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About this text (7 notes on this issue)

- `[word?]` is a best guess; `[illegible]` means unreadable. Line-end hyphens are joined. Misprints are kept as printed; letters judged to be broken type are written as intended but listed among the misprints (marked "broken type").
- Every page has 6 columns. Bottom line of every column is over-inked or blotted (worst p1 c1: "[James?] P. Archib[ald?]"); top margins darkened on p2, p5, p6. No text lost to a missing strip.
- p6: two replies signed "L. F. P." (to "Argus", "Workingmen's Hotels"; to T. J. Martin, "Buying Off Landlords"). "[$4,000?]" (could be $1,000) in "Chattanooga Real Estate". Possible misprints: "a friend" (fund?), "Copper" (Cooper?), "McNell's", "Kilmarddinny".
- p2: c5 faded patch in the "A Catholic Layman Speaks" extract — "[care?]", "[little?]", "[This?]", "[Nevertheless?]". "[25?] Ann street". "Dr. Glynn", "Heary" ×2 kept.
- p3: K. of L. assembly "[1309?]" (or 1389); "W. [H.?] Jewett". Maguire's resignation letter (c6) drops to small type from "Early in life", not marked in the file.
- p8: Fortune's letter dated "Eeb. 5." and cites "THE STANDARD of the 20th" (no issue that day). "the poet" probably "the point" ("The 'Blessed' Communist"). Ad: "PROTECTION AND FREE TRADE". "News and Opinions" reports Father Damien dead (he died 1889), as printed. Street numbers "[25?] Cooper Union", "C. R. ROE, [27?] Warren st.".
- **Editor's notes (Ed.):** 53 notes by the editor, Wyn Achenbaum. 30 are placed at the word, name or phrase they explain. 23 could not be matched to a word and are placed by their order in the editor's

list, marked *(Position approximate.)* Where the editor names an author the paper does not, the contents show it as *Ed.: name*.

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THE STANDARD

VOL. I.—NO. 6. NEW YORK, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1887. PRICE FIVE CENTS.

p. 1, col. 1

THE GREAT STRIKE.

THE COAL-HANDLERS AND AUSTIN CORBIN ARBITRATE.

The Situation Along the River Front—The New Men Employed by the Railroad and Steamship Companies—The Committee of Investigation—A Short Coal Supply.

During the week past the topic uppermost in the minds of New York business men and members of labor organizations has been the strike along the water-front. At a meeting on last Thursday the chamber of commerce discussed resolutions introduced by John F. Henry and James H. Seymour suggesting arbitration as a means for ending the fight. The resolutions were buried in being consigned to the executive committee, but Mr. Henry and Mr. Seymour afterward directed their efforts toward having a mass meeting held on Saturday evening at Steinway hall to call the attention of the public to the necessity for arbitration. On the same evening five open-air mass meetings were held by District Assembly 49. The legislative committee appointed to investigate the strike have held several sessions during the week. Efforts have been made for several days past by Austin Corbin[1], receiver of the Philadelphia and Reading railroad, to bring the difficulties to arbitration, and while the other railroad managers have declined to do so Mr. Corbin himself has held meetings with representatives of the knights.

The River Front on Tuesday.

On Tuesday an inspection by the writer on every dock, from the foot of Pike street, East river, to the Battery, and thence to the foot of Chambers street, North river, showed that new men were at work at all points where there had been a strike. Agents and stevedores said that they had had a varied experience. While some asserted that they had filled the places of their men easily, others admitted that they had been obliged to close their piers and send to distant places for help. The general testimony was that, though the new force of men employed was at least as large as the old, the difficulties did not end with the procuring of new men, and that the old hands were far preferable as workmen.

Here and there there was a blockade of freight trucks on South and West streets and the streets running into them. One driver said at half-past 4 that he had been in line since [11?] with a load of through freight for the Pennsylvania road. The agents, however, usually reported that the night before they had cleared away all freight from their piers, and that the jam of freight trucks on the streets was always an every-day affair.

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1. **Ed.** Austin Corbin (1827-1896) was a 19th-century American railroad executive and robber baron. He consolidated the rail lines on Long Island bringing them under the profitable umbrella of the Long Island Rail Road. He was the owner of Manhattan Beach, a resort in Brooklyn, New York City, from which he barred Jews. He was also the owner of the Sunnyside Plantation in Chicot County, Arkansas, from 1886 to his death in 1896, where he used convict laborers and later brought Italian immigrants to work on the land. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Austin_Corbin and his NYT obituary at http://query.nytimes.com/mem/archive-free/pdf?res=9E00E0D61331E533A65756C0A9609C94679ED7CF

The men who had flocked to take the places of the strikers gave their experience, and by their replies to questions interesting evidence was adduced as to the needs and sentiments of that large body of unemployed men who are ready to take any places that a strike may open to them.

The majority of the new hands were Italians, but there were hundreds of Scandinavians and Germans, many Poles and Hungarians, and even Portuguese. The Italians, the pier bosses said, furnished nothing but brute strength. They moved only as they were told and showed less intelligence than horses in being driven about the piers. They could not fill a truck load to advantage and could not stow away a box without directions. They created a hurly-burly by their ceaseless talk and rapid but ineffective movements, and the result of a day's work compared poorly with what had been done by the old, trained hands. Most of the men of other nationalities, however, quickly took up the knack of freight handling, the Portuguese and Germans especially working to the satisfaction of their foremen. On the piers of several of the railroad companies were men from stations along the railroads in New Jersey and Pennsylvania. They were accustomed to handling freight; many were already in the employ of the companies, and were sent here at an increase of wages, while their places at home were taken by extra hands. The New Jersey Central road had men from New Jersey towns who had been paid $1.25 a day at home and who received here $1.75 a day and were boarded on the pier.

The keeper of a Greenwich employment agency said that he had furnished four hundred men, Germans and Scandinavians, to agents on the docks, and was ready to send two hundred more at a few hours' notice. A watchman at one of the docks said that many of the new men at his pier were from the streets near the river, old residents of the neighborhood. Conversation with some of the young men who had taken the places of striking check clerks showed that they knew something of the business, having come from points in the interior where they had been extra railroad employes. The new men who could speak English with whom the writer talked seemed to see nothing more in the fact of their having taken the places of men striking than that work was open for them and they took it. A steamship agent said that among the men applying to him for work were American farmers owning a small acreage, who needed cash to pay off mortgages on their farms. He thought that some of the immigrants from the north of Europe were men who were not in the depths of poverty, but who intended to work here for a season or two, and then return to the old country.

The Mallory line of steamships has been coaling since the strike at Key West and Norfolk. The outside freight line to Boston has taken on coal at Boston. Transatlantic steamers have stopped at Halifax for coal. Coal for the elevated roads in New York and for many points in New England has been shipped up along west of the Hudson and thence to its destination, avoiding Jersey City. Freights for the far west went in large quantities by the Erie and New York Central piers, while the Pennsylvania's piers were closed. The strike was thus met by many new adjustments in the machinery of freight transportation by the companies.

The 'longshoremen who are employed by the week or month by the railroad and steamship companies receive $12 a week, or $50 a month, with 17 to 25 cents an hour for overtime. Those who work as extras for such companies and who pick up jobs loading and unloading sailing vessels, canal boats and "tramp" steamers, get from 17 to 25 cents an hour, but their monthly average is a small figure. It is this latter class that is giving the greatest inconvenience to the employers as the latter have not the facilities that are enjoyed by the great companies for filling their places. The extra men and partly employed men outnumber those having steady situations.

The Mass Meetings.

The five open air mass meetings held last Saturday evening were each attended by from 50 to 150 police officers and from 500 to 2,000 citizens. The night was bitter cold, and snow fell while the speakers addressed the crowds. The meeting at Union square was held on the plaza, and 1,500 men gathered there about a freight truck. John J.

McKenna, chairman of the Ocean association, presided. Speeches were also made by James E. Quinn, [James?] P. Archib[ald?], John McMackin

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and D. J. Naughton. The meeting at Houston square was addressed by Charles L. Miller, who presided, Paul Meyer, Theodore Cuno, Jesse Miller and others. At Abingdon square the speakers were Daniel Hurley, the presiding officer, Thomas Ford, Ludwig Carrell and Henry Duncan. At the meeting at Canal and West streets James Brown presided; Thomas Moran, John Murray and Patrick Doody spoke. At Rutgers square Hugh Grenan was chairman, and Frank Ferrall, Richard Norris, Capt. Cullen and George Duncan spoke. The crowds in attendance at all these meetings were enthusiastic, and it was noted that the speakers almost uniformly directed the attention of their hearers to their power in political action.

The meeting at Steinway hall, called by John F. Henry and a few other merchants, in order to make the sentiment of the business men of the city tell as against the coal and railroad monopolists, brought together about 400 persons, a sprinkling of ladies being present. James H. Seymour was called to the chair, and Mr. Henry spoke and introduced resolutions in favor of arbitration. Elisha Winter, of the retail grocers' association, also spoke in favor of arbitration. It was then announced that anyone in the audience wishing to speak was invited to do so. A gentleman, who gave his name to the chairman as Rogers, then said that he had had experience in arbitration and had found that it yielded poor results to the workingman. The favorable decision of an arbitration board was secured with great difficulty by wage-workers, the employers could not be bound by it for longer than a brief period, and the workingmen who served on committees were made to suffer for it. The indifference to arbitration was shown, he said, by the fact that, although the knights had been willing to arbitrate this strike from the beginning, no attention had been paid to their peaceful overtures. The chairman expressed his surprise at this statement, but a moment later gave stronger evidence of being surprised when Mr. Rogers, amid much applause, said there was one solution of the labor trouble, and it lay in the land question. Mr. Rogers was followed by others in the same strain.

The Coal Supply.

Though *Bradstreet's* of last Saturday regarded the coal strike as "practically broken," the *Times* of Wednesday contains a summary of the situation, given by a railway official, which says that the decrease in the supply of coal available for this city, Long Island, a large portion of the state, and New England is more than 800,000 tons on account of the strike.

A Peaceable Strike.

As soon as the strike was begun, District Assembly 49 notified the local assemblies that if the members of any assembly resorted to violence the local assembly would be suspended for a year and cut off from any participation in the benefit and relief funds. The sobriety and peaceableness of the strikers has been a subject of favorable comment, the cases of violence being remarkably few, and going, with hardly an exception, no further than a knock down. The police arrangements for the suppression of any disturbance have been elaborate. Telephone communication was established between police headquarters and the principal piers, and Capt. Castlin was put in command of the 800 policemen drafted for strike service. A group of officers has been stationed at the entrance of every downtown pier for two weeks.

Arbitration.

Early last week Austin Corbin was asked by the knights to act as a mediator between them and the coal companies. On Wednesday, the 9th inst., he conferred with the presidents of the coal roads, but they refused to treat with the knights. On last Saturday evening several local assemblies of stationary engineers were asked by District Assembly 49 for assistance, and these engineers decided to send a committee to consult with

representative men of the coal companies. On Monday the committee saw Mr. Corbin and Frederic Potts and suggested that they interest themselves in having the strike arbitrated. A conference ensued, and Mr. Corbin appointed James R. Maxwell to act for him, and T. J. Putnam of the executive board of 49 was sent for, and several consultations were held during the next two days. Meanwhile Mr. Corbin went to Philadelphia and met a committee of seven, who had been appointed on Sunday at a meeting of delegates from all the local assemblies in the anthracite coal regions and along the Reading road and branch lines. After conferring all day it was given out by the committee that there would be no strike by their organizations. It was also announced that it was agreed that the strikers at Elizabethport would be taken back by the company, that the disputed rate of twenty-two and a half cents an hour should be submitted to arbitration, and that the company should secure, if possible, more steady employment for its hands at Elizabethport.

The Legislative Committee.

A special committee from the legislature—Messrs. Hogeboom, Ainsworth, Kendall, Collins and Martin—began to investigate the causes of the strike on Friday last. Assemblymen McLoughlin, Feeney and Carroll, of New Jersey have attended its sessions officially. Ex-Attorney General Leslie W. Russell examined the witnesses. Michael A. Reilly, a topman at South Amboy, testified that if a trimmer earned $100 the company paid him only $75, 25 per cent being taken off for collecting the money from the boat owners. The topmen average $32 per month. Rent ranges from $5 to $9, and the cost of living is very high. The strike was caused by a reduction of wages from 22½ cents per hour to 19.

John Donohue, a topman, of Perth Amboy, testified in general to the same facts. Terence Quinn said the work of a trimmer was very unhealthful. Of twenty men who worked with him eleven years ago eight are dead.

On Saturday, Master Workman Quinn, of D. A. 49, testified that the trouble with the Old Dominion line was caused by the agents of the line placing a force of men at twenty cents an hour on their pier instead of a force which had been working for twenty-five cents; corporations had grown so strong that they dictated the making of laws, and labor organization was intended to offset such powers; the system of social organization was being fought, not individuals; the government should assume control of the corporations; he thought that eventually the government would own even the large stores; it would own the land. The chairman suggested that Mr. Quinn believed in Mr. George's theory. He said he did believe in it—improved.

On Monday Frederic W. Potts, president of the New York and Susquehanna railroad and of the coal exchange, told the committee that the average price of mining in Pennsylvania was from $1.50 to $1.75 per ton. Labor cost 80 per cent. The cost of a ton of coal at tide water was $3.40.

Austin Corbin testified that in 1885 Philadelphia and Reading lost $1,065,677, and in 1886 $2,131,737 in mining coal, but it made a profit in coal transportation.

E. R. Holden, second vice-president of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western railroad, said that his company was paying higher rates to coal handlers than ever.

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THE LAND DOCTRINE.

THE REV. MR. PENTECOST PREACHES HIS SECOND SERMON ON IT.

The Cause of Labor Depression—Access to Natural Opportunities the Only Remedy—The Objections—The Interests of the Few Must Give Way to Those of the Many.

At the Belleville Avenue Congregational church in Newark, last Sunday, Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost preached his second sermon on "Henry George's Remedy for the Labor Troubles." Though the day was rainy the immense auditorium, one of the largest in the city, was literally packed with people, among whom were some of the richest of Newark's citizens, as well as a larger number of workingmen than have probably been in a Protestant church for many years. The discourse, which was delivered entirely without manuscript notes, and which occupied more than an hour, was listened to with close attention, and frequently interrupted by bursts of applause following the statements of Mr. George's views and evincing their general diffusion and growing popularity. He began in his usual calm way, which gave place at times to inpassioned[sic] fervor, saying:

"Last Sunday evening I discussed the disease and found it to be an apparently hopeless tendency to poverty among the laboring classes in the midst of abounding wealth, and in spite of the application of all those instruments for increasing the power of labor to produce wealth which have been devised by discovery and invention known as labor-saving machinery. I showed the failure of remedies in present use, such as legislation, co-operation and labor combinations, whose only weapons are arbitration and strikes, very little of the former, a great deal of the latter.

"Mr. George's remedy is much more radical than any of these, and as he thinks, and I am inclined to believe, goes to the bottom of the difficulty and removes the single cause of the whole complication of disorders.

"He denies the correctness of commonly received doctrines of political economy which are based upon the theory of Malthus, that population increases faster than the supplies of nature for its sustenance, and must therefore be reduced by prudential restraints upon propagation, and the destructive results of misery, crime, disease and war, in order to maintain the equilibrium, and the common doctrine of all the leading authorities upon the subject that labor is paid by capital, and hence that the rate of wages is determined by the ratio of the number of laborers employed and the amount of capital available for their sustenance and remuneration. If there are few laborers and much wealth the wages will be high. If the number of laborers increases wages must fall, since the subdivision of the existing amount of capital must be more minute.

"Henry George attempts," he said, "to show that if population upon the whole earth is really increasing at all, or if the tendency of its increase is to press upon the means of subsistence, the process is so slow that it is no more to be taken into consideration by political economists for practical purposes than the ultimate tumbling of the earth upon the sun. Population shifts, but the barren wastes which were once the seats of vast empires, and the tendency of highly [favored?] families, as among the English aristocracy, to die out, raise the question as to increase, and the ability of man to augment the productiveness of nature warrants the presumption that he may thus compensate for any disproportion between increase and supply. The Irish peasantry were just as poor as now when they were not more than one-fourth as numerous.

"He also holds that instead of capital employing labor, labor, in fact, employs capital, since there can be no wealth except what is produced by labor. A naked man standing on the bare earth is a picture of society reduced to its elements, and at once shows that wealth can only exist as the result of labor. The complications of exchange obscure but do not alter the truth. This being true, other things being equal, an increase in the number and

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Sic in the original; probably "impassioned".

efficiency of laborers ought to, and actually does, increase the amount of wealth. Upon this point his argument amounts to a mathematical demonstration, such as is not possible in the preceding one, owing to the necessary absence of correct data.

“Why, then, do not those who produce wealth obtain enough of it to lift them above the point of bare subsistence? And how is it that while the army of wealth producers are half starved another army of non-producers have more than the largest abundance? There is plenty of wealth, but it is unequally distributed. While multitudes are in want, there are men in New York who could stand on a pier and pitch silver dollars into the bay as rapidly as possible, one by one, all through a long life without materially reducing their possessions. Who always gets the lion’s share, and how does he get it? Let us see.

“Land, labor and capital are the factors in the production of wealth. Without land, man cannot labor; without labor, land is unproductive; without capital, which is that portion of the product of labor that is used to get more wealth, labor is inefficient. The distribution of wealth, therefore, ought to be fairly made among the three factors or those who represent them. The landholder should get rent, the laborer wages, the capitalist interest in fair proportion. But is wealth thus fairly distributed? Manifestly not. With the increase of population and the increased efficiency of labor the tendency is to less wages and less interest and more rent. In new settlements wages and interest are high because rent is nothing or nominal, but as the community grows land becomes more valuable, and rent goes up till it can get no higher, wages and interest go down till they can get no lower without crowding the laborer out of life and the capitalist out of business. (This point was enforced by illustrations.) Nothing can be done to change this. Economy in government co-operation[sic], labor combinations, legislative enactments, greater distribution in land ownership, improvement in machinery, all result in enriching the landowner, since he owns that without which wealth cannot produce. The man who owns the land owns thewhole[4] landless community. During the development of this point illustrations were used to show the hopelessness of any human law operating successfully against”the nature of things,” which, under the present system, bear down wages and buoy up rent; to show that however co-operative measures may help a few laborers, they could not possibly benefit all; to show that even if a strike succeeds in raising wages in one place it can only be for a time, for the tendency of wages to find a common level is as strong as the similar tendency of water; to show that more general distribution of land ownership could not ward off its ultimate monopolization. If multitudes of those who now work for starvation wages could have easy access to land they could better themselves and would do so and thus relieve the so-called overstocked labor market. But they cannot go to the land because it is owned, very much of it, by men who are hoarding it for a rise in value. They will not use it nor let others use it. The laborer on the land could make a good living; but because he cannot get to the land he must work on any terms, starve or

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become a criminal. Now, suppose this is true, what is the remedy? Make the land the common property of the people, as according to natural law it really is. The land was made by God; it cannot, therefore, be wealth, since wealth is what man produces. It is the common property of all God’s children; of one individual as well as another; of one generation as well as another. An individual has a right to himself and what he can produce by labor and the use of capital—nothing more.

“Private ownership stands in the way of this. It is at this point proper, then, to inquire how land came into private possession. The answer is easy: By conquest, appropriation, grants by those who had the might but not the right to take or give. The land in this country has passed to its present owners by purchase from those who originally obtained it from pope, king or Indian, neither of which had the right to give individual title to it.

Sic in the original; probably “Economy in government, co-operation”.
Sic in the original; probably “the whole”.

"All this is perfectly clear, and it is generally conceded that the original owners had no right to the land; but the more serious difficulty arises out of the fact that land at present is held by innocent possessors, many of whom have bought it with their earnings. How can these persons be rightfully dispossessed?

"This is the only difficulty worthy of the name which presents itself to any one not blinded by selfishness to the absolute justness of the new political economy. All other objections relate to methods, not to principle. Let us, therefore, consider this difficulty. It is said that private possession in land is based upon the act of government in instituting laws favoring it as being for the general good. To this it is replied that when the people (that is, the government) become convinced that the laws are not for the general good they can unmake them, particularly as they were made by generations long since dead and who had no right to legislate for us. [Applause.] It is said again that it is a principle of common law that possession for a certain length of time gives right. It is replied that it is also a principle of common law that the deed of the buyer cannot be better than that of the seller [applause]; and going deeper than common law we have the right to ask how long it takes a wrong to become a right. It is said that present holders of the land have it by legal right. It is replied that they have it not by natural right [applause], and this is the real point at issue. Which is greater, a natural or legal right? It is common to say that Henry George's doctrine is immoral, but that is to declare that it is wrong to keep millions of human beings in dreadful misery out of their *natural* rights because to restore them it will be necessary to take from a few highly favored persons their *legal* rights. I always suspect the decisions of a conscience which is not outraged by a wrong done to the whole people, but shrieks with horror at the thought of disturbing the use of a few in the enjoyment of their 'vested rights,' without even stopping to consider whether it is not possible that there may be 'vested wrongs.'"

Here the speaker referred to the fact that although Newark is suffering for pure water she cannot get a drop without paying enormous sums to private persons who own every stream and spring in New Jersey. He supposed the case of a syndicate getting the privilege, which he said they could if they had money enough, of erecting a great fence around Newark and shutting off all air except what comes across the malarial meadows, and compelling people to pay for the privilege of boring holes in the fence to suck a little fresh air. He described the workings of a coal pool. These were cited to illustrate the injustice of legal as against natural right, and helped him to a decision. He then continued: "The case is precisely analogous in principle, eleminating[sic] the incidental difference between property in human beings and property in what is the natural right of human beings, to that of the Vermont judge who, when a fugitive slave was sought to be reclaimed by his owner, who presented his deed of purchase, asked the slave owner, 'But where is your deed from God Almighty, sir?' It is a question of legal right against natural right. Under the influence of a pure religion, and in a free government, men must sooner or later give up what they can show no title to from God Almighty."

"For my own part it is clear to me that Henry George is in the stronger moral position, and since the great body of humanity always end in doing what is right, the time will probably come when all rents will go to the general government; that is to say, to the whole people, instead of to a few, just as, in effect, wages and interest do now. It is folly to talk of compensation to present owners, further than what they would get by the general improvement of society, for the interest on the debt thus created would be as great a drain on industry as rent now is.

"It may be a long time before this comes about, for it is a question which must be decided by votes cast under convictions resulting from conscientious, intelligent reflection. Mr. George is not an anarchist; he does not appeal to passion, but to reason and conscience; he well knows that established laws cannot be successfully violated; he does not wish them violated; he desires them changed.

"It remains to ask the practical question what the result of such a change of laws would be? To the man who owns only as much land as he needs for business or residence purposes, practically nothing, since what he now pays to

Sic in the original; probably "eliminating".

government in taxes on all kinds of possessions he would then pay in rent on the bare land, regulated by its selling value, say five per cent, all his other property being free from all kind of taxation. He would still hold the title to the land guaranteed to his perpetual use, to transmit to his children or to sell. His land would not be taken from him; he would simply pay rent for its use in lieu of every other form of taxation. The only change would be that those who now hold more land than they can use themselves, or entirely unused land for speculative purposes, would have to give up what they could not afford to pay rent on, precisely as they would now if they could not pay the existing taxes. Land under the new order, being the property of all, would have to furnish all the revenue for the common expenses, instead of the product of industry and thought, which is the rightful property of the individual, having to furnish most of that common fund, as now. Wages and interest would go where they should go—to the laborer and capitalist—rent would go where it should go—into the common treasury for the common good."

Mr. Pentecost concluded by saying he was "aware he had taken his life in his hands by preaching this sermon similar in sentiment to that which had caused the 'downfall,' as it is called, of the noble McGlynn, but he had confidence to believe that under the right of private judgment, he would not be crushed for it." The hearty applause at the close of the sermon seemed to indicate that he was in no danger.

Only Shivering and Hungry.

In Philadelphia last Monday William Wilson pleaded guilty before Judge Thayer to malicious mischief in demolishing a street lamp with a frozen brick. "I wasn't drunk, your honor," said the culprit; "I was only shivering and hungry and wanted a home. Won't you give me a year in the Eastern penitentiary?' His honor intimated that he could not give him that much for one lamp."But I'm sick and—" "The city can't board you for a year for this offense. I'll give you three months. Prisons are not hospitals or almshouses."

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RHODE ISLAND.

The Commonwealth of Oligarchs Trying to be Democratic.

PROVIDENCE, R. I., Feb. 8.—The Knights of Labor here are agitating for a constitutional convention. There is a dispute as to whether the legislature can call the convention or must submit the call to popular vote. Ex-Judge Bradley is of opinion that the call may be made directly by the legislature. This idea is opposed by the Rhode Island oligarchy, not because it is specially anxious to proceed in conformity to law, but because it does not want to proceed at all, and upon the principle that in a shower the nearest barn is the best.

The *Telegram*, an independent paper, has favored the convention. The *Star* and the *Journal* have opposed it, but the latter shows symptoms of a change. A resolution has been introduced in the general assembly calling the convention, and strong efforts are being made to influence its passage. Strong and more subtle efforts are being made to kill it. The republican party is divided on the prohibition question, and one or the other wing will favor a convention; but which wing no one knows, not even the wing itself.

Labor organizations are compelled to agitate for the convention in a very quiet way, for fear of the blacklist.

They want citizen suffrage. The present constitution does not permit that. A naturalized citizen must own $134 worth of real estate, free and clear, to entitle him to vote; and no one can vote at any election unless he was registered on the first of January of the current year, and paid his poll tax by the second Saturday of January.

It is hoped that a constitutional convention may make changes in the organic law that will bring Rhode Island within a century or two of the times in which we live. GIRARD.

A New Co-operative Colony.

Thirty Knights of Labor with twenty families have left Chicago and gone to Tennessee City, a point about fifty miles from Memphis, with the intention of founding a partly co-operative company. The knights propose to manufacture nails, and employ three hundred men in the nail factory. Brick machines having a capacity of 30,000 per day have been bought and shipped, and as soon as the colony is in running order the capacity will be increased to 60,000. Charles Lange of Chicago has been in Tennessee City and bought up ground for a sash, door and blind factory. Other factories and stores will be started as soon as practicable. The ground to be occupied by the colony consists, it is said, of 120,000 acres, divided into forty acre tracts. The town itself covers 2,200 acres and is situated on a table land 2,000 feet above the level of the sea. Timber, iron ore and limestone abound. The city will be incorporated inside of two weeks, and a city hall, public school and engine house will be built at once, and in thirty days two hundred houses will be built. The Edgewood Normal college is four or five miles from the city. Property is selling from $7 to $10 an acre, and a stock company is formed, the first board of directors of which will consist of seven men, six of them Knights of Labor. The projectors of the scheme expect to get one thousand families settled down there inside of the next twelve months. Eight hours, with fair wages, will be the rule.

Politics Makes Strange Bedfellows.

The *Evening Post* of Feb. 4 ridicules the idea that Dr. McGlynn "could avow sentiments like these (i. e., that land values are created by all men, and should therefore be secured by taxation to all men) and still remain a priest in the Roman Catholic church, or, in fact, in any Christian church."

Catholics and indeed Christians of all denominations will not fail to value rightly this sudden and eleventh hour solicitude for orthodoxy on the part of the *Post*, whose present editors have for years been chief priests in the temple of atheism; and Catholics of this diocese may well ask themselves how it comes about that their archbishop is now patronized and flattered by such men as these.

"And Pilate sent him to Herod, who himself also was at Jerusalem at that time. . . . Then Herod questioned him in many words. . . . And the chief priests and scribes stood and vehemently accused him. And Herod . . . set him again at naught, and mocked him . . . and sent him again to Pilate. *And the same day Pilate and Herod were made friends together; for before they were at enmity between themselves.*"—St. Luke xxiii., 7–12. GAYBERT BARNES.

The Philadelphia Labor Party's Boom.

This Saturday evening a big demonstration by the labor party in Philadelphia is to be given in Horticultural hall, on Broad street. Speeches are to be made by the workingmen's candidate for mayor and a number of the local political chieftains, and Henry George will also speak in behalf of independent political action and urge workingmen to take into their own hands the matter of social reform. The meeting will doubtless be a very large one, as the audacity of this third party in aspiring to cope with its two powerful rivals has awakened unfeigned surprise in the minds of Philadelphians, and the radical plank in the labor platform asserting the equal right of all to the soil has aroused lively discussion, mingled with bitter denunciation. The labor party there has gone into that larger fight which is destined to spread throughout the country.

The Free Soil Club Dines.

Seventy gentlemen, each armed with a dollar and a keen appetite, sat down in Mouquin's restaurant on Fulton street, New York, at seven o'clock on Tuesday evening, and ate the first dinner of the New York Free Soil club. President Abner C. Thomas beamed upon his associates, each of whom had graven on his heart, "Land values belong of right to the people in common," and each of whom, a host in himself, ate, drank and was merry. There was no lack of eloquence. John R. O'Donnell, Wm. T. Croasdale, Alfred Brisbane, James P. Archibald, Rev. Charles P. McCarthy, Dr. M. R. Leverson, Prof. Daniel de Leon, Augustus A. Levey, Louis F. Post, Henry George and others made strong speeches. The mention of Dr. McGlynn's name was the signal for a wild demonstration, and a long and hearty bumper was drunk to the health and prosperity of the reverend father.

A Telephone Strike.

In Norwich, Conn., sixty-nine telephones went out of use the other day on account of a proposed increase of rates. The users of the instruments at first were charged $25 a year; and though the number using them increased, the price was increased also. The last demand of the monopolists, of from $40 to $50 per year, was the straw to break the camel's back, and there was nothing left but to strike.

One of Jay Gould's Latest Purchases.

Mr. Jay Gould, while in Shreveport lately, gave out the information that he had recently acquired by purchase 200,000 acres of pine lands in Winn and Vernon parishes, Louisiana, which he expected to use in his railroad interest for lumber and car construction[.?]

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THE STATE'S SHAME.

AN INSIDE VIEW OF THIS WINTER'S PERFORMANCES AT ALBANY.

Attorneys for Railway Companies Controlling Legislation—The Battle of the Bank Books for the United States Senatorship.

ALBANY, Feb. 10.—The serious comedy for which the people of New York paid $459,000 last year has now been reacted for five weeks. The title of the play is "The Legislature." The stage is the rickety new capitol. The dressing room is the Delavan house. The actors are senators and assemblymen chosen by the people and paid $1,500, from $20 to $50 mileage and free stationery to make laws which are presumably for the benefit of the commonwealth of New York alone. The total sum these gentlemen get from the state is not very great when compared with their expenses, although for 100 days of work they receive three times what many good workmen make in a year. But where a legislator is superior to the ordinary wage earner is that with no other honest income than his salary, with no trade or profession except politics, many thrifty assemblymen and senators manage not only to pay assessments at election time to the amount of from $500 to $11,000, but they live like prosperous lords and accumulate houses, lots and personal property on a salary of $1,500, mileage and fine stationery. That is the plot of the play.

The first thing the assembly did when it met early in January was to draw its mileage, get an advance of pay and elect a speaker. The man unanimously selected in caucus is in his seventeenth term as assemblyman and fifth as

speaker. He is the sharpest professional legislator in the state. From the savings of his salary of $1,500 a year he has become owner of a fine country place, one of the best wine cellars in the state, and other property to the amount of $80,000. His salary would not pay his living expenses two months. Once this man ran for a state office, and though the rest of his ticket was elected he was defeated. If the number of voters who knew his record had been doubled the majority of his opponent would have increased. This man's chief apparent duty is to prevent the passage of any bills that are inimical in any way to corporations, especially railroads, and the New York Central in particular. It is hard to say exactly what sum is received for these valuable services. Rumor places the stipend of former years at a little below $10,000, which, through increased devotion, has been raised to $12,000 this year. This is for the New York Central road only. It would be unfair to the intellectual attainments and shrewdness of the speaker to suppose that services to other corporations are not worth as much as the effective work done for the New York Central. This is not bribe taking. No one has ever accused the keen speaker of doing anything criminal or dishonest. That would be a crime, and of course no legislator is a criminal. What is done is to be appointed as assistant counsel and for legal services rendered as such to be paid a regular salary or contingent fees, as the case may be. This is within legal etiquette and in accord with the consciences of the most prominent members of the assembly—men who applied the epithet of fool to the two assemblymen who returned their railroad passes.

After the selection of this astute man, the keenest of his type, for speaker, the committees were appointed with harmonious men in charge. Then the law-making functions of the legislature lapsed while a United States senator was elected. There was a bitter fight over this. The purses of the woodpulp manufacturers, the protected iron men and certain railroad interests were pitted against opposite railroad interests, the resources of an express company, of certain insurance companies and the individual checkbook of a wealthy banker. After the expenditure of a little over $200,000 on one side and about two thirds as much on the other, neither party was able to win, and a combination was made by which a third man qualified for the high office of senator by being the counsel and friend of the old canal contractors was selected. A necessary part of the contract that led to the choice of him was that certain expenses incurred by the friends of the rich banker should be made good. It is understood that the well-known Jas. J. Belden[5,6] made good those moneys. New York has exchanged a woodpulp senator for a congressman who in ten years of service at Washington has saved several hundred thousand dollars. The transfer was not effected without some legal expenses. According to the assertions of his friends a veteran downtown assemblyman from New York city required several thousand dollars of financial inducement to bring him over to the side that finally won. Financial inducements were also spoken of about several other legislators, though it is only fair to say that it always takes more financial inducement to prevail on a New York city savior of society than on a country legislator. It is impolite and at variance with good legislative breeding to speak of these changes of opinion on the part of legislators as caused by bribery. No one calls them that here. A man may receive a $1,000 bill for election expenses, or $500 to have a bill copied, or $5,000 to act as attorney for a corporation during the session, but nobody is ever bribed. That would be shameful, and no one would cry "Fie!" louder than the men who take the price of dishonor.

Part of the money that was spent in the senatorial contest went honestly enough. Mr. Morton had a hotel bill of some $12,000; Mr. Miller of $7,500, though it is not all in; Mr. Hiscock of a thousand or so. This was for the ten days that the contest raged. The legislators and visiting politicians lived freely on the fat of the Delavan house. They drank champagne like whisky and smoked imported cigars as they do five-centers when the pay comes out of their own pockets.

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5. Ed. James Jerome Belden (1825-1904) was an American politician and a U.S. Representative from New York. When he died, he was Syracuse's richest citizen with his wealth being estimated at $10 million. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_J._Belden

6. Ed. The reference is to those who would save society "from the dreaded control of the workingmen." (See The Standard, Issue #010, 1887-03-12, "How Society Was Saved.") (Placed approximately.)

It was fitting that an assembly composed of such men and with such a speaker should send a stuffed committee to New York city to investigate the strike. There was a demand for legislative investigation into the pool that raised the price of coal, and into the wrongs of the 'longshoremen and coal trimmers. After a vain attempt to stifle the investigation in the assembly the resolution to send an investigating committee was passed. The speaker appointed John[7] C. Hogeboom of Hudson, who opposed the investigation, chairman of the committee. Hogeboom is a coal pool agent, in the direct employ of Thomas Cornell and the Delaware and Hudson Coal company. He regulates the coal supply over the Harlem road and in Westchester and Putnam counties. For so doing he receives a salary, and he is sent to the legislature to look after the interests of the coal lords, the evil genii of every fireside in New York. Under his chairmanship it is no wonder the committee will do no good, and that is just what they were appointed for. If it were not for the efforts of two members of the committee whom the speaker put on, mistaking them to be of like character with the chairman, the committee would be having no investigation.

This is a sample of what the people may expect from this legislature. JOHN COMMONWEALTH.

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7. Ed. See also John Commonwealth's article in The Standard, Issue #008, entitled "Rotten Albany: Gambling Houses Openly Conducted—Frequented By Legislators." (Placed approximately.)

2. Ed. See a footnote about Rev. Hugh Pentecost in The Standard, 1887-02-05 (Placed approximately.)

3. Ed. For the first sermon, see the article entitled "Labor And The Pulpit: A Congregation Minister at Newark Discusses Land and Labor" in issue #005. (Placed approximately.)

4. Ed. A bumper is a generous glassful of an alcoholic drink, typically one drunk as a toast. (Placed approximately.)

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DR. M'GLYNN.

MANY TRIBUTES TO HIS COURAGE AND CONSTANCY.

At His Request the Collection of the St. Stephen's Fund is Abandoned—The Wider Effort Continues—Letters and Press Opinions on the Case.

The parishioners of St. Stephen's have already collected some $2,000 as a testimonial for Dr. McGlynn, but the doctor has asked them to suspend further efforts, on the ground that the contributions have been a serious drain on the pockets of the very poor, whose personal affection for him may induce them to give what they cannot afford. For the same reason he has asked the committee to forego the proposed entertainment at Steinway hall on Sunday night, tickets for which were being sold among the parishioners. The funds which are being collected from more general sources the Doctor will accept, in his own language, "rather as a trustee than as an absolute owner."

A CALL TO CATHOLICS.

