

The Nation.

NEW YORK, THURSDAY, JANUARY 19, 1888.

The Week.

THE campaign against Mr. Lamar was foredoomed to failure. The Republicans in the Senate have a majority only by the vote of a "rebel" from Virginia, and self-respect of course demanded that Mr. Riddleberger should vote for confirmation. It was morally certain that other Republican Senators would join him. So the event proved. Mr. Stewart of Nevada and Mr. Stanford of California voted on Monday for confirmation, and the *Tribune's* despatch says that "other Republican votes could have been obtained" on the same side if they had been necessary. The net result of the incident, therefore, is simply to expose the Republican party under its present management as a sectional and unbalanced organization, which challenges the opposition of right-minded men.

Now that the *Tribune's* great Congress of "representatives of various branches of agricultural production" has adjourned, it will be interesting to peruse the following "call" which was sent out by the *Tribune* as a reason for bringing them together, several copies of which have been sent to us by recipients who did not care to respond:

"I ask your attention to a special agitation in behalf of protection now being carried on by the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* has sent letters to all the granges, clubs, and agricultural societies in the United States—over 6,000 in number, with a membership of over 1,000,000—asking them to debate the question of protection, and report their views to this office. Large farmers have been asked to report their individual opinions. This agitation has been in progress somewhat more than a year. A genuine interest in the tariff has been awakened by this discussion among farmers, and the protection sentiment, existing among them to some extent, has been greatly strengthened already, and grows in strength every week. A large number of debates have been had in granges and societies, and a great mass of replies have been received by the *Tribune*. The *Tribune* now proposes to submit these replies to a competent committee of representatives of the various branches of agricultural production, over which the Hon. Warner Miller, ex-United States Senator, has consented to preside, and to have prepared an emphatic statement to the country of the wants of the farmers of America, and the need of better protection to their products. The Committee will meet in New York in January. Their statement will be promptly published and submitted to all the granges and societies for their approval, with a view to its final presentation to Congress as an expression of the sentiments of the farmers of America."

There is more of the "call," including the disinterested information that the "subscription price of the *Semi-Weekly Tribune* is \$2 a year"; but we have given the more important portions of it. The net result of the "genuine interest" awakened among the farmers which had been "strengthened" and "grew in strength" for "some what more than a year," was the assembling of an august body of seven men, none of whom were farmers, or in any sense representative of any kind of "agricultural production," unless exception be made in

favor of Col. William M. Grosvenor, of Englewood and the *Tribune's* editorial staff, who is a great "producer" of "chastity" and similar articles. Over this body the Hon. Warner Miller, ex-United States Senator, did preside for two days and two evenings. It is interesting to have the "call's" assurance that the results will be promptly embodied in "an emphatic statement to the country of the wants of the Farmers of America," with a "view to its final presentation to Congress as an expression of the sentiments of the Farmers of America." That will be one of the greatest jokes ever perpetrated by the *Tribune*, and will burst upon Congress like a thunderclap. But for drollery it cannot beat Col. Grosvenor's appearance at "the Congress" as an essayist on the "Hemp and Flax Industries," he having been the author of that very effective attack on the tariff entitled 'Does Protection Protect?' and in 1872 the Secretary of the Free-Trade League in this city and Washington.

The proceedings of the Subsidy Convention at Washington on Monday were opened by prayer by the Rev. Dr. Leonard, who explored the Divine guidance in measures for the development of American shipping. Taste in prayer is not a proper subject for newspaper criticism, and it must be said for the Rev. Dr. Leonard that if he consented to pray at a business convention at all, he was bound to remember business in his supplications. What impresses us most is the fine opportunity that the reduction of the surplus affords for variety in prayer at the national capital. The wool men had a convention the other day. It must strike them now as a great oversight that they did not have their proceedings each day opened with prayer. There might have been a prayer one day for carpet-wool and another day for clothing-wool, and another for worsteds, and so on. Presently we shall have conventions representing other interests threatened by the condition of the surplus. Prayer for or against tobacco, sugar, salt, lumber, pearl buttons, etc., etc., would afford a fine field for the display of talent among the clergy of Washington city.

