

The Public

Seventh Year.

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LOUIS F. POST, Editor.

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The Chicago public school teachers' organization has won another legal battle (vol. iv, pp. 696, 816) in the fight against the corrupting corporations and the hostile city authorities with whom it has been struggling for four years.

A salary scale for teachers had been fixed by the school board, and under this scale the teachers were employed for the school year ending in June, 1900. Here was a contract, but the school board violated it by cutting down the teachers' salaries in the middle of the school year, giving as a reason that the school fund had proved inadequate.

Thereupon the teachers' organization decided to investigate this inadequacy. They found that there was indeed a deficit in the school fund, but instead of letting the matter end there, as the school board—either corruptly or inefficiently—had done, the teachers made an inquiry into the cause of the deficit. They were not long in discovering that it was due to tax-dodging, and that the big tax-dodgers were the franchise corporations—traction, gas, telephone, electric light, etc. Then the teachers did what the school board ought to have done. They took legal proceedings to compel these corporations to pay their taxes.

In that work of good citizenship the teachers were not only not supported by the school board and the Chicago taxing authorities, but were obstructed at every possible turn by the very authorities whose public duty it was to do them-

selves what the teachers' organization was trying to do. The authorities and the tax-dodging corporations were united as one man to oppose the teachers' fight. But Judge Thompson, of Springfield, by whom the case was first decided, sustained the teachers.

Still the teachers got no support from the school board and other officials. They were obliged to carry on the fight themselves to the end, the influence of the authorities and of the self-advertised "best citizens" generally being thrown on the side of the tax-dodging corporations. But greatly to the consternation of these elements, the teachers were successful to the end. The taxing authorities were compelled by the courts—not permitted, but compelled—to levy some \$2,000,000 on the corporate tax-dodgers for the year 1900. Then the convenient Federal judge, Grosscup, being called into the case by the tax-dodgers, granted a temporary injunction restraining the collection of more than half of this tax. The local authorities have done nothing further and only about \$600,000 of the \$2,000,000 has been collected. Why they have submitted without resistance to Judge Grosscup's decision must be guessed; they make no explanations themselves.

Part of what Judge Grosscup graciously allowed the authorities to be compelled by the courts of Illinois to levy upon the tax-dodgers was duly collected and distributed to the various boards according to their statutory rights; and in this distribution \$249,554 came to the school board. It was charged, however, by the city council's appropriation, with the payment of the school teachers' claims. If ever litigant was justly entitled to the proceeds of his suit, those defrauded teachers were entitled out of this fund to their withheld salaries. But the

school board, which had done nothing with reference to these withheld taxes but to cut teachers' salaries in consequence of the resulting deficit, but which in all good friendship to the tax-dodgers had done what it could to obstruct the teachers in their organization and litigation, proceeded calmly now to dispose of the fund in such a manner as to prevent the teachers' getting a penny of it for the withheld salaries for which they had thus far so successfully fought. They thereupon applied to the courts for an injunction, and after a full hearing their injunction was sustained on the 22d by Judge Edward F. Dunne.

Judge Dunne holds that the bargain of the Board with the teachers was not for the fiscal year, as the Board contended, but for the school year; and consequently that the cut in their salaries was a breach of contract. He decides this point upon the double ground of the intrinsic evidence in the records of the school board's proceedings, and the "unusual and unfair" character of the contract contended for by the Board. Accordingly he decides that the teachers have a preferred claim, analogous to that of the "diligent creditor" of the law books, upon the school fund which they pursued and secured from the tax-dodging corporations. Incidentally in his opinion Judge Dunne administers to the school board and other derelict officials having duties in the matter, an exceedingly well-merited rebuke, which we quote in full in our news report. The case will be carried to the Supreme Court of the State, but the teachers' equities are too plain to admit of any reasonable fear of a reversal of Judge Dunne's eminently fair decision. Whatever the result of the litigation, however, the necessity is revealed for abolishing the present appointive school board. The people of Chicago have already demanded an elective

board, and the sooner their demand is complied with the better.

Chicago's experience with municipal electric lighting for public purposes will be a hard nut for corporation statisticians to crack. According to the report of the city authorities the total cost of the average number of arc lights in 1903—4,827—was \$262,888. Under the system of renting from private corporations these lights would have cost \$559,936. The saving, therefore, was \$297,048. Yet the city paid in wages from 15 to 33 per cent. more than the private corporations. To have rented these lights for the 16 years of municipal ownership and operation would have cost \$3,895,812, and the city would now have nothing to show for it all except a package of vouchers and a memory of street lights that had glimmered in the past. But under municipal ownership and operation, in spite of high wages and incidental grafting, the city has spent only \$3,720,099 (\$175,713 less than the rentals would have aggregated), and has to show for it besides a memory of lighted streets a lighting plant of its own, which has increased from a system of 105 lamps in 1887 to one of 4,827 in 1903.

It is suggested by a Chicago paper that the packing houses, instead of punishing the strikers by ignoring their union after the strike fails, punish them by restraining the annoyances with which unions often irritate employers. The newspaper in question evidently fails to grasp the significance of the packing house strike. It was forced upon the employees in the first place by the packers, who insisted upon reducing a rate of wages already down to the life line. Circumstances obliged the packers to compromise, but their compromise was only a pretense. They purposely forced a renewal of the strike by treating the returning men in a manner which made its instant renewal inevitable. The true meaning of it all is that a well planned

war upon labor unions is on foot, of which the forced packing house strike is the first battle. When unionism in the packing houses is broken up, unionism somewhere else will be attacked in a similar manner; the ultimate object being to place workingmen at the mercy of the employers' organizations which are being organized everywhere.

Perhaps the destruction of unions, the undoubted object of this crusade, will prove in the end to be a good thing. Labor unions are a weak force with which to fight legalized monopolies. They necessitate antiquated and irritating modes of fighting. And if it were possible for them to win, their power when they won would be intolerable. Were they broken up, however, their membership might perceive that there are better ways of protecting the rights of workingmen than by labor unions and labor strikes. They might realize that the industrial war is really not between labor and capital, but between rights and privileges. Through this awakening, a successful political combination of industrial interests against parasitical interests might eventuate.

— The fifth annual issue of Moody's Manual, published by the Moody Publishing Co., 35 Nassau St., New York, and 79 Dearborn St., Chicago, while an expensive luxury (\$10) for others than the investing class, for whose accommodation it is primarily intended, will be found by any one interested in economic problems to be a most serviceable book of reference. The present issue is much larger than the largest of its four predecessors, and its 2,454 pages contain, besides a great amount of other economic data, statements relative to 11,000 corporations. Among these are the great steam railroads, the gas and electric companies, the traction companies, the water, telephone, telegraph and cable companies, and all the large financial and industrial corporations. With the encyclopedic business information of this book ready at hand, the writer, speaker or other public

man who has a grasp of economic principle will find himself armed to the teeth for almost any economic encounter.

Senator Fairbanks, the Republican vice-presidential candidate, offered himself, but was not accepted, as a volunteer in the war with Spain. This patriotic incident has just been discovered, opportunely, by the Republican national committee. Friendly papers please copy.

Bryan is to be invited by the Democratic national committee, so it is reported from the East, to speak for Parker in the New York campaign, for the purpose of counteracting the Democratic defection to Watson, which is said to be serious in that State. Meanwhile such deliciously democratic papers as Harper's Weekly are preparing Bryan's followers in the East to take what he may say in behalf of Parker with abundant salt. They are rising to remark that Bryan's support of Parker isn't sincere. What occult purpose this sort of thing serves among the "plutes," one may not venture to guess; but its effect upon Bryan's followers can be seen with half an eye. What better method could they adopt for representing these wanton accusations of Bryan by Parker's friends than the simple one of taking Mr. Parker's friends at their word and voting not as Bryan says, but as they say that Bryan thinks?

We always shrink from quoting a "prominent" anybody or anything without better identification; but the "prominent lumberman at the Pfister" who is reported in the Milwaukee Free Press of August 18, seems to speak knowledgeably of a condition in the Philippines that is probably true. We quote from the Free Press, for what its anonymous lumberman's hint may be worth:

"Talk about the Philippines being given up by the United States," said a prominent lumberman at the Pfister the other night, "why it is preposterous and impossible. Thousands and thousands of acres of the best timber lands have been gobbled up by United States lum-

bermen, and I will venture to say that before another year passes over us every acre that it is possible to get of timber lands will be controlled directly or indirectly by American capitalists. There are many timber land men in Wisconsin who have invested upwards of \$100,000 each in Philippine timber lands, and these investments have increased threefold in value in the past three years. You can just bet your very last bottom dollar that the United States is not going to abandon the property of Americans to a lot of semi-civilized savages and their government, if they ever have any. No; this talk is all froth, pure and simple. Americans have put their money in there into lands from which the timber can only be removed under strict forestry laws, but their holdings will have to be protected and the risk of leaving them to ladrones will never be considered. These investments have been made very quietly at a time when it was supposed that land could not be sold in the Philippines, hence, the general public knows nothing whatever about it."

Anonymous though this is, there is an air of probability about it; and the Administration—especially Secretary Taft—is fairly put upon the defense by it. There are occasions when even anonymous accusations, when not denied, may be taken as true. They arise when the accused is exclusively in control of the facts, the facts being such as the public is entitled to know, and the accusation is plausible and incriminatory of public officials. This is such an instance.

Mr. Balfour, the British prime minister, tells the British Association for the Advancement of Science, of which he is president, that he—

cannot see any escape for the rather melancholy conclusion that everything which opens up every career to a poor child of ability tends somewhat in the existing social conditions in the direction of deterioration of the race.

Mr. Balfour is doubtless right. This is the undeniable tendency. And his allusion to "existing social conditions" has within it all the potentialities of a full explanation. The opening of careers to the poor are deteriorating because they lead on to enervating luxury. There is nothing new about it. It is the old, old story which the wise Agur understood when he prayed:

"Give me neither poverty nor riches." Either is deteriorating. If we would avoid deterioration as a race we must seek that social condition in which none are despoiled and there is consequently no career which leads on to spoils and the luxurious habits of the non-earning rich. College professors who teach that civilization depends upon a leisure class, for whose support some form of slavery is necessary, promote the condition that Mr. Balfour deplors. They are among the worst of public enemies, and the only palliation for their crime is the fact that they are fools—educated fools, but fools.

