SOCIALISM IN

Discussed by the Leader of the Irish Parliamentary Party.

TRUE EASTERN QUESTION FOR ENGLAND

A Brilliant Plea for Larger Privileges for the Laboring Classes-The Present Condition of the Poor People of London.

(Copyrighted 1894 by the Irving Syndicate), 'We are all socialists now," Sir William Harcourt said, or at all events is reported to have said the other day. Very likely he did say it. The declaration describes fairly well a remarkable change in public feeling. Of course it will not be supposed that Sir William Harcourt meant to say that here in England we are all in favor of the theory that property is robbery, or that there ought to be a general redistribution of goods or that the capital should be divided among the working men, or even that the land should be nationalized. Sir William Harcourt is a man who understands very well what he is talking about, and who has a quick faculty to apprehend and appreciate the gradual changes, the advances or reactions in English public opinion. He is one of the very ablest public men in England, and he has been often accused of inconsistency and even of mere self-seeking because he was privileged to see much soones than others of his class when an old politi-cal or social creed was played out, and when a faith adapted to the altered condition of human affairs must come into existence. I can quite understand why he said that we are all socialists now. We are all, or nearly all of us, willing to accept the fundamental principle of what seems to me the true creed of socialism, that the government or state, however you define either, is bound to take a direct and active interest in the well-doing of the citizens.

Edmund Burke laid down the famous doctrine that the whole business of government

and of legislation is to see that twelve honest men are got into every jury box. That is to say that the whole business of the state is to see that its citizens are protected by honest legislation and by honest men to administer it. Now, I have an enthusiastic admiration for Edmund Burke. I am con-vinced that he was one of the greatest politi-cal thinkers that ever lived. But, although he was said to see everything and to foresee everything, he certainly did not foresee far enough when he thus defined the duty of the state. The growing socialism of England, to which Sir William Harcourt must have been alluding, was the growth of that public opinion which is willing to admit that the state has much more to do for the citizen than merely to make it sure that he shall have justice awarded to him in the civil or the criminal courts. My first intimate acquaintance with English politics was formed during the reign of what was called the Manchester school. The faith of the Manchester school was in free competition. Abolish all legislation which interferes with free competition—and trust to human energy and human nature and the productiveness of the earth for all the rest. The Manchester school accomplished some great successes. It abolished numbers of legisla-tive restrictions that favored one chas, or what was called "one interest," at the expense of another. Its work was decidedly a work of advancement. But its dogma was work of advancement. But its dogma was all too narrow, and curiously enough its faith at the same time was too fanciful. Its main belief was that free trade with foreign nations and free competition at home would remove most of the mountains that stand as a barrier between man and his happiness. Some of the enthusiasts of the school were at one time for having the postal service itself left onen by competition to priservice itself left open by competition to pri-GRIEVANCES AND WRONGS OF LABOR.

Then there came an inevitable reaction which the Manchester school had itself di-rectly helped to bring about. For the Man-chester school had fought hard for the exten-sion of the political franchise, and the extension of the franchise gave power to the working class. The workingmen soon made it known that they had grievances and wrongs which could not be left to the opera-tion of free competition and the widening beneficence of human nature. They insisted that they had grievances and wrongs which only legislation could remove. The first of what I should call the great socialistic measures of English legislation, before work-ingmen had much share in the franchise, ingmen had much share in the franchise, was the factories act carried by the late Lord Shaftesbury in 1844. There was a previous measure passed by the same philanthropist in 1842, but that act only concerned itself with what related to the working of women and children in mines. The factories act of 1844 was clearly based upon the principle that the state had a right to interfer with what was then erroneously to interfere with what was then erroneously and absurdly called the freedom of contract between employer and employed. the ground, among other grounds, that it did thus interfere with the freedom of condid thus interfere with the freedom of con-tract and freedom of competition the Man-chester school opposed the passing of the factories act. Nobody ever questioned the sincerity and the public spirit of the men who on behalf of the Manchester school opposed that legislation. Nobody could have questioned the motives of men like Cobden and Bright. But Lord Shaftesbury tri-umphed, and every one now admits that his triumph was a public benefit and a pub-lic blessing. lic blessing