The ancient farce of a joint meeting of wool-growers and woollen manufacturers was reenacted last week at Washington. The interests of the two are diametrically opposed. The woollen manufacturers want free wool or extremely low duties. The wool-growers want the highest possible duties, but they would like prohibition of foreign wool better than anything else. Each class is afraid of the other, and now for the first time both are afraid of the people of the United States as consumers of woollen goods. Their efforts to secure apparent harmony are thus more complicated and embarrassing than usual. The wool-growers have put forward a demand for higher duties on carpet wool. This, it is said, the manufacturers will not agree to. If they do agree to it, they will

forfeit every claim to consideration and respectful treatment by tariff reformers. Carpet wools are not produced in this country. Therefore the tariff on such wool violates the principles of protection as much as those of free trade. It is kept in force solely for the sake of example—a bad example. The idea which lies at the bottom of this pernicious and unnecessary duty is that "wool is wool, and if you admit one kind free of duty, even though it is not produced here, you weaken the argument for duties on all the other kinds." The carpet-makers are asked to pay several million dollars per year in taxes that the Government does not want, in order to nurse this sentimental nonsense. We tell the carpet men plainly that the tariff reformers are better friends of theirs than the wool-growers, and can be relied on with much more confidence to deal justly by them through thick and thin.

The question of officers for the National Republican Committee in the approaching Presidential campaign is agitating the minds of the Republican leaders, and we are not surprised to see the current of opinion running strongly in favor of such men as "Tom" Cooper, "Chris" Magee and "Matt" Quay of Pennsylvania, "Bill" Chandler, and "Tom" Platt. The latter is looked upon as the inevitable man for Chairman of the Executive Committee, and Chandler appears to be slightly in the lead for Chairman of the National Committee. It would be difficult to fix upon two men more representative of the tendencies of the party at this time, for in all the country there are not to be found two men more expert in political "tricks" and "dodges." Still, if the battle-cry of the campaign is to be "Blaine and a surplus," there ought to be a good sprinkling of Pennsylvania talent in the Committee, for, as the *Chicago Tribune* has well said of Blaine's tariff views, they are "Pennsylvanian" in origin, and have little popular strength anywhere else.

Mr. Henry Cabot Lodge says that the Massachusetts Republicans are for Mr. Blaine's nomination, and that "Mr. Blaine's candidacy will inspire greater enthusiasm than that of any other Republican." It was their failure to "inspire enthusiasm," we suppose, which caused Republican candidates like Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, and Garfield to make such a contemptible showing beside Blaine as they do in this table, which gives the Republican vote, the total opposition vote, and the Republican majority over all opposition in Massachusetts at every election from 1860 to 1884:

	Rep. Vote.	Opposition.	Rep. Maj.
Lincoln, 1860	106,533	62,642	43,891
Lincoln, 1864	126,742	48,745	77,997
Grant, 1868	136,477	59,408	77,069
Grant, 1872	133,472	59,260	74,212
Hayes, 1876	150,063	109,556	40,507
Garfield, 1880	165,205	117,307	47,898
Blaine, 1884	146,724	156,657	?

If the author of "the Paris message," who supposes that people pay in gold and silver for foreign goods, had consulted Benjamin Franklin's examination before a committee of the House of Commons in 1766 touching the Stamp Act, he would have found a very neat exposition of the way in which accounts are settled in international trade, and perhaps have been saved from telling that story of his about the effect of the tariff of 1846 on our supply of specie. Franklin had informed the Committee that Pennsylvania imported annually from Great Britain about £500,000 worth of goods, and only exported to Great Britain about £40,000 worth of the produce of the province. "How, then," he was asked, "do you pay the balance?"

