

AN OLD EMPLOYER'S VIEWS

OF ADJUSTMENT BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL.

The Question of Co-Operation and Arbitration Discussed From the Standpoint of Experience.

Andrew Carnegie, the Pittsburgh iron manufacturer, in the Forum for April: A strike or lockout is, in itself, a ridiculous affair. Whether a failure or a success, it gives no direct proof of its justice or injustice. In this it resembles war between two nations. It is a struggle upon a question of strength and endurance between the contestants. The game of battle or the duel is not more senseless as a means of establishing what is just and fair than an industrial strike or lockout. It would be folly to conclude that we have reached any permanent adjustment between capital and labor until strikes and lockouts are as much things of the past as the game of battle or the duel has become in the most advanced communities.

CO-OPERATION.

Among the expedients suggested for their better regulation, the first place must be assigned to the idea of co-operation, or the plan by which the workers are to become part owners in enterprises, and share their fortunes. There is no doubt that if this could be effected, it would have the beneficial effect upon the workman which the ownership of land has upon the man who has hitherto tilled the land for another. The sense of ownership would make of him more of a man as regards himself, and hence more of a citizen as regards the Commonwealth. It would be a difficult thing to accomplish, and which renders me less sanguine than I should like to be in regard to co-operation. The difficulty is this, and it seems to me to be inherent in any gigantic manufacturing and commercial operations. Two men or two combinations of men will erect blast furnaces, iron-mills, cotton-mills or paper manufactories adjoining each other, or engage in shipping or commercial business. They will start with some capital and credit, and will be only superficially acquainted with the personnel of these concerns, success will seem as likely to attend the one as the other. Nevertheless one will fall after dragging along a lifeless corpse, and the other will flourish and prosper; while the neighboring mill or business will make a fortune for its owners. Now, the successful manufacturer, dividing every month or every year a proportion of his profits among his workmen, either as a bonus or as a dividend, shares owned by them, will not only be happy and contented body of co-operators, but he will inevitably attract from his rival the very best workmen in every department. His rival, having no profits to divide among his workmen, and paying them only a small assured minimum, will enable them to live, find himself despoiled of foremen and of workmen necessary to carry on his business successfully. His workmen are discontented, and, in their own opinion, defrauded of the proper fruits of their skill, through incapacity or inattention of their employers. This unequal business capacity in their management produces unequal results. It will be precisely the same if one of these manufactories belongs to the workmen themselves; but in this case, in the present stage of development of the world, the chances of failure will be enormously increased. It is indeed greatly to be doubted whether any body of workmen in the world could to-day organize and successfully carry on a mining or manufacturing or commercial business in competition with concerns owned by men trained to affairs. If any such co-operative organization succeeds, it may be taken for granted that it is principally owing to the exceptional ability of one of the managers, and only in a very small degree to the efforts of the mass of workmen owners. This business ability is exceedingly rare, as is proved by the incredibly large proportion of those who enter upon the stormy sea of business only to fail. I should say that twenty co-operative concerns would fail to every one that would succeed. There are, of course, a few successful establishments, notably in France and one in England, which are organized upon the co-operative plan, in which the workmen participate directly in the profits. But these were all created by the present owners, who now generally share the profits with their workmen, and who are making the success of their manufactories upon the co-operative plan the proud work of their lives. What these concerns will become in the future, the genius of affairs is no longer with them, no guide, is a matter of grave doubt, and to me, of foreboding. I can, of course, picture in my mind a state of civilization in which the most talented business men shall find their most cherished work in carrying on a business concern, not primarily for their own personal aggrandizement, but for the good of the masses of workers engaged there in, and their families; but this is only a foreboding of a dim and distant future. When a class of such men has been evolved, the problem of capital and labor will be permanently solved to the entire satisfaction of both. But as this manifestly belongs to a future generation, I cannot consider co-operation, or common ownership, as the next immediate step in advance which it is possible for labor to make in its path upward.

A PLAN OF ARBITRATION.