Address to the Catholics of New York by the Committee Appointed at the Cooper Union Meeting on Monday, Jan. 17, 1887.

FELLOW CATHOLICS: At a mass meeting of Catholics held in the Cooper Union, New York, on Monday, Jan. 17, a series of resolutions was passed proclaiming the sentiments of the Catholic body on the case of Dr. McGlynn. The resolutions expressed strong sympathy with Dr. McGlynn and indignation at the action of Archbishop Corrigan in suspending him from the exercise of his priestly functions and deposing him from his pastorate because of his advocacy of the doctrine that private ownership in land is unjust, and that the land of every country belongs to the people of that country.

The last of the series of resolutions was the following:

> *Resolved,* That a committee be appointed from this meeting with instructions to decide in what practical form we may show our respect and gratitude for Dr. Glynn[sic], and make it manifest to the world that American Catholics claim political liberty for their priests.

In compliance with this resolution a committee was appointed; and at a meeting of the committee, held Feb. 2, at Sweeney's Hotel, it was resolved to issue an address to the Catholics of the city, calling upon them to coöperate in the work of sustaining Dr. McGlynn, financially and otherwise, as might be deemed necessary or desirable.

In appealing to you, fellow Catholics, for your sympathy and aid in this movement, we deem it our duty to briefly recapitulate the grounds upon which we hold that Dr. McGlynn is entitled to the support of all his co-religionists in this city and in this country.

Sic in the original; probably "Dr. McGlynn".

We wish in the first place to impress upon you the fact that Dr. McGlynn has been suspended and deposed, not because of any violation of his duty as a priest. His record within the sanctuary stands without spot or blemish. He is charged with no offence that would stain his reputation as a Catholic clergyman. By his brother priests he is revered for his life of zeal and devotion in the sacred ministry. By the parishioners of St. Stephen's he is loved as a father. By the entire community he is respected as a good man and a patriotic citizen.

It is sought to make Catholics believe that Dr. McGlynn has been advocating principles which are opposed to the teachings of the church. We beg of you, fellow Catholics, to apply your own intelligence in examining and to use your own judgment in coming to a conclusion on this matter. What is it that Dr. McGlynn has been teaching? It is this—that land, being the creation and gift of God to man, is the common property of the people. Has the Catholic church condemned this doctrine? We say emphatically, No! No council of the church has condemned it, or pronounced at all upon it. No pope has condemned it or pronounced at all upon it. Catholics, both priests and laymen, are as free to accept it as they are free to accept any other proposition in regard to the matter of which the church has not spoken. Is Dr. McGlynn alone among the clergy of the church in teaching this doctrine? No. It has been taught for years past by illustrious Catholic bishops. Archbishop Croke[8], Archbishop Walsh[9], Bishop Nulty[10] and Bishop Duggan[11] have proclaimed that the land belongs to the people. Only a few months ago Archbishop Croke in a public letter wrote that "the land of Ireland belongs to the Irish nation for the Irish people." Bishop Duggan spoke of the common ownership of land as a doctrine he had learned by his father's fireside. Bishop Nulty's views on the subject are so widely known that it is hardly necessary to cite a word from the long letter to his clergy a few years ago, every sentence of which is a strong argument in support of what Dr. McGlynn is condemned for teaching. Archbishop Walsh declared recently that the ultimate settlement of the land question must be the settlement urged by Michael Davitt. Cardinal Manning is on record as having declared that in the principle of land nationalization there is nothing opposed to Catholic teaching. Is it just that Dr. McGlynn should be driven from his pastorate and his home for advocating principles in which those eminent dignitaries of the church see nothing wrong?

But there is another view of this most serious case that we desire to present for your consideration. Dr. McGlynn is punished because also of his action in American politics. He is called to account by an authority outside his own *country* for exercising in his own country his right as a citizen. And not only this: He is punished for having taken a side in politics not agreeable to Archbishop Corrigan. He was not punished or censured for publicly supporting the Cleveland party at the last presidential election, nor was Monsignor Preston censured or punished for

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8. Ed. Thomas William Croke,D.D. (1824-1902) was the second Catholic Bishop of Auckland, New Zealand (1870–74) and later Archbishop of Cashel and Emly in Ireland. He was important in the Irish nationalist movement especially as a Champion of the Irish National Land League in the 1880s. The main Gaelic Athletic Association stadium in Dublin is named Croke Park, in his honour. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Croke. See also several references in The Standard, Issues #002 and #009.

9. Ed. William Joseph Walsh (1841-1921) served as the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Dublin from 3 July 1885 until his death. He was born at 11 Essex Quay in Dublin. He was sympathetic to Irish nationalism and advocated Home Rule and agrarian land reform. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/William_Walsh_(archbishop_of_Dublin)

10. Ed. The Most Rev. Dr. Thomas Nulty (1818-1898), the Roman Catholic Bishop of Meath, Ireland (1864-1898), author of "Back to the Land: A Letter to the Clergy and Laity of the Diocese of Meath" (April 2, 1881), online at http://www.wealthandwant.com/docs/Nulty_BttL.html. An abridged version appeared in The Standard, Issue #024, 1887-06-18, and was reprinted in the Land and Labor Library as Tract #27. See also Issue #002 and the front-page article in Issue #020. George refers three times to "Back to the Land" in The Condition of Labor, his open letter to Pope Leo XIII (1891) in response to Rerum Novarum. See also https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Nulty.

11. Ed. Patrick Duggan (1813-1896) was an Irish Roman Catholic clergyman who served as the Bishop of Clonfert from 1872 until his death. https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Patrick_Duggan mentions a book entitled Bishop of the Land War: Dr. Patrick Duggan, Bishop of Clonfert, 1813-1896. In Issue #001, Henry George describes meeting Bp. Duggan in 1882; see "The Case of Dr. McGlynn" as follows: "God bless you, my son!" said the venerable Bishop Duggan of Clonfert to me when I was in Ireland five years ago. "In what you say of the equal rights of all men in the soil of their native land there is to me nothing new or startling, nor will there be anything new in it to any man who was held to the breast of an Irish-speaking mother. Your doctrines are the old beliefs of our race. When a little boy, sitting in the evening in the group about a turf fire in the west of Ireland, I have heard the same doctrines from the lips of men who never spoke a word of English. Our people have bowed to might; but they never have acknowledged the right of making land private property. In the old tongue they have treasured the old truth, and now in the providence of God the time has come for that truth to be asserted. I am an old man now, and may not see the victory; but I tell you that no matter what may be arrayed against it, there is no earthly power that can stop this movement." See also Issue #008.

supporting the Tammany ring at the last mayoralty election. It was only when he had a word to say for the oppressed people of Ireland, or the oppressed workingmen of America, that Dr. McGlynn was censured and punished by his ecclesiastical superiors. Is this system to be tolerated in America? It has not been tolerated in Ireland. The Irish people refused to permit interference in their national affairs by the ecclesiastical authorities in Rome. Shall American Catholics tolerate it? We are good and loyal Catholics, and we are resolved to be true to our Church, but we are also American *citizens,* and we are resolved to suffer no invasion of our rights as such, no matter from what quarter attempted.

We are convinced, fellow-Catholics, that you will agree with us that it is your and our duty to stand firmly by Dr. McGlynn. In his person are assailed our rights as citizens—our right to pursue all legitimate methods for obtaining justice in our own country. There may be among you some who do not accept Dr. McGlynn's views on the land question; but there cannot be one among you who does not hold that Dr. McGlynn has a right to express his views on public questions and to endeaver[sic] by all lawful means to give them effect.

With regard to the call made on Dr. McGlynn to go to Rome we have this to say: We conceive it to be no part of our duty to dictate to or advise Dr. McGlynn as to whether he ought or ought not to go to Rome. We are convinced that Dr. McGlynn will act in that matter as befits his high character. We have from his own pen in his statement just made public the assurance that he knows his theology well enough not to sin against it ignorantly, and that he loves his religion too well to sin against it wilfully.

The duty that devolves on us, fellow Catholics, is to *support* Dr. McGlynn in the assertion of his rights as a priest and a citizen, and when he is asserting his rights he is asserting ours. Let us continue to protest against the unjust treatment he has received, and let us supply him with the material means which the necessities of his position demand.

The committee has decided on opening a fund for Dr. McGlynn's benefit. Prof. De Leon of Columbia college has been appointed treasurer, and the editors of THE STANDARD, [25?] Ann street, New York, and of the *Leader,* 184 William street, New York, have consented to receive subscriptions and acknowledge them in their papers. Subscriptions may be

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sent to them or to Prof. De Leon, 104 East Eighty-ninth street, New York.

In conclusion we have to express our earnest hope that your action in this matter will be prompt and generous.

Signed, in behalf of the committee:

JEREMIAH COUGHLIN, M. D., chairman.

M. CLARKE, secretary.

New York, Feb. 5, 1887.

P. S.—The committee will gladly welcome the co-operation of, and will be happy to give assistance to, any local committees that may be formed in or out of New York to aid the fund.

The committee consists of the following: Jeremiah Coughlin, M. D.; J. M. Fox, M. D.; John McMakin, Patrick Doody, James P. Archibald, Michael Clarke, Wm. J. O'Dair, Hugh Whoriskey, Robert Crowe, James J. Gahan, editor *Catholic Herald;* James Fleming, A. J. Steers, Thomas F. Kenny, James McKim, Martin J. Cummings, Wm. P. O'Meara, Thomas Moran.

Sic in the original; probably "endeavor".

A CALL TO WORKINGMEN OF NEW YORK.

The committee appointed at the Catholic meeting in Cooper Union on Jan. 17 had a second meeting on Wednesday[12] night in Sweeny's hotel[19], and adopted the following address:

To the Workingmen of New York—FELLOW WORKINGMEN: An appeal has been addressed to the Catholics of New York to sustain Dr. McGlynn in his courageous resistence[sic] to the attempt being made to impose restrictions on the political liberty of his co-religionists. The Catholics of the city are asked to support Dr. McGlynn in his stand for the maintenance of their right to hold and to freely express their opinions on political questions, and to do everything which it is lawful for non-Catholics to do to give effect to their political opinions. It cannot be doubted that to this appeal the Catholics of New York will respond promptly and fittingly. They will not fail to distinguish between their duty to the church and their duty as citizens. They have enough of intelligence to know where to draw the line between the legitimate authority of their ecclesiastical superiors and the obligations that are binding upon them in their relations with the community in which they live. The Catholics of America will not consent that political disabilities shall be put upon them because of their religious creed. This is what the suspension and deposition of Dr. McGlynn really mean. The attempt *to crush him is in reality an insidious* attempt to burden the Catholics of New York with the political disability that they shall not be free to co-operate with their fellow citizens in the work of obtaining rights the possession of which is essential to their well-being and happiness. The constitution of the United States secures to all our citizens freedom of conscience, freedom of speech and freedom of political action within the law. Archbishop Corrigan in effect says to the Catholics of New York: Because you are Catholics this freedom must be restricted within the lines of my interpretation of your rights. You must not, because you are Catholics, be free to hold and express certain political opinions which I do not approve of. This is the plain and simple issue to which the Catholics of New York are challenged. It cannot be doubted that they will meet it with the spirit befitting men whose fathers in both hemispheres did not hesitate to give their lives in the struggle for civil and religious liberty.

But, fellow workingmen, this fight is not alone the fight of the Catholic body. It is a fight in which citizens of all creeds are deeply interested. Our friends of the labor unions have a principle that "An *injury to one* is the concern of all." If it be, as it is, our duty to apply this *principle* where one man is oppressed, how much more necessary to give it effect when an injury is done, not to individuals only, but to a large section of the community? The daily papers of New York have endeavored to make it appear that this controversy is nothing more than "an affair between Dr. McGlynn and his ecclesiastical superiors," in which laymen, and particularly non-Catholic laymen, have "no right to interfere." This is a very convenient doctrine for the classes who profit by keeping things as they are. It is the same doctrine which we find in the contention of the capitalistic press that in labor troubles no "outsider" should interfere between the laborer and his employer. It is not a new doctrine. It is as old as tyranny itself. In Ireland for many a generation the enemies of popular right insisted that no "outsider" should interfere between landlord and tenant. The world knows how it fared with the tenant so long as the "outsider" remained inactive. In all ages it has been the inactivity and indifference of the masses that have enabled the classes to plunder and oppress the people. Had the toilers of other days adopted and acted on the principle that an injury to one is the concern of all, we should not to-day have to fight for our fundamental rights.

It must be obvious to every man of intelligence that the injury done to the Catholics of New York in the person of Dr. McGlynn is a deadly blow aimed at the cause of the whole people. It is an attempt to detach from that cause a numerous section of our citizens. If Catholics must not help in the work of securing for labor its rights, then that work loses the support of many millions of earnest men. Is such a danger no concern of non-Catholics? The

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12. Ed. The Wednesday night meeting, unlike the Tuesday one, was not reported in Issue #003.
Sic in the original; probably "Sweeney's hotel".
Sic in the original; probably "resistance".

question carries with it its own answer. That the view here presented of the grave character of the issue is not an exaggerated one is demonstrated in the columns of the daily press. What is the motive of the daily papers in supporting the action of Archbishop Corrigan, as they do with characteristic consistency support it, at the same time that they tell us it is an affair *solely* between Dr. McGlynn and his ecclesiastical superiors. The motive is not far to seek. The great labor party, in which Catholics are so powerful an element, threatens the destruction of the corrupt rings, in the maintenance of which the classes represented by those newspapers are so deeply interested. The success of the labor party—that is, the obtaining of their rights by the workingmen of America—would be the destruction of the system under which the few are enabled to luxuriate in idleness on the products of the toil of the many, under which the poor grow poorer and the rich richer; under which tens of thousands of our people are in want of the bare necessaries of life. To avert the destruction of their iniquitous monopoly the classes and their press do not scruple to encourage the interposition in our national affairs of an authority from without, with the object of depriving the labor party of an important auxiliary in the struggle. They, in fact, invite the power of Rome into the field on their side against the efforts of the American people to gain their rights.

Fellow-workingmen, shall this outrageous attempt succeed? You have intelligence enough to see and appreciate the danger, and we have no doubt you have spirit enough to take *prompt steps* to ward it off. Your duty is to co-operate energetically with your Catholic fellow-citizens in their effort to sustain Dr. McGlynn. This fight is yours as well as theirs. The best demonstration you can make is to aid in the work of a substantial testimonial to Dr. McGlynn which a committee of Catholics has already begun. Sixty-eight thousand of you voted for Henry George. Half of the number can easily *afford* 50 cents each and the other half 25 cents. This would realize $25,000. Such a presentation to Dr. McGlynn would be as telling a demonstration for our principles as the 68,000 votes for Henry George, and a sharper lesson to the Roman cardinal than was the Parnell testimonial.

As a machinery for collection, we suggest and intend to immediately make arrangements for a meeting in each of the twenty-four assembly districts of the city. At these meetings our treasurer and committee will attend to take up the contributions. The meetings we hope will be organized by the energetic men in each district who worked in the George campaign.

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The .people[sic], we are convinced, know their duty and will do it. It is only required that they shall have the opportunity. Signed on behalf of the committee.

JEREMIAH COUGHLIN, M. D., Chairman.

MICHAEL CLARKE, Secretary.

RINGING WORDS FROM KNIGHTS OF LABOR

Let Dr. McGlynn Hold His Ground for Religious and Political Freedom.

Knights of Labor Assembly No. 4,223 of Tacoma, Washington territory, has resolved that the action of Archbishop Corrigan and of the Roman propaganda in suspending Rev. Edward McGlynn from the exercise of his priestly functions and forcibly severing his relations with his loving and loved congregation for advocating the election of Henry George as mayor of New York city is offensive and unjust and an unwarrantable infringement of his rights as an American citizen; that Dr. McGlynn owes it alike to his own character and dignity as an American freeman, to the intellectual liberty and civic independence of his fellow priests in this country, and to the land and labor cause, for the espousal of which he is punished and sought to be degraded and disgraced, to disobey the

Sic in the original; probably “The people”.

order summoning him to Rome for the infliction of ecclesiastical discipline upon him, and to take his ground definitely and hold it manfully as the defender of religious, civil and political freedom for the Catholic clergy and laity in the United States.

A Boston Professor's Sympathy.

BOSTON, Feb. 7.—I have been much interested in your defense of Dr. McGlynn, and consequently in your view of social reforms. Any man who has a heart must sympathize with the hard-working classes and labor earnestly for the amelioration of their condition. You have taken a manly stand and will do much to check the encroachment of Italian cardinals in this country. It is not opposing Catholicism, but merely the abuses, the tyranny that the enemies of true liberty endeavor to thrust upon the masses under the cloak of religion. What does the pastor of Plymouth church, Mr. Beecher, know of Catholic theology? It seems to me that Dr. McGlynn must know better what he is about than any Protestant clergyman. I wish you God speed, and hope to see the day when the poor victims of monopoly and ill-acquired wealth will have under heaven's sun the place to which they are entitled.

Boston University.

NARCISSE CYR.

Archbishop Corrigan Should Go to Rome.

LEAVENWORTH, Kansas, Feb. 4.—I have become more interested in reading your ably edited journal in the Father McGlynn case than I ever was in that of any American citizen. Although I am not a Catholic, my very soul goes out to this great and good man—a man who has proved himself the model of charity and Christianity combined, the leader of the poor and the heavy burdened, their benefactor and their true spiritual director. I cannot find words to express my contempt for and indignation at M. A. Corrigan. I would leave out the word bishop and insert traitor. This is his true title, for by his conduct he has proved himself a traitor to his teachings to his people—a usurper of power, a friend to the rich and an enemy to the poor. If any man should go to Rome, it is this man Corrigan.

LEROY WALLER.

The Persecutors Should Tremble.

BRIDGEPORT, Conn., Feb. 6.—Would that I were gifted with Ciceronian eloquence, that I might raise my voice and pierce the skies in defence of the noblest priest that ever donned a cassock—that "soggarth aroon" whose heart swelled with sympathy for downtrodden humanity. They have driven him from his church and home, and in doing so I believe they have brought him nearer to God, whose faithful servant he has ever been. If every heart that beats in sympathy with Dr. McGlynn could find a voice, and if all the voices could unite in one, they would make a thunderbolt that would cause his persecutors to tremble. It has never been the custom for workingmen to seek for sympathy in a marble palace. How could they expect it now?

J. H. R.

This Is a Prince of the Church.

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—Let the church, which was founded to save man, pause for a brief space, consider her way and be wise, and carefully note that this man hath done far more than Christ enjoined when he told his followers to give all their worldly goods to the poor, for he hath used his manhood for the poor. A true prince of the church hath arisen—despoiled of sacerdotal vestments, yet clad in kingly, royal robes—who hath lifted up his voice on high to declare that the fruit of the vineyard is for *all* who gather the grapes; not alone for those who have basely made stepping stones and ladders of their brethren and sisters whereby to reach above and greedily snatch nature's bounty.

M. C.

The Church Made a Catspaw.

NEW YORK, Feb. 7.—Will Rome allow the brightest star in the galaxyof[sic] American priests to set in darkness after it has for twenty years illumined the path of the poor and oppressed because he had his own ideas on the labor question and was fearless enough to express them? Certain Tammany politicians, through their mouthpieces the newspapers, have been inclined to induce him to withdraw from the Catholic church, but men like Dr. McGlynn do not take kindly to such advice. These politicians, who are first good Tammany men and then good Catholics, would like to see the reverend gentleman make a bolt, but they are not likely to be gratified, for the doctor evidently intends to fight it out on the old line "if it takes all summer." The case briefly is that the labor movement, in which Father McGlynn was so eloquent a champion, by polling a tremendous vote last fall checked the mad career of the politicians and corrupt rings of New York, who now would use the church, though before they had never shown any love for the institution, to reach George over the dead body of McGlynn.

M. J. MCCANN.

Are We a Province of Rome?

NEW YORK, Feb. 1.—Is it, or is it not, true that the Catholic church has the power to destroy the political aspirations of a citizen of the United States? If it is true, then we are merely the puppets of a religious oligarchy which can shape the future destiny of our country into whatever form it pleases. If this is so we are no longer a nation, but merely a province of Rome.

C. B. BOYLE.

Stop Italian Political Influence.

WHEELING, W. Va., Feb. 1.—I have been reading Dr. McGlynn's case in your paper, and I heartily agree with every word you have said. I think the time has come for Catholics to assert their independence, and stop this Italian influence in American politics. I was born and raised a Catholic, but I would rather leave the church than to have politics and social questions dictated to me by a lot of Italian cardinals.

JOHN L. FRANK.

Sic in the original; probably "galaxy of".

Will Rome Speak for Freedom?

CLEVELAND, O., Feb. 7.—Dr. McGlynn has my cordial right hand of fellowship as a worthy, far-seeing, progressive American citizen who has "done his duty" under dreadful fire. Will the pope of Rome now show forth that wisdom, and stand with Dr. McGlynn in his thought of the use of all God's land for all His creatures in common, as against the man-made theory of much of it

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for some, a little for more, and none for most of His creatures until they have labored for other men for privilege to stay on a little of God's land as tenants? Or will the pope stay by the slavery of vested property right to land till revolution eats this fair province from his spiritual realm?

L. A. RUSSELL.

Dr. McGlynn Needs No Vindication.

SAN FRANCISCO, Cal., Jan. 21.—Your strictures on the suspenson[sic] of that true follower of the divine Master, Dr. McGlynn, were right to the point and your advice good. He should never go to Rome as a penitent and his course as an American citizen needs no vindication.

P. J. KENNEDY[13].

Who is Most in Politics?

PHILADELPHIA, Pa., Feb. 8.—If the pope is not in politics, pray who is in politics? What means all the news from Europe—especially from Germany—this week if it is not that the holy father is deeper in politics than Father McGlynn and all other fathers.

A. O.

Sympathetic Approval from a Catholic.

LUDINGTON, Mich., Feb. 7.—As a sincere Catholic I desire to express positive approval of the attitude of THE STANDARD from inception regarding the McGlynn-Corrigan controversy, and of the humanely courageous course taken by Dr. McGlynn in refusing to assume the role of hypocrite and profess disbelief in his conscientious opinions, in refusing to surrender the rights and to neglect to perform the duties of an American citizen, and in not permitting himself to be coerced into answering to a foreign court why he is an unflinching champion of the poor.

THOS. A. MCCANN.

Sic in the original; probably "suspension".

13. Ed. P. J. Kennedy was the brother of Kate Kennedy, who wrote Doctor Paley's Foolish Pigeons, and Short Sermons to Workingmen, which he published in 1906 after her death.

Land Rightfully Common Property.

BRINTON, Feb. 7.—As a Protestant radical I am proud of the stand that you and Father McGlynn have taken in behalf of suffering humanity. I have read "Progress and Poverty," and it presents the only remedy for the evils from which we suffer—to take back our inheritance from the thieving landlords of creation and give it to the rightful owners, the human race. As Burns, the poet wrote in "Man was Made to Mourn:"

> See that poor o'er labored wight,
> An object mean and vile,
> Who begs a brother of the earth
> To give him leave to toil;
> And see the lordly fellow worm
> The poor petition spurn,
> Unmindful of a weeping wife,
> And helpless offsprings mourn.

So long as private property in land exists we will have riches on the side of the few, and poverty, crime and all the other ills that follow in its wake for the many. I say as Burns says:

> Then let us pray that come it may,
> And come it will for a' that,
> When man to man the whole world o'er,
> Shall brothers be for a' that.

HUGH DIXON.

Stop this Tyranny.

NEW YORK, Feb. 6.—As a Catholic I for one denounce Archbishop Corrigan's unchristian-like actions toward Rev. Dr. McGlynn. I hope *those interested in this cause will not let* Dr. McGlynn go to Rome, nor allow such persons as Preston and Corrigan to have such power over any priest as they have had over our own dear pastor.

MICHAEL KELLEY.

Made Him a Hero.

Omaha Truth.

The church has taken a bold but reckless step in the case of Dr. McGlynn, which it should have avoided both for the sake of policy and right. The time is past when, in this country, it can interfere with the political beliefs of its members. They will remain subject to her on matters of religion, but will not brook interference with their rights as citizens. The church, through the archbishop, has attempted to punish Dr. McGlynn as a criminal. It has made him a hero.—[Omaha Truth.

Bound by the Same Rules.

Toledo, O., Democratic Herald.

If Father McGlynn has no right to participate in political affairs, Archbishop Corrigan certainly has not, as both are priests of the same church and are bound by the same rules.

A Comedy of Error.

NEW YORK, Feb. 7.—I was born a Catholic, and have come to know what I am talking about. I begin to think that the Catholic religion is a farce or a comedy, with Drs. Corrigan and McGlynn and Mr. O'Donoghue in the leading parts. The comedy opens with Mr. O'Donoghue paying a visit to one Father Preston before election and saying, "I am informed that the majority of the priests are going to cast their votes for Henry George, and I resign as a director of the Catholic institution of New York, though I have grown gray in the Catholic church." Let me tell Mr. O'Donoghue that while he has grown gray in the Catholic church he has also grown rich, and has lost nothing by being a director of the Catholic institution. Then Father Preston informs Mr. O'Donoghue that that was not true, that the priests would vote for Mr. Hewitt. Then Mr. O'Donoghue told Bishop Corrigan of his intentions, and before Bishop Corrigan could lose Mr. O'Donoghue's friendship he thought it best to suspend Dr. McGlynn. It has got to be a cold day when Tammany heelers can run the Catholic church. I think this is a disgrace to the Catholic church. Dr. McGlynn is the purest man in the world, and this persecution is a shame and a disgrace.

A CATHOLIC CITIZEN.

The Light is Spreading.

DETROIT, Mich., Feb. 7.—I do not believe a better means of furthering our cause of "the land for the people" could have been devised than the persecution of Dr. McGlynn has brought about, and I believe it was heaven inspired. The curse we suffer has been brought to the foreground from Maine to California and from the lakes to the gulf, and that has been accomplished in weeks which would have taken months, possibly years, to have accomplished in any other way. Now every one is taking a part in the controversy, and those who do not understand the details of the arguments for making land common property are industriously searching for them.

S. G. HOWE.

A Catholic Layman Speaks.

The *Independent* publishes a second article from "A Catholic Layman," again assuring its readers that the writer is "a veritable and honored Roman Catholic." He says:

> But let it be granted that a priest with a good cause goes to Rome, that he succeeds in his case against his bishop, and that he is restored to all his priestly powers—what has he gained? He is simply in a far worse position than he was before his suspension. Rome has spoken, certainly; but Rome is a long way from New York. Few Catholic laymen, and certainly no Protestant, can possibly understand the working of Catholic ecclesiastical government. The power of a Catholic bishop is practically unlimited. His power to act in the most arbitrary manner, to crush, to inflict the keenest pain, to break down the spirit and health of those under his control, may each and all be exercised without even the least public suspicion of injustice. . . . The unhappy priest would soon find his mistake. Better far for him to have borne the injustice in silence and submitted quietly to his wrongs. He is now a marked man. Every priest in his diocese is well aware he is under episcopal displeasure, notwithstanding his success. Whatever his own private feelings may be, no

> priest will dare to show him sympathy or brotherly friendship. The Catholic laity are against him also, and it is hard to say whether his case is made better or worse by Protestant sympathy or Protestant censure.
>
> The pope is far away and the bishop is a

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> living and ever present power. Further, the authorities of the propaganda, where all these cases are decided, are very careful not to censure bishops; above all, they will rarely interfere with the discipline of a diocese. Thus a decision in the case of a priest or a religious order, which is adverse to the decision of the bishop of the diocese is practically void. It is even worse than useless, because it still leaves the person or religious order subject to the very individual against whose injustice complaint has been made. > > It is the bishop that brings the alms of the faithful to Rome. It depends on the bishop to increase or decrease the supplies He is the local governor, the diocesan pope. It has always been the policy, and the wise policy, of the holy see to uphold all authority derived from itself. The consequences do not need comment. God help the victims. Even in this country there is evidence that the above assertions have not been made without sufficient ground. One of the reporters of the daily press, having interviewed Monseigneur Preston, was informed by him that the church did not "care for individuals, it only cared for obedience!" The meaning was very plain. There was a strong feeling that a priest like Dr. McGlynn, whose ecclesiastical career was well known to have been one of great personal purity and great devotion to the poor, should, on that account, have met with special consideration. That, even if he did commit a political mistake, or fail momentarily in obedience, his past life should have saved him, if not from public condemnation, at least from personal insult. > > But Monseigneur Preston has blurted out the naked truth. The church, he said, "did not care for individuals." If this were so, the Catholic church has ceased to be or it never was of divine origin. There is something inexpressibly shocking to the Christian mind, or even to ordinary benevolence in this. Mr. Bergh and the society for the protection of animals care for individual dogs and horses, but Monseigneur Preston comes forward boldly and declares that "the church" does not care for individuals; it cares only for obedience. Obedience to whom and obedience to what? Christ's gospel is full of tenderness and [care?] for individual souls; even to scandalize one [little?] one is written down to be a deadly sin. [This?] monseigneur preaches a new gospel. [Nevertheless?], it is not new; it is as old as the first existence of human love of power and human selfishness. > > The monseigneur has left no doubt of his meaning. It is necessary to compel obedience to the commands of the church even at the cost of the sufferings of the souls of thousands of individuals. It may be predicated of this, as of most general propositions, that it is both true and false. Catholic theology teaches that we may not tell a lie, even if by lying we might save a million of souls from the eternal fires of hell. Yet there are a good many ways of telling the truth. > > There are circumstances in which ecclesiastical discipline must be maintained at any cost of individuals; but God will surely judge those who have made such ecclesiastical discipline necessary. The Catholic church could not give Heary VIII[sic] leave to commit adultery, and it is a favorite way of accounting for the Reformation in England to say that the national apostasy was caused by this refusal; yet, as an individual, Henry VIII could have done nothing. He needed the support of a nation for his change of religion, and he never could have obtained the support of a nation if that nation had not been ready to renounce a faith for which it had little respect. Was it the fault of the faith? By no means. It was the fault, and the grievous fault, of priests and monks and friars and laymen who gave public shame and scandal by their evil lives. If the bishops of the Catholic church had firmly suppressed Tetzel's sinful traffic in indulgences, Luther could never have revolted, and therefore could never have accomplished his reformation. > > If the bishops of the Catholic church in England had not oppressed and taxed the poor and fawned upon the rich; if they had not allowed the monastic houses vowed to poverty individually to accumulate enormous wealth collectively, England would still be Catholic. > > When the church emerged from the catacombs her danger began. The danger to the Catholic church in America to-day is its enormous wealth, its unbounded political influence, *and its social success.* It is supposed to be the church of the

Sic in the original; probably "Henry VIII".

poor; but one day it will be known how the poor have looked to it in vain. If a saint came to-day and cried, like John the Baptist, *to prepare the way of the Lord* by the practice of charity, poverty and evangelical virtue, he would be silenced as a disobedient subject and persecuted to his death. > > I yield to no man in my regard for the rights of property, but I respect also the rights of the poor. I do not believe in upholding law and order for the rich alone. > > I am not concerned to defend Henry George either in his politics or his religion. I have no personal knowledge of him, nor have I read his books; but justice is justice. He has been accused all round of attacking the Catholic church. One Catholic paper had a most childish article headed "Eating Pope," the very title being far more degrading to the church than any words said or written by Henry George. Attacking the church means attacking, condemning or criticising the doctrines of the church. I fail to see that Henry George has done this. > > But attacking, condemning or criticising the public conduct of Catholics, whether lay or ecclesiastical, is not condemning the church. The Catholic canonized saints have done this; but they have had the courage of saints. They were persecuted during their lives by bishops and priests, but they were canonized after personal feelings and bitterness had passed away by the very successors of these ecclesiastics. > > Proof of the above assertion could be easily given, and a glance at the life of any Catholic saint would be sufficient. It is not so many years since an apparition of the Blessed Virgin accredited by the church appeared in France, and one of the many revelations made was a strong denunciation of the selfishness and sins of priests. Catholic ecclesiastics denounce Garibaldi, Cavour and Ferry, but they forget that it was when they had the fullest power in France, Italy and England that these countries ceased to be Catholic. It was Catholics who turned against the pope. > > A time has come when men will have to speak out against evil and oppression, whether ecclesiastical or civil, if they would save their souls. The doctrines of the Catholic church are one thing, and the sins and shortcomings of individual members of the church are another. No bishop, no priest, is personally infallible. It is a device of the devil to cover sin when men try to hide the evil deeds which they do, or shelter them under the pretext that to condemn evil is to condemn the church. There is a time when silence becomes a participation in crime, and when men can only save the church which they love by denouncing the dangers which threaten its existence or its progress.

The Question.

Newark Unionist.

Shall the ecclesiastical machinery of the Catholic church be used, with the machinery of corrupt politics, to perpetuate the system of industrial slavery that has been put in operation in this country, after the models of the old world? Dr. McGlynn, standing for progressive political principles and for an enlightened Christianity, says *no,* he will not be a party to these oppressions! But the Bourbon never-forget, never-learn element, represented in Archbishop Corrigan, says "there shall be no progress," and baffled at home in keeping his people in political slavery, he relies upon the pope to interfere, as the supreme authority, and, as "pontifex maximus," curb the rising tide of democracy in the United States. To falter in such a crisis is moral cowardice; to avoid the issue as a matter of "policy" is political cowardice of a most abject type. Down with the traitor to American free institntions, be he prelate or politician! Dr. McGlynn has shown himself to be pre-eminently the opposite, the uncompromising opponent of all such, and he should have the moral and substantial support of every true American.

No Politics from Rome.

Brooklyn Union.

The non-interference of any ecclesiastical power in politics is part and parcel of the American citizen's bill of rights. In so far as Dr. McGlynn may have made himself liable to discipline for any disobedience to the proper functions of church authorities, the archbishop's position is, no doubt, defensible. That is a matter which concerns

Catholics. But to the extent that any authority of the church of Rome undertook to dictate the political opinions of the priest or to prevent the free exercise of all his rights as an American citizen, the American spirit and opinion is with the priest, and the sentiment that Dr. McGlynn

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has so forcibly expressed is the true republican sentiment.

What an Episcopal Journal Thinks.

The *Churchman,* commenting upon the newspaper assertions that THE STANDARD had committed suicide by its course with regard to Dr. McGlynn, says:

> Is it openly avowed *that,* hereafter, Americans must look to the Vatican for a *mot d'ordre* before making up their minds on a political issue? Is the next president of the republic to be the man who will concede the most to foreign aggression? Mr. George, whatever his political heresies in other respects, has shown a remarkable sagacity as to two all important signs of the times, and it may be that he will compel the cowardly and venal hordes of party politicians to learn of him a lesson which it is rapidly becoming their *interest* to acquire. The two points are these: First, that a foreign court is openly menacing fundamental liberties; and, second, that thousands of those on whom that court relies for servile submission are ripening into Americans and are ready to resist its daring aggressions.
>
> There are fools who delight in the exercise of this foreign influence, so long as, for experiment, the court of Rome exerts it in a line with their own sentiments. "Fools and blind!" Do they not see that, once established as a power in politics, the same influence will be worked against the national institutions and for the enforcement of "the Syllabus," which is a foe to all freedom and enlightment[sic]? Now, we use well-chosen words when we speak of "the court of Rome," for we make no issue here with Rome *as a church.* Americans allow the fullest liberty to its religion as *a religion;* but Rome as a foreign *court* is another thing, and millions of Roman Catholics in France and Germany have lived and died in conflict with that court on the very *grounds* which Mr. George has asserted, viz.: that beyond the domain of religion they will not tolerate Roman dictation.
>
> Mr. George asserts that Dr. McGlynn and all other Roman Catholics have a *right* to be Americans and to vote as they may be pleased to vote, and he has had the good sense and the moral courage to assert that to summon Dr. McGlynn to Rome to answer for his exercise of the elective franchise as a citizen, is a daring attack on American independence. Can any one deny the truth and moral power of this position? He thinks that thousands of Dr. McGlynn's co-religionists are prepared to stand by him in defying this impudent aggression. We trust it may prove so, and we thank him in so far, as the pioneer of a national movement that should no longer be deferred.

A Catholic Journal on Dr. McGlynn's Statement.

Catholic Herald.

Dr. McGlynn has thrown a bombshell into the camp of his enemies, and the explosion, if we may judge from the howling of the camp followers, has been disastrous. We venture to think that the feeling of the reverend doctor's persecutors and assailants after reading his statement, was one of abject dismay at the magnitude of the

Sic in the original; probably "enlightenment".

proportions into which the issue they so unwisely challenged has developed. They rashly imagined that it was a very simple and easy thing to crush a priest who had dared to cross their path, but they find themselves in deadly grip with a giant. They did not pause to count the cost or calculate the chances of a conflict with such a man as Dr. McGlynn on such principles as those for which he stands to-day before his fellow citizens unconquered and unconquerable. Their position now that the fight is fairly on, which they so madly provoked, affords apt illustration of the proverb that they who sow the storm will have to undertake the dangerous task of reaping the whirlwind.