"Ans. The balance is paid by our produce carried to the West Indies, and sold on our own islands, or to the French, Spanish, Danes, and Dutch; by the same produce carried to other colonies in North America, as to New England, Nova Scotia, Newfoundland, Carolina, and Georgia; by the same carried to different parts of Europe, as Spain, Portugal, and Italy. In all such places we receive either money, bills of exchange, or commodities that suit for remittance to Britain, which, together with all the profits in the industry of our merchants and mariners arising in those circuitous voyages, and the freights made by their ships, centre finally in Britain to discharge the balance, and pay for British manufactures continually used in the provinces or sold to foreigners by our traders."

There could hardly be a clearer lesson in the working of foreign exchange. It was given by an American 120 years ago, and yet the Republican candidate for the Presidency, although nearly sixty years old, has not yet mastered it.

What farmers who really farm think about the high tariff, is shown by the memorial to Congress adopted by the Nebraska State Farmers' Alliance at its annual session a few days ago. These Nebraska farmers represent that agriculture is greatly depressed, and name among the prominent causes for this depression "the protective-tariff system as it now prevails, taxing the farmers of the nation to aggrandize the manufacturers, upon the plea of protecting American labor, while labor is left free to come to this country from all parts of the world." The memorialists represent that only a small proportion of the tax imposed upon the people by the protective tariff goes into the Treasury, "but through an enhancement of prices swells the profits of the manufacturers, who, by virtue of our natural advantages, ought to be able to compete with the world on equal terms"; and they point out that our agricultural products are sold in the open markets of the world in competition with the world, while the manufacturer, through the tariff, receives a bonus of from 25 to 100 per cent. on his goods." While not favoring free trade, they do favor the extension of the free list, and the levying of duties more upon articles of luxury, the conclusion of this vigorous document being as follows: "Your memorialists would therefore most earnestly protest against the removal of taxes from whiskey and tobacco, and as earnestly pray for relief from taxation upon iron, coal, salt, lumber, wool, woollen goods, and sugar." The President addressed his mes-

sage largely to the farmers, and their response is very hearty.

The account given by Prof. R. W. Raymond of the origin and progress of the strike in the Lehigh and Schuylkill coal districts will suggest to thoughtful readers that the coal companies owe to the public the duty of putting new men at work if the old ones decline to resume their places. The impression has gone abroad that the wages paid to the miners were so desperately low that a strike was, upon a broad view, justifiable, if not necessary. Prof. Raymond shows that this is an entire mistake. The miners, good, bad, and indifferent, in the Lehigh district when the strike began, were getting an average of \$2.72 per day. Taking account of the occasional suspensions of work, they were earning \$660 per year average. These are far from starvation rates, as every laboring man knows. Nobody questions the miner's right to strike. It is his duty to improve his condition, and it may be his duty to cease production in order to determine whether the coal market and the labor market, and all other markets which make up human society, will enable him to exact \$3 per day for work that he had been doing for \$2.72 heretofore. But in exercising this right he must regard other people's rights, including the right of society to get its coal as cheaply as it can be afforded. A curious notion has got into the heads of some people that, although a railroad company may, and indeed must, keep its trains running, and to this end must fill the places of striking employees without delay, yet a coal company under like circumstances must wait until the community are in dire distress, the poorer classes pretty well frozen, and a large number of workingmen in factories and furnaces thrown out of employment for want of fuel, before making any attempt to fill the places of the strikers. In other words, society has been so befooled by the talk of starvation wages in the coal mines that more than half the people who think about the matter at all conclude that the miners have a right to stand at the mouth of the pits and to stone and club everybody who wants to go down to dig coal. This grotesque conception will probably hold the public mind until the scarcity of coal causes considerable suffering. Then it will be perceived that the sixty millions of American people—for there are very few who do not use anthracite or depend upon it in some way—have rights also which it is expedient to enforce, and that among these is the right to pay not exceeding \$2.72 per day for coal-mining, if men can be found who are willing to work at that rate.

