
RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

BEYOND THE BARS.

For The Public.

Within my cell are singing sounds—a robin's call,
afar.

Within this gloom are glories white—a light of sun
or star.

Within this death-hole breathes the air of clover-
fields ahum.

What rare and radiant riches to the prisoned spirit
come!

Within my cell glows ruddy wine—distilled of vine-
yards dear.

Within this fear are lance and shield—what valor
gives me cheer.

Within defeat pride will not yield—a rebel heritage.
And youth is armed with years forgot, to crush
the force of age.

Within my cell stands liberty—with many a flag of
joy.

Within this death is freedom born—its tyrant to de-
stroy.

Within this hush the bugles blow—to stir the
hearts of men.

And still I muse, in chains that chafe: "Will there
be prisons then?"

GEO. E. BOWEN.

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COBDEN'S "INTERNATIONAL COM- MON LAW OF THE ALMIGHTY."

Portions of an Address Delivered by Byron W. Holt at
Columbia University, New York, April 24, as
Reported in the New York
Evening Post.

Either science, that is, division of labor, co-
operation, and free trade, is wrong; or protection
is wrong. If economic science is right, there is no
sound reason for protection in this country at this
time.

And there is no political reason either. Not
only does this country produce most cheaply the
things most essential for self-defense in case of
war, but it also produces the necessities of life,
comfort, and happiness more cheaply than they
can be produced anywhere else, all things con-
sidered. This is by virtue of its unrivaled natural
resources, and in spite of tariff-restricted trade
with foreign countries. Our country is such a
giant among nations, with such enormous natural
strength, that it can overcome many artificial
handicaps in production.

There is no argument for protection in this
country at this time that is not clearly unsound
and illogical, when carefully and coolly analyzed.
All is sophistry of the cheapest and flimsiest sort

—that is, to trained minds. As, however, protec-
tion sophistry can be made plausible to untrained
minds, our protected interests and their agents
have become adepts in propagating the false the-
ories and cunning deceptions that have caused
our millions of consumers to vote money out of
their pockets and into the pockets of the tariff-
favored few.

Although protection does none of the things
that it is credited with doing, and although it
nearly always works backward and does the re-
verse of that which its friends claim that it does,
yet, in actual practice, it has so deluded men's
minds and so obscured their reasoning faculties
that even college professors, with all of their
scientific acumen, have been, of late years, as a
rule, unable to reach any but compromise con-
clusions as to the effects of protection. Most of
them are strongly inclined to teach their students
that, while in theory "protection" may be un-
sound, yet in practice it operates in some mys-
terious way to increase wealth, to raise wages, to
diversify industry, to encourage manufacturers,
to furnish work, to give us home markets, to pro-
vide revenue, to promote prosperity, and general-
ly to make practically everybody comfortable and
happy without burdening anybody in particular.

Of course, the inability of many professors to
reason clearly and to draw definite conclusions as
to the workings of protection is not due to any
lack of mental clearness and vigor. This inability
is a result of protection environment and of nat-
ural selection and special fitness. For years our
colleges were out of harmony and touch with our
political practices. When they were teaching free
trade, our house was divided against itself. It
was, of course, easier for the professors to change
their teachings than for our people to change
their practices. The selfish protected interests
established and maintained harmony by retiring
some professors, by pensioning others, and espe-
cially by a more careful selection of instructors.
Outspoken free traders have been for years prac-
tically debarred from positions as teachers in our
colleges. Some colleges, in fact, shut their doors
to able men who hold even the mild "Iowa idea"
and who do not keep it carefully concealed.
But few of them are now teaching free
trade heresy. The steady pressure which has been
so persistently applied has proven effective. Pro-
fessor Sumner is the greatest heretic left—the
greatest thorn in the protectionists' seats of learn-
ing. He expresses himself as follows:

Protectionism seems to me to deserve only con-
tempt and scorn, satire and ridicule. It is such an
arrant piece of economic quackery, and it masque-
rades under such an affectation of learning and phi-
losophy that it ought to be treated as other quack-
eries are treated. . . . Protectionism arouses my
moral indignation. It is a subtle, cruel, and unjust
invasion of one man's rights by another. It is done

by force of law. It is at the same time a social abuse, an economic blunder and a political evil.