THE TENDENCY TOWARD SOCIALISM IN ENGLAND. Now, I hold that when a state comes to interfere with freedom of contract, even in the case of women and children only, that state has gone a good way along the path of socialism—genuine socialism. Since the passing of the factory acts, England, under whatever government, has been moving farther and farther, faster and faster. ing farther and farther, faster and faster, along that path. What has become of the priciple of contract as between landlord and tenant in Ireland? Tory governments as well as liberal governments have decreed that its day is done. I have just said that the phrase "freedom of contract," as it was once used, is erroneous and absurd. Between the English capitalist and the English working man, between the Irish landlord and the Irish tenant, there was in the old day no freedom of contract. There could be none. There is no freedom of contract between a fasting man and a full man. The full man can wait; the hungry man cannot wait. In the elder Dumas' famous romance, "The Count of Monte Cristo," the wicked banker, Danglars I think was his name, is captured by a brigand chief and held to ransom. Poor Danglars grows very hungry and asks for gand chief and held to ransom. Poor food. He is told that he can have food, but he must pay for it. He says he is willing to pay for it, and asks what the price of a fowl would be. He is told of some enormous sum—many thousands of francs. He angrily demurs, but he is politically assured that it is all a matter for himself—he need not eat and if he does not himself—he need not eat, and if he does not eat he will not have to pay, but if he decides to eat he must hand over the stipulated price. Now, that is not by any means an unfair illustration of what used to be called in the old days "feedom of contract." A hungry workingman with a wife and children depending upon him applies for employment and is told he can have it if he is willing to work he can have it if he is willing to work twelve or fourteen hours a day. He has no alternative—such was freedom of contract. Against that principle all the social legislation of modern England has set its face. Only the other day I voted in the division lobby of the House of Commons in favor of the second reading of a measure to limit the working hours of miners to eight hours a day. The second reading was carried by a large majority. Parliament has taken upon itself to watch over the housing of workingmen and of the poor in general. There are acts to govern the management of There are acts to govern the management of common lodging houses. There are acts to regulate the employment of women and their hours of work in ordinary shops where dressmaking and millinery business are cardressmaking and millinery business are car-ried on. The air is full of schemes for the establishment of some system of old age pen-sions. We hear of some sort of universal state life assurance for all people—a prin-ciple that, it will be remembered, found great favor at one time and probably still finds great favor in the eyes of Prince Bis-marck. We have abandoned the old ways

We have abandoned the old ways er. The man who would at the

present time venture to preach the doctrine of laisses fairs in England would be a fool for his pains. He could only make himself seem more of a fool by presenting himself as a candidate for some parliamentary constituency attunency at a contested election. The days are utterly gone, for the present at least, when a man like Lord Macaulay could talk of the "odious principle of paternal government" and be generally applauded for the ut-

NO REAL POWER BUT THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

But then, let it be remembered, that if we have got back, as for the time we certainly have got back, to the principle of paternal government, we have quite passed away from the era when government was in the hands of a despot or of a privileged class. We are certainly very likely to have for some time to come a growing interference on the part f the state with the organization of capital of the state with the organization of capital and labor. But then by whom is that state interference to be initiated and regulated and controlled? By a house of commons which contains amongst its members the representatives of the laborer as well as of the capital-ist; of the employed as well as of the employer; of the Scottish crofter as well as of the Scottish laird; of the Irish tenani-farmer as well as of the Irish landlord. We need not feel alarmed about a despot power driving us on. There is no real legislative power in England but the power of the House of Com-mons, and the House of Commons is now as nearly as possible a legislature representa-tive of the whole people, all classes, all ranks, all interests; and it will become more strictly and comprehensively so represents tive as the next few years grow on. W have clearly then altogether given up, for the time at least, the doerrine that the state can do nothing to help the poor, to enable the poor to help themselves, to enforce proper systems of labor, to insist that those who work for daily bread shall be enabled to work under decent conditions and with due work under decent conditions and with due regard to health—and in fact to assert the right of interfering, for the good of the whole community, between these who employ and those who are employed.

I quite admit that we have not yet hit upon any system by which the curse of growing poverty can be removed from the land. I do not myself know how to state a scheme which should make the gulf between increasing poverty and increasing

tween increasing poverty and increasing wealth become narrower and more and more narrowing in England. But I do insist that if English statesmanship were to turn its attention in full earnestness to this question the principle of legislation could be found, if it is possible, as I believe it is, to find in human affairs such a principle at all. In England we expend far too much of our statesmanship over foreign affairs. At present we are in a terrible scare—one of our periodical scares which return like a well ordered comet to its place in the public vision. We are going to spend millions— many millions—of pounds sterling in the strengthening of our navy against the imag-inary schemes of some foreign powers to make a piratical descent upon our coasts. Now I am entirely for our keeping up a good navy, but reasonable precaution is all that any state can be expected to take.