I would lay it down as a maxim that there is no excuse for a strike or a lockout until arbitration of differences has been offered by one party and refused by the other. No doubt serious trouble attends even arbitration at present, from the difficulty of procuring suitable men to judge intelligently between the disputants. There is a natural disinclination among business men to expose their business to men in whom they have no entire confidence. We lack so far in America a retired class of men of affairs. Our vile practice is to keep on accumulating more dollars until we die. If it were the custom here, as it is in England, for men to withdraw from active business after acquiring a fortune, this class would furnish the proper arbitrators. On the other hand, the ex-presidents of trades unions, such as Mr. Jarrett or Mr. While, after they have retired from active control, would commend themselves to the manufacturers and to the men as possessed of the necessary technical knowledge, and educated to a point where commercial reasons would not be without their proper weight upon them. Consider that of all the men who are engaged in the struggle to prevent wage and embittering contests between capital and labor, arbitration is the most powerful and most beneficial.

THE BENEFIT OF TRADES UNIONS.

The influence of trades unions upon

the relations between the employer and employed has been very much discussed. Some establishments in America have refused to recognize the right of the men to form themselves into these unions; although I am not aware that any concern in England would dare to take this position. This policy, however, may be regarded as only a temporary phase of the situation. The right of the workmen to combine and to form trades unions is no less sacred than the right of the manufacturer to enter into association with and confer with his fellows, and it must be sooner or later conceded. Indeed, it gives one but a poor opinion of the American workman if he permits himself to be deprived of a right which his fellow in England has conquered for himself long since. My experience has been that trades unions, upon the whole, are beneficial both to labor and to capital. They certainly educate the workmen, and give them a truer conception of the relations of capital and labor than they could otherwise form. The ablest and best workmen eventually come to the front in these organizations; and it may be laid down as a rule that the more intelligent the workman the fewer the contests with employers. It is not the intelligent workman, who knows that labor without his brother capital is helpless, but the blatant ignorant man, who regards capital as the natural enemy of labor, who does so much to embitter the relations between employer and employed; and the power of this ignorant demagogue comes chiefly from the lack of proper organization among the men through which their real voice can be expressed. The voice will always be found in favor of the judicious and intelligent representative. Of course, as men are not so intelligent more deservingly than to be paid to them personally and to their rights, and even to their opinions and prejudices; and upon the whole a greater share of profits must be paid in the day of prosperity to the intelligent than to the ignorant workman. He cannot be imposed upon so readily. On the other hand, he will be found much readier to accept reduced compensation when business is depressed; and it is better in the long run for capital to be served by the highest intelligence, and to be made well aware of the fact that it is dealing with men who know what is due to them, both as to treatment and compensation.

THE OLD PLANTATION OVERSEER SYSTEM.

One great source of the trouble between employers and employed arises from the fact that the immense establishments of to-day, in which alone we find serious conflicts between capital and labor, are not managed by their owners, but by salaried officers, who cannot possibly have any permanent interest in the welfare of the workmen. These officials are chiefly anxious to present a satisfactory business record at the end of the year, that their hundreds of shareholders may receive the usual dividends, and that they may, therefore, be secure in their positions, and be allowed to manage the business without unpleasant interference either by directors or shareholders. It is notable that bitter strikes seldom occur in small establishments where the owner comes into direct contact with his men, and knows their qualities, their struggles, and their aspirations. Although it may be impracticable for presidents of these large corporations to know the workmen personally, the manager at the mills, having a committee of his best men to present their suggestions and wishes from time to time, can do much to maintain and strengthen amicable relations if not interfered with from headquarters. I have recognized in trades unions, or, better still, organizations of the men of each establishment, who select representatives to speak for them, a means not of further embittering the relations between employer and employed, but of improving them.

HOW FAR KIND ACTIONS GO.

