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devoted to the Problems
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Self help.

WALTER THOMAS, M.A.,
Rev A. J. JUTKINS, D.D.,
Editors.

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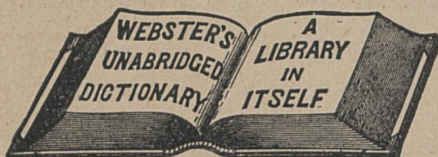
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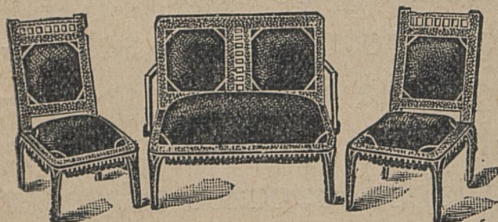


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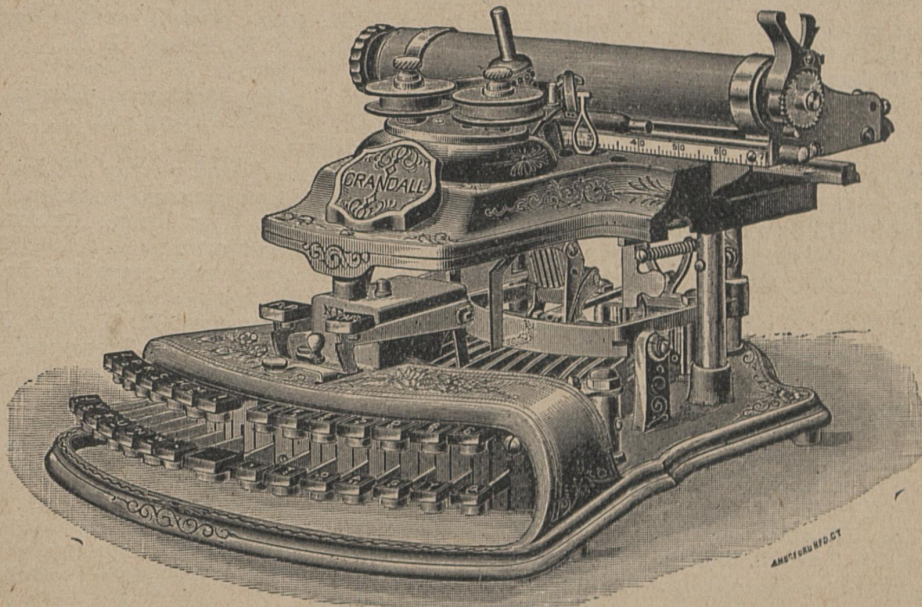
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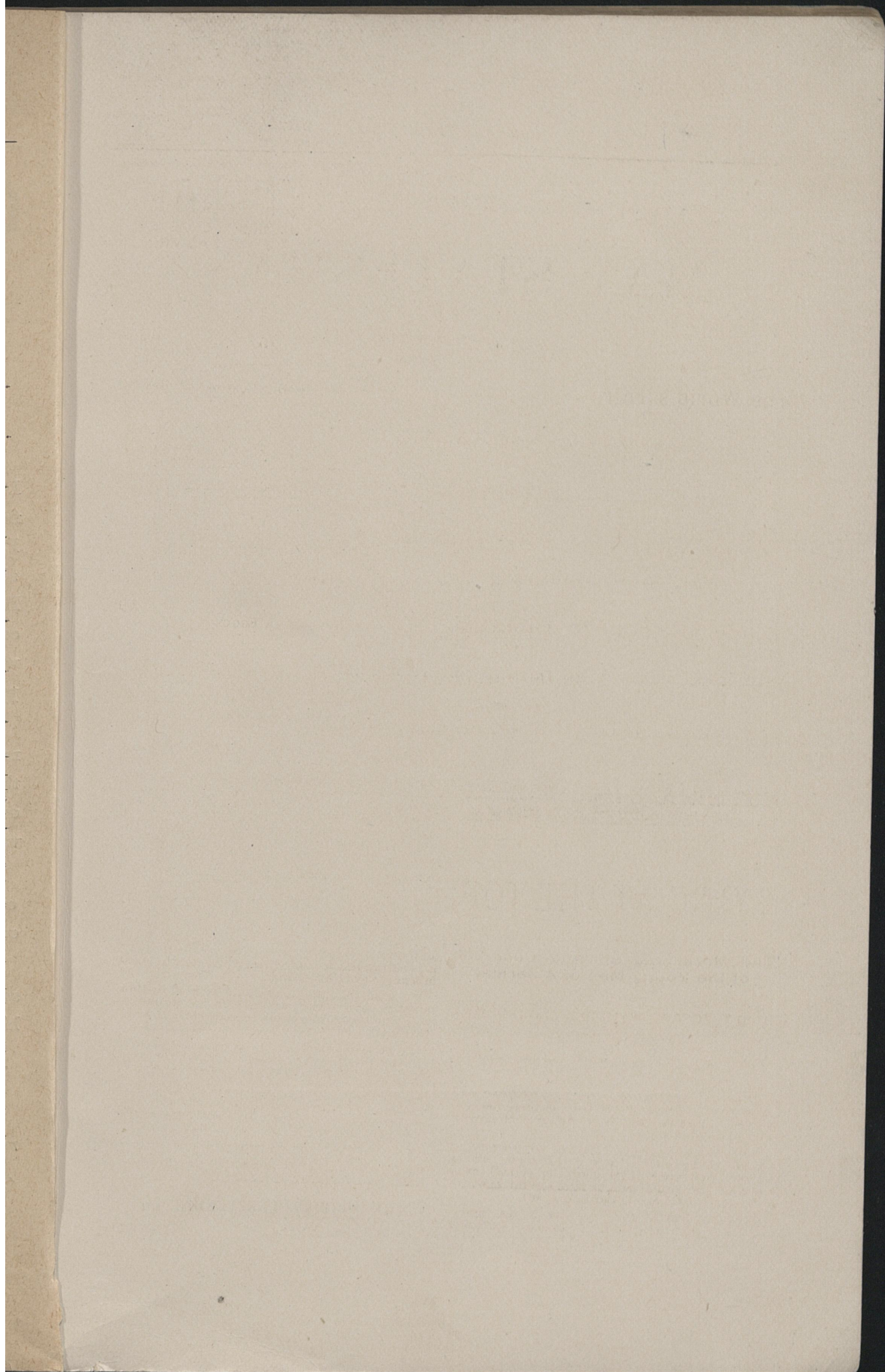
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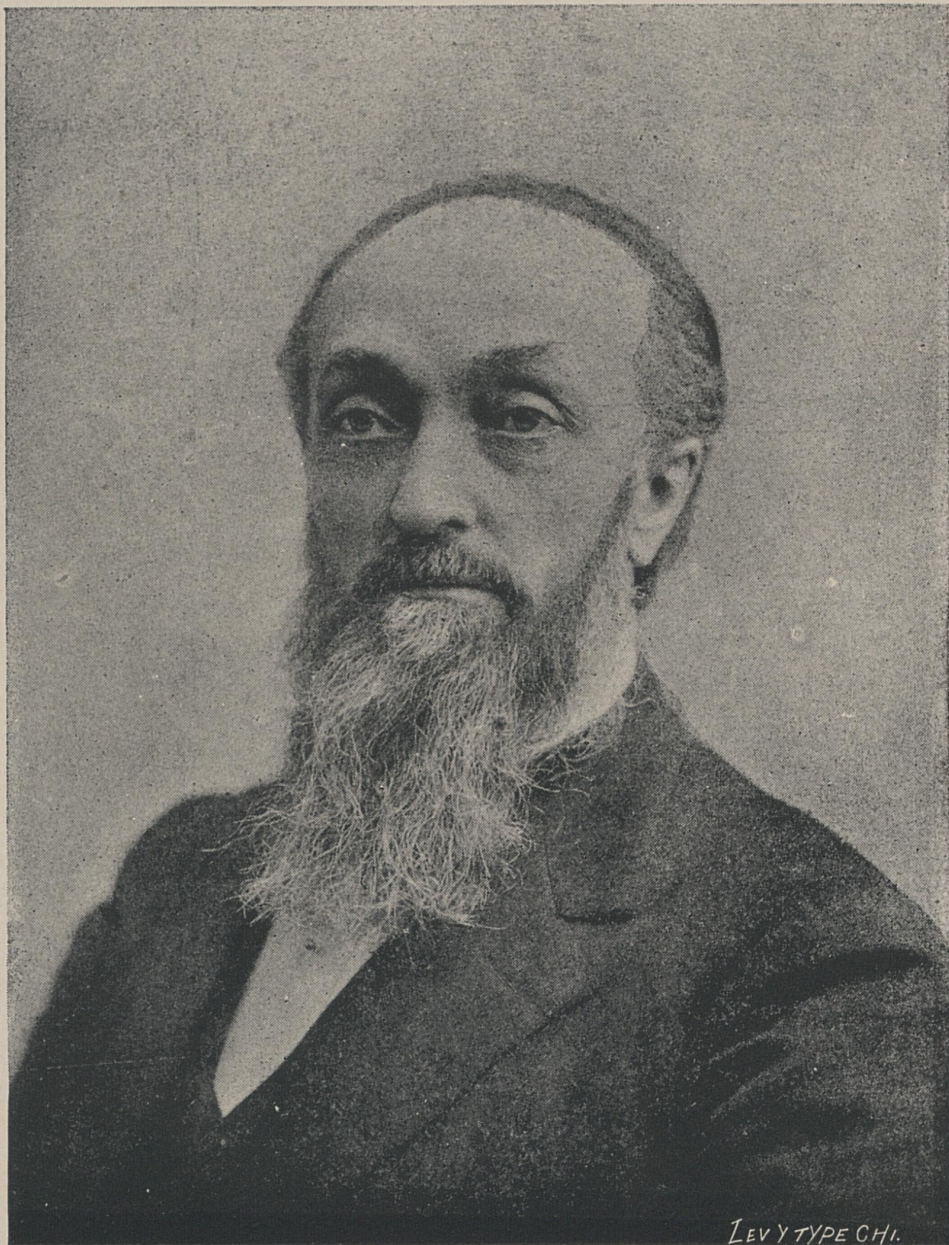
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THE STATESMAN.

A Monthly Magazine devoted to the Problems of Practical Politics, Co-operative Industry and Self-Help.

VOL. VII.

CHICAGO, APRIL, 1890.

NO. I.

A UNIVERSAL RELIGION.

DAVID SWING.

The general unity of the mind indicates a final similarity of conclusion as to those questions which concern man. Conjecture leads towards diversity and discord. When all the ancients relied upon conjecture for their opinions of the heavenly bodies, the sun was ten miles distant, or a million miles distant; it was small or great, it was dead or alive, old or young, as fancy wished. With the progress of those instruments which could find the facts, a little more of harmony set in and now the millions who once differed, all agree as to the fact that the sun is nearly a million of miles in diameter, and is more than ninety millions of miles distant from our globe. This vanishing of discordant opinions illustrates the power of reason to bring about a general resemblance of conclusion, for as there is one truth of the sun, so there must be some one truth of politics, some one truth of social condition, and some one truth of religion.

A universal religion can come more easily than a universal language, because in language humanity must become one in minute details, while in religion, unity may be perfect when all minds agree in great cardinal ideas. Indeed, a universal religion will come as rapidly as civilization appears, because the logical faculty is able at last to reach only one result. As

the European and American mind is rapidly tending toward one definition of man, is assigning him equality of right and unity of physical nature, is passing by as insignificant the facts of color, height and weight, so the same mind resolves the idea of a Creator into that of one God, because two causes must not be thought of when one will suffice. The fact of an advancing civilization implies thus a coming universal religion. What Socrates saw as to the oneness of God, Newton was compelled to affirm, because there is only one logic for all the philosophers of the entire human family. What civilization does is to carry forward all those millions who in thought stand between Socrates and Newton, that all may be one. As man rises, many details become insignificant.

Where civilization is now highest there is already only one religion. The reason which compels many faces which differ in features and color to meet in one humanity compels many names of sects to meet in only one substantial religious belief. Instead of being an idle dream, a universal religion is already a reality unless under universal we include the savage tribes as well as the civilized races. That is to say, there are millions of persons who have found the religion of the human race just as they have found the equality of men. It remains for what is called education to increase the number of these harmonious millions.

When the Hindoo Mozoomdar began to study deeply the Christian religion, he discovered that it was also his own. Dean Stanley and Canon Farrar reciprocated the intellectual favor and found that they were the religious brothers of Mozoomdar. Max Muller joined this brotherhood and confessed that one chain of religion binds all hearts. Reason is the great winnowing mill of the earth. It blows steadily and powerfully, and the one result is the separation of the wheat from the chaff. The future cannot avoid the happy destiny of possessing more of wheat and less of chaff. The chaff cannot come back to mingle again with the wheat, for, as Christ said, it passes into an unrelenting fire. The mind can move from polytheism to the unity of deism, but it can never retrace its steps. The sun can never again be blown south in winter and north in summer, by certain trade winds. Man can go forward from Herodotus, but he cannot turn and go back to the dear old historian and fabricator. Thus the chaff blown from religion moves only in one way. The separation is final.

It must be that religion is composed of permanent elements. As water is always composed of the same two great component parts, and must not be conceived of as liable to any new form of composition, so religion possesses such permanent elements, as faith, worship, repentance, charity and hope. Whatever may be these elements, they will slowly reveal themselves to studious years, and once found they will remain permanent. Therefore, a universal religion is as necessary as a universal chemistry; but with this difference of situation—religion lies in a more puzzling entanglement, with man's habits, teachings and prejudices. The Christians are all willing for water to be composed of oxygen and hydrogen, but they are not all willing for religion to be composed of faith, worship and virtue. Each sect asks for some additional element.

Time and thought will at last reach a final analysis of piety, and as astronomy is one for China, England and America, so religion will be one and the same sentiment in all lands. It must be remembered that the religion along the Congo river, among the black cannibals, is no more false than their politics and their chemistry. The African priest is no deeper in error than the African astronomer. The mental progress which shall harmonize the African chemist with the English chemist, and compel the statesman of Central Africa to agree with Lincoln and Castelar, shall modify the worship and doctrines of negro piety until they shall differ in nothing from the worship delineated by a Jesus Christ, or by the human leaders such as Dean Stanley, Farrar, and Freeman Clark.

A universal religion need not be of one form all over the world. It will consist more in the broad toleration which common sense brings than in identity of detail. The English language is one and the same speech in London and San Francisco, although the word clerk is not pronounced in the same manner in both cities. Language is too vast a body to be affected by a long or a short vowel. The fall of an apple does not affect the earth's motion in its orbit. Thus the human mind is just about to become so broad and tolerant that it will not permit such a vast fact as religion to be marred in the least by the presence or absence of some detail.

