole with a punch provided for the purpose opposite the name of each person for whom he desires to vote. The inspectors are sworn to secrecy, and this system of balloting is expected to guarantee as near as may be purity of elections and the abolition of bribery. The proposal that correspondingly colored tickets and boxes shall be provided appears to be the chief difference between this plan and that originating in Australia and since adopted in England.

### **It Points to Poverty**

The *American Israelite* thinks it an ominous sign that a large number of young Israelites who were born in France, but who have been residents of the United States for some time, are going back to the country of their birth to enter the army, in many cases at the request of their parents. The *Israelite* thinks that this points to war. It much more unerringly points to the fact that it is constantly becoming more difficult for willing men to earn a living in America.

### **Dr. Edward McGlynn**

Soggarth most noble,

Soother of trouble,

Brave as the bravest of martyrs of old I

Eloquent preacher,

Truth's fervent teacher,

Shepherd most faithful of Christ's holy fold!

Loved as none other,

To true men a brother,

Hater of tyranny the wide world o'er:

Search this planet all round,

Thy peer can't be found,

Humanity's advocate, *Soggarth Asthore* !  
 Friend of the lowly,  
 Priest meek and holy,  
 Type of apostles of ages ago!  
 Dauntless and fearless.  
 In charity peerless,  
 No stain on thy vesture, 'tis white as the snow.  
 O! fond thou'rt enshrined  
 In the hoar and the mind  
 Of the thousands who know and cherish thy worth;  
 And thy name and thy fame  
 Shall be hailed with acclaim,  
 While liberty lives and illumines the earth!  
 —*J. Ryan.*

### **The McGlynn Testimonial**

The publisher of THE STANDARD acknowledges the receipt of the following sums for the fund for Dr. McGlynn :

J. P. Roche, <i>Post</i> office, Boston	\$1.00
A. M. McGlynn, Birmingham, Conn.	\$1.00
Martin T. Cassidy, New York	\$1.00
W. M. Rapsher, Mauch Chunk, Penn.	\$1.00
“A Park Policeman,” New York	\$5.00
Mark W. Cross, Boston	\$2.00
Wm. Hackett, Boston	\$1.00
“A Priest of the Amovable Class”	\$10.00

M. F. McQueeney, Nashua, N. H.	\$10.00
“An Italian Catholic”	\$3.00
A. M. Molina, New York	\$1.00
F. C. Leubuscher, New York	\$1.00
J. B. Carroll, Springfield, Ohio	\$5.00

By Robert Pyne, Hartford, Conn:

Robert Pyne	\$1.00
Herbert C. Baker	\$1.00
Henry Meyer	\$1.00
Dr. Thomas Simmons	\$1.00
Frank F. Cleveland	\$1.00
Miles Mehegan	\$0.50
Fred H. Smith	\$0.50
James A. Martin	\$0.50
George C. McLean	\$0.50
George Schaubles	\$0.50
Joseph A. Green	\$0.50
	\$8.00
“A Poor Agnostic”	\$1.00
Leonidas	\$1.00
Thomas Murdock	\$2.00
T. O.	\$1.00
P. T.	\$1.00
	<hr/> \$56.00
Previously acknowledged	\$31.00
Total	<hr/> \$87.00

**From a Catholic Working Woman**

Birmingham, Conn., Jan 26.

Henry George—Dear Sir: As a subscriber to your fearless and truthful paper, permit me to add a trifle to the McGlynn fund. I am only a working woman, but while I can use my hands to earn a dollar Father McGlynn can have thirty-three cents. It is a great pity Catholics are such moral cowards, inside the church as well as outside. If they would only speak out, the voice of the rank and file would make Rome sick. God speed The Standard and bless the standard-bearer, thou Emmet or America.

A M'Glynn Catholic.

### **From a District Attorney**

District Attorney's Office,

Mauch Chunk, Penn., Jan. 29.

Henry George—Dear Sir Please find inclosed \$1, my mite toward the McGlynn testimonial. If every citizen of the republic, who believes in free thought and free speech in American politics, will contribute such a mite, then Dr. McGlynn, “the first martyr of the new crusade,” will be an esteemed and worthy millionaire. Let this be done. It will emphasize the cause of labor all over the world and mark with indelible grandeur a new epoch in history. Furthermore, such a manifestation of gratitude toward the “first martyr” of such a cause in this country would give renewed encouragement to Michael Davitt and his supporters in the land league movement in the old world.

W. M. Rapsher.

### **From a Catholic Priest**

Please find inclosed \$10 for the Dr. McGlynn fund. Your distinction between the church and the men in he church is solid and theological. In every age of the church the same distinction has been made. Pope Gregory VII stirred up the people in his day against the priests and bishops. It is actually wicked to suspend a priest because he took a prominent part, in politics and the discussion of a purely economical question such as taxing the land. Dr. McGlynn's affair will have one good effect. The great majority of the American pastors, who have been stigmatized with the term “amovable” by the late timid council of Baltimore, can console themselves with the fact that the authorities in the American church are of the same kidney :is those in the great leading church of the metropolis, who have proved themselves to be very “small potatoes” indeed. Honors coming from such men may be treated with indifference.

A Priest Of The “Amovable Class.”

### **From a Park Policeman**

New York, Feb. 1, 1887.

I am in sympathy with Dr. McGlynn; but my circumstances are limited, and I can only afford \$5 toward the McGlynn fund as an expression of my feeling toward the principle which that gentleman, in connection with yourself, advocates. Like yourself I am not of his faith, but I can go the whole length, on humanity.

A Park Policeman.

### **From an Italian Catholic**

Please accept this small sum as an offer from me and two good friends of mine to the fund in honor of Dr. McGlynn. His can is holy and is ours. He is a brave man and well deserves that we should stand by him. As an Italian Catholic I might have a good deal to say on the subject. By certain misinformed Catholics the Italian people and their government have long been abused as oppressors of the Catholic church, while they were simply doing that which the Catholics of New York are now trying to do, namely, to withstand the every-growing audacity, greed and tyranny, not so much of the church as of a certain part of the hierarchy. But I suppress all my experience and considerations lest I should be too long; only I wish that, beside standing by Dr. McGlynn, as it is our duty to do, we should at least learn one thing from the present case. We Catholics are so stupid that when we have built a church with our own money we hasten to deed it over to the ecclesiastical authorities. These, of course, come to regard it as their own property, whither they can send any priest or monk or Jesuit they choose. Let us, at least, have the good sense to imitate our Protestant brethren. When we build a church let us keep the deed and the key. *The church belongs to the congregation, not to the bishop or archbishop.* My Catholic friends, mind my words; there is something in my proposal. No priest could then enter any of our churches without the permission of the congregation. By this simple step, which the most elementary common sense should suggest, the greatest part of the present ecclesiastical despotism would be done away with.

Respectfully yours,

An Italian Catholic.

*New York, Feb. 1.*

### **From Hartford, Conn.**

Hartford, Conn. Feb. 1.—Inclosed find a slight, token of appreciation for the taken by Rev. Dr. McGlynn on behalf of human rights. The feeling here among all discerning minds, Catholic Protestant, is that Dr. McGlynn should stand on his rights as an American citizen and never go to Rome.

Yours in the cause,

Robert Pyne.

## **From Ohio**

Will you do me the favor of handing the inclosed five dollars to the authorized treasurer of the Dr. McGlynn testimonial fund. It is morally certain that the reverend doctor will not be restored to his pastorate without a retraction of opinions which he conscientiously holds. I sincerely hope he never will disavow any of his past utterances. His career has been one of eminent and noble self-sacrifice, and in his old age he should be placed immediately beyond the reach of all worry on The score of the wherewith to live respectably and independently. Long may he live.

Truly yours,

J. B. Carroll.

## **The Prune Syndicate**

The syndicate that has tried to make a corner in prunes appears to be in a fair way to get "hoist with its own petard." The members claim to have bought up the whole crop for 1886, which was less than half the average crop, and are now offering to supply the first bidders with large lots at a heavy advance on ordinary prices. At each successive sale they will raise the price, until it reaches a point some two and a half times the regular prices. But the dealers don't feel inclined to strive with each other for first place. They claim that as prunes are not an absolute necessity the result will be simply to stop consumption, and furthermore that a large crop of Bohemian and Mocha prunes is coming which the syndicate have not secured. There is much truth in this statement that as prunes are not a necessity the market cannot be cornered. The syndicate should do as Phil Armour and others of his stamp do, they should get up a corner in hogs. Hogs are apparently a necessity in any community, and in transactions concerning them the cornerer and the things cornered have an advantage of that understanding that comes from similarity of nature and habit.

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## **Boston Awakening**

### **Land and Labor Discussed Before a Large Audience by Mr. Wakeman of New York**

T. B. Wakeman, a member of the New York bar, addressed a meeting on Sunday evening in Boston, and was greeted with an enthusiasm that shows that Boston workingmen are beginning to wake from the apathy that characterized them during the recent mayoralty contest there.

The Boston *Globe* says that the meeting was one of the most remarkable in the history of the labor movement in Boston. The hall was densely packed, and the audience, which included many women, was so well dressed that the *Globe* reporter concluded that they must belong to the "middle class." This shows that it was just such an audience as were those assembled in Cooper Institute and Chickering hall in this city during the mayoralty campaign here.

The meeting was called to order by Mr. E. M. Chamberlain, who made a successful appeal for contributions to continue the course of free lectures on the labor question. He introduced Mr. Wakeman as coming from New York, the center of the present conflict between employer and employed, and also as one who had taken a prominent part in the recent uprising of labor in this city, "that was the wonder of the civilized world."

Mr. Wakeman was received with long-continued applause, which in his opening remarks he attributed to the fact that he was just from the seat of war.

"Labor today holds the great city of New York in a state of siege. Whether that immense movement will be successful or not, we know that there is sufficient strength behind it to give it at any rate a certainty of temporary success which will be a lesson to those who control the country today. There have been two great struggles in this country hitherto—the war of the revolution and that of the rebellion. The first was successful in breaking the monopoly of political power enjoyed by George the Third, and the political power passed to the whole people. The rebellion was the means of extending that political equality to all the people, black as well as white. Just as political power has passed into the hands of the people, so will the industrial power pass into the hands of the people, and out of the hands of the monopolists, we hope. Our present contest is between the wage-worker and the monopolist. As Henry George has well said, it is the opening of the campaign against poverty. The Knights of Labor is the great organization, greater than either of the two old political organizations which has so far been mainly instrumental in bringing the contest up to its present status. On them will devolve in a measure its future work. The present strike in New York is something unknown heretofore in its immensity as affecting the commerce of that city. It shows clearer than anything else what can be done by united labor. I have heard, as the previous speaker has stated, that the coal miners have decided to strike to aid their fellow laborers in New York. If this is done, the coal barons will be compelled to make terms with their slaves.

"Strikes and boycotts are all well enough, but there is one inherent weakness to them; they do not go far enough. There is another side of the question not enough considered. Supposing that some of the strikes are successful, the effect is to reduce still further the number of capitalists engaged in production; and if wages are increased they naturally go into the savings banks, which loan the money thus accumulated out to these capitalists. The workingmen receive about three per cent on their deposit, while the capitalist makes inconceivably higher. There is over \$800,000,000 deposited in the savings banks of this country, which is more than is put into all the state and national banks of the land. The workingman is the real capitalist; but he foolishly puts this enormous power, this butt end of the whip, into the hands of the monopolists. In production the wage worker receives only one-half the value, of his product, while the capitalist, perhaps operating on the workingman's capital, borrowed from the savings bank, receives the other half. This must not be. Wage workers must become the law makers of this country in order to wipe this out. [Great applause.] We must agree to come together or we must be slaves. [Applause.] In New York this feeling caused a number of men to rally around Henry George and ask him to lead them.

"Every class interested in the working people came to those meetings. The free thinker sat alongside the priest, and the rich merchant by the poor laborer. The aspiration for justice there displayed sprang forward into light. The 68,000 votes they cast have formed the basis of a permanent organization, with every prospect of success in every assembly district of New York. It is as well organized now as the democratic or republican party, and has a thorough going boss. Who is John McMackin? [Applause.] I call him the boss because he is the central figure of the central committee,

and does as he is directed, which is what I call a representative boss.”

Mr. Wakeman explained the principles of the new party. He was listened to with close attention and frequently interrupted by applause. An incidental allusion to Dr. McGlynn elicited cheers. At the conclusion of Mr. Wakeman's address, resolutions were adopted calling tin the government to take possession of the coal mines and administer them in the interest of producers and consumers, declaring that the strike of the freight and coal handlers in this city is just, and promising sympathy and whatever material support those comprising the meeting could afford. Protests were also made against the employment of Pinkerton detectives.

## **The Philadelphia Campaign**

The political situation at Philadelphia at the time of the entrance of the workingmen into politics is peculiar. Owing to a large increase in the powers of the office of mayor under the new city charter, the election is regarded as one of vast importance. The dominant party, the republicans, have accepted a “highly respectable” savior of society at the hands of the bosses and many other republicans of the same class are disappointed. These disgruntled ones and the federal officeholders, all of whom appear to have been appointed by a civil service reform administration to meet Sam Randall's, hunger for the spoils, have engaged in a futile dalliance with at view to nominating candidates for the democratic party. Finally, the democratic conventions met and nominated candidates, who promptly declined. Others have since been chosen, but the party enters the field without the ghost of a hope of success. This condition of affairs would help the united labor ticket if it wore not for the fact that so large a number of the Philadelphia workingmen are still under the strange delusion that they are doing something for themselves in voting for the high tariff policy of their bosses.