It is astonishing how small a sacrifice upon the part of the employer will sometimes greatly benefit the men. I remember that at one of our meetings with a committee it was incidentally remarked by one speaker that the necessity for obtaining credit at the stores in the neighborhood was a grave tax upon the men. An ordinary workman, he said, could not afford to maintain himself and family for a month, and he only received his pay monthly, he was compelled to obtain credit and to pay exorbitantly for everything; whereas, if he had the cash, he could buy at 2 1/2 per cent. "Well," he said, "why cannot we overcome that by paying every two weeks?" The reply was: "We did not like to ask it, because we have always understood that it would cause much trouble; but, if you do not mind, we could try it at 2 1/2 per cent. in our wages." We have paid semi-monthly since. Another speaker happened to say that, although they were in the midst of coal, the price charged for small lots delivered at their houses was a certain sum per bushel. The price named was double what our best coal was costing us. How easy for us to deliver to our men such coal as they required and charged them cost! This was done without a cent's loss to us, but with a gain to the men. Several other points similar to these have arisen by their labors might be lightened or products increased, and others, suggesting changes in machinery or facilities, which, but for the conferences referred to, would have been thought of by the employer, and probably never asked for by the men. For these and other reasons I attribute the greatest importance to an organization of the men, through whose duly elected representatives the managers may be kept informed from time to time of their grievances and suggestions. No matter how able the manager, the clever workman can often show him how beneficial changes can be made in the special branch in which the workmen labor. Unless the relations between the manager and workmen are not only amicable but friendly, the owners miss much; nor is any man a first-class manager who has not the confidence and respect, and even the admiration, of his workmen. No man is a true gentleman who does not inspire the affection and devotion of his servants. The danger is that such committees may ask conferences too often; three or four meetings per year should be regarded as sufficient.

THE GREATEST CAUSE OF FRICTION.

The trouble is that the men are not paid at any time the compensation proper to that time. A large number of men are paid in advance, and these orders are taken, of course, at prices prevailing when they are booked. This year's operations furnish perhaps the best illustration of the matter up to the end of last year for delivery this year were \$29 per ton at the works. Of course the mills entered orders freely at this price, and kept on entering them until the demand, growing unexpectedly

THE GREAT CROCK THROUGH TROUBLES.

DETROIT, Mich., March 25.—The Polish church troubles have settled for a time. The suit for ejectment, which had been brought by the Bishop against Father Kolasiński, the deposed priest, resulted in a verdict against the priest. However, the attorneys got together and patched the matter up by settling the consent of all concerned to have the matter referred to the Pope. Until he decides, Father Kolasiński will remain in the parochial residence, but the church remains closed.

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great, carries prices up to \$35 per ton. Now the various mills in America are compelled for the next six months or more to run upon orders which do not average \$35 per ton, at the seaboard and \$30, and say \$34 at Chicago. Transport and the cost of prices of all kinds have advanced upon them in the meantime, and they must therefore run for the bulk of the year upon very small margins of profit. But the men noticing in the papers the "rising steel rails," very naturally demand their share of the advance, and under our existing faulty arrangements between capital and labor they have secured it. The employers, therefore, have grudgingly agreed that they should not have been required to pay, and there has been friction and still is dissatisfaction upon the part of the employers. Reverse this picture. The steel rail market falls again. The mills have still six months' work at prices above the prevailing market, and therefore their men higher wages than the then existing state of the market would apparently justify. But having just been amerced in extra payments for labor which they should not have paid, they naturally attempt to reduce their rates as soon as the rails go down, and there arises discontent among the men, and we have a repetition of the negotiations and strikes which have characterized the beginning of this year. In other words, when the employer is going down the employer insists on cutting up, and vice versa. What we must see is a plan by which the men will receive high wages when their employers are receiving high prices for the product, and hence are making large profits; and, per contra, when the employers are receiving low prices for the product, and hence are making no profit, the men will receive low wages.

THE BENEFITS OF A SLIDING SCALE.