Two forces are at work upon a universal religion. The one is that logic which leads all mind toward the one final fact;

the other is that education which confesses some variations to be small and unworthy to be estimated as a discord.

It is not possible to state what place Jesus Christ will occupy in the religion of the far future. Minds will probably be left free to estimate the Nazarene as each mind likes, only the facts will make it necessary for all minds to confess him to be the pre-eminent leader in this kingdom of belief and worship. As holy men now differ in their opinions of Christ without differing in their Christianity, so the Son of Man can be the earthly symbol of piety without doing violence to the minds not of to-day indeed, but those of the distant to-morrow. The greatest religious personage in all history cannot but act an important part in the ultimate faith of our race, unless some greater one shall yet come to throw into eclipse the wonderful Judean. But it will be difficult for the future to produce a religious character that shall make the splendor of Jesus grow dim.

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The Constitution of the American Republic provides that:

"THE CITIZENS OF EACH STATE SHALL BE ENTITLED TO ALL PRIVILEGES AND IMMUNITIES OF CITIZENS IN THE SEVERAL STATES."
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By the early Roman law, it is said that an alien "had no right that the citizen was bound to respect." But this harsh rule was afterward modified by a protection given by a citizen

as patron, to an alien as his client; and by treaties under which foreigners were accorded certain rights and privileges, and soon a body of private international law, called the *Jus Gentium*, began to take its place beside the civil law, and to afford a basis of what is termed natural justice, for the determination of controversies between citizens and aliens. This universal jurisprudence of mankind has advanced from age to age, until it now commands the approval of the enlightened world, and affords a rational basis of intercourse between the peoples of different countries. In return for the protection given to an alien, he owes a ready and complete obedience to all the laws for the preservation of the peace and good order of society, and must conduct himself in conformity to the general law and public policy of the country whose privileges he enjoys. The general rule is that an alien may acquire and hold personal property, and have the aid of the judicial tribunals for its recovery and protection, but that he cannot acquire and hold an indefeasible title to land, without an enabling act, authorizing him to do so.

An alien, lawfully sojourning or domiciled in a foreign country is entitled to the aid of his own government for his protection against any invasion of his just rights and privileges, by or under the sanction of the foreign government.

But while many of the rights and privileges of citizens in foreign lands have finally come to be well understood and established, many others are still obscure on the subject of controversy, as diplomatic discussion abundantly shows.* At the same time there has been an enormous increase of travel and commerce throughout the world, accompanied by an ever-growing demand for better facilities and more adequate security to visiting or trading strangers. More swiftly than any of us can well realize, the whole world is becoming in fact one great country, needing new laws for the proper protection of its vast and varied people.

Let us then inquire whether the time has not fully come for an extension of the principle of the guaranty of equal privileges and immunities to the citizens of all the states of the American Union, to the citizens of all the enlightened countries of the world, so far as travel, residence and commerce are concerned; and for a distinct statement of those

* *Dainese v. Hale*, 91 U. S. R. 13; 2 Whart. Int. Law Dig., Sec. 171 *et seq.*

privileges and immunities in a Code of International Inter-course to be prepared by representatives of the participating countries, and adopted by treaty by the respective governments? Such a code is necessary both for the information of those concerned, and to avoid disputes among the nations in regard to the rights and privileges accorded.

There are two distinct aspects of the case for which provision should be made. We have thus far had in view only the first, namely, the admission of aliens to certain rights and privileges of citizens. Let us now turn to the second, which is the recognition and protection of certain rights and privileges which the alien enjoys in his own country under its laws and public policy, and which he desires to take with him, wherever he may journey throughout the world. It is obvious that no nation will protect an alien in the enjoyment of any privilege that would disturb the peace and good order of its own society. But there is no good reason why any government should not accord to the citizen or subject of any foreign power with which it is at peace, the privilege of living according to the customs and laws of his own country, so far as he can do so without any such disturbance; and of dealing with his own countrymen according to the laws that govern them at home. Indeed, one of the charms of international intercourse is the preservation by visitors from other countries of their national characteristics, and the harmonizing of different systems of culture and progress, in the relations established between natives and sojourning foreigners. But all such visitors should be distinctly informed, by a clear and explicit code of rules, of the privileges accorded and those denied to them.

A citizen who desires to be assured of the protection of his own government in a foreign land to which he may lawfully go, should take with him a passport from his own government certifying his good character, and providing convenient means of identification, and directions for inquiry or report in relation to him, if occasion should arise.

In case of any controversy between an alien and the government under which he is sojourning, or between him and a citizen, or between him and a fellow alien, or between him and an alien of another country, the International Code should distinctly specify the tribunal by which, and the mode in which the dispute shall be tried and determined; and as all such

provisions would be reciprocal, there would be the strongest incentive to provide the most expeditious, inexpensive and efficient means practicable, for the enforcement of rights and the redress of wrongs.

Such a Code of International Intercourse would practically establish a general citizenship of the world, whose rights and privileges could be acquired and enjoyed by any worthy citizen of any enlightened country. Many beneficent results would follow. Many annoying obstructions to free intercourse would be swept away. Travel and commerce would largely increase. A sense of safety and security would prevail in many cases where now the perils of travel, sojourn or trade outweigh all the pleasure or profit they might yield.

In no other way than by such an International Code, is it practicable to provide reasonable and satisfactory safe-guards against hostile movements made under the guise of innocent travel or lawful trade. Requiring each government to guarantee the good conduct of its own citizens, traveling or trading under its passport, in a foreign country, would naturally make that government careful not to issue such a guaranty to any unworthy or suspicious character. The right of a government to demand protection of its citizens or subjects in a foreign land, and to enforce that demand if need be, even by war, necessarily involves the responsibility of that government for the good behavior of such citizen or subject, and the right of the government of the foreign country to enforce that responsibility. If citizens of any country would travel, sojourn or trade in any other, under the protection of their own home government, that government should be as ready to punish them for any misconduct or offense, as to secure the proper redress for any injury that may be inflicted upon them by any official or private person of the foreign country. Unfortunately this plain rule of reason and justice has not always been observed.

Cases are not wanting, in which it has been charged that foreign citizens or subjects have suffered outrageous treatment at the hands of resident representatives of other powers, and were utterly unable to obtain any remedy for their wrongs, because the local tribunals had no jurisdiction, and the government that sent the representative had not provided any proper way of learning the facts, much less any adequate

mode of administering justice, and enforcing the law. Surely it is not too much to ask that matters of so much importance to private interests and the public welfare in all enlightened countries, should now receive better practical attention than has hitherto been given them; and that the leaders of government in all such countries unite to secure the speedy appointment of an International Commission, to frame a Code of International Intercourse.

Naturally such a work would involve, before its completion, a reconstruction of the present highly inefficient and unsatisfactory systems of foreign service, and would lead the way to great improvements in all departments of international relations.

If the old statesmanship of diplomacy and war cannot see the importance and feasibility of the proposed advance, it will, nevertheless, not be long delayed, for the new statesmanship of law and justice will, at no distant day, become dominant in the world, and among the blessings it will bring, will be found that which, for want of a better term, may be called International Citizenship, with well-defined rights, privileges, duties and liabilities, alike of the persons and the governments concerned, with clearly specified tribunals and modes of proceeding for the speedy and adequate determination of whatever questions may arise in the course of travel, sojourn, commerce, or official relations.

The final triumph of international comity may be delayed, but it cannot be prevented. The time will come when the traveling or sojourning citizens of all friendly powers properly accredited by their respective governments, will be entitled in the countries where they may journey or temporarily reside, to all the privileges and immunities of citizens thereof, except those of a political nature, and such others, if any, as may for any special reason be expressly withheld by public law or proclamation. The old rule will be reversed, and the privileges of the alien will be limited, not by what is granted, but by what is withheld.

The *Jus Gentium* of the Roman law, founded on what have been termed the principles of natural justice, involved, however deeply concealed, the ultimate recognition of the right of all men, irrespective of citizenship, to be protected in rational intercourse with their fellow men. The great work of Hugo

Grotius on the Laws of War and Peace, in 1625, marked the beginning of a new era of International Law, founded, as was declared by Great Britain in 1753, upon justice, equity, reason and convenience. The new movement has steadily advanced, and now has a strength and activity hitherto unknown. It cannot fail to go forward with ever-increasing power and majesty, till, in the impressive language of Prof. August von Bulmerincq, of the University of Heidelberg, "a universal law will take its course around the world, and attain universal supremacy; not the Roman law, but a law based upon the principles and modes of thought of modern civilization—a cosmopolitan law." Under that cosmopolitan law, universal and supreme by compact of all enlightened powers, law-abiding man will have the well-defined right to go where pleasure or interest may lead him, throughout the world, assured that he will be adequately protected by all nations, as occasion may require, in the full enjoyment of all the just privileges and immunities of an International Citizenship.

A WORLD'S LABOR UNION.

GEN. M. M. TRUMBULL.

The project of a World's Labor Union is not new. It has long been the dream of religion, the hope of liberty, and the prophecy of peace. Many efforts have been made to organize the consciences of men, and make this aspiration an actual beneficence, but thus far with small success. Those efforts may fail again, but they are inspired by moral chivalry; and the kindly sentiment that animates them will never die. That sentiment will crystallize into the law of nations, for the time is coming when the principalities and powers will not be able any longer to use geographical boundary lines to break the brotherhood of man.

The experiments thus far made in the direction of a World's Labor Union have not been fortunate. They had against them the ponderous weight of accumulated money, supported by disciplined armies and organized political power. All the oligarchies, temporal and spiritual, of every degree, fronted them in line of battle with drilled soldiers and policemen. In the faces of working men they shook the menacing sentence of ecclesiastical, social, and political excommunication. In reserve, strengthening these hostile elements, were the merchant princes, the factory lords, the lords of land, and all the pensionaries of despotism.

More potent against the working men than all their other enemies were their own fantastic idealities, their vain strivings for the impossible, their greed for flattery, their internal jealousies, their lurid oratory, and their Indian policy of revenge. They rejected the moral forces of the world playing into their hands, and they failed. Hate and passion are drunken statesmen, and they will never achieve a social reformation. The changes they accomplish are usually for the worse. The new International brotherhood of working men will be founded on justice, toleration, and charity for all. It will succeed; for it must come that those who toil in honor shall enjoy in happiness.

The first grand achievement of the new "International" will be the abolition of war. It is time for Krupp and his workmen to stop gun making. Let them use their handicraft in beating swords into ploughshares, and spears into pruning hooks. For ages it has been the policy of dynasties to play the working men against each other, and to foment international hatreds under the disguises of a spurious patriotism. The people of one country have been taught the unnatural falsehood that the people of another are their natural enemies. Interdependence is the law of nations, as of men; but that law has been deliberately broken, in order that Englishmen might fight enthusiastically against Frenchmen, Frenchmen against Germans, Germans against Austrians, and so on round the world.

In Pagan Rome the common people were drafted as gladiators into the service of a dissolute aristocracy. They were compelled to fight against each other in the circus, while their patrician masters bet money on their brawn. These fighters were not enemies, but friends, having a common interest in peace and love towards each other. The American school-boy likes to recite the speech of Spartacus to his brother gladiators who had escaped with him to the mountains: "To-day I killed a man in the arena, and lo, he was my friend." As it was in Pagandom, so it is in Christendom. The common people are drafted as gladiators into the service of despotism, and compelled to fight against each other, while their masters bet provinces and kingdoms on their strength and bravery. Every private soldier who stood victorious on the field of Jena, Inkerman, or Sadowa, could say with Spartacus: "To-day I killed a man in battle, and lo, he was my friend."

The working men of all countries are learning to what base uses they have been degraded. At the International convention of working men, held in London a few years ago, a demand was made upon all the rulers of the earth that they declare war to be unchristian. This demand ought to have been seconded by the churches, but it was not. Let them hasten to second it now, or the formula may be changed to read like this: "War is impious, but Christian." Arrogant affectation sneers at the ignorance of the working men, while they are teaching the iniquity of war. Shall the World's

Labor Unions be left alone to pinion kings when they try to countermand the divine proclamation: "God made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth?"

This mischievous war policy is not confined to monarchies; republics practice it for the same reasons. Presidents, as readily as kings, will plunge their people into war to preserve a party dynasty. Even at this moment in our own country, we are clamoring for a floating armament carrying a thousand guns to fright the peaceful sea, whose heaving bosom ought to bear no fleets upon it save those of commercial and friendly intercourse. It is not patriotism, but barbarism, that sanctifies and glorifies gigantic ships of war.

Additional obstacles in the way of a World's Labor Union are the political sectarianism called party spirit, and that form of popular idolatry known as hero worship. We abdicate judgment in favor of dreamers in speculative economics, inventors of social elixirs, and any men of genius, eloquence and power, who promise to lead us up out of the land of Egypt and out of the house of bondage. This habit weakens the faculty of independent thought, and renders us incapable of examining any measure on its own intrinsic merits. We content ourselves with asking: "Under what 'ism' is it classified, and by which of our political redeemers is it patronized?" The potential question is not who spoke this word, but is it true? not who did this deed, but was it wise? not who made this law, but will it establish righteousness?

How much longer under present conditions can the so-called civilized world go on? The machinery of it is nearly worn out, at least in Europe. In our own country, the social and political systems imported from the old world will last a long time yet, because we have resources which the people of Europe have not; but we may ill-treat our own magnificent inheritance until it shall refuse to yield its bounties, or even to work at all, under the unequal and unfair conditions which have exhausted Europe.

The national debts of the six great powers, England, France, Germany, Russia, Italy, and Austria amount to twenty thousand million dollars. This is largely a tax upon the working men, and nearly all of it is the legacy of war. The interest on those debts works twenty-four hours a day, while the annual

cost of the armies and navies of those nations amounts to \$762,000,000. By the ingenious mechanism of unjust laws the incidence of all this taxation is made to fall unfairly upon the working men. The hardship of it is enormously increased when legions of soldiers and sailors are withdrawn from the pursuits of industry and clothed and fed from the labor of their countrymen. Society in Europe is crumbling under the weight of these unnatural taxes and this impious waste of men.

Czars, kings, kaisers, chancellors, grand viziers and prime ministers hear the rumblings of a moral earthquake shaking the foundation of present existences, and they anticipate the convulsion. They behold the sword of Damocles hanging by a spider's thread above the throne. The royal banquet has the color and the aroma of Belshazzar's feast. Unable any longer to endure the torment of suspense, they join in the people's cry. Emperors invoke socialism, and Dives invites Lazarus to dinner. Out of the imperial palace at Berlin comes an appeal for the salvation of society from a kaiser armed with a million bayonets; an appeal, not to his bayonets this time, but to a World's Labor Union, to "The parliament of man, the federation of the world."