The devoted leaders of the labor party are, however, doing excellent work and forming at least the nucleus of Pennsylvania's contingent in that party of the future, which will soon come to the from. At a mass meeting on Monday evening Thomas Phillips, the candidate of the party for mayor, said that the men who control wealth have got things fixed so that the profits of labor are running into their hands, and to stop this tendency radical thought is necessary; this conservative, surface-skimming nonsense will not do. The people must go back to those principles of Thomas Jefferson. They must do their own thinking and read the writings of men who are considering these great questions. There must be solid thought. The dangerous man is he who does not think, but is content to follow bands of music and party leaders, and lot somebody else do his thinking for him. Such people, he thought, are to be considered as a dangerous class. The labor party desires to stir up the brains of the American people, and he insisted on this educational feature of their purposes. He saw danger coining in the enormous power of aggregated wealth and in the case with which it is securing legislation, and he wanted to arouse the people. He did not want to take from the rich to give to the poor; but he desired equality of rights, every Citizen to have an equal say and be protected in the possession of the fruits of his toil. Speeches followed by Charles S. Keyser, the party's candidate for city solicitor, and by Capt. E. M. Lester. Resolutions were adopted declaring that both the republican and democratic parties have lost their usefulness, and pledging the support of the meeting to the candidates of the united labor party.

Thomas Phillips, the candidate for mayor, was born in England in 1833. He learned the trade of a shoemaker and began work when he was thirteen years of age, and was a union man, possessed of a traveling card when but fifteen years old. He is a son of temperance, and was a republican from the organization of that party until, as he says, he “found it deserting its original labor stand.” He was one



of the first shoemakers to join the Knights of Labor. When that order arranged to have a column of labor news printed in the *Public Record*, Mr. Phillips was selected as editor of the column. He has also written articles on co-operation for numerous publications.

J. George Frank, the candidate for receiver of taxes, is master workman of Cigarmakers' local assembly No. 53, Knights of Labor, and has been recording and financial secretary of his assembly. He was born in Baltimore in

Charles B. Keyser, candidate for city solicitor, was born in Philadelphia in 1828, and his ancestors came to this city with William Penn. He has always been an independent in politics, and has been a candidate of the greenback labor party for congress and for city solicitor, and he has for years been greatly interested in the labor question.

Louis A. Ross, the candidate for magistrate, was born in Lancaster, Penn., in 1843, and has lived in Philadelphia since he was eighteen years old. He served in the Union army during the war, and is now a street car driver on the Thirteenth and Fifteenth street line. He is a Knight of Labor, and was chief marshal of the great parade of that order last October to receive the delegates returning from Richmond.

## **New York**

During last Friday night's session of the New York county committee of the united labor party eight members (one-half) of the delegation from the Sixteenth assembly district withdrew. They had been offended, they thought, and went out to cool off. Next morning three of the partisan newspapers stated that "the entire delegation" from the Sixteenth had bolted the committee. The *Sun* made the point against the labor party in its smart way by a displayed heading and by saying significantly that the Sixteenth had polled 3,200 votes for the labor candidate last fall. The promptness with which the incident was noted and exaggerated may be taken by the members of the labor party county general committee as a notification that the old party press has its forge hammers ready to break up the committee itself on the occurrence of any serious untoward event.

## **Chicago**

The managers of the united labor party in Chicago are busy with the preliminary work of a campaign. For the mayoralty Judge Barnum, Judge Prendergast and Capt. Daniel Gleason each have a large following. Interviews with labor leaders printed in the *Chicago Herald* of last Saturday make it evident that Carter Harrison has not the ghost of a chance as a candidate with the now party. Newspaper gossip about his aspirations to be a standard bearer for the labor party simply created amusement among the crowds at labor headquarters.

## **The Labor Party in Canada**

Will the labor voters stand by the labor candidates? asks the *Toronto Evening Telegram*, the

question implying a doubt as to the success of the labor candidates for the Dominion parliament. The Toronto candidates for the provincial legislature polled a large vote, but the confidence that there is a fighting chance for success comes to the worker only after he has surprised himself by doing something apparently impossible. The *Telegram* believes that the workingmen of Canada must fight for themselves and not for the regular parties.

## **How Congress Makes Communists of Us All**

New York Herald, Jan. 29.

The house of representatives finds it impossible to agree upon a measure to reduce the people's taxes, though the surplus revenue forced from the people's pockets amounts to a hundred millions or more per annum.

But when a private corporation asks the house to give it the free use of thirty-two miles of Washington streets for cable roads this measure is put through under whip and spur; no "rules" seem to stand in its way, and a great majority agrees even to meet an hour earlier than usual to get to a vote, and then passes the bill.

THE PUBLIC BE D—D.

In the senate Mr. Beck last session introduced a bill prohibiting members of either house from acting as attorneys for corporations which had an interest against the government. The judiciary committee had the indecency to change this perfectly proper and necessary bill so as to make it ridiculous. Debate on it was put off on various pretexts last session. Mr. Beck, with honest obstinacy, has asked its consideration several times this session; but the senate has always been very earlier to get first to some other business. Yesterday, at last, all senatorial excuses and expedients were exhausted and the senate was forced to take up Mr. Beck's measure.

THE PUBLIC BE D—D.

As to the action of the house, we suppose the explanation to be this: There has been going on for some years a tremendous real estate speculation in Washington. A great number of members of congress have become interested in Washington lots. Thirty-two miles of cable road, it is thought, will add to the value of outlying real estate; hence the haste and eagerness to give this scheme the free use of Washington's streets, for one-half of which the whole country has paid.

THE PUBLIC BE D—D.

As to the senate, the corporation attorney power in that body has been great enough to stop several land forfeiture bills passed by great majorities in the house last session, and not only this, but to stop other urgently needed measures of land reform. This corporation attorney power in the senate judiciary committee was great enough to get a Pacific railroad funding bill reported which would have enabled these corporations to take twenty-five millions out of the treasury by merely borrowing enough to pay their legitimate debt to the government.

THE PUBLIC BE D—D.

The shifts and devices to which senators have resorted for many months to put off, and if possible, to kill Senator Beck's honest proposition speak for themselves, and are the strongest argument for the bill. We shall watch curiously the treatment of the cable road scheme by the senate. That body has a good many bills of great public importance in its hands, which it pushed over on different pretexts last session and has not peeped about at this session. Will it, also, like the house, push everything else aside and put through this cable scheme?

There is a great howl about communism and anarchy in these days. Mr. Hewitt and some other foolish New Yorkers last November tried to scare people about Henry George as an anarchist. The attitude of congress toward public questions, we take leave to tell senators and representatives does more than anything else in the world to spread that feeling of hopelessness and contempt for constituted authorities among the people which gives agitators their lever. the labor organizations of the country are not always wise, but if both houses of congress continue to neglect and oppose public interests and further protect corporation and their own personal fortunes they will greatly hasten the day when the Knights of Labor, the labor unions and the grangers will pull together.

When they do there will be a change.

## **Woman's Wrongs**

### **The Attitude of United Labor on Woman Suffrage Commended**

There is no one who more admires the brave fight THE STANDARD is making for the uplifting of the people than my self. The stand, Mr. Editor, that you have taken in the McGlynn matter is just and true; the papers that try so hard to have it appear that you are fighting the Catholic religion do so in the hope to incite Catholics against you. Protestant papers do this, not because they fear and distrust Catholics less, but because they hate and fear you more. I am rejoiced to see that Catholics all over the country stand by you and Father McGlynn.

The condition of women—of one-half of the people—is of the highest public interest. If the workingmen suffer from oppressions, how much more do working women suffer! If men's wages are inadequate, how much worse are women's. If men's wages are cut down to a pinching point, women's are cut down to the starvation point. That working women are infinitely worse off than working men none will deny. A disfranchised class is always ground into the very mire of degradation. Always, excepting the favored numbers whose relationship to the ruling sex gives them comforts and luxuries that their sisters can never possess. The widows of distinguished men are pensioned by the government, not for any service performed by those women, but simply because of their connection with popular men. The people are taxed to pay pensions to rich women like Mrs. Grant and Mrs. Garfield, while thousands of women equally as worthy are starving in garrets. It is the cruelest mockery to call this a land of equal rights. We have an aristocracy of politicians and army officers, and the toiling masses are taxed to keep them in princely luxury.

I ask THE STANDARD to come to the front, and, without fear or favor, light the monstrous injustice done to women. I ask it to show to the Knights of Labor that it is their daughters who most suffer from the injustice of subjection. The wives and daughters of the rich may be protected and

pampered and maintained in comfort, but the daughters of the poor are driven to the wall by hard poverty. Every thinking man and woman knows that the trade of prostitution, which is the crime of crimes, is the direct outgrowth of the enslaved position of woman. Such a life is directly contrary to the laws of nature. No woman born of a race of free and equal women could ever sink to such a position. The Rev. Charles H. Eaton, of your city, says hard poverty and want drive 20,000 women of New York every year into evil ways.

Does it not seem monstrously selfish that strong men should wish to hedge themselves about with a rampart of laws which favor their own sex and oppress the other, which give men better chances in the race of life than women? Herbert Spencer says that the sentiment of justice is the latest and highest development of the human brain; this development has made slow progress in the brains of democrats and republicans: the signs of the times indicate that the brains of the labor party are broadening into justice.

May the sunlight of prosperity foster its growth.

Elizabeth A. Meriwether

## **All Dead Men Have Graves**

### **But How Many Living Men Have That Much Land?**

New York, Jan. 31.—After carefully reading “Progress and Poverty” I have come to the conclusion that the only man who can justly lay claim to the right of property in land is a dead man. He needs only six feet of this precious gift of Heaven. It is doubtful in my mind whether the most bitter opponent of private property in land, or the most grasping land grabber, will dispute his title. Strange that the rich, who do not deny the land to the dead, refuse it to the living. The favorite song of my childhood, and one which until recently could rouse my patriotism to the pitch of enthusiasm, begins with “My country, 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing.” Since it became known to me that the country which I was taught to believe was mine is owned and controlled by the Vanderbilts, the Astors and the Goulds, I have leased warbling this tune. Even the song “Home, sweet home,” has no charm for me when I reflect that I do not own one inch of the ground upon which my home is built.

Harry Phelps.

### **Young America Strikes**

A novel and successful strike has taken place at Port Richmond, Philadelphia, On Tuesday last the pupils of the George B. McClellan public, school there refused to attend the sessions on account of the dismissal of Mrs. Spallen, supervising principal of the school. The boys called themselves Knights of McClellan, and wore little bows of red ribbon. The parents of the children, us well as their older brothers and sisters who had been educated under Mrs. Spallen abetted them in their action. The directors had dismissed the principal at a special meeting for alleged insubordination. It seems she preferred to conduct the examination of the children in the newer of the two buildings which they

occupy instead of partly in the old rooms where many of them sat three at a desk. Because she refused to obey the order of a director to stop this she was dismissed. A few nights after the pupils had struck the board met, the room being filled with angry parents. The charge was rehearsed, but the opinions of the members present seemed to coincide with those of the director who said: "If the superintendent put that construction on the law then the superintendent is an ass." Mrs. Spallen was reinstated by the board amidst much applause.

### **Mule Poetry**

A few lines composed on seeing a mule-driver give his mule an unmerciful thrashing in No. 2 Braceville (Ill.) pit as I was coming from the face to the pit bottom.

Why whip thy friend? Do let me pass—

Why, don't you know, you fool,

Your father is a stupid ass,

Your brother is that mule?

O, cruel driver, stay thy hand,

Your brother's sore and weak;

He tries to make you understand,

Al the' be cannot speak.

Go take him gently by the rein,

And lead him to the stable;

Mind what the Lord did say to Cain,

For slaying Brother Abel.

And yet, poor mule, I envy thee,

Though by a tyrant led;

You'll never have to want, nor see

Your wee things cry for bread!

—*James Thorston*

## **Municipal Freshness**

### **A Pistareen for Cleaning Sidewalks and Fifty Dollars for Hoisting Whirligigs**

The edition of New York ordinances now in use is a revision of the original. It can be found in any police station or district court. The preface tolls that in 1881 two eminent and high priced lawyers of this city revised and expunged the work, and after many conferences with the mayor and alderman were enabled to “eliminate such ordinances as had become obsolete.” Consequently there is nothing there that is not in the plain and practical line of a policeman's duty; and when, after the next snow storm, he finds Smith's or Jones' sidewalk unswept, he should do as he is bidden, turn in with broom and shovel and clean it off himself. His fee is fixed—one pistareen for each twenty-five foot of sidewalk. What if he never heard of a pistareen; the ordinance states its value at 18¾ cents, and commands him to earn and afterward collect it. It was so decided a hundred years ago; the aldermen and the revisers have decided “after many conferences” that it is the law still, and no man who objects to cleaning sidewalks at the rate of a pistareen per lot has any business to wear a uniform and swear loyalty to the law. If it be so that not one of our three thousand policemen ever earned a pistareen in the whole course of his life, the three thousand are virtually in contempt, or, if they persist, in open rebellion.

When the March winds have scattered the snow he failed to clear away, this book of city laws makes it the business of the policeman to arrest every boy who flies a kite below Fourteenth street and to keep a sharp eye on the corner grocer lest he engage in the heinous crime of harboring a whirligig in his back yard. For that offense a penalty of fifty dollars is fixed. Why grocers should be anathematized especially addicted to whirligigs, and what a whirligig is any way, has always been a mystery in the present generation. There is no record of any arrest of a grocer for whirligigging. However, as it is the law, no doubt it is all right.