Wages should be based upon a sliding scale, in proportion to the net prices received for product month by month. And here I gladly pay Mr. Potter, president of the North Chicago Rolling Mill Company, a great compliment, in saying that he has already taken a step in this direction, for today he is working his principal mill upon this plan. The result is that he has had no stoppage whatever this year, nor any dissatisfaction. All has gone smoothly along, and this in itself is worth a great deal to the manufacturer and to the men as the difference in wages one way or another which can arise from the new system. The celebrated Crescent Steel Works of Pittsburgh, manufacturers of the highest grades of tool steel, pay their skilled workmen on a sliding scale, based upon prices received for product—an important factor in the eminent success of that firm. The "scale" adopted by the iron manufacturers and workmen is only an approach to the true sliding scale; nevertheless it is a decided advance upon the present labor, as it is adopted from year to year, and hence eliminates strikes on account of wages during the year, and limits these interruptions from that cause to the yearly negotiation as to the justice or injustice of the scale. As the iron industry has not been based upon the prices actually received for product, but upon the published list of prices which should be received in theory, there is not complete mutuality between the parties. In depressed times, such as the iron industry has known in the present year, enormous concessions upon the published card prices, and in these the workmen have not shared with their employers. If, however, there was added to the scale, even in its present form, a provision that all such differences which could not be postponed till the end of the year, and then considered with the scale, should be referred to arbitration, and that in case of failure of the owners and workmen to agree at the year's conference, a strike should also be referred to strikes and lockouts would be entirely eliminated from the iron business; and if the award of the arbitrators took effect from the date of reference, the works could run without a day's interruption.

THE STEPS TOWARD PEACEFUL RELATIONS.

Dismissing, therefore, for the present all consideration of co-operation as not being within measurable distance, I believe that the next steps in the advance toward permanent, peaceful relations between capital and labor are:— First.—That compensation be paid the men based upon a sliding scale in proportion to the prices received for product. Second.—A proper organization of the men of every works to be made, by which the natural leaders, the best men, will eventually come to the front and confer freely with the employers. Third.—Peaceful arbitration to be in all cases resorted to for the settlement of differences which the owners and the mill committee cannot themselves adjust in friendly conference. Fourth.—No interruption ever to occur to the operations of the establishment, since the decision of the arbitrators shall be made to take effect from the date of reference. If these measures were adopted by an establishment several important advantages would be gained:— First.—The employer and employed would simultaneously share their property or adversity, with each other. The scale once settled, the feeling of antagonism would be gone, and a feeling of mutuality would ensue. Capital and labor would be shouder to shouder supporting each other. Second.—There could be neither strike nor lockout, since both parties had agreed to abide by a forthcoming decision of disputed points. Knowing that in the last resort strangers were to be called in to decide what should be a family affair, the case would indeed be few which would not be amicably settled by the original parties without calling in others to judge between them.

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FOR THE FORTY-NINTH CONGRESS.

SENATOR VOORHEES'S SPEECH ON THE EDMUNDS RESOLUTIONS.

Discussion of the Postoffice Appropriation Bill in the House—Routine Work.

WASHINGTON, March 25.—In the Senate today the hour reported from the Library Committee in the establishment of a commission, composed of the Secretary of State, the Librarian of Congress and the Secretary of the Smithsonian Institute, to examine and report to Congress as to the character and value of manuscripts belonging to the Government. Senator Voorhees said that the work involved no expense. The government, he said, had the Franklin papers, the Rochambeau papers and other manuscripts of great value, and the object of the proposed commission was to determine whether they should be published and the method of doing so. The bill was passed.

Senator Frye reported favorably from the Committee on Commerce a bill to provide for the encouragement of American shipping and to promote postal and commercial relations with foreign countries. Senator Frye explained briefly that the bill appropriated \$1,000,000 for carrying the United States mails in American vessels to the duty of the Postmaster General to advertise for proposals, to accept the lowest bids, and to enter into contracts for carrying the mails. The bill, Senator Frye added, had received the unanimous indorsement of all the members of the committee, and he was present at the meeting at which it was considered. It was placed on the calendar.

The Chair laid before the Senate a letter from the Postmaster General transmitting, in compliance with a recent Senate resolution, a statement of the Postmaster General's receipts and disbursements since March 4, 1885. Referred.

On request of Senator Edmunds the army bill, by unanimous consent, made the unfinished business of the morning hour to-morrow, and the Edmunds resolutions were placed before the Senate for consideration. Senator Voorhees took the floor in opposition to the majority report. After stating the question at issue Senator Voorhees asked why the majority resolutions contained themselves with an attack on the agent of the Postmaster General, and a direct blow on the principal (the President). Did the Senator from Vermont expect a Cabinet officer to disobey the President? The resolutions were meant for popular effect. They contemplated no measure of legislation, but were intended to do so. They were merely a fulfilment of Senatorial opinion, barren of results other than a cheap partisan denunciation.