The emperor of Germany calls upon the nations to unite in a demand for more wages and less hours of labor for the working men; he calls for the emancipation of women and children from unnatural and demoralizing toil. He sees that "blood and iron" will not regenerate Germany. He appoints a council composed of employers and working men, to devise a scheme of justice and liberality towards labor. That this young monarch is actuated by sinister motives is only a suspicion. Let us wait before we ridicule the paradox of Imperialistic socialism. Instead of sneering at his action as the device of statecraft, let us hope that it springs from a moral statesmanship unusual among kings. His father and his grandfather won great victories in war; but he may achieve a grander fame by victories of peace, the conquest of hunger, penury, and ill-requested toil.

While cabinets and councils are plotting to estrange the working men by state lines and geographical boundaries, electricity and steam are breaking down the barriers and bringing the toilers closer together in friendship. To-day

Constantinople is nearer to London than Paris was at the dawn of the nineteenth century. Sympathy flashes between the American and the Frenchman quick as the telegraph can carry a message from Paris to Chicago. In fact, the farther the toilers are apart in miles, the nearer together they are in spirit. Two hundred and fifty thousand dollars was contributed last year to support the strikes of the London dockmen, and of that sum one hundred and fifty thousand dollars came from Australia, ten thousand miles away. Australia, which but yesterday was a penal colony, is to-day the advance guard of civilization, the teacher of sociology and politics to all the nations.

We may properly censure the plans and platforms of the International Working Men's Associations, for they were not always wise; neither, for the matter of that, are all the plans of parliaments and cabinet Councils. It is, however, a feeble apology for the moral incapacity of a World's Labor Union that its legislative action and proposals are not any worse than those of some other Congresses of larger pretensions. They ought to be better, because their purpose is to liberate and elevate the working men; while the purpose of the others is very often to abase, despoil, and punish them. The World's Labor Union will be educational, as well as administrative and executive. Its members will be capable of learning some things and unlearning others. Those people who know it all, who have nothing to learn or unlearn, and the fiery Sim Tappertits, will be deprived of leadership in council. Their places will be taken by men of moral genius, mental ability, and workshop knowledge; men who have sense enough to know that society will permit itself to be improved, but not destroyed; men willing to fight if need be, but not to assassinate.

Throughout the vast extent of the United States of America, as the people are of one language and one citizenship, a union of the working men is easier to accomplish than in Europe. There the people are of different nationalities and tongues, while many of them are enslaved by local prejudices and habits; but the pulsations of their hearts, throbbing with a common interest, and a common hope, will break those obstacles down. When those regenerated people have disarmed their governments, and put the soldiers at useful work, they will establish as a fact what Victor Hugo saw in a dream: The United States of Europe, where there shall be "no frontier."

It is probable that a Working Men's International Congress will be held in Chicago during the World's Fair. The attention of the world will be directed not only to the products placed on exhibition, but also to the producers. The richness and splendor of the fabrics displayed will be and ought to be contrasted with the squalor of the men, women, and children, who wove them into usefulness and beauty. The brilliancy of the work in silver and gold will not blind us to the hovels of the workers. The radiant achievements of mechanic art will bring into bold relief the poverty of the artisans. The wonder at the miraculous number of threads woven into a square inch of lace, or silk, or linen, will be overshadowed by the portentous and suggestive question: How many threads of little children's lives are woven into the texture of these beautiful robes?

On the expressions and action of this Congress will greatly depend the attitude of the American people towards the labor movement. If prudence and humane statesmanship mark the proceedings, the effect will be advantageous to the wage-workers of all nations; but if mad councils prevail, the effect will be disastrous. If the Congress pass under the control of the rash and violent agitators who never work, the prospective Dantons, Robespierres, and Marats of a new "Terror," it will accomplish nothing but mischief, by eliminating all spiritual and moral ingredients from a righteous cause.

A WORLD'S CATHOLIC CONGRESS IN CHICAGO.

HON. WM. J. ONAHAN.

Among the various projects considered in connection with the Chicago World's Exposition of 1892, is one providing for a series of "World's Congresses," to be held during the progress of the fair.

This project was committed to the charge of a committee constituted with special reference to the successful promotion of the end in view, and already considerable progress has been made in the work. Correspondence was entered into with notables in this and other countries likely to take interest in the subject. Responses have been received in great number from gentlemen distinguished in various positions and pursuits; statesmen, scientists, literateurs, musicians, artists, educators, and last, though not least, from clergymen of different denominations. These responses indicate a very general interest in the project, and, from present indications, there can be little doubt the scheme will in due time assume large and imposing proportions.

The World's Congresses will necessarily prove an important adjunct to the exposition, as well as add to the interest in the celebration in this and in almost every other civilized country.

The plans of the local committee as already outlined, may be briefly summarized as follows, viz:

"The crowning glory of the World's Fair of 1892 should not be the exhibit, then to be made, of the material triumphs, industrial achievements and mechanical victories of man, however magnificent that display may be. Something still higher and nobler is demanded by the enlightened and progressive spirit of the present age.

"In connection with that important event, the world of government, jurisprudence, finance, science, literature, education and religion, should be represented in a congress of statesmen, jurists, financiers, scientists, literati, teachers and theologians,

greater in numbers and more widely representative of 'peoples, nations and tongues,' than any assemblage which has ever yet been convened.

"The benefits of such a parliament of nations would be higher and more conducive to the welfare of mankind, than those which would flow from the material exposition, though it would not be easy to exaggerate the powerful impetus that will be given by the latter to commerce, and all the arts by which toil is lightened, the fruits of labor increased, and the comforts of life augmented."

Perhaps the earliest public response to the invitation of the committee came from the American Catholic Congress which was convened in Baltimore last November.

During the sessions of this congress a motion was carried providing for the appointment of a committee on future congresses, and, prior to adjournment, a resolution was offered on behalf of the Chicago delegation, that an International Catholic Congress be held in Chicago in 1892. The motion was received with much enthusiasm by the delegates, but, before being put to a vote, an amendment was offered by an Eastern delegate that the proposed congress should be held in the city that should secure the World's Fair. The amendment was promptly accepted by the mover of the original motion, who acutely remarked that "there could be no doubt where the World's Fair would be held, and hence the Chicago delegates cheerfully accepted the amendment," and it was so declared as the sense of the convention.

It will be seen, then, that the assurance of a great Catholic Congress in Chicago in 1892, or, co-incidentally with the Columbian Exposition, is, therefore, a fixed fact.

The Catholic Congress committee will no doubt take up the subject at an early day, and map out the lines on which the programme for the congress shall be formulated.

That the International or World's Catholic Congress will be a notable event in the history of the World's Fair cannot be doubted, and hence public interest will naturally be awakened as to what the programme of such a meeting likely would be. It would be altogether premature to attempt at this time, in advance of any discussion on the part of those charged with the duty of organizing the contemplated congress, to outline a programme; but we may safely and profitably refer to

the proceedings of like congresses in other countries, especially to the example of the recent memorable congress in Baltimore, as affording an assurance of what may be expected from the great Chicago meeting in 1892.

The American Catholic Congress in Baltimore, Nov. 11-12, 1889, was called by a number of prominent Catholic laymen, under the sanction of ecclesiastical authority. The initiatory meeting in connection with the project was held in Chicago in May, 1889, when the plans were submitted and the programme discussed. In the call subsequently issued, addressed to "The Catholics of the United States," the invitation to attend the congress was general to all Catholics, subject only to the limitation, that those seeking to take part in the deliberations and discussions should be vouched for by the bishop of the diocese. The principal subjects for consideration were determined upon, and distinguished gentlemen of different parts of the country were invited to prepare papers to be read and discussed at the congress.

The Catholic Centennial in Baltimore was in all respects a memorable event. It was imposing in numbers, impressive in pomp and religious solemnity, and especially marked by the elevated character of the sermons, addresses and papers. The public journals of the period unanimously bore testimony to this fact, and of that centennial celebration the congress was a notable part—indeed, it is not exaggerating its importance to assert that it was in fact *the event* of the celebration.

The Congress, while being, of course, loyally Catholic, was at the same time intensely *American*. These two characteristics were conspicuous from the beginning to the end. The dignified and eloquent presiding officer was Ex-Governor John Lee Carroll, a grandson of "Charles Carroll, of Carrollton," one of the signers of the Declaration of Independence; and among the delegates were not a few of the descendants of the Pilgrim Fathers. All this and much more of interesting detail was copiously given in the daily journals in narrating the incidents and details of the congress.

The papers presented covered a wide range of subjects. We give the titles merely:

"Catholic Congresses, Lay Action in the Church, The Independence of the Holy See, Carroll as a Statesman, The New Social Order, Education, The Catholic Press, Education in

the United States, Societies, Catholic American Literature, Temperance, Labor and Capital, Sunday Observance, What Catholics Have Done in the Last Hundred Years, Church Music."

Valuable and interesting though these papers were in the discussion of live topics, they were undoubtedly subordinate in importance, in the public eye, to the platform or resolutions which voiced the general sense of the congress as to the points covered. We may be allowed to summarize these:

The resolutions first emphasize the declaration made in the third plenary council of Baltimore. "We claim to be acquainted both with the laws, institutions and spirit of the Catholic Church, and with the laws, institutions and spirit of our country; and we emphatically declare that there is no antagonism between them."

The resolutions go on to repudiate with earnestness the assertion that Catholics need to lay aside any of their devotedness to their church to be true Americans, or abate in love and devotion to their country's principles to be true Catholics.

On the subject of education, perhaps it is well to quote the exact language of the resolutions:

"We recognize next in importance to religion itself, education as one of the chief factors in forming the character of the individual, the virtue of the citizen, and in promoting the advance of a true civilization. Therefore we are committed to a sound popular education which demands not only physical and intellectual, but also the moral and religious training of our youth. As in the State schools no provision is made for teaching religion, we must continue to support our own schools, multiply and perfect colleges and universities already established, and others, so that the benefits of a Christian education may be brought within the reach of every Catholic child in these United States."

On the important subject of marriage legislation, Mormonism, and the crying sin of divorce, the congress was equally emphatic and outspoken. It declared: "The root of the commonwealth is in the homes of the people. Whatever imperils its permanency, security and peace is a blow aimed not only at individual rights, but is an attempt to subvert civil society and Christian civilization. Therefore we denounce the existence and development of Mormonism, and the tendency to

multiply causes of divorce, a *vinculo*, as plague spots on our civilization, a discredit to our government, a degradation of the female sex and a standing menace to the sanctity of the marriage bond."

The resolutions likewise covered in detail the questions of capital and labor, according to the well known conservative position of the church on the subject, and urged upon Catholics the duty of taking greater part than hitherto in the general philanthropic and reformatory movements of the time; asserting also the duty of Catholics to insist on the rights of conscience for their co-religionists in all institutions under public control

On the subject of temperance and Sunday observance, the congress declared:

"There are many Christian issues in which Catholics could come together with non-Catholics, and shape civil legislation for the public weal. In spite of rebuff and injustice, and overlooking zealotry, we should seek alliance with non-Catholics for proper Sunday observance. Without going over to the Judaic Sabbath, we can bring the masses over to the moderation of the Christian Sunday. To effect this we must set our faces sternly against the sale of intoxicating beverages on Sunday. The corrupting influence of saloons on politics, the crime and pauperism resulting from excessive drinking, require legislative restriction which we can aid in procuring by joining our influence with that of the other enemies of intemperance. Let us resolve that drunkenness shall be made odious, and give practical encouragement and support to Catholic temperance societies. We favor the passage and enforcement of laws rigidly closing saloons on Sunday, and forbidding the sale of liquors to minors and intoxicated persons."

Finally, on the important question of "Independence of the Pope," the Congress puts itself on record in these terms:

"We cannot conclude without recording our solemn conviction that the absolute freedom of the Holy See is equally indispensable to the peace of the church and the welfare of mankind. We demand in the name of humanity and justice, that this freedom be scrupulously respected by all secular governments. We protest against the assumption by any such government of a right to affect the interests or control the

action of our Holy Father by any form of legislation or other public act to which his full approbation has not been previously given, and we pledge to Leo XIII, the worthy pontiff to whose hands Almighty God has committed the helm of Peter's bark, amid the tempests of this stormy age, the loyal sympathy and unstinted aid of all his spiritual children in vindicating that perfect liberty which he justly claims as his sacred and inalienable right."

The record says: "The report of the committee on resolutions was unanimously adopted."

We have thus presented a fair summary of the action of the American Catholic Congress.

Numerous Catholic Congresses have been held in Europe in recent years, the best known and the most influential being those convened in Germany and Belgium. These were national, not general European congresses. Similar meetings have been held in Austria, Spain, France and Switzerland. These congresses were generally attended by both priests and laymen, who discussed with equal freedom and independence the subjects and questions under consideration. A distinguished American historian who considered this question of Catholic congresses at Baltimore, in explaining and justifying—if justification were necessary, these congresses, declared, that "they were called by Catholic laymen to demonstrate that they are not, as their enemies suppose, led like sheep by their clergy, and to be trampled on with impunity by their opponents. Catholics can thus make it evident to the world that, honoring in the highest degree the supreme pontificate, the priesthood and the episcopate placed over them by divine institution in the Church of God, ready to support them in their labors for the good of souls, acting in perfect harmony with them as parts of our spiritual body, the laity are none the less alive to their civil and political rights and, determined to maintain them, are ready to take part in all movements for progress in literature, art, science, in all that tends to increase human happiness within the lawful bounds of religion and morality." The subjects and problems discussed in these congresses were naturally matters of local and general Catholic interest in education, art, music, architecture, and along with these, important and pressing social and scientific issues, involving the peculiar relations of Catholics towards the State,

and the always present question of the independence of the Pope.

These European congresses have attracted wide attention on the other side of the Atlantic by the importance attaching to the discussions, the ability and high character and position of the delegates, as well as by reason of the attendance and general enthusiasm.

With many of the questions and issues brought before these congresses, American Catholics have only a sympathetic concern. The conditions of the church in most European countries is widely different from its situation in America. There it is almost always hampered or fettered by unfriendly or hostile legislation, sometimes subjected to a bitter and unrelenting persecution, as in Germany, where its bishops have been driven out of the country, and churches and schools closed for a time.

It was this persecution, the "Kulturkampf," and the abominable "May Laws," which caused the formation of the now powerful "Centre" or "Clerical Party," as it is now commonly designated in the German Reichstadt.

Happily in the United States Catholics are not confronted by these hostile conditions. The church is free, religion is not trammelled and Catholics have equal rights before the law and are protected with equal impartiality by the constitution. Duty and inclination equally bind them as citizens to stand always in the ranks of the defenders of the constitution and the laws. And there they will always be found in every crisis, whenever the nation's honor, the nation's rights, or the nation's liberty is in peril.