It is as well that this fight should come on now as at any other time—perhaps better now. Sooner or later the labor party should have to face and crush the opposition of the men who have struck down Dr. McGlynn, or rather who have attempted to strike him down, for he is not yet down, and we are well convinced that contending on the ground he occupies he never will be. Sooner or later the workingmen of America who have resolved upon the recovery of their rights in the land of their country would have to meet the issue now presented and to fight the men who raise it. It is better that the question should be taken up now at *the outset of the labor programme* and be settled once and for all, and not be left as a rock ahead threatening shipwreck to the movement at every stage. Let us fight it through now and be done with it and so clear the way for other and bigger work.

The people of Ireland had the same sort of opposition to encounter at the commencement of their grand struggle which is now rapidly nearing a triumphant success. No sooner had the land league been organized for effective work than the ecclesiastical machine was set in motion in Rome to operate against the national movement and its leaders. Without a moment's hesitation Ireland sternly faced the enemy, and with unanimous and resolute voice rung into the ears of the cardinals the lesson which Michael Davitt repeated in his last speech in New York, that "the Irish people brook no interference from Rome in their national affairs."

It is the same lesson and warning that rings out in Dr. McGlynn's triumphant statement. American Catholics will brook no Roman interposition in their political affairs. They will insist on having and exercising to the full extent their rights as citizens, unfettered in the smallest degree by pope, propaganda, cardinal or bishop. The question whether they shall or shall not accept Heary George's[sic] principles on the land question is one for *them and them alone* to consider and decide upon.

If they believe, as we think the vast bulk of them do, that Mr. George's doctrine presents the only settlement of the difficulty which lies at the root of our social troubles, they will not be deterred by any ecclesiastical censures or threatenings from co-operating to the utmost of their energies with the party which has made that doctrine one of the principal planks in its platform.

There is another thing that we are assured the Catholics of New York and of America will do. They will stand unflinching by Dr. McGlynn until this fight is fought out to the bitter end, come weal or come woe. Never was there a nobler cause to uphold. Never was there a nobler, manlier champion to stand by. Dr. McGlynn has been true to the people as the needle to the pole. Never has he by a hair's breadth swerved in devotion to the right. His great heart has taken all nations and all races within the boundless scope of its overflowing sympathies. The people he has loved and served and fought and sacrificed for will rally round him more enthusiastically and cling to him more fondly than ever, now that he is persecuted for their sake.

All intelligent Catholic citizens of America who are not blinded by prejudice or partisanship must see that Dr. McGlynn is fighting their fight. He denies the *right* of bishop, propaganda or pope to order him to Rome to answer for his speech or action in political affairs in America. So do we. We emphatically indorse his denial and we emphatically approve the stand he has taken.

Sic in the original; probably "Henry George's".

We are glad to find that the Catholics of New York are taking the right action. Elsewhere we print an address from the committee appointed at the great Catholic meeting held at the Cooper Union on Jan. 17. We adopt as our own every sentence in that address, and we earnestly commend to the sympathy of our readers the appeal it makes.

The Chicago Anarchists.

NEW YORK, Feb. 9.—I would like the privilege of protesting against hanging the so-called anarchists. There is a conviction in the minds of hundreds of thousands of workingmen that these seven men did not have a fair trial. Even if the jury was honestly impaneled, it was unduly influenced by the press and the excitement and prejudice which prevailed in Chicago. The anarchists should not have been tried in Chicago at all. It was impossible for them to have a fair trial in that city.

We have already, in wrath and excitement, judicially murdered two persons. Every middle aged person blushes when the name of Mrs. Surratt is mentioned. And if Garfield had been merely a blacksmith or a carpenter, Guiteau would have been sent to an insane asylum. Let us not repeat such blunders at a time like this. A great conflict between the poor and the rich in this country has already commenced, and we should do all we can to confine it to the political arena. But the hanging of these men in Chicago will embitter it. The day they are executed thousands of men in our large cities will vow hatred and revenge.

W. H. BENSON.

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UNITED LABOR.

THE NEW PARTY GROWING IN ALL PARTS OF THE COUNTRY.

The New York Committee—A Movement in Brooklyn—Albany Awakening—Maine Heard From and the Great West Falling in Line.

At the last session of the New York county general committee of the united labor party William McCabe introduced resolutions approving of the great strike and pledging material and moral aid to the strikers. Delegate Gottheil gave notice of a proposal to reconsider the platform. Delegate Leverson of the Sixteenth assembly district gave notice of several amendments to the committee's constitution, one being the election of officers and candidates on the system of proportional representation. Permanent officers were then elected for the county general committee as follows: Chairman, John McMackin; first vice-chairman, Frank Ferrali; second vice-chairman, Henry Emrich; recording secretary, J. N. Bogert; financial secretary, A. S. Johnson; corresponding secretary, William P. O'Meara: treasurer, William McCabe; trustees, B. J. Hawkes, W. S. Gottheil and Thomas F. Kenny; sergeant-at-arms, John T. Burke.

Some time ago the Central labor union of Kings county instructed their locals, which have been organized in nineteen wards, and the town of Flatbush, to take action on the following and report at the next union meeting, to be held on Monday:

"Shall the Central labor union take independent political action in holding their own primaries and nominating an entire city and county ticket hereafter, and under no circumstances affiliate with any political party ?"

It is also proposed to make it mandatory for all members who belong to any political organization to immediately withdraw therefrom. The Brooklyn *Eagle* promptly sounds the note of alarm, and suggests that the object is the defeat of the democratic party. It also says that "it is very likely that a majority of the locals will refuse to adopt the proposition, as it would compel those who hold political offices to resign from their party organization. Consequently they could not receive a renomination." If the labor party on the other side of the East river at all resembles the party on this side, it will not allow consideration for office holders to influence its action.

The land and labor club in Albany is very prosperous. Its membership is increasing rapidly and public meetings are being held every second and fourth Saturday in the month, at which instructive addresses on economic topics are delivered. A library, consisting of popular works on political economy, is shortly to be established, in order that a more thorough understanding of important social questions may be obtained. This club is leavening the loaf and "spreading the light" through all sorts and conditions of workingmen's bodies in Albany.

A united labor party has been formed in Kansas City. Its first meeting was attended by 2,500 people, 1,000 of whom signed the roll. The platform pledges the signers to withdraw from both of the old parties, declares for the rigid enforcement of existing labor laws, for an eight-hour day, prohibition of child labor, abolition of the contract

system on public works, discontinuance of contract prison labor for the weekly payment of wages, the abolition of conspiracy and tramp laws, and for a government currency without the intervention of banks.

A dispatch to the Cincinnati *Enquirer* declares that "the new party movement has struck Sandusky with phenomenal force. The new party was organized a short time since, its leading lights being our best and most respected mechanics. From what we have been able to learn these gentlemen have been working quietly, but determinedly, using their every endeavor to form a nucleus which would soon attract to it the great body of Sandusky wage-workers. It is a well-concerted movement, and includes a number of large cities in Ohio; notably, Toledo, Cleveland, Springfield and Zanesville.

"Conferences have been held by the leaders of the Knights of Labor in these cities, and it was decided to adopt the declaration of principles put forth at the great Cooper Union meeting in New York; November 6, 1886, after the defeat of Henry George for mayor.

"The new party will put a ticket in the field here and contest for power at the April election, and it is said the other cities will follow the example of the Sandusky knights. For the past year there has been great industry manifested in organizing here and it is claimed that the new party will poll over 800 votes out of a total of about 3,500; that is to say, they have a membership of 800 without counting upon outside sympathy. The movement appears to be growing, and is exciting much apprehension among politicians."

A meeting was recently held at Lewiston, Me., to organize a land and labor club, in response to the call issued by the Cooper Union mass meeting in this city on Nov. 6. The platform adopted at that meeting and selections from the books and speeches of Henry George were read, after which a club was organized, with J. B. Elliott as president, B. B. Murtis vice-president, F. A. Butterfield secretary, and W. H. Jewett treasurer.

The united labor party of Cincinnati has asked for official representation at the polls at the spring election. The board informed them that the appointments had been made for a year ending next September, and the present judges and clerks could not be removed; but if any vacancies should occur before the spring election, making necessary new appointments, the labor party would be recognized in such appointments. It was agreed, however, that if the labor party desired it, they should have representatives at the various polling places to watch the count.

Robert Tompkins delivered an able address recently before Union assembly [1309?], K. of L., at Atchison, Kansas, on the principles of the land and labor party. He quoted figures to show that farmers and small property holders would be benefited by the destruction of land monopoly, while the bonanza farmers would be compelled to bear their fair share of the burdens of society. The placing of taxation on land values would, he said, open up a broad avenue of escape to the helpless labor of the country. Mr. Tompkins wound up with an impassioned appeal to all to shake off the old party prejudices and the slumber of apathy and indifference that has bound us long in its chains, and join the new party of the people, whose great gun at New York, like the shot at Concord, has been "heard around the world."

Central Committee's Correspondence.

Below we give a few brief extracts from recent correspondence of the central committee, No. 28 Cooper Union:

W. B. Crowell, Chester, Penn.: At a meeting held this evening the Clarendon hall platform, with slight modifications, rendered necessary to suit this locality, was enthusiastically and unanimously adopted.

C. H. Stewart, Warrensburg, Mo.: The land tax idea is taking hold on the people in this section. The present system of land-holding assuredly lies at the root of our social ills.

W. [H.?] Jewett. Portland, Me.: I have recently

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been to Augusta, where I met leading men from all parts of the state, and they all acknowledge the necessity of the reform you propose.

H. C. Baldwin, Naugatuck, Conn.: I feel the greatest interest in your movement. One thing is certain, something must soon be done to stem the tide of legalized robbery. The rank and file lack courage, but I see indications of a change for the better.

J. D., Brooklyn, N. Y.: Cannot something be done toward inaugurating your movement in Brooklyn? We are ring-ridden and our press is no longer free. The most effective remonstrance that labor could make to its treatment by the newspapers would be the organization of a land and labor party in Brooklyn.

L. V. L., Montgomery[sic]; Ala.: I am persuaded that the day is not far distant when the labor question must be met, and that heroically. For my part, I am on the platform of right and justice as expressed in the Declaration of Independence. I believe that each child born has a perfect right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. I do not believe that any nine men have the right to say that the tenth shall or shall not exist by reason of their possessing the land which is necessary to such existence, and I earnestly hope that our countrymen may be enabled to see this subject in such a light as to admit of its being settled, before it is too late, without resort to harsh measures.

F. H., Cincinnati, O.: The newspapers realize that the only real danger to the existing parties is not from any organization of labor as a class, but from the organization of the masses in support of the principles involved in the late New York campaign. There is a strong and growing sentiment here in favor of reform in land taxation.

Andrew A. McDonnell, New Orleans, La.: We have taken the helm and have this day organized, starting with a fair roll, and hope by our next meeting to have one hundred members. The men here are heart and soul in the great movement.

Gilbert Seibert, Indianapolis, Ind.: I suggest that you ought to have a lecture bureau that all the clubs could call on for speakers, so as to get our principles fairly before the people. And there must be some arrangements made to get the farmers interested in the cause; for I believe that if we can get the land question before the farmers and the renters, they will surely come over to our side.

F. H. Lincoln, Zylonite, Mass.: I consider the land question a matter of vital importance to organized labor. Heaven speed you in your efforts to strike the chains of party slavery from the limbs of the wage workers of our land.

P. B., Sandusky, Ohio: There is plenty of good material among our members here—men who have given thought to the land question and who are able to enter into an intelligent debate on the subject. But we ought to have public speakers and lecturers. The reports from here will by and by be very gratifying, depend upon it.

P. G. K., Elkhart, Ind.: The members here are working heart and soul, and I have a notion that we shall open the eyes of the two old political parties very widely when the time comes.

J. B. Hollinger, Harrisburg, Pa.: The time is ripe for a proper agitation of the land question, and I believe that a great work can be done in this city and county.

C. R., East Saginaw, Mich.: There is already a labor party here, which holds the balance of power in local elections, and which has hitherto shown its influence by fusion; but there is a growing sentiment against fusion, and I think

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Sic in the original; probably “Montgomery,”.

that by another year this party can be thoroughly organized on the land and labor platform to cast its votes for its own candidates.

J. H. C., Cleveland, O.: There are active discussions of the principal features of your platform in all the assemblies of this city. If Tom L. Johnson[14] was not going to leave the city we could run him for mayor and elect him.

C. H. Fuller, Middletown, N. Y.: You may depend upon our land and labor club to do good work. The charter members know the meaning of the word "progress," and have the determination and independence to do the work imposed upon them.

C. M., Minneapolis, Minn.: My work has been mostly among professional men, and it has not been without results. Still, many who express sympathy with land reform seem unwilling to sacrifice their personalities, as they think they would, by actively espousing a cause that will merely set them up as a target for the arrows of a tory press. The policy of the labor associations here is to use their vote simply to hold the balance of power. They do not take into consideration the immense following they could get *outside* of the labor organizations. The press in this section is almost solidly against us, suppressing and miscoloring facts, and even printing telegraphic news under false headlines.

C. H. B., Albany, N. Y.: Our club is full already, and we shall probably divide it into four. We have just voted for a library, with Henry George's works to begin with. I feel very much encouraged thus far in the movement, and look forward to a great work to be done in the near future. We want to take up a collection here for Father McGlynn.

H. V., East Saginaw, Mich.: The time is ripe for a new party with some other aim than a scramble for office. There is wide-spread discontent here among both democrats and republicans.

Owing to the illness of two of its members, the central committee has been compelled to postpone the conference for the 16th inst.

"De Side of de Lawd."

The Louisville and Nashville railroad company carried down to Pensacola about seventy laborers, gathered up along the road, to take the places of colored 'longshoremen on strike. The strikers "exhorted" the men in camp-meeting style, pleading with them not to go to work, and singing: "Come on de side of de Lawd. He will protect you." After this pleading the new arrivals refused to go to work.

Workingmen Must Use the Ballot.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Feb. 6.—In your valuable paper I notice a sermon by the Rev. Hugh O. Pentecost in which he asks, What is the remedy for the laboring class? There never has been any remedy nor never will be until the labor party rises to power. This can only be through the ballot box. Otherwise there will be strikes, and rumors of strikes, until the end of time, with no particular good resulting from them. H. K. WHITE.

14. Ed. Tom Loftin Johnson (1854-1911) was an American industrialist, Georgist politician, and important figure of the Progressive Era and a pioneer in urban political and social reform. He was a U.S. Representative from 1891 to 1895 and Mayor of Cleveland 1901 to 1909. Johnson was one of the most well known, vocal, and dedicated admirers of Henry George's views on political economy and anti-monopoly reform. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Tom_L._Johnson

Liberty's Summons.

Ye toilers of the land and sea, Ye tillers of the earth, Ye workers in the deep, dark mine, Ye slaves in chains from birth, Behold above our western world For you a beacon beams, That through "the mists and vapors dense" Brings gladness in its gleams.

'Tis liberty's celestial fire, O'er earth and ocean flowing, And clear through "chaos and the dark" To you new pathways showing. In lightning tongues its summons comes To all who love the light. "Forget all else to right your wrongs," Join hands! form ranks! UNITE!

—*Vivant.*

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ANTI-MORMON LAWS.

A STRONG PROTEST AGAINST THE "TUCKER-EDMUNDS BILL."

Early Persecution of the Peculiar People—Mormon Civilization Contrasted With Our Own—A Complete Overthrow of All the Forms of Free Government in Utah.

The acts of congress whose professed aim is the suppression of polygamy in Utah, are, of special legislation[sic] without a parallel in modern times. The plea of "necessity" of the "interests of society" and of "religion," are usurping the place of reason and law. The last "blow at Mormonism," as it is called, is establishing new precedents of tyranny. The press is conspiring to prevent discussion on the subject. To speak of the Mormon people as possessing any worth, moral or civic; to hint a comparison between their beliefs and practices and our own, is to place one's self under the ban of "civilized society." To ask for a formula of the relation of the general government to the territories is to quibble over small things. To call attention to the chaotic condition of our marriage laws is to wander from the subject. To suggest the need of a a discussion[,31] of the relation of the sexes is proof of one's innate depravity. But facts cannot be always ignored.

The Mormons had been driven out many times before plural marriage was ever known among them. Such marriage is even now practiced by not more than two per cent of the church membership, while but a small proportion of these have more than two wives. But this doctrine was avowed full ten years before congress took any notice of it, and then a law was passed in war times. The party that passed it did really nothing from 1862 to 1882 for its enforcement. The Edmunds law, now in force in Utah, was passed on the eve of the last presidential election, as a means of helping prop the sinking fortunes of the party of "grand moral ideas." The nation which had now recovered from the fatigue of its former struggle was summoned to battle once more under republican leadership. Polygamy was to be made the great issue of the times. Congress was besieged with petitions to deal with these Mormons, most of which came from ecclesiastical bodies or mass meetings presided over by some reverend gentleman. Is it not strange, by the way, that the church should so covet the distinction of leading in the attack on this one of "the twin relics," when it was the last in helping overthrow that other one—slavery? And, stranger still, that it should sit down contented, as it were, amidst a barbarism miscalled "civilization," in which a new form of slavery, and something worse than polygamy, are taking deep root.

Congress obeyed. The most tyrannical of laws was passed (1882), and it laughed at the idea that in this outside pressure was any of the spirit of persecution. That was possible only in the past ages. And as little as possible was

Sic in the original; probably "are of special legislation (or"are special legislation")".
Sic in the original; probably "need of a discussion".

said about the treatment of the Mormons from the time they began to preach their new religion. Know we not that they were driven from New York, Ohio, Missouri and Illinois (the states now most in danger of military rule), leaving the homes they had built, the fields they had cultivated, the temples they had reared; then entering the wilderness, making roads, building bridges, fighting storms, treating with the Indians, and bowing in prayer morning and night, they had journeyed more than a thousand miles beyond civilization's furthest limits? They planned and built cities, sent out colonies, until the Mormon line of settlements became as an oasis in the desert. Over their first encampment floated the Stars and Stripes, and the beehive was their chosen emblem. Before long they petitioned congress for a transcontinental telegraph and railway, and their hands helped to stretch the wires and lay the rails! And this people are undeserving a place in the Union! Utah's population is twice that of Nevada, and exceeded that of Kansas and Nebraska combined when these territories were formed into states.

Of Utah's 175,000 population, 25,000 only are gentile. But this minority is distinguished in certain ways. It fills nearly every position of influence and emolument from the governorship down. Of the two hundred saloons, billiard rooms and bowling alleys, but a dozen profess to be Mormon. All of the bagnios and other disreputable concerns are run and sustained by anti-Mormons. Ninety-eight per cent of the gamblers, and ninety-five per cent of the lawyers are of the outside element. Eighty per cent of the litigation is from the same source. Ninety per cent of the suicides, and eighty per cent of the homicides and infanticides are non-Mormon.

There are in Massachusetts four times as many convicts, and nine times as many paupers, as in Utah; and there is even one-tenth less of illiteracy in Utah than in Massachusetts, and four times less than in the District of Columbia. Utah is in advance of the general average of the United States, in the enrollment of school population, percentage of daily attendance, and the amount per capita invested in school property. The text-books in use are the same as elsewhere, with this exception that no religious tenets, or religious exercises, are allowed in these public schools.

Ninety-five per cent. of the Mormon people live in their own houses, on their own lands, for which they hold deeds in their own names. Small divisions of land with high cultivation is the rule. There are 10,000 farms, containing an average of twenty-five acres each. Co-operation is practiced to a greater extent among the Mormons than among any other people. In temperance reform they lead the world.

There exists in Utah an unrestrained exercise of faith and worship. The Mormon believes his creed (based like the rest, on tne[sic] Bible); has nothing to fear from a free rivalry with the creeds of Christendom, and the Mormon priesthood is unsalaried from the head of the church down.

We entrust the execution of our laws to a governor with a bias, judges with a mission, and a host of United States officials, all hostile, as a rule, to the Mormons. Leagued with these are clergymen, lawyers and politicians. This minority wants power over the majority, which outnumbers it ten to one. Utah's laws provide for minority representation, and long ago congress gave to this minority equal numbers on the juries. But this was not enough. The Edmunds law made the panel wholly anti-Mormon, so that the polygamist could be tried by a court and jury composed wholly of his enemies. But there is a special commission appointed by congress with powers and salary to match. This commission appoints registration and election officers, canvasses the returns and issues certificates of elections. It administers also a test oath to every voter, which disfranchises all polygamists without trial or hearing, even those who entered into polygamy before there was any law against it, and those who have ceased to practice it. After having been thus stripped of his rights of citizenship, a polygamist is tried for a crime whose penalty is a fine and several years' imprisonment, But[sic] the man that cohabits with more than one woman, if he own but one as his wife, enjoys his rights as a citizen and a member of society. While the man who is but a believer

Sic in the original; probably "the".
Sic in the original; probably "imprisonment. But".

in polygamy is not allowed to serve as a juror, the man who, having one wife, lives in open and notorious adultery with another woman, is fit to serve as a juror in the trial of a polygamist. The Mormons' protest, read to the President, says: "The companion of mistresses and harlots, secure from prosecution, walks the streets in open day. No United

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States official puts a spotter on his trail, or makes any effort to drag his deeds of shame and guilt before a judge and jury for investigation and punishment. But our families are dragged before commissioners and grand juries. Modest women are made to answer shamefully indecent questions as to the sexual relation of man and woman. Attempts are made to bribe men to work up cases against their neighbors. Most disreputable characters are employed to spy into men's family relations."

But the progress of the minority to power is not rapid enough even by these methods. It is now proposed that all the Mormon women shall be disfranchised. The corporation known as the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints is dissolved. And no religious society is to hold property in excess of $50,000 in value. The perpetual emigrating fund company is dissolved. All Mormon emigration is to be stopped. All grants of land made to any association, civil or ecclesiastic, by the Utah legislature are annulled, and "all fraudulent entries upon homestead and pre-emption claims" are to be set aside by the attorney general. The laws of the territory organizing the Utah militia are repealed. A new militia is to be formed under "the laws of the United States," and all its general officers are to be appointed by the government of the territory. The existing election districts and apportionments of representation are abolished, and the governor, secretary and marshal (who are United States officers) are to redistrict the territory, and reapportion representation. The council of the territory of Utah is to be appointed by the president every two years, by and with the advice and consent of the senate. The president and senate are to appoint all judges and selectmen of the county and probate courts, and these courts are to appoint their clerks, recorders and registers of deeds, wills and other papers. The governor and council are to appoint all justices of the peace, all sheriffs, constables, and other county and district officers. The office of the territorial superintendent of schools, created by the laws of Utah, is abolished; and the governor is to appoint a commissioner of schools, who shall exercise the powers and duties of the superintendent, and receive the same compensation out of the treasury of the territory. The United States marshal and his deputies are to possess and exercise all the powers of sheriffs and their deputies as peace officers. In the prosecution of polygamy or unlawful cohabitation the lawful husband or wife of the person accused shall be a competent witness. An attachment for any witness may be issued without previous subpena, when, on "the affirmation of two credible persons, there is reasonable ground to believe such witness will fail to obey the summons." Polygamy is "unlawful cohabitation," declared to be a felony, punishable with imprisonment in the penitentiary from one to five years. Prosecutions for adultery may be commenced at the instance of other persons than either the husband or wife. Laws recognizing the rights of illegitimate children to a distributive share in the estate of the father are annulled. Every male person over twenty-one years of age shall appear before the court and, if married, give the name of his lawful wife, and take and subscribe on oath[sic] that he will support the constitution of the United States, and will obey the law of 1882, and this act, in respect to the crimes defined and forbidden therein.

This is called the Tucker-Edmunds bill. But this Mr. Tucker of Virginia said in 1882 of the law then enacted, which was but the mild prototype of this one: "I should be false to my sworn duty to support the constitution of the United States if I voted for a bill which not only violates the constitution, but makes a precedent of evil omen to the liberties of the people. I cannot consent to eradicate one vice by an act of usurpation of power which might involve results of greater magnitude and importance to the happiness of the present and future generations of this great Union. . . . Given a board which is to regulate suffrage, to hold elections, to make returns thereof, and all this without appeal, and for the time being 140,000 citizens of the United States will be subject to an autocratic oligarchy as absolute in its authority, and capable of achieving as much unhappiness for its subjects by the

Sic in the original; probably "subscribe an oath".

plunder of their property, the deprivation of their liberties, and the violation of their constitutional rights, as ever existed among any people in ancient or modern times." T. W. CURTIS.

Wealthy Trades Unionists.

Excelsior, a Buffalo labor paper, draws a parallel between the Merchants' exchange of that city and a federation of trades unions. The exchange had made a "strike" against abuses in the canal management during the past year, and had won. Some of its members had made a "strike" on a "gross and net ton" question, had lost several weeks of the best season of the year by it, and had been beaten. Committee rooms in the Merchants' exchange building are rented by the anthracite coal committees, lake carriers' committee, Packers' association, each of which is a trades union. The exchange has an arbitration committee and a bureau occupied by an officer, who sees that no discrimination is made against members by transportation companies—in other words, a walking delegate. The president of the exchange in his annual address spoke of the benefits resulting from the "coming together" of business men; it stimulated an interest in one another's affairs, and it showed "how much the prosperity of one affects the prosperity of all." To the initiated in labor unions, all this has the familiar sound of the language of their school.

Killing Off the Surplus.

The Stockton, Cal., *Evening Mail* says that recently a man named James McCann, who had been in the state but a few weeks, having immigrated from Halifax, Nova Scotia, went to Port Costa on a railway train as a paying passenger. In the evening he crossed to Benicia and seated himself on a dock with some men whom he met then for the first time, when a constable came along. The other men proved to be tramps, and ran away as the constable drew near. The stranger, McCann, also ran, and when the constable commanded him to stop he continued to try to get away. The constable then fired on him, putting two bullets in his back. The next day he died. This was done in consonance with a widely declared policy on the part of the police in various parts of California "to make it hot for the tramps." The *Mail's* comment is as follows: "Not a few of the immigrants coming into our state to-day in response to lying advertisements put forth by those who have land to sell will develop into tramps before the year is out, and then they must be shot down, must they, by officers who would themselves be parasites upon society if they could not get a living without work."

Do Not be Hoodwinked.

ORRINGTON, Me., Feb. 7.—I think the war talk in the senate on the Edmunds-Payne bill means more than we are all aware of. To me it means that the American republic has reached that point toward despotism where war is essential to perpetuate the power of the dominant class and hinder progress toward a higher social plane. While humanity is struggling for emancipation from the bondage of caste, creeds, crime, corruption and confusion, the parasites of society are bent on war in order to divert public attention. The world needs peace; humanity needs peace, and if the toilers of the world can only be at peace among themselves they can soon have peace, notwithstanding the parasites, and that without the use of bullets or bombs. B. F. ROWELL.

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Eternal Justice.

The man is thought a knave or fool, Or bigot plotting crime, Who, for the advancement of his race, Is wiser than his time. For him the hemlock shall distill, For him the axe be bared ; For him the gibbet shall be built, For him the stake prepared. Him shall the scorn and wrath of men Pursue with deadly aim, And malice, envy, spite and lies Shall desecrate his name. But truth shall conquer at the last, For round and round we run ; And ever the right comes uppermost, And ever is justice done.

Pace through thy cell, old Socrates, Cheerily to and fro ; Trust to the impulse of thy soul, And let the poison flow. They shatter to earth the lamp of clay That holds a light divine, But they cannot quench the fire of thought By any such deadly wine. They cannot blot thy spoken words From the memory of man By all the poison ever was brewed Since time its course began. To-day abhorred, to-morrow adored— So round and round we run, And ever the truth comes uppermost, And ever is justice done.

Plod in thy cave, gray anchorite, Be wiser than thy peers ; Augment the range of human power, And trust to coming years. They may call the wizard and monk accursed, And load thee with dispraise ; Thou wert born five hundred years too soon For the comfort of thy days. But not too soon for human kind; Time hath reward in store, And the demons of our sires become The saints that we adore. The blind can see, the slave is lord ; So round and round we run, And ever the wrong is proved to be wrong, And ever is justice done.

Keep, Galileo, to thy thought, And nerve thyself to bear ; They may gloat over the senseless words they wring From the pangs of thy despair. They vail their eyes, but cannot hide The sun's meridian glow ; The heel of a priest may tread thee down, And a tyrant work thee woe. But never a truth has been destroyed[sic]. They may curse it and call it a crime ; Pervert and betray or slander and slay Its teachers for a time ; But the sunshine, aye, shall light the sky, As round and round we run, And the truth shall ever come uppermost, And justice shall be done.

And live there *now* such men as these, With thoughts like the great of old? Many have died in their misery, And left their thoughts untold ; And many live and are ranked as mad, And placed in the cold world's ban, For sending their bright, far seeing souls, Three centuries in the van. They toil in penury and grief, Unknown if not maligned— Forlorn, forlorn, bearing the scorn Of the meanest of mankind. But yet the world goes round and round, And the genial seasons run, And ever the truth comes uppermost, And ever is justice done.

Charles Mackay.

WORKMEN'S HOMES.

They Can Only Be Secured by the Abolition of Land Monopoly.

MINNEAPOLIS, Minn., Feb. 6.—Homes for laborers is the only solution of the labor question and the only bulwark of American institutions. Homes are the foundation of good government, the basis of industry and sobriety; the cradle of religion, morality and virtue. But private property in land is rapidly putting homes beyond the reach of the masses. Capital is everywhere getting a corner in the gifts of God. All available agricultural land is now in the hands of land grabbers who have no more use for it than for white elephants. The crops of '86 were raised on less than one-ninth of the agricultural land, and yet workingmen's families were crowded into tenements among vicious associations.

The new party guarantees every workman a home. Right wrongs nobody, and the land and labor party don't propose to do anything that is not right in placing all taxes on the ground ad valorem and taking them off of

improvements. It would be an immense relief to farmers and all industrial capital as well as labor. The working farmer might find his ground tax slightly increased, but his house and barn and other buildings would be entirely free, as also his furniture, farm implements, stock and crops. His purchasing power for consumption would be increased 33 per cent and that of the gain of the working farmer about 25 per cent. The well to do mechanic or tradesmen[sic] whose house or store stood on his own land would feel an immense relief, although the ground tax would be slightly advanced. All his buildings, stock, furniture, etc., would go free and no one would be disturbed in his possession.

Who then would be disturbed? Why, those land grabbers and leeches of industrial capital and labor, those dogs in the manger who are holding what they have no use for only to stand between nature's gifts and productive capital and labor. Idly holding about eight-ninths of the natural advantages of the country from the use of productive capital and labor, let them pay eight-ninths of taxation. Then they will find the planet too heavy to hold, and industrial capital and labor will begin to have a show that will give work enough for all who are willing to work and protect them from being robbed.

I have seen able-bodied men working for ten hours per day with pick and shovel at $1.15 per day as section hands on railroads, and on either side of the track for miles and miles stretched the most beautiful prairie land the eye ever rested on undisturbed by plow, and not a home of settler in sight, but held by railroads, monopolists and land grabbers at $20 to $40 per acre.

When workingmen are in homes of their own, then they will listen to the teacher and preacher with pleasure and profit. In the interim they will see what virtue there is in the ballot. C. MOELLER.

Driven from Home.

Permission has been asked by a tribe of civilized Canadian Indians to settle in Alaska. The tribe numbers a thousand, and up to this year lived in a small town with schools and churches. They had erected packing houses, wharves, etc., and exported large quantities of salmon to Liverpool. But under Canadian laws these Indians cannot hold land, so that when certain land sharks applied for permission to locate on these lands, it was granted, and the Indians had either to go to Alaska or starve. The envoys from the tribe to the Canadian government came near being treated as were the representatives of the starving peasantry of France a hundred years ago—the French government built "a new gallows forty feet high" and hung them on it. In this case the Indians were thrown into prison as rebels. When the Canadian government treats the white men as it treats the red men—that is, allows none to hold land except under a rent tax system—it will see that a prosperous colony of settlers is far worthier of encouragement than a half-dozen land grabbers.

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OFF WITH THE OLD.

A DEMOCRAT ABANDONS THE SHAM DEMOCRACY.

Judge Maguire of San Francisco Formally Withdraws from the Democratic Organization, and Declares for the New Party.

The following letter from Judge James G. Maguire of the superior court of San Francisco explains itself:[15]

Sic in the original; probably "destroyed; or destroyed:".
Sic in the original; probably "tradesman".

SAN FRANCISCO, Jan 27, 1887.

To the Officers and Members of the California State Democratic Club—GENTLEMEN: I hereby tender my resignation as a member of your club.

In withdrawing, permit me to return thanks to the officers present and past for many courtesies which they have extended during our long and pleasant association.

Let me also assure the members, with whom my relations have always been most cordial, that my withdrawal is not prompted by any personal considerations, but that it is to me a painful act of duty to political principles and convictions with which the present policy of the democratic party is not in accord.

As this resignation is the final act which severs my connection with the democratic party, state and national, it is but just to you, and to all others who have stood shoulder to shoulder with me in the political battles of the past, that I should fully and frankly state the reasons which have moved me to this serious step.

Early in life I learned to reverence the name democracy, as representing all that is sublime in the political history of past ages and as connecting the best of political principles. The party bearing this sacred name being out of power at the time I reached my majority, I naturally entered its ranks, hoping and expecting that it would ever be the aggressive and intelligent champion of liberty, equality and justice, wherever and whenever these vital principles of social happiness might be either neglected or assailed. Finally our party triumphed; but, alas! it has brought no relief to our suffering people. The benefit of that triumph has amounted to no more than the distribution of a few official prizes to the friends and relatives of wealthy aristocrats and to the henchmen of political bosses. There are, of course, exceptions, but this has been the rule.

Wealth is still the standard of respectability, just as it was under republican administrations, and the rights and wishes of the great democratic masses of the country are just as completely ignored. Rival bidders for the affection of monopolists, the great national parties have become like as two peas, both in actions and principles. The great intellectual statesmen, the men of principle and courage, once the glory of our country, have been retired from our federal senate, and the people have practically ceased to be represented there. The chamber which once held that highest body of earthly legislators is now a sort of national stock exchange, wherein seats are sold to monopolists and to wealthy seekers after social standing. In the matter of sanctioning this iniquity, honors seem to be easy between the parties.

The entire solid area of our great country, including the natural opportunities of all our people—the natural resources without which none of our people can live—has been made the exclusive private property of a few thousand alien and domestic landlords, who, by virtue of the absolute control which they thus, as owners, exercise over the only means of living of our landless millions, are robbing the latter continually of from one-half to four-fifths of the fruits of their labor, and are daily driving them to lower and lower depths of slavery and helpless misery.

This is a system of human servitude just as complete as chattel slavery, and in many respects more atrocious: yet the so-called "democratic party," while claiming to be the friend of the laborer, expressly defends this system and bids for the support of those who profit by it. But these are not the only matters in which the party has been recreant. In the late democratic state convention an emissary of certain railroad corporations, who acted as a carrier of messages between his masters and the committee on platform, caused that committee to eliminate a resolution condemning the election of the president of the Central Pacific Railroad company to the United States

15. Ed. See article "Judge Maguire of San Francisco on California Land Tenure," in The Standard, Issue #001, 1887-01-08; also "First Martyr of the New Crusade: Judge Maguire on the Issue," in Issue #004, 1887-01-29, and several footnotes. (Placed approximately.)

senate, and also caused the committee to eliminate Senator Reddy's resolution upon the Chinese question, which, prior to his appearance, had been adopted. This railroad emissary received as his reward for this successful service a democratic nomination for congress. It is but just, in defense of the people, that I should add he was not elected.

I will not recount the painful history, nor dwell upon the deplorable condition of our local democracy. It is difficult to speak of this branch of the party in the language of polite correspondence. Let it here suffice to say that our local democracy is under the acknowledged dominion of a man who has been publicly charged with having openly and notoriously purchased votes on last election day. This charge has been strongly supported by the sworn and recorded testimony of several citizens; yet, although this crime against the elective franchise is a blow at the very heart of our liberty, a crime more dreadful in its consequences than murder or open treason, no citizen has yet manifested sufficient confidence in the democratic officers who are charged with conducting public prosecutions to even file a complaint against the alleged offender.

In face of this public charge and of other equally outrageous doings, as if to wantonly humiliate the state democracy and commit it to the ratification of such iniquities, the chairman and other members of the state central committee publicly serenaded this man, and the chairman thanked him and eulogized him for his *statesmanlike* services to the party during the campaign. And so I might go on *ad libitum ad nauseam usque*, but it is unnecessary.

As a self-respecting man I would feel justified and bound in honor to withdraw from a party which has fallen to such levels; but there is another and potent reason for my immediate withdrawal, which is that a new national party is being formed for the purpose of restoring the natural rights of the great landless democracy of America.