It has been frequently urged that the stories of Negro assaults upon white women in the South have their counterparts in equally true stories of similar assaults by white men upon Negro women. But evidence of violence is usually lacking. Whether lacking because it does not exist, or because the channels of publication are closed to Negroes so abused by whites, while thrown wide open when the victim is white and the criminal a Negro, is not certain. All that can be asserted is that evidence of violence is usually lacking in the cases of Negro women. But now comes an apparently well-authenticated story of this class from Portland, Ark. We find it in the Little Rock Reporter, a Negro paper. The details need not be described. It is enough to say that they are quite as shocking as they could be were the relation of the races reversed. The victim was one of two women in a party of four Negroes who had been in attendance upon a Baptist Sunday school convention at Portland and were at the railroad station on their way home. The party consisted of two clergymen, a young woman student at the Alabama Baptist college, and this young woman's sister. They were first arrested by white men, at the point of a pistol, and with no pretense of an accusation, and then separated. It is reported that efforts are being made to bring the perpetrators of this crime to justice; but we have yet to hear of any

indignant uprising among the whites of Arkansas.

With reference to the recent brutal lynching of Negroes at the South, there seems to be an insistence by their apologists that condemnation of these lynchings is peculiarly a condemnation of the South, and that it is accompanied by an implication that the North would treat the Negro better. This insistence is mistaken. Those who say that Northern feeling toward the Negro is as hostile as that of the South are substantially right. But that is not the point. The crime is the thing, whether committed at the North or at the South; and "You're another!" is no defense to either section. The question is not one of North or South; it is one of human rights. If human rights are invaded at the South, and the South neglects to give protection because the victims are Negroes, the South must bear the odium, whether the North would justly incur the same odium under the same circumstances or not.

He who tries to make a sectional question of this simple man-question is a dangerous person in proportion to his influence. No better is he, whether of the North or of the South, who asks that any part of this country, be it North, East, South or West, shall be allowed to settle its man-questions in its own way without interference. The citizens of this country are entitled to the equal protection of the laws in every part of it. The Negro is a citizen of this country, just as truly and just as fully as is the Saxon. His rights under the laws are equal to those of the whitest, just as the rights of the poor are equal to those of the richest. If there is a problem that concerns him, it is also a problem in the solution of which he has as much right as anyone else to participate. And if he is denied these equal rights, this equal protection of the laws, whether he be denied them by local statute or by local mobs to which the local administrators of the law see fit to pander, and whether it be in the South or

in the North, in Georgia or Ohio, in Louisiana or New England, it is the solemn duty of the national authorities to respond to his appeal and to conserve his rights of American citizenship.

Japan's defense of the seizure of an armed Russian vessel in a neutral Chinese port is as a matter of reasoning without a flaw. She argues that China's position in this war is unique. China is a neutral power, yet not wholly neutral. The war is waged on some of her territory, outside of which both combatants have agreed to respect her neutrality. The port in question is outside the belligerent area and therefore to be regarded under ordinary circumstances as neutral. But when Russia's armed ship is forced by the Japanese out of the belligerent area, and takes refuge in the neutral port, that port is in virtue of that fact to be at once included in the area of belligerency. No answer has been made to this contention; and how any logical answer can be made it is difficult to see.

If Japan had driven the Russian land forces from their base in the belligerent area of China, and instead of surrendering they had retreated to the neutral area of China, all armed and ready to return when opportunity offered, could it be reasonably asserted that the Japanese must not follow them into that neutral area? Would not the neutral territory instantly become belligerent territory when the armed Russians retreated into it to escape pursuing Japanese? Surely it cannot be seriously urged that the Japanese should stop at the line of belligerency and helplessly see their routed enemy reorganize and reform over on neutral ground? But if the Japanese army would have the right to follow a fleeing Russian army from the belligerent land area of China, why may not a Japanese warship follow a fleeing Russian warship from the belligerent Chinese port, from which she escapes, into the neutral Chinese port where she seeks refuge? Why

does not every Chinese port become, as the Japanese argue, a part of the belligerent area of China the moment the Russians utilize it to escape from their victorious foe?

ANOTHER IMPORTANT REFERENDUM IN ILLINOIS.

For the fourth time a petition is before the voters of Illinois for an advisory referendum under the Foote-Crafts "public policy" law. Three questions are proposed. They relate (1) to direct popular primaries as a substitute for conventions for nominating candidates for office; (2) to popular referendum vetoes of objectionable local legislation; and (3) to the regulation of local taxation. In full, these questions are as follows:

(1) Shall the State legislature amend the primary election law so as to provide for party primaries at which the voter will vote under the Australian ballot directly for the candidate whom he wishes nominated by his party, instead of voting for delegates to convention or caucus; the primaries, throughout the entire district affected by the offices for which nominations are to be made, to be held by all the parties conjointly at the same time and polling places. This law not to prevent the nomination of candidates by petition as now provided.

(2) Shall the State legislature pass a law enabling the voters of any county, city, village or township, by majority vote, to veto any undesirable action of their respective law-making bodies (except emergency measures) whenever five per cent. of the voters petition to have such action referred to popular vote. This law to apply only to such localities as may adopt the same.

(3) Shall the State legislature submit to the voters of the State of Illinois at the next following State election an amendment to the State constitution, which will enable the voters of any county, city, village or township of the State of Illinois to adopt such system of assessing and levying taxes as the voters of any such county, city, village or township may determine.

The fact is now pretty generally known that the "public policy" law of Illinois provides for popular voting on any question of State or local policy. The law is unique. Its author, Mr. Allen Ripley Foote,

and its sponsor in the legislature which enacted it four years ago, the Hon. Clayton E. Crafts, probably had no higher expectations regarding it than that it might occasionally serve as a wholesome admonition to the State legislature and to city councils of the trend of public sentiment; while the majority of the legislators who voted for its enactment doubtless believed that in consequence of their amendment requiring an enormous petition to give it effect, it would be a dead letter on the statute books. But it is not a dead letter; and that it is more binding than its author and its sponsor expected is probable. Two Chicago petitions and one State petition have been voted upon and with good effect; and competent lawyers in increasing numbers are coming over to the opinion that popular verdicts rendered under this law are not merely suggestions, but are legally mandatory, with somewhat of the force of a constitutional provision. Their view of the mandatory character of the law will probably be presented to the courts at an early day. Should the city council of Chicago attempt to pass a compromise franchise ordinance (p. 305) in the face of the "public policy" vote of last Spring against all franchises and in favor of police-power licenses pending the final adjustment of legal complications, legal proceedings on the basis of the "public policy" law will doubtless be instituted.

The first vote under this law was taken in Chicago at the Spring election of 1902, with reference only to local questions, and with this result (vol. iv, p. 821):

(1) Ownership by the city of Chicago of all street railroads within the corporate limits was demanded by a vote of 124,594 to 25,987—a majority of 98,607.

(2) Ownership by the city of Chicago of the gas and electric lighting plants (the same to furnish all heat and power for public and private use) was demanded by a vote of 124,190 to 19,447—a majority of 104,743.

(3) Nominations of all candidates for city offices by direct vote of the voters at primary elections to be held for the purpose was demanded by 125,082 to 15,861—a majority of 109,221.

At the Fall elections of the same year, the second experiment under the "public policy" law was made, the result being that the voters

of the entire State, those of them who did not decide to disfranchise themselves for indifference to the subject or lack of intelligence regarding it, demanded (vol. v, pp. 373, 486):

(1) By a vote of 381,866 to 80,882 (a majority of 300,984), that the legislature adopt the initiative and the referendum for local purposes in the several political divisions of the State—counties, cities, towns, villages, etc.

(2) By a vote of 418,418 to 84,946 (a majority of 333,472), that the legislature provide for a constitutional amendment adopting the initiative and the referendum for State purposes.

(3) By a vote of 440,414 to 74,563 (a majority of 365,851), that the legislature take the necessary steps for bringing about an amendment to the Federal Constitution requiring the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.

With that contempt for popular opinion which has become dangerously common in some quarters under the plutocratic influences that now abound, these emphatic expressions of the popular will have, with a single exception, been ignored by the managers of the party in power in the State. That exception goes far, however, to prove the wholesome dread of popular opinion which influences politicians even in these days of plutocratic ascendancy. Though they thought they could afford to ignore all the other questions, they knew that the traction question in Chicago was a burning question, and this they dared not ignore. Some of them were defiant, but enough to make a majority were discreet. So the Mueller bill, authorizing municipal ownership of the street car lines of Chicago, was enacted as the immediate result of the affirmative majority of 98,607 in favor of it under the public policy law.

But the spirit of contempt for popular opinion was not altogether absent, and the Mueller law was secretly loaded with plutocratic ammunition. That this had been done with premeditation by professed advocates of municipal ownership who were in reality either honestly distrustful of it or corruptly friendly to the piratical traction-interests, became apparent when they tried with might and main to make it appear that the vote for municipal ownership at the Spring election of 1902 did not mean municipal ownership im-

mediately, but municipal ownership some time or other. There was not over much candor in that contention, but its verbal plausibility could not be denied. Consequently the people were appealed to for a more definite expression of their intentions. They were asked to say under the "public policy" law whether the city council should proceed to establish municipal ownership without delay. And to remove alleged obstacles, they were asked also to express themselves on the question of resorting to police-power licenses for traction operation until the alleged obstacles to municipal ownership could be removed. To those two questions one on another subject was added. So the third trial of the "public policy" law (vol. vi, p. 705), resting on a petition of over 100,000 signatures, the validity of which had been unsuccessfully fought step by step by the traction and other interests, came on at the Spring election in Chicago in April, 1904. Following was the result (vol. vii, p. 7):

(1) By a vote of 120,744 to 50,893 (a majority of 69,851), it was demanded that the city council of Chicago proceed without delay to acquire ownership of the street railways.

(2) By a vote of 120,181 to 48,056 (a majority of 72,125), it was demanded that the city council, instead of granting any further franchises, proceed under the city's police powers and other existing laws to license the street railway companies until municipal ownership can be secured, and compel them to give satisfactory service.

(3) By a vote of 115,553 to 58,432 (a majority of 57,121), it was demanded that the Chicago board of education be elected by the people.