The Catholic Congress in Chicago in 1892, whether it be an International or World's Congress, or not, is almost certain to bring together a vast number of representative Catholics from every part of the world. If international in character, there would be representatives of course from all parts of Canada, from Mexico, and from the various republics of Central and South America. Every part of the British Empire would send delegates, as would doubtless every country on the continent of Europe, and Asia and Africa and Australasia as well as the islands of the sea.

What a strikingly interesting assemblage it will be. Like the great exposition itself: of all the world for all the world!

Such a congress assuredly could not fail to be welcome to our hospitality. Chicago, always cosmopolitan and public spirited, will welcome with impartial favor, during the year of her triumph, all who shall come to share in her glory and contribute to its splendor, and the Catholic Congress, we may be certain, will not be the least notable feature and attraction of the great Columbian Exposition of 1892.

A WORLD'S WOMEN'S CONGRESS.

FRANCES E. WILLARD.

PRESIDENT WOMEN'S COUNCIL OF U. S. AND OF WORLD'S W. C. T. U.

When bad men conspire, good men combine; that is the spirit of the age; but among women it is thus far, for good alone that they have reached the plane of combination. It is indeed a noteworthy fact that while we have a Brewers' Congress, Distillers' League and Tammany Association of men, there is, so far as I have learned, no organization whatsoever among women, that is disreputable. On the contrary, all are in the interest of humanity, and the very few divisions that have occurred among them are based on different methods rather than antagonistic principles. The largest actual society of women is the World's W. C. T. U., projected in 1883, and of which the British Women's Temperance Association, the National W. C. T. U. and the Canadian W. C. T. U. are auxiliaries. This society is now organized in Hawaii, Australia, Japan, China, South Africa and Scandinavia. The big ice-cake of Continental Europe has not yet been thawed, but the World's Fair at Paris was the means by which our literature, translated into French, was spread abroad so widely that we believe our White Ribbon globe-girdler, Mrs. Mary Clement Leavitt, will find the furrows ready when she begins work there this summer, and later on in South America and Mexico. But a society larger than the World's W. C. T. U. is outlined and officered—namely the International Women's Council, with Mrs. Millicent Fawcett of London, widow of the late Prof. Fawcett, postmaster general of England, at its head. This council is an outgrowth of the great convention of women held in Washington, D. C., in March of 1888, out of which also grew the Women's Council of the United States, a confederation intended to include all our national societies of women. Mrs. Fawcett is a woman of great abilities and prestige; an authority on questions of philanthropy, sociology and general reform work, a fine writer and speaker; gracious in

form and feature, and of distinguished manners. She is the natural leader of a Woman's Congress, which, in the opinion of all progressive women with whom I have communicated, should be called at once, in connection with the next World's Fair. Closely associated with Mrs. Fawcett should be Madame de Morsier of Paris, the accomplished French woman, to whom is chiefly due the success of the International Congress of Women that was a feature so prominent in the World's exposition of 1889. The women of every land should be urged to organize a national council to which existing societies of women would be tributary, and a penny per member paid annually into the national treasury, of which one-tenth should be forwarded to the international council. Delegates from all these national councils should be chosen, to participate in the International Congress at Chicago in 1893. Here the works of all women banded together for purposes of beneficence would pass in review; each church, from Catholic to Quaker, being encouraged to represent its missionary work, both home and foreign. Literary and educational guilds of women, professional and business, philanthropic, reformatory and political, all are deserving of a fair and equal hearing. Besides the great general meetings in the Auditorium, arrangements for national groups of women to meet by themselves, and for the various classes of workers to counsel together, would be important. That there will be a women's pavilion, as at the Centennial in Philadelphia, seems certain, and from the Bureau of Information here, announcements can go forth and a rendezvous be furnished for these many women of many minds. The World's W. C. T. U. will have its own exhibit, booth and café, under the care of Mrs. Josephine Nichols, of Indiana, through whose efforts the white ribbon movement was so admirably represented at Paris last year, taking "Le Grand Prix" besides several diplomas, and alone emphasizing in that bewildering array, the organized work of women. The outcome of this World's Congress, with its earnest planning for future achievements, could not fail to give a strong impetus to the crusade against brain poisons, to the liberation and enlightenment of the mother half of the race, and to the sacred cause of universal peace and brotherhood. May these things be!

MANUAL TRAINING AND THE WAY TO GET IT.

COL. AUGUSTUS JACOBSON.

At the present time the majority of children are taken away from school early in order to learn to gain their livelihood. Millions are thus kept in lifelong ignorance. Parents take their children from school early now, not only to avoid the expense of keeping them there, but often because parents fail to see that more schooling would make their children better bread winners. It is only reasonable to suppose that if the children could be taught at school more of that which would help them to gain their livelihood, parents would make far greater sacrifices than now to keep them there longer.

Our need is something which shall keep the children at school throughout the public course, including the high school. This want is, as I believe, to be supplied by the manual training school. The manual training school is simply a high school with the manual feature added. The manual feature can be added to any high school. From the experience we have already had, we know that the manual feature added to the high school course will fill the high schools and necessitate their multiplication. The high schools are not full, but the manual training schools, in spite of high tuition fees, are full to overflowing. They are full of boys, of whom at least one-half would not have been in any school but for the manual training.

I firmly believe that the American people are ready to support a higher education. To do it is the interest of everybody. Commerce and industry profit by every step in the elevation of man. Where men are ignorant and unskilled there is no commerce. The savage is not commercial. He is a poor customer. He has nothing to sell, and therefore he can buy nothing. The unskilled, ignorant laborer in a civilized country, is likewise a poor customer. He can earn but little, and therefore he can buy but little. The higher men rise in skill and intelligence, the better customers they are.

With every step in the elevation of man commerce and industry increase. Commerce and industry therefore favor the highest possible elevation of all men.

Can we afford to give to all the education of the manual training school at public expense? We are told that labor is a commodity, and at times it is difficult to show that it is not. When Benjamin Franklin was a printer, his labor was a commodity that could be bought for fifty cents a day. When Abraham Lincoln was a rail splitter his labor was a commodity that could be bought for seventy-five cents a day. But if labor is a commodity, it is at any rate a commodity with a difference between it and other commodities. It is a thinking commodity. Man is not a commodity. A bushel of wheat is always a bushel of wheat. It may be of the finest quality, but after all it is only a bushel of wheat with so much nutriment in it. But man has a brain. There is never any telling what is in a man till his brain has been trained. The Benjamin Franklin, who led the world in scientific discovery, and who led the French government to make war on England, for the benefit of the United States, was the same man, and yet a very different man, from the humble Boston printer, who had walked up Chestnut street, Philadelphia, munching one penny loaf, holding another under each arm, his wife that was to be, standing in her doorway, looking on. The Abraham Lincoln who corrected and improved Seward's dispatches and wrote the emancipation proclamation was the same man and yet a very different man from the Abraham Lincoln whose labor was a commodity worth seventy-five cents a day.

Meanwhile Franklin and Lincoln had trained and cultivated their brains. These were exceptional men, full of hunger and thirst for knowledge that could never be satisfied; men who would in any event have encompassed knowledge under the most adverse circumstances. These two men were perhaps as good specimens of humanity as are ever born. From such men knowledge cannot be kept. Heine says that if Phidias had been born without hands he would still have been the world's first sculptor.

But all brains and faculties from the greatest to the least and from the least to the greatest may be trained and cultivated. And training the young is the best investment that

can be made. Bring up a boy in a hovel in Ireland and he will grow up to come over here to dig and shovel at a dollar a day. His son, born in Chicago, adds to his knowledge the spelling book and some mechanical skill, and earns two dollars a day. The shoveler's grandson may go to the Chicago Manual Training school, and thereafter earn from three to five dollars and upwards indefinitely, according to his capacity. The raw material capable of the greatest possible improvement is human raw material. European nations spend millions in training their young men for war. We could well afford to spend equal millions in training our young men for peace. Rather than to do without the intelligence and efficiency which manual training schools would bring us, we could well afford not only to establish the schools at public expense, but we could afford besides to pay to every scholar in them a salary to support him, as we do to every cadet at West Point. The only objection that can be made to giving every child in the land the manual training school education is the expense. The answer to the objection of expense is that the education will bring us in return a hundred fold for every dollar we spend. Instead of impoverishing us, this education is precisely what will bring us wealth. When we come to understand how well it will pay in money to give every child the manual training school education, instead of doing it with reluctance, we shall do it with alacrity. This nation is in the very depths of poverty compared to what it would be if every child in the land were educated in the manual training school.

Stanley says there are forty millions of people on the Congo, all of them naked and poor. He says that the country in which they live is one of endless natural wealth. In the midst of all this wealth the Africans are in the depths of poverty, simply because they are ignorant.

This country with all its immense resources was once in the complete possession of the Indians. The Indians did not get rich. They were not even comfortable. They starved and froze to death, simply because they did not know anything. We took their inheritance and with what little we know, see what we have done.

That increase of knowledge brings increase of wealth must be clear to every one. If, instead of our present population

we had a land full of Russian Moujiks or of natives of Spain or Arkansas we should not be troubled with a surplus.

It is not what is in the earth, nor in the material things that are on the earth that the wealth of a nation lies. It is in the training of the brains of the people; it is in the intelligence of the people that the wealth of a nation lies. The training of the hands and brains of the people is so much added to the producing plant of the nation. The brains of the people are the motive power of all the motive powers.

The education of the manual training school so eminently adapted to the young, no matter what they are to do in life, we must give to every child. Not only must the manual training school be open to every child, but every child must have the benefit of it. Heretofore in this country the aim has been to educate up to a certain point all the children. But the aim has been to give them as little education as the children could get along with. We must change this and give to every child all the education the child can take and all we know how to give.

If our American civilization means anything, it means that the time shall surely come when no matter what it costs to educate him, no child shall be left to grow up in ignorance. If our American civilization means anything over and above and distinct from other civilizations, it means that the earth and the good things of the earth are the heritage, not of the few, but of the many.

To give to every child in the land the manual training school education involves no such sacrifice, considering our means, as it was for the Puritans with their slender means to keep every child at school, and that is what they did when New England was yet a wilderness in the depths of poverty.

But how are the poor to get this education for their children? As things are now they cannot get it. If there were manual training schools free for all on every street corner, the children of the poor would still have to go without this training. The bequest of the late Mr. Lewis now amounts to a million dollars, and soon the Lewis school will be established. When the Lewis school shall be established, it will be a magnificent institution, just what is needed, but poor boys and girls will not be able to get the benefit of it because they must work in the factory and in the shop to earn their bread. The

Chicago Manual Training School is full to overflowing, but it is full of boys whose parents are comparatively well-to-do; able to support the boys during their years of schooling. To be sure no boy is allowed to go away because he is too poor to pay his tuition. The tuition is often remitted; or the Commercial Club or some one else pays it. But for all that, boys whose parents cannot support them during their years of schooling are necessarily kept out of the Chicago Manual Training School. The very boys who need the school most are kept out. Out of 271 scholars there are only 25 boys in the school whose fathers are mechanics or laborers.

The reader will ask what is the use of manual training if it is beyond the reach of the people. If it is only for the few what is the use of speaking of it to the many?

The mass of the American people must forever remain without this training unless by means of the taxing power the wealth of the country shall be made to respond to the demand of civilization for a higher general efficiency and intelligence. And what does it mean to leave the mass of the people in ignorance? Among other things it means far less money earned than would be earned by a population of intelligence and efficiency. It means, perhaps, more money than the proposed education would cost, wasted on soldiers and policemen; destruction of property and stoppage of social machinery. As we all know by experience, the most expensive way of settling things is to settle them by means of lawlessness, and soldiers. It is much cheaper to train good citizens than it is to shoot bad ones.

[CONTINUED IN NEXT NUMBER.]

A HISTORY OF LABOR.

DAVID D. THOMPSON.

CHAPTER IV.

THE PAUPERIZATION OF THE ENGLISH LABORER.

The golden age of labor, as the century and a half previous to the ascension of Henry VIII was called, was brought to a close during that monarch's reign. The unprofitableness of farming at the prices demanded by the free laborers induced many land owners to engage in sheep raising. Vast tracts of land were withdrawn from cultivation, and it was not uncommon for one person to possess herds of ten thousand sheep or upwards. These herds required the attention of comparatively few men, and great numbers of agricultural laborers were thrown out of work. Not only were laborers unable to secure employment, but lords and farmers unjustly appropriated and enclosed the common fields and waste lands, which were public property and upon which the laboring poor had been accustomed to pasture their stock and raise their food.

Driven from the soil, the laborer became entirely dependent upon wages, and the way was prepared for the establishment of "wage slavery," a condition which, while the term "wage slaves," is not justly applicable to all wage workers, is to very many.

The severest blow which the English laborer received was the debasement of the coinage by Henry VIII. The king's object was not of course the pauperization of his humble subjects, but that was the effect of his act.

For a long time the penny with which wages were paid contained 11.1 grains of pure silver. The amount of silver was gradually reduced from 1543 until 1551, when it contained only 1.6 grains, being at the latter date worth scarcely one-tenth as much as ten years before.

Before long the well-to-do laborer noticed that his wages for a week's work would not purchase a week's supply of food

for himself and family, and he was at length terrified to discover that two days' provisions cost one week's labor. He had become a pauper, and his wife and children were threatened with starvation. He could not go to the monasteries which for centuries had relieved the necessities of the poor, nor to the guilds which had also provided for the needs of their members. Both monasteries and guilds had been stripped of their possessions by order of the king, who had appropriated property belonging to these institutions aggregating in value about \$250,000,000. There was no help to be found anywhere, and industrious laborers became "tramps" or "sturdy beggars," as they were called in that day, openly stealing whatever they could lay their hands on.

Efforts were made to suppress the crimes of these "sturdy beggars" by the enactment of severe laws. One of these provided "that the landless and destitute poor be reduced to slavery, branded, and made to work in chains."

The statute passed during the reign of Edward VI, prohibited "all confederacies and promises of workmen concerning their work or wages or the hours of the day when they should work," and any violation of it was to be punished by a fine of ten pounds, (\$50,) or 20 days imprisonment for the first offense, and for the third offense by a fine of forty pounds, the pillory, the loss of the left ear, and judicial infamy. This statute was not repealed until 1824. How rigidly such repressive laws were enforced is shown in the statement of the historian Green, who speaks of the magistrates of Somersetshire capturing a gang of these "tramps" at one time, and hanging fifty of them together.

Occasional years of unusually abundant harvests and demand for labor afforded temporary relief; but the famine of 1597 brought matters to a crisis. Such was the miserable condition of the helpless laborer that it was felt that something must be done to relieve him, and in 1601 parliament passed the famous English poor law, which was a curse to the working men thenceforward until its repeal in 1824.