It is founded upon the idea that all men have an equal right to live, and, as a necessary consequence, that all men have at all times an equal and inalienable right to the use of the natural elements which God made and gave freely for the sustenance of human life; "that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed;" that all American citizens are entitled to equal opportunities with respect to the great natural resources of our common country; that no speculator in the natural rights of his fellow men should be permitted to prevent American citizens from making homes upon land which he does not want to use; that no landlord—alien or citizen—should be permitted to collect toll from American citizens for allowing them the privilege of using the natural and indestructible powers of our soil; that the rental value of land, which results in all cases entirely from the presence, enterprise, virtue and industry of the whole people, belongs to the whole people, and should, as a matter of common justice, be taken for public use; and that no tax, or burden of any kind, should be imposed upon commerce, agriculture, manufactures or other industries, or upon any products of human labor, as long as this rental value of land—which is the margin of production—shall be sufficient for public purposes.

To the new party, founded upon these principles, which I conceive to be the very soul and essence of true democracy, all of the time which I can henceforth give to the political service of my country will be devoted. I shall, therefore, in the next political campaign do all in my power to secure the election of Henry George, or some other land reformer, to the presidency of the United States, unless the democratic party shall in the meantime become democratic by adopting the principles which we have espoused.

Having deliberately resolved to pursue this course I desire that my position may be fully and exactly understood, so that my actions and relations with respect to political matters, shall be neither inconsistent nor ambiguous.

Sincerely trusting that our social relations may be as pleasant in the future as they have been in the past, I remain very truly and respectfully yours, JAMES G. MAGUIRE.

San Francisco. Jan. 27, 1887.

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THE STANDARD.

HENRY GEORGE, Editor and Proprietor.

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SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1887.

THE "FIGHT IN THE DARK."

The *Herald* says:

Mr. George is quite right in asserting that the strike is "a fight in the dark," and that is the very reason why we have deplored it. We don't believe that a lasting good can be accomplished for any cause by "a fight in the dark." When a laborer doesn't know whom to hit he had better wait until he can pick out his man. Don't you think so yourself, Mr. George?

Not always. When to wait is to be crushed, any action may sometimes be better than inaction, and even "a fight in the dark," if it leads to the striking of a light, may be better than stagnation.

But, to drop metaphor, I have neglected no opportunity of telling workingmen that what they had to fight, in order to accomplish anything real and lasting, was not their immediate employers, but the false and wrongful

system, which, by depriving the masses of men of the natural opportunities for the employment of their labor compelled them to struggle with one another for the chance to work. I have constantly endeavored in every way I could to throw light into the darkness; to induce men to revert to first principles, and think of these questions in a large way; to convince them that the evils which they feel are not due to the greed or wickedness of individuals, but are the result of social maladjustments, for which the whole community is responsible, and which can only be righted by general action.

Now what is the *Herald* doing?

For a generation the *Herald* has occupied the position of the leading newspaper of America. It has an enormous circulation, commands the services of men of the very first ability, and its repute for journalistic enterprise is world-wide. The *Herald* is, moreover, the fairest of all the great American dailies. It is above the temptation of participation in jobs, and, more than all, its policy is beyond the control of its advertisers. But what is *it* doing to prevent "the fight in the dark" by enlightening the multitude who daily read it? Merely giving place to a few communications, mostly inconsequential; merely telling workingmen that they ought not to strike until they clearly see the real party to hit. This is futile. When men are hard pressed by bitter evils they must push in some direction, and the only way to prevent them from pushing in the wrong direction is to show them the right.

The *Herald* does not contend that the condition of American workingmen is such as they ought to be contented with, or can be contented with. What, then, let me ask the *Herald, is* the cause of this wide-spread discontent, and what *is* its cure?

To both these questions there *must* be specific answers. I assert that the cause is the shutting out of labor from those natural materials and opportunities without which labor is helpless, and that the remedy is in the restoration to labor of access to these materials and opportunities, by breaking up the monopolization of land and securing to all equal rights in the bounty of their Creator.

If I am right let the *Herald* say so. If I am wrong let it point out how and why. Or, if it can make a better diagnosis of the disease and prescribe a better remedy, let it do so. At any rate, let it no longer ignore the fact there are many of us—and our numbers are rapidly increasing—who see clearly that the monopoly of land is the true cause of the evils which it acknowledges to exist, and that in the concentration of taxes on land values lies the adequate and peaceful remedy.

For this the *Herald* does quietly ignore. In another of its breezy articles it says:

> Show the community how the laboring class can be helped, Mr. George, and every man in New York, from the bank president to the car driver, will load you with thanks. But for heaven's sake don't talk in this nineteenth century about "a fight in the dark." It is unworthy of an honest or an earnest or a clear headed thinker.
>
> Hold your mass meetings, workingmen, and tell us, article by article, what will permanently benefit you, and the whole press of the country will back you up.

This is refreshing. I *have* told the community how the laboring class can be helped, and the car drivers *have* loaded me with thanks. But as for the bank presidents—I am sure that the *Herald* will agree that their treatment of me has been marked by what must seem to it ingratitude of the deepest dye!

So, the workingmen of New York *have* held their mass meetings, and *did* in the Clarendon hall[16] piatform[39] of September last declare what would permanently benefit them. Since then their brethren of Boston, Philadelphia,

Cincinnati and other cities have adopted the same platform. Will the *Herald* tell them that the whole press of the country is backing them up?

It is folly to tell workingmen that they ought not to strike because strikes can only injure them. Not only are there many workingmen who have nothing to lose, but it is a matter of fact that strikes and the fear of strikes have secured to large bodies of them considerable increase of wages,

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considerable reduction in working hours, much mitigation of the petty tyrannies that can be practised with impunity where one man holds in his hands control of the livelihood of another, and have largely promoted the growth of fraternal feeling in the various trades. The greater number of strikes fail; but even the strike that fails, though its immediate object is lost, generally leaves employers indisposed for another such contest, and makes them more cautious of provoking fresh difficulties. The whole power of the trades union for good or for evil rests on the strike; without that as a last resort it could neither hold its own members together, nor treat with employers.

Nor is it so strange as some pretend that one body of workmen without any special grievance of their own should strike to help another. The immediate purpose of a strike is to inflict damage upon opposing employers, and there are many cases in which employers who could defy their own workmen can be seriously hurt by pressure exerted upon them through the medium of other employers with whom they have business relations. To be sure, third parties, who have no direct interest in the quarrel, suffer, and frequently the greatest sufferers are the men who thus go out to help their fellows. But if the strike be thus made more costly, its results, in causing employers to hesitate before engaging in another such contest, are likely to be more decisive and more effective. And men may strike, as men fight, in a quarrel not originally their own, either as a matter of sentiment or from the more selfish consideration that they thus make alliances that will render them stronger in any quarrels of their own; or, as is generally the case, from the mingling of both motives.

And when men are willing to stop work and submit to loss and suffering in the effort to aid their fellows, does it not show heroism of the same kind as that which prompts men to risk their lives in battle for those weaker than themselves? Those who condemn the strike of the freight-handlers in aid of the coal-trimmers must, if they be logical and assume the standpoint of workingmen, condemn the aid which the French gave to the struggling American republic.

As for the morality of strikes it is precisely that of any other application of coercive force. They who really hold that “whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also;” and “if any man will take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also;” they who hold that the command, “Thou shalt not kill,” applies as well to the man in uniform as to the man in plain clothes, might with some consistency condemn strikes; but they alone. If there are any such people, they are not to be found in the editorial rooms of our great dailies or the pulpits of our fashionable churches. On the contrary, the loudest denouncers of strikes—those who declare that they ought to be put down by force if necessary—are to be found among the class who have grown rich by extortion backed by force.

A favorite platitude, now finding wide expression in the American press, is that although men have an unquestioned right to stop work themselves they have no right to coerce others into stopping work, and the disposition of workingmen to do this when they are on strike is denounced as not merely wicked in the highest degree, but as un-American.

Sic in the original; probably “platform”.

16. Ed. The Clarendon Hall platform is in Post and Leubuscher, Henry George’s 1886 Campaign, Chapter I, online at http://henrygeorgethestandard.org/pdf/HG-Post-Leubuscher-HG-1886-Campaign-annotated.pdf; See also references in The Standard of 1887-01-22 and 1887-01-29.

This is nonsense. When our forefathers struck against England, they not merely struck themselves, but compelled every one else they could to join them, first by "moral suasion," which amounted to ostracism, and then by such measures as tarring and feathering, harrying and shooting; and when they boycotted the East India company's tea they were not content with simply refusing to drink it themselves, but threw it into the sea, so that nobody else could drink it.

A strike can only amount to anything in so far as it is coercive, and whatever workingmen may say they must of necessity feel that is only by exerting[sic] some form of pressure upon those disposed to go to work that a strike can accomplish anything. For the most part, so far, this pressure has been a moral one, and the penalty of being held in contempt as "scabs" has been sufficient to induce men to undergo actual suffering rather than assert what the denouncers of strikes declare to be the unalienable right of every American citizen. But admonitions are not wanting that in these industrial wars—for they are nothing else—there is a growing disposition to resort to more violent measures. And whether right or wrong the growth of this disposition is natural.

"Every one has a right to work or not as he pleases, but no one has a right to prevent any one else from going to work." That is true. But is it a truth that applies only to strikers?

The fact is, that it is because we ignore this truth that trades unions are made necessary and strikes come. The fact is, that the very men who are now calling so loudly for the maintenance, by the bayonet if necessary, of the liberty to work are the most strenuous supporters of a system which denies the liberty to work.

How is it that a land, like ours, abounding in unused natural resources, is filled with unemployed men? Is it not because of the power which our laws give to some men to prevent other men from going to work?

Let the striking laborers of New York city accept the dictum that no man has a right to prevent another from going to work. Let them turn from attempts to compel their former employers to employ them, and where shall they go to employ themselves? Where can they go that they will not find some one, backed by law and force, who forbids them to work? There is plenty of unused land in the upper part of the city. Let them go upon this land and attempt to employ their labor in building houses. How long

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will it be before they are warned off? Let them cross the East river, the North river or the Harlem. They will find everywhere unused fields on which, without interference with any man, they might employ their labor in making a living for themselves and all dependent on them. But they will not find a field, though they tramp for a thousand miles, on which some one has not the legal right to prevent their going to work. What is left them to do but to beg for the wages of some employer? And if, to prevent being crushed by competition of others like themselves, they strive, even by force, to keep others from going to work, is theirs the blame?

The very worst the strikers do or think of doing is to prevent others from going to work, in order that they themselves may work—may earn a scanty living by hard toil. But what are the dogs-in-the-manger doing who are holding unused city lots. farm lands[sic], mines and forests—the natural opportunities, in short, that nature offers to labor?

They are preventing other people from working, not that they may work themselves, but that they may live in idleness on what those who want to work are compelled to pay them for the privilege of going to work. If the freight handlers and coal trimmers and other laborers were to form societies which should by force prevent any one from going to work without their permission; were to charge the highest price for the privilege of going to

Sic in the original; probably "feel that it is only by exerting".
Sic in the original; probably "unused city lots, farm lands".

work which the necessities of others could compel them to pay, and were then to sit down and live in idleness on this blackmail, they would only be doing to others what organized society permits others to do to them.

It seems hopeless to expect the classes who imagine they profit by this primary wrong to open their eyes to the real cause of these labor troubles, but when the workingmen do so, the day of their emancipation is at hand. Every one of these strikes ought to show them where the real trouble lies. In the great strikes that have been going on in New York, as in all great strikes, the real difficulty the strikers have had to contend with is the influx of unemployed labor. The men with whom the coal companies and the steamship companies have supplied the places of the strikers in New York and vicinity are men drawn from the country by the prospect of work, or men who, after vainly tramping the country have crowded into the city. If there was a brisk demand for labor in the country there would be no such surplus of labor, anxious for work on any terms, on which employers could draw; and that there is not such a demand for labor is due simply to the fact that laborers are prevented by the monopoly of natural opportunities from employing themselves.

Here is the point on which the efforts of labor should be concentrated. The platform of the united labor party of New York strikes the key note. In the ballot the workingmen have in their hands the power of so adjusting taxes as to make the dogs-in-the-manger let go their hold. When this is done there will be no necessity for strikes, and competition, instead of crushing the laborer, will secure to him the fair reward of his toil.

HENRY GEORGE.

A WORLD WIDE QUESTION.

The extreme importance of the position taken by Dr. McGlynn in denying the right of bishop, propaganda or pope to dictate or question his political action as an American citizen is illustrated by what is now going on in Germany.

Bismarck has for years maintained an attitude of hostility to Catholicism, and by his influence laws have been enacted which Catholics there regard as very oppressive; the result has been the formation of a strong Catholic party, known as the center, and led by an able Catholic politician, Dr. Windthorst[17]. Germany is now in the throes of a most important contest. Bismarck had set his heart upon the passage of a bill known as the septennate bill, providing for the renewal for seven years of the right which the government has since the last war possessed, of determining what shall be the size, annual cost and disposition of the army; in other words, continuing the virtual despotism which, under the garb of constitutionalism, has existed in Germany for some years. The bill was amended so as to give the required powers for three years instead of seven, and in this shape was passed, whereupon Bismarck, who had threatened to do so if the original bill was not passed, dissolved the parliament and appealed to the country at large to return members who would do as he wished.

The bill has, of course, met with the strenuous opposition of all who have any regard for constitutional liberty. The two parties which offer the strongest organized resistance are the Catholic, or center party, led by Dr. Windhorst[sic], and the socialist party.

To weaken the socialist strength in the coming elections Bismarck has resorted to acts of violence which fall little short of a dragonnade. The socialists are being arbitrarily arrested, their meetings broken up and their leaders

17. Ed. Baron Ludwig Windthorst (1812-1891), was a German politician and leader of the Catholic Centre Party, the most notable opponent of Chancellor Otto von Bismarck during the Prussian-led unification of Germany and the Kulturkampf. Anderson argues that he was "Imperial Germany's greatest parliamentarian," one who bears comparison with Irishmen Daniel O'Connell and Charles Stewart Parnell "in his handling of party machinery and his relation to the masses." See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Ludwig_Windthorst
Sic in the original; probably "Dr. Windthorst".

imprisoned or expelled from the country. To prevent the opposition of the Catholics he has resorted to a subtler device, and by sending an emissary to Rome has secured the co-operation of the papal authorities. Whether this co-operation has been secured by promises of German support to the dream of the re-establishment of the temporal power of the pope, or whether, as is largely believed in Germany, it has been bought by the present of an enormous sum of money, cannot of course now be known; but Cardinal Jacobini has addressed a letter to the papal nuncio at Munich, which is in effect a manifesto to the Catholics of Germany, ordering them in the name of the pope to support Bismarck's septennate, on the ground that it embraces religious and moral considerations, and that the pope desires to meet the views of Emperor William

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and Prince Bismarck, and thereby "induce the powerful German empire to improve the condition of the papacy."

Bishop Kopp of Fulda, who has heretofore been one of the intermediaries between Bismarck and Rome, has been authorized to declare that the holy father's advice to the Catholics of Germany is to "follow Bismarck's lead," and as a mark of the confidence imposed in Dr. Kopp[sic] at the vatican it is announced that he is to be promoted to the archbishopric of Breslau. The veteran Dr. Windthorst and the ablest and best of the Catholic leaders do not take kindly to being sold out in this fashion, and have in effect planted themselves on O'Connell's declaration that they want "no politics from Rome." In his speech at Cologne on Saturday Dr. Windthorst declared substantially that the Catholics of Germany knew what was good for them a great deal better than the pope, and that the center party would fight Bismarck to the bitter end. But it is probable that the papal influence exerted through subservient bishops and dependent priests will be influential enough upon the mass of German Catholics to give Bismarck the victory.

As we learn through the special dispatches to the *Staats-Zeitung* of this city, one of the leading Catholic papers, *Germania*, supports Dr. Windthorst, and declares that if German Catholics would save their political independence they must oppose the septennate, even though they oppose the pope; but a majority of the German Catholic papers, characterized by the same subserviency that governs the majority of American Catholic journals, have already gone to rightabout, declaring that all true sons of the kingdom and the church must defer to the pope and obey his wishes.

AN EYE TO BUSINESS.

Secretary Manning has an eye to business. When congress asked him whether certain moneys "had been expended in issuing treasury notes of large denomination in lieu of small denominations cancelled or retired," it did not expect in reply a business circular from the prospective president of a new national bank; but that is what it got.

The greenbacks, of which three hundred and forty-six millions are still in circulation, have long been an eyesore to national bankers, and Mr. Manning's communication to congress is little else than a plea for their retirement. At the close of the war this policy was pursued until congress put an end to it by a law which Mr. Manning begs shall be repealed. To accommodate him would involve a contraction of the volume of currency thirty per cent and increase the burden of every outstanding private debt. But that, although he does not say it, is precisely what Mr. Manning wants, or what, as president of a national bank, his stockholders expect him to want; for it would drive debtors in shoals to the banks for relief, and money and its equivalents would command a high premium. As national banks are money manufacturers, such a state of affairs would do for them what duties on iron do for iron manufacturers.

Sic in the original; probably "confidence reposed in Dr. Kopp".

National bank currency is guaranteed by the government, therefore it passes everywhere at par as money. It would pass as well if issued direct by the government, as greenbacks are; but then there would be no profit for the banks. Under the system as it exists, bonds payable in 1907, and which are worth $1.28 in the market, are worth $1.90 to the banks. Upon depositing at Washington one hundred thousand dollars (par) in bonds, a bank is entitled to have its notes to the extent of ninety thousand dollars guaranteed by the government. This guarantee makes them in effect current money, and the banks lend them to the people at interest while drawing interest from the government on its deposited bonds. Its income therefore is on a basis in rough of one hundred and ninety thousand dollars for every one hundred and twenty-eight thousand dollars of its investment.

A small tax somewhat modifies these figures; but the important fact remains that national banks manufacture loanable money out of nothing. The advantage to them of such a contraction of greenback currency as would induce high rates of interest to embarrassed borrowers is obvious, and as Mr. Manning is about to start such a bank the motive of his appeal to congress is obvious also.

Greenback currency, instead of being contracted, should be expanded, and substituted for national bank currency. This would be beneficial to every public interest and to every legitimate private interest; it would vest the sovereign function of creating money where it belongs—in the people,—and nothing but the private monopoly of manufacturing money would be prejudiced. It might be a bad thing for Mr. Manning's business enterprise, but it would be a good thing for the country.

NEW TIMES, NEW TEACHINGS.

> POUGHKEEPSIE, Feb. 9.—Somebody sends me a copy of yesterday's *Evening Post*, marking in blue pencil an excerpt from the London *Times*, in which your proposed land tax is characterized as "a lopsided monstrosity," "an apparently transparent fallacy." Leaving aside the barbarous English it is written in, the *Times* article surprises me, because I distinctly recall that some five years ago, in a long review of "Progress and Poverty," the same paper, after setting out with the admission that you had written a book which could no longer *be ignored, repeatedly* conceded that the existing system of land tenure contravened natural lustice. If the *Times* was right then, how can its present treatment of the same question be accounted for? I clip out the article and inclose it herewith.[18]
>
> H. C. N.

Easily enough. Five years ago land nationalization seemed but a curious speculation, safely remote from the domain of practical politics. To-day it is a burning question, not only in this country, but in Great Britain. The London *Times* is read, in the main, by people who look with aversion on any proposal of change in existing social conditions—an aversion that grows into horror just in proportion as such change becomes imminent. You could

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hardly expect the *Times* to fly in the very faces of its readers. Moreover, the article of four or five years ago was only a review article, a very different thing from an editorial. A reviewer is always allowed some latitude as to what he may say. He may, to some extent, neglect the precautions which editorial responsibility involves; but to some extent only, for the very review you recall would, of course, be out of the question to-day.

The English of the *Times* article you send us is certainly slipshod. The article is probably not an editorial. Its faults of style are due to faults of thought. The writer stumbles over himself every other sentence—the inevitable penalty of confusion and dishonesty.

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18. Ed. G. B. is probably Gaybert Barnes. (Placed approximately.)

The same necessities restrict the utterances of the *Evening Post*, from which you clip the article. Take any number of that paper—take the copy you have—and glance at its advertising columns. You will see that neither the people who advertise nor the people who are advertised at can prudently be ignored in the conduct of their paper. Let us look at these eight or ten columns of advertisements. What is all this space daily devoted to? To these things: French tapestry, champagne, pianos; auctions of paintings, porcelains, bronzes, rugs, real estate, stocks and bonds; legal notices, dividend notices, investment notices; real estate for sale, to let and to exchange; advertisements of select schools, of amusements, of steamships and railroads; proposals for bonds and stocks; bankers' and brokers' cards. Now, the people who pay for these adverments and the other people who read them belong to the comfortable classes, who either think not at all of the wretched among their fellow creatures, or think of them with contempt and aversion. In any espousal of the cause of the poor the editors of the *Post* would run counter to the prejudices of the very people who sustain that paper. Besides, it is only fair to make allowance for the fact that self-deception is the easiest of all deceptions, since men readily believe what it seems their interest to believe.

G. B.

ABOUT THE STANDARD.

If there were any doubt as to the existence of a real and lively public interest in questions of radical social reform, that doubt should be dispelled by the success which has attended the publication of this paper.

Issuing its first number only six weeks ago, THE STANDARD has already reached a paid circulation of FORTY THOUSAND copies, with every indication of a steady and permanent increase. It has as yet, of course, next to no income from advertising; but it has, from circulation alone, paid its way from the first number. This means a great deal.

It means that there is among us a sufficient number of people who *think* to support a journal devoted largely to the discussion of social questions. It means that at least a large minority of the American people realize that the wailings and complainings and muttered threats and blind strugglings of the workers of the nineteenth century are not to be quieted with platitudinous eulogies of "things as they are," but must be heeded, and relieved by measures of radical reform, lest a worse thing befall us. It means that men are studying the causes of poverty with a determination to seek and apply the remedy.

Not every one of the hundred thousand readers of the STANDARD thinks as the STANDARD does. We wish they did; we hope they will; but for the present we are amply satisfied in knowing that there is such a large number of thinking men. For truth is reached by thinking.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM.

> *Henry George*—DEAR SIR: From some recent official utterances of sundry labor organizations it would appear that there is a strange misunderstanding on the part of a large number of wage workers in regard to the nature and purpose of the work in which this association is engaged.[19]
>
> To many of us it seems that the open field which it is proposed to make of the public service, limited only by competency on the part of the men to be selected for the performance of its various functions, and not by *their social position or accumulated property*, is one of the strongest characteristics of the movement. and one that should commend[sic] it to the intelligent citizen, whatever his position in social or business life.

19. Ed. The elevated roads, that is, the "els" – elevated streetcar tracks. (Placed approximately.)

> At a recent meeting of our executive committee I was requested to communicate with you, and ask whether you would welcome to your columns communications intended to set forth fairly the object of the civil service reform movement; that which it has to this date accomplished, and that to which it hopes, at no distant day, to attain. Yours truly,
>
> WILLIAM POTTS, SEC.

THE STANDARD will print anything that seems of public interest if correspondents will be brief; but does not consider the matter of enough importance to give much space to the advocacy of civil service reform.

Whether subordinate public officials shall be appointed for political services, or whether they shall be appointed according to the ability with which they pass an examination, is a matter of little moment as compared with the question whether we shall or shall not have a host of totally unnecessary offices to fill. The best civil service reform would consist in abolishing the thousands of offices for which there is really no use, and in removing the temptations to moneyed interests to corrupt politics and bribe officials. This I am and have been engaged in advocating to the best of my ability. I would sweep away the whole customs service and its horde of officials, and the internal revenue service as well; I would abolish the offices held by nine-tenths of the tax collectors of various kinds who are now engaged in collecting state and municipal revenues. And these reforms would do away with the greater part of the present temptations to invest money in controlling elections, debauching legislators and bribing officials. If the civil service reformers would put some energy into this work, they could accomplish far more for the purification of government than they can by advocating any particular system of appointments. The kind of

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civil service reform which the civil service reform association urges is good within certain limits; but applied to a vast army of unnecessary officials, it would really be an evil, since it would make the abolition of their offices more difficult.

H. G.

THE *Herald*, in opposing a reduction of teachers' salaries, has brought to light a fact that ought to make the board of education blush, if it knows how. By a rule of the board, when the average attendance in a class falls off, the teacher's salary is reduced accordingly. If the salary were a fortune this would be wrong, and as it is but a pittance the wrong only lacks technical elements to make it robbery. Morally it is extortion. The teacher's salary is fixed, and so long as she is blameless she is in all conscience entitled to it, whether pupils come or not. The rule has not the poor excuse that it bases compensation on attendance; for while a slim attendance reduces the salary a large one does not increase it. It is a fine upon the teacher for what she cannot help, and would not be submitted to if natural opportunities for labor were not so "cornered" that the privilege of working on any terms is eagerly sought. Thousands are willing and able to step into a teacher's place, and the teacher must submit to any outrage rather than take her chances in the swelling ranks of the unemployed.

A RELIGIOUS paper says "We like to count our acres and square miles," and the heart of its editor leaps with joy at the thought that Texas is larger than Germany, and Florida larger than England. If the editor has any acres or square miles to count he is to be congratulated; but let him not exult at the vastness of Texas. Large as Texas is, it affords room for only a few landlords. They, too, like to count their acres and square miles.

PASSENGERS on the elevated roads are often puzzled to understand the reticence of the employes. If there is a break-down or accident of any kind the lips of these men are sealed. Some attribute this to orders prohibiting the

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Sic in the original; probably "of the movement, and one that".

giving of information; others, less charitable to the men, attribute it to churlishness. The truth is that elevated railroad employes are at all times in a state of terrorism. Men are frequently laid off without notice, cause or explanation. They are helpless against the power of the "boss," for, inasmuch as their work does not require special skill, a strike would be futile. If the engineers would stand by them they might be more independent; but the engineers' union is an anomaly among labor organizations. It is organized on what its leader calls a "business" basis, which, being interpreted, is a selfish basis. It matters not to that body if other workmen starve, or how much they are oppressed, so long as men like Chauncey M. Depew[20] will publicly call Mr. Arthur a good boy.

THE two old parties in Massachusetts appear to be equally hostile to the working people.That stalwart[sic] republican organ, the *Journal*, denounces organized labor as "organized idleness," while the democratic organ, the *Post*, declares that the men engaged in the great New York strike have forfeited all claim to public sympathy. The next time the workingmen of Massachusetts are called on to vote, they will, perhaps, prefer to support their own candidates, instead of those of the parties represented by such papers.

THE *Star's* "Man About Town," in the course of an item about a street car ride, says: "I, as usual, stood on the back platform discussing the labor question with an intelligent conductor." If the editor of the *Star* would do that sometimes he might learn something.

ACCORDING to the southern press, the south is booming. Speculators and mining syndicates are buying thousands of acres of land, part of which they will retain for the sake of the minerals, and part of which they will lease to laborers and storekeepers when the little towns begin to grow. The Tuskaloosa (Ala.) *Gazette* just now is congratulating itself and Tuskaloosans generally that an iron, coal and land company has bought up all the land between Tuskaloosa and the nearest railway, and made the biggest grab in that line that has been heard of in that part of Alabama.

THE ignorance of a newspaper that does not want to know is amusing. Just now railway organs are solemnly warning legislatures against passing laws abolishing stoves in passenger cars, on the ground that no other method of heating has been discovered. Heating by steam from the locomotive has been introduced on many roads, and there are more than a million people in this city who are familiar with the system, since all trains on the elevated roads are thus heated. Yet a railway organ, no further away than Philadelphia, declares that stoves are the only device for heating trains.

THE price of the *Leader* has been advanced to two cents, and, as we are glad to learn, without diminishing its circulation. This shows that the working people of New York intend to make the *Leader* a success, and are willing to pay a fair price for it. This is as it should be. The fact is that newspapers that are sold below the cost of production are dependent on their advertisers, and thus become subservient to their interests. The result of this is seen in the attitude of nearly the whole daily press toward the great labor movement. Many of these papers have lost thousands of readers because of the just resentment of workingmen, but as this fact was concealed their advertising patronage was not affected, and so they were able to persist in their unfairness. Had they been wholly dependent on their readers for support they would not have dared to insult and outrage so many of them.

To the Saviors of Society.

O ye fond fools, who daily strut abroad To wag the saucy, nonsense breeding tongue 'Mid the low thunder of a people's wrong, Deeming the oily platitudes outpoured From your poor shallow brains as wisdom stored! Ye

20. Ed. Chauncey Mitchell Depew (1834-1928) was an attorney for Cornelius Vanderbilt's railroad interests, president of the New York Central Railroad System, and a United States Senator from New York from 1899 to 1911. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Chauncey_Depew.
Sic in the original; probably "working people. That stalwart".

saviors! ye annointed[sic]! sent among The masses, whom man's cruelty has stung To noble protest. Pharisaic horde! Paid puppets of a ring which bars the way To great reforms the people mean to have! The night has passed, the dawn is here: the day Shall come, when man shall cease to slave, And dark inhuman laws be swept away, And freedom's banner o'er the whole earth wave.

HENRY ANCKETILL. *Hudson, N. Y., Feb. 8, 1887.*

So Slavery is Abolished, is It?

A woolen mill in Pittsfield, Mass., has a contract with a boarding house to furnish it with a certain number of boarders, and if the employes of this mill will not board with this man they are turned out of employment immediately. The boarding house is one of the worst kind according to reports, and some of the girls are in poor health and cannot put up with the treatment they receive.

Sic in the original; probably "anointed".

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THE WEEK.

The republican politicians of this city are looking forward with much interest to the banquet to be given at Delmonico's on this (Saturday) evening. The ostensible purpose is to celebrate Lincoln's birthday, but the real object is to bring this new political club to the front as the successor to the old fogy Union league in "running" the party. James G. Blaine is likely to be the principal figure at the banquet, and both of the Shermans, the general and the senator, will be on hand. It is supposed that a majority of the club favor Blaine as the party's next presidential candidate; but it is said that some of them incline toward Chauncey M. Depew, the leather-tongued and lily-handed laborer who presides over the New York Central railroad. Some of these astute politicians express a fear that, as a railway president, Mr. Depew may be regarded as objectionable by the Knights of Labor. The objection is met by the suggestion that as Mr. Depew furnishes baths, books, etc., to the Central employes, where low wages do not permit them to buy such things for themselves, the fact that he is at the head of a great and oppressive corporation may be overlooked. Such chatter is interesting as indicating the estimate that politicians put on the intelligence of workingmen. Precisely why workers should feel any interest in either Blaine or Depew, or any preference between them, is something that it will bother the Delmonico banqueters to point out.

Z. A. Helfer, a commercial traveler from this city, was arrested in Montgomery, Ala., on Monday night, for failure to pay a tax of $10 to the state and $5 to the county. He was found guilty next morning and had to pay a fine and costs amounting to [$55?]. As soon as he had paid he was rearrested for trying to bribe the officer who arrested him, and on this charge he was bound over to await the action of the grand jury. The dispatches do not announce that he was trying to introduce any noxious commodity into Montgomery, so this seems but another manifestation of the protective idea as applied to home trade. Perhaps if Helfer tries to introduce merchandise into Montgomery after this experience the local shopkeepers will hang him.

The attempt to negotiate a treaty between the democratic dog and its tail has apparently resulted in utter failure. Randall[21] and his followers recently proposed a new attempt at agreement to the majority. Carlisle, Morrison and their followers sent back the measure proposed by the Randallites, with certain amendments providing for reduction of both tariff and internal revenue taxes. In case these amendments were not accepted they proposed to the others either to submit the whole question to a party caucus or to agree to support a motion to go into committee of the whole on Randall's own bill. To this perfectly fair proposition Randall made no reply, but he fixed up a letter requesting Speaker Carlisle to recognize some member, last Monday, to move to suspend the rules and offer a bill repealing the tax on tobacco. Carlisle refused this request, and Randall in publishing a reply stating why he cannot assent to the proposed tariff changes, refuses to join in a caucus, and professes to be considering the proposal to have the matter brought before the whole house. Both profess to regard a reduction of taxation as entirely necessary, and neither will surrender anything to secure it. The Carlisle men really believe in tariff reduction, and the Randall men believe, on the other hand, that they will lose their seats if they cease to defy their

21. Ed. Samuel J. Randall (1828-1890), Congressman from Philadelphia and Speaker of the House (1876-1881); see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Samuel_J._Randall. John G. Carlisle (1834-1910) was Speaker in 1883; see http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_G._Carlisle.

party, and they prefer their seats. Meanwhile the country suffers from the rule of a party held together by party prejudices and not united on any vital question of to-day.

Senator Beck[22]'s bill making it unlawful for congressmen to act as lawyers for corporations chartered by congress or holding land grants was practically defeated in the senate. In committee of the whole Senator Hoar offered an amendment under which any member may be employed as a lawyer unless he has cause to believe that measures specially affecting the interests of his client are or will be pending in congress during his term of office. This amendment was agreed to by a vote of 26 to 21. It would be as well to have no law on the subject at all. Any congressman who was stupid enough to believe, in the face of a proffered fee, that measures affecting his client's interest would come before congress during his term would lack the mental and moral qualifications that monopolies require of their attorneys. Such a congressman needs no prohibitory law. No corporation would want to retain him, and if any did he would be too sentimentally honest to accept the retainer.

The work of getting rid of the surplus by raising a war excitement and appropriating money for coast defences and naval vessels goes gaily on in congress, encouraged by shouts of approval from the monopolistic newspapers. The naval committee of the house has accepted without amendment its sub-committee's bill, appropriating $2,450,000 to begin the construction of four gunboats and one torpedo boat. The conferrees on the fortification bill listened eagerly last week to inventors of a multi-charge gun and a revolving tower, and, what is more to the purpose, to a number of iron manufacturers. Mr. Evarts has introduced a bill authorizing the purchase of John Ericsson's "Destroyer" and ten enlarged steel vessels of the same type.

All this was as but child's play, however, to Monday's work, when the senate took up the two house bills appropriating $21,000,000 for modern ordnance and coast defenses, and, after slight amendments, passed them without debate or division. The gun factory provided for in one of these bills is to be at the Washington navy yard, and it will doubtless give employment to those workmen who have political influence with members of the old parties.

The bill, as it comes from the senate, has been referred to the committee on appropriations, and as Mr. Randall is hostile to the measure there is some hope that it may fail in the house.

Meanwhile, no opportunity to offer a pretext for this extravagant and needless belligerent preparation is missed. Secretary Manning, with necessary clerical assistance, has issued a manifesto denouncing the action of the Canadian authorities; Perry Belmont's bill is still pending in the house, and Mr. [Reed?] of Maine has introduced for his colleague, Mr. Dingley, a bill inflicting severe penalties on any Canadian vessel caught fishing in American waters. Mr. Edmunds has presented to the senate a list of sixty-seven outrages on American fishermen in addition to those reported by the state department.

But all of this bluster about a difficulty that could be settled in an hour by a treaty of ten lines absolutely just to both countries falls rather flat. The people somehow will not believe that we shall go to war to enable Yankee vessel owners to keep up the price of fish, and hence an apparently brand new casus belli[23] was welcomed with flaming headlines by the newspapers last week.

The Spanish minister at Washington recently told a reporter of an Havana newspaper that unless negotiations for carrying out a reciprocity treaty between Spain and the United States shall reach a favorable result by March 1 he favors coercion and reprisals. This was published in Havana, telegraphed [to this country?] and made much of. It is said

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22. Ed. James B. Beck (1822-1890), Congressman and Senator from Kentucky. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/James_B._Beck.
23. Ed. Casus belli: Justification for acts of war.

that the state department does not know what to make of it, but the absurdity of the threat leads people outside of official position to conclude that the minister has been making an ass of himself, and will probably soon be recalled.

In response to inquiry by the house as to whether any national banks are lending money to be repaid only in gold, Secretary Manning curtly replied that there was no information in his department on the subject. Hitherto it has been supposed that the department knew as much about national banks as the banks knew about the department. It certainly has means by which it can find out, and the letter in question is evasive and disrespectful.

However, Mr. Manning cares but little about the house. It is now definitely announced that he is coming to New York to become president of the new "Western national bank," and that U. S. Treasurer Jordan is coming with him to be vice-president of the institution. Mr. Weaver has been talking of having Mr. Manning impeached, but as the secretary is shortly to retire, he is not likely to press the project. It does not in the least matter who goes into the treasury under existing circumstances—he will be the right hand of the banks and of Wall street.

The president signed the interstate commerce bill last week, and Washington is now filled with gossip as to what commissioners will be appointed. Mr. Thurman has been spoken of, but he authorizes the statement that he would not accept that or any other office.

The New York chamber of commerce have recommended Mr. Hepburn, who was chairman of the committee that made the exposure of the railroad rascalities in this state. Mr. Kernan of Utica, one of the New York railroad commissioners, is also spoken of, as has been Wm. O. McDowell of New Jersey, who will be remembered as Mr. Powderly's adviser in his negotiations with Gould during the southwestern strike.

If you scratch a senator you find a railroad attorney—generally. The senate judiciary committee reported a substitute for the house joint resolution for investigating the books and methods of the Pacific railroads, but Hoar and Hale managed to have the consideration of any measure whatever postponed.