The boodle aldermen of 1884 would never have made an ordinance like the one in section 58 that forbids the lowering of a bundle from any building with a rope under a line of twenty-live dollars. They loft it there as they found it, trusting in luck to be able to sneak out for Canada on a rainy night. Perhaps the knickerbocker who was the father of that statute kept a boarding house and had an eye to business in his official capacity. And so it results that till this day it is unlawful in New York to lower anything carefully from a window. One can throw things out legally at the risk of killing people, but he cannot lot them down decently with a rope. Under that section the men who last summer spilled a one-ton safe out of a fourth story window on Broadway went free from censure, though they had no permit. They were hoisting it up—not letting it down—with a rope when it fell.

There is a delightfully antique flavor about the penalty of a dollar for every crooked stick in a load of cord-wood brought into the city for sale. It is not clear that there is any covert fling at the aldermen of our day in this, though it seems to be aimed at fraud. The volume has been aptly called the aldermanic code. Aldermen made it, and aldermen throughout it are made out a privileged class. No one but an alderman—except it be the mayor, who figures as a sort of boss alderman—can open a hydrant and spill the water unless there is a fire. To plant a tree except in the exact spot provided by the aldermen is prohibited under a penalty of \$15; to cut one down that is already planted costs \$50. It was the New York aldermen who decreed that every one who ate an oyster, or sold one, in any month that had not an R in it, should be guilty of a misdemeanor and pay five cents. Theoretically, the New Yorker can do nothing without an alderman—hang out a banner, put a beer keg on the sidewalk or a meat rack

on his wall. Practically, experience has shown, he can do nothing with him, not even send him to jail while the short cut to Canada is open.

The common run of New Yorkers have a privilege that is denied the policeman, who understands their statutes and has sworn to uphold them: they take them in a Pickwickian sense. If they didn't, there would be no living in New York. Business could not be carried on in Wall street for the ordinance that prohibits "bears and other noxious animals" going about loose in the streets. Goats are not included, They are charged a special rate of three dollars a head for the privilege, the same fee which a chimneysweep, with good moral character, has to pay for his license. Goats run around loose uptown today as plentifully and freely as do the bears and the bulls down town without any moral character worth mention, while the chimneysweep has long since disappeared. Probably the policeman who has sworn to enforce the law would give the stylish residents of Fourth avenue, in the neighborhood of Eighty-sixth street, something of a shock were he to establish the Bull's Head Cattle market there some fine morning. Nevertheless, he ought to do it, for the code expressly designates that as the only authorized cattle mart in the city.

It fixes with equal attention to detail the proper depth of the trench in which the unknown dead are buried in Potter's field, and the orthodox swing of saloon signs when bock beer is ripe: the exact position in which wagons loft on the street over night must stand, and never do stand, "parallel with the curb and touching it with at least one wheel." It limits the height of the tailboard in dirt carts to eighteen inches and fixes that of the sideboards at two feet, so that part of the load is forever dropping off behind, and then ordains a line for spilling dirt on the streets.

There is not a law laid down in the book that cannot under its provisions be legally broken by special permit on payment of a fee. There is not a permit so granted that is not illegal in theory and in fact. In this slough of illegality, imbecility and buncombe the New Yorker would flounder helplessly did he not take a short cut out of it by turning his back on the whole business and minding his own. The machinery of municipal law grinds on in charge of the police, who alone understand and back it up. Offenses are noted daily and the offenders' names recorded. Something like half a million unfortunates are thus "put down" every year, and enough lines knocked out to keep a corporation attorney's office and in part eleven civil courts with their hangers-on. They are mostly small lines, and not worth lighting; hence they are paid, as part of a sort of official blackmail to which the stricken taxpayer grumblingly submits. As ever, it is the little thief who is caught and the big one who goes free. The city, the arch law-breaker of them all, whose Citizens every stormy winter day would burden with a hopeless debt of pistareens, were the police to turn in and do their duty, never pays a cent. Neither do the big telegraph companies or the other wealthy corporations that transgress daily scores of times in the matter of unpainted poles and such. Only when the violation of an ordinance threatens the peace and dignity of the commonwealth with immediate disaster, like the furtive banana peel, arrests are made and suits pressed to an issue, usually a compromise. On the eve of important elections, when funds are needed by the politicians, the ordinance grist-mill is set a grinding and thousands of growling citizens made to plank down from two to five dollars in settlement of the fine for some alleged unlawful act.

It is then that the utter absurdity of the whole business comes out strong. The plight of the unfortunates who are sheared is nothing if not comical. Generally they catch it at both ends and yield, bewildered and helpless, to their fate. The barber who is dragged into court and fined three dollars for setting up a pole at his door pleads vainly that he bought a permit of the city for one dollar. That permit was illegally given. Should he chance to have none, he is likely fined for maintaining a nuisance without permission. One offense is only more heinous in degree than the other; as when a man is fined

ton dollars in a police court for carrying a pistol without a permit, there is nothing for it but to pay and take it out in growling. No one doubts that a citizen has the right to bear arms, and that to rob him of it is unconstitutional and an outrage. But to kick would cost more than ten dollars, and the wise New Yorker pays his fine and charges the loss to the next customer whose ill luck sends him along.

Jacob A. Rus.

## **How American Labor Is Protected**

### **A Lesson of the Present Strike That Workmen Should Heed**

The production of coal is a great protected industry. "What do workingmen, who have been the mainstay of tariff duties, think of recent developments in that industry? The land owners, who operate both the mines and railroads that supply New York with coal, are all great advocates of protection to American labor. It would cost from one to two dollars in freight to bring a ton of coal here from abroad ; but it is the solemn belief of these men that even this would not save our coal miners and handlers from competition with the pauper labor of Europe or Nova Scotia; so congress grants them—all for the benefit of labor—a protective tariff of seventy-five cents a ton, and no voice is louder in the halls (and lobbies) of congress against any reduction of the tariff than that of the coal barons. With this aid they are enabled to sell for from \$2 to \$4 a ton of coal that has cost, in wages, under 80 cents to mine, 35 cents to transport and about 15 cents to handle at New York, or less than \$1.50 in all. But this profit of from 50 to 200 per cent. is not enough to pay dividends on watered stock, so those strong upholders of protection to American labor must reduce cost by cutting down the wages of the handlers at the Jersey docks, and when the wage earners protest, they fill their places with some of the same pauper laborers whose product has been kept out of the country by a tariff. It is the old story! We shut out the pauper goods, but we admit the men who make them. Either way suits the purposes of the protectionists. The higher price caused by the tariff is paid to the land owner, and although he collects it in the sacred cause of protection to American labor, he seizes every opportunity to cut down wages and fights every advance, if need be, with the pauper laborers whom he imports free of duty.

Another illustration of the beauties of the protective tariff was given recently in Higgins' carpet factory on the west side of New York. The proprietors are strong supporters of this fine protective system which Ralph Beaumont says "has in twenty-five years given us more paupers and more millionaires than any other nation in the world." With their heartfelt devotion to the interests of labor, it must have been a sore trial to reduce wages; but nevertheless the other day they announced a cut of 10 per cent; and when the weavers rebelled Messrs. Higgins conceded all the other points, but swore that wages must come down.

Come down they did, although only to the extent of live per cent. The reduction of cost in making a piece of carpet amounts to about 30 cents, or say a quart or cent a yard. Now, as readers of THE STANDARD may know, we have a tariff on the wool of which carpets are principally made—all for the protection of American labor. True, the man who reaps a benefit from this tariff—if anybody does is, as with other tariff duties, a land holder, the great ranchman who herds flocks of sheep on free government land. But the wool that is used in carpets must be imported. So much as goes into a yard of carpet pays 17 cents duty, and the price is enhanced just to that extent. Messrs. Higgins & Co. wanted to reduce the cost of their carpets to sell them more freely. If they could have bought wool free of duty



it would have saved seventeen cents, but this was impossible, because we are “raising wages” by means of protective tariffs; so as the best way open, these protectionist manufacturers of carpets try to take a half cent out of their employes' wages, and finally succeed in robbing them of half this. The total wages paid for making a yard of carpet only amounts to ten and a half cents, so they couldn't take out the whole of what the tariff is supposed to add to the wages of American workingmen, but if they are at all like those typical protectionists, the coal companies, we would only do them justice to credit them with the wish, if not the power. Truly, as Mr. George said in the free trade meeting at Cooper Union, “What workingmen need is not protection, but justice.”

Edward J. Shriver.

### **A Real Free Trader**

Grand Rapids, Mich., *Workman*.

We should like to inquire in this connection if the editor of the *Workman* approves of Mr. George's free trade notions and his ideas of land reform? If not, what is Mr. George worth to workingmen?—Grand Rapids Leader.]

Why, bless your soul, the editor of the *Workman* has been an absolute free trader for years, and the *Workman*, almost from the day of its birth, has championed this doctrine. And the logic of free trade means more than more commercial freedom—freedom to labor as well as freedom to exchange the products of labor—freedom of access to the resources of nature for the purpose of earning a living by honest work. Industrial freedom means that the land of the country belongs to the whole people of the country, and that it cannot of right be monopolized by the few to the robbery of the many of their inalienable birthright in the soil, which is in the ultimate the sole source of life and of all that supports life and makes it worth living.

### **“Demagogue” Van Wyck**

Charleston, Ia., Herald.

The *Register* says “Demagogue Van Wyck dies hard, but he dies.” Mr. Van Wyck is very liable to develop into a very lively corpse in the future, to the consternation of all those who imagine that he is dead simply because the railroad lobbyists succeeded in inducing the legislature of Nebraska to override the will of the people. Men of brains and conscience, as well as courage to espouse the cause of the common people against the unjust impositions of corporate monopolies, always die hard, and the blood of such martyrs becomes the seed of more abundant fruit in after years. If Van Wyck is politically dead, his cause and that of the people which he espoused still lives, and a half dozen Van Wycks will arise in his stead to carry forward the good work. The practice of calling all benefactors of the human race demagogues only increases the number of demagogues, falsely so called.

### **They Are Scared**

St. Paul Pioneer-Press.

President Ammidoun, of the American protective tariff league, says that the organization is working with “unusual earnestness and energy,” and that the league “will be in a position two years hence to take an influential part in the presidential campaign.” This is a plain announcement that the protectionists are sorely frightened, and recognize the fact that the movement for a modification of the high bounties paid by taxpayers to manufacturers is gathering strength as the people begin to comprehend what tariff taxation really is.

## **The Hunting Of The Boodler**

### **With Some Remarks on the Maintenance of Boodler Preserves**

Did you ever see a fox bunt, stranger?

If you haven't, you've missed a grand and an exhilarating and an instinctive spectacles Come with me, and let us take our stand on this little eminence and enjoy the pleasures of the chase.

A glorious hunting morning, isn't it? with a southerly wind and a cloudy sky, and the ground not frozen nor yet thoroughly thawed but just in good condition for a gallop. See the spectators, how they gather—the whole country side is here, impatient fur the show. For a noble boodler fox is to be run to death today, and the hunt is out, brave in uniform and gallantly mounted. No fear but what they'll find; the aldermanic goose is to be drawn, and that covert was never known to be empty yet.

Aha! the fox has broken cover, the huntsman twangs his horn, the attendant riders settle down to their work, and here they come a cross the open. just where we can have a good view of them. How bravely the alderman—I mean the fox—is running, full of hope to reach the distant hillside, where he vainly thinks to find an unstopped earth. Hear the mellow music of the dogs! Hark to Joseph! Brave hound of Hungary, yelping his tuneful note! Hark to Herald! Hark to Tribune! Hark to Telegram ! Hark to Mail and Express! Their very hearts are in their voices. See Martine, M. F. H., how fearlessly her rides; observe the scarlet-coated hunters flying over fences, leaping ditches, jostling, crowding, rocking little of risk to life or limb, so only they may be in at the death and carry off poor Reynard's bush. How the people cheer, and run on foot a little way, and seek short cuts across the fields, and shout and yell as though their very lives depended on the capture of one poor giver or taker of bribes. Even the philosopher of the *Post*, the monk of Mount Athos, who by lifelong contemplation of his own inwardness has acquired the knowledge of ail things in heaven and earth—even he, the all-knowing, is moved to speech, and expounds to an unheeding audience the umbilical theory of vulpicide. Now for a moment the hounds are at fault; but see, the gallant Martine makes a skilful east; the cry of “Hark, forward!” rises far on the left, and away they go again, hounds and hunters, tag, rag and bobtail, *Post*, philosopher and all, through bush and briar, over hill and dale, until they fairly run poor boodler down and make a finish of him.

Glorious fun, isn't it? Your flushed cheek and sparkling eyes toll plainly how you have enjoyed it; and yet, to a human mind, it seems a little rough upon the alderman—I should say upon the fox. It's a cruel sport after all, and smacks rather of the hardhearted days of ancient Rome than of the softer

civilization of this nineteenth Century.

“But foxes must be killed,” you say, “because they've vermin, destructive to the peace of innocent chicken roosts and generally incompatible with successful agriculture!” Oh, foolish stranger! Is that the view you take of it? Do you suppose, poor innocent, that the eager hounds, and the gallant huntsmen, and the tag-rug and bobtail who cheer them on would like to see the breed of boodlers exterminated and finished once for all? You foolish man! They want to kill the fox they've after because they are *after him* and for the fun and sport of chasing him; but as for exterminating the race—well, you just propose cutting down the coverts wherein these boodle foxes live and breed, or try to catch one of the vermin in a trap for your own personal delectation, and see what a hue and cry will be raised against you! Why, the very hounds will rend you for interfering with their lawful prey.

No! no! my friend; this chasing of the boodler betokens no special hatred of bribe-givers and bribe-takers. The breed of them is as flourishing as ever, and none take more pains to foster and preserve them than those who most enjoy running one or two of them to death at intervals. Nor is their existence so at variance with our nineteenth century civilization as you might suppose. For the bribe-taker—the man who goes into politics for the money he can make out of it—is an inevitable necessity of our social and political system: and as for the bribe-giver—why just incline your ear to your own lips and whisper softly to yourself, in strictest confidence, whether, if you'd had Jake Sharp's chance to buy the Broadway franchise, you wouldn't have taken it just as Jake Sharp did?