The Reverend Pentecost opened his Anti-Poverty Church in Masonic Temple on Sunday morning, and Henry George was present to see how it worked. It was announced at the start that the services would be held every Sunday morning as long as the amount of the collections warranted their continuance. This, as we understand it, is the fundamental doctrine of the anti-poverty creed—namely, a good collection. No

poverty can be abolished without that. Mr. Pentecost, in order, probably, not to cut off the collection at the Academy in the evening, will call his society the "Unity Congregation." He said that he did not propose "to make Christians, but good men," and that "agnostics, atheists, infidels, Jews, Protestants, Catholics, all," were welcome to come and submit themselves to the process. On Sunday the work was helped forward by an organ and a cornet, and the preacher declared that he was convinced that neither the Christian Church nor the country lived up to the "doctrine of the brotherhood of man," that the relations of capital and labor, the class distinctions between the rich and the poor, and the condition of the universe generally, "were all wrong, and this pulpit would so preach." It is to be hoped that the collections will continue large, for the Rev. Pentecost has no less a task on hand than the reformation of the world, and it would be a pity to have that fail through lack of funds.

Collector Magone, having been misled by suppression or misrepresentation of facts to appoint a horse-race gambler to an important position in the Custom-house, has, after being made better acquainted with the man's antecedents, suspended him for further investigation. This action, so unusual in a high public officer, calls for special commendation—more, we think, than a refusal to appoint such a man in the first instance. It has become almost an axiom in politics that if you have made a mistake in the appointment of a bad character to a public place, you ought never to acknowledge it, but rather brazen it out, because by and by the public will find something else to talk about, and thus your infallibility will not receive the shock implied by reversing your own action. Collector Magone takes a different view, holding, apparently, that if he has been deceived, he is himself the principal sufferer, and that the best way to vindicate his powers of judgment is to correct his mistakes as soon as he discovers them. No great talent is required in dealing with dilemmas of this kind, but it is strange that so few people possess it.

The Commission to "investigate and report the most humane and practicable method of carrying into effect the sentence of death in capital cases" in this State have made their report to the Legislature. It is much to be regretted that there should be so much extraneous matter in it. One whole page is given to a list of capital offences under the Mosaic code. Forty-four pages out of a total of one hundred are devoted to minute and revolting descriptions of the various modes of inflicting the punishment of death resorted to by different nations, civilized and barbarous, in various ages. The report ends by recommending the substitution of electricity for hanging as a means of inflicting the punishment of death, both as more certain and more humane, and as more easily used without miscarriage. The observations of the Commissioners on the scandals resulting from the

delivery of the bodies of criminals after execution to their friends for interment, will meet with a hearty response from the public, at least in this city. The "wakes" and triumphant funerals to which the remains of murdering scoundrels have often, after hanging, been treated by their criminal friends and acquaintances in New York, have done much to deprive the death penalty of its horrors among the class for whose benefit it is specially intended. In New Jersey a statute exacts a bond from the persons applying for the body of an executed criminal, conditioned on their refraining from any public funeral, and makes violation of the act a misdemeanor. The Commission recommend that in this State the bodies of all such criminals be given to the medical profession for dissection, and be then buried under quicklime in the prison cemetery or graveyard. This is the practice, we believe, of all other civilized peoples, and it is a wholesome one.

The California sugar-refiners and Sandwich Island planters, who have been enjoying a very artificial monopoly for many years at the expense of the United States Government—their sugar being admitted duty free, while all other raw sugars are taxed nearly or quite 100 per cent.—are greatly disturbed by the rumor that the Eastern sugar-refiners have consented to a reduction of one-half of the sugar duties. The California brethren have assumed that the Eastern refiners have consented only to the reduction on raw sugars, intending that sugar shall not be made any cheaper to consumers, but only to themselves. We are not in the confidence of the "Sugar Trust," but we are well convinced that they do not expect any such absurd arrangement as a reduction of the duty on raw sugar without an equal reduction on refined, because in the first place they could not get it, and in the second place they consider themselves able to compete on equal terms with anybody in the world in their line of business. What they chiefly object to is the bonus allowed to California refiners under the Hawaiian Treaty, by means of which sugars which have paid no tax are sent East to compete with the duty-paid article.