Though both houses of congress could agree without debate on the expenditure of $21,000,000 for useless war preparations, they have utterly failed to agree on the bill to repeal the timber pre-emption and desert land laws, though it has been clearly shown that those statutes are made the instruments of constant frauds and land grabbing by monopolists and speculators.

Cassius M. Clay[24,25] is nothing if not in deadly earnest. He has heard that a cargo of English-Australian rabbits is at sea bound for the United States, and he writes in great excitement to the president that "it would be better to have pleuro-pneumonia, smallpox and cholera all over the United States than to suffer the ravages which will result from the importation of these rabbits." The letter was referred to the treasury department, which it is apparently assumed knows more about rabbits than it professes to know about national banks.

However it may be with these over-prolific pests, the rabbits, the house has passed a bill to prohibit the importation of foreign contract labor, which, if it becomes law, is likely to prove as useless as existing laws.

On Monday Mr. Springer of Illinois, in the house, moved to suspend the rules and pass the excellent senate bill remitting all private claims to the court of claims; but as this would relieve congressmen from the blandishments of many lobbyists at one stroke, of course the necessary two-thirds majority could not be had.

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24. Ed. Cassius Marcellus Clay (1810-1903), nicknamed "The Lion of White Hall", was an emancipationist from Madison County, Kentucky, United States who served as the American minister to Russia. He was a cousin of Henry Clay and Alabama governor Clement Comer Clay. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cassius_Marcellus_Clay_(politician)

25. Ed. A croft is a fenced or enclosed area of land, usually small and arable with a crofter's dwelling thereon. A crofter is one who has tenure and use of the land, typically as a tenant farmer. The word croft . . . is now most familiar in Scotland, most crofts being in the Highlands and Islands area. See http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Crofter. (Placed approximately.)

The senate has issued a kind of manifesto concerning the rejection of Matthews, declaring that it does not inquire whether a man is white or black when his name comes before it. Some newspaper smartly calls this a plea of color blindness. The senators knew very well the color of Matthews, and some democrats voted against him simply because he is black, and republicans did the same because they deny the right of a black man to be anything but a republican.

The president has signed the bill allotting lands in severalty to Indians, a measure in the interest of land grabbing speculators, and which the Indians have strongly protested against.

The republicans in the Indiana legislature have decided to make no attempt to elect Harrison United States senator, but they have prepared a memorial, to be presented to the senate, declaring the illegality of Turpie's election and demanding his rejection.

The prolonged deadlock in the New Jersey legislature continues, and both sides pretend to be confident of victory. It is believed that the decisive struggle will take place next Wednesday. Legislative work is at a standstill during the quarrel over the senatorship.

The gallant fight against Standard Oil politics continues in West Virginia. On last Monday, for the first time since the balloting began, the twelve anti-monopoly democrats who refuse to support Camden, the Standard Oil and railway candidate, were able to agree on a policy. They vote solidly for some one candidate, but change from day to day to give the republicans a chance to elect some one other than Camden if they choose. The republicans, however, are more likely to go over to Camden than to vote for an anti-monopolist. The opposition to Camden appears to grow firmer.

Judge Finletter of Philadelphia refused last week the petition of the City Trust and Safe Deposit and Surety company "for designation and authority to become sole surety in bonds and undertakings entered into in said court." The judge said the commonwealth is entitled to more than the mere money security—is entitled to have the man in court. The system proposed to be established is one that simply means that men may commit crimes and pay money for them, the only question being how much money they would have to pay and how much the corporation would make out of it.

The Philadelphia presbytery has voted to strike out from the confession of faith the declaration that "the man may not marry any of his wife's kindred nearer in blood than he may of his own, nor the woman any of the husband's kindred nearer in blood than of her own." Few people knew that the Presbyterians had so absurd a rule.

All propositions to sell or lease the Philadelphia gas works to private parties have been abandoned. The attempt seems to have been a barefaced job in the interests of the dominant ring.

The district attorney of Luzerne county, Penna., will at once bring criminal proceedings against 36 democratic and 23 republican delegates to political conventions for accepting bribes. There seems to be urgent need for a new party in Luzerne.

By a vote of 16 to 10 the Alabama state senate has requested the congressmen from that state to vote for the Blair bill.

A poor wretch attempted suicide by cutting his throat in Washington on Monday. He

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said that failure to obtain work, worry over his wife and child, for whom he could not provide, and hunger moved him to the act. The man will be punished if he recovers for daring to try illegally to leave a world on which he had no legal right to a livelihood.

The *Herald* prints a dispatch from Louisville declaring that Kentucky democrats are dividing into two hostile camps, in preparation for a great contest next winter between Speaker Carlisle and Senator Beck for the seat in the senate now held by the latter. The *Herald* correspondent says the local journals are ignoring this matter. This information might go under the caption: "Unimportant, even if True."

The Highland reform league of Glasgow, Scotland, which has for its primary purpose the securing of the rights of the people in the land, is raising funds to enable it to prosecute the land war. The money is to be used for the relief of those crofters who are in immediate distress and those workers who may suffer persecution for their participation in the movement.

The ideas of the land and labor clubs and the labor party are taking hold and being spread, partly by the old labor organizations, partly by new organizations and papers. There have been sent to THE STANDARD specimen copies of *Land and Labor*, a little four-page paper, published semi-monthly in Buffalo, N. Y., "in the interest of the independent political labor movement." It recognizes that society rests on land and labor, and it seeks to bring them into their true relations to each other by nationalizing ground rents and all values of natural opportunities. The editor hopes that his paper will become the official organ of the land and labor party of Buffalo.

Though Mr. Parnell is far from well and shows his recent illness plainly, he displayed much of his old-time vigor on Monday, when he moved his amendment to the reply to the queen's speech. He said the government seemed about to renew the mistake of attempting coercion, and warned them that such a policy would not contribute to the establishment of peaceful relations between the two countries. If coercion were attempted, agrarian and political crimes would revive in their worst form. The government's prosecution of John Dillon and its suppression of the Sligo meetings were denounced as arbitrary. Mr. Parnell said he could discuss the plan of campaign freely, as one who had no responsibility for bringing it forward. Many tenants now have a roof over their heads who would be homeless but for the plan, and to the same cause was due the reduction in the number of evictions for the last quarter. The government had waited two months before declaring the plan illegal, and it yet remained to be seen if it is illegal. He also reminded the government that almost every title to Irish land is founded on wholesale robbery and confiscation, while the improvements made by the tenants had been seized by the landlords, who robbed them of the product of their labor.

John Morley took up the debate on Tuesday, and declared that there was no remedy for the existing evils in Ireland short of granting to the Irish self-government. Jacob Bright followed with a declaration that it was no discredit to England that she has failed to govern Ireland. Her discredit lay in refusing to abandon an impossible task.

About fifty tory members of parliament met last week to consider the depression in trade. They inclined toward retaliatory duties on the products of countries that discriminate against Great Britain.

The conference of the Scotch liberal associations at Edinburgh on Monday adopted resolutions declaring for reform in land laws and in favor of local self-government and church disestablishment. A vote of confidence in Gladstone was also passed.

France and Germany continue to hurry war preparations and give out verbal assurances of peace. There is a strong suspicion in many quarters that Bismarck does not desire any cessation of war rumors until after election. The question is as to strengthening the military establishment, and war rumors are likely to bring votes in favor of such a policy.

It is possibly to this, also, that the renewed rumors of strained relations between Russia and Germany are due. A Vienna dispatch goes so far as to declare that Bismarck has established a coalition between Austria, England and Italy against Russia. The general tenor of the dispatches does not warrant so extreme a conclusion.

If war rumors are a part of Bismarck's electioneering tactics he has rougher weapons at hand against some of his opponents. The police attempted to disperse a socialist meeting at Stettin on Monday evening but failed, whereupon the military were called in, who drove the people from the hall at the point of the bayonet, killing three and wounding many others.

There seems to be a lull in the eviction business in Ireland. The tory government is devoting its superb faculties to the establishment of a hydrophobia hospital in London. If it succeeds in its wrestle with the mad dog it will come at the Irishman again with renewed confidence. Perhaps it may try to vaccinate all children with castle Catholic loyalty.

There is no falling off in loyalty to the cause of Ireland, however. Swift McNeill, nationalist, last week defeated Henry Munster, liberal unionist, for a vacant seat in South Donegal by a vote of 4,604 to 933. T. M. Healy has been chosen without opposition to a vacancy in North Longford. William O'Brien, editor of *United Ireland*, declines to run for parliament, as he thinks he can be more useful to the Irish cause outside the "detestable precincts" of the house of commons.

Bismarck expects great things of the interference of the pope to compel the Catholics to support the army bill. Dr. Windthorst, the leader of the Catholic party, declared last Sunday that his party could not comply with the directions from Rome, and expressed a hope that "the pope will not be displeased with his faithful sons in Germany for their refusal to comply with his political wishes."

Proportional Legislation.

Dr. Montague R. Leverson, who has given much thought and study both in Europe and this country to such questions, proposes an introduction of the principle of proportional representation into the government of the united labor party. Through his influence the Sixteenth assembly district association has proposed a plan, which is now under consideration by the county committee.[26]

Dr. Leverson is of opinion that political machinery becomes corrupt inevitably, by force of its inherent defects. "The men," he says, "by whom these now corrupt machines—Tammany hall and the republican organizations—were started, were for the most part pure and honorable men, but by degrees those organizations have become instruments of dishonest men. This result is due to fatal defects in the electoral machinery adopted by their founders, by which a minority manages to control the majority, and then by easy degradation a few bosses control the whole machine. If the united labor party adopts these defects its organization will soon sink into the same corrupt slough with the older parties. The proportional system of representation furnishes a nearly perfect safeguard against these evils."

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26. Ed. "Dr. Montague R. Leverson, in his address, 'The Proxy System as a Means of Real Representation,' presented a method which he had embodied in a draft for a constitution for Colorado in 1875, but which he has now temporarily abandoned for a simpler form of proportional representation, on account of the necessity of a secret ballot. Briefly stated, the proxy system consists in making the whole country over into a political joint-stock company, in which each citizen has one share. The citizen may give his proxy to a representative who in Congress votes not his personal vote as at present, but the number of proxies he holds." See https://www.jstor.org/stable/pdf/1009042.pdf. See also a reference to Dr. Montague in The Standard, Issue #003, in the column titled "Men and Women," and a detailed footnote. (Placed approximately.)

A FREE SOIL COLONY.

Proposition to Set Up a Territory Where Taxes Shall Be Levied on Land Values.

VINCENNES, Ind., Feb. 4.—For five years I have been revolving in my mind a plan whereby a practical illustration of the efficacy of land nationalization may be given. This plan is as yet nebulous as to details, but it involves the setting aside by congress of adequate territory out of the public domain for the applition of Mr. George's theory of taxation. This territory ought to be, in the first place, fairly well located as to climate, soil, irrigation, etc. It should have an area say of 10,000 square miles, one-third the size of Indiana. It should be provided that not one foot of it shall be sold in fee simple; that there shall be no tax levied within its borders save on land values, to be determined biennially; that the measure of such tax shall be the full rental value of the lands; and that such tax shall go to cover the expenses of government and to provide for education, public buildings, highways, river improvements, etc., etc. The perfect security of land-holdings should also be provided for.

This plan would involve the government in no expense. If the experiment should prove abortive, the government would be no worse off than at the beginning; the land would still be its own, and its value would be enhanced.

Congress has been liberal enough in experimentation. It has appropriated hundreds of thousands of dollars to Arctic enthusiasts in search of an open polar sea. It wasted tens of thousands more on Le Duc and his bamboo and tea growing vagaries. Millions more were worse than wasted on John Roach and the ship builders of the Delaware, and thousands of millions have been devoted to the madness of trying to make the people rich by taxing them in the name of protection. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to ask it to afford an opportunity for the making of an experiment which could not possibly hurt the government, while it might prove of inestimable value to the race by giving a practical solution of a problem of social economy that is pressing upon every mind.

I offer this as a suggeslion[sic] to the editor and the readers of THE STANDARD. I think it entirely practicable, and I have advocated it in my paper for a long while, hoping that in time it might induce definite action leading to wholesome results. I trust that friends of the cause will consider my suggestion, and that the columns of THE STANDARD will be opened to its discussion.

WARREN WORTH BAILEY[27,28].

Mr. Bailey's proposition is one that, in one form or another, seems to commend itself to many minds. But to make the experiment a fair one, not only must the territory set aside for the purpose be fairly well located as to climate, soil, irrigation, etc., but there must be a free port of entry and facilities for convenient communication with the rest of the world. The energy necessary to accomplish this, even if Congress had the power to make a port of entry free, would, if aimed at the abolition of revenue tariffs and the collection of federal revenues from land values by a direct tax apportioned among the states, push along general reforms far enough to improve the condition of the whole nation.

At best, a colony could benefit only a few. If successful, it would not influence those whose interests are opposed to the principle of land taxation. And as duties must be uniform throughout the United States, congress could not except it from the operation of our customs laws. The proposition does not commend itself to us.

Sic in the original; probably "suggestion".

27. Ed. Warren Worth Bailey (1855-1928), later congressman from Johnstown, in western Pennsylvania (1913-1917). See http://en.wikipedWarren Worth Bailey (1855-1928). He moved to Johnstown, Pa., in 1893 and established the Daily Democrat, devoted to the Single Tax principle. He was a Democratic member of the U.S. House of Representatives from Pennsylvania (1913-1917) and a Georgist publisher. He and other Georgists led in framing the U.S. income tax law of 1916, which exempted most labor income and targeted land rent. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Warren_Worth_Bailey.

28. Ed. Louis F. Post (1849-1928), later the editor of The Public and Undersecretary of Labor in the Wilson Administration. He lectured widely about the Single Tax, and wrote The Ethics of Democracy, online at http://savingcommunities.org/docs/post.louisf/ethicscontents.html. (Placed approximately.)

L. F. P.

WHAT HOPE FOR LABOR

If Daily Newspaper Teachings are Accepted?

BROOKLYN, Jan. 18.—An editorial writer in the *Star* of to-day makes use of essentially the following language: "Henry George claims that ground cannot be rightfully subjected to individual ownership because the land was given to the human race by the Creator for its occupancy and support. How, then, can any valid title be established to the ownership of horses, sheep, cows" (and the writer might have added "asses", but was probably deterred by personal considerations)?

Now, what earthly hope is there for the emancipation of labor when such monumental asininity, or colossal insincerity, finds followers enough to make a respectable subscription list for the various papers publishing such imbecilities; when those who aspire to direct and educate public opinion are either too obtuse to see or too bigoted to acknowledge that there is no analogy between an acre of land and a cow, the former being clearly beyond the power of man to increase or diminish, the latter entirely susceptible of such changes at his will!

The melancholy part of this whole thing is not that some—the great majority, in fact—are too blind to see their true condition, but that they have the power to outvote and thus neutralize the efforts of those who are alive to the oppression made possible by private ownership of land. When the possession of enough land to make a respectable grave blinds a person to the moral illegality of its ownership, and when the great rank and file are too lazy or too stupid to do their own thinking, any amelioration of the laborer's condition seems nearly hopeless[, and?], indeed, were it not for unborn genera[tions?] all efforts for the emancipation of those too blind or too wilful to see the truth might better be abandoned, and it would seem as if the best thing for the wise man to do, having discerned the danger, would be to hide himself and let the fools pass on and be punished.

I hope that your unconquerable pluck may prove inexhaustible.

E. C. ROSCOE.

Developing Resources.

The *Tribune* chronicles with manifest satisfaction a conversation in which Capt. N. D. Moore of the Gogebec iron mines, in Wisconsin, participated. The captain declares that his firm would run no furnaces, but simply take out iron and sell it to those who have furnaces. The cost of the ore thus delivered is about $2 per ton. Of course it costs less than $1 a ton to mine it, and hence the possession by two or three individuals of that gift of nature to man known as the Gogebec range is quite profitable. This was clearly shown by a story told by Capt. Moore to a *Tribune* reporter. In November, 1885, Mr. Benjamin, the captain's partner, sold a piece of mining property in the Gogebec range for $21,000. In the course of their subsequent operations they found that they needed that piece of property, and they had at the time of the conversation just bought it back for $240,000; but he added, we will make $100,000 out of it inside of a year. One man thus obtained [$220,000?] by holding a piece of property for two years, while the new purchaser expects to make a much greater profit by working it. Meanwhile labor will be paid as little as possible, iron be put as high as possible, and the whole people to whom the gift of nature naturally belongs will derive no benefit from it. The *Tribune* prints this story under the singular heading, "Making the Nation Richer—Men who are Active in Developing its Resources."

Brutal Treatment of a Mill Slave.

William Cook, a foreman in the St. Ann's cotton mills at Hochelaga, a suburb of Montreal, was fined $5 and costs for striking and abusing Delphine Marcoux, one of the female employes. The evidence showed that the employes, old and young, male and female, regularly work eleven hours a day. The plaintiff was leaving the factory after a day's work when Cook ordered her to remain and work overtime, and on her [refusal?] struck her.

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ANSWERS TO QUERIES.

Taxing Away the Home.

JAMAICA, L. I., Feb. 5.—Discussing "Progress and Poverty" with others I am often asked: "Under the proposed system, what security have the holders or users of land on which they have built their homes for its further tenure? Suppose some one bids higher for the land than the house owners can afford to pay, how are the latter to be compensated?" By answering this you will greatly oblige

PERPLEXITY.

Under the proposed system house-holders would have the same security they have now. At present the house and land are taxed as real estate. If the tax be not paid the real estate is sold for taxes. A somewhat similar course might be pursued under the system proposed. At any rate, nothing more severe would be required.

There would be no bidding for land, as the question implies. The rental value of the land would be ascertained, and upon this the tax would be laid and be a debt against the occupier, as are real estate taxes now. If the land had no value, and a great deal of very useful land all around us would have but very little value or none at all, the occupier would pay no tax. If the land were so valuable that he could not afford to pay the tax merely for a home he would make his home elsewhere, and use, or let others use, this land for business purposes, just as he does now.

But, perhaps your friends will say, if he removes his home now on account of the value of his land, he can sell the land for a good price, which he could not do if it were taxed to its full value. True, but without cost he could take other land for a home at a tax within his means, and the "good price" he can get now is something to which he has no moral right. What he gets others must lose. That the plan proposed would abolish the privilege some men have of appropriating the earnings of the community is an argument in its favor. The fear that it would deprive men of homes is unfounded; it would open the way—now closed—for all men to get homes.

L. F. P.

Limitations to Land Occupancy.

DANVILLE, Ky., Feb. 5.—When you say no man ought to occupy more land than he can use, do you mean by management or working without hired labor? If the former, it would still be landlordism; if the latter, farming and stock raising would be abolished. In a word, are you "putting the fence" between individualism and its selfishness, or between collectivism and its tyranny?

L. M. BOUSTIFAR.

We mean any use the occupier chooses, whether by his unaided labor or with the help of others. In the form of a tax he would pay over to the community the rental value of the land he occupied, and would consequently not

occupy more than he could use profitably. The tax would automatically determine the value of land taken by every occupier. If some took land of greater value than others the disparity would be equalized by the difference in tax.

This would not be landlordism, for every occupier of valuable land would pay rent to the people, and idle land would be free. Nor would it destroy farming or stock raising on a large scale, for farmers and stock raisers would be able to get as much land as they could use profitably.

We would "put the fence" between individualism and its selfishness, and also between collectivism and its tyranny. Leaving the individual free to follow his inclinations and to appropriate all values of his own creation, we would head off his selfishness when it prompted him to interfere with the personal rights of others or to appropriate communal values; and while demanding for the community what belongs to it, we would cry halt when it interfered with individual freedom, or appropriated labor products.

L. F. P.

The Land Tax and Small Owners.

BROOKLYN, N. Y., Feb. 7.—Suppose a dwelling house on one lot paying $125 taxes and an adjoining vacant lot paying $25, in all $150. Would you place $75 on each lot and let the house go free?

A. B. CALDWELL.

If there were no land but those two lots that is what it would come to. But as the quantity of land is not limited to two lots, the answer is No. The proposition, in plain terms, is to lay all taxes on ground rent. Therefore, if the two lots you suppose did not command ground rent their occupiers would pay no tax at all; but if they did command ground rent, they would be taxed in common with all other valuable land on the basis of their ground rent. The tax now laid on improvements would not be made up by dividing it between one improved and one vacant lot; but by imposing taxes on the value of every piece of land in the community, improved or unimproved, in proportion to its value. Do not lose sight of the fact that taxes are to be shifted from improvements to land values, not to land.

L. F. P.

What Good Would It Do?

MORRISTOWN, N. J., Jan. 16.—What matters it to workers whether private parties or the government takes the bounty of nature if the workers do not get it back again?—S. E. FORD.

Regarding the government as entirely distinct from the people it makes no difference. Our governments, however, are governments of the whole people, workers included. It does, therefore, make a difference here whether the bounties of nature are monopolized by a few or owned by the government. But you are mistaken if you suppose it is intended to have the government take land. It is not necessary. All the advantages of common ownership of land may be secured in a less artificial way. By taxing land values instead of taxing labor products, especially if the tax appropriates the whole value, every foot of land not in use will be thrown open to the first comer free of rent or tax. Then, on the one hand, all laborers will, through the tax fund, get their equal share of the value of such of nature's bounty as has a value, while such as has none will, by being free and affording opportunities for work to every idle laborer, entirely do away with the army of the unemployed. What effect that would have upon wages and hours any striker who has been defeated by "scabs" can tell you.

A Specimen of City Politics.

New York Sun.

> Clerk Twomey of the board of aldermen was sitting at his desk yesterday, smoking a cigar, when Alderman James J. Mooney of the Twenty-fourth district rushed into the office and exclaimed: > > “I’d like to know by what right you appointed David N. Cavallo reading clerk?” > > Capt. Twomey was on his feet in an instant. He didn’t like the alderman’s tone of voice. > > “Because I saw fit,” he said. “The office belonged to Alderman Tait, and as he suggested Mr. Cavallo, and as Mr. Cavallo is a good man, I appointed him.” > > “It’s not so,” said Alderman Mooney. “The appointment belonged to me. Why didn’t you appoint the man that I asked you to appoint?” > > “Because he can’t read,” answered Capt. Twomey. > > “My man shall have the place,” cried the alderman. He stamped on the floor and gesticulated as he continued: “At the next meeting of the board of aldermen I shall introduce a resolution to have my man appointed and you will find yourself in a bad box.” > > “Introduce your resolution,” rejoined Capt. Twomey.

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The McGlynn Testimonial.

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

Contributor	Amount
M. R., Philadelphia	$1 00
I. Mendelson, New York	5 00
Walter Mendelson and wife	3 00
E. L. Massett, Westfield, N. J	5 00
C. G. Boland, Scranton, Pa	1 00
M. A. Mackay, Chicago	1 00
Fred. Meyer	25 00
William Frank, New York	1 00
Charles Zimmerman	1 00
Alvis Frank	1 00
Cash	50
“A French Catholic” ([Gl.?] de M.)	250 00
G. Fritz, jr., Herald, Providence, R. I	1 00
B. W. Wentworth, Waltham, Mass	5 00
B. W. F	5 00
Patrick H. Byrne, New York	1 00
C. M. H	1 00

Contributor	Amount
“A Catholic,” Rochester, N. Y	1 00

By Patrick F. Collins, West Haven, Conn.:

Contributor	Amount
Patrick F. Collins	$1 00
William Emrich	1 00
A Friend, O. R	1 00
Andrew Heidel	1 00
A Friend, G. H	1 00
Thomas E. Lalor	1 00
Frank Reb	50
Michael Rourke	50
John Cannon	50
Peter McDermott	50
John M. Loomis	50
[Barth?] Moran	50
William Moran	50
Bernard Shanley	50
Chris Bauer	50
Max Jahnige	50
Paul Jahnige	50
Otto Jahnige	50
Thomas English	50
Patrick McNulty	50
Julius Sholz	50
Patrick Ford	50
Philip Moses	50
James Gaffney	50
Fred Johnson	50
Laurence Moore	50
William Harney	50

Contributor	Amount
Hermann C. Balbier	25
James English	25
Michael Rork	25
Albert A. Barton	25
Cormick Shields	25
Cash, T. N	25
Henry Bonewagner	25
Chris Basner	25
Charles Gunnarson	25
Vaughn Bradley	25
C. Gunnarson	25
Aug. Dunsing	25
A. Baxmann	25
William Birmingham	25
John Clancy	25
W. D. Monahan	25
Thomas McDermott	25
John Flanigan	25
Bernard McDonough	25
Edward Boppert	25
Philip Bauer	25
Louis Nordenberg	25
[sub-total]	$22 00

Contributor	Amount
H	10 00
S. S., Troy, N. Y	1 00
Paul S., New York city	50
Richard Feltner, Boston	1 00
Richard Johns, Chicago	2 00
H. H. T., Chicago	1 50

Contributor	Amount
J. T., Chicago	50
A Catholic priest	20 00
H. J. A., Lebanon, Pa	3 00
R. R. S., St. Louis	1 00
J. H. C., St. Louis	1 00
J. T., Buffalo	1 00
C. R. Ammen, New Orleans	1 00
P. L. M., New Orleans	2 00
A city official	2 00
A humble friend of Father McGlynn	1 00
C. B., Hartford, Conn	1 00
Henry M., Hartford, Conn	1 00
A Connaught man, Pittsburg	1 00
A Donegal man, Pittsburg	1 00
A German Catholic	2 50
M. O'Connell, Brooklyn	1 00
S. L. T., Brooklyn	1 00
R. Mahon, Brooklyn	1 00
F. N. A., Cincinnati	1 00
T. Carroll, Cincinnati	1 00
Local Assembly 3,459, K. of L., Poughkeepsie, N.Y.	25 00
[sum]	$415 50
Previously acknowledged	87 00
Total	$502 50

From an English Protestant.

> Chicago, Feb. 6.—All thanks and praise to the brave and heroic soul, Dr. Edward McGlynn, who has dared to give utterance to his honest convictions and to espouse the cause of suffering humanity as against the powers that be, and who, like his Divine Master, is now suffering for the same. But great shall be his reward. Yea, great is his reward now; for all good Catholics honor and reverence him as never before. Yea, all toilers of America and Europe, irrespective of creed, are looking on in loving admiration, and his name shall go down to all posterity with those of Washington and Lincoln, and not a hair of his head shall be harmed, for the Lord of Hosts is with him, the God of Jacob is his refuge. I inclose one dollar for the McGlynn fund. Had I the means it should be a thousand.

M. A. MACKAY, English Protestant.

A Token of Admiration.

Dominick Street, New York, Feb. 7—By adding the enclosed $25 to the Father McGlynn fund, as a token of admiration for the principles advocated by the Cooper *Union committee, you will oblige*

FRED. MEYER.

Inspired by Dr. McGlynn's Manhood.

New York, Feb. 7—The undersigned, who have heretofore paid but little attention to the "McGlynn controversy," but having read the last week's issue of your valuable paper and from its columns learned the true facts as presented therein, are so inspired with the frankness and manliness of the reverend doctor that they desire to show their appreciation of the cause he is upholding by contributing their mite of $1 each to the fund now being raised for him. With our best wishes for the good cause and the reverend doctor, we remain,

WILLIAM FRANK, CHAS. ZIMMERMAN, ALVIS FRANK.

From a Protestant.

Sir: Enclosed find one dollar for the McGlynn fund. I am a Protestant, but I admire greatly the position taken by Dr. McGlynn, not as some would like to make it that he has rebelled against the church, but that he has shown the people that no church has a right to interfere with a man using his right of citizenship according to his own conscience. I hope there will be a liberal response of giving to the fund, and that in the future the labor party will have valuable support in the person of Dr. McGlynn.

C. M. H.

From a Rochester Catholic.

Rochester, N. Y.—Believing that the best way to profess my faith in the land question as taught by you and advocated by Dr. McGlynn is to contribute my mite to the fund now being raised to do him honor, inclosed please find one dollar.

A CATHOLIC.

$22 From West Haven, Conn.

West Haven, Feb. 7, 1887.—*I inclose $22 collected* for the Rev. Dr. McGlynn fund, and it gives me pleasure to state that this money is given by persons, irrespective of religious views, who admire Dr. McGlynn for his charitable acts, his liberal opinions, and for the noble stand he has taken in defending his rights as an American citizen. The doctor's opinions in regard to the land question and other political topics belong to himself as one of the American people, the only tribunal to determine the advisability of altering the present method of land ownership in this country, and any attempt to suppress the discussion of political reform by any religious authorities is nothing but coercion under the cloak of religion. Would it not be well to call on the Catholics of every city in this Union, regardless of their opinions on the land question, to meet and resent the invasion of their political rights, which are dear to all good citizens.

PATRICK F. COLLINS.

From L. A. 3,459.

Poughkeepsie, Dutchess County, N. Y., Jan. 31.—At a regular meeting of this assembly, No. 3,459, held on the above date, the following resolutions were adopted:

Whereas, It has come to our knowledge that the Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn, the acknowledged and honored champion of right against might, because of belief and advocacy that man should have a right to the earth that the Lord made for his use, has been deposed from his charge and separated from his parishioners, of which he was the beloved pastor for a quarter of a century; and,

Whereas, We, the members of the above-named assembly, casting aside all religious differences, nationality and politics, honor the name of the Rev. Dr. Edward McGlynn; and,

Whereas, We recognize in the Rev. Dr. Edward Mo*Glynn a priest* who suffers because he dares to assert his manhood and right to American citizenship and honest convictions; therefore,

Resolved, That we pledge our support, morally and materially, to him, and as an earnest of our appreciation of his self-sacrificing efforts to elevate the moral and social condition of the people, it is hereby

Ordered, That the sum of twenty-five dollars ($25) be forwarded to The Standard office to swell the fund now being raised in his behalf, not with the object of compensating him, but as a small token of friendship.

JAMES [M'LEMON?], JOHN [P.?] HARVEY, PETER F. [THORP?], } Committee.

FRED SLOSSER, Rec. Sec., box 112.

From a Prohibitionist.

Westfield, N. J., Feb. 5.—I sympathize with the courageous stand which Dr. McGlynn has made against ecclesiastical aggression in politics to the extent of the inclosed check for $5. I firmly believe, however, that every Christian ought to take his religion into his politics; and believing this, I am well persuaded in my own mind that both the persecutor and the victim of this church tyrant, as well as all other lovers of humanity, ought to enroll themselves under the white banner of the prohibition party. The church is to-day the bulwark of the legalized saloon[!?]

E. L. MASSETT.

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THE STANDARD, SATURDAY, FEBRUARY 12, 1887.

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I TOLD HIM WHAT I THOUGHT.

A Peripatetic Peddler of Salvation Answered.

CHATHAM'S RUN, CLINTON COUNTY, Penn., Feb. 8.

Last week when I was going to the woods to cut a hickory pole for the sole purpose of making a splint broom, I met one of those tissue paper gentlemen, who are too ignorant to preach and too lazy to do manual labor. He was selling an allegorical chart, in which all the different modes of getting into Paradise were illustrated in oil colors.

He set his gripsack down and removed his hat with a great deal of piety, and then produced one of his charts and begged me to examine it.

All I could see on the chart was a lot of boatmen rowing across a dark stream in highly colored boats.

Says I: "Mr. Man, it will take a little explanation before I can see the conflictity of this concern. Isn't it a fishing party?"

"Yes, truly it is: they are fishers of men. Each boat represents a church; the water is death, and those boatmen are rowing poor souls over to Paradise."

"What's the fare?" I asked.

"The passage is free—only there is a collection taken up now and then for the support of the boatmen."

"I suppose those boatmen want to be well fed—chickens and preserves and frosted cake, knick-knacks and funny things?"

"They love the good things of this world, of course, and must wear good clothes to correspond with their brains. Men shouldn't grumble at the small amount spent to save their souls."

"What's the meaning of that pontoon bridge? where does it go?"

"That is to represent the broad way of sin and folly. Those little specks along the route are saloons."

"But where does it run to?"

"To the burning lakes of Hades."

"Which one of the boats carries the most passengers?"

"The Buddhists have the largest boat, but their route is doubtful. The Mohammedans run an old junk and carry a great number of passengers, but it is doubtful whether they ever reach the golden shore. Then there is the Brahmin's old scow, running third best among the doubtful boats, while the followers of Confucius and the Sinto religion bring up the rear. The Roman Catholics run a large boat, and the stockholders are getting rich. The Protestants are running more than a dozen yachts, and are doing a fair business. Then there is the old Hebrew ship, that has been through many terrible storms and has collided with nearly all the other boats, but still floats grandly on, having the patronage of one entire race."

Says I to the man, says I: "Mister, don't you think a great many of the passengers will feel out of their latitude when they get to a country where the property is all held in common? Don't you think that those who were able to throw in the greatest amount at the collections will want to boss the small fish around? When the common laborer steps up to a railroad president and slaps him on the back and says, 'Let's sing a little song, neighbor,' don't you think that president will think he has got into poor company? When the poor old washer woman puts on the lily white robe and takes her place alongside of the millionaire's wife, don't you think that aristocratic woman will wonder what business that poor serf has in the parlor?

"I tell you, my friend, the religion of to-day is shipping souls over to Paradise without preparing them for the laws of that country. Men who do not make good citizens in this world will feel out of place on the evergreen shore.

"If it is no harm in this world for a man to hoard up millions of dollars while others are living in poverty, then these same men will think it right to buy the throne of Heaven and run the place to suit themselves.

"Why is it that church hierarchies always condemn every move the common people make to gain their rights in this world? Why do they approve the means by which a rich man may add another million to his millions of dollars while they condemn the common laborer for demanding living wages? Why do they promise the poor man justice in heaven if it is wrong for him to struggle for the same thing on earth? If a few men dare own the earth why not give them heaven, too? If God and his people are with the rich of this world how can the poor expect to enjoy happiness in the world to come? How many of Christ's disciples toted a million dollars around with them? or, didn't Christ actually condemn wealth? What did he say to the young man that inquired what he should do to inherit eternal life?

"Our churches are too wealthy to take sides with the poor. That's what's the matter with religion. They do threaten sometimes to drive a rich man through the eye of a needle; but $10,000 donated to the church will buy the good will of a Christian community. They do sometimes ask the rich to be charitable toward the poor; but if the poor had equal rights, they would need no charity.

"The people of an unjust world are poor subjects for a just heaven.

"It is admitted all around that we have the best government under the sun; but can't we make it still better? Need the moon shine on one houseless body, or need the sun rise on one that is pinched by poverty? We are able to banish all hunger, rags and fireless rooms; we can give all our citizens employment, and open a way for them to buy a home, and I can't see why it shouldn't be done.

"The only consolation a poor man gets, is the promise of a free (except the collections) pass to Heaven. Why not make *this* world a little more like Heaven? and then, when we get there, we wouldn't feel as much out of place as a cow in the parlor. It doesn't look very pious for men to be marching toward the grave with both hands full of land and a mouthful of money, as it were, while others have nothing but ragged clothes and an empty stomach.

"I'm only telling you how I feel on this subject, stranger. I may be wrong. I am only a poor backwoodsman, and never learned much about running a government, but I do know how the government has been running me, and I go in for justice that will respect men more than it does money."

FARAWAY MOSES[29].

Chattanooga Real Estate.

New York Times.

One of the leading citizens of Chattanooga remarked: 'There is nothing strange about the recent boom in real estate, while we have added thousands to our population, growing from 10,000, the figure ten years ago, till now we have over 32,000, while we have added millions to our capital—indeed, made millions from nothing, while factories have doubled, redoubled and doubled again—while all this progress has been booming along, real estate has lain practically dormant, so far as its value has gone, a veritable drug in the market."

Let us have a glimpse of the way in which the whirl of speculation has lately been kiting Chattanooga real estate prices. A negro, the porter in one of the hotels, had saved $100 six months ago and invested it in a building lot in the suburbs. A week ago he exchanged his land for $1,600. A farm of 100 acres just on the edge of the town was sold last summer for $150 an acre; cut up into building lots it has just brought $1,000 an acre. A Market street merchant recently bought a house and lot for $8,000, sold it for $12,000 a week later, and in another week tried to buy it back again and couldn't for $20,000. A lot that had a stable on it at one of the corners of Ninth street was sold for [$4,000?], and now the present owner has refused to give an option on it at $45,000. Plenty of lots that less than a year ago were bought for $1,000 and $2,000 apiece now sell for $5,000 and $10,000. A tract of 100 acres that was bought for $175,000 has been closed out at $800,000. Five men joined some little time ago and paid $8,000 for a piece of land that was suddenly brought into notice as valuable;

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an hour later another man came along and offered them $1,000 each for their trade and handed over his check for $13,000. That was on Dec. 13. On Jan. 13 the purchaser sold out for $21,000. In speaking of the business prosperity that led to the great advance in Chattanooga real estate, mentioned elsewhere, a well-known citizen of the place said: "In every case the money has been made in legitimate channels of trade and by no sudden good fortune or speculation. During recent years Chattanooga has not had a single important failure in business—not one."

THE GOAT COLONY.

Class Distinction Between the Whites, the Piebalds and the Blacks.

From the Hindoo.