There! there! you needn't blush so furiously. I'll never even tell any one that I asked you the question. And the next time the great boodler hunt meets you and I will be there, and ride as bravely and hallo as lustily as though we really thought the whole affair was serious. and not a mere bit of playful political fun.

T. L. McCready.

## **Men And Women**

Charles A. Dana is fertile in petty invention. Along with “cyamophagous,” a verbal curiosity which he turns off for the amusement of his regular readers, he suggests a “red list” for the benefit of Knights of Labor. Cyamophagous, the reader is left to infer, has some connection with a windbag; but the “red list” is elaborately explained. It is for the names of Knights of Labor guilty of bloody work. Such a “red list” might be more appropriately suggested to the striking corporations that have laid an embargo on the commerce of the city; but Mr. Dana has no advice for them except to make all they can out of the sweat and misery of men. “Put money in thy purse” is Mr. Dana's golden rule.

Rev. Campbell Fair has recently become rector of St. Mark's Episcopal church at Grand Rapids, Mich., and in a recent lecture then- on the Irish question he took the side of the Irish landlord. Mr. Fair is an Englishman, whose fondness for airing tory principles of an orange hue always kept him in hot water in Baltimore. He is chiefly known to fame as the minister who insists on preaching a sermon on each recurring 17th of March to prove that St. Patrick was a Protestant.

Philanthropist Jay Gould is a roaring democrat in Texas, when? he is trying to be at Reagan's senatorial aspirations by backing John Ireland. It looks something like presumption on Judge Reagan's

part to insist on going to the senate when he knows that Jay Gould would prefer somebody else.—  
[Chicago Herald.]

Frederic Harrison, the English positivist, says “lands,” as well as houses, furniture, food and clothing, “are products of society.” This puts an end to the nebular hypothesis. It also proves that the other planets are inhabited, since if there had been no society to produce them they would not exist. But why does not society produce more lands? The supply is running short. Is it a lost art?

### **Another Consolidation**

Philadelphia Record.

Another step toward the condition of the Reading and Pennsylvania railroad interests was taken yesterday by the transfer of the express business of the Reading railroad system to the Adams Express company. A bridge across Willing's alley could facilitate the frequent conferences between Presidents Roberts and Corbin.

### **No Right to Monopolize**

Grand Rapids Workman.

No man has a right to monopolize more land than he cultivates or uses productively. And yet millions on millions of acres of God's earth is thus monopolized all over the whole country to the robbery of the great mass of the people of their right to an equal opportunity to make a living by honest work.

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### **One Type of the Modern Dives**

Ha! ha! ha! Well, that's a good one—'pon

my honor—ho! ho! ho!

Finally, my good sir, excuse me; you're

Quixotic, don't you know.

Now am I my brother's keeper? what is

Lazarus to me?

What although my many millions mock his  
bitter poverty?

Can I help it? Who begot him? Did I make  
him! Need I care,

Though my "riotous abundance" aggravate  
his deep despair?

I'm successful; he's a failure; that's the way  
the world goes.

Might have been the other way with Lazarus  
and me—who knows?

He in robes and I in tatters; half starved I  
and he full fed;

All his children plump and rosy; mine in tears  
for want of bread.

Timeless I and helpless, hopeless, living,  
dying in despair;

All the world to him an Eden, ever changing,  
ever fair.

Had the luck been so against me—fate so pitiless  
and grim—

He'd have let me grin and bear it best I  
could; so I let him.

There's the poorhouse; let him enter. No, I  
would not see him die.

Beggars dying on the sidewalk would destroy

life's harmony.

Shall I not wear gorgeous clothing, eat the

food my soul adores,

Just because luck's so against him that the

dogs can lick his sores?

Though his starving children shiver, pinched

and blue with bitter cold,

Why not mine in furs close mantled, costing

all their weight in gold?

Though they herd in filthy hovels, penitentially

vile,

May not my palatial dwelling o'er their squalor

proudly smile?

Don't I pay him daily wages when I've work

for him to do?

Screw him down to bottom figures! Why, of

course, that's business, too.

Ain't it his affair, not mine; his at least as

much as mine?

Cheap as may be will I get him, though be fast

the while I dine.

Each man for himself the word is; climb and

push your neighbor down.

Anvil you must be, or hammer, as the world

will smile or frown.

“Live and let live,” once a motto, will not do  
these modern days.

How it's “Choke your rivals off, and on their  
ruins fortunes raise.”

Competition! Competition! That's the law that  
governs trade,

Cheaper you can buy your labor more's the  
money to be made.

That's the only thing worth doin'; money 'tis  
what marks the man.

Gospel good enough for me that; give me better  
one who can.

Money! Money! Nothin' like it; I'll have all  
that I can get.

Get it any how I can and hunger for more  
money yet.

No, not any how I can—not exactly; there's  
the law;

Stupid jackal who, when hunting with the  
trapper, leaves a paw.

Naw! You philanthropic fadists! How you  
stir my very gall!

'Tis a law of nature forces him and such like  
to the wall.

In the “struggle for existence,” “might makes right”’s the proper view.

That's the law of evolution; I'm Darwinian through and through.

—G. Inglis.

*Toronto, Canada*

## **Only A Fakir's Daughter**

Sitting here by my fireside thinking, on this stormy Sunday, I remember that it is just one year ago since I first saw Cassy. We were so busy at the factory that the wheels were going from 7 a. m. until 10 p. m., and every resource had been brought into play to keep us well up to the labor to be done. I went down into the office on Monday morning, as was my custom, to get my orders, and to report to Goldstein Brothers, whose forewoman I was, how the business of the work-room progressed. It was progressing so well for them, and so ill for us, that they had laid a double share upon every hand in the place, from the black porter up, and if they could have split me into two women, or indeed into four, there would have been enough for us all to do, and something over. Having exacted all the vitality, strength, skill and time we possessed, no more was to be said on that score—we were working “top speed,” and far behind at that. When Max Goldstein handed me the order book it had “eight hundred dozen short” marked here, “five hundred dozen” there, and so on for twenty pages, with more new orders than could be filled in six weeks.

Here are some letters from customers for special orders,” said he hurriedly, “and here's one—I only read the first few lines—from a girl who wants work. I don't suppose she's of much account, or she wouldn't be idle at this season; but if you think she can help anybody out send for her. Run, now, quick as lightning, and whip up your team.”

All that encouragement and a 26-horse power engine could do to stimulate the speed of “my team” had been done long ago, and it was madly flying along time's highway at a rate which blurred the days of the week until there seemed but two left out of the seven, and they were Monday morning and Saturday night. I went back to the work-room, arranged the business of the day in accordance with my instructions, and then sat down at the desk to look over the letters. At last I come to her's—Cassy's—and it was such a curious composition that I reproduced it. It ran thus:

“Mister Goldstein and Brother, would you be so kind and give me work? I have been out of work six weeks, but I can iron good. I must have work to pay my board, and I can iron very good, and bear on hard. Wages is of no account, only I must pay my way. Mister Herman, the baker, can tell you I am honest.” Then came her name and address, and afterward, like a true woman, she had added her P. S. and what a burst it was!



“I wrote to the mayor, and I wrote to the president, and I wrote to you, and I pray for an answer. Oh, for God's sake, give me something to do, but ironing preferred.”

I have spelled the words correctly, and punctuated the sentences, otherwise it is just as I received it. There were times when the mail brought letters by the score with similar petitions, but their writers were nearly always of so little account as to capabilities, and of such extravagant expectations as to wages, that very few of them received attention, another drawback being, that to answer, even in the briefest manner, was to become involved in a correspondence that grew like the gourd of Jonah. Two things in Cassy's epistle decided me not to fling it aside—she could “bear on hard,” and she had taken the extraordinary step of addressing the mayor and the president. I thought I should like to see her, so I sent a card requesting Cassy Care to call on Goldstein Brothers on Tuesday morning, between twelve and half-past, and ask for the forewoman. That half hour, it is to be observed, was my dinner-time, and belonged to me to do with as I chose. I was always so driven in my oversight of the work-room; I lived so constantly with a sense of an intolerable and crushing load upon me, under which I could by no means stand erect, my haste was so exigent, the hours so long, and the weeks so short, that to give away needlessly the precious interval in which I had the right to sit down and draw my breath, was like giving away a morsel of my life—nevertheless I was impelled to bestow it on a girl whom I had never seen—there was something unique in her idea of telling the head of the corporation, and the head of the nation that she was out of work.

Tuesday came, and the weather was ferocious. It hailed and snowed, rained and sleeted by turns, and there was a northeast wind strong enough to wrench the buttons off one's coat, and a cold of that hue, penetrating quality which creeps even into one's pockets; but no weather, good or bad, ever stopped the engine. The machinery roared within like a sullen sea, the blast roared without like an angry giant, but no one looked up to say, “How it blows!” or “How it freezes !” Even if had not been forbidden to speak, no human creature's voice could be heard. In that turmoil a hundred women sat silent as death, impassive as stone, out-shrieked and out-sung by storm and steam. At upon late my lunch quickly, for I was on the watch for the new applicant, and was not of course surprised when a message came to me through the speaking-tube that a person wished to see me down stairs. I had formed an idea of what she would be like—I saw too many in the course of the year not to know—only to the type of her class I added a trifle more desperation and much more originality than they generally exhibited. She would be tall, thin, tragic and anxious-eyed, ready to take the world by the throat, voluble enough to drown a listener in the stream of her griefs. There was but one doubt about her in my mind, and that related to her dress.

Many came so overdressed as to make it patent by their poor finery that they were wearing what is popularly known as “the bottom of the trunk;” others were arrayed in such garments as are seen only upon those who are too far gone in wretchedness to care for decent appearance. It was seldom any medium between those styles presented itself. As the paper upon which she had written was gilt-edged, I concluded that whatever her needs and whatever the weather she would be overdressed, and with this prepossession I went out to meet her on the landing of the stairs below. Tempest tossed, dripping, panting, enveloped in a waterproof cloak and hood—there she was, and in the very first glance I knew that in all my forecastings I had been mistaken. She drew back from me to shake the sleet from her shoulders and her head, quickly unbuttoned and slipped out of her stout wrapping and stood before me as trim a little figure in a gingham dress and apron as I ever saw. There was a cat-like neatness about her and a cleanliness good to see, and yet she had been out in a gale that was violent enough to raise her from the ground. She was a mere child in years, not beautiful either, but with such a stock of rugged, brilliant-cheeked, sparkling health, such brown-skinned, brown-haired and bright-eyed youth and strength that it was a pleasure just to gaze on her. She looked at me with the shy yet happy

confidence with which children lift their faces, and with that expression she might have passed for faith's own daughter. It was very evident indeed that she came ready to work and with no notion of being repulsed. "Could I see the forelady?" she asked presently, handing me the card which I had sent to her.

"You might search through the factory from roof to sub-cellar, Cassy, and you would find no such being in it as a forelady, and you might hunt the dictionary from A to Z and find no such word as that, but the forewoman is here, at your service."

She opened her brown eyes very wide when I first addressed her, but her surprise and disappointment quickly turned to a smile when she gathered from the tones that I was more in jest than in earnest, and with an air of modest self-defense that had nothing of self assurance in it she answered:

"I noticed that the other word is on the card, but I thought it would be more polite to say forelady, and that you would like it better; but if there is no such word how could you like it?"

"Sure enough," said I; "let us start right, and we'll get on faster. You say you can 'iron good,' Cassy?"

"Yes, I can," she nodded, "and I'm not afraid to bear on hard."

"Just so; you said that in your letter. Will you tell me how it comes, then, that you are out of work?"

"Didn't I tell you?" she cried, eagerly. "No—that was in the letter I wrote to the president. The baker's wife gave me a basket and filled it with apples and oranges; so first I sold them to the factory hands; but, you see, the gentlemen are so much stricter now that you daren't go in only at twelve o'clock, and you couldn't be everywhere in half an hour, and you couldn't sell enough in one place to keep going. So I went this fall to the ironing up at, Mr. Reubons'. Zellie, an old, old presser, taught me how."

As she paused for breath I inquired, "And why did you leave Mr. Reubens?"

"I didn't leave him," she returned as if greatly astonished at the question. "He took his factory to New York."

"Oh, I see, Mr. Reubens left you. Perhaps he was thoughtful enough to have given you a word of recommendation."

"He never told me he was going away," she said, shaking her head, "and when I remembered it it was too late: Besides, he would only have said what I have said, that I can iron very good and am not afraid to bear on hard." Tears were gathering in her eyes, but she bravely held them back. She had been so sure a moment ago that it was something of a blow to be questioned and doubted.

"Well, never mind, we can soon try your hand, Cassy; but how old are you?"

"I'll be seventeen next October," she answered. This was January, and her year and almost ten mouths to run; but, like a child, who always speaks of the coming birthday, Cassy was rich in futurity. She had no mother she told me on further interrogation, and her father, it was plain, had abandoned her

to the mercy of strangers. She found no fault with him, but rather extenuated his heartlessness. “He goes on trips, you know, wherever there's a fair or a crowd, and sometimes he doesn't make out very well; so, of course, he can't do anything for me.”

“But when he does make out?” I persisted.

“Then he must buy more stock and pay his own way, you see,” she explained. “It is very hard, indeed, to sell on the curbstones and doorsteps on account of the police, but the baker's wife is very good to me; she says I am as near as her own children”—this with proud satisfaction.

“How many has she, Cassy? More than seven, I'll be bound.”