If the Attorney General was guilty as charged, then he should be impeached. That was a matter for the House. The majority of the Senate had turned a direct blow on the principal (the President). Did the Senator from Vermont expect a Cabinet officer to disobey the President? The resolutions were meant for popular effect. They contemplated no measure of legislation, but were intended to do so. They were merely a fulfilment of Senatorial opinion, barren of results other than a cheap partisan denunciation.

The executive session of the Senate was a very short one. The cases of a number of postmasters whose predecessors were suspended were reported favorably. It was stated that they were the cases of men against whom no charges have been received from any source, and in respect to the majority of whom the suspended officials have recommended confirmation. It is in compliance with an informal understanding of the Postoffice Committee made some days ago with regard to such cases. An adverse report was made in the case of an Iowa postmaster, and was ordered to be printed in confidence for the use of the Senate. The committee embody in the report a letter from the nominee, who charges that the Republican incumbent had been publishing a newspaper in German and another in English and thereby doing much good for the Republican party. He (the present nominee) says that if he could have the office he too could publish a newspaper for the benefit of the Democratic party and that he was willing to devote the emoluments of the office to this purpose. Slips from the writer's paper in support of the Democratic party are quoted. The committee also refers to the circular of the Postmaster General, in which he announced that the President with regard to the exercise of partisan influence by office-holders. The committee says it reports the case adversely in order to aid the administration in carrying out its policy. The case of the internal revenue collector for the District of Vermont was reported favorably. A written report was made declaring in substance that the committee had heard from the Secretary of the Treasury in response to its inquiry that there were no charges against the collector, and that a was removed for political reasons alone.

CONTAGIOUS

Diseases are prevalent all over the world.

I am a native of England, and while I was in that country I contracted a terrible blood poison, and for two years was under treatment as an out-patient in the best hospital in England, but was not cured. I suffered the most agonizing pains in my body and limbs. Had vertigo and deafness, with partial loss of sight, severe pain in the chest, and a general feeling of being crazy. I lost all hope in that country, and sailed for America, and was treated in the city of New York by a prominent physician in New York having no connection with the treatment there. I was cured. I determined to give it a trial as a last resort, and I took six bottles of Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People, and I can say with great joy that they have cured me entirely. I am as sound and well as ever was in my life.

BLOOD

Is the life, and he is wise who remembers it. In the month of May (1885), I contracted blood poison, and being in Savannah, Ga., at the time, I was treated in the best hospital in Savannah, but was not cured. I suffered very much from rheumatism at the same time. I did not get relief until I took Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People, and I can say with great joy that they have cured me entirely. I am as sound and well as ever was in my life.

POISON

had produced great holes in my back and chest, and had removed all the hair of my head, yet I began to improve in a week. I was treated in the best hospital in Savannah, but was not cured. I suffered very much from rheumatism at the same time. I did not get relief until I took Dr. Williams' Pink Pills for Pale People, and I can say with great joy that they have cured me entirely. I am as sound and well as ever was in my life.

injection shrank from contemplation of the probable results. [Benevolent laughter.] If it had been understood that the Democratic party was anything like a "non-collateral formation of a 'vegetable' alliance," Senator Voorhees had not the slightest doubt that that party would have been counted out in New York. [Laughter.] The Senator from Iowa ought to have denounced the Democratic party as a "hyphenated" or a "reactionary parallelism." [Laughter.] But all the cantrips heaped on the party, Senator Voorhees said, had been exploded. The party had shown that it could be trusted. In the last election in the State of the Senator from Iowa, that Senator was an unwilling witness to the fact that the Republican "protoplasmic" majority of 40,000 was evolved into a floating diminutive atom of 5000. [Laughter.] "May that continue," said Senator Voorhees, "until the survival of the fittest is fully established." Alluding to the contest between President Andrew Jackson and the Senate, in which the President, Mr. Voorhees said, was successful, he commended to the present able and patriotic Chief Magistrate the principles and the policy of that able Democratic statesman. Then, said Mr. Voorhees in conclusion, would all the great powers of the government be called into action for the promotion of the common good, and not for the destruction of each other. Then would the spirit of concord and mutual respect among the various branches of the government prevail, and then no more would the ghastly exhibition of the gory execution, the gleaming ax and the headless trunk of King Charles furnish a frightful spectacle to the Senator from Vermont. [Loud laughter and applause.]