These results were secured in the face of the opposition of every Chicago newspaper, except Hearst's. The Record-Herald and the News, which are now supporting Mayor Harrison in his policy of ignoring that vote on the traction question (p. 305), were as active as they were unsuccessful in opposing the traction propositions on that referendum.

Such is the history down to the present time of the voting in Illinois under her "public policy" referendum. The fourth vote will be taken at the approaching Fall elections, provided signatures to the requisite number are secured by September 6. This will be the vote

on the three questions set forth in full at the beginning of this article—the questions of primary nomination, popular veto, and local taxation. Less than 25,000 signatures are now lacking.

The petition is put forth by the Referendum League of Illinois, the same body which secured the three petitions already voted on. Blank petitions may be obtained of its officers—Emil W. Ritter, president; Jas. P. Cadman, treasurer; P. C. McArdle, financial secretary; and Dr. Maurice F. Doty, secretary, No. 52 Dearborn street, Chicago.

As the signing of the petition does not bind the signer to vote affirmatively on all, or even any, of the questions, but simply enables the thoughtful voters of the State to express themselves, no good citizen, whatever his own opinion as to the merits of the questions, need hesitate to sign.

It is much more important that the people thoughtfully vote upon questions of public policy than that they vote right. Right voting comes from thoughtful voting. And it is only on direct questions of public policy that the people can vote with thoughtful discrimination. A vote for representatives merely, is too much involved in the complexities of personal admiration or dislike, personal or party loyalty, personal character, and so on, to admit of a truly discriminating vote even by the most thoughtful citizen. If he discriminates well as to persons, he may stultify himself as to public policy; if he votes for a representative with reference to public policy, he runs the risk of voting for a treacherous candidate. But when he votes on the question of public policy itself, there is no confusion and no treachery. Knowing the policy he prefers, the voter may distinctly declare himself; and when he has done that, his representative must obey without equivocation or be exposed to his condemnation at the next primary or the next election.

The three questions now placed before the people of Illinois by the Referendum League are highly meritorious, and the petition ought to receive signatures in abundance, simply on the merits of the questions.

First: Consider the proposition

to nominate the candidates of all parties at primaries and no longer at conventions. Every man who believes in his party, as distinguished from "the machine," should favor this innovation. It is not an untried experiment, and cannot, therefore, be objected to as impracticable. Its purpose and effect is to allow the members of every political party to govern their own party if they wish to, by themselves selecting its candidates. Under the present convention system, it is not the members of a party, nor the leaders of a party, but its "bosses," that control nominations. Their corruption need not be dwelt upon. It is notorious and needs to be suppressed. And that can be done with a primary election law such as this referendum petition calls for. Under such a law there would be no Hopkinses nor Harrisons, no Lorimers nor Jamesons, no gas combines nor traction companies, to force the people of Illinois into confirming some corporation bargain with the Democratic machine, as the only alternative of confirming some corporation bargain with the Republican machine. Under a system of direct nominations candidates would have to go to the people of their party for support, instead of going, as they do now, to party "bosses" who are also corporation agents.

Second: We have next the proposition to empower the voters of any locality to veto objectionable legislation by their respective local legislatures, such as city councils. It is proposed to allow this upon a petition of 5 per cent. of the voters. Such a provision in the law would secure the people against corruption by their legislative agents. Nor would it be necessary to use it often. The fact that it could be used would operate to make the representatives honest in action even if corrupt in motive. One might infer this without reference to examples. If the members of a city council, for instance, knew that their ordinances were subject to popular veto, it is reasonable to infer that they would be careful to assure themselves of its good character before risking a specific popular condemnation. But the matter is not left to inference. Such a veto of State legislation is reserved to the people of South Dakota in their

constitution, and there has never yet been a resort to it. Not once have the people of South Dakota exercised their veto right. Yet more than one piece of vicious legislation which the party "bosses" of South Dakota had bargained to give, has been killed in the legislature by the mere threat of an appeal to the people of the State for their veto. Were this power given to the people of the counties, townships and cities of Illinois, we should have a refreshing era of good municipal government all over the State—and that without being very often, if at all, obliged to resort to the health-giving popular veto.

Third: The third proposition is intended to enable the voters of any locality in the State to adopt their own system of assessing and levying taxes. This would simply be an application of the principle of home rule to the point of greatest power. The power to tax is the power to rule. Whoever regulates your local system of taxation regulates your local government. Home rule in any respect is impossible where outsiders control so powerful a leverage as your system of taxation. There can be home rule in any respect only where the local taxing system is under the control of the home people. Under the proposition put forth by the Referendum League, any locality in Illinois might follow the example of those fifty or more localities of New Zealand (p 308), some of them cities, some villages and some farming sections, which have abolished taxes on personal property and improvements, and look to land values alone as the basis of taxation. If any Illinois localities did that under the power of home rule here sought, they would neither help nor hurt anybody but themselves. Should they prove it to be as desirable as it has proved in New Zealand after nearly fifteen years' experience, other localities would have the benefit of the example; should it prove injurious, the others could avoid the example, and it could be abandoned where it had been tried and failed. If, on the other hand, the people of any locality should wish to discourage improvements by taxing them heavily, to drive away capital or keep it away by taxing it whenever it showed its head, to encourage land monopoly

by making taxation rest lightly on valuable land held out of use, or to indulge in any other fiscal vagary, they would be at liberty to do so, but only at home and if they were in the majority there. The vital point about it is that none of these fiscal policies could be forced upon any community where people were opposed to it. At present the people of Illinois who wish to burden improvement and active capital with heavy taxes are allowed to force their obstructive theories on every locality in the State, no matter how much opposed to that bad policy the local people maybe. But under the proposition of the Referendum League, no locality could have its prosperity blighted by destructive fiscal schemes forced upon it by outsiders.

No more meritorious questions of public policy could be offered to an intelligent community than these three for which signatures are now solicited.

Should they be carried, a very complete public policy will have been declared by the people of Illinois. They will in that event have demanded, besides an amendment to the Federal Constitution requiring the election of United States Senators by direct popular vote, that—

(1) The Illinois constitution shall be amended so as to establish the initiative and the referendum for State purposes.

(2) The Illinois legislature shall establish the initiative and the referendum for local purposes.

(3) The Illinois legislature shall establish the right of popular veto in localities to objectionable legislation by the respective local bodies.

(4) The Illinois legislature shall provide for direct primary nominations of party candidates in place of convention nominations.

(5) The Illinois constitution shall be so amended as to enable the voters of localities to adopt their own systems of assessing and levying taxes.

These alterations in State policy would speedily make of Illinois an example in clean politics and business prosperity to every other State in the Union.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

NEW YORK.

New York, Aug. 22.—The political outlook in the East presents a different view from that of the West. While the

gamblers' guide-board would indicate that Roosevelt will carry the State of New York, the impression one gets mingling among the masses, embracing professional, mercantile and laboring men, is quite otherwise. Here there is a deep-seated prejudice against Roosevelt in marked contrast to his apparent popularity in the West.

To a verdant Westerner, who assumes that human nature is pretty much the same the world over, it seems that the tactics of the metropolitan press supporting Parker is more likely to contribute to his defeat than to assist him. Certainly the Republican campaign committee could circulate no more effective literature to gain votes for their candidate than daily excerpts from the columns of the Parker papers, which seem to delight in praising the opinions of the men who bolted the nominee of the party in the last two national campaigns, emphasizing their sneers at Bryan, and casting reflections on the sanity or intelligence of the multitude of earnest men who followed the Nebraska. Such support will certainly prove a boomerang, for if Parker is to win he must have the undivided support of all shades of Democracy. The men who voted to fasten the present imperialistic policy on this Republic may be enthusiastic for Parker, but if they really desire to wrest the control of governmental affairs from the men they helped to put at the helm, it would be better for them to express their enthusiasm in the polling booth than to sneer at the men who were loyal, not alone to their convictions, but also to their party.

The notification meeting of the People's Party in Cooper Union on Thursday evening, August 18, must have been gratifying to the candidates as well as to the leaders of that party. The hall was packed with an intelligent audience, which was appreciative and responsive. That it was an intensely radical gathering was evident from the spontaneous ovation that greeted the mention of the name of Henry George by Judge Williams, of Indiana, in the first formal address of the evening. Judge Williams is a single-tax man, and boasts of his town, Vincennes, Ind., as having published the first single-tax paper in the world, of which Warren Worth Bailey, now of the Johnstown Democrat, was editor and proprietor.

The men who have followed the leadership of Henry George in this city in his political contests are very much divided in this campaign. Many of his active supporters are the most active and influential leaders of the People's Party in this state. Among them are Judge Samuel Seabury, M. G. Palliser and A. J. Boulton. But Judge Parker will have the support of some of the ablest speakers that have followed the "Prophet of San Francisco," while oth-

er ardent disciples of George will quietly cast their votes for Theodore Roosevelt, believing this to be the most effective way to strike at plutocracy, which they believe not only has control of the machinery of the Democratic party, but will dominate its candidates.

Bolton Hall, son of the late Rev. Dr. John Hall, has been urged to accept the nomination of the People's Party for governor of the State. For the past twenty years he has been an ardent disciple of Henry George. Just now Mr. Hall, is much more interested in the circulation of his new book, "Free America," than in leading the forlorn hope of a political party. He has devoted the best thought of several years to the preparation of this book, and in order to give it a wide circulation he has insisted on the publishers' bringing it out first in cheap form. If he were led to believe his candidacy would aid in giving his book wide circulation he would make the race without regard to his political future or the effect it might have on his private fortune, and make the fight with the same underlying motive that forced Henry George into the political arena.

The Central Federated Union of Manhattan and the Central Labor Union of Brooklyn, tendered a complimentary dinner to John Z. White, of Chicago, on Sunday evening, August 21st, in the Labor Lyceum of Brooklyn. Between two and three hundred guests sat down to the banquet table, fully one-fourth of whom were ladies. The programme was quite lengthy, and Mr. White did not speak until after eleven o'clock. The toast assigned him was "How Shall Labor Meet the Present Crisis?" a subject upon which he dwelt for more than half an hour in his usual masterly and forceful manner, and to the approval and delight of the large audience.