THE TRUE EASTERN QUESTION." I have said more than once in the-House of Commons and at English public meetings that in my solemn conviction the true eastern question for England is the condition of the poor in the east end of London and in the similar regions of all the great provincial cities and towns of these islands. After all, it is just barely possible that the Russians or the Germans or the French, or all three combined, may not attack us. It is also a possibility, conceivable at least to English men—certainly conceivable to me who am not an Englishman—that even if thus attacked for no apparent reason whatever, England might manage to hold her own. But it is absolutely certain that the condition of ou our great cities is a source of the most alarming national weakness. I am therefore in favor of English statesmanship turning its special attention to the condition of our poor. If it would give but half the attention to that subject which it has given through generations to foreign policy I think it very likely indeed that some rem-edy for the evil could be found. Do not tell me that in such matters statesmanship can do nothing. I ask how we know that, and when has statesmanship ever seriously and persistently tried what it could do? I know no better defense of England than a prosperous and a contented people. I remem-ber what the Antiquary, who is the hero of Scott's immortal novel, says to Edie Ochil-tree, the chartered beggar who declares that if the rumors of French invasion are true he will fight, old as he is, for the country where he has always lived, and where everybody has been kind to him. "Brave brave Edie," the Antiquary exclaims. "The country's in little ultimate danger when the beggar's as ready to fight for his dish as the laird for his land." I am quite in accord with the Autiquary. Therefore and for many other reasons I draw comfort and hope from the spread of genuine socialism in England; from the recognition of the fact that the state is bound to take account of the con-dition of the he'pless, and that statesmanship is not limited to a concern with foreign affairs and a pedantic sloofness to the condition of the bulk of the English people. In that sense, as Sir William Harcourt says, we are all socialists. The state, at least in England, has acknowledged that it cannot any longer afford to fold its arms, to look down upon the seething and weltering strug-gles of the country's social life, and compos-

edly wait for the survival of the fittest. JUSTIN M'CARTHY, London, England, May 15. INDUSTRIAL NOTES.

The finest grade of matches is made of

Bermuda farms bear three succes ive crops one year.

Nevada is second in gold production and fourth in silver. The manufactured product of Great Britain amounts to about \$4,100,000,000 a year.

The fastest shorthand writer in the world is a young Dublin man, George Bunbary. He can write 250 words in a minute.

By an English invention camel's hair cotton plant and chemicals are being substi-tuted for leather in machinery belting with considerable success

Krupp of Prussia claims as the result of experiments that while only 10 to 15 per cent of heat units are utilized in the modern steam engine, if the coal is powdered to an impalpable powder and exploded in cylinders, after the manner of an ordinary gas engine 75 to 80 per cent of the heat units may be

The new Atlantic cable which is now being In the new Atlantic capie which is now being laid in sections between Ballingskellings Bay, Ireland, and Canso, N. S., for the Commercial Cable company, is in many respects a notable piece of work. The cable is about 2,100 miles in length, its conductor contains more than 1,100,000 pounds of copper and is armored with over 10,000,000 pounds of steel

Copper must have been one of the earliest metals known, worked and valued in human industry. It ranks second to silver in mal-leability and ductility, or third as compared with gold, which is the most malleable metal known, and ranks next to iron in tensile strength, and, being an abundant metal, native in many parts of the world, it often lies at or near the surface of the earth. A new steel cantilever bridge is to be built across the gorge at Niagara Falls, just below the cataract. It will be owned by a syndicate of New York capitalists. In form it will be a combination of the arch and cantilever principles, with a span of 1,000 feet, or 200 feet longer than any arched bridge in extense. It will have accommediations for

trolley cars, railroad cars and foot passen-A railroad which the Germans have built A railroad which the Germans have built in Asia Minor, extending from Ismid, a har-bor about sixty miles east of Constantinople, east by south 309 miles to Angora, has as little wood in it, perhaps, as any in the world. Not only the rails and bridges, but the ties and telegraph poles are of iron, nine-tenths of it furnished by German works, chiefly by Krupp.

Probably the largest place of our slower

It will have accommodations for

Probably the largest piece of cut glass ever made in America is on exhibition in New York City. It weighed seventy pounds before it was decorated and lost about twenty pounds in the cutting. The piece is a punch bowl eighteen inches high and twenty-four inches in diameter. The actual cost of pro-

duction was nearly \$400. In the treasure room of the Maharajah of Barnda is stored a carpet which cost \$1,000,000. It is only ten by six feet, but is woven from strings of pure pearls, with a center and corner circle of diamonds. It took three years to make it, and was intended as How a Professional Athlete Won Races at

a Farmer's Festival. BREWSTERS, N. J., June 16 .- At the games of the Brewsters Athletic club the contestants were the young farmers of the neighboring towns. The games were just about to be started, when a tall, smoothshaven man inquired of the starter if he could take part. He said he worked for a tarmer near one of the neighboring towns and he looked the part, wearing blue overalls, a soft hat and appearing quite innocent.