Undoubtedly the world would still be flat and the sun would still be traveling around us, if there had been sufficient commercial reasons for maintaining the old order of things. Apparently it would have been casier to have kept the majority of men in astronomical than in political darkness. One is as easy as the other when commercialism and privilege hold the reins of government. Bastiat says, in his "Sophisms of Protectionism":

The world is not sufficiently conscious of the influence exercised over it by sophistry. When might ceases to be right, and the government of mere strength is dethroned, sophistry transfers the empire to cunning and subtlety. It would be difficult to determine which of the two tyrannies is most injurious to mankind.

But the economic progress and commercial development of the country have now advanced to the point where the same commercial interests which have influenced the professors to suppress the teaching of free trade are beginning to realize that the markets of the world are within their grasp, if they can get their materials under natural prices and conditions. They are becoming restless under the artificial restraints of protection and are casting aside all former fear of not being able to stand unassisted on the most advantageous industrial site on earth. Our economic professors are now in real danger of being left in the very humiliating and ridiculous position of being on record in foolish and unsatisfactory economic declarations, or in quibbles, straddles, or evasions, while the business men have passed on to surer and wiser ground.

Far-seeing captains of industry, like Andrew Carnegie and James J. Hill, have reached the conclusion that this great country is handicapped by too much protection, and that it will the more quickly and certainly attain its destiny—the commercial supremacy of the world—if it lowers, or removes, its tariff bars. The increase in the cost of living since 1897, due in part to the Dingley tariff and its big brood of cormorant trusts, is rapidly creating dissatisfaction and discontent among our professional and clerical men. Even voteless woman is talking against tariff-taxed homes, food, and clothing. Soon there will be but a small minority to support and defend "protection." It is fortunate for the protected interests that they are now in almost supreme control of the commanding positions at Washington and that the people of this country have no opportunity to vote directly on the tariff question.

† † †

Is any man afraid of change? Why what can take place without change? What then is more pleasing or more suitable to the universal nature?—*Marcus Aurelius Antoninus.*

A PRAYER FOR LANDLORDS.

From *Land Values, of London and Glasgow, for April.*

On March 1st Sir John Benn asked the Prime Minister whether his attention had been directed to a prayer in the Liturgy of Edward VI. (Parker Society, Vol. XIV., p. 458), dealing with the equitable disposition of land within the country, and whether he would consider the advisability of issuing Letters of Business to Convocation recommending the restoration of this supplication to the revised edition of the Prayer-book.

Mr. Asquith: "My hon. friend has, I think, done a public service by drawing attention to this remarkable prayer—(hear, hear, and laughter)—but I doubt if any advantage would be gained by my taking the steps he suggests."

In reply to a further question by Sir Gilbert Parker, the Premier said he believed the prayer was the composition of Archbishop Cranmer.

Mr. Delany: "Would the right hon. gentleman recommend this prayer to the attention of those Irish landlords who asked twenty-seven years' purchase from their tenants?" (Laughter.)

Mr. H. C. Lea: "As the landlords are past praying for, would the right hon. gentleman suggest to the Chancellor of the Exchequer that taxation would be a more efficacious way of dealing with them?" (Laughter.)

We are indebted to Mr. J. Dundas White, M.P., for the copy of that prayer, and for the accompanying remarks, which explain the circumstances in which it was published and used.

The prayer reads as follows:

The earth is Thine (O Lord), and all that is contained therein; notwithstanding Thou hast given the possession thereof unto the children of men, to pass over the time of their short pilgrimage in this vale of misery; we heartily pray Thee to send Thy Holy Spirit into the hearts of them that possess the grounds, pastures, and dwelling places of the earth, that they, remembering themselves to be Thy tenants, may not rack and stretch out the rents of their houses and lands, nor yet take unreasonable fines and incomes after the manner of covetous worldlings, but so let them out to other, that the inhabitants thereof may both be able to pay the rents, and also honestly to live, to nourish their families, and to relieve the poor: give them grace also to consider, that they are but strangers and pilgrims in this world, having here no dwelling place, but seeking one to come; that they, remembering the short continuance of their life, may be content with that that is sufficient, and not join house to house, nor couple land to land, to the impoverishment of other, but so behave themselves in letting out their tenements, lands, and pastures, that after this life they may be received into everlasting dwelling places: through Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen.

This prayer, which has marginal references to the various portions of Scripture quoted in it, is one of "Sundry Godly Prayers for Divers Purposes" given in "A Prymmer or boke of private