D. S. LUTHER.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, August 25.

The terms of the Japanese demand of the 16th upon the Russians for the surrender of Port Arthur (p. 309), were made public in dispatches from Tokio on the 19th. They were in substance as follows:

Women, children under 16, priests, diplomatic agents and officers of neutral powers, to be allowed to leave, with one piece of luggage each; the luggage to be subject to inspection, and the refugees to be sent to Dalny under sufficient protection.

Along with this demand and offer the Japanese delivered to the Russians a note from the Emperor of Germany ordering the German

military attaches at Port Arthur to withdraw, and they have done so. The time set by Japan for surrender was 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 17th. No favorable response was made by the Russians, but at the hour named for surrender they renewed their fire upon their Japanese assailants. Since then the fighting has been continuous and bloody, if the gossipy reports may be relied upon. There is nothing definite in the news, however, although the indications are that the Japanese have penetrated to within a mile or two of the inner defenses and that the Russians cannot hold out much longer. The Japanese authorities allow no news of any importance to be reported.

At the north the Japanese have made a further advance toward Liaoyang (p. 278), the Russians having evacuated Anshanshan and the Japanese having occupied it on the 24th.

Although the Russian ships *Ros-sia* and *Gromoboi* escaped when the *Rurik* (p. 309) was sunk by the Japanese, they were both badly damaged upon their return to Vladivostok, and their total loss in men and officers killed and wounded was 449, including among the killed the captain of the *Ros-sia*. Another severe loss to the Russian navy occurred on the 20th, in the beaching of the *Novik* while pursued by two Japanese vessels. The *Novik* was the fastest protected cruiser in the world.

On the 20th the Czar summoned into active service another tenth of the reserves of European Russia. Under this summons over half the first-class reserves in Russia, and practically all in Siberia, will have been called to the colors.

At the christening of the Czar's heir (p. 310), on the 24th, the Czar issued a royal manifesto in which, among other marks of imperial favor, he granted amnesty to all political offenders except those charged with murder.

A civil war in the South American republic of Paraguay is reported. On the 12th the capital city, Asuncion, was bombarded by three insurgent vessels. The insurgents demand the resignation of President Ezcurra.

The Colorado troubles (pp. 264, 294) are reported to have been revived. On the 20th a mob organized by the mine-owners took possession of Cripple Creek, looted the labor union store, and deported several men for sympathizing with the labor unionists. Among the persons deported were J. C. Cole, a former assistant prosecuting attorney; Eugene Engley, a former attorney general of the State; F. C. Hall, manager of the union store, and F. J. Hays, a lawyer and counsel for the labor union. Steps have been taken by the injured interests to secure protection in the courts and also from the national government. The latter claim is made on the ground that the looted store is owned by the Inter-State Mercantile company, an outside corporation.

In connection with the meat trust strike (p. 295), an injunction asked for by the trust against the city of Chicago has just terminated in a decision favorable to the trust. The trust has been using its packing houses at Chicago for the purpose of housing its "strike breakers." This was decided by the corporation counsel, Mr. Tolman, to be unlawful under the city ordinances with reference to lodging-houses and fire protection. Accordingly, the trust was notified by the city to cease using the packing houses for lodging purposes; and thereupon the trust made application to the courts for an injunction. On the 24th Judge Brentano granted the injunction, which prohibits the city from interfering with the complained-of use of the packing houses. He granted it on the ground that the packing houses are outside the fire limits of the city. The city has taken an appeal. It has also taken steps to terminate the strike through a mediation committee authorized by the city council and appointed by the Mayor on the 24th.

As large numbers of the "strike breakers" in this strike are Negroes, the strikers have urged Booker T. Washington to come to Chicago and address a Negro meeting on the subject with a view to averting hostile race feeling. Their telegram of the 23d to Mr. Washington was as follows:

Booker T. Washington, Tuskegee College, Tuskegee, Ala.: Organized la-

bor of Chicago, representing 250,000 men and women of all races, respectfully request you to address a mass meeting of colored people in this city on the subject, "Should Negroes Become Strike Breakers?" Organized labor has endeavored for years to overcome race hatred, and the fact that hundreds of Negroes are acting as strike breakers, to aid the beef trust to reduce wages, is undoing all of the good work done in years along that line. Letter will follow.

Negotiations regarding the Chicago traction question (p. 236) are in progress. The committee on transportation of the council reported to the council on the 24th, at a special meeting called for another purpose, a franchise extension ordinance (p. 305), supposed to be acceptable to the Chicago City Railway Company; and Judge Grosscup, of the Federal court, has been invited by Mayor Harrison to join in negotiations on the basis of that report, for adjusting the controversy with the receivers of the Union Traction Company, and thereby settling the whole matter. The overture was made on the 18th by Mayor Harrison in the following letter to Judge Grosscup:

I am informed by the Corporation Counsel that the substantial elements of the decree to be entered in the traction case have been determined by your Honor, and that, while important questions remain to be decided, a computation can be now made of a commuted term equivalent in duration to the average duration of all existing franchise rights. Feeling myself charged with the duty of doing everything in my power to bring about an adjustment of the present differences between the traction companies and the city, and being convinced from your Honor's public utterances that you also desire a settlement, fair at once to the city and to the property interests confided to your charge, I beg leave to send you herewith a copy of the ordinance lately tendered to the City Railway Company, and to ask that if this ordinance (which seems to me the best practical solution of the questions at issue between the city and the transportation companies) meets with your Honor's approval you intervene in the matter in such way as you may deem proper to bring the settlement of existing differences with the Union Traction Company and its underlying companies.

To this overture Judge Grosscup replied on the 23d as follows:

The fiscal structure of the property interests embraced in what is known

as the Union Traction lines is such that a settlement out of court of their franchise relations with the city—particularly the merging of all outstanding franchises in a new franchise—would be a task of great difficulty. On this account it has seemed to me all along that when a feasible basis for settlement was once arrived at the court's possession of the properties—drawing along with it jurisdiction over the questions that the proposed settlement is bound to raise—would be helpful to a quick and complete adjustment of all the matters involved. The court, so far as I represent it, is ready now to aid you to the extent of its power in bringing about such adjustment. Nothing can be done by the court, however, except on the basis that the franchise to be given will contain the legal equivalent for the franchises to be relinquished. An exact equivalent would be a re-grant for the period found to be the average for all the outstanding grants, and on the terms substantially of the outstanding grants. To what extent the pending City Railway ordinance meets this test, now that the boundaries of the grants are known, will be made the subject of immediate inquiry. Personally I hope that a basis for settlement, not only in principle but in detail, will be speedily found.

At the special meeting of the city council on the 24th, at which the proposed franchise ordinance was reported by the committee on transportation, Mayor Harrison reissued his proclamation (p. 305) calling upon opponents of the ordinance to secure a petition against it under the "public policy" law by October 20—six weeks after the legal time for such petitioning expires.

Another important judicial decision in the long-drawn-out tax fight of the Chicago school teachers (vol. iv, p. 696), was made by Judge Edward F. Dunne on the 22d. Of the fund which the school teachers had unearthed in the form of unpaid taxes due from public utility corporations, the city council had appropriated such amount as might be necessary to reimburse them for unpaid salaries; but the school board, which received this appropriation, refused to make that payment. The teachers thereupon brought injunction proceedings, and Judge Dunne has decided in their favor. He finds that the salaries of the teachers had been fixed by contract, that they had unearthed the fund in question, and that they therefore

had an equitable lien upon it. On this point he said, in his opinion:

The complainant in this case [Catherine Goggin], acting for and in behalf of these 2,300 teachers whose wages have been withheld by the defendant [the school board], has enforced as a result of long protracted, expensive and laborious litigation, the payment into the public treasury by tax-evading quasi-public corporations of the very fund now in controversy, monies which honestly belonged to the sacred school fund of this community and which, with the connivance of the sworn officers of the law, charged with the collection of the same, were being dishonestly withheld by these corporations. While the defendant, the Board of Education, sat supinely by, and while other public officials more especially charged with the levy and collection of these taxes refused to perform their sworn duty, this complainant, acting for and on behalf of these same teachers out of their own limited resources, went out and performed the duties which primarily devolved upon the tax levying bodies of the State, and secondly upon the Board of Education to see that the tax levying officials of the State collected the taxes honestly belonging to the schools of the city, and brought about the payment of dishonestly withheld taxes. In other words, they were what a court of equity denominates "diligent creditors." They unearthed and succeeded in having paid into the public treasury funds upon which by the action of the city council they had an equitable lien, and by so doing gave in a court of chancery fortified themselves in the position that they have a right to be paid their debts out of the fund so unearthed and produced.

The week's news of American politics embraces three State conventions. The Republicans of Texas met on the 23d at Fort Worth and nominated a full State ticket on which no Negro's name appears. The candidate for governor is J. C. Lowden. On the same day at Dover the Addicks faction of the Republican party nominated Henry C. Conrad for governor. Also on the 23d the Democratic and the Silver Republican conventions of Nevada met at Winnemucca and made a fusion ticket with S. D. Van Duser (Dem.) at the head as candidate for Congressman at large, followed by H. T. Bartine (Sil. Rep.) for Supreme Court judge.

Thomas E. Watson and Thomas H. Tibbles were formally notified on the 8th of their nomination

(p. 310) for President and Vice President of the United States, respectively, by the People's party. The notification was made at a mass meeting at Cooper Union. The house is reported as having been crowded. A. J. Boulton, of New York, called the meeting to order and Samuel W. Williams, of Indiana, made the notification speech. Both Mr. Watson and Mr. Tibbles responded.

NEWS NOTES.

—At Boston on the 18th Gen. Wilmon W. Blackmar of that city was elected commander-in-chief of the Grand Army of the Republic (p. 369) by acclamation.

—A tornado did enormous damage on the 21st in and about Minneapolis and St. Paul. The weather bureau apparatus registered a velocity of 120 miles an hour. Several lives were lost.

—The Chicago pneumatic tube mail service—the largest system of the kind in the United States,—was opened formally on the 24th at the terminal in the present temporary post office building.

—Louis F. Post will speak in All Soul's church, Oakwood Boulevard and Langley Ave., Chicago (Jenkin Lloyd Jones, minister), at the regular Sunday morning service, September 4, at 11 o'clock. His subject will be, "John P. Altgeld's Last Book—The Cost of Something for Nothing."