“Yes, ma'am—nine, besides me.” going to heaven

“I wish I was ascertain of as the baker's wife! A true, good woman she must be. Well, Cassy, I can give you work; but first, are you very, very sure that there is nothing more suitable to your age and strength than this?”

“Oh, I've tramped and I've tried.” she cried, nervously, “and I've cried and I've prayed, and I've done all I know how, but I couldn't get anything to do. Last of all, when I thought I was at the end of everything, Mrs. Herman—that's the baker's wife, you know— she said: 'You go upstairs, Katinka, and began again; begin with God—you didn't ask him right.' So I went upstairs and began again. First I prayed, and then that put it into my head that the president; couldn't be any busier than God, and not so far away, and the mayor was still nearer, and then I remembered Mr. Goldstein, so I wrote three letters. “If you send me away now,” she pleaded, tears falling fast,” what *shall* I do next?”

“Cheer up!” said I, “I'll not send you away! Are you ready to go with me?” She never knew how loth I was to take her.

“This very minute!” she asserted quickly, and followed me up the narrow, black staircase. On we went to the fifth story, and even in the darkness I saw her face was radiant. “Will it be steady?” she whispered anxiously before we reached the top.

“It will be so steady, Cassy,” I answered gravely, “that if you and I were made of cast iron, instead of flesh and blood, it would be better for us.” She laughed aloud—fortunately we were still upon the stairs—“I don't care how steady the work is, nor how hard it is, nor how long they keep me at it! I can pay my way at last! I'll do my best to please you, and I'll bear down as heavy on the cloth as—”

“As Fate will bear on you, poor child,” I thought to my self, and, opening the door, we went into the press room together.

...

She was true to her word, faithful, prompt, efficient and apparently untiring. What she knew she did well, and what it was necessary to teach her she learned thoroughly. She was paid by the piece for her work, and by midsummer she was earning five dollars and sometimes a little more per week. She had almost cleared off her long indebtedness to her friend, the baker's wife, and was as brave and affectionate and grateful a soul as heaven's light ever shone upon and found penniless but independent.

She clung to me with an astonishing loyalty, and told me, when she had the chance, all the incidents of her humble and monotonous life. She was, as I have said, Faith's own daughter, and not one of the nine little bakers and bakeresses who sat nightly at their mother's feet to hear the chapter read from the old Dutch Bible listened with more reverence than Cassy. Still I pitied her, trudging heavenward over the long, cruel road that stretched before her. There was not a soft leaf or bud that belongs to you this bright morning, not a joy nor a hope that would ever bloom for her on the stony groundwork of her life. She never saw the sunshine, and at night she was too tired to raise her eyes to the stars overhead; but how did this business of "getting existed," as Carlyle calls it, look from Cassy's point of view? Let Cassy speak for herself.

"I was going home last night, and a man stopped me just there at the corner. Was I frightened? Oh, no, I wasn't frightened, for he didn't look like other men do when they insult you and chase you through the dark streets. I have nearly dropped dead sometimes with my heart beating so, but not this time. He spoke very civilly, and he had a book and a pencil. 'You are one of Goldstein's girls, I believe,' he said, and then excused himself for stopping me; and what do you think he wanted? Why, he said that he was a reporter for some paper—I forget its name—and that the editor would like him to talk to the hands about their long hours and the poor pay, and all that, but the firms of different factories wouldn't let him in, so he had to stop their hands on the street. 'You can make your complaint to me, if you have any,' he said, 'and you can tell me your name and address, and some day the newspapers will make it all right for you.' What did I say?' she cried, with the first flash of anger I ever saw in her brown eyes, "I thought of how mad Mr. Goldstein would be, and how he'd take our work from us and lock the doors, and how we'd all starve to death because of that meddling man. I remembered how I had cried and prayed and wrote to get ironing to do, even if I had to bear on pretty hard, and I said, 'I'll never tell you one word what I get nor what I do, nor anything. Your paper could never make it all right for us, but we'd all get locked out and starved to death.' He laid his hand on my arm then and said, 'But listen to me an instant.' Did I? No, I didn't. I told him he was a rascal, and tore away home as fast as I could go. Wasn't I right?" Poor, poor little Cassy!

The summer waned, the autumn came and went, and gradually I saw a change in the little presser. The splendid stock of health, the boundless vitality she had brought to her daily toil had been heavily drained during the hot months, and her cheerfulness and hopefulness seemed to forsake her. Once I had likened her to a June rose; but, what rose ever flourished at the mouth of a fiery furnace? The color in her cheeks faded, or burned there only in brilliant circumscribed spots, the light of her eyes grew dull, her step listless, but she never flagged, nor lost a day. She stood at her post wet to the waist with perspiration; hot vapor from the dampened goods upon her table and upon twenty others around her, rose in clouds before her; the red-hot stove made the air tremble and wave; the red-hot sun beat in the windows and down on the roof till the room was like a boiling caldron. I saw the evil days I had feared for her, but I had no more power to help her than if she had lived in Mars or Saturn. Once I urged her to "lay oil" for a week or two, but she steadily refused. "Why, you don't want to die, do you, Cassy?" I asked.

"Die?—die?" she echoed with a frightened glance; "I have not lived yet, you may say! I will go and see the doctor." Shortly after this she said to me one evening, "Did you ever notice that if you come in here of a morning with a thought in your mind, especially an ugly thought, or with a tune in your head, especially a tiresome tune, how the engine takes it and all the machines beat tune to it and sing it over and over, or say it millions of times until your very heart is sick of it?"

"Yes, Cassy, but mightn't it be the other way, too, with a happy thought or a merry tune?" I suggested, knowing only too well the nervous horror that was on her.

“Perhaps it might; but I often think they are scared at the hideous noises, and that's the reason they collie so seldom.”

“And what the the machinery sing or say now, Cassy? Let me hear what it beats with its iron music.” We were just outside the press room door; there were shafts, pulleys and belts there, too, and vibrations that made the floors shiver.

“Listen!” she whispered, with her mouth close to my ear and her fevered hand upon my wrist —“listen! *If you get sick, who will take care of you! and if you die, where is your grave?*” That's what it says, millions and millions and millions of times.” She kept time to the strokes of the iron hammers, like one who scans poetry, and there was so worn and wild and haggard a look on her young face that I could not bear to leave her to herself. But we were sold “for a price,” both of us, and as she left me I thought that blind Fortune was a most accomplished ironer, and when she took it into her head could “bear down hard,” and long and heavy, as she was bearing now on Cassy.

...

I have been to visit Cassy again today, and if I can read the signs aright I think this is the last Sunday she will spend with the kind baker and his wife and their nine white-haired little bakers and bakeresses. I see a striking change in her, and not withstanding her brave spirit, her patience and her hopefulness, that change is not for the better. Not for the better did I say? I am wrong, wrong; it is infinitely better that she should go early holding fast to her faith in God than that she should anger a few more years, until she had lost even that gracious hope, which on the very verge of the black and horrible grave, seems to comfort and uphold her. And yet I never felt a keener pity for any living, suffering creature than I did for her when I looked down at her lying upon the bed from which I am certain she will never rise. Even while I talked to her a curious thing happened, which couldn't have been my fancy—a cold, white light fell suddenly upon her face, deepening and transfiguring her expression, but her old spirit was so strong within her, her mind so free from the delirium in which she has moaned for days and days, that I was almost persuaded she might get well again. It is now high noon of a stormy Sabbath in January, but the day is as dark as a winter's twilight. The sleet rages and beats without, the wind is from the northeast, with such a bowling, sobbing and wailing in it as might drive a hypochondriac prematurely to a halter. I am not, I believe, subject to atmospheric influences, but under these heavy clouds, with the dismal whining of that blast in my ears, I cannot rid myself of the impression that the angel of death is abroad like a monstrous waster and destroyer—not only abroad, but sweeping near me—and that the bitter chill in the air is the overshadowing of his outstretched wings. Scientists tell us that there is no waste in nature; that destruction is really a transmutation; that death is but life in another shape. They should stand with me at my work, see what I have seen, know what I have known, come with me and gaze on this ruined frame that once was Cassy, and they would find there is in nature a waste which is so awful and so tragical when it deals with humanity that it wrings the soul and makes the heartache to think of it, I was reminded of this by the box of orange blossoms sent to me yesterday by a friend in the south. I took them today just as they were to Cassy, and as if their fragrance exhaled the thought she exclaimed: “So the sun has been shilling on somebody's garden, though it would not on mine!”

I turned to look at her “garden”—a single pot upon the window-sill, which held a dwindled, leafless rose bush.

“It never grew a bit, for all my care, since the day I brought it home in my arms from the street

corner where it stood among so many other flowers. It always wanted something or missed something that belonged to it, and its leaves dropped one by one," she said sorrowfully. "It didn't live, here in the garret, the life God meant a rose should live, and it is dying by inches."

So like, so very like her own poor rose was she as she lay there with the orange blossoms in her hand. "Every one of these," she continued, "would have turned to fruit, wouldn't it?" and she pointed to the white sprays.

I shook my head. "Not one blossom in every ten comes to perfection, Cassy."

It was a startled glance she raised to mine, and there was a sharper tone in her usually so gentle voice as she questioned, almost petulantly, as the sick often do:

"What were the other nine made for, then—only to wither and die?"

"What, indeed, were they made for?" I answered. "Why, if I could riddle you that, Cassy, I could also reveal to you the secret of all the pain and suffering in God's universe. Spring after spring, ever since the world began, for every blossom that ever came to full fruition thousands heaped the ground like snow. You can see this waste under any apple tree in May."

It was just then that I noticed the curious shadow sharpen her face, and, as I said before, deepen its expression; she looked up slowly, musingly.

"A waste, you say, do you think there could be a waste when the hairs of our heads are all counted?"

I would not distress her by saying 'yes,' and how could I say 'no'? "I don't," she added, vehemently. "If I did I could not bear to—" but her words were cut short by the cough that racks and strangles her of late, and I concluded the sentence for her but in a different way.

"You could not bear to live, you were going to say. That is because you are, as I have often told you, faith's own child, Cassy!"

She caught my hand and held it; she searched my eyes with a look so piercing clear, so wistful, so strangely bright, and yet so pitiful that it moved me to grief and wonder.

"What is it, Cassy?"

She turned on her pillow and drew from beneath it a book—the baker's Dutch Bible in miniature—hunted something within its leaves, and then handed it to me, saying only, "There!" and this is what I read upon the page, "The grass withereth, the flower fadeth, but the word of our God shall stand forever."

I stooped and kissed her—"It's all right with you then Cassy, isn't it?"

"It's all right," she murmured, smiling faintly, "there is no waste!"

But sitting here, sad and solitary by my fire, which has burned to ashes, I would give much to believe that she was not a part of the wicked and reckless ruin that is wrought by man's hand every day

unchecked and unrebuked. Hark! there is a knock at my door— they have come to tell me that Cassy is dead.”

C. L. Eckel.

## **Songs Of English Radicals**

### **Marching Song**

*Air*—“O'Donnell Aboo.”

Workers of England, why crouch ye like cravens?

Why clutch an existence of insult and want?

Why stand to be plucked by an army of ravens?

Or hoodwinked for ever by twaddle and cant?

Think on the wrongs ye bear

Think on the rags ye wear,

Think on the insult endured from your birth;

Toiling in snow and rain,

Rearing up heaps of gain,

All for the tyrants who grind ye to earth.

Oh heed not the talk of those fat agitators,

Who prattle of Gladstone or Churchill or worse,

Expect not your rights from professional praters,

But manfully trust in your courage and force.

Waste not your ready blows,

Strike not at foreign foes,

Your bitterest enemies tread your own soil.

The preachers who blind ye,

The landlords who grind ye,  
The gluttons who revel whilst ye are at toil.

—*J. Connell in Justice.*

### **Call a Spade a Spade**

When I see the poor and helpless

Turned out of doors to die,

When I see poor little children

With no cover but the sky,

Then I cry with all my might—

“These laws are not God-made!”

Smite down such “rights of property,”

And call a spade a spade.

When I see rack-rented crofters

By glistening bayonets driven

From humble homes built on the soil

Their Father-God has given,

Then I cry with all my might—

“These laws are not God-made!”

Crush these ducal “rights of property,”

And call a spade a spade.

When I see idle monopolists,

In pomp and station grand,

Gorged with the hard-won earnings



Of the toilers of our land,  
Then I cry with all my might—  
“Such things are not God-made!”  
Thieves have no “rights of property,”  
Let's call a spade a spade.  
How long shall we, like burdened beasts,  
Contented bear the whip,  
While titled idlers sup our feasts,  
And mock with scornful lip.  
How long !—till we have courage,  
And cease to be afraid;  
And learn to hold our heads like men.  
And can a spade a spade.  
*W. D.*

### **From Crofter's Song**

You labor soon, you labor late,  
You feed the titled knave, man;  
And all the comfort you've to get  
Is that beyond the grave, man.

## **Negro Versus White Labor**

### **A Southern Woman Attacks a “Standard” Contributor with a Sharp-nibbed Pen**

Washington, D. C., Jan . 24.—Permit me to briefly reply to an article which appeared in your paper on the 15th inst., entitled “The Negro in the South.”

The author, Mr. Will. M. Clemens, is utterly unknown to me, and if the subject upon which he essayed to write did not concern me and every southern born individual, I should feel that an apology was due him in the outset for thus venturing to intrude on his doubtless distinguished notice.

I venture the opinion that the man who is acute enough to be able to grasp so thoroughly the negro problem in the south, after barely three months of observation, is deserving of a place among the first political economists of the day. His is a light that should no longer be hid beneath a bushel.