The young man was allowed to start and in a half-mile race for which there were fourteen contestants. He just barely won. When questioned privately by one of the spectators, "I used to run after the cows on the farm," was the best he would answer. The "farmer" started in the sack race and won easily. The big event of the day was the three-mile race. The Brewsters people had a man who had never been beaten and they bet on him as though the race was all over but to collect the money. The "Tarmer" set the pace from the start and none of the others could get near him. He won by ten yards. Then the countrymen began to become suspicious.

The next event was the swimming race. The "farmer" started in that, too. He was

PRETENDED TO BE ONE OF THEM. . in magnificent condition, his muscles showing with every movement he made. He won the

That settled it. The countrymen wanted to mob him, but he just smiled and put on his clothes, collected his winnings and waked away. He proved to be Kelly, an old-time athlete, now a New York policeman. He was

HAIL AND ETCHTNING

Severe Thunderstorm in Chicago-Narrow Escape from Falling Granite. CHICAGO, June 16 .- A severe electrical, rain and hall storm passed over this city yesterday, doing considerable damage. Lightning struck the top of the Teutonic building, which is ten stories high, and knocked a fifty-pound piece of granite from the cornice to the payement, where it narrowly missed two policemen. The thunder and noise of the falling stone caused neveral horses to run away. Gottlieb Gotski, a laborer, was in-stantly killed by lightning and several houses on the west and north sides were struck and

DU QUOIN, III. June 16.-The most de structive half storm in years passed over this city yesterday afternoon. Half stones covered the ground several inches deep. Corn, wheat and cats and all kinds of fruits and vegetables are ruined. Many windows

RECOVERING FROM THE PLOODS.

Re-Establishing Communication. VANCOUVER, B. C., June 16,-Reports from the interior state that the river is still falling rapidly. At New Westminster the mills are now able to resume operations, although the lower part of the city is not entirely free from water. It is reported taht the Fraser made some considerable change in its course. Soundings will have to be carefully taken all along the river. At Chilliwack the water has fallen four feet. Farmers will soon be able to take stock and estimate losses. The freshet has washed away a large amount of land at the mouth of the river. On Tuesday the Fraser river fishery mess house took a slide into the river and sailed into the gulf of Georgia. Wednesday morning part of the cannery went, and a large number of cans and salmon boxes were lost. Yesterday the Great Northern resumed service between South Westminster and Seattle. The Canadian Pacific also dispatched a train yesterday.

TACOMA, Wash., June 16.—The Northern Pacific has established through connections.

Pacific has established through connections with St. Paul by way of the Couer d'Alene branch, trains to be run over the Union Pacific branch from Spakane to Wallace, Idaho. Slight repairs remain to be made be-

Fraser River Falling Rapidly and Railroads

ALL OVER FOR FIFTY YEARS.

Now Be Killed Right Off. ALBANY, N. Y., June 16 .- Governor Flower, returning to Albany from the Adirondacks, talked to a large number of people at the Gioverville depot yesterday afternoon. He spoke of the financial troubles and "The undoubted cause is the tinkering being done with the tariff. In thirty days the agony will be over, and the question settled. If in the succeeding fifty years any-body attempts to tinker with the tariff he'h get killed. The times will improve now at once, and your old prosperity will be in creased a hundredfold."

Why Lewelling Expects to Win-LEAVENWORTH, Kan., June 16 .- Governor Lewelling attended a meeting of the Mystic Shane here. Speaking to an Associated press reporter regarding the populist possibilities in this state he said he expected the ticket to win on account of the enthu-siasm for the party, and because the democrats must vote and are tired of their party