—General Herman Haupt, now in his eighty-eighth year, is the oldest graduate of West Point, having been appointed at the age of 13 by Andrew Jackson. He had entire charge of all the military railroads of the Federal government in the Civil War, and in twelve hours was promoted by Stanton from plain Mr. Haupt to Brigadier General Haupt. He has thirty-five grandchildren.

—Gov. Terrell, of Georgia, has ordered an investigation into the conduct of the militia who were guarding the Negro prisoners (p. 310) whom a mob burned last week. He concludes his order as follows:

I have been mortified greatly over the crime of this mob. I take comfort in the fact that it did not represent the sentiment of this State, for its action is condemned by a large majority of the people of the State, and for that matter, of Statesboro and Bullock county, the scene of the crime. No defense can, and no apology should be made, for this action of the mob. I regret exceedingly the military did not preserve the peace. They were sent there to see the law was enforced and that peace was preserved at all hazards.

—The completion of the Galveston sea wall, said to be one of the finest pieces of engineering work ever accomplished in America, was celebrated on the 22d. It is 17,593 feet long, 16 feet wide at the base, 5 feet wide at

the top, and stands 17 feet above mean low tide, with a granite riprap apron extending twenty-seven feet out on the gulf side. The contract price of the wall was \$1,198,318. The actual construction consumed one year, four months and seventeen days. The grade of the city is now to be raised to slope gradually from the top of the seawall.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE GEORGIA LYNCHING.

New York Age (Negro), Aug. 18.—And so the white savages of Georgia imagine that the black savages may never turn upon them and make a hell for the whole population while the frenzy lasts!

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), Aug. 17.—If there was ever an exhibition of the unfitness of a people to govern themselves it was given at Statesboro, Ga., when the two Negroes, Paul Reed and Will Cato, were taken from the courtroom in which they had been sentenced to death through the orderly procedure of the law and executed by mob violence. Georgia may well hang its head in shame.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), Aug. 21.—This slaughter of human beings will carry retributive justice. The slaughterers cannot hope to escape just punishment for their wanton disregard not alone of statute law but of moral law as well. Human agency may suspend the operation of the former, but it is powerless to suspend the operation of the latter. Above these white Southern fiends is the God who made them and their victims and regards both as His children, equal in His eyes. The South will one day pay a penalty so terrible as to bring it to its knees in humblest supplication for relief and forgiveness. "As ye sin so shall ye suffer," so is it written. And while the suffering may not come to-day nor to-morrow, it will come one day in avenging fury.

Cleveland Plain Dealer (Ind. Dem.), Aug. 18.—The butchery at Statesboro, Ga., of two Negroes under the most horrible circumstances can be attributed simply and solely to a mob's thirst for murder. . . . The simple truth about this and other affairs of the kind is that they deprive us of all claim to rank among civilized nations, for in no other enlightened country on earth would they be tolerated or, for that matter, thought of. Americans who praise of their government under law and especially boast of their capacity for the same, are guilty, several times a week, on an average, of precisely the same savageries which, when committed by a debased Russian mob at Kishenev or by fanatical Chinese Boxers, evoke such unstinted condemnation in this land of the free. Nor are these horrible manifestations of mob murder and evidence of the law's impotence peculiar to any section of the country. Ohio is in no position to throw stones at Georgia, nor can New Jersey see to remove the mote from Colorado's eye for the beam in her own.

The (Indianapolis) Freeman (Negro), Aug. 20.—Nor do we believe there is any crime or crimes that can account for the treatment which the Negro receives either North or South. There is a cessie, especially in the South, to do that which will make him a beast of burden and keep him so. If the South continues to grow in frankness it will soon declare this. Then its cloak will be entirely removed, and we shall see that the real motive back of all its doing is to place the Negro, as near as possible, in the position he occupied before emancipation. And if it be true, as the News contends, that the people of New England would, under like conditions, deal with the question very much like South Carolina, it only proves that under those conditions they would be no more just than the people of South Carolina. Whether it be in one place or the other no amount of reasoning or confession can justify the abuse of some people for the crimes of others. It is not so much what we would do, as what we should do. No one will deny that the South is entitled to the sympathy of all in its attempt to solve this problem, but only so far as it attempts to solve it justly.

FILIPINO SELF-GOVERNMENT.

Bostons (Chicago) Bear (fin.), Aug. 19.
—A highly esteemed and scholarly gentleman, a truth-lover and thinker—a reformer, and therefore a rare person—has somehow been caught unaware and pernicked imperialistic ideas to insidiously transmute with his native thought. This gentleman thinks the Filipinos unsuited for self-government. . . . I admit the Filipinos are not capable of self-government of my ideal, nor perhaps of the ideal of the gentleman in question. But his task is to defend the preposterous proposition that the people of the United States are fitted to teach the art of self-government! Why, not one voter in a thousand in this country knows anything of the origin and evolution of government. Not one in a thousand could tell what are the proper functions of government and logically support his position. And what is the American idea of government? Simply graft, graft and government are synonymous terms in the American voters' minds. To be sure there are left a few graduates of little 2x40 "corn-stalk universities" who retain sentimental ideas about the Declaration of Independence—who at least remember that there was such a document. But they are not practical. They have not caught on to the "sirenaous-ite get-into-the-bara-wagon" idea. And what are the governments in this country, national, State, county and city? Why, simply the most powerful and most efficient tools by which the monopolocrats plunder the masses. Still here is an educated man of the world, and a well-meaning man, who has seen so much with the eye, and has been so blind in the other that he imagines the boczky hoodlums of his begrafted country are competent to teach the Filipinos the art of self-government!

OVERCROWDING.

London Daily News (Lib.), July 29.—When we come to overcrowding we touch at once on the two profound problems of the land and municipalism. These things lie at the heart of the subject. The committee say that overcrowding must be "drastically" dealt with. That is an instruction to the Liberal party of momentous importance, and we do not doubt that they will accept the report as a new stimulus to the enthusiastic adoption of a great domestic policy which, starting from the taxation of land values and the extension of large land purchase and housing powers to the municipalities, will strike at the great root evils of drink and overcrowding, of which the decaying physique of the people is the visible fruit.

THE PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGN.

Chicago Inter Ocean (Rep.), Aug. 20.—In his diagnosis of political ills, and in his prescription of political remedies, Thomas E. Watson appears to most people to reason from misunderstood facts to false conclusions. Nevertheless, no observer of his career can deny him sincerity or impute to him the slightest fear of speaking straight out the truth as he sees it. The Democratic argument in this campaign is indeed exactly as Mr. Watson describes it: That the Republicans have been right and the Democrats wrong, and, therefore, because the Democrats now confess this they should be given power in the nation.

A Buddhist paper in Tokio, with an unpronounceable name that is translated the Thundering Dawn, starts on its career with a statement that should be a model to American circulation boomers. "This paper has come from eternity. It starts its circulation with millions and millions of numbers. The rays of the sun, the beams of the stars, the leaves of the trees, the blades of grass, the grains of sand, the hearts of tigers, elephants, lions, ants, men and women are its subscribers. This journal will henceforth flow in the universe as the rivers flow and the oceans surge."—Public Opinion.

MISCELLANY

HE WHISPERED IT.

For The Public.
Whenever Aunt D. traveled
Abroad to see the sights,
She took with her a nephew
To share in her delights;
And twice she'd taken Willy,
Because he wore with joy
The white and yellow coat which wrapped
His grandsire when a boy.

Then to her nephew Alty,
A quiet lad, and cold,
His probable selection
Long in advance she told.
"Of course you'll wear your grandsire's
coat?"—
No answer did she hear.
"Of course you'll wear it?"—no reply
Reached her attentive ear.

For by a certain tailor—
Named David, I may state—
Alty had been persuaded
That the coat was out of date,
And been furnished with a new one;
So he came his aunt to meet
Wrapped in a cloak which covered him
From head to foot, complete.

While waiting at the station
She sought with anxious eye
The coat of white and yellow
Beneath that cloak to spy;
And to the tailor, standing near,
She put the question, so:
"Does Alty wear his grandsire's coat?"
Said he: "I do not know."

But when on board with aunty,
All ready to depart,
And when the bell was ringing
A signal for the start,
Then Alty rose, and dropping
His cloak upon the floor,
Showed her that all of yellow
The coat was, that he wore!

"Brave boy!" the tailor shouted,
And several others, too,
Cried: "Such heroic courage
Tell now we never knew!
And of punctilious honor
He shows what tender sense!
He couldn't see his kind Aunt D.
Beguiled by false pretense!"

"However dared you do it?
How dared you do it now?"
Was asked him confidentially,
And Alty whispered how:
"I showed this splendid courage
At this particular date,
'Cause I feared to tell her sooner,
And I dared not longer wait."

JAY HAWKINS.

THE LAST WORDS OF ALTGELD.

A friend sends us the following as the last words uttered by the late John P. Altgeld, and says of them that they breathe the same spirit that actuated his life.

I am not discouraged; things will right themselves. A pendulum swings one way and then another, but the steady pull of gravitation is toward the center of the earth. Any structure must be plumb if it is to endure.

So it is with nations. Wrong may seem to triumph; right may seem to be defeated; but the gravitation is upward to the throne of God. Any political institution, if it is to endure, must be plumb with the line of justice.

JAPANESE GENTLENESS.

Dispatch to Chicago Chronicle, dated Tokio, June 11.

Though the martial spirit is industriously instilled into Japanese children by their mothers from earliest infancy, they are taught to be kind to animals. At home and in the schools they are not even allowed to eat cakes or confectionery made in the shape of rabbits, sheep or other dumb beasts, for fear they may acquire ideas of cruelty.

A teacher never whips a pupil. If the pedagogue commits an injustice, the scholars stay away until reparation is made.

Prof. Ostima told the foreign colony in a recent lecture here on the national system of education that a German teacher once scandalized a school by his brusqueness. The boys and girls talked it over among themselves and then asked the principal to dismiss him, saying:

"He is a learned man, but a pig."

Being informed that the teacher had been engaged for a stated time, they went straight to him and said:

"If you have a sen's (half cent's) worth of honor, break your contract and go back to Germany."

He went.

GETTING NEXT TO THE PEOPLE.

The President greeted me affably, and after a sharp horseback ride over the oyster shells, and having disposed of the Russian situation, we fell to talking politics. I told the President that he was the Real Thing, that the Flicker of Destiny was already playing about his brow, and that he was as plainly Marked for Another as the Sunday Golf Player is Tagged for Perdition. . . .