From various statements made in the article referred to, I deduce the following beliefs: First—that the writer is not such a fair, impartial reporter of “facts” as the leader of the working classes—THE STANDARD—should employ in their interests.

Second—He either willfully misrepresents the “facts,” does it through ignorance, or had opportunities for observing which no common man possesses—certainly no southern man.

And, third, his data was derived principally, if not entirely, from observations made in cities.

Mr. Clemens is not very consistent, moreover, in the statement of his “facts,” as evidence of which I group together a few of them, selected at random.

“There appears to be no discontent among the southern negroes. They have considerable voice in political affairs. There are negro policemen in Atlanta, and every mail carrier in Jacksonville, Fla., is a colored man. In Fernandina, Fla., all the city officials are negroes, from mayor to constable. As to the matter of schools, the negroes have the best school houses in some localities, so much the best that the white tax-payers are inclined to shake their heads and grumble.

“In every southern state there are laws on the statute books which give the white landlord almost absolute control of the interest of the colored renter or laborer. . . . Many of the colored men are getting rich. . . . They are owners of their own homes in many instances, and to all appearances are happy, prosperous and contented. . . . The law is on the side of the white man. . . . The negro is a slave still, to a certain extent. He is not treated as is the white man, and here lies the secret of success and prosperity in the great south.”

Are we to infer that Mr. Clemens thus lands the course which he alleges is pursued by the white man toward his “brother in black?” . . . “The negro mechanics and laborers in the towns and cities are prosperous and contented.”

That is enough of what purports to be the candid belief of Mr. Clemens on the negro question in the south. Too much if any sane person should expect a systematized reply, for in nearly every other paragraph there are glaring errors instead of “facts.”

I know whereof I speak, for my life has been spent in the south—in cotton producing Mississippi, in sugar producing Louisiana, in the vast wheat region of northwestern Texas, and for the past three years in the orange state, Florida. I have viewed the white and the colored laborer together and apart, in cities and on farms; furthermore, one of my brothers is a “southern born white man,” who is neither “wealthy,” engaged in the liquor traffic, running a cheap eating house, or “filling like occupation.” Neither is he averse to laboring, even “along with the negroes.” So perhaps he may be allowed to head a new list in Mr. Clemens' caustic review. When this list is thus started I engage to fill

it with three fourths of the “poor white men of the south,” whether Mr. Clemens consents or not, leaving the other fourth to go upon his “shiftless” white list, and he may then take it and compare it with similar populations elsewhere. If he does not find that there is always a lazy class haunting wicked resorts in cities everywhere I shall be surprised.

It is just such irresponsible, aimless, meandering chaff as that written from Jacksonville, Fla., by Mr. Clemens that does the negro most harm.

Where he is found contented, he is not left so; and when discontented, his grievances, instead of being inquired into with a philanthropic desire to lessen them, are made to assume huge dimensions that do not exist save in the distorted imagination of his “counselor.” If he is not being well on the cotton farms, neither, for that matter, is his “shiftless” white brother, as those truly informed are aware. Does Mr. Clemens expect, does THE STANDARD intend, as the organ of the workingmen, to abuse one portion of that large class in the United States in order to benefit another Mr. Clemens says “the native whites of the south, who are not men of wealth or engaged in profitable business enterprises, are engaged in liquor selling, running cheap catering houses and filling like occupations.”

Farming, as he says, when excusing the tendency of the negroes, so vastly superior in their “thrift” to their “white brother” to seek “fresh fields and pastures new,” is not remunerative; hence the multitudes of native born white men who run their own farms are “shiftless” because they do not grow wealthy, or else they are nonentities, for I see no other place in his summary for them. They do work a shard as the negro, and as to the superiority of intellect as shown by the latter over them, all I have to say is I can well believe it, if Mr. Clemens is a sample. He is white, I presume.

I refer all lovers of truth and justice to the best statistics in existence, i.e. those shown on the farms of southern white men. Go there and see white men labor in the field, often side by side with the negro, and, as a rule, far more energetically! They work all day Saturday; the negro will not; they try to “cut their coat by the cloth” in regard to expenses; the negro rarely does; they use discretion in making purchases; it is a well known fact that the negro will spend his last dollar for a gew-gaw. One “fad” of Mr. Clemens is too true: The negro does have a “voice” in politics, and the almighty dollar turns his “voice” in any direction the spender of it may desire! Lastly, the negro is migratory, or an “exoduster,” not because he “loves an air of thrift,” but because of the ties told him by his “champions,” and also because of his natural antipathy to steady work.

Facts

## **Our Progress**

### **Horace Greeley's Young Man Goes West and Slaves for a Master Nowadays**

Detroit, Mich., Labor Leaf.

When Horace Greeley advised the young man to go west it was a pity that he did not foresee the time when his advice would be valueless. Since his day society has taken giant strides; its lenders are not as those of his day, but need the loving care of their supporters. Recognizing this, it behooves the grand army of industry to bend their backs once again to help the aristocracy of wealth and culture to

hold its own against the product of any effete monarchy. Out of the ways in which this can be done is to go west. Having got, there, probably the way in which the “horny-handed son of toil” can best preserve his country, as a true patriot should, is to buy some land on time or rent it, which will be about the same, and begin to raise crops for his master, in this way he can perpetuate one of the blessing of a free country—an aristocracy of wealth which will not take a back seat for any European country. Of course, some stiff-necked and obstinate individuals may be found who think they are entitled to all they earn, but in the event of their not acknowledging the beauty of the American system of freedom, it would be merciful to put them on the road to heaven as painlessly as possible. Their opposition can only cause pain to themselves and the aristocracy, as well as their neighbors.

### **Fighting for Negro Labor**

The philanthropic farmers of Rankin county. La., met a few days ago, and passed a set of resolutions condemning the action of certain labor agents, who it seems have been inducing the colored laborers of the somewhat hilly and sterile Rankin county to emigrate to the fertile bottom lands of the Mississippi and Yazoo rivers.

In the last paragraph of their resolutions they said: “This meeting is not held with a view of preventing colored men from leaving the county, but to guarantee that they are not enticed away by fraudulent propositions and promises, and to permit them to leave of their own free will and accord, if go they will, contrary to our friendly advice, which is hereby extended them to remain in the healthy hills of Rankin county.” In the “healthy hills of Rankin county,” be it observed, there have been repeated failures of crops, which certainly does not sound well for the laborers, and it is probable that the real sentiment of the meeting was given in the report, which said, in not very pacific language, as that of the resolutions, “Those who participated in the meeting are determined to keep their eyes open for these agents, and should one be caught after tomorrow he will regret the day he crossed Pearl river.”

These wily agriculturists thus take what measures they can to convince the negroes that their wages will be better where there is a failure of crops than in the fertile districts; but fearing that their statements will be taken with a very large allowance, they reserve the right to kick the labor agents out of the county.

### **The Survival of the Meanest**

New York Leader.

Under unrestrained competition it is always the meanest employer who rules his trade. If he has brains and business talents, he is the fellow that cuts wages. The decent employers have to follow suit or go under. See how this is illustrated in the case of McCready, the president of the Old Dominion steamship company. He is universally recognized as the meanest man in the business. Yet he “rules the roast.” But for him the longshoremen would not be out. But for the Delaware and Lackawanna railroad company the coal handlers would have obtained the price they demand. It is this road that holds the key. The meanest survives—in the base strife of the economic competition. In that the meanest is always the fittest.

## **Root of All Monopolies**

Commenting on the fact that two big cattle firms, Haggin & Carr and Lux & Miller, together with several smaller firms and private individuals, own all the land along the Kern River in California, and thus control the stream also, the Sacramento, Cal, *Bee* says: "The principle of allowing a few men to own an entire river is entirely wrong, and can be prevented by the abolition of land monopoly. Were the lands not monopolized in the hands of a few, the water could not be so monopolized. Land monopoly is the root of all other monopolies. It is the giant curse of the state. He who owns the land owns the water, and he who owns both land and water is sole supreme master of his section, with more power than it is just and right any man should have in a republic."

## **Why Work is Scarce**

Cedar Rapids, In., New Era.

Why is it that in the United States there are over a million of men out of work at the present time? Why is it that there seems already to be an overcrowding of the people, when we have only a population of sixty millions, in a country capable of supporting over twelve hundred millions, or more than twenty times as many as are now here. Is it not because labor is denied free access to the natural element, which is in many places, and in vast tracts monopolized by idlers and speculators, to the exclusion of honest workers and wealth producers? Think of it; idle, vicious speculators and gamblers are allowed to withhold millions from honest toil that seeks to make itself a home.

## **Unearned Increment**

Asheville, N. C., Advance.

In Asheville a vacant lot of about one-fourth of an acre sold the other day for about \$10,000. A nominal price was originally given for it by the purchaser, who claims never to have spent one iota on its improvement. The lot became valuable by the growth and industry of Asheville. The people of this community have by their own exertion and prosperity given value to something that had no value. It is the same thing as if they had placed on that lot \$10,000 of their own earnings. We maintain that this belongs not to the so-called land owner, but to the community that created it.

## **Modern Highwayism**

San Francisco People.

Poor's calculations assumes that the Northern Pacific railroad had cost \$100,000,000 to build and equip; but there is good expert evidence to show that the average cost of railroad building in the United States does not exceed \$7,000 per mile, and hence the building, including track laying, did not

cost over \$14,000,000, and possibility as much again for outfit. That is, the government has paid the road \$300,000,000 in land for a \$28,000,000 job, and has not a cent to show for it.

### **How Truth Exerts Fiction**

Newark, N. J., Jan. 31.—THE STANDARD suggests to me a new motto: “Truth is more interesting than fiction.”

Augustus Watters.

### **The Sea for the Fishes**

A Ballad from the Eriny Deep.

Quote the shark to the whale, “let's be lords of the sea—

Me thinks 'tis a capital notion;

We have only to make up our minds and agree

To place a big tax on the ocean.

We will claim it is *ours*, from equator to pole

(As the big men on earth claim the land);

Every fish that can swim shall first pay to us tell—

By jingo, our life will be grand!”

So the whale started out to rent out the north zone.

The shark for the Mediterranean,

And he tied up the ocean and leased off alone

The sea, from Gibraltar to Canaan.

“Ho! ho!” laughed the shark in his ravenous glee

As the whale spouted high in his joy;

“Daddy Neptune as a fool, sir, to you and to me:

Now we'll gorge on the masses, my boy!”

Then Old Neptune a rose, and he cried in loud wrath,  
“How dare they thus treat my domain!”  
And he shouted these words from the south to the north.  
Till the echo rang loudly again —  
“Know once and forever, ye fish of the sea,  
From the whale to the minnow so small,  
That none can oppress, for the oceans are free;  
*The sea was created for all.*”

Henry Ancketill.

*Hudson. N. Y. Jan. 26.*

## Page 8

### Religious

#### Sympathy

Friend, art thou drowning? So am I.

Hold by my hand.

Nearer is my vain help, than help

From yonder land.

Friend, art thou starving? So, too, I.

Therefore I come

To thee—not to the overled—

To ask a crumb.

Friend, hast thou nothing? Less have I.

Yet, beggared ones

Give more to those who beg, than e'er

Earth's riches sons.

—*Gruce Denio Litchfield*

### **A Short Sermon by Dr. William Paley, with an Application by the Rev. Robert Hall**

The Rev. Robert Hall, the great Baptist divine of England, was second only to the Rev. Dr. Paley as a student of political economy. Both men defended private land holding. Modern social science was only coming to its birth in their day, and yet the general principles they accepted sustain the conclusions reached by land reformers.

Dr. Paley—“Such a man claims a right to a particular estate. He can show, it is true, nothing for his rights but a rule of the civil community to which he belongs, and this rule may be arbitrary, capricious and absurd.

“We now speak of property in land, and there is a difficulty in explaining the origin of this property consistently with the law of nature; for the land was once, no doubt, common, and the question is how any particular part of it could be taken out of the common and so appropriated to the first owners, and, what is more, a right to exclude others from it. Moralists have given many different accounts of this matter, which diversity alone, perhaps, is a proof that none of them are satisfactory.

“Were those accounts perfectly unexceptionable, they would none of them, I fear, avail us in vindicating our present claims of property in land, unless it were more probable than it is that our estates were actually acquired at first in some of the ways which these accounts suppose; and that a regular regard had been paid to justice in every successive transmission of them since; for if one link in the chain fail, every title posterior to it falls to the ground.

“The real foundation to the right is *the law of the land*—[Robert Hall, A. M.]

“Though they are a law to every member of the society separately considered, they cannot bind the society itself, or prevent it, when it shall think proper, from forming an entire new arrangement; a right that no compact can alienate or diminish, and which has been exerted as often as a free government has been formed.”

### **News and Opinions**

The Archbishop of Canterbury has requested the meeting of another Pan-Anglican conference for the summer of 1888.



The controversy over what are called Catholic principles by a party in the Protestant Episcopal church is becoming somewhat bitter, so much so that the *living church* assails the conservative dioceses in the east, which have sustained with money, the small and ultra dioceses of the west, by complaining that more was done for the west, and has the hardihood to assert that if duty had been done the west might now be sending back missionaries to convert the church here to Catholicity.

Bishop Peterkin of West Virginia is out with a bold and aggressive attack on the so-called Catholics.

A prominent clergyman has been out to Denver and preached against the apostolic succession. Bishop Spalding was asked to respond, and has been doing so in a course of lectures.

An attempt has been made to organize a church unity society among the Episcopal clergymen of Philadelphia, but it was a complete failure. Few responded to the call, and a majority of them were opposed to the line upon which it was proposed to work.

St. Mark's church. Charleston, resents in a series of resolutions the charge that it is a congregation of mulattoes and draws the color line by excluding blacks. This charge was made by a South Carolinian at the Chicago convention.