Under this law, justices of the peace who were landowners and almost the sole employers of labor, were authorized to fix the rate of wages, and if the sum was insufficient to support the worker and his family, it was the duty of the parish to provide the balance. It being to the interest of the justices

to pay the lowest possible wages, the wages were seldom sufficient for the support of the laborer and his family, and the doctor, the lawyer, the grocer, the minister and others were taxed to supply the deficiency.

The honest and industrious laborers revolted at the gross injustice of making them dependent upon public charity after they had worked hard and faithfully, their wives and children usually doing the same. But there was no help; they must yield or starve. Some of them attempted to escape the disgrace of pauperism by leaving their families and endeavoring to make a living in other localities, where wages were reported to be much higher; but there they found in operation the law of parochial settlement, which provided that on entering a parish the laborer must furnish good and sufficient security that he would not become chargeable to the poor-rates of the parish, and as he could not do this he was sent to jail until the authorities had an opportunity to return him to his own parish.

Of this poor law and its operations, together with similar laws, Prof. Rogers says: "From 1563 to 1824 a conspiracy concocted by the law and carried out by parties interested in its success, was entered into to cheat the English workman of his wages, to tie him to the soil, to deprive him of hope and to degrade him into irremediable poverty. For more than two centuries and a half the English law and those who administered the law were engaged in grinding the English workman down to the lowest pittance, in stamping out every expression or act which indicated any organized discontent, and in multiplying penalties upon him when he thought of his natural right."

It is estimated that under this poor law, the workmen of England instead of receiving the just compensation for their toil, received in alms \$3,500,000,000. The sum varied in different years. In 1814 it was \$31,500,000, and in 1820, \$36,500,000. The burden was becoming too heavy for tax payers to bear, when Mr. Joseph Hume suggested that relief would probably be afforded if the laborer were left to manage his own affairs, and permitted to combine with his fellows to secure the highest possible wages a free market would allow him, and for this purpose in 1824 he introduced a bill in parliament, which became a law.

	<i>Serf Period.</i>	<i>Conflict.</i>	<i>"Good Old Times."</i>	<i>Famine.</i>	<i>PAUPER PERIOD.</i>						
	13th Cent.	14th Cent.	15th Cent.	1597.	1610.	1651.	1661.	1684.	1715-1750.	1750-1790.	1795-1820.
One bush. wheat.....	\$.18	\$.18	\$.18	\$1.70	\$1.21	\$1.54	\$2.12	\$1.26	\$.99	\$1.54	\$2.95
One-half bush. malt.....	.06	.06	.05½	.43	.23	.68	1.04	.73	.57	.80	1.32
Twenty lbs. beef.....	.08	.13	.22	.80	.80	1.00	1.00	.80	1.40	1.40	2.80
Two weeks' rent.....									.36	.45	.50
Two weeks' fuel.....									.25	.30	.50
	\$.32	\$.37	\$.45½	\$2.93	\$2.24	\$3.22	\$4.16	\$2.79	\$3.57	\$4.49	\$8.07
<i>One days' wages of</i>											
Carpenter { value of com- }	\$.10	\$.13	\$.13	\$.20	\$.18	\$.31	\$.31	\$.24	\$.42	\$.36	\$.43
Laborer.. { mon rights }	.06	.08	.10	.12	.13	.28	.23	.20	.30	.30	.40
<i>Proportion of one days' wages to cost of articles named above.</i>											
Carpenter.....	.31	.35	.29	.07	.08	.096	.075	.086	.12	.08	.06
Laborer.....	.19	.27	.22	.04	.058	.089	.067	.071	.084	.07	.05
Average annual payment of poor rates.....1715-1750, \$3,000,000; 1750-1790, \$10,000,000; 1795-1820, \$20,000,000.											
Capitalized wealth of England.....In 1750, \$3,750,000,000; in 1811, \$10,500,000,000.											

It is not surprising that the recollection of the brutal use which the legislative and judicial employer made of his absolute power under the poor law has embittered descendants of the victims of these laws, some of whom are still living.

The decline of the English workman is strikingly illustrated in the table on the preceding page, taken from the valuable historical sketch of labor in England by James A. Waterworth, in "The Labor Problem."

THE BUSINESS MAN AND THE COLLEGE.

CHARLES A. BLANCHARD.

PRESIDENT OF WHEATON COLLEGE.

There are probably no business men in the world more acute, intelligent and enterprising than those in the United States. The vast extent of our territory, our almost limitless resources in coal, iron, copper, lead, oil, silver, gas, gold, and agricultural products, the tremendous influx of population, and the fierce competitions of modern business life; all these have combined to sharpen and energize the minds of our merchants, bankers and managers, until they are certainly unsurpassed and probably unequaled in ability to understand and carry forward great enterprises.

It is the misfortune of specialists, however, that their view is limited; the microscope enables us to see much, but its field is small. The very fact that margins are so narrow and rivalry is so intense, lessens the ability of the average man to see more than the one thing about which he is busy, and hence it follows that men may be public spirited and wealthy, and at the same time fail to render such service to their age as they could and would, did they only see clearly how it could be done.

On no one subject, probably, is there greater need for calm and thoughtful writing and reading among business men than on the one indicated in my title. The mass of successful commercial men, the leaders in all our great lines of merchandising, manufacturing and financiering, do not seem to feel that the *College* is an institution which concerns them in any way whatever. "Colleges are places where brickbats are polished and diamonds are dimmed," says one. "Ten thousand men with diplomas in their pockets walk the streets of New York, who cannot, with all their learning, earn a dinner," used to say the great founder of the Tribune. "Teach your boys that which they will practice when they become men," says another. The attack of Charles Francis Adams, Jr., on col-

leges for worshipping dead languages, and Wendell Phillips' charge against them of moral cowardice are familiar to all.

It has followed from these two facts: viz., that business men are in general compelled to give themselves closely to one narrow path in life, and that there is a malarial idea diffused throughout the business world that colleges are impractical, their graduates useless in the business world, etc., etc.; that of every ten bankers, merchants or manufacturers you may safely count on seven or eight as having little interest in higher education. Among farmers the case is even worse, the prejudices more deep-rooted.

To attempt to change this current of public opinion may appear presumptuous, and would be so, were not the case so strong that it requires nothing but a clear statement and candid consideration in order to produce a complete change in the minds of men.

The reason why our leaders in the industrial world have been alienated in their sympathies from us, their fellow-laborers, is simply because, wrestling with the material problems of an advancing civilization, they have not had time to consider the intellectual and moral forces which silently, but constantly operate to render secure the advances which they make. This paper is prepared for business men, and though I am sure many of them are Christians, and would feel more keenly an argument addressed to believers in that Christian faith which has battled its way across twenty stormy centuries, yet, for the present, I confine myself to this one theme, and ask from all to whom this shall come a consideration of the question: "What should be the attitude of the business man to the college?"

First: A sound mental and spiritual life is the only foundation for a good business world. A few business men may be drunken, dishonest, worthless, and yet society moves forward, but what would occur if men in general should become idle, vicious, untruthful and dishonorable? Men are compelled to trust their clerks, bookkeepers, and agents. They are under the necessity of trusting one another, and in order that the farmer may ship his grain, the blacksmith beat his iron, the merchant order his goods, or the banker construct his vaults, there must be a basis of integrity and intelligence in

the nation which shall render these partners in the world's work reasonably certain of their reward.

Undoubtedly, mere mechanical contrivances will do for a while. The bell-punch, the state's prison, the military camp, will suffice to care for a turbulent and threatening minority; but if the mass of people become materialists, fearing nothing but force, desiring nothing but self-gratification, what would happen then? Is it not a fact that the good books, the praying homes, the churches where self-control, the compassion of God, and future reward and punishment are taught, is it not true that these are the real police force of society, and that without them all the means now in use to regulate society would be like the green withs on the arms of Samson?

"But," an objector may say, "these moral influences we may secure by means of the public school. We do not require the college for this purpose." To this statement we may reply that if it had not been for the College, there would have been no public school. President Angell, of Ann Arbor, said in a paper read before the National Teachers' Association in '87: "Historically, the University has preceded and both indirectly and directly has helped to build up the public school. In Italy, in France, in Germany, in America, everywhere this has been the general order of growth." He might have said that this University out of which the common school came was a cluster of Christian Colleges, and that the Theological Faculty were the men to insist upon public education. It is possible that if we neglect the Colleges, out from which our public schools came, we shall lose them, or find that they are so changed in character as to be practically worthless.

Is the great trouble to-day that we lack men of sharpened intellect, or men of thorough integrity? Is the trouble with most men that they do not know how to earn an honest living, or that many of them are not disposed to do so? Is the great lack of the business world capacity or conscience? If the latter, then we must beware of relying on any materialistic plans for meeting a spiritual difficulty, and whatever the future may have in store for us, so much as this is certain, that in the past the conserving forces of society have come from the college, more than from any other human institution.

Mexico and Peru were rich when the "iron bound coast" of

New England was the cold and stormy heritage of a few consumptive Indians. Constantinople was the center of a splendid civilization when the sites of Berlin and London were uninhabited wastes. Rome "sat on her seven hills and from her throne of beauty ruled the world," when the Hudson rolled her mighty floods to the most stately harbor in the world, vexed by no commercial keel. Why do the monied men of the whole world now look to London, New York and Berlin instead of to Turkey, Italy, Mexico and South America? Simply because the Christian religion and the Christian college have builded modern states, and the lack of them has destroyed the empires which have perished. No amount of wealth, no natural resources, no mere intellectual culture can possibly render property secure and life safe. We must have self-control, integrity, intelligence, a sense of accountability, or all our prosperity will be corrupted until it becomes a rotting, festering ruin.

Second: There is *a debt to the Past*.

There are two sorts of people in the world as regards the payment of debts. One seeks to meet all moral obligations; the other to pay what can be collected by law, glad to secure as many advantages as possible without making any return. I speak to the first class, those honorable men who desire not simply to return to their fellows what might be collected under an order of court, but to meet in manly fashion their responsibilities as members of society. If, unhappily, one of my readers should belong to the second class mentioned, he will have no interest in this part of the paper, and may pass it by.

I suppose that no American will declare that self-government has been a failure. It would be idle to affirm that it has worked smoothly and to our perfect satisfaction. Masses of men imbruted by alcoholic liquors, narcotic poisons, ceaseless toil and constant poverty, cannot be expected to spring at one bound into the front ranks of thoughtful and self-directing men. The vandal hordes that throng our great cities are an inheritance from despotisms which for many centuries have proclaimed as their title to authority the divine right of kings. So far as immigration is at this time a danger, it is because of the masses of degraded populations which always have abounded where nobles, kings and priests neither sowing

nor reaping, have been clothed in purple and fine linen, while they fared sumptuously every day. Our negro population is not what it has been made by free institutions; it is what it has been made by two hundred and fifty years of slavery, and twenty-five years of outrage and neglect.

The men for whom I write are not blind to the evils that exist. They appreciate the many defects, difficulties and dangers which still confront the self-controlling nations; but they believe that the evils of representative democracy are less than those of kingdom or empire. Their faces are set toward the twentieth century, not toward the sixteenth. They are not sorry that the whole western world is living under constitutions and that Europe has only one autocrat who can imprison patriots, and scourge women without even pretence of trial. Business men believe in freedom. Slaves and peasants are poor customers. A nation of freemen will buy more of all manufactured goods than a little circle of nobles ruling over a poor and overtaxed people.

Now, self-government is the product of the college. Kings founded colleges and their thrones were overturned by them. The Saxon race has led the world in the struggle for the rights of man, and the Saxons were themselves led by a little group of school-men. Luther is far-famed as a religious leader. He was this, but he was more. He was the creator of the German language, of the German educational system, of the German parliament. I do not, of course, mean that he saw all that was needed, or that he was able to accomplish all that he did perceive as needed. I only affirm that he stated and maintained the truths which have made the foundation on which the liberties and institutions of one hundred millions of Anglo-Saxon freemen rest to-day.

His co-laborers in Germany and other lands were also university men. John Wycliffe, John Knox, John Calvin, John Hampden, John Pym, John Hancock, John Adams, Edwin M. Stanton, Wm. H. Seward, Salmon P. Chase, Chas. Sumner, the great Gladstone, and scores of others, whom I might name as partners in the work of establishing free institutions were all of them college men. It is said that when the Continental Congress hesitated about making the Declaration of Independence, when every man seemed to see before him the

noose where he must hang, if the movement should fail, Samuel Adams stood forth and said: "If it were revealed to me by an angel from heaven that nine hundred and ninety-nine out of every thousand of us must perish in this struggle, still, I should unhesitatingly say to go forward. One freeman will possess more virtue and enjoy more happiness than a thousand slaves." It was such words as these that determined our national destiny, and this man was educated in that college, planted when our fathers were poor, over whose doors they wrote the motto: "For Christ and the Church."

Every business man who is glad that he is free and clothed with civil power, every business man who is glad that his children are not the slaves or serfs of kings, every business man who is glad to have freemen for customers, owes a debt to these Christian colleges which have secured civil liberty for the free nations. It is not a debt which can be collected in court. It is not a debt which will subject him to reproach and contempt if he refuses to pay it. Nevertheless, it is a debt, and if he desires to fully meet his obligations he must in some way testify his gratitude to those humble students, who, amid the cold and heat, the sun and storm, labored to build the platform of liberty on which he stands.

Third: There is a common opinion that colleges have done nothing directly toward the industrial development of our land; that whatever they may have done in the direction of character building, they have been of no use at all in the way of material progress. It may be admitted that the principal and immediate aim of the college is not to increase one's power to get money. It does not follow that it has had nothing to do with it.

Has astronomical science nothing to do with progress in the commercial world? Has chemistry nothing to do with medicine and agriculture? Was Prof. Morse, the inventor of the telegraph, an example of the uselessness of college men? Is there a corner of the mercantile world which is not to-day tingling with the results of his labor? Is the speaking telephone of practical value to the business world? Then why not give due credit to Prof. Gray, the inventor, and also to the college where he spent five years in study?

There are no doubt men of limited advantages and great

natural power who have wrought well for their own and succeeding generations. All honor to the Fultons and Watts and Stephensons of humanity. It is not, however, needful to overlook or depreciate the work of others in order to give these sufficient praise. Bacon and Newton, Bunsen and Liebig, Morse and Gray represent as large contributions to the industrial world as have ever been made by man. In fact, it is conceded that the present superiority of German mills in certain lines of manufacture is owing to the trained chemists whose services they command. Take out from the business world to-day the appliances and sciences which have come to it from college halls, and you would turn back the hands on the dial of the world's progress at least three hundred years.