"I think," replied the Chief Magistrate, "our public men don't get near enough to the people. Mr. Cleveland, for example—"

"Exactly," I interrupted, simultaneously extracting a fresh Perfecto from the President's proffered cigar case. "I have often labored with Mr. Cleveland on that very point. Don't you remember how, when you had both gone out to open the St. Louis exposition, you both stopped to speak at Joplin, Missouri? Mr. Cleveland had

been grinding out the subject from the Encyclopaedia of History. I happen to recall the opening sentence of his address. He said:

In traveling through the great commonwealth of Missouri, I am impressed by the vitality and permanence of our political system and more than ever inclined to be ready to admit that whenever the claim is advanced that the genius of American institutions is admirably adapted to the progressive requirements of a self-governing community, the sentiment shall always receive my just and cordial approbation. And I cannot refrain from expressing the conviction that in a comparative estimate of the worth of the contributions to our political enlightenment, made on the one hand by the people of the East largely by the adaptation of theories and principles evolved from the experiences of their English forefathers, and made on the other by those who, like the Missouri settlers, have gone into the wilderness and developed the community's institutions concomitantly with the community's growth, there is much that is worthy of our critical study and deserving of our most profound admiration."

"Yes," said the President, "I read the speech; I passed through Joplin the next day."

"You did," I continued, "and you did not waste much time in reading the History of the United States beforehand."

"Hardly," murmured the Exponent of Strenuously. "You remember the apple vender that you brought into the car, and the Janitor of the Courthouse? They tipped me off."

"Do I remember it?" I cried. "Shall I ever forget how you advanced sturdily to the front of the platform and called out cheerily:

"Has anyone seen Brick Peters? I want to shake his hand. And there are some others, my fellow-countrymen, that any man with red blood in his veins would like to know. I have heard from one end of the country to the other about George Matthews. Yes, we've all heard of George, and we've heard of Dick Mayhew, and how he knocked down a dude that wouldn't give a lady his seat. And where is Four-Fingered Eli? Ladies and gentlemen, I congratulate you on having voted \$60,000 for a new courthouse, and I'm glad the stone is coming from Marshall's quarry."

"Do you know, Gordon," said the Fighting Statesman, "on some accounts I think that Joplin speech is one of my best efforts. I ran in more good real local color in those few opening sentences than in almost any speech I can remember—the kind of local stuff that counts, you know; anybody can hit off the Mayor and the Fire Chief and a few bankers and judges. But I run in the men that don't get in the papers every day, men that are next to lodges and societies and—and labor unions."

"Teddy," I cried, impulsively, "you are a genius. Nothing escapes you—nothing!"

"No," he echoed, "nothing;" and then added thoughtfully, as I jumped into my automobile and turned to bid him good-night, "not even the Post Office looters."—Gordon. Power, in Pearson's Magazine.

THE GOSPEL OF DIVINE LAW AND ORDER.

A portion of a sermon delivered in the Church of the Advent, Birmingham, Ala., July 3, 1904, by the rector, the Rev. Quincy Ewing, as reported in the Birmingham Age-Herald.

Then spake Jesus to the multitude and His disciples, saying, The scribes and Pharisees sit in Moses' seat; all, therefore, whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do; but do ye not after their works; for they say and do not.—Matt. xxiii : 1, 2, 3.

Did you ever stop to consider what Jesus meant, how much and how little, when He enjoined the multitude and His disciples to observe and do what they were bidden by the scribes and Pharisees?

Were you ever struck with the strangeness of this injunction uttered by the Nazarene prophet, who was being watched as a dangerous rebel to the old traditions by the appointed guardians of those traditions; whose rebellious words and deeds were being anxiously noted and treasured up against Him by those who sat in Moses' seat?

Have you ever reflected that this advice was given to His hearers, just as the Nazarene was on the point of hurling at the occupants of Moses' seat some of the most terrible epithets of condemnation and scorn that are anywhere writ down in the world's literature?—just as He was on the point of flinging in their teeth, that they were "fools and blind;" that they "shut up the kingdom of Heaven against men;" that they "made clean the outside of the platter," leaving it within "full of extortion and excess;" that they were "outwardly righteous," but full inwardly of "hypocrisy and iniquity;" that they were "blind guides, which strained at a gnat and swallowed a camel;" that they were like unto "whited sepulchers"—beautiful without, and corruption within; that they were "serpents," a "generation of vipers," compassing heaven and earth to make one proselyte, and making him, when found, even more the child of hell than themselves?

Surely, we need to pause and consider what this Nazarene prophet—this obnoxious and at last crucified Rebel—

meant, when He told His hearers to observe and do whatsoever they were bidden by those men into whose very faces He was about to fling His awful and sublime defiance.

Jesus was preaching a Gospel of Divine Law and Order, not any gospel of anarchism based upon contempt for constituted authorities because they were constituted, or because the characters of those who happened to bear authority were not all they should have been. At the same time, He recognized what has been over and over again recognized by lesser redeemers and saviours of humanity, that the constituted guardians of law and order for the sake of human rights and righteousness, may themselves turn anarchists to the law and order they profess to guard; may themselves prove traitors to Divine truth and justice, in order to serve truth and justice so-called and miscalled by the tongue of tyranny; and that, then, no longer guardians of anything hollower than their own meanness, and pettiness, and selfishness, they need to be defied on the seat of Moses in the name of Moses, and driven from the sanctuaries of God in the name of God! The injunction of Jesus casts no slightest discredit upon the conviction, that there was never any body of men in church or state with divine authority to deal unjustly with an individual human soul, or to make their vision of God, right, duty, the test and measure of his. It was the opposite conviction that He went to His death in rebellion against; and it is the opposite conviction that has planted and nurtured through dreary centuries the deadly upas-tree of despotism (anarchy's other name!) which to-day casts its shadows of bale and blight over most states and over most churches.

All the good law and all the good order which any state or church enjoys to-day may be traced back somehow, over some route, to the words and deeds of men who rebelled against the kind of law and the kind of order that they found administered by its "constituted guardians;" by men who dared to appeal from the "keepers of divine truth" to divine truth itself—from the "trustees of God" to God Himself.

The plea of all usurpers and tyrants, Kingly and priestly, since time began, has been—"We are the possessors of heaven-born prerogatives; we are the keepers of religion's sanctities; we are the inheritors of a sacred tradition; we are the appointees to a divine trust—we are the occupants of somebody's seat; and we must run this

world the way we understand God wants it run."

Aye, and had they been at all times allowed to run it, without running it against some fearless and rebellious—perhaps maimed and mangled—soul in the way, it would be, now, in this present time, a fit abiding place only for the starved and mumbling ghosts of reason, righteousness, justice, truth and faith in a moral God! It is a half-way respectable abiding place for the living sanctities of heaven and earth, of God and man, because the official guardians of make-believe dead sanctities have been made to recognize again, and again, and again, that one and God is a majority—be that one a rebel ever so lonely and distrusted, ever so forsaken and uncomfortable, as he goes to die under God's sun, God with him, on his cross or at his stake!

Misguided rebels doubtless there have been, who were, and ought to have been, put down; but just as certainly there have been misguided officials who were, and ought to have been, rebelled against. Doubtless, authority may be Divine, and rebellion undivine. Doubtless this world could not have got along so well as it has, without occupants for Moses' seat and other seats of authority; but just as certainly would it have got along lamentably worse than it has, without the men who have been responsible for a good deal of uneasiness and anxiety in Moses' seat and the others.

This is the tragic paradox of human history, and human history so far does not seem disposed to explain or apologize for it.

We can only conclude that there must be rulers, and that there must be rebels, for humanity's welfare; reserving to ourselves the right to conclude further, whenever specific conflict develops between them, that ruler is right and rebel wrong, or rebel right and ruler wrong. That is the best we can do. We cannot expect to determine questions of human relations, rights and duties, by some crystallized formula, or after the mathematician's manner of dealing with the curves and angles of a blackboard demonstration. Moral complexities occupy a seat and a sphere all their own, and are to be dealt with as they arise in obedience to moral law, which is under no constraint of contract to take sides with the throne rather than the footstool, or vice versa. To-day, it may give sentence with those who sit in Moses' seat; to-morrow, sentence against them; to-day, make a footstool of the throne, a throne of the footstool; to-

morrow, decree that throne and footstool shall remain as they are.

The business of the individual soul is simply to stand for truth, for justice, for right—whatever the odds against him, or the particular cause for which he stands; certain with all certainty, assured with all assurance, that nothing can be finally maintained in this world which ought to be rebelled against; and nothing finally rebelled against which ought to be maintained.

MULLIGAN ON THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

For The Public.

"Horrible!" exclaimed Flynn, from behind the paper he was reading. "Listen to this," he said, and proceeded, to read aloud: "'Mob burns two Negroes after they had been sentenced to death by the court. Defeating the militia and court officers in a bloody hand-to-hand battle, the mob invaded the courtroom and dragged forth the trembling, terrified victims. At a point two miles from town the blacks were chained to a dry pine stump, their clothing saturated with oil and ignited. Then, as the flames mounted, the Negroes shrieking for mercy, praying, supplicating, and writhing in horrible agony, the white mob—composed of all classes of citizens, professional men, mechanics, laborers, capitalists, loafers—danced and yelled with delight, exulting in the frightful spectacle!'"

"What had the naysayers doone?" asked Donovan.

"They had murdered and burned a whole family of white people," answered Flynn.

"They ought to be burned at the stake thin, an' I'd help to do ut!" exclaimed Donovan.

Flynn resumed the reading: "There is great fear that the drunken mob (for they are drinking heavily and many are badly intoxicated) will take the remaining prisoners from the jail and lynch them also. It would be an unspeakable calamity if, in their drunken frenzy, they should wreak vengeance on such unfortunates as are incarcerated for only trifling offenses. There is great danger that this will happen, however."

"There is great danger that it will happen," echoed Mulligan.

"And I'd like to have a hand in it," exclaimed Flynn, the young-man-about-town, "for them niggers are a lot of wild beasts!"

"And what," said Mulligan, "is a white man who would like to have a hand in murdering people who are

'incarcerated for only trifling offenses?'"

"You in favor of the niggers?" exclaimed Flyntt.