The European sugar bounties are in a fair way towards extinction. The London Conference, embracing representatives of all the beet-growing countries, put the seal of condemnation on the bounty system by unanimous vote. There are, indeed, some difficulties of detail to be overcome, and some time must elapse in order to close out existing contracts before the bounties can be wholly abolished; but the spirit in which the Conference acted leaves little doubt that the end of the system draws near. The delegates to the Conference are to meet again in London on the 5th of April, furnished with the latest instructions of their governments. The difficulties of detail will then be settled and a time fixed for stopping the bounties. It was agreed that sugar for export should be manufactured in bond so far as practicable, and that where this was not practicable, the

drawback on exportation should be made exactly equal to the import or excise duty. After the reform is once effected, the whole world will wonder how it could ever have happened that a civilized country should offer a cash premium in order to rid itself of one of the most valuable products of human skill and the earth's fertility. A more grotesque conceit never entered into the skull of man.

Experiments made with fiat money in the republic of Peru are having a disastrous termination, but the action of the Government in the matter is open to grave doubt. When a government has stolen the real money of its subjects and filled their pockets with irredeemable paper, and when, in the course of time, the butcher, the baker and candlestick-maker refuse to sell their wares and merchandise for that kind of funds, the obviously proper course to pursue is to arrest those disloyal persons and appoint proper officers to sell their goods for them, taking in payment the lawful money of the country. If it is objected that after the stock in hand is thus sold no more will come in from the country, then let the soldiers go into the country and serve the farmers the same way. Instead of pursuing a course so well calculated to inspire confidence in the strength of the Government, we read that when the inhabitants of Lima wanted to mob the provision dealers, the police interfered and would not allow them to do so. They even fired on the people, and wounded several boys who were taking part in the proceedings for fun. The most indefensible act, however, was the protection extended by the Government to the money-changers. These scoundrels abound in all fiat-money countries, and they are the more numerous in proportion to the badness of the money. Consequently Lima is alive with them. What is more natural than the inference that they have connived with the butcher, the baker and candlestickmaker to refuse to sell their goods, in order to force a still heavier premium on the precious metals? Yet when the people "went for" the money-changers the police drove them off. But the miscreants became alarmed and fled from the town, so that "on December 10 there was not a single money-changer or business house in Lima selling silver soles for paper money." The people then tried to do business on half soles—that is, by tearing their paper soles in two—but this didn't work. At the latest advices all the banks were closed, the retail stores were closing, and a revolution was impending.

The English advertisements for 1887 of "Next of Kin Wanted," and persons who might "learn something greatly to their advantage," are less dramatic than sometimes happens, but yet are of varied nature and not without peculiar interest for some persons in this country. Jacob Herbert, "last heard of in Pennsylvania," will lose something handsome if he does not soon "materialize," and so will William

Barnes, "last heard of in Chicago," and Albert and Alice Morris, who were taken to Canada and adopted by separate families. The heirs-at-law of Henry Blizzard should, of course, be looked for in Manitoba or Montana. Unless Joseph Prunty, a shopkeeper, who left Ireland for America in 1880, makes himself known within a given date, letters of administration will be granted to his next-of-kin as if he had died intestate. Near New York, perhaps, may be found persons sought who are "interested in unclaimed dividends of the West New Jersey Society (1692-3)." Lapse of time seems little to affect the ardor of search in the slow-going Old-World country, the Bank of England having issued many advertisements respecting the retransfer of unclaimed dividends (claimants having appeared), including three cases in which the dividends had remained unclaimed since 1763, 1797, and 1798. Persons claiming to be entitled to a fund standing in the name of Anna Sheppard, who is believed to have died in 1741, are only now invoked. The Treasury Solicitor sought the next-of-kin in some forty "Crown windfall" cases, the owners of these estates having died intestate without known heirs. It may be here noted that, by the recent decision of Mr. Justice Chitty in the Heathcote case, the Crown comes into a "windfall" of £200,000 by reason of the death of a lunatic in 1884 without known next-of-kin. A very considerable sum accrues annually to the Crown from this source, but it is only after extreme efforts to discover next-of-kin all over the world, more especially in the widespread remote British possessions. Some curious cases arose out of the Presumption of Life Limitation (Scotland) Act, under which relatives sought to "uplift and enjoy" the estates of persons who, having failed to report themselves for periods of seven years or upwards, were supposed to be dead.