Speaking on this point Prof. Phelps says: "It is no uncommon thing for men to forget their benefactors in the very enjoyment of their benefactions; to feel quite independent of the fountain because of the very richness and copiousness of the draughts which they drink from the stream. Thus infidelity abstracts the coin of heaven, the truths of revelation, and stamps them with the image and superscription of reason, and thus, too, the excessive utilitarianism of our age denies her obligations to literary and scientific institutions; while, at the same time, she is rioting in the wealth and luxury which literature and science are pouring into her lap. Let the fountain be cut off and they would soon, though too late, discover their error."

Our business men are perplexed with calls; church work, benevolent societies, humanitarian enterprises, and social life all claim their share. There is no doubt a place for these; but the college still has a place all its own. To feed or clothe the poor, to care for the sick and dying, to minister to those who have been thrown off the train of material prosperity or who have been crushed beneath its wheels is the dictate of both religion and humanity. One may do all this, however, and yet fail to contribute to the more far-reaching needs of both the man and the nation. It is a better economy to train men to govern themselves than to govern them with guns. It is cheaper to train men to care for themselves than it is to care for them. It is better to make one raw, untrained lad into a wise, far sighted, well balanced man, able and willing

to care for a thousand others, than to endow a bed in a hospital or feed a hundred beggars for a year. Not that any one of these is without value, but that the one that cultivates the spiritual man is highest in the scale, is most fundamental to society.

We have recently had two great libraries founded in our city. They have splendid endowments and will be of vast benefit to society on one condition, viz. : that the people care to use them. Persons do not acquire a taste for valuable literature by chance. The records of many libraries show that the class of books desired by a large proportion of the people is not the one which the founders of these two great public libraries desired to throw into circulation. Now, how shall our people be formed to a literary taste which shall insure progress and real elevation from the use of the library? Manifestly, by the schools, and the schools for higher education. If we have the college we can make the library. In all its great departments it comes from the college. But if we have the library and forget the college, the best parts of our books will be least used, and the number of these books will not be increased.

Fourth: A few common errors respecting colleges are of so great moment as to justify mention here.

First: It is a serious mistake to suppose that the best work can be done in a very large school. It is not unusual to hear it said that our colleges should be combined into a great university; that there is a great loss of capital and teaching power resulting from the number of our schools for higher instruction; that many of our colleges should be academies, etc. The answer to these and similar remarks is that as soon as the number of pupils passes the limit of possible personal supervision on the part of the faculty, there results one of two things: either the student is committed to the care of subordinates, or he has no care at all. The latter is usually the case. If he is settled in his habits and principles, no evil may result; if not, the college is about as bad a place for him as could be found.

Professional students, twenty-five years old and upwards, with general training secured, and habits decided, may properly be left to themselves. Young men entering college at

sixteen to eighteen, require the kindly companionship and supervision of their instructors, and will in multitudes of instances suffer if deprived of it.

Still further, the value of an education is usually proportioned to the effort put forth in securing it. Men who go to college with every want supplied at no cost of thought or labor on their own part are not the strong scholars while in college, nor the strong men out of it. Now, a large number of colleges of moderate size wisely located throughout the country will attract thousands of these hard working men where a few great schools would secure tens. The average expense would be high in the latter case, sports and dissipation would be more common, class disturbances would increase and the whole scholarly tone would be lowered, a few professors sustained by large endowments would keep up the reputation of the college for scholarship, and the great mass of young men would be actually, if not intentionally, barred out.

Second: Cities are not most favorable locations for colleges. Law, medicine, theology and technical schools, for various reasons are profited by city sites. In many cases even in these schools, the results are less favorable than might be expected were the young people who attended them isolated somewhere from the rush and roar, the conflicting tides of city life. The obvious advantages are, contact with courts, opportunities for mission work, proximity of hospitals and the chance which the technical student has to see all branches of shop work going forward in the actual business world. These arguments have placed the professional schools in cities and will keep them there.

The college student is, however, in a different state. He is on the average four years younger. He needs nothing that he cannot secure in the village. He will be better acquainted with his instructors, better known to his fellows, more exempt from the temptations peculiar to cities, if he is educated at a distance from them. These facts should be considered by men of large means and generous impulses, and they should so plan their gifts to education that the largest results of good and the least discounts should result. Yale and Harvard would be better educational centers were they situated as are Amherst and Williams.

Third: It will not be possible to keep the educational center of the United States on the Atlantic coast. Two hundred years ago, more or less, poor pious men laid the foundations of Harvard, Yale, Princeton, Columbia, Williams and Mary, and others. Years have passed. Alumni are numbered by thousands; wealth has poured in, and now the facilities of these institutions are very great. They are, however, a thousand miles from the heart of the interior, and though a few can send pupils to them from the west and northwest, the masses of Americans cannot at all depend upon them. Each section must and will have its own schools and the educational center of this nation will ultimately be where the center of population is. These great schools with their long list of honored graduates, will have a place and a distinguished place, among our colleges. Some of them may perhaps lay aside college work and become real universities; but the millions of people who now live in the Mississippi valley will educate their children at home. They ought to do so, and will.

Now is the time for our public spirited men of wealth to plan generously for the boys and girls of their own region. They will not wish to send their sons and daughters to take advantage of the foundations laid by others, and neglect to lay foundations themselves. They will desire to have a share in building up here at home, colleges which shall do for the interior and the west what the devoted and liberal men and women who founded eastern schools have done for the coast. They will know that the vast majority of our people cannot patronize the east if they would. They know that it would not be best for them to do so if they could. The east has done well. She is still aiding the west, and it is right that she should, for every western farm pays tribute to Boston and New York. But we are able to help ourselves, and ought to do it.

There are several reasons which should impel generous men at this time to large plans in the matter under discussion.

First. We are passing out from the period of mere struggle with nature, into a time when large wealth is to be devoted to mere materialism or to the higher natures of men. If those who have the wealth of the community in their hands do not devote it to spiritual ends then they must expect to live among men who are like themselves of the earth, earthy.

Second. The rush of nations for the great Mississippi Valley is not ended; it is only fairly begun. These new men are rearing and are to rear large families of sturdy young people to make or mar the fortunes of the Republic. It is a wise economy to plant schools for higher education, so that multitudes of these young people shall be inspired to something better than mere money-getting, to incline them to imitate our ancestors, who loved liberty and religion better than ease and splendor.

Third. There is no other work which a business man can do that accomplishes so much. President G. Stanley Hall recently said: "Charity for hospitals and alms houses is holy, Christ-like work, but to provide a better training for physicians and economists, teaches the world to shun the causes of sickness and poverty."

Planting Christian schools, one becomes the benefactor of the select minds of his day. He helps the young men who put aside for a time pleasure and gain for the cultivation of the soul. These pupils come from scores and hundreds of towns, and they carry the seeds of civilization with them to the ends of the earth. They are the advance guards of commerce, the layers of foundations for art, eloquence, architecture, liberty and religion throughout the world. What can business men do which will return a better interest on the investment than to become partners in a work like this?

EDITORIALS.

Several months ago the matter of a series of World's Congresses to be held in connection with the World's Fair of 1892 was presented to the public by THE STATESMAN. A symposium was published in the October number, in which Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney, Judge L. D. Thoman, Prof. David Swing, D. D., Hon. E. Nelson Blake, Hon. Thomas B. Bryan, Rev. John Henry Barrows, D. D., and Rev. P. S. Henson, D. D., presented and advocated the proposal to hold these Congresses. Our editorials in the same number advocated it and the press of Chicago very largely reprinted and commended the suggestion, as did representative journals elsewhere. The authorities then engaged in advancing the interests of the then-proposed international exposition adopted the idea and appointed a committee to take in charge the proposal. The committee consists of the following well known gentlemen:

Hon. Charles Carroll Bonney, *Chairman*; Lyman J. Gage, Esq., *Treasurer*; Walter Thomas Mills, *Secretary*; Hon. William J. Onahan, Hon. Ferd. W. Peck, John J. Mitchell, Esq., Hon. John A. Enander, Julius Rosenthal, Esq., John Henry Barrows, D. D., Bishop Samuel Fallows, D. D.

* * *

That these congresses will represent every phase of civilized activity; will gather together the wisest and best informed representatives of all countries; will hold sessions of conference and discussion of incalculable value; will give an impetus to the best there is in civil society, not excelled by any other feature of the great exposition; will give reformers a world wide view of both their opportunities and responsibilities; will emphasize as nothing else can the uselessness and the wickedness of war; will hasten a union of the industrial forces of the earth in a way which will finally make all men workers together for good; will sound the depths where all religions meet on common ground, in the divine which lives in our humanity; will strengthen an international public

opinion which shall finally bind tyrants to the mandates of justice, abolish slavery everywhere, secure just rewards for all who toil and just penalties for all who rob—that all these things will be greatly helped there can be no question, and these things are the supreme concerns of civil society.

* * *

THE STATESMAN therefore will give much attention to topics of international importance. The articles of this number indicate the tenor and character of what may be expected. Our readers may look for many others. Those already announced will be given at an early date. The great Chicago Auditorium has been placed at the disposal of the committee which will add in time probably nearly every large hall and church and lecture room in the city for the accommodation of the congresses. No censorship is proposed, nor will any be tolerated. The idea is that any large company of persons having interests in common and wishing to meet for their consideration will be invited to come and every possible facility afforded to make their gathering profitable.

* * *

Steps are already being taken to hold a congress of temperance people larger and more representative than has ever before gathered in the world's history; the same is true of a woman's congress; the professions are moving; a religious congress which will exclude no human being who calls himself devout will mark a new era in the coming of that brotherhood which is to be the final revelation of the common fatherhood.

* * *

But in the consideration of these international topics we shall not neglect the other interests to which we are devoted. What are those other interests? What does the THE STATESMAN stand for? First of all it stands for toleration. It holds that the greatest of all social and political wrongs is the unwillingness of men of conflicting ideas and interests to listen respectfully to each other. It does not make this claim because of the savagery and narrowness of intolerance, notwithstanding the coarse brutality of such a spirit, but because a mutual understanding of differences is the first step in their adjustment. That the larger share of the world's sorrows is

occasioned by pure meanness is not questioned; but there is no place where meanness is more productive of evil than when it condemns unheard "the other side."

* * *

To give a mutual interchange of views usually greatly lessens differences while a refusal to do so always exaggerates them. To take the course which will exaggerate real difficulties and at the same time cut off all means of adjustment save brute force, or, what is equally brutal, blind and unreasoning majorities backed by a policeman's club, is as unwise as to tie up an engine, plug up its safety valve, and shovel in more coal. Either a reversal of the programme or an explosion is the only result. The bitterness of spirit and the unfairness of statement with which great public problems have been discussed have been themselves greater wrongs than any single evil thus attacked. And the explosions, when they have come, it has been quite as frequently because of the methods of discussing the evils as in the evils themselves. *THE STATESMAN* is devoted to the problems of practical politics and stands for toleration, first of all, solely because of its economic and social importance.

* * *

In keeping with this purpose this magazine has given an equal and fair hearing to all sides of the questions of most active controversy in politics, economics and sociology.

* * *

In opening our seventh volume *THE STATESMAN* desires especially to acknowledge the many kindly words spoken to us by our readers and friends because of this tolerant—all-sided—fairness in our work. There is no question that this plan is heartily endorsed by the thousands who are among our regular readers, many of whom at the first objected, on the enlargement of our magazine, to this advance in our policy. It was not a pleasant thing to lose old readers and fast personal friends from our list, because we published utterances which neither they nor ourselves endorsed. But it is an unspeakable pleasure to restore their names and to read their warm words of approval not only for the independence and

fairness of our editorial discussions, wherein we have never hesitated to give our own views and own reasons for entertaining them, but also for the courteous and many-sided discussions of our regular contributors.

* * *

There is another point of view from which this method is valuable in a way that has not occurred to many of our readers. What a magazine reader wants is the mature thought of the author he reads. It is somewhat amusing to notice how instantly a writer becomes more careful when told that his production will be answered in a succeeding number; how the manuscript is sometimes taken up and whole paragraphs stricken out, or the copy taken away entirely in order to brace it against attack. The temptation to reason carelessly when there is only one side being presented is too great for most men to resist. Most of the extravagant assertions of the pulpit, a large share of the brutal cunning of the political rostrum which first dresses an opponent in fantastic colors, and then abuses him for his unbecoming appearance, and a good portion of the cheap partisan journalism which writes one party into saints and sages and another into villains and demons, while both are only men of like passions and possibilities—a large share of all these things would disappear were the persons guilty of them put in position where the errors they make could be surely exposed to the same persons to whom they have been offered.

* * *

But after tolerance for all men of all opinions, what, then, do the editors of *THE STATESMAN* favor? The editors of this magazine are not committed to any school in economics or to any pet theories in politics. They believe that the end of social and political advance can be understood by the world much better when it is nearer to it.

They, therefore, refuse to commit themselves to any scheme or philosophy of society which is to be adhered to as the panacea of all social ills and by which it is possible to state in advance what the end will be. There are many measures which they advocate and to which they commit themselves reserving the

right to readjust their views with the further light coming as the result of the adoption and trial of these measures.

* * *

Their faith as it stands is a simple one. It embodies the conviction that gamblers, speculators, loafers and bummers are the enemies of the human race and should be treated as such; that good will and not selfishness is the stronger passion in our nature and will finally triumph. It carries the conviction that to toil for this end is the highest privilege vouchsafed to man.

* * *

And now to enumerate some of the public measures which THE STATESMAN supports. It favors street railways, gas for fuel and lighting, public baths, reading rooms and libraries to the full demand of society and to be furnished by the public either free or at cost. It favors the abolition of all taxes whatever until the annual valuation of the natural resources of the country has been exhausted for public purposes. It favors government ownership and management of all means of transportation and communication. It holds that the warehouses should go with the transportation lines and that a national system of grain inspection should be established corresponding with the state inspection, whose warehouse receipts for grain stored should be good on demand for a like amount anywhere in the country, with charges at cost for transportation. It believes in greatly improving and extending the public school system, and that its training should everywhere be made to bear more directly on the industrial value of the training given. It holds that the elective franchise is not safely nor properly placed or guarded. It believes in a perfected secret ballot, in the disfranchisement of large classes of improper voters and the abolition of the sex distinction as a qualification requisite in the voter. It believes that the financial system of our country is not quite the "best the world ever saw." It does not agree that the perfection of currency is to be based on what the public owes. It is quite convinced that what it owns would be fully as good a basis. If silver and gold only are to be the basis of our currency because congress cannot be trusted to determine the volume of the cur-

rency for fear it would issue so much more than the metal base would provide as to make too much money if made of paper, then it ought not to interfere to make the volume less than the free coinage of these metals would supply. It believes in shortening the hours of toil and in driving forever out of our markets public traffic in the vices of the people.