All eyes were turned upon Mulligan. Even Donovan's loyalty, which had invariably prevented him, hitherto, from seriously antagonizing Mulligan, was now upon a tension. Flynn's look was half question, half disapproval, and young Flyntt was candidly contemptuous. However, there was that about Mulligan that commanded silence until he should speak. A few tense moments passed, and then he said: "If men knew what this means: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them,' they would neither condemn the innocent nor wantonly and unlawfully murder the guilty."

Flynn's eyes fell; Donovan removed his hat and scratched his head; but Flyntt was equal to the occasion:

"Huh!" he jeered, "talk that to Sunday school children!"

"It has been talked to men," answered Mulligan, quietly, "for nineteen hundred years past. It is the central principle of the Christian religion, and yet, not wan Christian in a thousand knows its meaning."

"Christian or no Christian, it'll never solve the race problem!" exclaimed Flyntt.

"On the contrary, Mистер Flyntt, it seems to me that it is the only possible solution, not only av the race problem, but av the greater problem, av which the race problem is only a part; namely, the Social Problem."

"I'd like to know," said Flyntt, "how you're going to work to apply such a sentimental, goody goody, bang-me-on-the-other-cheek doctrine as that to a case where a blanked nigger murders and burns a whole family of white people—father, mother and helpless children!"

"Yer tone and manner, Mr. Flyntt," said Mulligan, "compel me to suspect that you would rather not like to know how it could be applied."

"I admitt I'm hot," said Flyntt. "And it's enough to make a man hot to hear such a man as you taking the part of the nigger against his own race!"

"I despair of doing ye any good, Mистер Flyntt. It is you that are discriminating between the races, not I. It is the very fact that I do not discriminate against the black race, that makes ye hot! Cool off, Mистер Flyntt, and hear me. Yer challenge is that I apply the principle, born of love, and expressed in the command: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do

unto you, do ye even so unto them,' to the solution of the race problem. I accept the challenge.

"To begin with: The best man living to-day is descended from a savage. His remote progenitors inhabited caves, or tents made of skins. They subsisted on nuts, roots, grubs and game, and upon the flesh of men who were strangers to them. All strangers were classed as enemies and were unreluctingly hunted down, tortured by every cruel device that the savage could invent, and murdered as a matter of course.

"The average man of to-day is, in himself—mind, I say, in himself—but a step in advance of the savage that I have described. The tribes are larger to-day. The Russian tribe will murder the Jewish tribe; the British, the Boer tribe; the Spanish, the Cuban tribe; the American, the brown and black tribes, and the latter, being the least advanced, require even less incentive to savagery.

"I repeat, Mister Flyntt, the average man of to-day is—in himself—but a step in advance of the aboriginal savage. Sometimes, even the savage will show mercy to the captive who submits in humility, but none to the defiant. In this respect the difference between the savage and the average man of to-day is simply that the latter will usually show mercy to all who are not defiant. But the average man of to-day, if someone call him a liar, will answer: 'If the man who just called me a liar will meet me outside of the park when I finish my speech I'll cut his throat from ear to ear!' So, anyhow, I see it in the papers the other day.

"The average man is still a very dangerous man, and is only held in check by his superiors. The average man is still ready to join a mob if the object of vengeance is of another race; and he is repressed for the greater part of the time only by the influence of the comparatively few, who have risen above the average in morality—who hear, and strive to practice the command: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.'

"An ignorant man is, naturally and inevitably, a menace to society. To permit the black children of the South to grow up in ignorance is to invite insurrection. To permit them to grow up in general ignorance, but with the particular knowledge that they are despised by the whites, is to plant in its native soil the seed of hatred.

"The ignorant man never looks back

so far as to first causes; he is mentally near-sighted. The blacks of the South see the burning at the stake of one of their fellows—back of that, nothing. It makes no difference to them what the murdered man's offense was; they only see that the white men burned him at the stake. The lower the scale of intelligence, the sweeter the thought of revenge. The example of vengeance is set by the white man, in burning their fellow; therefore, vengeance is permissible, he argues. If he wreak vengeance upon an innocent white man, so also have the whites, in frenzied, drunken mobs, killed not only the guilty, but the innocent blacks as well.

"The blacks, conscious of the legal right of liberty, are nevertheless held in industrial bondage—a bondage more extreme than that of the white laborer of the North only because the Negro is more ignorant and therefore more easily exploited. At bottom, the race problem is but a phase of the social problem. Back of it all, and underlying it all is the assumption of inequality of human rights.

"Answer me this, Mister Flyntt: Don't you want all men to accord you equal rights with them?"

"You bet, I do," answered Flyntt.

"Don't ye suppose that every other man wants the same for himself?"

"Of course; they want the same, but—"

"Not too fast, Mister Flyntt," interposed Mulligan; "my question is: Don't ye suppose that every man wants equal rights for himself with all other men?"

"Yes. At least that," answered Flyntt; "and most of them want more than that."

"Very well," said Mulligan; "the command is: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.' Every man who confesses a wish for the enjoyment of rights equal to those of all others, is thus commanded to accord equal right to all others. Hate breeds hate, love breeds love. Men do not hate those that love them. They do not hate those that act as if they loved them. Ye may say that ye cannot love the Negro; but ye can accord him every right that you enjoy; which if ye do, he'll know that ye do not hate him; and if ye do not, he—and everybody else—will know that ye despise him.

"As the rule, the Negro is accorded no rights. He is simply permitted to exist. The white man overreaches him at every turn. He bargains for the

Negro's services on terms that would make an old-time slaver blush for shame. He arrests the Negro on a trumped-up charge, and by forms of law throws him into the stockade, the chain gang or the mines. The great, writhing, struggling, aspiring mass of black humanity in the South is 'kept down' by means of every device that the superior intelligence of the whites can invent. And that brooding mass of black humanity is composed of 10,000,000 temples, each the habitation of an unconquerable soul!

"The thief is safe among thieves so long as he observes the thieves' code of equity. The gambler is safe among gamblers so long as he observes the gamblers' code of equity. The business man is respected among business men so long as he is true to the business men's code of equity. Equity is the pole star to which all human society irresistibly tends; and he who stands in the way of this universal progress is responsible for whatsoever means are employed to overcome his resistance; for the imperative Fiat has gone forth: 'Whatsoever ye would that men should do unto you, do ye even so unto them.'"

HORACE CLIFTON.

THE STEEL TRUST STEAL.

The United States Steel Corporation is easily the greatest industrial giant on earth.

It has twice as much capital and twice as much net earnings as any other concern.

Its total capitalization was, on December 31, 1903, \$1,442,714,114.

Its net earnings for the first 33 months of its existence (ending December 31, 1903) were \$327,267,512.

This is at the rate of \$119,000,000 a year, \$9,917,000 a month, \$330,000 a day, and \$33,000 an hour for ten hours a day.

Two men could not count the dollars made by this great monopoly.

For the two years ending December 31, 1903, it produced 15,832,922 tons of finished steel goods on which it made net profits of \$242,479,916. Its net profits, then, averaged \$15.31 per ton. A large portion of these goods consisted of rails, blooms, billets, structural work, etc., which, according to Mr. Charles M. Schwab, cost only about \$12 per ton to produce.

Its gross sales and earnings for 1903 were \$536,572,871, and for 1902 and 1903 about \$1,100,000,000. These, however, included sales from one subsidiary company to another. These

probably amounted to about \$300,000,000, leaving \$800,000,000 as the gross receipts for the two years. As \$242,000,000 was net profits, the total cost of the goods produced was \$558,000,000. The net profits, therefore, were over 40 per cent. of the total cost of the goods.

In 1902 it paid \$120,528,343 to an average of 168,127 employes, and, in 1903, \$120,763,896 to an average of 167,709 employes. The total of wages and salaries for these two years was more than \$1,000,000 less than the net earnings for the same time.

The total taxes paid in 1903 were \$2,972,600. The taxes, then, were less than one-fifth of one per cent. on \$1,500,000,000, and only one per cent. on \$300,000,000. It is probable that the assessed values of all of the mills, plants and transportation properties are less than \$150,000,000, and that the taxes paid on this property are about \$2,000,000. It is not probable that all of the mining properties, which Mr. Schwab values at \$1,000,000,000, are assessed for more than \$60,000,000, probably not \$40,000,000.

Allowing \$100,000,000 as the monopoly value of these properties when combined under one ownership, a fair valuation of them would be between \$500,000,000 and \$600,000,000. This would indicate that there is about \$1,000,000,000 worth of water in the capital of this giant trust.

This is under a protective tariff that enables this trust to make profits of 40 per cent. upon the sale of its goods. The total value of its products in most prosperous years and at high tariff monopoly prices, is only about \$400,000,000. Taking the lean with the fat years, it is not probable that its total sales will average more than \$300,000,000. A fair profit on these sales would be \$24,000,000 a year. This is about what the trust would make, if all unnecessary tariff duties were removed. This, capitalized at five per cent., would give \$480,000,000 as the fair anti-monopoly value of the steel trust properties.

Mr. Schwab said in a letter to Mr. H. C. Frick, in 1899, that steel rails were made here for less than \$12 per ton, while the cost to produce them in England was \$19. He said that similar differences in cost existed as to other steel products.

In 1897, when the famous Carnegie-Rockefeller deal was made, whereby Carnegie agreed to pay Rockefeller 20 cents per ton royalty on iron ore, and to pay high freight rates for carrying

it, and Rockefeller agreed never actively to engage in the manufacture of iron and steel, Carnegie said that "Pittsburg-to-day can make and deliver a ton of steel anywhere in the world at as low a cost as it can be made at the point of delivery." Again, on September 1, 1903, he said at Barrow-in-Furness that there have been made and sold without loss, hundreds of thousands of four-inch steel billets at three pounds for a penny—or \$15.30 per long ton.

This trust is now exporting its goods to all parts of the world. On November 1, 1903, he United States Steel Products Export company, whose stock is held by one of the subsidiary companies of the trust, became the selling agent for all exported products. But few men now know the export prices on goods, and the danger of these prices leaking out to an inquisitive public is greatly lessened. The value of its products sold abroad for the year ending June 30, 1904, probably exceeded \$25,000,000. In 1901 Mr. Charles M. Schwab, the president of the corporation, testified that all goods were sold at "very much lower rates than those here."