Senator Evans then addressed the Senate in support of the majority report, after which the Senate adjourned.

The House.

On motion of Mr. Scott (Pa.) a resolution was adopted calling on the Secretary of the Treasury for a list of claims allowed by the accounting officers of the Treasury.

On motion of Mr. Dibble (S. C.) a resolution was adopted setting apart Saturday, April 17th for the consideration of bills reported from the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds, which do not involve an expenditure of more than \$25,000. A number of bills were reported from the committees and placed on the calendar.

The House then went into committee of the whole (Mr. Hammond of Georgia in the chair) on the postoffice appropriation bill. After hearing a number of speeches the committee rose, and the House took a recess to 7:30 o'clock.

In Executive Session.

The executive session of the Senate was a very short one. The cases of a number of postmasters whose predecessors were suspended were reported favorably. It was stated that they were the cases of men against whom no charges have been received from any source, and in respect to the majority of whom the suspended officials have recommended confirmation. It is in compliance with an informal understanding of the Postoffice Committee made some days ago with regard to such cases. An adverse report was made in the case of an Iowa postmaster, and was ordered to be printed in confidence for the use of the Senate. The committee embody in the report a letter from the nominee, who charges that the Republican incumbent had been publishing a newspaper in German and another in English and thereby doing much good for the Republican party. He (the present nominee) says that if he could have the office he too could publish a newspaper for the benefit of the Democratic party and that he was willing to devote the emoluments of the office to this purpose. Slips from the writer's paper in support of the Democratic party are quoted. The committee also refers to the circular of the Postmaster General, in which he announced that the President with regard to the exercise of partisan influence by office-holders. The committee says it reports the case adversely in order to aid the administration in carrying out its policy. The case of the internal revenue collector for the District of Vermont was reported favorably. A written report was made declaring in substance that the committee had heard from the Secretary of the Treasury in response to its inquiry that there were no charges against the collector, and that a was removed for political reasons alone.

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Trustee's Sale.

HAVING been appointed trustee under the power contained in the trust deed made by Sarah L. Dent and George G. Dent, securing the payment of a note for \$1500 by them made September 14, 1885, due one year after date, default having been made in the payment thereof, at the request of the holder of said note, I will, on Monday, April 6, 1886, at 12 o'clock, at the southeast corner of Main and Madison streets, in the Tating District of Shelby county, Tenn., sell the following described tract of land: The first beginning at Carr and McLemore's corner on Green's line; thence east 11-60 chains to Green's NE corner; thence north 10 chains to Green's NE corner; thence east 3 chains to Bradshaw's NE corner; thence south 3-3/4 chains to McLemore and Carr's NE corner of 13-acre entry; thence east 1/2 chain; thence north 10 chains to Wm. and Glendon Pillsbury's line; thence north 10 chains to Green's line; thence east 11-60 chains to Carr and McLemore's corner; thence north 10 chains to the beginning, containing 109 acres, more or less, it being the same tract of land conveyed to Daniel Hughes by James K. Falls by deed of August 12, 1868, recorded in book 26, page 50. Also, lot 10 of the southeast quarter of 12-acre entry, on the east side of Boardland Avenue, and running back between parallel lines 10 feet to an alley. Also, part of lot 9 of same subdivision, on the south boundary line of lot 10, eighty feet wide, and running north and south, and running south at right angles with said boundary line, and six inches to the center of the right angle east sixteen feet so as to run diagonally over the center of the mouth of the alley, and being the same property conveyed to E. Dillard, trustee, by S. L. and G. G. Dent, recorded in book 146, page 222, of the records of Shelby county. Terms of Sale—Cash. Title believed to be good, but I sell only as trustee. L. E. BOSTON, Trustee.