In a certain island in the Punjaub lived a vast colony of goats.[30,31]

29. Ed. "Faraway Moses" also wrote "Knaves in Cow's Clothing: Candidates Whose Hearts Ache for the Poor Workingman" in Issue #007; "The Situation: Faraway Moses Discourses of His War Experiences and Other Matters" in Issue #010; and "Dreaming of Affluence: Melinda's Sour Bread Makes Faraway Moses See Sights," in Issue #011; "A Talk With My Neighbor: Faraway Moses Tells His Friend All About It – The Right Sort of Religion" in Issue #014; "Jeremiah and the Chipmunk: Faraway Moses Consoles His Dog For Having Lost His Dinner," in Issue #015; and "Jeremiah and the Chipmunk: Faraway Moses Consoles His Dog For Having Lost His Dinner," in Issue #015; and "Nobody's Dog" in Issue #017. The first one was headed Chatham's Run, Clinton County, Penn. A "Faraway Moses" was a character in Mark Twain's "Innocents Abroad,(1869)" but also mentioned in other contexts: see https://blogs.loc.gov/folklife/2016/09/the-folklore-of-far-away-moses/ and https://blogs.loc.gov/folklife/2017/01/the-name-of-far-away-moses/.

The island was fertile, and as no other animals were thereon, the goats had abundance to eat, and lived as happily together as could be.

Now, among the goats was a certain fat and lazy buck, and he began to ponder on a means of getting his food without taking the trouble to look for and gather it himself.

But he saw that while the other goats were so brotherly, there was no chance for him to accomplish his desires.

One day a brilliant thought struck him. He perceived that all the goats were of three complexions—white, black and piebald.

Being white himself, he spoke privately to a few white goats, and gradually impressed them with the idea that it was wrong that they should have to gather their food in the same way as the piebalds and blacks.

Then the white goat persuaded some three or four piebald goats that it was scandalous that the whites and piebalds should be obliged to gather their living the same as the black goats.

After a season all the white and piebald goats united and informed the blacks that unless they gathered food for the whites and piebalds they would be butted into the river. It was certain death to fall into the swift tide, so the blacks succumbed.

Again the white goat got to thinking. He thought he would like to eat nothing but the most delicate and rare plants.

So again he approached the same white goats that had acted as his emissaries before, and to them he suggested that it was strange that such superior goats should be content to eat the same food as the piebalds.

In a few days the white goats assembled in conference with the piebalds, and announced to them that unless they gave to the whites all the young carrots and other succulent plants they must take up their lots with the black goats.

Now, the piebalds felt so superior to the black goats that they submitted to the decree of the white goat.

So the white goats came to be the masters of the island, and the white goat became king.

And the white goats occupied the fairest portion of the island, sheltered by trees from the blazing sun, as a sleeping place, the piebald goats occupied the grassy plains, but the black goats had no other bed than the rocky cliffs.

Now, the piebalds and black goats outnumbered the white goats as two is to one; but the piebalds hated the blacks for their color, and the blacks hated the piebalds for their pride; so they remained apart.

It came to pass, after a time, that the white goats having multiplied, began to take to themselves more and more of the island; the piebalds in their turn pressed the blacks nearer and nearer to the river, till at last many of the latter were pushed into the water and drowned.

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30. Ed. See a response in Issue #008 from William Edmonds, titled “Goats and Such.” (Placed approximately.)
31. Ed. See other stories by W. F. Luxton in The Standard: “The Holy Bull: Why the Fruiterers of Nagpoor Ceased to Pay Tribute” in #008; “The Turned Stream” in #010; and “The Ostracized Rabbit” in #023. While the connection isn’t proven, it seems likely that this W. F. Luxton is William Fisher Luxton (1844-1907), who was a journalist and Winnipeg’s first public school teacher. See http://www.biographi.ca/en/bio.php?BioId=40984 , http://www.mhs.mb.ca/docs/people/luxton_wf.shtml, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Luxton_School, https://books.google.com/books?id=L91KAQAAMAAJ&pg=RA5-PA52, and https://books.google.com/books?id=Bwfh5Gv3aswC&pg=PA139. (Placed approximately.)

Then a piebald goat began to think.

He remembered when he could go anywhere on the island, and how happy he then was. But he could not remember in what respect he found a white goat superior to himself or to a black goat. He had seen a dozen black goats drowned that day, and he perceived with alarm that the white goats were gradually pressing him to the water.

Then he lifted up his voice to the piebalds, and insisted that the Creator intended the island to be an abiding place for all the goats.

And he went to the black goats and taught the same.

And the piebald and black goats united, and they invaded the domain of the white goat.

Then the piebald goat announced that the piebalds and blacks had resolved that no goat—black, white or piebald—had more right to the island than another; that all were equal, and the white goats must henceforth gather their own food or starve.

And peace and plenty again abounded; and even the white goats were fain to confess that the change was for the better.

W. L. LUXTON.

COMMISSIONER WRIGHT'S REMEDY.

The Solution of the Labor Question as Simple as Fa Me Ra Do.

TOWANDA, Pa., Feb. 7.—Carroll D. Wright[32] affirms that "in fixing the compensation of the workman for the hour instead of by the day we have strack the keynote of what will finally be the solution of the labor question." If this is so we have only to ascertain the exact time for which the laborer should let his services and the thing is done. And should the period of an hour prove too extended all that is requisite will be "to fix the compensation for the workman" by the half hour, or, perhaps, even by the minute, and, lo! the solution of the labor problem becomes as simple and easy as fa me ra do, As soon'[64] as the beneficence of this idea is explained to them the New York strikers, who, if I mistake not, were paid by the hour, will no doubt at once see the point, and return to their tasks, for is not twenty cents an hour better far than two dollars a day? Oh, what would become of us but for these philosophers? God speed the right'[65]."

F. HAMMOND.

Landlords' Extortion.

A proof of the power of extortion often possessed by landowners is given by this item from the *London Echo*, which shows that the landlord was able and did exact from his tenants more than his land was worth even according to governmental valuation, which is calculated to be made in the interest of the owner rather than the tenant: "It is worthy of note that whenever the rental paid by a Glenbeigh (Ireland) tenant is mentioned, it is found to be very

32. Ed. Carroll Davidson Wright (1840-1909) was an American statistician. Wright is best remembered as the first U.S. Commissioner of Labor, serving in that capacity from 1885 to 1905. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Carroll_D._Wright and https://www.bls.gov/bls/history/commissioners/wright.htm
Sic in the original; probably "fa me ra do. As soon".
Sic in the original; probably "no closing quotation mark (none opened)".

largely in excess of the government valuation. Thus Maurice Quick, whose stone-built house was demolished yesterday, paid a rent of £7, his valuation being £3 10s., and his next door neighbor, who was also evicted, was rented at £6 10s., the valuation being £3 10s."

The Questioner.

Boundingly up through night's wall dense and dark, Embattled crags and clouds out broke the sun Above the conscious earth, and one by one Her hights and depths absorbed to the last spark His fluid glory, from the far fine ridge Of mountain granite, which, transformed to gold, Laughed first the thanks back, to the vale's dusk fold On fold of vapor swathing, like a bridge Shattered beneath some giant's stamp. Night wist Her work done and betook herself in mist To marsh and hollow, there to bide her time Blindly in acquiescence. Everywhere Did earth acknowledge sun's embrace sublime, Thrilling her to the heart of things; since there No ore ran liquid, no spar branched anew, No arrowy crystal gleamed, but straightway grew Glad through the inrush—glad nor more nor less Than, 'neath his gaze, forest and wilderness, Hill, dale, land, sea, the whole vast stretch and spread, The universal world of creatures bred By sun's munificence, alike gave praise— All creatures but one only; gaze for gaze, Joyless and thankless, who—all scowling can— Protests against the innumerous praises? Man, Sullen and silent. Stand thou forth then, state Thy wrong, thou sole aggrieved—disconsolate While every beast, bird, reptile, insect, gay And glad acknowledges the bounteous day!

Robert Browning,

p. 6, col. 3

A QUESTION AND ITS ANSWER.

Illustrating the Wisdom of Providence and the Eternal Fitness of Things.

I have a conundrum for THE STANDARD readers.[33]

Why does a bank president get higher wages than a car driver?

Ridiculous question, you say? Doubtless; but just suppose you answer it.

You find it easy enough, of course. To be a bank president requires a lot of special knowledge which it takes years to acquire, and which comparatively few men possess.

This is all very fine, and trips glibly off your tongue. But, my dear friend, has it ever struck you that a car driver requires quite a little stock of special knowledge too, which is not to be picked up in a day, and which quite a large number of men don't possess, and never could acquire.

Here is Mr. Maloney, who drives a bobtail[34] on Twenty-third street. Take him, for example, and consider what a fund of knowledge and ability it takes to fit him for his responsible position.

Mr. Maloney can drive a horse with one hand and wield a brake with the other, and find time to make change without intermitting either performance. He can keep one eye on the street ahead of him, another on the rear

33. Ed. That is, street car driver. The "cars" were pulled by horses until "traction" – the use of electric motors to propel rail cars – became available. (Placed approximately.)
34. Ed. Wikipedia is not much help here, but includes in its definitions of "Bobtail" "A tractor which performs without its trailer. A tractor-trailer that is relatively short in length."

platform, and still have eyes left for the espying of possible passengers. He can count the folks who enter, see that each one pays his fare, and spot any delinquent unerringly. He can swear fluently at carts and wagons that obstruct his onward course, and speak suavely to old ladies in search of information. He can lift heavy bundles and baskets on and off his little platform. He can endure the extremes of heat and cold, work fourteen hours or more a day, and run his car unceasingly from one river to another without a wild desire to throw himself into either.

Finally, Mr. Maloney has solved the problem of existence on $1.75 or thereabouts per day.

Now, honestly, in all candor, don't you think Mr. Maloney's fund of knowledge a trifle more difficult to acquire than the bank president's? Don't you think it would be easier to teach Mr. Maloney to run a bank than to teach the bank president to drive a car? I do.

Well, but there's the competition. Supply and demand settles the price of labor, as of everything else.

Do you really believe that? Of course you think you believe it; but just dive down into the recesses of your inner consciousness and see if you really *do* believe it.

Did you ever know a bank presidency to be vacant that there weren't at least half a dozen ready and willing to burden themselves with the responsibilities of the position? Wouldn't you like to get a bank presidency yourself? And if you thought you had a ghost of a chance for it wouldn't you invoke the influence of your father and your uncles and your brothers and the whole circle of your family connections? I trow, yes. I tell you there is more competition for the soft things of this life than for the mere privilege of work, and you know it.

Well, but—but—confound it, the bank president's *got* to have the salary. He couldn't live on less. He must dress nicely and live in some sort of style, and be a credit, and not a disgrace, to the institution he presides over. Why, if it weren't for the salary, who the deuce would want to be a bank president, anyhow?

Ah! my friend, *rem*[35,36] *acu*—your needle has touched the sore at last. The bank president gets the big salary because he won't consent to live on less, and the car driver commits slow suicide on $1.75 a day because he will. Not to him that hath, but to him that insists on having, shall be given, and from him that consents to do without shall be taken away even that which he hath. This isn't good Bible, but it's good nineteenth century gospel for all that. Let us thank heaven that it has given wisdom to the bank president to see the necessity of $15,000 a year and humility to the car driver to be content on $1.75 a day.

T. L. MCCREADY.

THE COAL BARONS WAIT TILL WINTER.

Then, When Labor is Abundant, They Reduce Wages.

SCRANTON, Pa., Feb. 5.—The truth of the great coal strike is just this: There was no justification for the reduction of wages; but the tactics of the corporations this year has been, as hitherto, to reduce wages in winter, when labor is abundant and men cannot go elsewhere for work. Reductions occur generally about the first of December, if they are to occur at all. This year the reduction has come in cold of winter, when the cost of living is greatest and labor most plentiful. These employers were never known to reduce wages except when no other kind of work could be had. This proves that the motive for reducing wages is founded in wantonness, selfishness and greed. The

35. Ed. rem acu tetigisti: (Latin) you have touched the matter with a needle: you hit the nail on the head.
36. Ed. See The Standard, #005, 1887-02-05 for a note about T. L. McCready. (Placed approximately.)

men who do it are such as Olyphant of the Delaware and Hudson, whose salary is $25,000 per annum, or $500 per week, and Samuel Sloan of the Delaware, Lackawanna and Western, whose salary is $30,000, or $100 per day. They do not allow to the men who enrich them the comfort given to quadrupeds. The whole labor combination should strike together, as do these corporations, and not in sections, one following a week after another.

There is not a newspaper in New York that will denounce the reduction of wages, simply because the poor have no advertisements to enrich the editors, as have the corporations. Consequently, the *Tribune* says the oppressors are right.

CHARLES LEE.

"Send Away the Drones."

The contempt with which a large class of Englishmen are beginning to look upon the dilettante measures of social reform proposed by upper class philanthropists was strikingly shown recently, when Lord Brabazon, accompanied by "My Lady" and other choice persons, addressed the members of the Clerkenwell branch of the social democratic federation. "My Lord" proposed state aided colonization as a means of alleviating the terrible condition of the poor in the metropolis. His suggestion that to diminish the population of London would raise the wages of those who were left was received with laughter; and when he spoke of "the glorious empire of which we are citizens," there were shouts of laughter from every part of the hall. A reference to the thousands of acres in Manitoba available for colonization was met by a question as to whether there would be any landlords there. "If we were blockaded for one month," the speaker went on to say, "we should starve." [A voice: "We are starving."] "That is why I have come down here," the speaker continued, "to point out to you a means whereby the present distress among the working classes can be very effectually relieved." [A voice: "Go yourself." "Send away the drones."][37]

Ages of Crowned Heads.

The *Almanach de Gotha* prints this table showing on Jan. 1, 1887, the ages of the various crowned heads of the world:

The emperor of Germany, 89; the pope, Leo XIII, 76; William III, king of the Netherlands, 69; Charles III, prince of Monaco, 68; Victoria, queen of Great Britain, 67; Peter II, emperor of Brazil, 61; Francis Joseph, emperor of Austria, 56; Leopold, king of the Belgians, 51; Louis, king of Portugal, 48; Charles, king of Roumania, 47; Abdul Hamid, the sultan, 44; Humbert, king of Italy, 42; Alexander III, emperor of Russia, 41; George, king of the Greeks, 41; Milan, king of Servia, 32; the king of Spain, a few months.

p. 6, col. 4

WORKINGMEN'S HOTELS.

Plan for a Knight of Labor Hotel in Every City.

NEW YORK, Feb. 8.—Can we workingmen secure better accommodation than the ordinary boarding house or so-called hotel? In both we have to tolerate society we cannot sympathize or harmonize with, and to accept food

37. Ed. Two references to Lord Brabazon's talk at the Clerkenwell meeting are online. See https://books.google.com/books?id=W_W_CwAAQBAJ&pg=PT46 and https://books.google.com/books?id=_3tdAAAAIAAJ&pg=RA1-PA2 (Placed approximately.)

never of the best. As to sanitary arrangements, who ever saw them in a workingman's boarding house or hotel? We have to put up with drunkenness, especially in the hotels, where men are made drunk and in the small hours of the morning stagger to bed or are carried there. And those cheerless bedrooms, so like clothes closets, for which, if you wish to occupy them alone, you are charged extra rent.

Why not give some thought to making our own hotels? We can do it, and at trifling expense, which will be returned a thousand fold. Will the trade and labor unions and Knights of Labor open a subscription list for a friend to build[sic] and equip a workingman's hotel in each city of the union, its occupants to be union men? In its office let a list be kept of all jobs, the information to be given each day to the clerk as the boarders return from their various employments. We can have our bathrooms, first class food, cleanliness and order, a reading room and library, with a smoking room and amusements, but no gambling. If a man wishes or is compelled to seek work elsewhere, he can send a night telegram (which need not cost more than twenty-five cents) to any city where a similar hotel exists and get a truthful answer as to whether his calling or trade has an opening for him. This will save him many dollars in railroad fares and other expenses. For $2 he can make inquiries in several places at the same time. This could be done by a telegraph code.

These hotels would exercise a vast influence for good, and would be common centers of general information.

ARGUS.

The idea of a signal code, by which union men could ascertain whether there were openings in their trade at distant points, seems to be a good one. But it could be adopted without establishing co-operative hotels. Every K. of L. local in country places and every district assembly in cities can easily arrange this if their experience teaches its importance.

No one acquainted with the offensive surroundings in which workingmen are forced to live in cities can withhold sympathy. But co-operative hotels are not the remedy. They would not be even palliatives, unless endowed by some philanthropist or maintained by a fund.

It is no argument against co-operative enterprises that they have failed in the past, but it is an argument against them that they lack the essentials of success. They have no more chance of life than a spring lamb would have in a pack of hungry wolves. To live they must turn wolves. If there is not enough "effective demand" for the kind of hotel you propose, to interest individual enterprise, you may be sure that no co-operative association could make one self-supporting. The association would have no advantage over an individual, but an individual would, in his self-interest, have an advantage over the association. He might succeed when it would fail; but it could not succeed if he would fail. The pecuniary advantages of co-operation are slight; the business disadvantages are great. Do you suppose a co-operative hotel could be conducted any more cheaply and cleanly than Smith & McNell's[sic]? From the fact that they make a great deal of money, you might at first think so. But reflection will convince you that you are wrong. They make so much money because they have gradually acquired advantages which only vast capital and extraordinary skill can compete with.

The truth is that, as a rule, the consumer now gets through the channels of competitive trade all the advantages of quality and cheapness that private property in land will allow; and co-operation cannot do any better for him, for it will stagger under the same burden and be limited in the same way as every other form of industry.

Sic in the original; probably "fund".
Sic in the original; probably "Smith & McNeill's".

Be assured that your ideal of a working man's hotel would be started as a business enterprise if there were any probability that it would pay, and expend your efforts in bringing about that land reform which will open up to weary man a spot for a real home from which no landlord can order him away.

L. F. P.

BUYING OFF LANDLORDS.

Shall the Owners of Land be Compensated?

NEWARK, N. J., Feb. 9.—Suppose I have invested capital in a plot of land, how would you indemnify me when the land reverted to the government? It certainly would be unjust to deprive men of their landed possessions, acquired in many cases with the proceeds of industry, without compensating them for their loss.

T. J. MARTIN.

Suppose you had invested the proceeds of industry in negroes, how ought you to have been compensated when the negroes were set free? Do you not think that the negro, who had been robbed of his earnings from boyhood, was better entitled to compensation for what he had lost than the master for what he had expected to get? Emancipation took nothing from the slave-holder but the legal and immoral privilege of appropriating the future earnings of the slave. So land nationalization would take nothing from the land-owner but the legal and immoral privilege of appropriating the future earnings of men who work. When men who work get tired of this perennial confiscation of the proceeds of their labor, why should they compensate land-owners for going out of the confiscation business? If I have been fool enough to let a man extort a dollar a year from me for a long time, is that any reason why I should be fool enough to pay him twenty dollars to stop it? If he were a bigger man than I and put his demand on that ground I might buy him off; but if he put it on the ground of "obvious justice," I should mistrust him as an escaped editor of the *Evening Post*.

But unless you are a large land owner you would be compensated. The land value tax is a substitute for all other taxes. Therefore, everything you made and everything you consumed would be exempt from taxation. Your labor itself would be free. Your business, if a business man, would be more profitable; your wages, if a working man, would be higher. You would not be haunted by fear of bankruptcy or loss of a job; and no mortgage would frighten you with possible loss of your home. Out of the fund realized by the tax on land values you would be insured against poverty in age, and in freedom of opportunity for labor you could be more confident than if a millionaire of a useful and comfortable future for your children. Is your investment in the plot of land you speak so of[sic] valuable that you would not pool that plot with all the land in the country as an equal owner of the whole?

If, however, you are a large land owner, living not by work or in business, but on what the law permits you to extort from your fellow-men for the privilege of a foothold on this earth, try to be content without compensation.

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When the people come to demand the restoration of their own, they may, in analogy to a rule of real estate law, demand the *mesne*[38] *profits* also.

L. F. P.

Sic in the original; probably "you speak of so valuable".

38. Ed. Mesne (pronounced "mean") profits are sums of money paid for the occupation of land to a person with right of immediate occupation, where no permission has been given for that occupation. Source: http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Mesne_profits.

CORRESPONDENCE.

S. N. Parsons of Prairieburg, Ia.: I believe the movement you have inaugurated is fraught with many virtues. Thoughtful men know that we must either do something or lose those liberties our ancestors bequeathed to us, sanctified by human suffering and sacrifices. Your plan seems to me the most feasible.

William Camm of Murrayville, Ill.: I lectured on the land question last week in Jerseyville and Roodhouse, two towns in this state, to large audiences, which gave unmistakable signs of approval to the principal propositions.

Rev. J. W. Caldwell of Mapleton, Kansas: You have done much toward the solution of the labor question, and more than any other in bringing the question permanently before the public.

Waite B. Crowell of Chester, Pa.: Here in this locality is exemplified to the highest pitch the bigotry and partisanship of Pennsylvania politics. It is the home of Thomas V. Copper[sic], stalwart republican, and yet, notwithstanding this, we have found thirty-four men willing, ay, eager, to renounce party affiliations and devote both time and ability to spreading the light.

C. W. Hoadley of Middletown, Conn.: This city has been roused from lethargy and set thinking about the land question by an address recently delivered before the Knights of Labor by Rev. P. M. Snyder, a Congregational minister here, who boldly proclaimed "the land for the people." We never before realized the truth of the Biblical quotation, "To the poor the gospel is preached."

G. Leon Varmais, Hubbardsville, N. Y.: I have been reading 'Progress and Povery[sic]," "Social Problems," etc., and I am convinced that private property in land is unjust. I am lecturing and doing what I can to spread this doctrine.

H. B. Martin of Cedar Rapids, Iowa: There are those who gather round your STANDARD, even here in Iowa, as you will hear anon. God speed you, for you are surely awakening the people.

W. Buchanan of New York: Oh, that there were more strong ones to uphold the cause of the weak, down-trodden and underpaid masses! Our civilization brings with it a curse that bears heavily on the young, who must work hard for a pittance. Boys and girls work for the munificent sum of four, three and two dollars a week, and what a howl goes up when any succumb to some temptation. God speed you in your noble work!

J. P. Carbery of Cincinnati: The cause of labor in our country can be successful only through the intelligent and united action of the masses at the elections. They have the power of electing a house of representatives who shall legislate for the good of the many. If they fail to understand this great fact, or, understanding it, lack the integrity to follow it to completion, they deserve to remain the poor slaves of the money devil. Neither priests nor doctors can aid them one iota.

> Who would be free Themselves must strike the blow.

Hon. John Moran of Carlinville, Ill.: May God help us in this fight against poverty and misery. And He will, because we are for truth.

Sic in the original; probably "Thomas V. Cooper".
Sic in the original; probably ""Progress and Poverty,"".

FUN.

It takes a professional to scan the following from James Russell Lowell's poem in the February *Atlantic*: "Whence? Whither? Wherefore? How? Which? Why?"—[Waterbury American.

The line is flat plagiary anyhow. Tennyson wrote it:

> Whence, Whither, Wherefore, How, Which, Why? Looks to have a meaning, but it's all in your eye. Why he asks, or what he asks, no one ever knew, Jim, nor Alf, nor Tom, nor Dick, nor Harry—no, nor you.

Irishman (relating his exploits): "I walked up bouldly to wan of the inemy and cut off his legs wid me sword." Listener: "Why didn't you cut off his head?" Irishman: "'Twas already off."—[Adelaide, S. A., Commonwealth.

There was once a time when we wondered what the difference was between an alderman-at-large and a plain, every-day alderman. We think we perceive a difference now.—[Life.

A laborer having asked his employer for a glass of whisky, it was given him; but the master said, "Remember, every glass you take is a nail in your coffin, Corney." "Well, yer honor," said Corney, "maybe as ye have the hammer in yer hand you would drive another."—[London Irish Tribune.

A notice posted in a certain town reads: "Cash paid for butchers' hides." This shows what popular indignation against butchers may lead to.—[St. Albans Messenger.

"Johnny, I have discovered that you have taken more maple sugar than I gave you." "Yes, grandma; I've been making believe there was another little boy spending the day with me."—[Harper's Bazar.

THE OFFICER'S FAILURE.

A cop once attempted to knab, A man who another did kstab; But the chap made a run, And his liberty won, By getting away in a kcab.

THE INDUSTRIOUS DAMSEL.

A damsel who knew how to knit For hours with her needle would ksit, And the stockings she knitted Were handsome, and kfitted Without ever wrinkling a kbit.

—[Boston Courier.

In his "Reminiscences of Scottish Life and Character" Dean Ramsay says: "At a prolonged drinking bout one of the party remarked, 'What gars the laird of Garskadden look sae gash?' (ghastly). 'Ou,' says his neighbor, the laird of Kilmarddinny[sic], 'deil meane him! Garskadden's been wi' his Maker these twa hours; I saw him step awa, but I didna like to disturb gude company?'"

According to Bill Nye, who is spending the winter in North Carolina, there are three kinds of farms in that state: the mansard farm, the gothic farm and the dormer farm. "A good gothic farm," he says, "near town will bring from $25 to $100 per acre, including large wall pockets to hold farming implements at night so that they will not drop out of the gothic farm into the dormer farm below. I do not say that these mountain farms are steep. I simply state that water readily runs [off?] when applied to them."—[New York Tribune.

Sic in the original; probably "Kilmardinny".

San Francisco's county clerk is credited with this novel sign in his office: "Lady applicants for positions will please weep in the ante room, as the clerk suffers greatly from damp feet."—[Waterbury American.

A Change is Coming.

Edwin D. Mead, in New York Citizen (Ind.).

Everywhere grave questions of social and industrial organization are pressing into politics. The recent contest between Mr. George and Mr. Hewitt is but one of numberless such contests which we are to see. The coming questions are momentous and complex, demanding much serious discussion and not declamation; and it is in the election seasons that the most efficacious discussion must be carried on. Let our best political thinkers realize this, and let them keep close to the people.

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DAMAGES FOR KILLING.

The Existing Law Hard on the Poor and in the Interest of Corporations.

Gen. Pryor's suggestions concerning law amendment in THE STANDARD of Jan. 29 are most seasonable and just. I have just had hard work in trying to comply with the law, which requires two sureties to the bond of an administrator before his appointment by the surrogate. The wife of a laboring man was killed through the negligence of a corporation, and as the attorney for the surviving husband and family of infant children, preparatory to bringing suit, I was obliged to apply for and obtain letters of administration upon the estate of the laborer's deceased wife! Think of it—the grim humor of the law! Well, by perseverance and good luck combined, after several weeks' labor in that behalf, I succeeded finally in getting a satisfactory bond filed. Now, this recent experience, coupled with Gen. Pryor's remarks on the subject, leads me to ask why should there be any formal grant of letters of administration in such a case required by the law? The right of action to recover damages for causing the death of a person by negligence is the creation of the statute; that is, it is a case in which if the person injured had not died he or she might have maintained a suit at law to recover damages for the injuries against the person or corporation causing them; but in the event of the person injured dying, the cause of action was held to have died also, until the statute was first enacted in 1847, which created a cause of action in favor of the widow and next of kin of the deceased.[39]

Now, why will not the legislature see the injustice and hardship of the law as it stands, and enact a law that will enable the poor to get justice as easily as the "saviors of society[40,41]," so called?

The law ought to be amended so as to permit a jury to be entirely untrammeled and unrestricted in their estimate of the amount of damages suffered by the relatives of the person killed, as they are in a suit brought by the person injured. Why should there be a discrimination made against the widow and the orphan in such a case? If the

39. Ed. See "Needed Legislation: Gen. Roger A. Pryor Points to Three Needed Amendments in New York Law" in The Standard, Issue #004. (Placed approximately.)

40. Ed. See earlier issues of The Standard for additional references to "saviors of society." A 1896-05-03 New York Times article on the dedication of Columbia University's new campus quotes from a speech by then ex-mayor Abram Hewitt, using the phrase to refer to universities as the true saviors of society.

41. Ed. In Greek mythology, Cerberus, often called the "hound of Hades", is the monstrous multi-headed dog that guards the gates of the Underworld to prevent the dead from leaving. Cerberus was the offspring of the monsters Echidna and Typhon, and usually is described as having three heads, a serpent for a tail, and snakes protruding from parts of his body. Cerberus is primarily known for his capture by Heracles, one of Heracles' twelve labours. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Cerberus. See also a New York Times article of that title by William Safire at http://www.nytimes.com/2007/06/03/opinion/03iht-edsafire.1.5976203.html (Placed approximately.)

excuse for it is that juries are prone to be influenced by the widow and the orphan, why then, it may be asked, does not the law limit the recovery in every suit for damages for a tort or wilful wrong wherein a woman or a child is the plaintiff?

The truth is apparent that this is corporation-made law; the corporations, and notably the New York Central and Hudson River Railroad company, have always been on hand at every session of the legislature of Albany to fight and kill any legislation intended to cure the evil resulting from this unjust law. The New York *Sun*, in the interest of the "saviors of society," throws a sop to Cerberus, in a recent editorial, in which it advocates in its usual dogmatic manner that the recovery by the relatives of a person killed by the negligent act or omission of another be restricted in amount to *$10,000* instead of $5,000, as it is now. This is a concession to justice for which we ought to be thankful, for "a half loaf is better than no bread."

Again, why should not the law permit the surviving husband, wife, children, parent or parents who were dependent wholly or partially for support upon the deceased to maintain a suit directly for the damages they sustain in such a case, without the useless ceremony and red tape formality of going to the surrogate for leave to administer an estate, when there is no estate aside from whatever may ultimately be recovered in the suit? A woman, whether she be "maid, wife or widow," can now bring suit for every conceivable cause in the same way as a man; and what reason is there for sending her in a circuitous path through the surrogate's court into the court where she is compelled to go to get justice from some corporation for slaughtering her husband? If the legislature would hold in reverence that ancient and wholesome maxim of the common law, that "a multiplicity of suits should not be encouraged," it would enact such a law as I have suggested.

Hurtful to our vanity as the admission may be, the truth is that the empire state has not advanced so far in the administration of justice in these matters as some of her younger sisters in the west.

M. A. GEARON.

PROTECTED COAL.

How Labor is Pauperized and Monopoly Fostered by the Tariff.

Augusta, Ga., Chronicle.

> How monopolies are encouraged by the tariff, and how free trade would help to force them to become legitimate business enterprises, can be seen by a glance at two of our most important industries, iron and coal mining, in behalf of which Messrs. Randall & Co. still plead the baby act. Whoever has read the recent articles of Henry George[42] on "Labor in Pennsylvania," in the *North American Review*, must have been struck by the difference between the starvation wages paid to the miners who do the work and the profits of the mining and railroad companies who furnish the capital and own the mines. The former are absolute slaves, just able to keep life in their bodies, while the wealth of the latter runs far up into the millions, and this wealth, given to them by the tariff, is used by them to oppress their workmen and to import Italians, Hungarians and Poles at as low wages as possible! Who has profited by protection in this case? Surely not the laborers, for, come what may, they cannot be worse off than at present. The protection has been for the capitalists and mine owners, in the privilege given them by the tariff to charge every consumer of coal a fancy prince[sic], regulated, not by demand and supply, but by their caprice. The mine owners meet in New York, drink a few bottles of champagne, and combine to limit production to a certain quantity for each. By their action, all the miners in Pennsylvania are thrown out of employment, and

42. Ed. Henry George's series of articles on Labor in Pennsylvania is available at http://savingcommunities.org/docs/george.henry/lip1.html
Sic in the original; probably "a fancy price".

every coal consumer must pay these coal lords twenty-five cents a ton extra premium. If this is not monopoly, what is?

> Now free trade in coal and iron, while it would not raise wages to any extent, would do a great deal toward breaking up this monopoly and securing constant occupation to miners, for then the owners would have to look out for English competition. They could not put up their prices arbitrarily, nor could they gain anything by stopping work, for at that moment English coal would step in and compete. But this would not make it impossible to mine coal and iron in Pennsylvania, for the whole cost of mining at present wages is less than the freight from England, so that even if the coal were given away free in England it could not compete in our markets. The sufferers would be the holders of watered railroad stocks, and the mine owners, who would see their dividends growing beautifully less, and would be forced to come down to a cash basis.

> But the wages question goes far deeper than the tariff. It is based on the land question, and even absolute free trade would not raise wages for any length of time. The competition of man against man for the privilege of working will reduce wages whether we choose protection or free trade. What has heretofore kept wages higher in the United States has not been the protective tariff, but the new land that was open to settlement. That is rapidly being fenced in, and as it becomes more difficult for a man to employ himself, through lack of access to natural opportunities, wages will go down and down, until we shall find that free American labor is pauper labor.

> Let the workmen pay less attention to protection and more to the teachings of the new land and labor party and they will then see that what they must attack (and one way is through free trade) is the greatest monopoly of all—private property in land. Let them study "Progress and Poverty," and when they fully understand Henry George's land tax theory then, and not till then, will they be on the road to a new organization of labor that will not require to be protected.—[Benj. Adams, Charleston, S. C., Jan. 29.

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Old-Fashioned Roses.

They ain't no style about 'em,
And they're sort o' pale and faded;
Yit the doorway here without 'em
Would be lonesomer, and shaded
With a good 'eal blacker shadder
Than the mornin' glories makes,
And the sunshine would look sadder
For their good old-fashion' sakes.

I like 'em 'cause they kind o'
Sort o' make a feller like 'em;
And I tell you, when I find a
Bunch out whur the sun kin strike 'em,
It allus sets me thinkin'
O' the ones 'at used to grow,
And peek in thro' the chinkin'
O' the cabin, don't you know.

And then I think o' mother,
And how she used to love 'em,
When they wuzn't any other,
'Less she found 'em up above 'em!
And her eyes, afore she shut 'em,
Whispered with a smile, and said,
We must pluck a bunch and put 'em
In her hand when she wuz dead.

But, as I wuz a sayin',
They ain't no style about 'em
Very gaudy or displayin',
But I wouldn't be without 'em,
'Cause I'm happier in these posies
And the hollyhawks and sich
Than the hummin' bird 'at noses
In the roses of the rich.

James Whitcomb Riley.

A LODGING FOR THE NIGHT

It was late in November, 1456. The snow fell over Paris with rigorous, relentless persistence: sometimes the wind made a sally and scattered it in flying vortices; sometimes there was a lull, and flake after flake descended out of the black night air, silent, circuitous, interminable. To poor people, looking up under moist eyebrows, it seemed a wonder where it all came from. Master Francis Villon[43,44] had propounded an alternative that afternoon at a tavern window: was it only Pagan Jupiter plucking geese upon Olympus? or were[,85] the holy angels moulting? He was only a poor master of arts, he went on: and as the question somewhat touched upon divinity, he durst not venture to conclude. A silly old priest from Montargis, who was among the company, treated the young rascal to a bottle of wine in honor of the jest and grimaces with which it was accompanied, and swore on his own white beard that he had been just such another irreverent dog when he was Villon's age.

The air was raw and pointed, but not far below freezing; and the flakes were large, damp and adhesive. The whole city was sheeted up. An army might have marched from end to end and not a footfall given the alarm. If there were any belated birds in heaven, they saw the island like a large white patch, and the bridges like slim white spars on the black ground of the river. High up overhead the snow settled among the tracery of the cathedral towers. Many a niche was drifted full; many a statue were a long white bonnet on its grotesque or sainted head. The gargoyles had been transformed into great false noses, drooping toward the point. The crockets were like upright pillows swollen on one side. In the intervals of the wind, there was a dull sound of dripping about the precincts of the church.

The cemetery of St. John had taken its own share of the snow. All the graves were decently covered; tall white housetops stood around in grave array; worthy burghers were long ago in bed, be-night-capped like their domiciles; there was no light in all the neighborhood but a little peep from a lamp that hung swinging in the church choir, and tossed the shadows to and fro in time to its oscillations. The clock was hard on ten when the patrol went by with halberds and a lantern, beating their hands; and they saw nothing suspicious about the cemetery of St. John.

Yet there was a small house, backed up against the cemetery wall, which was still awake, and awake to evil purpose, in that snoring district. There was not much to betray it from without; only a stream of warm vapor from the chimney-top, a patch where the snow melted on the roof, and a few half-obliterated footprints at the door. But within, behind the shuttered windows, Master Francis Villon, the poet, and some of the thievish crew with whom he consorted, were keeping the night alive and passing round the bottle.

A great pile of living embers diffused a strong and ruddy glow from the arched chimney. Before this straddled Dom Nicolas, the Picardy monk, with his skirts picked up and his fat legs bared to the comfortable warmth. His dilated shadow cut the room in half; and the firelight only escaped on either side of his broad person, and in a little pool between his outspread feet. His face had the beery, bruised appearance of a continual drinker's; it was covered with a network of congested veins, purple in ordinary circumstances, but now pale violet, for even with his back to the fire the cold pinched him on the other side. His cowl had half fallen back and made a strange

43. Ed. François Villon, born in Paris in 1431 and disappeared from view in 1463, is the best known French poet of the late Middle Ages. A ne'er-do-well who was involved in criminal behavior and had multiple encounters with law enforcement authorities, Villon wrote about some of these experiences in his poems. In a short story by Robert Louis Stevenson, "A Lodging for the Night", Francis Villon (anglicized spelling), searching for shelter on a freezing winter night, knocks randomly at the door of an old nobleman. Invited in, they talk long into the night. Villon openly admits to being a thief and a scoundrel, but argues that the chivalric values upheld by the old man are no better. The story appears in the collection New Arabian Nights (1882). See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Fran%C3%A7ois_Villon Another source says it was Stevenson's first ever published fiction.