Lord Salisbury's blunt announcement at Liverpool that inasmuch as it is the Liberal Unionists who keep the Tories in office, the Tories must do what the Liberal Unionists please, seems to be taken to mean that the County Government Bill, whenever it comes, will be thoroughly democratic, and will hand the counties over completely to representative assemblies. As this would finally oust the landholders from influence and authority which they have enjoyed ever since England became a nation, it might be considered the most important proposal ever made by an English Minister. If the way for it had not been prepared by the extension of the suffrage and the ballot, it would probably startle the Conservatives even more than it does. It will be very interesting to see whether they care enough about Ireland to be willing to make this prodigious and final sacrifice for the purpose of holding her in subjection, because this democratization of the counties is the price they are paying for "the unity of the empire" and the discomfiture of Gladstone. If they were rid of the Irish, and Gladstone were no longer formidable, they would be able to make a tolerably good fight in the English constituencies on English questions,

THE EFFECT OF THE MESSAGE.

THE boldness and novelty of the President's message naturally created more or less uncertainty, both as to its effects on public opinion and on his own political fortunes. It was expected that it would be long, but it turned out to be almost unprecedentedly short. It was expected to deal lightly with a great number of topics, but it dealt with only one, and this thoroughly. It was expected that it would avoid all burning questions, so as not to imperil his renomination, which seemed to be assured by the New York election, but it took up the most burning question of the day, and treated it with utter disregard of its possible effects on the canvass of 1888. It is not surprising that a performance of this sort should have puzzled a great many people, and especially the veterans of political management, to whom it seemed simple foolishness, the spoiling of a magnificent situation. Their sensations were very like honest old Wurmser's in Italy when he was assailed by the young Napoleon in a manner which violated all the rules of the art as taught down to that day. Wurmser had a long line, manned by three excellent divisions, and he expected Napoleon to attack him along the whole line with three divisions also. Instead of this, Napoleon took his three divisions all together, and with them attacked Wurmser's, not all together, but one by one, which Wurmser considered both unfair and reprehensible, but it entirely answered Napoleon's purpose.

All Presidential messages which have been sent to Congress since the war have fallen perfectly flat, except this last one, and yet they were all composed according to usage, both as regards matter and manner. They were of great length and touched on everything, but threw no new light on anything, and were forgotten almost as soon as read. To President Cleveland belongs the honor of having for the first time since Lincoln produced a message which is, in the highest and best sense of the term, a state paper—that is, a paper which sets people thinking, which affects opinion, and which extracts from the mass of issues the really vital and pressing question of the day, the only one which can be neither ignored, nor postponed, nor made light of.

It has now been six weeks before the country, and we have ample means of determining what its effects have been. The first and most plainly observable of these effects is that it has raised the President's character in the estimation of both friends and foes. Those who most severely condemned the message from the party point of view acknowledge that it shows courage and disinterestedness. In other words, in writing it the President has given the strongest evidence he could possibly give, that he is a man of sincere convictions, and that he would rather be right than be President. Other men before him have said this, but he is the only man who has demonstrated it even in the eyes of his enemies or detractors. In other words, every one who calls him a fool on account of it pays the highest possible

tribute to his character. In no way could he so well dispose of the conclusions about him, drawn of late from his apparent lapses from virtue in the matter of civil-service reform, as by unnecessarily putting in peril his chances of renomination, and this is what some of the shrewd politicians thought a month ago that he had done.