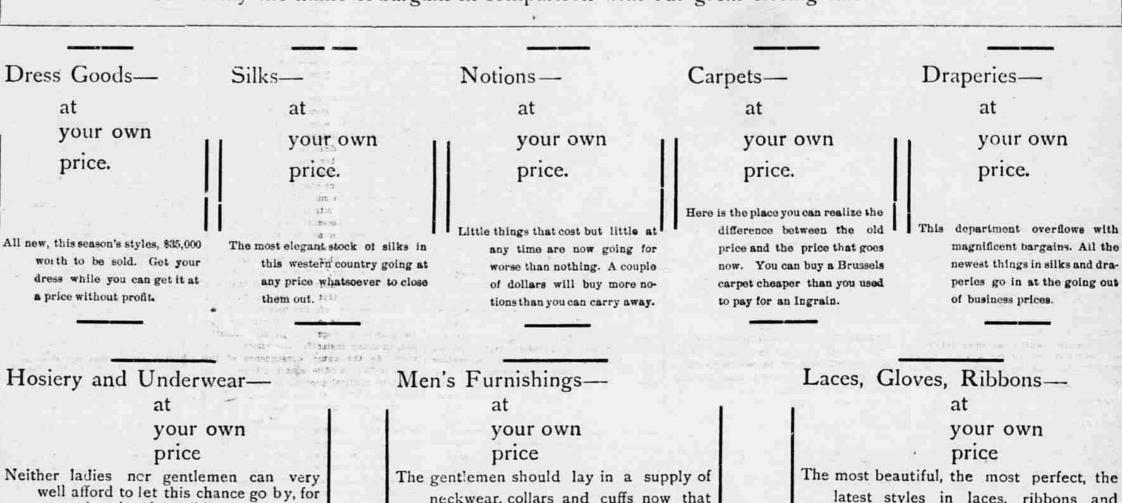
tween Desmet and Wallace. The Overland in this state and would not vote the republican ticket. He also expects the auffrage amendments to take many votes from the republican party and thinks the people of the state are well satisfied with his administra-

Northwestern Elevator Purchased. TACOMA, June 16 .- Frank Orbin and J. T. ibb, composing the Tacoma Grain company have purchased of the receiver of the Northern Pacific Elevator company the thirty-nine elevators, with a capacity of 6,000,000 bushels, located in Idaho and in Spokane, Lincoln and Whitman countles of this state, and also the Terminal elevator, 75,000 bushels, located in Tacoma. Last year these elevators shipped 2,900,000 centals of wheat, which loaded thirty-six ships, and this year they are expected to ship 4,000,000 centals. The total price paid is reserved.

Guarding Her Grave with a Shotgun. COVINGTON, June 16 .- The Drollinger coisoning case at Foster is creating much excitement. The husband still refuses to let the authorities exhume his wife's body, and guards her grave with a shotgun. He is strongly suspected of having caused her death, as a former wife died very suddenly in the same manner. The body will be exhumed by the authorities.

The Morse Dry Goods Co. Retiring from Business.

You know it—everybody knows it—No one doubts it when once inside the store—Business could not be continued and such prices quoted—You never saw anything like it—Your friends were here this week-Such crowds-Your last chance for bargains-When we are gone nothing will ever be worthy the name of bargain in comparison with our great closing sale.



neckwear, collars and cuffs now that

they have an opportunity. It won't have hosiery and underwear gone at such prices. occur again. Remember that. Chinaware-your own

at no time in the wildest excitement

Cloaks and Suits-

price. Summer, Spring and Fall Wraps all go in-all must go. It's hot now, but winter will come and you can't buy half as cheap then as

Handkerchiefsyour own

> price Handkerchiefs for every possible taste at every kind of price. The lacey, fleecy kind go as cheap as the plain white ones used to.

Boys' Clothing your own

latest styles in laces, ribbons and

gloves, all go in at way-down prices at

this great closing out sale.

price You can save more money probably here than anywhere else, for no matter how much you buy the boy will manage to wear them all out. Any price whatever goes.

Dress Trimmingsyour own price.

your own

On the second floor-by far the

largest and most complete stock

in the city. Cost is not considered

price.

As complete as this stock was it is no wonder it is a center of attraction, now that so little money is required to get more than you can carry.

Toilet Articles-

your own price.

Always the lowest on soaps, face powders, and other toilet articles, we now cap the climax by letting you take away the goods at your own price.

Muslin Underwearyour own price.

Good seasonable wear, perfect goods, the most radical cuts in the store are right here. Try and see.

Retiring from from from business. business business. Mail Orders should be accompanied No goods charged. by draft or money order. No goods sent on approval. Where amount is not known No goods laid aside or sent No purchases that amount to send at least one-half and No money refunded. C. O. D. unless half amount less than \$1.00 will be degoods will be sent C. O. D for No goods exchanged. of purchase is paid.

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Goods for all seasons, Spring, Summer, Autumn and Winter on sale.

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