* * *

While it advocates all these measures it does not insist that partial advances in any line are not desirable. It will work faithfully with any class of people striving for all or any portion of these things and it will extend the fullest and fairest hearing possible to those who are opposed to any or all of them.

ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL NOTES.

The striking result of the recent election in Germany was the immense increase in the socialist vote. The socialists elected thirty-seven members of the Reichstag, and cast a majority of the votes polled in the capital city itself. Prof. Vischow, the famous scientist, was defeated by a Berlin book-binder, who can scarcely write the language correctly. The result clearly demonstrates the folly of Bismarck's policy of repression. The errors of German socialism must be combated by some more effective method than has heretofore been employed. The recent anti-socialist measure, which the government was unable to induce the Reichstag to adopt, resulted in the overwhelming defeat of the government party, and Bismarck is now compelled to seek a coalition with the Roman Catholic members. The decided increase of the socialist vote shows the rapid growth of Republican ideas among the German people. The continuance and extension of the factory system seems to be necessitated not only by the mechanical appliances of the age, but by the monopolizing of industries by a few capitalists, who are more concerned for cheapening products than they are for maintaining a high standard of manhood, and to protect womanhood and childhood from oppression. But there are some economical writers who believe that the large factory will be supplanted by the small shop and perhaps by a return to the old method of home manufacture, though under more favorable conditions than existed before the use of machinery. Lord Salisbury in a recent address before the Institution of Electrical Engineers, said that it was possible that "in the distributive power of electricity, which carries along the stiff force of the steam engine now confined to its own centre, to distances growing even greater, there might be found an instrument capable of conferring happiness on mankind. The ability to turn on power in a private house as people now turn on gas, might scatter the aggregations of humanity which steam has drawn together, and, by enabling

artisans to work at home, restore the family life now so rudely broken up." Dr. Werner Siemens, the celebrated German scientist and inventor, in an address at Berlin on "Science and the Labor Question," declared that "the necessity for extensive factories and workshops involving large capital and an almost slavish discipline for labor to secure the maximum cheapness in production, was due to a great extent to the yet imperfect development of the art of practical mechanics, and that mechanical skill will ultimately effect a return to the system now almost extinct, of independent, self-sustaining, domiciliary labor, by the introduction of cheap, compact, easily set up and operated labor-saving machinery into the smaller workshops and the homes of the workingmen.

The public opposition to trusts is finding expression in legislative halls. Even national law-makers feel called upon to take action, and several bills have been introduced in Congress to prohibit or control them. Three such bills have been introduced in the Senate, and fifteen or more in the House. Perhaps the most important of these is the bill of Senator Sherman, which declares unlawful and void all combinations to prevent competition in the importation, transportation or sale of domestic articles, and all combinations intended to advance their cost. Any one entering into a trust is liable to a fine of \$10,000 and imprisonment for five years. Senator George's bill provides that no trust shall have the right to enforce a contract in the U. S. Court, and that whenever a trust is increasing the price of any commodity the president shall be required to suspend the collection of all customs duties upon importations of similar articles. The trust is difficult to control, and it is not probable that even these rigid provisions would have the desired effect, unless they and all other monopolies and corporations were required to make public the list of their stockholders and the nature and extent of their business.

The ultimate assumption by the government of important national monopolies is becoming manifest. The first step in this direction has been taken by Postmaster-General Wanamaker, who has presented to the Congressional committee on postoffices and post roads a plan for the establishment

of a limited postal telegraph. He proposes to lease from the lowest bidder telegraph wires between the cities now having a free delivery system, and transmit letters by telegraph at the rate of ten cents for twenty words or less, including signature and address, for short distances, twenty-five cents for 1,500 miles or less, and not to exceed fifty cents for any distance. Towns not having the free delivery system could derive benefit from the proposed plan by the provision that messages could be telegraphed to the nearest office, and forwarded by mail, in which case at least several hours and sometimes days could be saved. The Western Union telegraph company opposes the scheme as impracticable and one which would prove ruinously expensive; but the immense profits credited to the Western Union on watered stock would seem to indicate that even a less rate than that proposed could be charged and there remain a profit. But what is more important than the question of profit is the destruction of a power that no individual or number of individuals should possess.

Cardinal Manning, in a recent interview, said: "I think the time has come for strenuous and proper efforts to be made to protect the working women and to insure to them equal fairness in the matter of their hours of work and their wages as the men now obtain. The time is, perhaps, not far off, when the sight of young, ill-fed girls acquiring permanent injuries through long hours of toil, breaking their backs bending over machinery in ill-ventilated rooms, will be regarded as an act of barbarity and will be punished as such. America, which loves to call itself 'the land of the free,' is renowned for its gallantry and for its kindness to woman, so let us hope that the great new world will lead the crusade against every one who overworks, underpays or illtreats in any way the prototypes of his own mother and sisters." Amen! And may this hope soon be realized.

Gladstone recently stated that in his opinion the following questions were ripe for settlement by the English people: Home rule for Ireland; reform of the registration laws, one man, one vote; the taxation of ground rents; the transfer of the police to the county council; the control over the liquor traffic by the county council; the establishment of district

and parochial councils; the reform of the allotment law; disestablishment in Scotland and Wales; dwellings of the poor; enfranchisements of leaseholds; crofters' legislation; free education; shorter parliaments; provisions in the direction of home rule in Scotland and Wales; currency reform; and reform in the house of Lords. Some of the most important of these questions have never concerned the American people, for the equivalent of the rights demanded by them have always been enjoyed by us; but with others, such as the land and liquor and social questions, we will be required to deal.

OUR LEGAL DEPARTMENT.

CONDUCTED BY RICHMOND & SMITH.

T. C. RICHMOND, }
J. B. SMITH, } Madison, Wis., Bar.

Our readers are requested to send questions of general interest regarding law points to the managers of this department. It is proposed to discuss all proper and regularly signed communications, and ultimately to publish the substance of these discussions in book form.

Q. What are the restrictions now placed upon immigration to the United States? Can further restrictions be legally provided for?

A. According to United States law, the immigration of Chinese laborers is prohibited, also of any alien or aliens, foreigner or foreigners as laborers under contract, also the inveigling or kidnapping of any person to hold in confinement or involuntary servitude, also the importation for prostitution from any country. There are some other restrictions in regard to criminals, also in regard to paupers or those unable to care, or provide for, themselves.

Notes on the R. S. of the U. S., pages 502-512.

There is nothing to prevent further restrictions or prohibitions on the same line when Congress thinks it advisable.

Q. Has a resolution adopted by a city council the same force and effect as an ordinance?

A. That depends somewhat upon the charter, and upon the object for which the resolution or ordinance is passed. "There is a clear distinction between resolutions and ordinances. Resolutions are in their nature special and temporary, and intended only to apply to some one single matter then in question. An ordinance, on the contrary, is in contemplation of law a permanent regulation applicable to all states of fact thereafter arising within the scope of its provisions."

5 Am. and Eng. Corporation Cases, 430-434.

Elsewhere we find the following: "There is a clear distinction between an ordinance and a resolution. The former

is permanent in its character and more analogous to a law. The latter is temporary and intended to apply only to some special, present state of facts."

7 Am. and Eng. Corporation Cases, 261-269.

See, also, on this point as to the difference between a resolution and an ordinance, Dillon on Municipal Corporations, section 307, Note.

Q. Last September a party purchased a piece of town property, nothing being said in regard to the taxes, the purchaser supposing the taxes had been paid. The following February the tax collector informed the purchaser that the taxes of the 1889 assessment were not paid. Will the purchaser be obliged to pay these taxes?

A. This question comes to us from a resident of Wisconsin, and presumably refers to Wisconsin law. The taxes on the assessment of 1889 could not have been paid in September as the warrant for the collection of the taxes is not placed in the hands of the collector until on or before the second Monday in December. The following is the law in Wisconsin on this subject: "As between the grantor and grantee of any land, when there is no express agreement as to which shall pay the taxes that may be assessed thereon before the conveyance, if such land is conveyed even with, or prior to, the date of the warrant authorizing the collection of such taxes, then the grantee shall pay the same; but if conveyed after that date then the grantor shall pay them."

Wis. R. S. section 1153.

See, also, *Peters v. Myers*, 22 Wis. star page 602.

Q. Has a banker the right to send statements of accounts and notices of notes coming due, on postal cards? Do the postal laws forbid this?

A. We think he has such right under the present law and that such action on his part is legal. The law of 1888 provides "that all matter, otherwise mailable by law, upon the envelope or outside cover or wrapper of which, or any postal card upon which, any delineations, epithets, terms, or language, of any indecent, lewd, lascivious, obscene, libelous, scurrilous, defamatory, or threatening character, or calculated by the terms or manner or style of display, and obviously intended to reflect injuriously upon the character or conduct of another, may be written or printed, or otherwise impressed

or apparent, are hereby declared non-mailable matter," &c. In a recent decision by the United States Circuit Court for the Eastern District of Missouri, reported in 40 Federal Reporter, 664, it is held that a creditor may send on a postal card, to his debtor, a respectful and courteous notice of accounts or notes due or about to become due; but that if the communication contains any threats, as that if the debt is not paid within a certain time the account will be placed in the hands of an attorney for collection, or any other threat of that kind, then and in that case the postal card upon which such threat is written is now non-mailable matter, and parties sending such communication through the mails render themselves liable to criminal prosecution.

See, also, on this subject an interesting case from the Irish High Court of Justice, reported in 9 C. L. J., 147.

Q. If a dispute should arise between a passenger and the conductor on a railway train in regard to fare, ticket, seat, or any other matter, and it is settled by a demand from the conductor that the passenger leave the train, can the conductor enforce his demand or eject the passenger between stations? What is the penalty?

A. Generally under such circumstances the conductor may expel the passenger between stations.

"The more general rule is, that passengers upon a railroad train without tickets, who decline to pay their fare, may be put off the train by the conductor, he using no more force than is necessary to effect their removal, in case of their refusal to leave. Nor is the conductor bound to proceed to a station before doing so, but he may stop the train between stations, and there put such passengers off. To require them to be carried to the station would impose upon the company the carriage of them for nothing; and so on, upon the next train coming along, from train to train, and from station to station, to their journey's end." * * *

Some authorities maintain that the refractory or delinquent passenger is to be carried to the next station, and under no circumstances, for mere non-payment of fare, is to be put off between stations; but *such is not believed to be the correct rule, except where required by statute*. In case, however, the passenger be sick, or aged, or lame, or a child or a delicate woman, the expulsion should never be elsewhere than at a regular sta-

tion. It is laid down as a rule of law that sick or aged persons, delicate women, persons lame or infirm, and children, are entitled to more care and attention, and, we would add, more tolerance and kindness, from the company's servants, than persons of good health, and laboring under no disabilities or infirmities."

"The rule of the statute of Illinois, that for non-payment of fare, or for want of a ticket, passengers may only be expelled from the cars at regular stations *does not apply to expulsions for disorderly conduct, or disobedience of the reasonable rules and regulations of the company.* The right to expel for these is as at common law; and its exercise is a duty which the company owe not only to themselves but to the comfort and safety of its passengers, as also to the cause of good order and morals. * * * Nor, according to the ruling in the leading case (one not here quoted), above cited, is the conductor compelled to put them off at some station, but may do so at any ordinary safe point on the road."

Rorer on Railroads, pages 960, 961, 964, 973 and 974 and authorities there cited.

In Illinois by statute the company is not allowed to expel a passenger for mere non-payment of fare between stations. In Wisconsin R. S., section 1818, the law is as follows: "If any passenger shall refuse to pay his fare, it shall be lawful for the conductor of the train and the servants of the corporation to put him and his baggage off the cars, on stopping the cars and using no unnecessary force, *at any usual stopping place, or near any dwelling house, as the conductor shall elect.*"

"The rule in Michigan is, that at common law the company is not required to carry a passenger who is wrongfully aboard the train as such to any particular place or station before exercising the right of expulsion, but may put him off the cars at any place that will not expose him to peril, if the same be done without any more force than is necessary, and unaccompanied by any wrong act."

Rorer on Railroads, pages 963-4, citing 19 Mich. 305.

Q. A widow having property in her own name, and having children, marries a second time. Does her husband become an heir to her property at the time of her death, in the state of Wisconsin?

A. No; nor will he hold lands of which she died seized

and which were not disposed of by her last will and testament, as tenant by the courtesy, if she have issue by her former husband to whom the estate might descend; but he may hold as tenant by the courtesy so much of her real estate as would by law descend to her children by the second marriage.

Ann. Stat. of Wisconsin, sections 2270 and 2180. Also *Kingsley vs. Smith*, 14 Wis., 360, star paging. *Westcott vs. Miller*, 42 Wis., 454.

Q. Does the law of Wisconsin require a will to be recorded to be valid?

A. No; but under R. S., section 2291, any will "may be deposited by the person making the same, or by any person for him, with the judge of the County court of the county where the testator lives, and such judge shall receive and safely keep such will and give a certificate of the deposit thereof."

Q. A loaned B money and took a real estate mortgage as security. B having failed to pay, deeded the land to A, but A did not release the mortgage. Subsequently B bought the land of A for fifty dollars, subject to the mortgage. Does the mortgage hold good, or was it extinguished when B deeded to A?

A. Although the general rule is that "when a legal and an equitable estate in the same land come to one person in the same right, without any intervening estate outstanding in a third person, the equitable merges in the legal estate and the latter alone remains subsisting," yet this rule or doctrine must be taken with certain qualifications and limitations. Whether or not there is a merger depends upon the intention, actual or presumed, of the person in whom the interests are united. If that intention has in any way been declared, that settles the question. If it has not been declared, then resort is had to presumptions of law, under the circumstances, and it seems that courts will inquire into a party's acts even for years to find out whether he has declared his wish or intent in the matter. A reasonable time is given the party to declare his intent, and what is a reasonable time must depend upon the circumstances of each case. Where it is more beneficial to the party in whom the interests unite, to let the incumbrance stand on the estate than to take it discharged of

the incumbrance, that circumstance will have a controlling influence on the implied intent.

"It has often been decided that the purchaser of an equity of redemption may take an assignment of the mortgage, and may keep the legal and equitable titles distinct at his election, if he has any interest in so doing so that they shall not merge by unity of possession. And the release of the equity of redemption operates as an extinguishment of the equity of redemption and not as a merger of the estate conveyed by the mortgage."

15 Gray, 522-525.

In the case presented by the question, it seems that A clearly declared his intention not to have the estates merge, and in that case, under the authorities, the mortgage still holds good. As to what the presumption of the law is in case nothing has been said or done to show the party's wish or intention in the matter, there seems to be some slight conflict of authority.

2 Washburn on Real Property, 193-4, and 196-7, 12 Gray, 363-5, James vs. Morey, 2 Cowen, 247; Aiken vs. Milwaukee & St. Paul R. R. Company, 37 Wis., 469.