44. Ed. A halberd (also called halbard, halbert or Swiss voulge) is a two-handed pole weapon that came to prominent use during the 14th and 15th centuries. (Placed approximately.)

Sic in the original; probably "wore".

excrescence on either side of his bull neck. So he straddled, grumbling, and cut the room in half with the shadow of his portly frame.

On the right Villon and Guy Tabary were huddled together over a scrap of parchment, Villon making a ballad which he was to call the "Ballad of Roast Fish," and Tabary spluttering admiration at his shoulder. The poet was a rag of a man, dark, little and lean, with hollow cheeks and thin black locks. He carried his four and twenty years with feverish animation. Greed had made folds about his eyes; evil smiles had puckered his mouth. The wolf and pig struggled together in his face. It was an eloquent, sharp, ugly, earthly countenance. His hands were small and prehensile, with fingers knotted like a cord, and they were continually flickering in front of him in violent and expressive pantomime. As for Tabary, a broad, complacent, admiring imbecility breathed from his squash nose and slobbering lips; he had become a thief, just as he might have become the most decent of burgesses, by the imperious *chance* that rules the lives of human geese and human donkeys.

At the monk's other hand, Montigny and Thevenin Pensete played a game of chance. About the first there clung some flavor of good birth and training, as about a fallen angel; something long, lithe and courtly in the person; something aquiline and darkling in the face. Thevenin, poor soul, was in great feather; he had done a good stroke of knavery that afternoon in the Faubourg St. Jacques, and all night he had been gaining from Montigny. A flat smile illuminated his face; his bald head shone rosily in a garland of red curls; his little protuberant stomach shook with silent chucklings as he swept in his gains.

"Doubles or quits?" said Thevenin.

Montigny nodded grimly.

"Some may prefer to dine in state," wrote Villon, "on bread and cheese on silver plate. Or, or—help me out, Guido!"

Tabary giggled.

"Or parsley on a golden dish," scribbled the poet.

The wind was freshening without; it drove the snow before it, and sometimes raised its voice in a victorious whoop, and made sepulchral grumblings in the chimney. The cold was growing sharper as the night went on. Villon, protruding his lips, imitated the gust with something between a whistle and a groan. It was an eerie, uncomfortable talent of the poet's much detested by the Picardy monk.

"Can't you hear it rattle in the gibbet?" said Villon. "They are all dancing the devil's jig on nothing up there. You may dance, my gallants; you'll be none the warmer! Whew! what a gust! Down went somebody just now! A medlar the fewer on the three-legged medlar tree! I say, Dom Nicolas, it'll be cold to-night on the St. Denis road?" he asked.

Dom Nicolas winked both his big eyes, and seemed to choke upon his Adam's apple. Montfaucon, the great, grisly Paris gibbet, stood hard by the St. Denis road, and the pleasantry touched him on the raw. As for Tabary, he laughed immoderately over the medlars; he had never heard anything more light-hearted, and he held his sides and crowed. Villon fetched him a fillip on the nose, which turned his mirth into an attack of coughing.

"Oh, stop that row," said Villon, "and think of rhymes to 'fish.'"

"Doubles or quits," said Montigny, doggedly.

"With all my heart," quoth Thevenin.

“Is there any more in that bottle?” asked the monk.

“Open another,” said Villon. “How do you

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ever hope to fill that big hogshead, your body, with little things like bottles? And how do you expect to get to heaven? How many angels do you fancy can be spared to carry up a single monk from Picardy? Or do you think yourself another Elias—and they’ll send the coach for you?”

“*Hominibus impossibile*,” replied the monk, as he filled his glass.

Tabary was in ecstacies[sic].

Villon filliped his nose again.

“Laugh at my jokes, if you like,” he said.

“It was very good,” objected Tabary.

Villon made a face at him. “Think of rhymes to ‘fish.’” he said[sic]. “What have you to do with Latin? You’ll wish you knew none of it at the great assizes, when the devil calls for Guido Tabary, *clericus*—the devil with the humpback and red-hot finger nails. Talking of the devil,” he added, in a whisper, “look at Montigny!”

All three peered covertly at the gamester. He did not seem to be enjoying his luck. His mouth was a little to a side; one nostril nearly shut and other much inflated[sic]. The black dog was on his back, as people say in terrifying nursery metaphor, and he breathed hard under the grewsome burden.

“He looks as if he could knife him,” whispered Tabary, with round eyes.

The monk shuddered, and turned his face and spread his open hands to the red embers. It was the cold that thus affected Dom Nicolas, and not any excess of moral sensibility.

“Come now,” said Villon, “about this ballad. How does it run so far?” And beating time with his hand he read it aloud to Tabary.

They were interrupted at the fourth rhyme by a brief and fatal movement among the gamesters. The round was completed, and Thevenin was just opening his mouth to claim another victory, when Montigny leaped up, swift as an adder, and stabbed him to the heart. The blow took effect before he had time to utter a cry, before he had time to move. A tremor or two convulsed his frame, his hands opened and shut, his heels rattled on the floor; then his head rolled backward over one shoulder with the eyes wide open, and Thevenin Pensete’s spirit had returned to Him who gave it.

Every one sprang to his feet; but the business was over in two twos. The four living fellows looked at each other in rather a ghastly fashion, the dead man contemplating a corner of the roof with a singular and ugly leer.

“My God!” said Tabary, and he began to pray in Latin.

Sic in the original; probably “ecstasies”.
Sic in the original; probably “‘fish,’” he said”.
Sic in the original; probably “nearly shut and the other much inflated”.

Villon broke out into hysterical laughter. He came a step forward and ducked a ridiculous bow at Thevenin, and laughed still louder. Then he sat down suddenly, all of a heap, upon a stool, and continued laughing bitterly, as though he would shake himself to pieces.

Montigny recovered his composure first.

“Let’s see what he has about him,” he remarked, and he picked the dead man’s pockets with a practiced hand, and divided the money into four equal portions on the table. “There’s for you,” he said.

The monk received his share with a deep sigh and a single stealthy glance at the dead Thevenin, who was beginning to sink into himself and topple sideways off the chair.

“We’re all in for it,” cried Villon, swallowing his mirth. “It’s a hanging job for every man jack of us that’s here—not to speak of those who aren’t.” He made a shocking gesture in the air with his raised right hand, and put out his tongue and threw his head on one side, so as to counterfeit the appearance of one who has been hanged. Then he pocketed his share of the spoil and executed a shuffle with his feet, as if to restore the circulation.

Tabary was the last to help himself; he made a dash at the money and retired to the other end of the apartment.

Montigny stuck Thevenin upright in the chair, and drew out a dagger which was followed by a jet of blood.

“You fellows had better be moving.” he said[sic], as he wiped the blade on his victim’s doublet.

“I think we had,” replied Villon, with a great gulp. “Damn his fat head!” he broke out. “It sticks in my throat like phlegm. What right has a man to have red hair when he is dead?” And he fell all of a heap again upon the stool, and fairly covered his face with his hands.

Montigny and Dom Nicolas laughed aloud, even Tabary feebly chiming in.

“Cry-baby,” said the monk.

“I always said he was a woman,” added Montigny, with a sneer. “Sit up, can’t you?” he went on, giving another shake to the murdered body. “Tread out that fire, Nick!”

But Nick was better employed; he was quietly taking Villon’s purse as the poet sat, limp and trembling, on the stool where he had been making a ballad not three minutes before. Montigny and Tabary dumbly demanded a share of the booty, which the monk silently promised as he passed the little bag into the bosom of his gown. In many ways an artistic nature unfits a man for practical existence.

No sooner had the theft been accomplished than Villon shook himself, jumped to his feet, and began helping to scatter and extinguish the embers. Meanwhile Montigny opened the door and cautiously peered into the street. The coast was clear; there was no meddlesome patrol in sight. Still it was judged wiser to slip out severally; and as Villon was himself in a hurry to escape from the neighborhood of the dead Thevenin, and the rest were in a still greater hurry to get rid of him before he should discover the loss of his money, he was first by general consent to issue forth into the street.

The wind had triumphed and swept all the clouds from heaven. Only a few vapors, as thin as moonlight, fleeted rapidly across the stars. It was bitter cold, and by a common optical effect things seemed almost more definite than in the broadest daylight. The sleeping city was absolutely still; a company of white hoods, a field full of little alps, below the twinkling stars. Villon cursed his fortune. Would it were still snowing! Now, wherever he went, he

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Sic in the original; probably “moving,” he said”.

left an indelible trail behind him on the glittering streets; wherever he went he was still tethered to the house by the cemetery of St. John; wherever he went he must weave, with his own plodding feet, the rope that bound him to the crime, and would bind him to the gallows. The leer of the dead man came back to him with a new significance. He snapped his fingers as if to pluck up his own spirits, and, choosing a street at random, stepped boldly forward in the snow.

Two things preoccupied him as he went; the aspect of the gallows at Montfaucon in this bright, windy phase of the night's existence. for one[sic]; and for another, the look of the dead man with his bald head and garland of red curls. Both struck cold upon his heart, and he kept quickening his pace as if he could escape from unpleasant thoughts by mere fleetness of foot. Sometimes he looked back over his shoulder with a sudden nervous jerk; but he was the only moving thing in the white streets, except when the wind swooped round a corner and threw up the snow, which was beginning to freeze, in spouts of glittering dust.

Suddenly he saw, a long way before him, a black clump and a couple of lanterns. The clump was in motion, and the lanterns swung as though carried by men walking. It was a patrol. And though it was merely crossing his line of march he judged it wiser to get out of eyeshot as speedily as he could. He was not in the humor to be challenged, and he was conscious of making a very conspicuous mark upon the snow. Just on his left hand there stood a great *hotel*, with some turrets and a large porch before the door; it was half ruinous, he remembered, and had long stood empty; and so he made three steps of it, and jumped into the shelter of the porch. It was pretty dark inside after the glimmer of the snowy streets, and he was groping forward with outspread hands when he stumbled over some substance which offered an indescribable mixture of resistances, hard and soft, firm and loose. His heart gave a leap, and he sprung two steps back and stared dreadfully at the obstacle. Then he gave a little laugh of relief. It was only a woman, and she dead. He knelt beside her to make sure upon this latter point. She was freezing cold, and rigid like a stick. A little ragged finery fluttered in the wind about her hair, and her cheeks had been heavily rouged that same afternoon. Her pockets were quite empty; but in her stocking, underneath the garter, Villon found two of the small coins that went by the name of whites. It was little enough; but it was always something, and the poet was moved with a deep sense of pathos that she should have died before she had spent her money. That seemed to him a dark and pitiful mystery; and he looked from the coins in his hand to the dead woman and back again to the coins, shaking his head over the riddle of man's life.

Henry V of England, dying at Vincennes
p. 7, col. 3

just after he had conquered France, and this poor jade, cut off by a cold draught in a great man's doorway before she had time to spend her couple of whites; it seemed a cruel way to carry on the world. Two whites would have taken such a little while to squander; and yet it would have been one more good taste in the mouth, one more smack of the lips, before the devil got the soul, and the body was left to birds and vermin. He would like to use all his tallow before the light was blown out and the lantern broken.

While these thoughts were passing through his mind, he was feeling, half mechanically, for his purse. Suddenly his heart stopped beating; a feeling of cold scales passed up the back of his legs, and a cold blow seemed to fall upon his scalp. He stood petrified for a moment; then he felt again with one feverish movement; then his loss burst upon him, and he was covered at once with perspiration. To spendthrifts money is so living and actual—it is such a thin veil between them and their pleasures! There is only one limit to their fortune—that of time; and a spendthrift with only a few crowns is the emperor of Rome until they are spent. For such a person to lose his money is to suffer the most shocking reverse, and fall from heaven to hell, from all to nothing, in a breath. And all the more if he has put his head in the halter for it; if he may be hanged to-morrow for that same purse, so dearly earned, so foolishly departed! Villon stood and cursed; he threw the two whites into the street; he shook his fist at

Sic in the original; probably "existence, for one".

heaven; he stamped, and was not horrified to find himself trampling the poor corpse. Then he began rapidly to retrace his steps toward the house beside the cemetery. He had forgotten all fear of the patrol, which was long gone by at any rate, and had no idea but that of his lost purse. It was in vain that he looked right and left upon the snow; nothing was to be seen. He had not dropped it in the streets. Had it fallen in the house? He would have liked dearly to go in and see; but the idea of the grisly occupant unmanned him. And he saw besides, as he drew near, that their efforts to put out the fire had been unsuccessful; on the contrary, it had broken into a blaze, and a changeful light played in the chinks of door and window, and revived his terror for the authorities and Paris gibbet.

He returned to the hotel with the porch, and groped about upon the snow for the money he had thrown away in his childish passion. But he could only find one white; the other had probably struck sideways and sunk deeply in. With a single white in his pocket all his projects for a rousing night in some wild tavern vanished utterly away. And it was not only pleasure that fled laughing from his grasp; positive discomfort, positive pain, attacked him as he stood ruefully before the porch. His perspiration had dried upon him, and although the wind had now fallen, a binding frost was setting in stronger with every hour, and he felt benumbed and sick at heart. What was to be done? Late as was the hour, improbable as was success, he would try the house of his adopted father, the chaplain of St. Benoit.

He ran there all the way, and knocked timidly. There was no answer. He knocked again and again, taking heart with every stroke; and at last steps were heard approaching from within. A barred wicket fell open in the iron studded door, and emitted a gush of yellow light.

“Hold up your face to the wicket,” said the chaplain from within.

“It’s only me,” whispered Villon.

“Oh, it’s only you, is it?” returned the chaplain; and he cursed him with foul unpriestly oaths for disturbing him at such an hour, and bade him be off to hell, where he came from.

“My hands are blue to the wrist,” pleaded Villon; “my feet are dead and full of twinges; my nose aches with the sharp air; the cold lies at my heart. I may be dead before morning. Only this once, father, and before God I will never ask again!”

“You should have come earlier,” said the ecclesiastic coolly. “Young men require a lesson now and then.” He shut the wicket and retired deliberately into the interior of the house.

Villon was beside himself; he beat upon the door with his hands and feet, and shouted hoarsely after the chaplain.

“Wormy old fox!” he cried. “If I had my hand under your twist, I would send you flying headlong into the bottomless pit.”

A door shut in the interior, faintly audible to the poet down long passages. He passed his hand over his mouth with an oath. And then the humor of the situation struck him, and he laughed and looked lightly up to heaven, where the stars seemed to be winking over his discomfiture.

What was to be done? It looked very like a night in the frosty streets. The idea of the dead woman popped into his imagination and gave him a hearty fright; what had happened to her in the early night might very well happen to him before morning. And he so young! and with such immense possibilities of disorderly amusement before him! He felt quite pathetic over the notion of his own fate, as if it had been some one else’s, and made a little imaginative vignette of the scene in the morning when they should find his body.

He passed all his chances under review, turning the white between his thumb and forefinger. Unfortunately he was on bad terms with some old friends who would once have taken pity on him in such a plight. He had lampooned them in verses; he had beaten and cheated them; and yet now, when he was in so close a pinch, he thought there was at least one who might perhaps relent. It was a chance. It was worth trying at least, and he would go and see.

On the way two little accidents happened to him which colored his musings in a very different manner. For, first, he fell in with the track of a patrol, and walked in it for some hundred yards, although it lay out of his direction. And this spirited him up; at least he had confused his trail; for he was still possessed with the idea of people tracking him all about Paris over the snow, and collaring him next morning before was awake[sic]. The other matter affected him quite differently. He passed a street corner where, not so long before, a woman and her child had been devoured by wolves. This was just the kind of weather, he reflected, when wolves might take it into their heads to enter Paris again; and a lone man in these deserted streets would run the chance of something worse than a mere scare. He stopped and looked upon the place with an unpleasant interest—it was a cen- ter where several lanes intersected each other; and he looked down them all, one after another, and held his breath to listen, lest he should detect some galloping black things on the snow or hear the sound of howling between him and the river. He remembered his mother telling him the story and pointing [out?] the spot, while he was yet a child. His mother! If he only knew where she lived he might make sure at least of shelter. He determined he would inquire upon the morrow; nay, he would go and see her, too, poor old girl! So thinking, he arrived at his destination—his last hope for the night.

The house was quite dark like its neighbors, and yet after a few taps he heard a movement overhead, a door opening, and a cautious voice asking who was there. The poet named himself in a loud whisper, and waited, not without some trepidation, the result. Nor had he to wait long. A window was suddenly opened and a pailful of slops splashed down upon the doorstep. Villon had not been unprepared for something of the sort, and had put himself as much in shelter as the nature of the porch admitted; but for all that he was deplorably drenched below the waist. His hose began to freeze almost at once. Death from cold and exposure stared him in the face; he remembered he was of phthisical tendency, and began coughing tentatively. But the gravity of the danger steadied his nerves. He stopped a few hundred yards from the door where he had been so rudely used, and reflected with his finger to his nose. He could only see one way of getting a lodging, and that was to take it. He had noticed a house not far away, which looked as if it might be easily broken into, and thither he betook himself promptly, entertaining himself on the way with the idea of a room still hot, with a table still loaded with the remains of supper, where he might pass the rest of the black hours, and whence he should issue on the morrow with an armful of valuable plate. He even considered on what viands and on what wines he should prefer; and as he was calling the roll of his favorite dainties, roast fish presented itself to his mind with an odd mixture of amusement and horror.

“I shall never finish that ballad,” he thought to himself; and then, with another shudder at the recollection, “Oh, damn his fat head!” he repeated fervently, and spat upon the snow.

The house in question looked dark at first sight; but as Villon made a preliminary inspection in search of the handiest point of attack, a little twinkle of light caught his eye from behind a curtained window.

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“The devil!” he thought. “People awake! Some student or some saint, confound the crew! Can’t they get drunk and lie in bed snoring, like their neighbors! What’s the good of curfew, and poor devils of bellringers jumping at a rope’s end in bell towers? What’s the use of day, if people sit up all night? The gripes to them!” He grinned as he

Sic in the original; probably “before he was awake”.

saw where his logic was leading him. “Every man to his business, after all,” added he, “and if they’re awake, by the Lord, I may come by a supper honestly for once, and cheat the devil.”

He went boldly to the door and knocked with an assured hand. On both previous occasions he had knocked timidly and with some dread of attracting notice; but now, when he had just discarded the thought of a burglarious entry, knocking at a door seemed a mighty simple and innocent proceeding. The sound of his blows echoed through the house with thin phantasmal reverberations, as though it were quite empty; but these had scarcely died away before a measured tread drew near, a couple of bolts were withdrawn, and one wing was opened broadly, as though no guile or fear of guile were known to those within. A tall figure of a man, muscular and spare, but a little bent, confronted Villon. The head was massive in bulk, but finely sculptured; the nose blunt at the bottom, but refining upward to where it joined a pair of strong and honest eyebrows; the mouth and eyes surrounded with delicate markings, and the whole face based upon a thick white beard, boldly and squarely trimmed. Seen as it was by the light of a flickering hand-lamp, it looked, perhaps, nobler than it had a right to do; but it was a fine face, honorable rather than intelligent, strong, simple and righteous.

“You knock late, sir,” said the old man, in resonant, courteous tones.

Villon cringed and brought up many servile words of apology. At a crisis of this sort the beggar was uppermost in him, and the man of genius hid his head with confusion.

“You are cold,” repeated the old man, “and hungry? Well, step in.” And he ordered him into the house with a noble enough gesture.

“Some great signeur[sic],” thought Villon, as his host, setting down the lamp on the flagged pavement of the entry, shot the bolts once more into their places.

“You will pardon me if I go in front,” he said when this was done, and he preceded the poet upstairs into a large apartment, warmed with a pan of charcoal and lit by a great lamp hanging from the roof. It was very bare of furniture; only some gold plate on a sideboard, some folios, and a stand of armor between the windows. Some smart tapestry hung upon the walls, representing the crucifixion of our Lord in one piece, and in another a scene of shepherds and shepherdesses by a running stream. Over the chimney was a shield of arms.

“Will you seat yourself,” said the old man, “and forgive me if I leave you? I am alone in my house to-night, and if you are to eat I must forage for you myself.”

No sooner was his host gone than Villon leaped from the chair on which he had just seated himself, and began examining the room, with the stealth and passion of a cat. He weighed the gold flagons in his hand, opened all the folios and investigated the arms upon the shield and the stuff with which the seats were lined. He raised the window curtains, and saw that the windows were set with rich stained glass in figures, so far as he could see, of martial import. Then he stood in the middle of the room, drew a long breath, and retaining it with puffed cheeks, looked round and round him, turning on his heels, as if to impress every feature of the apartment on his memory.

“Seven pieces of plate,” he said. “If there had been ten, I would have risked it. A fine house and a fine old master, so help me all the saints!”

And just then, hearing the old man’s tread returning along the corridor, he stole back to his chair, and began humbly toasting his wet legs before the charcoal pan.

Sic in the original; probably “seigneur”.

His entertainer had a plate of meat in one hand and a jug of wine in the other. He sat down the plate upon the table, motioning Villon to draw in his chair, and, going to the sideboard, brought back two goblets, which he filled.

“I drink your better fortune,” he said, gravely, touching Villon’s cup with his own.

“To our better acquaintance,” said the poet, growing bold. A mere man of the people would have been awed by the courtesy of the old seigneur, but Villon was hardened in that matter; he had made mirth for great lords before now, and found them as black rascals as himself. And so he devoted himself to the viands with a ravenous gusto, while the old man, leaning backward, watched him with steady, curious eyes.

“You have blood on your shoulder, my man,” he said.

Montigny must have laid his wet right hand upon him as he left the house. He cursed Montigny in his heart.

“It was none of my shedding,” he stammered.

“I had not supposed so,” returned his host, quietly. “A brawl?”

“Well, something of that sort,” Villon admitted with a quaver.

“Perhaps a fellow murdered?”

“Oh, no, not murdered,” said the poet, more and more confused. “It was all fair play—murdered by accident. I had no hand in it, God strike me dead!” he added fervently.

“One rogue the fewer, I dare say,” observed the master of the house.

“You may dare to say that,” agreed Villon, infinitely relieved. “As big a rogue as there is between here and Jerusalem. He turned up his toes like a lamb. But it was a nasty thing to look at. I dare say you’ve seen dead men in your time, my lord?” he added, glancing at the armor.

“Many,” said the old man. “I have followed the wars, as you imagine.”

Villon laid down his knife and fork, which he had just taken up again.

“Were any of them bald?” he asked.

“Oh, yes, and with hair as white as mine.”

“I don’t think I should mind the white so much,” said Villon. “His was red.” And he had a return of his shuddering and tendency to laughter, which he drowned with a great draught of wine. “I’m a little put out when I think of it,” he went on. “I knew him—damn him! And then the cold gives a man fancies—or the fancies give a man cold, I don’t know which.”

“Have you any money?” asked the old man.

“I have one white,” returned the poet, laughing. “I got it out of a dead jade’s stocking in a porch. She was as dead as Cæsar, poor wench, and as cold as a church, with bits of ribbon sticking in her hair. This is a hard world in winter for wolves and wenches and poor rogues like me.”

"I," said the old man, "am Euguerraud[sic] de la Feuillee, seigneur de Brisetout, bailly du Patatrac. Who and what may you be?"

Villon rose and made a suitable reverence. "I am called Francis Villon," he said, "a poor master of arts in this university. I know some Latin, and a deal of vice. I can make chansons, ballads, lais, virelais and roundels, and I am very fond of wine. I was born in a garret, and I shall not improbably die upon the gallows. I may add, my lord, that from this night forward I am your lordship's very obsequious servant to command."

"No servant of mine," said the knight; "my guest for this evening, and no more."

"A very grateful guest," said Villon, politely, and he drank in dumb show to his entertainer.

"You are shrewd," began the old man, tapping his forehead, "very shrewd; you have learning; you are a clerk; and yet you take a small piece of money of a dead woman in the street. Is it not a kind of theft?"

"It is a kind of theft much practiced in the wars, my lord."

"The wars are the field of honor," returned the old man, proudly. "There a man plays his life upon the cast; he fights in the name of his lord the king, his Lord God, and all their lordships, the holy saints and angels."

"Put it," said Villon, "that I were really a thief, should I not play my life also, and against heavier odds?"

"For gain, but not for honor."

"Gain!" repeated Villon with a shrug. "Gain! The poor fellow wants supper and takes it. So does the soldier in a campaign. Why, what are all these requisitions we hear so much about? If they are not gain to those who take them they are loss enough to the others. The men-at-arms drink by a good fire, while the burgher bites his nails to buy them wine and wood. I have seen a good many plowmen swinging on trees about the country; ay, I have seen thirty on one elm, and a very poor figure they made; and when I asked some one how all these came to be hanged, I was told it was because they could not scrape together enough crowns to satisfy the men-at-arms."

"These things are a necessity of war, which the low-born must endure with constancy. It
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is true that some captains drive overhard; there are spirits in every rank not easily moved by pity; and, indeed, many follow arms who are no better than brigands."

"You see," said the poet, "you cannot separate the soldier from the brigand; and what is a thief but an isolated brigand with circumspect manners? I steal a couple of mutton chops, without so much as disturbing people's sleep; the farmer grumbles a bit, but sups none the less wholesomely on what remains. You come up blowing gloriously on a trumpet, take away the whole sheep, and beat the farmer pitifully into the bargain. I have no trumpet; I am only Tom, Dick or Harry; I am a rogue and a *dog*, and hanging's too good for me—with all my heart; but just ask the farmer which of us he prefers, just find out which of us he lies awake to curse on cold nights."

"Look at us two," said his lordship. "I am old, strong and honored. If I were turned from my house to-morrow hundreds would be proud to shelter me. Poor people would go out and pass the night in the streets with their children if I merely hinted that I wished to be alone. And I find you up, wandering homeless, and picking farthings off dead women by the wayside! I fear no man and nothing; I have seen you tremble and lose countenance at a word. I wait God's summons contentedly in my own house, or, if it please the king to call me out again, upon the field of battle. You look for the gallows; a rough, swift death, without hope or honor. Is there no difference between these two?"

Sic in the original; probably "Enguerrand".

"As far as to the moon," Villon acquiesced. "But if I had been born lord of Brisetout, and you had been the poor scholar Francis, would the difference have been any the less? Should I not have been warming my knees at this charcoal pan, and would not you have been groping for farthings in the snow? Should not I have been the soldier and you the thief?"

"A thief?" cried the old man. "I a thief? If you understood your words you would repent them!"

Villon turned out his hands with a gesture of inimitable impudence. "If your lordship had done me the honor to follow my argument!" he said.

"I do you too much honor in submitting to your presence," said the knight. "Learn to curb your tongue when you speak with old and honorable men, or some one hastier than I may reprove you in a sharper fashion." And he rose and paced the lower end of the apartment, struggling with anger and antipathy. Villon surreptitiously refilled his cup and settled himself more comfortably in the chair, crossing his knees and leaning his head upon one hand and his elbow against the back of the chair. He was now replete and warm, and he was in nowise frightened for his host, having gauged him as justly as was possible between two such different characters. The night was far spent and in a very comfortable fashion after all; and he felt morally certain of a safe departure on the morrow.

"Tell me one thing," said the old man, pausing in his walk. "Are you really a thief?"

"I claim the sacred rights of hospitality," returned the poet. "My lord, I am."

"You are very young," the knight continued.

"I should never have been so old," replied Villon, showing his fingers, "if I had not helped myself with these ten talents. They have been my nursing mothers and my nursing fathers."

"You may still repent and change."

"I repent daily," said the poet. "There are few people more given to repentance than poor Francis. As for change, let somebody change my circumstances. A man must continue to eat, if it were only that he may continue to repent."

"The change must begin in the heart," returned the old man solemnly.

"My dear lord," answered Villon, "do you really fancy that I steal for pleasure? I hate stealing, like any other piece of work or of danger. My teeth chatter when I see a gallows. But I must eat, I must drink, I must mix in society of some sort. What the devil! Man is not a solitary animal—*Cui Deus fœminam tradit.* Make me king's pantler—make me abbot of St. Denis; make me bailly of the Patatrac; and then I shall be changed indeed. But as long as you leave me the poor scholar, Francis Villon, without a farthing, why, of course, I remain the same."

"The grace of God is all powerful."

"I should be a heretic to question it," said Francis. "It has made you lord of Brisetout and bailly of the Patatrac; it has given me nothing but the quick wits under my hat and these ten toes upon my hands. May I help myself to wine? I thank you respectfully. By God's grace, you have a very superior vintage."

The lord of Brisetout walked to and fro with his hands behind his back. Perhaps he was not yet quite settled in his mind about the parallel between thieves and soldiers; perhaps Villon had interested him by some cross threat of sympathy[sic]; perhaps his wits were simply muddled by so much unfamiliar reasoning; but whatever the cause, he

Sic in the original; probably "cross thread of sympathy".

somehow yearned to convert the young man to a better way of thinking, and could not make up his mind to drive him forth again into the street.

"There is something more than I can understand in this," he said. "Your mouth is full of subtleties, and the devil has led you very far astray; but the devil is only a very weak spirit before God's truth, and all his subtleties vanish at a word of true honor, like darkness at morning. Listen to me once more. I learned long ago that a gentleman should live chivalrously and lovingly to God, and the king and his lady: and though I have seen many strange things done, I have still striven to command my ways upon that rule. It is not only written in all noble histories, but in every man's heart, if he will take care to read. You speak of food and wine, and I know very well that hunger is a difficult trial to endure; but you do not speak of other wants; you say nothing of honor, of faith to God and other men, of courtesy, of love without reproach. It may be that I am not very wise—and yet I am—but you seem to me like one who has lost his way and made a great error in life. You are attending to the little wants, and you have totally forgotten the great and only real ones, like a man who should be doctoring toothache on the Judgment Day. For such things as honor and love and faith are not only nobler than food and drink, but indeed I think we desire them more, and suffer more sharply for their absence. I speak to you as I think you will most easily understand me. Are you not, while careful to fill your belly, disregarding another appetite in your heart, which spoils the pleasure of your life and keeps you continually wretched?"

Villon was sensibly nettled under all this sermonizing. "You think I have no sense of honor!" he cried. "I'm poor enough, God knows! It's hard enough to see rich people with their gloves, and you blowing in your hands. An empty belly is a bitter thing, although you speak so lightly of it. If you had had as many as I, perhaps you would change your tune. Any way, I'm a thief—make the most of that—but I'm not a devil from hell. God strike me dead. I would have you to know I've an honor of my own as good as yours, though I don't prate about it all day long as if it was a God's miracle to have any. It seems quite natural to me; I keep it in its box till it's wanted. Why now, look you here, how long have I been in this room with you? Did you not tell me you were alone in the house? Look at your gold plate! You're strong, if you like, but you're old and unarmed, and I have my knife. What did I want but a jerk of the elbow, and here would have been you with the cold steel in your bowels, and there would have been me, linking in the streets with an armful of gold cups! Did you suppose I hadn't wit enough to see that? And I scorned the action. There are your damned goblets as safe as in a church; there are you, with your heart ticking as good as new; and here am I, ready to go out again as poor as I came in, with my one white that you threw in my teeth! And you think I have no honor—God strike me dead!"

The old man stretched out his right arm. "I will tell you what you are," he said. "You are a rogue, my man, an impudent and black-hearted rogue and vagabond. I have passed an hour with you. Oh! believe me, I feel myself disgraced! And you have eaten and drunk at my table. But now I am sick at your presence; the day has come, and the night bird should be off to his roost. Will you go before, or after?"

"Which you please," returned the poet, rising. "I believe you to be strictly honorable." He thoughtfully emptied his cup. "I wish I could add you were intelligent," he went on, knocking on his head with his knuckles. "Age! age! the brains stiff and rheumatic."

The old man preceded him from a point of self-respect; Villon followed, whistling, with his thumbs in his girdle.

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"God pity you!" said the lord of Brisetout at the door.

"Good-by, papa," returned Villon, with a yawn. "Many thanks for the cold mutton."

The door closed behind him. The dawn was breaking over the white roofs. A chill, uncomfortable morning ushered in the day. Villon stood and heartily stretched himself in the middle of the road.

"A very dull old gentleman," he thought. "I wonder what his goblets may be worth."

Robert Louis Stevenson.

PRESS OPINIONS.

Mr. Reagan[45] has been one of the few men in congress since the war who have had a principle, and who have dared maintain it. In the senate Mr. Reagan will have an excellent opportunity of pursuing his studies of the great *American corporation* and its agents.—[Chicago Herald.

Having no stake anywhere, and hungering only for the dollars and the opportunities which their questionable service offered them, the Pinkerton men have been as reckless a mob of anarchists as was ever turned loose upon a free people. It will net[sic] be long before all the states will have taken the same steps to preserve their dignity and the lives of their citizens that Michigan has now done.—[Chicago Herald.

As the public is paying the extra cost of this strike in the enhanced price of such a necessity as coal, it is about time, as we have before insisted, for the same public to call a halt on the coal companies and insist upon a settlement, or at least a willingness to discuss and consider the reasonable demands of their workmen.—[Boston Globe.

The natural right of every citizen to a free footing on the earth is the foundation stone of justice to American labor. No man without free access to the earth and free standing room upon it can possibly exercise the privilege of choosing what he will work for, or for whom. He is at the mercy of the land owner and the tool owner. They have dictated that the people shall work for the land owner for permission to sleep on the earth, and for the machinery owner for the privilege of using his machinery, and then for what wages the latter may choose to give in addition after these privileges are paid for. The alternatives left are to move off the earth or be imprisoned as tramps.—[Amsterdam, N. Y., Labor's Stage.

MEN AND WOMEN.

Park Commissioner John D. Crimmins thinks Dr. McGlynn "has lost his influence, particularly over that class whom he has now an opportunity of serving." If Mr. Crimmins means the politician class, he is quite right. How well Dr. McGlynn could serve that class by being false to himself is too obvious to need explanation.

Vice President Galloway of the elevated railroads has curious ideas of discipline. His orders to gatemen are strict to allow no one to pass without depositing a ticket or showing a pass; yet he himself, without disclosing his identity, breaks his own rule. About a month ago he summarily discharged a gateman at Battery place, who, not having the honor of Mr. Galoway's[sic] personal acquaintance, enforced the rule against him. That interesting little romance about a private soldier who wouldn't let his general pass without the countersign, which has come floating down the centuries, will have to be reconstructed when Sunday school books about generals of industry are written.

Judge Richard Prendergast, who is talked of for mayor of Chicago by the united labor party, was born in Ireland, Nov. 8, 1854. His mother died when he was but eight years of age, and his father, who was a farmer and kept a

45. Ed. John Henninger Reagan (1818-1905) was an American politician from the U.S. state of Texas. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Henninger_Reagan.
Sic in the original; probably "not".
Sic in the original; probably "Galloway's".

country store, immigrated to this country two years later, settling in LaSalle, Ill. The boy attended the public school of that town, and during the vacations worked in a store. In 1866, when he was twelve years old, he went to Chicago, and for six years worked in a store. With his scant savings he went to a college in Montreal in 1872 and studied for two years. Then he returned to Chicago and entered St. Ignatius college. In 1876 he entered a law office. In 1882 he was elected county judge and was re-elected last fall.

Henry Clay Dean, a western democratic orator, at one time chaplain of the United States senate, died on Saturday at his home in Putnam county, Missouri. He was sixty-five years of age. Dean was a pronounced pro-slavery man, and devoted a great deal of effort to showing that a negro is not really a human being. At one time he was quite prom- inent, but until the announcement of his death his name has hardly appeared in the newspapers for years.

Progress of Concentration.

C. W. Stanton in the Budget.

Our farming land is so heavily burdened with mortgages that the time is close at hand when it will be absorbed by foreign syndicates and land barons. When the Roman owned the soil he worked, Rome was happy and prosperous; but when the people became oppressed they were forced to mortgage their land, which passed into the hands of less than two thousand land barons. With poverty and loss of home and ambition to the millions, discontent took the place of peace and loyalty, and the northern barbarians found the key to the gates of Rome and the secret of her overthrow. History repeats itself. Behold the change that has taken place in this country in the past decade! Land tillers are rushing to the vortex as chaff before the wind. Mortgages are driving the farmers from their homes, and millions are locked up in the treasury vaults, while industry is languishing and labor is tramping our streets in search of bread.

Nonsense About Official Salaries.

Chicago Evening Journal.