We for our part have all along felt assured that his folly in this matter was really the highest wisdom—not the wisdom which comes from calculation, but from sudden inspiration. For courage is, after all, the quality which most readily touches the popular imagination in men put in high places by the popular vote. People pardon a great deal of planning and contriving and giving and taking in a man who is striving for the Presidency; but when he is in the office, the proof of fitness they most appreciate is readiness to put his foot down, to say the right thing at the right time, or even the right thing at the wrong time, without regard to consequences. If the history of the American Presidency teaches anything clearly, it is that the way of the wavering, vacillating, timid man is even harder than that of the bold sinner.

But this is by no means all. The message has also had the extraordinary fortune of receiving an amount of commendation and acceptance from men of the opposite political party, which has fallen to the lot of no similar document since Lincoln appealed to Americans of every party to save the Union. We could easily give the most abundant proofs of this culled from Republican newspapers in all parts of the country. We presume there is not one of our readers who cannot produce similar testimony from his own experience. Tens of thousands of those who did not vote for Cleveland in 1884, and have never since been quite willing to avow that they had made a mistake, have been convinced by the message that he is the man for the times.

Not less significant is the gradual cessation of even the very feeble murmurs which at first came from the Protectionist portion of the Democratic press. Day by day their protests have been becoming feebler, and the arguments in favor of the maintenance of a surplus for politicians to "handle," more and more absurd. There is now an almost general agreement that a surplus must not form a permanent feature of American finance, and the most spiteful enemies of the President find no refuge except in the statement that "if the surplus has to be abolished, it sha'n't be done in Cleveland's way." We do not believe, however, that any rejection of his suggestions as to means will sensibly diminish the impression produced by the manner in which he has called attention to the end. No matter how the evil is cured, he will get the credit of having laid it bare in such a way that every man, woman, and child in the country could see and understand it and measure it. He has, in other words, no matter how the taxes may now be reduced, taught the nation, with a master hand, a lesson in finance which will be constantly recalled in the

efforts to keep down the public burdens that will henceforth have to be made every year until we get down to the bed-rock of all politics—that people should pay into the public Treasury only the sums necessary to "establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for the common defence, and promote the general welfare."

THE INTERNATIONAL COPYRIGHT BILL.

THE bill which has been presented to the Senate by Mr. Chace, but which it is an open secret was drawn up by a well-known Philadelphia publisher, may be briefly described to be a bill amending that portion of the Revised Statutes of the United States which acknowledges an author's or artist's equitable claim to the fruits of his mental labor, and grants a certain legal protection therefor—in such wise that this protection is secured not only to authors or artists who are citizens of the United States, but to mental workers the world over. The United States has been, for many years, perhaps the only civilized country which has failed to recognize the claims of the author to a reward for his labor without regard to his individual nationality. To our eternal national disgrace, it must be frankly admitted that this delay in granting an act of simple justice has been entirely due to the fact that honest legislation would affect the purses of American citizens. And the tardy measure of justice which our Congress is now called upon to consider is impaired by two regrettable limitations of the very right which it is the purport of the proposed act to establish and grant. It is admitted that when legislatures accord legal protection to what has been acknowledged as the moral right of any class, they may limit the exercise of such right, by virtue of considerations affecting the general good of the whole people. And all States, with a single noticeable exception, have abridged the property rights of authors, by according legal protection to such rights for a limited period of time. In no case, however, is legislation justified which attempts to restrain the exercise of the universally admitted right of any one class for the benefit of any other class, but only when such limitation is beneficial to the whole people.

According to Senate bill 554, the rights secured to the American author by the Domestic Copyright Law are abridged when the law is extended to include the foreign author—firstly, by refusing to permit the latter to manufacture his book wherever he pleases; and, secondly, by further refusing to permit him to supply whatever demand there may be in this country for copies of his authorized foreign edition. Stipulations of this nature have never hampered the international copyright legislation of European States. As contributors to the American press, with a regrettable lack of ingenuousness, have striven to give the impression that the American author is obliged by law to print and publish his work in the United States, it may be briefly but emphatically stated that the Copyright Law of the United States in no wise prevents an author who is a