PUBLISHERS' NOTES.

We have long held to the opinion that the tariff question should be taken out of politics and made a purely business question and are glad to see that some one has evolved a practical plan for disposing of it. The average congressman can not be expected to be well versed in the intricacies of the tariff, but a permanent commission could regulate it. The tariff article in *THE STATESMAN* for March by Walter Thomas Mills, is the best solution of that question we have seen.

AURORA "DAILY EXPRESS."

It is the best solution *THE STATESMAN* has anywhere seen. Endorsements of *THE STATESMAN*'s position on this question by men of all parties, is the best possible endorsement of the independent position of this magazine in political and economic questions. The New York *Voice* has taken to advocating the tariff commission also, whereby it proves its ability to adopt good ideas as well as to originate them.

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GOOD MEN IN POLITICS.

The churches in this country are in danger of playing the role of antagonist to the general government while they profess loyalty. Many ministers and not a few prominent laymen seem to have lost all respect for our present political methods. They claim that it is a sacrifice of one's good name to enter political life; that no man can become a legislator, use political machinery, represent his fellow-citizens in the national congress, and breathe the air of Washington political life without being contaminated, soiled, and spoiled for any work of moral reform or Christian activity thereafter. It is an admission that politics is so intensely demoralizing that the average Christian character now building in the church cannot stand up against it. This logic teaches us that good men should keep out of politics, have nothing to do with it. We should hand our legislation over to men of weak conscience and damaged character. Besides, it is an insinuation that men in our public service are of a doubtful reputation.

It is a dangerous tendency when our best people are at variance with our legislators; when Christian men in all political organizations prefer a prayer meeting *always* to a caucus; when they do not assert themselves in party politics, but leave party management to men who adopt methods which do violence to a good conscience. How shall we secure wholesome laws if good men cry down the character of their law-makers, and stand at the doorway of political parties to counsel men of character to keep out of politics? How shall the public service be improved? Where is there any room to hope for a better order of things?

No man is too good for the public service; but this is just what the Christian church does not seem to believe, and that, too, while the pulpits semi-occasionally, and especially on Thanksgiving days, thunder against the evils of the government. To have justice and equity in our laws, we must have law-makers who "do justly and love mercy." We say these things not of one but of all political parties.—*Editor's Outlook, in The Chautauquan for April.*

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THE LATEST SIBERIAN TRAGEDY.

We quote the following from George Kennan's article in the April *Century*: "The survivors of the Yakutsk massacre were tried by court martial, without benefit of counsel, upon the charge of armed resistance to the authorities, and all were found guilty. Three of them were hanged; fourteen, including four women, were condemned to penal servitude for life; five, including two women, were sent to the mines for fifteen years; four boys and girls less than twenty-one years of age were condemned to penal servitude for ten years, and two others were sent as forced colonists to the arctic villages of Verkhoyansk and Sredni Kolynsk, in 'the remotest part of Yakutsk.' And this sentence, the St. Petersburg officials say, is an evidence of the 'unusual moderation' of the judges who compose the court martial! A further proof of this 'unusual moderation' is furnished by the fact that the political exile Kohan-Bernstein, after receiving four severe bullet-wounds at the time of the massacre, and after lying nearly five months in a prison hospital, was carried to the scaffold on a cot bed and hanged by putting the noose around his neck and dragging the bed out from under him. If this is Russian 'moderation,' one might well pray to be delivered from Russian severity.

"One of the executed men two hours before the rope was put about his neck, scribbled a hasty farewell to his comrades, in which he said, 'We are not afraid to die, but try—you—to make our deaths count for something—write all this to Kennan.'

"The appeal to me shall not be in vain. If I live, the whole English-speaking world, at least, shall know all the details of the most atrocious crime."

THE CHOPSTICKS.

"They cut their food with their daggers, and they eat with pitchforks!" cried the horrified Japanese who first saw Europeans eating in such a barbaric and revolting manner with the knife and fork.

Light-fingered, deft and imitative as the Japanese and Chinese are, it takes them as long to learn the proper and graceful use of the knife and fork as it requires for us to master the evolutions and etiquette of the chopsticks.

It is a pretty sight, at the beginning of a Japanese or Chinese feast, to see the host help his guests to sweets, as then is displayed the best and most graceful play of the chopsticks. One can take a lesson, as the master of the feast daintily lifts cakes or confections and places them on the plate or paper before each guest. The Chinese chopsticks are longer than the Japanese, often metal-tipped and decorated, and are used again and again. Mandarins carry their own silver-tipped ivory chopsticks to

a feast, wipe them clean, and carry them home again when it is over. In the common restaurants in Chinese cities, the chopsticks constitute a lottery for the patrons. All the sticks are kept together in a deep, round box, and certain ones are marked on the lower end with a Chinese character or number. The ones who select those chopsticks from the box, are entitled to an extra dish or portion without charge. In the old city of Tien-Tsin, particularly, one is half deafened when he passes a restaurant by the rattling of the boxes of chopsticks and the shrill voices of the proprietors screeching the merits of their establishments at the top of their lungs.

In Japan, where exquisite neatness and daintiness mark every part of household living, the same chopsticks are used only once. At a feast, or at an ordinary tea-house, a long paper envelope laid beside one's bowl contains a pair of twelve-inch sticks no thicker than lead pencils, whittled from clean white pine. To show that they have never been used the two sticks are whittled in one piece and split apart only half their length.—From "*How to Use a pair of Chopsticks*," by Eliza Ruhamah Scidmore, in *ST NICHOLAS* for April.

Scribner's Magazine for April has for its frontispiece, an admirable engraving from a painting, made for this periodical by the English artist, J. R. Weguelin, to illustrate an ode of Horace (Bk. 1., 4). Other Horatian odes will be illustrated by the same artist in succeeding numbers. This issue also contains the beginning of a notable series on "The Rights of the Citizen;" the last of the Electric Series (begun in June, 1889), on the Railway of To-day; an unconventional article of travel describing a journey across the Syrian Desert; the second and concluding paper on Charles Lamb's homes and haunts; an essay on Wagnerianism and its relation to Italian opera; the end of Octave Thanet's four-part story of Arkansas life; and two short stories (one by Miss Jewett), with a stirring instalment of the serial "In the Valley." "The Point of View" (department) continues to make an impression of versatility and contemporary interest by brief essays on "Spring Philosophy," "Style," and "The Paradox of Humor."

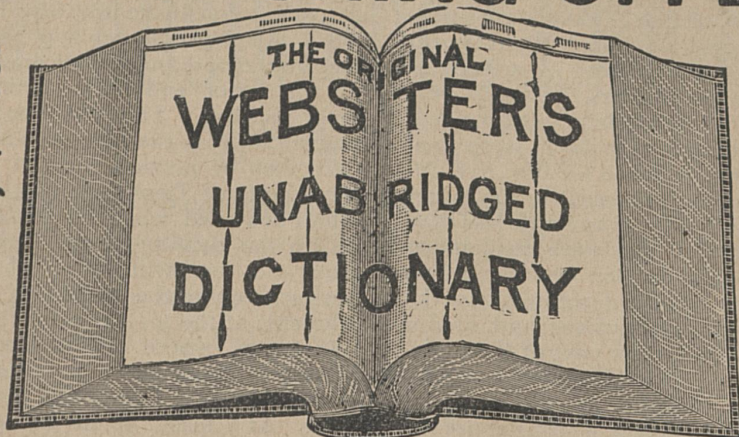
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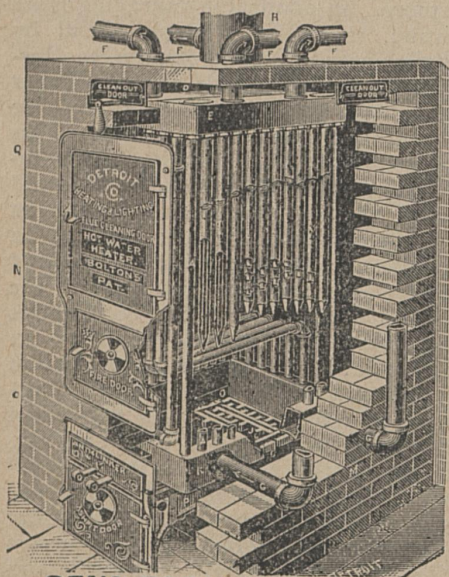


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The Size of the United States Army.

The army of the United States consists of 2,167 commissioned officers and a sufficient number of enlisted men to keep them in practice. This number is fixed by a general law at 30,000; for several years Congress has been in the habit of appropriating for only 25,000 and it does not seem likely to get out of the habit, although the military authorities are generally asking for at least the statutory 30,000. Omitting a considerable number of enlisted men who are performing civilian duties, the adjutant general of the army reports the actual strength of the army as 20,145. So there are not ten real private soldiers for every officer; this fact inspires a great deal of wit on the part of paragraph writers who do not understand what our army is for. We have never been in danger of any sudden foray from Canada or Mexico, our army would do us precious little good if our harbors were invaded by a hostile fleet, and for several years past the Indian has ceased from troubling and the town site speculator is at rest. We have no fighting for our army to do. But the organization of an army is not an easy thing and so we obey the injunction, in time of peace to prepare for war, just far enough to keep up a military organization of two thousand officers and the smallest number of enlisted men that will permit the officers to keep in military practice. A regiment of infantry with 37 officers and hardly 400 enlisted men seems pretty top-heavy, but the 37 officers form a regimental organization around which 1,000 enlisted men could be arranged as easily as 400.—*Fred Perry Powers, in the Chautauquan for April.*

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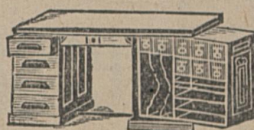
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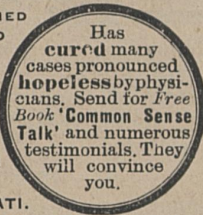
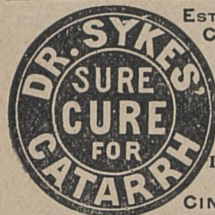


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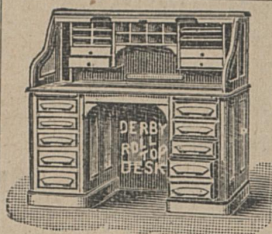
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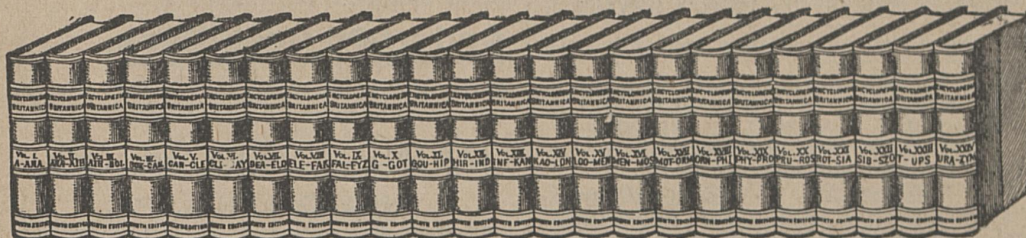
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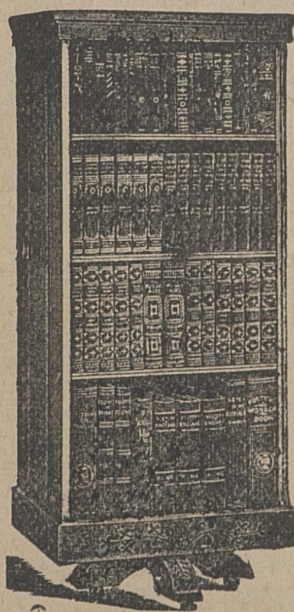
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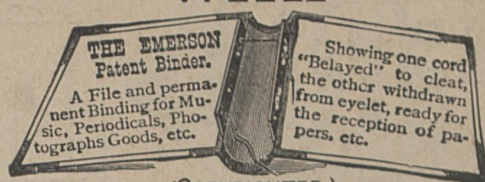
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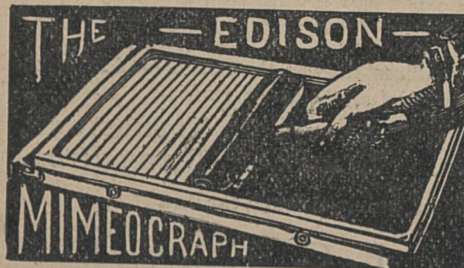
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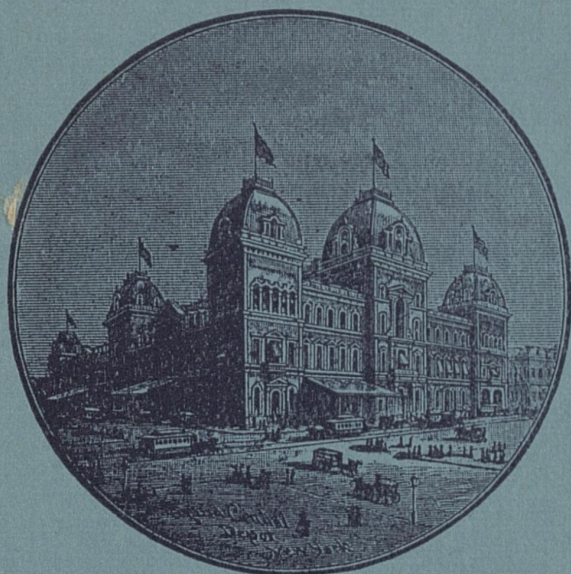
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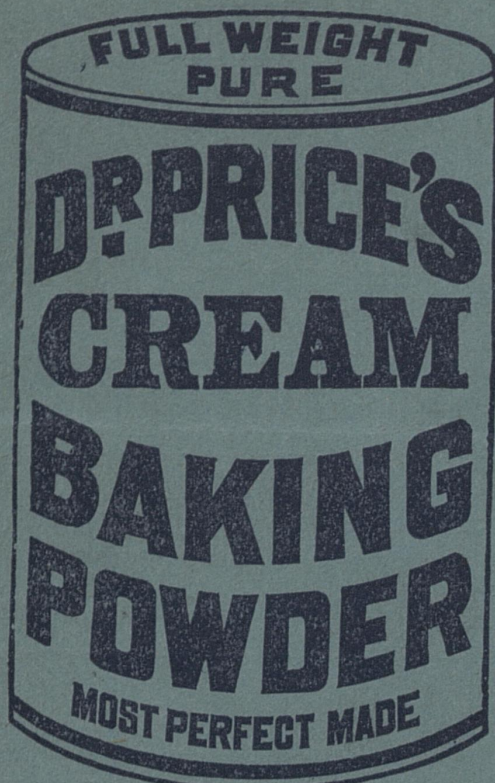
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