A newspaper that evidently believes in the common but delusive cant in regard to the “low salaries” of public officers, refers to the anticipated departure of Secretary Manning and Treasurer Jordan from the treasury department as an instance of men seeking private employment because their public salaries are insufficient for their wants. The official salary of Secretary Manning is $8,000 a year. That of Treasurer Jordan is $6,000 a year. Neither of them ever had so large a salary before in any occupation that he followed. Mr. Manning and Mr. Jordan have obtained possession of all the knowledge that is useful or of value relating to the operations of the treasury department of the government. With this knowledge they are going into the business of national banking in New York city. Their experience is worth more to them than capital. It is something that capital cannot acquire nor control. They have obtained it at the expense of the United States, and are going to use it for their own profit.

Ocular Demonstration.

The *Pacific Pilote*, a German paper published in San Francisco, says, speaking of Southern California:

> Below Fallbrook, where the “blessings” of the old Spanish grants are still felt, one sees with sorrow and indignation that magnificent mountain valley from one-quarter of a mile to three miles broad given up to herds of half-wild cattle, because the grant is in the hands of lazy Spaniards who do not care to cultivate it,

> while poor men willing to improve it are banished. We only wish that all opponents of Henry George's land theory could see this splendid valley and be convinced; a great part of them would recognize the folly of continuing the present land system. Were it not for these absurd grants San Diego would now have 100,000 people. We trust a change is coming very soon.

The Remedy Lies in Legislation.

Toronto Correspondence Iron Moulders' Journal.

It is now tacitly acknowledged by all labor organizations that full and permanent redress of the grievances of the laboring masses can only be obtained by what is known as political action; in other words, the selection of representatives to our legislative halls who are in thorough and complete sympathy with our cause.

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RELIGIOUS.

O Heart Divine!

O Heart Divine, that pulsest through all space, Why dost Thou seem so far away and cold? We miss the pressure of the arms that fold; We long to hear Thy voice, to see Thy face. But if Thou didst vouchsafe this awful grace, Might not the question that Cain's dread doom told, "Where is thy brother?" shake our hearts too bold, And brand our foreheads with Hate's hideous trace? How oft our groping hands, in seeking Thee, Slip past, or smite a brother in the dark! Unfit for heaven's effulgent light are we Who will not cherish our faint earthly spark; Who will not learn that through a brother's heart Thy Heart Divine will all its warmth impart.

"F. V." in New Orleans Times-Democrat.

A Short Sermon by the Rev. J. Llewelyn Davies.

This preacher is an English clergyman, introduced to American readers by Bishop Henry C. Potter[47] in a small book called "Theology and Morality," from which we take this sermon:[46]

"Why should we be content to have so serf-like a peasantry in England? No fear of offending land holder, or farmer ought to restrain the expression of cierical sympathy with the laborer; and we ought to look forward with hope to the time when the peasantry shall be independent enough to make fair terms with those above them, and shall enjoy a larger share than now falls to their lot of the profits accruing from the cultivation of the land.

"It is an important fact, of which we must not lose sight, that the principle of communism can hardly be stated in any general form which shall not demand universal acquiescence. There are those who think that there is irreverence and danger in discussing these questions at all. They would have property treated with the respect due to a divine mystery, as a thing not to be approached even in thought without delicacy and caution. They speak often of the *sacredness* of private property. Now, various objects have been sacred in various religions. But it is not the Christian religion that has ever consecrated private property. Private ownership has its strength, not in religion or reflection, but in the spontaneous impulses of human nature. You may persuade yourself that nothing better can be devised than the competitive struggle for existence in which the helpless go to the wall. But if you have imaginative enterprise enough to construct an ideal scheme of social constitution, your scheme will almost inevitably be more communistic than the existing arrangements of society. It is scarcely possible to be religious or thoughtful at all without revolving plans of some kind by which social miseries may be cured or social happiness increased.

"I recall to your minds the teaching of the new testament and the instincts of humanity. Now, if certain plans were proposed to you by which it could be shown to your satisfaction that, at the cost of some of the wealth of the rich,

the condition of the poor could be made permanently more easy and more secure against degradation, would you not joyfully accept them? You cannot say no. One of the most ambitious schemes is that of the acquisition of the land by the state. On the great scale it seems impossible (1872) to imagine how this could be done. But there is no *a priori* reason why more of the land should not belong to the public than is at present the case among ourselves. In Switzerland the communes hold a great deal of land, which they either keep for common use or let to tenants at a rent. It seems to be simply a question of good policy whether it would be well for us to adopt the same custom.

"We are drawn on the one hand toward the rich, on the other hand toward the poor. We may yield ourselves to either attraction; but let us remember that it is the spirit of the world that tempts us to make up to the rich, whilst the spirit of Christ bids us sympathize with the humble and the poor."

News and Opinions.

The pope has asked the center party of Germany to support Bismarck in "preserving peace" by assenting to his seven years' army bill. The name of center party corresponds with the position of Catholic populations in the empire. The Rhine and the Danube flow through Catholic land.

In Protestant Prussia the Catholics hold the districts of richest agriculture and most famous traditions. According to the latest census, they form a mass of 9,600,000 earnest Catholics as against 18,000,000 nominal Protestants, not more than four or five millions of whom ever attend any place of worship or hold a single dogma of positive Christianity.

The young women of the Catholic church at Stafford Springs, Conn., have formed "an association for the cultivation of young men's society." They propose at balls, parties, and all social gatherings to boycott all young men who do not attend to church duties regularly, do not lead strictly moral and temperate lives, and who fail to keep company with some member of the organization.

St. Peter's Catholic cathedral, Montreal, is nearly completed. It resembles St. Peter's at Rome. The gigantic dome, the most striking part, is 210 feet at its summit above the spectator on the floor. The top of the cross reaches 40 feet higher, and makes the whole edifice 46 feet higher than Notre Dame, the older cathedral of Montreal.

The American Christian (pronounced Christ-ian) convention, representing the "connection" to which the late President Garfield belonged, has held its quadrennial session in New Bedford, Mass. The members of the body in the United States and Canada are given as about 140,000.

Father Damien, a Catholic priest, has died of leprosy on one of the Hawaiian Islands where lepers are kept. He went to work among them, knowing that it cut him off from the company of other men, and that he risked his life. He was a representative of a host of good men, Catholics and Protestants, who are doing the same work. Moravians have been ministering to these outcasts for fifty years on Robben Island, near the Cape of Good Hope, and at Jerusalem and in India are lepers' homes wherein missionaries live.

God Gives No Title to Land.

Rev. C. M. Winchester of the Free Christian church, Middletown, N. Y., is teaching his congregation sound morals as to land ownership. On Sunday week he said:[48]

There are some things that evidently belong to the race in common. It is impossible to have "a corner" in air, or a monopoly of the sun or water. All of these are necessary to life. No more can a man live without land, and it is

plain to be seen that land is a common gift to all. Who can show a deed from God giving man an absolute title to land? Every man has a right to be God's tenant and use as much land as he needs; but to obtain it for purposes of speculation and withhold it from his fellow men is reprehensible, and the laws should be so framed as to make such acts impossible. Let men obey the golden rule and soon they will find a way to make distribution of land and all the necessaries of life so as to drive away the poverty and discontent now creating so much distress among working people.

Ruskin at the Theater.

We of the so-called "educated" classes who take it upon us to be the better and upper part of the world, cannot possibly understand our relations to the rest better than we may where actual life may be seen in front of its Shakespearean image from the stalls of a theater. I never stand up to rest myself and look round the house without renewal of wonder how the crowd in the pit and shilling gallery allow us of the boxes and stalls to keep our places. Think of it! those fellows behind there have housed us and fed us; their wives have washed our clothes and kept us tidy;

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they have bought us the best places—brought us through the cold to them, and there they sit behind us patiently seeing and hearing what they may. There they pack themselves, squeezed and distant, behind our chairs—we, their elect toys and pet puppets, oiled and varnished and incensed lounge in front, placidly, or for the greater part, wearily and sickly contemplative. Here we are again, all of us, this Christmas! Behold the artist is tumbling, our object of worship and applause; here sit we at our ease, the dressed dolls of the place, with little more in our heads, most of us, than may be contained inside of a wig of flax and a nose of wax; stuck up by these poor little prentices, clerks and orange-sucking nobility, Kit and his mother and the baby behind us, in the chief places of this our evening synagogue. What for? They did not stick you up, say you; you paid for your stalls with your own money. Where did you get your money? Some of you—if any reverend gentlemen, as I hope, are among us—by selling the gospel; others by selling justice; others by selling their blood (and no man has any right to sell aught of these three things); the rest, if not by swindling, by simple taxation of the labor of the shilling gallery, or of the yet poorer or better persons who have not so much or will not spend so much as the shilling to get there. How else should you or could you get your money, simpletons?—*John Ruskin*[49].

THE "BLESSED" COMMUNIST.

English Catholics Rejoicing Over the Beatification of Sir Thomas More.

Two articles recently appeared in THE STANDARD showing that in Utopia Sir Thomas More not only advocated the theory that the land of a country belongs to the population of that country in common, but that all of the

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48. Ed. A notice in The Epworth Herald of 1906-08-11 said, "Rev. Charles M. Winchester, who died a few days ago in Middletown, N. Y., was pastor of St. Paul's Church, Providence, R. I., during the war and there recruited Company B of the Twelfth Rhode Island Regiment, becoming its lieutenant. After the war he was pastor of independent churches until a few years ago. He was in charge of the Free Christian Church in Middletown for twenty-three years. Mr. Winchester never received a salary, as his business enterprises provided a comfortable living for him." See a New York Times article 1906-07-27. Other sources suggest he was also a speaker on temperance. See also a speech Rev. Winchester gave to an Anti-Poverty Society meeting, in The Standard, issue #027, 1887-07-09. (Placed approximately.)

47. Ed. The Rev. Henry Codman Potter (1835-1908) was the Episcopal Bishop of the Diocese of New York from 1883 until his death in 1908. He was the Bishop to whom the Rev. James Otis Sargent Huntington, active in the Anti-Poverty Society, referred when he said, in July, 1887, "My Bishop is not that kind of a Bishop and I'm not that kind of a priest," (an oblique reference to Bishop Corrigan.) See http://www.wealthandwant.com/docs/Kiefer_Huntington.htm.

46. Ed. John Llewelyn Davies (1826-1916). See https://en.wikisource.org/wiki/The_Times/1916/Obituary/John_Llewelyn_Davies. (Placed approximately.)

49. Ed. John Ruskin (1819-1900) was the leading English art critic of the Victorian era, as well as an art patron, draughtsman, watercolourist, a prominent social thinker and philanthropist. He wrote on subjects as varied as geology, architecture, myth, ornithology, literature, education, botany and political economy. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/John_Ruskin#Public_lecturer. See also "Letter from Ruskin: He is Opposed to Paying Men for the Use of God's Bounty," in The Standard, Issue #004.

products of human labor must in a true Christian commonwealth be similarly held. These articles also announced that there was a possibility that Sir Thomas' name would soon be added to the Catholic calendar of saints, and that he has been already enrolled among the blessed.[50]

English Catholics are greatly pleased over the formal enrolment of the names of their countrymen in the noble army of martyrs, and the event was celebrated on Sunday, Jan. 16, when a Te Deum was sung in all the Catholic churches throughout the kingdom in thanksgiving for the beatification of the English martyrs.

Dr. Hedley, bishop of Newport and Minevia[sic], has issued a pastoral letter in which he refers to the "decree of the sovereign pontiff in which he declared the beatification of fifty-four martyrs who laid down their lives for the faith." The bishop says: "Among them are some of the most illustrious names in our Catholic annals. The blessed John Fisher, the blessed Thomas More, the blessed Edmund Campion, are no mere names; they are men who have left behind them so much noble history that, even if they had never come to the scaffold, the rope, and the knife, they would be worthy of all that attention and veneration which the world owes to its teachers and its heroes." He also refers especially to More as the first lawyer of his day and one who, after the death of Wolsey, became the most prominent man in all England.

The *Catholic Times and Opinion* of London accompanies Bishop Hedley's pastoral with a biographical sketch of Sir Thomas More, which so far from ignoring the work in which he elaborated his socialistic theories, speaks of Utopia as a book that "delighted all of the learned men of the day" and made Henry VIII still more anxious to enroll its author among his courtiers. It appears from this that the church has beatified Sir Thomas with its eyes wide open to his economic opinions.

In order that there may be no doubt as to the meaning of the pope's decree, Bishop Hedley explains it in his pastoral. He says: "It would take too long, at this moment, to relate all that has taken place in regard to the 'cause' of the English martyrs in general. Let it suffice to say that there are no less than 350 names in the catalogue of those who, since the persecution of Henry VIII to the day when Oliver Plunkett, Archbishop of Armagh, was executed in 1681, at Tyburn, have merited the glorious title of martyr for the faith. A martyr who dies for the faith of Christ and the honor of God, ascends, as we need not remind you, straight to everlasting bliss. It is, therefore, more easy for the church to pronounce the canonization of martyrs than of those holy men who had not the grace of dying for Christ. Still, many wise formalities have to be gone through, in order that there may be no mistake; many processes, much inquiry, and very exact judicial investigation, both on the part of the ordinary bishops and of the holy see itself, always accompany even that minor form of canonization which is called 'beatification.' It has happened, therefore, that it is only now—in our own day—that the 'cause' has been absolutely placed before the competent Roman tribunals. As soon as this was done, it was found that in regard to fifty-four names there was no difficulty."

In such an investigation as is here described, of course, the published works of any candidate for beatification must have been closely scrutinized, and in the case of More and his "Utopia" this scrutiny was facilitated by the fact that the book was written in Latin, a tongue that all of the cardinals understand. Had that work contained sentiments antagonistic to received Catholic doctrine it does not appear likely that the poet[sic] would have escaped the attention of the examiners. Yet they certified that he "merited the glorious title of martyr for the faith," which act, according to Bishop Hedley, is "a minor form of canonization," which assures the faithful that Sir Thomas More at his death ascended "straight to everlasting bliss," and which makes it easy for the church hereafter, by full canonization, to enroll the now blessed old communist in the calendar of the saints.

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50. Ed. See "A Communistic Saint: Sir Thomas More," in Issue #001, and "A Communist Blessed: The Author of 'Utopia' Officially Declared to be in Heaven" in Issue #004. (Placed approximately.)

Sic in the original; probably "Menevia".

Sic in the original; probably "the point (or the book)".

Ay, the Herald Ought to Know.

NEW YORK, Feb. 8.—Workingmen are not averse to discussing the cause and the remedy of their ills, but they object decidedly to talk to those who assume deafness and blindness. The New York *Herald*, which now invites discussion, is very well aware of the wrongs we suffer, and knows the remedy. We have spoken often enough to make the very stones understand us. If it does not it had plenty of opportunity to inform itself at the last municipal election, when 68,000 voices yelled it into its ear. If the *Herald* be really animated with a desire to remove the cause of strikes let it openly advocate the principle of "the land for the people," which is the only remedy. Until it does we can only regard it as a pretended friend, not a real one.

HENRY LYON.

Teaching the Land Gospel.

BAY SHORE, Long Island, Feb. 7.—Hugh B. Brown of this place delivered an address on the new gospel of "the land for the people" in Suffolk hall on Tuesday evening, Feb. 1, to a large audience. He showed the evils of the present system, and traced it back to its origin; demonstrated that private property in land is sanctioned by neither natural nor moral law, and dwelt on the point that, as land values are due to the increase of population, they should be appropriated for public purposes, which could be easily done by taxing land according to its value, irrespective of improvements. The lecture excited a good deal of interest, and at its close there was an interesting debate. A flood of light has been thrown upon the land question.

J. R. SMITH.

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LABOR.

At the meeting of the Central labor union on Sunday a committee was appointed to take up subscriptions for the strikers. The boycott on Straiton & Storm's cigars was removed. The special business for the next meeting is to be a discussion of the removal of the boycott on George Ehret's beer.

Bradstreet's of last Saturday furnished a report of (1) leading strikes begun in 1886 and unsettled on Jan. 1 last; (2) all strikes in the United States begun during January, 1887, and (3) strikes announced during the first three days of February. The total number of men on strike during January, 1887, was about 78,000, against 47,200 in January, 1886. Inasmuch as 9,900 men have struck since Jan. 31 last, the comparison becomes 87,900 on strike since Jan. 1, 1887, as compared with 47,200 in 1886; 16,300 workers in factories, mills, and elsewhere were idle because of the scarcity of coal or because of lack of work caused by strikes of others. This points to 104,000 industrial employes who have stopped work since Jan. 1. There were eight strikes begun in 1886 carried over into the current year. These involved 5,000 men. Four have ended, two of them successfully, including 1,170 men, and two failing, involving 830 men. In January there were begun over ninety strikes by 73,000 employes. Of these thirty-two have ended, twenty-two of them, involving 3,000 men, being successful and nine of them, involving 5,700 men, having failed. About sixty January strikes, therefore, remain unsettled. The twenty-four strikes reported for three days in February furnish a list of 9,900 men. None of these had been settled.

The "free shop" notice of the boot and shoe manufacturers of Worcester county, Mass., is regarded by the factory employes in New England as an important event, far reaching in its results. In all twenty shops have locked out their men, and about 8,000 employes are affected. The matter involved is simply organization. The employers decided that, rather than to deal with representatives of the Knights, they would close their shops to all members

of labor organizations and make contracts as they could with individuals. Only one factory is making a determined effort to run with new help, the aim of the employers seeming to be to keep up the lockont[sic] until the old hands are forced to submit.

Two of the principal railroads of Boston, the Cambridge and the South Boston, are tied up, the men demanding a ten-hour work day to come within twelve hours, as the schedule now spreads their day over thirteen to fourteen hours. The employes of the other lines are reported ready for a general strike if necessary. The directors of the South Boston road have published official notices declaring that they have already granted concessions to the men, and that to yield to further demands would be ruinous; that they have offered to submit the question to the state board of arbitration and the men have declined the proposal, and that, therefore, they have decided to advertise for new men.

The Chicago typographical union has given the employers the necessary thirty days' notice of an advance in wages. The publishers decline to accede to the advance and demand arbitration. But the printers have been beaten twice in arbitration and say they will not submit the question to any tribunal.

A lockout of clothing cutters and trimmers took place in Philadelphia on Monday. The action was decided upon by the board of arbitration of the clothing exchange because the striking cutters of two firms had not been ordered back by the knights. The members of the exchange employ 1,000 cutters, and several thousand other employes are affected.

An order has been sent out from the general headquarters of the Knights of Labor at Philadelphia, commanding all knights who are members of the International cigarmakers' union withdraw[sic] from the union or leave the knights.

In March, 1886, an assembly of the Knights of Labor was formed in Oswego with 100 members, and now there are three assemblies, with 1,600 members. The only difficulty that has occurred has just been satisfactorily settled by arbitration. The coopers of Oswego had been working for very small wages, and taking their pay in orders on the stores of the boss coopers. They demanded ten cents apiece in cash for making barrels, an advance of four cents. The bosses refused to accede to the demands of the men, and arbitration was tried, but nothing could be done, and the men quit work. After being out one week the bosses agreed to pay the advance, and the men returned to work.

The Boot and Shoemakers' white labor league of California is active and growing. It has three agents on the road on the Pacific coast talking up the white labor stamp. It is also asking for favorable legislation.

The Knights of Labor of Washington territory have had circulars distributed in San Francisco cautioning workingmen to keep away from Seattle for at least two months, as men, women and children are wanting the necessaries of life there. Yet the belief is prevalent here in the east that the west has no poverty.

A bill authorizing the manufacture of school books by prison labor is before the Illinois legislature. It would result in employing 150 to 250 convicts as printers, and the printing fraternity of the state is sending delegations to Springfield to fight the bill.

Through a thorough organization of the miners and coke workers of the Connellsville coke regions during the past year wages have been increased, the pluck-me store has rival stores, individual contracts have been abolished,

Sic in the original; probably "lockout".
Sic in the original; probably "union to withdraw".

grievances are settled through officers of the organization, and fear has given away to a spirit that demands fair play to the workers. Last week another advance in wages was demanded.

The Rockland, Me., *Opinion* says that labor is better organized than ever in that city, that it knows of its rights and knows accurately what portion of them can be secured and maintained. The employes of the manufacturers of lime there have addressed to their employers a circular asking for a continuance of the wages of last year. This was done after much discussion in various local assemblies on the reports of two committees from the Knights of Labor and a report from the county advisory board. These Maine men are evidently moving with caution and intelligence.

The Philadelphia *Record's* labor summary of Sunday last contained this paragraph: "Notwithstanding all our talk and boasting of high wages and the better condition of the working classes than in foreign countries, and notwithstanding all that has been done by the various labor organizations, large and small, there are hundreds of thousands of wage-workers subsisting on a mere pittance. The number is not decreasing. It is not easily explainable why such low wages and so much poverty exist so near better labor conditions."

In a Macclesfield silk factory 114 hands throw 500 pounds of Canton silk at $2.25 per week. In a similar American mill 30 hands throw 1,050 to 1,200 pounds of the same silk for $5.50. It costs shoe manufacturers at Frankfort 21 cents to make uppers for ladies' high-top button gaiters, while at Lynn the cost is 11 cents. How much longer are American workingmen going to be fooled by the false cry of protection against the "pauper labor of Europe?"

The southern farmers and planters threaten to have all the laws repealed which permit the mortgaging of the crops in the field. The rates of interest are enormous, and the people are kept poor.

The contractors and builders of Worcester, Mass., have organized and agreed that they will pay for all work by the hour, and that they will not hire or discharge men because

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they do not belong to labor organizations, but will insist on the right of individual contract.

The steel welters[sic] at Pittsburg have asked for an advance in wages of 15 per cent.

When a bill to punish "black listing" was before the Pennsylvania legislature last week a member asked the meaning of the word, having failed to find it in the dictionary. When it was explained to him he said he wanted a provision in the bill to prevent one class of employes from blacklisting another, as he believed that if it was a crime for a dozen or more employers to agree to prevent certain workmen from earning a living, it was also a crime for a union of workingmen to combine for a similar purpose.

Superintendent McCord of the Sutter street railroad, San Francisco, has testified that the company has lost since the beginning of the strike $45,000 in receipts. The carmen are running 'busses. Police are guarding every car.

The Miners and Laborers' association of Pennsylvania have recommended to the legislature the passage of bills as follows: The bill to prevent the payment of wages in store orders by putting a tax on them; the two weeks' pay bill; the blacklisting bill; the Callahan conspiracy bill; the bill to prevent docking coal in the anthracite regions; requiring coal to be measured by weight in the bituminous region; doubling the number of mine inspectors in the anthracite region and increasing the salary from $1,000 to $1,500 per year; appointing state inspectors for enforcement of existing labor laws in mines; requiring uniform text-books in schools throughout the state, not to

Sic in the original; probably "welders (or melters)".

be changed oftener than once in five years; creating a school of coal mining; establishing miners' hospitals; requiring two practical miners on every coroner's jury in cases of mine accidents.

Timothy J. Ryan, employed as a dresser-tender at the Riverside mill at Olneyville, R. I., was fined and discharged for alleged imperfect work. Ryan objected to the fine and refused to take his wages with the amount of the fine deducted from them. He sued and the case was decided in favor of Ryan. The company appealed and took the case before a jury, but were again defeated, and finally the company was heard before the supreme court on their petition for a new trial on the ground of the alleged disqualification of a juror. The petition was dismissed with costs.

The maritime labor council of Australia has notified the San Francisco federated trades that unless the men who struck against the vessels of J. D. Spreckels & Bros. returned to work and put a stop to the shipping of Chinese crews the unions in Australia would themselves take the places left open by the strike, and it was recommended that the strike be abandoned. Resolutions favoring a federation of water front unions have been adopted by the steamship men of San Francisco.

The members of the Terre Haute brickmakers' union accepted employment at the close of the brick-making season in other occupations, many of them going with farmers during corn husking. They are now drifting back to the city, and the union is again holding meetings. The spirit of standing up for one another is strong in such men.

Mr. Henry Asken puts a plea before the organized labor of the country for the establishment of an eight hour day in the last issue of the Cincinnati *United Labor Age.* He says: "There should be a national convention of all national labor organizations for the express purpose of introducing and establishing the eight hour system. At such a convention the undertaking could be systematized and made a national success. Taking into account the vast interests that would be affected by this movement, and the radical difference it would make, it should be apparent to the most obtuse that the reform must be sufficiently gradual to avoid the dangers arising from violent and sudden changes in the laws governing the industries of the world. A convention composed of the bodies I have mentioned could adopt a rule lessening the hours of labor so that the end sought could be gained without any perceptible injury to the industries of the country. It could take half an hour a year for four years, or one hour with two years intervening."

The attempt of the Cincinnati builders to fix the length of a working day for all their employes develops the fact that the stonemasons alone have been working eight hours. The men of all the other trades connected with the building industry worked nine hours last season and are willing to continue at those hours during the coming season. Most of them are asking, however, for an eight-hour Saturday.

The ten-cent barber shops of San Francisco have been reduced in number from two hundred and ten to seventy-five by the Barbers' progressive league, and now it is proposed to wipe out the rest.

A Strike Against Rent.

There is discontent among the tenants of the board of trade building in Buffalo, and the *News* says that that magnificent structure may be nearly tenantless on the first of May, unless the trustees withdraw a notification they have recently issued of an increase of rent of from 50 to 65 per cent. The grain men have threatened to move out in a body and create a new center for their trade. Last year the board of trade netted 7½ per cent on its investment.

What Do Railway Managers Care?

Philadelphia Record.

What do railway managers care if a score or two of passengers, caught in a wrecked train, are burned before the very eyes of their friends? The officials of a railway seem to imagine that their duty to the traveling public is performed when comfortable cars are run on fast schedule time. . . . To heat a train of cars by steam, or to supply a baggage car with a profusion of wrecking implements, is a matter of expense that to railway managers probably seems unwarranted by the slight chances of disaster attaching to the trip of any particular train. This is the reason why men and women are burned alive after escaping the shock of a collision or derailment by which a passenger train has been wrecked. In Ohio, after the Ashtabula horror, and in New York, after the frightful collision near Spuyten Duyvil[51], it was sought by legislative enactments to afford some additional degree of security to the immense army of travelers whose constant danger these dire disasters had made apparent. But such regulations were of no avail beyond their effect in quieting the general clamor against penurious and brutal methods of railway management. The outworn and dangerous practice of heating cars by living coals should be stopped by legal enactment. Each passenger train should similarly be compelled to carry an abundant supply of wrecking implements, and railway managers who do not comply with these requirements should be disciplined by exemplary punishment. Nothing less conclusive than this will afford that protection which society owes to its members.

No passenger train should longer be lighted by oil lamps. The electric light is already used on some roads, and should be used on all.

The Land Question in Wales.

Pall Mall Gazette.

The land question in Wales is rapidly attaining to the dimensions of Irish agitation, except that the relative positions of people and police are reversed in the two countries. In Ireland a body of police appear and evict a tenant; in Wales a body of tenants appear and evict a bailiff. A ludicrously solemn scene was recently enacted at Whitford, near Holywell. Some farms are in the possession of bailiffs representing the ecclesiastical tithe collectors, or commissioners, so a band of 300 men appeared, quietly "chucked out" the bailiffs, escorted them to a railway station two miles off, and saw them off in the train for Chester after thoughtfully providing them with tickets.

p. 8, col. 5

THE NEGRO AND THE NEW PARTY.

The Editor of the Colored Men's Organ Discusses the Question.

I am not surprised at the views expressed by Mr. Edmonds in THE STANDARD of the 20th[sic] in discussing the negro's relation to the new democracy. Why should I be surprised? Mr. Edmonds simply expresses the views of nine-tenths of the white men of the south—men who still regard negro citizenship as an open and, therefore, unsettled question, and who ransack the records of the past to show that Jefferson intended to convey one thing and Jackson another, when, as a matter of fact, nobody cares an iota what Jefferson wrote or Jackson thought of the slave system further than as matter of history to be received, as "information to be sifted." Both Jefferson and Jackson were slave-holders and the subservient tools of the slave power.[52]

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51. Ed. Spuyten Duyvil (spitting devil) refers to a neighborhood in the southwestern part of the Bronx, where the Harlem River meets the Hudson River. The name is related to the difficult currents at the confluence of the rivers. Just to the north, there is a very prominent curve in the railroad tracks of what was once the New York Central Railroad and is now the Hudson River commuter line of Metro North, part of NYC's MTA. The curve has been the site of at least two rail accidents. See http://myinwood.net/the-spuyten-duyvil-railroad-disaster-of-1882/.

Sic in the original; probably "a Saturday issue date (possibly the 22d)".

Indeed, it does not matter for any practical purpose of to-day what was thought, said or done in relation to this negro question prior to the war of the rebellion. Any proposition relating to this matter predicated upon ante-bellum data amounts to nothing in the solution of the problems of to-day, simply because the incorporation into the constitution of the post bellum amendments changed entirely the field of speculation in all questions affecting the negro. With one amendment abolishing slavery, another defining citizenship and still another conferring the franchise, what do we care about what Jefferson meant when he wrote that "all men are created equal?" The amendments compel us to interpret the constitution in an altogether different light from that adopted by Jackson's man Friday, Chief Justice Taney.

Mr. Edmonds discusses the question as if he believed the negro was still a slave, still disfranchised, still ignorant of his legal rights, still the pliant instrument of the white man's caprices, without any recourse in the laws of the land. There is much of the Rip Van Winkle sort of ignorance and ante-bellum nonsense in all that Mr. Edmonds has to say in his article. He shows that he remembers much that he should have forgotten, and ignores or knows nothing of many things of which he cannot afford to be ignorant without provoking the ridicule of those he would convince and persuade.

Perhaps Mr. Edmonds has not read the federal constitution as amended. There are a great many white men in the south who have not done so. Indeed, the decisions on the civil rights bill and the ku-klux law would seem to indicate that the judges of the supreme court of the United States would do well to study the amended constitution more and the unamended constitution less. In the light of the constitution as amended, the black man has some rights that the white man is bound to respect, and the colored people are learning this fact, and are beginning to impress it upon the whites in a manner not to be mistaken.

There never was a wrong that was not righted, for the eternal justice of God has pronounced in every instance against "man's inhumanity to man." So it will be ultimately in the south. To presume, as Mr. Edmonds does, the perpetual disfranchisement of the colored voters of the south and the perpetuation of the caste prejudice based on color, is to shut the eye of intelligence to the vast changes that have already taken place in the sentiment and the condition of both peoples since Lee's surrender, twenty years ago. Such a presumption would leave the colored man as an assertive force entirely out of the question. Can this be done and still indicate with any degree of precision the possible outcome of the race problem in the south? I do not think it can be done.

If the new democratic party hopes to accomplish anything in the south it must work with colored and white forces, and it must place them on the same footing in all matters in which they have a common interest. To do otherwise would simply be suicidal. Take away the black laborers from the labor force of the south, and what have we left? Mr. Clemens has told you in THE STANDARD of Jan. 8, and you can take his diagnosis as thorough. Think of a new democracy in the south which should bar out the colored labor element! The thing is supremely ridiculous, and nobody knows this better than Mr. Edmonds. What he and men of his stamp in the south contend for is that the colored laborer is not a man, not a free agent, not a sovereign citizen, but a machine, a slave, a brute; that he must be left alone to be fleeced and degraded, as the white man shall determine and direct. It was essentially this feature of the labor problem in the south that compelled Horace Greeley to declare it an abomination under the sun, in that it had an irresistible tendency to drag the free labor of the north down to its brutish and slavish level. The laborers of the north cannot permit the laborers of the south to be fleeced and degraded without being equally injured; and southern white laborers can force no considerable and lasting concession from capitalism if they shall exclude the colored laborers from their force.

T. THOMAS FORTUNE[53].

52. Ed. It appears that the reference is to a Mr. Edwards' letter in Issue #004, 1887-01-29. See "The Negro In The New Party: A Strenuous Protest from Texas — A South Carolina View." (There was also an article in that issue about a Mr. Edmunds.) (Placed approximately.)

New York, Eeb. 5[sic].

THE NEW FACTORY.

Its Managers Look for Success Through Lower Wages and Unskilled Labor.

Middletown, N. Y., Workingman.

Last summer there came to town from a manufacturing district east of the Hudson a practical hatter. He looked the ground over, talked with many unemployed hatters and prominent citizens, and learned the exact condition of the wool hat manufacturing interest in this place.

Back of this man was an almost unlimited capital, running into the millions. It was clearly seen that here this great monopoly could best accomplish the object in view—the manufacture of wool hats at so low a cost that its competitors, the other hat manufacturers, would be obliged to reduce the cost of manufacture or go out of the business, thus leaving the syndicate a monopoly of the wholesale trade.

At the time this hat factory was first reopened for business by the new company there were many hatters and others who had formerly found employment in this shop who sought work under the new management. Many of them had been out of employment for a long time; the families of some were actually suffering for the necessaries of life—starving. Can one wonder that they eagerly accepted any rate of wages offered?

This was the situation when the man from over the river took control for the monopoly. He established a new scale of wages. Where men had formerly been employed he now hired boys in their stead. They could do nearly as much work, besides they could be hired for one-half the wages formerly paid men. And the boys were more than anxious to get an opportunity to learn and to finish the trade. And this was the new enterprise which was so gladly welcomed to our village by both our citizens and the press.

The finishers, who usually receive the best wages of all who work on hats, and the other old employes, were offered work at the new scale. Many accepted. When Fuller Bros. were the employers they paid 50 per cent higher rates than are now paid to finishers, trimmers, pressmen, curlers and shrinkers.

The young girls who work in the carding room are obliged to stand on their feet continuously the whole day long for ten hours. The operators in the hat factory are frequently the victims of lung affections, superinduced by breathing air in which is suspended poisonous particles of wool, shoddy, chemicals and dyes. For giving the best years of their lives in this work, many of these poor girls, these helpless wage slaves, do not receive over $2.50 per week. And let no man dare to say, "They are only factory girls." Whose fault is it? The weighers, who are girls of much experience, receive but $3 per week. For fulling and shrinking hats men are paid $1 per day and boys 50 cents. The finishers now receive the hat in a less finished condition than formerly, which necessitates more

p. 8, col. 6

work by them to complete it, and at a greatly reduced rate.

Many boys and young men who were taken on as green hands at low rates have obtained credit to a considerable amount among our merchants, who supposed that these young apprentices received the good wages paid several

53. Ed. Timothy Thomas Fortune (1856-1928) was an orator, civil rights leader, journalist, writer, editor and publisher. He was the highly influential editor of the nation's leading black newspaper The New York Age and was the leading economist in the black community. He was a long-time adviser to Booker T. Washington and the ghost writer, and the editor of Washington's first autobiography, The Story of My Life and Work. Fortune's philosophy of militant agitation on behalf of the rights of black people laid one of the foundations of the Civil Rights Movement. See https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Timothy_Thomas_Fortune. Sic in the original; probably "Feb. 5.".

years ago to the skilled workmen who had been obliged to serve at the trade a number of years. Unskilled labor is employed in the finishing department, with the object of replacing the higher priced finishers with it as rapidly as it becomes competent.

And to all this injustice our citizens are indifferent. Do you wonder that now and then one of these plodding, hard working girls, receiving but $3 per week, the price of her board, is overcome by the allurements and promises of the tempter and falls by the way? Those of you who have enough and to spare of this world's goods "don't care." Many rub together their hands and say, "It's too bad," and there ends their sympathy for suffering humanity.

There are those among you who have been endowed by nature with a more fertile brain, a more vigorous body, a better business talent, than falls to the lot of the average man. Is it not yours to help the weak and unfortunate? Where is your Christian charity when you heed not the voice of want?

Those who accepted the low wages offered them at the factory did so because it was to them a matter of bread. Is it probable that their condition will ever be bettered by a voluntary increase of wages from the employers? Precedent says "no."

Two Pictures.

Houston, Tex., Labor Echo.

Houston witnessed two spectacles this week that it would be well to place side by side: Jay Gould visited the city by special train in his palace car, was received by notables, and was feted and favored with all the attentions possible. Jay Gould is worth his hundreds of millions. About the same time a dozen or so tramps visited the city, and by the time they reached the outskirts they were nabbed by the vigilant minions of the law, taken before a court and found guilty of being without money and without friends. This is a crime in these latter days, so the tramps were loaded with chains and worked under guard because they were destitute. These are two pictures that it would be well for the masses to place side by side and study with care. The rapacity and lawlessness of the man who was feted and honored has produced thousands of the men who were loaded with chains and worked upon the highway.

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Sic in the original; probably "CHAPTER VI.".

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Sic in the original; probably "PROTECTION OR FREE TRADE".

[Advertisement] Wants

WANTS.

CATHOLIC MAN, NOT AFRAID OF work; fair penman; after 10. C. R. ROE, [27?] Warren st., up-stairs.

Damaged type restored

Letters that were broken, blotted or missing in the print and have been written as intended. Listed so they can be checked against the scan; they are not footnoted in the text.

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8	Teaching the Land Gospel.	in. rest (broken/dropped type)	interest
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8	THE NEW FACTORY. Its Managers Look for Success Through Lower	help'ess (broken type)	helpless

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