Two of our daily papers have been wrangling over the question whether or not vice crowded St. Thomas' church from Broadway and Houston street in this city to its aristocratic location up town. Both are wrong. That was one among several reasons given officially at the time the old church was torn down.

A society for the home study of holy scripture and church history has been formed under the patronage of Bishop Doane, to be conducted by Miss Sarah F. Smiley.

One of the best expressions of charity in our present abnormal Christianity is a parish society that has been organized to see that the sick poor need nothing. Medical attendance, medicines, nursing and food are to be provided, and whatever convenience is required will be lent for use during sickness.

At last "surpliced ladies" have appeared. Three young women in surplices, edged black, and caps of college style have been photographed at Melbourne, to show the church how much more becoming this apparel is for the singers of the pro-cathedral there than the costumes usually worn by women in a their.

The Reformed Episcopal church is endeavoring to build a theological seminary at West Philadelphia.

Dr. L. W. Bacon advocates specialties in ministerial work, recognizing the "diversity of gifts," as there are specialists in medicine, law and military work. The man who is a preacher should give himself to preaching; he who is a pastor to visiting; he who is a student to apologetics and to exposition..

The injustice of excluding Catholics from juries in South Sligo, Ireland, is attracting attention, and liberal Protestants are as loud in denunciation as are the Catholics. Bishop MacCormack writes in defense of his people. "I made bold to arraign the crown before the bar of public opinion, and I feel confident as to the verdict. It is now fashionable to talk of agitators as setting class against class; but

what about the crown setting creed against creed? Here is a case in point. A Woodford Catholic prisoner in Sligo dock sees all his co-religionist jurors set aside by the crown, and twelve non-Catholics called to try him (I say *try*, when the word *convict* is the right one, but let that pass). The prisoner's counsel very properly resents the action of the crown, remarking that the conduct of the crown was equivalent to branding every rejected papist as a perjurer. Now, how could that poor papist, prisoner have any confidence in the administration of such forms of law, when he sees these things occur in the name of the crown?"

In Boston Dr. Phillips Brooks is preaching to greater crowds on successive Sunday evenings in Faneuil hall. He leaves his surplice, gown and prayer-book at home.

According to the *Independent* the matter of reading the Bible in the public schools has assumed a novel phase in the college of the city of New York: "We are informed that Prof. Werner, secretary of the faculty, who occasionally reads the Bible in the college chapel in the absence of the president, has made it his habit daily to make the same selection, that of the story of the Tower of Babel; and it was understood by the students that he chose it as a story that would cast discredit on the Bible. Prof. Doremus read last year, during President Webb's illness, the story of the creation, and it is said remarked as he read one portion, 'Science approves of that,' and upon reading of another portion, 'Science has not approved of that,' or words to that effect. His comments provoked marked expression of feeling by laughter and hissing and frequent comments during the day."

The Chinese authorities are issuing proclamations intended to avoid religious riots in the provinces where missionaries are established. One governor fulminates this: "In respectful furtherance, therefore, of the benevolent intentions of the state, I feel it incumbent on me to put the matter plainly. Know, therefore, all men of whatsoever sort or condition, that the solo object of establishing chapels is to exhort men to do right. Those who embrace Christianity do not cease to be Chinese, and both sides should, therefore, continue to live in peace, and not let mutual jealousies be the cause of strife between them. From the date of this proclamation any lawless vagabonds who make trouble to stir up strife without a cause shall be punished with the utmost rigor of the law. No mercy will be shown, so beware!"

## **God Never Sells**

John J. Hayes writes as follows to the Rochester *Union and Advertiser*: "I hold that the earth belongs to the whole people who inhabit it, and that this right will pass to the people who come after us, and that no person or persons have a right to appropriate land to their own use to the exclusion of the rest of mankind to an interest therein. To be clear, God made the earth, and as he never sells his works, how is it possible for any private individual or corporation to have a clear title to sole ownership?"

## **The Companies Could Well Afford It**

New York Real Estate Record.

The present coal strikes are awkward, and if we understand the demands of the men they are not

unreasonable, as they ask \$9 instead of the \$7 a week they have been receiving. The companies could well afford to pay the advance, as they could easily make it up on the enhanced price of coal.

## **Land Reform In Minnesota**

### **Bills to Restrict the Area of Private Ownership and to Give Access to Coal Lands**

Of Friday of last week Senator Edwards introduced in the Minnesota senate a bill “to restrict the ownership of real estate in Minnesota to American citizens.” It provides that no person who is not a citizen, or who has not lawfully declared his intention to become a citizen, shall hold real estate within the state, except such as is acquired by devise, inheritance or collection of debt. Corporations or associations, if more than 20 per cent of their stock is held by persons, cannot acquire and hold real estate. No corporation composed of citizens shall hold more than five thousand acres of land except those organized to construct railroads, canals or turnpikes, and those shall not acquire more than this amount except for the necessary purposes of operating their business. The object of the bill is to put an end to the railroad system of land speculation.

A resolution introduced by Representative Lucas was passed last week in committee of the whole in the lower house of the legislature of the same state, which declared that the people of the United States are forced to pay tribute to a few men holding the vast area of the coal bearing lands of the country; that the holders of this necessity of life and civilization have performed no service to their fellow countrymen to entitle them to this privilege, and their wealth and power are derived solely from the artificial scarcity they have created in the coal supply by illegal 'combinations and conspiracies,' and that therefore congress be requested to pass a bill asserting the sovereign power of the people, through the exercise of the right of eminent domain, to relieve themselves from this oppression by condemning all coal lands where such conspiracies and combinations exist, and also to reserve coal lands yet belonging to the general government as valuable mineral lands are now reserved, and for the establishment of some system of management whereby the people can at all times obtain cheap fuel at the actual cost of mining the same and not permit “this great essential of life to be monopolized by a few citizens to the great detriment of the whole people.” The St. Paul *Pioneer Press* finds in this resolution the text for a sweeping editorial on “Georgeism in Minnesota.” It says it has found “the astonishing fact” to be that the so-called “Lucas memorial,” relating to the ownership of coal lands, has been before the legislature only to receive encomiums and become the subject of “great, swelling orations upon the iniquity of monopoly in general.” The state of the public conscience in Minnesota seems to be normal.

## **Distribution Of The Surplus**

### **Free Illumination, Free Telegraphs and Street Railroads**

St. Louis, Mo., Jan. 29—The *Catholic World* of this city says:

On the supposition that the state should own all landed property, what disposition could it make of its immense wealth? The millions which would then swell the state treasury to overflowing could be put to what use? Applied to the

common good, it may be answered. How? By erecting a number of state asylums for the gratuitous support of citizens? What a clog this would put upon the wheels of industry and what power it would place in the hands of the state.

To what use is the wealth of the landowners put? To the amassing of more wealth for which they have no use, to extravagance and debauchery, and to the establishment of monopolies which drain the people and reduce them to enslavement. This wealth is not the result of productive industry; it is the result of speculation, of chance, of gambling and of fraud. Nor when all other taxes are remitted is there much probability of such a large or dangerous surplus. Give every man a home who desires one, or make it even possible for every man to get a home of his own in the country of which he is a citizen, and you will be enabled to do many things which, with the present adjustment of society, are impossible. The streets might be lighted, the street railways owned and operated, telegraph and all such businesses which partake of the nature of monopolies might be conducted by the people themselves; all these advantages would inure to their advantages and not, as now, to the advantage of the land owners, who, no matter how great the progress made, are enabled to not only obtain all the advantage, but, by the power which their monopoly gives them, are able to discount future progress and thus check industry, and force it to points of inferior production. The state would not be put to anything like the expense it incurs at present for the relief of the unfortunate or the restraint of the vicious. There need be no fear that the state would apply its surplus to "erecting a number of state asylums for the gratuitous support of its citizens." But even if it did it would be no greater "clog upon the wheels of industry" than the present "clog," which takes from industry its just earnings, and gives them to a set of non-producers called land owners. There is the "clog" from which we, who believe in putting taxes on land values, however "chimerical" the doctrine may appear, desire to deliver mankind.

Wm. Harmon.

### **Delegates to Cincinnati**

Alliance, Ohio, Jan. 30.—Greenbackers, Knights of Labor and grangers met here yesterday and elected delegates to the Cincinnati industrial convention as follows: Charles Jenkins, granger; Charles Bonsall, land reformer and Knight of Labor. and J. W. Northrup, greenbacker. Resolutions on land, labor and money were adopted with much enthusiasm.

J. F. Reyder.

### **Labor**

At Sunday: s session of the New York Central Labor union, branches 1 and 3, Amalgamated Society of carpenters and joiners. handed in credentials. George McVey, in reporting the proceedings of the State Workingmen's assembly. denied that there was a quarrel between the knights and unionists, the light being only against false friends of labor who tried to run the convention. Discussion was caused by a request from a beer hall proprietor, Mr. Scultheiss, that the boycott be taken from Ehret's beer, but the matter was laid over indefinitely. The project of setting up a labor employment bureau was rejected. Resolutions were passed condemning the action of the Singer sewing machine company in relation to its locked out employes. Resolutions were passed in regard to the great strike. A delegate stated that his union had voted in favor of having two delegates from each organization in the Central

Labor union instead of one.

A committee appointed to distribute money to the girls most in need who came out of strike in Perkins' carpet factory, in Brooklyn, have reported that they found many of the families of the girls poverty stricken. To one family they gave \$10, to others amounts equivalent to their necessities. Perkins had sent for five of the girls, and offered them situations if they would sign a paper stating that nothing wrong ever occurred in the factory. Three of the girls accepted.

Ramon Rubaira, general secretary of the National Cuban Federation of Cigarmakers, writes to THE STANDARD to correct statements made in relation to the shooting at Ybor City, Fla., in last week's issue. Mr. Rubeira says there has been no difficulty between knights and the Cuban federation at Ybor City, but the troubles grew out of the discharge of a man by the manager of Ybor & Co.'s factory and the methods taken by his assembly to have him reinstated. The majority of the members of the assembly are Spaniards, Mr. Rubiera says, and were desirous of compelling the manager to sign a contract to reinstate the man who was discharged, and employ men of that nationality only, and on his refusal they went to the length of firing into the building where he was engaged in his affairs and wounding four persons.

District assembly 49 ordered the employes at Lorillard's back to work on Monday last, on the understanding that no charge will be made in the factory that will cause the operatives to make less wages than they had been making. In several departments advances in wages were made and extra help employed. Wages and conditions were to be restored to the basis that the employes were working upon after the strike of two years ago. Abuses had crept into the factories unknown to Mr. Lorillard.

The attention of the printers of the country has been directed, during the past few months, to the Wheeling (West Va.) typographical union. The union attempted to advance its scale five cents a thousand ems; the proprietors of two daily papers refused to pay it; the compositors struck; the employers sent to Cleveland and obtained men from a non-union agency called the Printers' Protective fraternity; the union, induced the Ohio Valley trades assembly to boycott the newspapers in question; the employers, after two months' experience of the boycott, offered to discharge their non-union forces, take the old hands back, and leave the question of scale to arbitration; the union accepted and put its men back to work, and the non-union men left the city. The union appointed one representative on the arbitration committee, the employers another, and the two members a third. On Friday of last week the committee made its report. Every point decided upon was adverse to the morning newspaper printers. The committee, however, did not pass upon the claims of job men and evening newspaper compositors. The feeling of the union is, therefore, that the report is incomplete as well as unsatisfactory. Their committeeman said that it was the first trial at arbitration in the community, and in his opinion it would be the last. The *News Letter* says that it is truly sorry that the arbitration resulted in the defeat of the advanced scale, as in its opinion a compromise on an advance of two and a half cents would have been productive of the most good in the long run to all concerned. The effect of the whole case will be felt generally with the members of the International Typographical union, for arbitration has been but rarely attempted by them, the Washington and Chicago unions being the only organized bodies that have tried it of late years, and in both these cases the working printers were disappointed in having judgment awarded against them.

The *Labor Review* of Clinton, Iowa, urges organized workingmen to demand that wages be paid weekly or at least twice a month. Its reasons are well put. The monthly credit system offers a temptation to the workingmen to run up heavy bills. Some men run away and do not pay them, and the money thus lost to the storekeeper must be made up by those who pay. Cash buys cheaper than credit.

Very little extra clerical help is needed to check off payrolls. More than all that, the money belongs to the workers, and no one else can handle it after it is earned without using what is not his.

The Rhodes Brothers employ six hundred persons in their jean mills at Ashton, Delaware county, Pa. They own the dwellings in which their workmen live and have also a store. A few weeks ago they issued a notice to the effect that their tenant houses were erected—for the sole use of the employed in their factories, and that when a family ceases to be employed by them they want the house they have occupied for others who might succeed them. They will, therefore, hereafter give only a four weeks' lease. Heretofore the houses have been rented by the year. The tenant employes see in this move a design to menace them with dispossession in case they refuse to work on the Rhodes' terms or to buy at their store.

The Ohio amalgamated association of miners, in session at Columbus last week, deprecated the fight now being waged against the association by District Assembly 135, and warned the latter body that if its policy was followed up the members of the association who were in the district would be asked to sever their connection with the Knights of Labor. The amalgamated association has a membership of fifteen thousand in Ohio and is the largest trades union in the state.

Uneasiness has been occasioned at Pinkerton's headquarters in Chicago by an attack made upon the force by the knights through the sources of the law. The legislatures of Michigan and New Jersey have bills before them which aim at preventing the employment of armed Pinkertons in case of labor troubles, and the knights will within two weeks push measures of a like nature in Wisconsin, Indiana, Pennsylvania, Illinois and New York.

The annual election of officers in the district assembly which controls the Chicago stock yards resulted in the choice of men who are said to favor another strike for eight hours on May 1.

The state of affairs at Whitely's Champion reaper and mover works at Springfield, Ohio, is thus described by a correspondent of *Live Issues* of Terre Haute, Ind.: On March 2, 1886, Whitely discharged his men, who were Knights of Labor, 700 in all. Some were taken back on signing an iron clad agreement binding themselves to join no labor organization whatever and to observe a series of exacting rules. A few days after the election last November every man who had not voted the republican ticket was discharged. Before a man can get employment he is obliged to give a "pedigree," like a prisoner before a police sergeant's desk, stating, among other things, whether he is a sympathizer with labor organizations and whether he is a republican or a democrat. At the main entrance of this temple of liberty a large sign is hung out announcing that "None but free and independent workmen are employed here.

By preconcerted arrangement notice was given on Friday of last week in most of the boot and shoe factories in Worcester and Spencer, Mass., that the manufacturers would deal with their employes hereafter only as individuals. The action affected a large number of operatives in Worcester county. The local executive board of the Knights of Labor indorsed the strike of the operatives that followed the notice, and a hard fight has begun.

Larkin McHugh, commissioner of labor statistics of Ohio, has just presented his official report to the governor. He states that the average yearly earnings of the employes at Ohio is as follows: Agricultural implements, \$486.60; awnings and tents, \$316.75; bakers and confectioners, \$401.56; brewers, \$765.08; coopers, \$301.08; mantels and grates, \$608.15; millers, \$512.15; lithographers, \$380; glass workers, \$383.03; shoemakers, \$358.86; storemakers, \$481.32; textile workers, \$286.20;

tanners, \$488.04.

At Youngstown, Ohio, on Monday the board of arbitration, to whom was referred the differences between the operators and miners of the National and Fairview mines at Washingtonville, Ohio, decided that the price of mining should be advanced from 32½ to 87 cents per ton. The award is said to be satisfactory to all parties.

The Connellsville coke syndicate have advanced the price of coke from \$1.50 to \$2 per ton, the increase beginning Feb. 1. It is expected that the miners will ask for higher wages.

On Tuesday next an inter-state convention of coal operators will be held at Columbus, Ohio, to decide upon scales of wages in different parts of the country, to continue in effects one year. It is expected that every coal field west of the Alleghenies will be represented in the convention.

The St. Louis Trades and Labor union is the name under which the various trades organizations of that city was organized on Friday of last week.

The Reading Railroad company has conceded a disputed point to its locomotive engineers and firemen. It will give them passes to and from work.

Last week at Augusta, Me., the legislative committee on labor gave a hearing to a committee from the Knights of Labor, who advocated the passage of a ten-hour bill, there being several such bills in the committee's hands. The knights argued against the employment of children in mills and in favor of a provision that corporations and their employes should each be compelled to give a week's notice of discharge or intention to leave.

At the convention of the Maine Knights of Labor at Augusta last week the secretary reported that there were 127 assemblies in the state, with a membership of 24,900.

Bills are now before the legislature of Pennsylvania covering in some shape many of the demands of workingmen—processes for the collection of wages, the amendment of the conspiracy law, the suppression of the black list, the prohibition of child labor, and the like.

The labor commissioner of Indiana makes the announcement that pauperism has increased fifty per cent in sixteen years, and that the checking of the steady advance of pauperism in this country will be one of the most perplexing questions of the age.

An eight hour bill has been introduced in the senate of Indiana.

Arbitration has left the rate of coopers' wages in Cincinnati unequal in different establishments. Fourteen employers who have been paying a higher scale than that given in the Cincinnati cooperage, which has lately taken on union men after an arbitration, have held a meeting and discussed whether they should not be released from their agreement to pay the higher rate. A committee was appointed to talk over the matter with the union.

George S. Bailey, labor member from East St. Louis, has introduced a bill in the Illinois legislature providing for a state board of arbitration of three members.

The street car drivers think of forming a national trade district of the Knights of Labor. There

are 30,000 now in the organization, and they can co-operate in the case of strikes and induce idle men not to accept employment where tie-ups are ordered.

An assembly of tin can makers has brought a lawsuit in Baltimore against a firm of manufacturers to recover \$20,000 for breach of contract. The firm contracted to pay the common scale from April 1, 1886, for one year, but failed to do so and threw out a force of employes, who became a burden on the assembly's treasury. The aggressive legal act of the assembly has startled the Baltimore bosses, who have been taught to expect strikes and arbitration, but not litigation.

Nearly 2,300 assemblies of the Knights of Labor have been organized.

A district assembly of textile workers (No. 190), composed of forty-two assemblies, has been formed during the present week in Philadelphia, the membership having been up to the present time embraced in District Assembly No. 1.

The Cooks and Waiters' union is one of the largest in San Francisco. It has \$4,000 in the treasury.

A correspondent of the Jackson, Mich., *Tribune* tells in a few sentences the story of a strike at Carey's mine, in that state, and it is the usual story of striking miners. The men average less than seventy-five cents a day, and they must trade it out at a "pluck me" store, for pay day comes only once a month, and then it's long after the wages are due.

### **The Earth for My Workshop**

In the course of a recent lecture before the knights of Middletown, Conn., Rev. P. M. Snyder said: "The chief cause of the existing evils is the rapid absorption by the capitalists and syndicates of the land of the country. The available land has nearly all become private property. The question forces itself upon us as to what is the ideal condition of a workingman. The world's work consists of converting the raw materials obtained from the earth into useful products for other useful products that we need. The ideal condition of the laborer then is that in which he has the freest possible access to the earth for his raw materials and the greatest freedom of exchange. The workingman's motto should be "The earth for my workshop and the world's market for my exchange."

### **Robbery and Robbery**

Peabody, Kas., Jan. 27.—For nearly half a century I have been an advocate of the national use of the land and rag money. Of all the social sins and crimes in this world, the buying and selling of land is the greatest and most nefarious. Robbing a man of a few dollars is nothing compared with robbing him of his right to use the land in common with his fellow men. I see the future baneful effects of buying and selling land in this section and hiring hands to cultivate it. Tell Father McGlynn to keep up coverage.

H. Booth.



## **Labor And The Pulpit**

### **A Congregation Minister at Newark Discusses Land and Labor**

At the Congregational church in Newark, N. J., last Sunday evening, Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost delivered the first of two sermons on "Henry George's Solution of the Labor Problem." He took for his text Acts ii. 44-45:

And all that believed were together, and had all things in common and sold their possessions, and goods, and parted them to all men, as every man had need.

He said he selected this text to show that the Christian church in its earliest day was what would now be called a company of Christian socialists.

"The early Christian church," said he, "was established on the Jeffersonian principle—the greatest good for the greatest number. In view of this fact I am going to speak to you of Henry George's remedy for the labor troubles, but not as an advocate of his theories. It was said that there was a question whether I advocated the theories of Henry George. This evening I am neither speaking as an advocate of his theories or as an opponent of them. A man must study the question for a long time. I am simply a student of the question and I hope to make you such.

"The time has come when Henry George's remedies for the labor troubles must be studied. His theory cannot be thrust aside carelessly. He ran for mayor of New York city and polled 68,600 votes, and came near being elected. An American citizen will see that a new political party has been formed. When careful conservative people are reading the works of Henry George it is a sign of the times. It is due to you, to your country, that you buy and read the works of Henry George. It won't cost you much money. It will cost you some time. It is not fair that you denounce this man before you understand his theory.

"If you say that Henry George is an anarchist, you will simply be exposing your own ignorance. A man who writes two or three books of a purely philosophical character is not an anarchist. Before you pronounce judgment on a man you want to hear what that man has to say."

Mr. Pentecost declared that such questions ought to be discussed in the Christian pulpit. Too many people separate their religion from the rest of their lives. This is why the same man can be a Sunday school superintendent and a defaulter; a commitment in church and a 'boodle' alderman; a prominent churchman and a liquor selling law breaker; a Christian on Sunday and a Wall street gambler and railroad wrecker all the rest of the week. Some people think that Christianity ought to be confined to the church; that it ought not to touch politics unless it touches in 'my' interest. The spectacle of a Catholic priest riding about town with Henry George made Archbishop Corrigan's heart sad; but the spectacle of the same priest making a speech in favor of Grover Cleveland, who happened to be Corrigan's candidate, was not so sad. The spectacle of a Christian minister discussing political questions is always sad to members of the opposite party. The reason why the Protestant church has lost her grip on the great body of working people in this country is because she has always been more concerned with questions relating to the other world, about which she believes so much and knows so little, than she has with questions relating to this, about which she knows so much and does so little that

is not directly calculated to magnify herself in purely worldly concerns.

“The Roman Catholic church has made a big mistake in opposing the Knights of Labor. I have studied the Knights of Labor for several years, and I have become convinced that the organization is one of the great bulwarks that stand between society and red handed anarchism.

The Knights of Labor imagine that they are tyrannized over, and once in a while they will do things no one will commend them for. It is the system. A great many think the troubles arise from employers. I know some that are as good as any men who walk the face of the earth. There are some hardhearted employers, but they are not at the bottom of the trouble. It is on account of the system. I wish you could read 'The Bitter Cry of Outcast London,' a small pamphlet. and see what the condition of affairs there is. The existing system is making more infidels than all of the Bob Ingersolls put together. Then you can readily see why Henry George has arisen. When a man arises there is a reason for it. A man has arisen, whether we like it or not. Why has such a man as Henry George been brought into power.' It is because there are thousands and thousands of poor wretches suffering from the effects of body killing and soul killing poverty. It is because there are thousands of human beings stowed away in burrows kennels and holes like animals, like rats. Men and women just like you and me. They are creatures of circumstances. They are living under a pernicious system. They cannot obtain a fair division of God's bounty.

“You say there are so many vicious people among these poor people. There is a class of people belonging to gangs. There are men we call tramps. There is no word I can say for the toughs or the tramps. They are vicious, and will become anarchists. But it is true that where you have a large number of millionaires in a community you will have tramps and toughs too.

“Time was when people could pooh-pooh this matter and declare that the working people had no real grievances except that the men could not afford to drink champagne and the women wear diamonds and sustain surplus but that time has gone by as is very evident when a man like Chauncey M. Depew declares that although neither any one else nor the workingmen themselves know exactly what it is, it is plain that they have a grievance. That grievance is acknowledged by such men as Pierre Lorillard, Andrew Carnegie and Cornelius Vanderbilt, great capitalists, who have not allowed their positions as employers to blind their eyes or harden their hearts. What is the industrial system which I have characterized as pernicious when judged by its fruits—evil fruits, as every thoughtful person must admit? It is based on Darwin's law of the survival of the fittest in the struggle for existence. The strongest succeed. The weakest go to the wall. That the tendency of the system is to drive wages down to the starvation point is evident enough when we know that the average pay of a workingman in this country is \$400 a year, just enough for five people to barely subsist on, with no comforts, no leisure, no amusements. It is no wonder that the introduction of factories into a community tends to demoralize that community, for now are people who are so driven to the wall to be good people? You complain because poor people spend so much on tobacco and drink, and it is better for the individual workingman not to spend his money for such things; but intelligent workmen will tell you, what is the truth, that if every workingman should save \$100 a year all wages would be \$100 less, because the tendency of our present system is to force wages down to the point of bare subsistence. This sort of thing takes the life and hope out of the laborer; and if he kills somebody once in a while whom he thinks is standing in the way of his getting his rights, or turns anarchist by and by, he is to blame and must be punished, of course, but this infernal system that is crushing him by inches is more to blame.

“Don't think I am a disturber of the peace when I utter a note of warning. It looks as if there will be a dark day if no relief comes. What is the remedy? Nobody knows. There is not a man on this green

earth who knows the remedy. We are trying experiments. We are getting laws passed. One is in regard to allowing young children to work in factories. But laws are poor things. They are frequently broken. There are laws in regard to the length of time of work. Laws are doing what they can, but they cannot do much. The remedy we know most about is to strike.

“Is a strike a remedy? It is the best remedy the workingman has today. But it is forcing us to barbarism. It is a slugging match. Workingman have a perfect right to strike, but there is no remedy in it. It settles the trouble, for only a short time. Last year there were 1,800 strikes in New York. One half were successful for the workingmen. It cost the workingman \$2,858,000 and the employers \$3,000,000. So you see the laboring man had a little the rest of it, but not much. Strikes are not a remedy.

“Take the present coal handlers' strike. I don't believe either side is right. The companies seem to have been making enormous profit, and the laboring men did not think they were getting their fair share. It is impossible to say who will win. We have to endure everything. Every one is shivering. Great interests are at stake.

“This dastardly killing of an innocent boy by a Pinkerton man is an evidence of the barbarism of the system. To hire men who are not policemen, and arm them and place them in a community, is to incite laboring men to arm themselves. When laboring men go armed, look out. It will result in a state of affairs that you and I and the regular officials cannot control.

“Arbitration has also been tried as a remedy, but while in some few cases it has worked charmingly, in many others it has been a complete failure. There is a grievance and we are trying remedies. Not one has the element of success. Henry George claims he has found the remedy. Next Sunday evening, I am going to explain to you what Henry George's remedy is, if you care to come and hear me.”

At the close of the sermon the speaker were heartily applauded.

### **Assessed for a Fourth of Its Value**

The following is from a list of real estate transfers in the Toronto, Ont., *Evening Telegram*: “Hon. M. C. Cameron to C. E. Mitchell and W. G. Boon, 116 feet by 127 feet, west side Brunswick avenue, north of Ulster street, lot 22, plan 87, assessed as vacant lot for \$2,210, sold for \$8,128.” An \$8,000 lot assessed at \$2,000 because it is vacant. That sounds like New York.