This trust is now openly and avowedly making an aggressive fight for control in all the markets of the world. It is feared abroad because of its low prices; and here, because of its high prices and its dictatorial and bulldozing methods.

The steadily growing export business of this trust from year to year, and its aggressiveness in obtaining and holding foreign markets, together with the statements of Mr. Carnegie and Mr. Schwab as to the cost of producing steel, make it certain that the bulk of the goods exported are sold at a profit rather than a loss. Hence it is fair to estimate as tariff profits during the last two years, the full difference between the export and home prices of its goods, unless this difference exceeds the full amount of the tariff duty.

The evidence of Mr. Schwab before the Industrial Commission in 1901, the letters presented in the Senate by Senator Bacon last April, and the testimony of Mr. J. J. Hill before the Congressional Merchant Marine Commission on May 24, make it clear that while the trust has for three years held the price of steel rails firmly at \$28 per ton in our market, it has been selling them abroad at from \$5 to \$12 per ton less than \$28, and that the difference during the last two years

has been from \$8 to \$12. The duty, however, is only \$7.84 cents per ton.

During the years 1902 and 1903 the trust produced 3,855,101 tons of steel rails. Our total exports were only 98,111 tons. Perhaps 75,000 tons were exported by this trust. Multiplying 3,780,000 by 7.84, we get \$29,635,000 as the amount extorted from us, on steel rails alone, by the steel trust with the tariff club in its hands.

The export price of barb wire has remained almost steadily at \$2.20 during the last two years, while the home price has varied from \$2.65 to \$3.15. The duty on barb wire is \$28 per ton.

The export price of wire nails has changed but little from \$1.35 per 100 pounds during the last two years. The home price has varied from \$1.85 to \$2.05. The minimum duty is \$11.20 per ton.

The export prices for tin plates have varied from \$1 to \$1.40 per 100 pounds under the home prices. The testimony before the Chamberlain Commission showed that American tin plate was, early in 1904, being sold in Canada at 10s. 9d., or \$2.60 per box, delivered. Allowing 20 cents for transportation, the export price at Pittsburg was about \$2.40 per box. The home price was then \$3.64. The duty is \$1.50 per box.

The export prices of plain fencing wire have varied from \$1.25 to \$1.37½ during the last two years. The home price has varied from \$1.85 to \$2. The duty is \$1.50 per 100 pounds.

The export prices of most other kinds of wire have averaged about \$12 per ton below the home prices. Our exports of wire nails in 1902 and 1903 amounted to 65,000 tons, and of wire to 231,000 tons.

The tariff profits on the other products of the steel trust, as reported in its second annual report for the years 1902 and 1903, are estimated in this same way.

Of the total exports of the steel trust, amounting to \$25,000,000 or \$30,000,000 a year, probably not one ton or one pound of steel is sold abroad at as high prices as are realized in this country.

Based largely upon these differences in prices, and somewhat upon the importations of competing goods, after paying the tariff duties, the tariff profits of the steel trust are estimated as follows:

TWO YEARS' TARIFF PROFITS OF THE STEEL TRUST.

Statistics of production from the second annual report of the United States Steel

Corporation for the two years ending December 31, 1903.)

Finished Products for Sale.	Production 1902 & 1903.—Tons.—	Tariff Profit.
Steel rails	3,885,191	\$29,635,000
Blooms, billets, slabs, sheet and tin plate bars.	1,275,929	9,950,000
Plates	1,169,254	12,880,000
Merchant steel, skelp, shapes, hoops, bands and cotton ties	2,252,155	22,250,000
Tubing and pipe	1,539,883	11,800,000
Rods	211,029	1,800,000
Barb wire	700,000	9,000,000
Wire nails	800,000	8,250,000
Other wire and products.	749,414	8,400,000
Sheets—black and galvanized	738,791	8,760,000
Tin plate	900,000	22,000,000
Finished structural work.	550,721	10,000,000
Angle and splice bars and joints	278,663	2,100,000
Spikes, bolts, nuts and rivets	96,243	1,200,000
Axles	256,503	2,880,000
Sundry iron and steel products	79,236	600,000
Totals	15,832,922	\$162,345,000

The tariff, then, is responsible for \$162,000,000 of the \$242,000,000 of net profits made by this giant monopoly in 1902 and 1903. Without this unnecessary tariff the profits would have been but \$40,000,000 a year, instead of \$121,000,000.

If, as is probably true, this trust produced about two-thirds of our total output of steel, the total tariff profits on all iron and steel products and goods are about \$123,000,000 a year. These are the factory profits. The tariff costs paid by consumers are probably 25 or 30 per cent. more, as many of these steel products do not reach final consumers until they have been sold and resold many times, and have become parts of machinery, etc. The total tariff "graft" from the duties on steel products, is, then, \$150,000,000 or \$160,000,000 a year. This is not, of course, the whole of the tariff "graft" from the iron and steel schedule, which includes all kinds of machinery, implements, hardware, etc.

Iron and steel form the basis of our entire manufacturing industries. There is not a factory of any kind that does not use iron or steel as a raw material, or that does not use machines composed mainly or largely of iron. There is not a manufacturer outside of the iron and steel industry itself, that does not feel the high price of steel products and goods. This \$150,000,000 or \$160,000,000 a year is the handicap which the unnecessary duties in the iron and steel schedule of the Dingley bill put upon these manufacturers.

Hundreds of small industries, handicapped in this way, are having the life crushed out of them by this tariff juggernaut. They are dying hard, and are forming manufacturers' free trade and reciprocity leagues,

and are yelling desperately to Congress to take the duties off steel goods and stop the progress of the tariff monster. Meantime the wise men at Washington are saying: "Statesmen spare the tariff; touch not a single schedule."

That this tariff does nothing for labor is evident. According to the trust's own report, its net profits are greater than the total labor cost of producing its goods. This in itself is evidence of an unfair division of earnings. It means that the manufacturers not only get the tariff profits, but that they keep them. It means that the workers produce two dollars for every dollar they get. Such an unfair division of earnings does not exist outside of the protected industries.

But, since 1903, wages in most steel mills have been cut an average of 25 or 30 per cent. Besides, about 40,000 workers have been laid off. The trust managers propose to make their profits in bad as well as good times. There may be adversity for the workers; there is nothing but prosperity for a highly protected monopoly, like the steel trust.

BYRON W. HOLT.

The government's Philippine show at St. Louis, which was expected to cost \$250,000, has cost nearly a round million up to date. This may be termed a typical Philippine exhibit.—Boston Herald.

Dr. Edward Everett Hale "sees the era of everlasting peace approaching."

Heavens! which way is he looking?—San Francisco Star.

BOOKS

MAYOR McCLELLAN'S BOOK.

It is a pleasing and interesting fact that an American politician about the time of his successful election should publish a scholarly book. Mr. McClellan's brief history of the Oligarchy of Venice (Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston, \$1.25) would do credit to a professional historian. It shows patient study, good arrangement, and it is withal written in a style that is easy, simple, and clear.

The best feature of the book is that it gives evidence of a confident and sure insight into the real significance of different forms of government, and judges these by a true democratic standard. The worst feature, indeed the only seriously bad feature, is that the author attempts too much within his 202 brief pages. The result is that some of his later chapters are overcrowded with bare events.

The first two chapters are the best in

the whole book. In these he shows how clearly he sees the causes of both the rise and the fall of Venice, and furthermore he differentiates at once the peculiar development of the Venetian state as distinct from that of the rest of Europe.

The peculiarity of Venice was that she had no land to start with. "Having," says the author, "neither lands to grant nor to be granted, she was absolutely outside the dominant system of Europe." So was it that feudalism did not concern her. "With no lands to inherit," he continues, "a landed aristocracy was an impossibility. Being of necessity a commercial state, the only aristocracy she could develop was that of wealth. And it is this fact which in great measure explains the peculiar form of her evolution."

What her peculiar form of evolution was is very clearly shown, and it is a great lesson. "In other countries of Europe," says Mr. McClellan, "the evolution of government was from above, downward—power at first concentrated in the hands of the few gradually passing to those of the many—in Venice the process was exactly reversed." In Venice the people were at first supreme, and lost power little by little, until finally the oligarchy ruled omnipotent. At first the popular assembly was composed of every male adult who chose to attend. It was, says the author, "very similar to the old Saxon Folk-Mote, or the New England Town-Meeting of our own day." Gradually, in a community where wealth was the standard, the rich more and more usurped power, and thus the government was formally changed into an oligarchy. The downfall of Venice is the story of the ultimate weakness of such a government.

But why did the people lose the power with which they began? This is the great question, and it cannot be said that the author is explicit enough in the answer. What destroyed the political power of the people in Venice is the same thing that is destroying the political power of the people in America. Details may differ, but the cause is the same, namely, the lack of economic equality accompanying political equality. When the people, through lack of intelligence and eternal vigilance, permit and uphold laws that favor the concentration of wealth rather than the proper distribution of wealth, the result must inevitably be the loss of political power. This is the lesson which Democracy will have to learn.

J. H. DILLARD.

"FREE AMERICA."

Bolton Hall's "Free America" (Chicago: L. S. Dickey & Co., 79 Dearborn St.) is characteristic of its author. Mr. Hall dedicates the book to "those who are poor and wish to become rich, or who are rich and wish to become rich-



"ANYTHING BUT GET OFF!"

"Bishop Potter—Have some grog, my man, and pray don't worry about my friend on your back!"

er;" and he appeals not merely to the thoughtful, for "the great majority of people do not think," nor to the studious, for "an average man never seriously studies," nor to the sympathetic and unselfish, for "people as a rule are selfish, and somewhat indifferent to their fellow men." Neither does he make a plea for justice or for human rights denied, for "those abstractions have too little weight in the practical affairs of life." He simply aims "to convince the stupid millions that injustice is never to their interest." Accordingly, the little book is packed full of suggestive facts interestingly told. Whether Mr. Hall succeeds in convincing the stupid that injustice doesn't pay, he certainly goes far to convince the intelligent. Should the present political campaign come to be anything more than a struggle for office between the "ins" and the "outs," and the realities of democracy be brought under discussion, "Free America" would be one of the most useful books for writers and speakers. The illustrations, some by Dan Beard, have a story of their own to tell, in elucidation, however, of the text; and they tell it with vigor and simplicity.

PERIODICALS.

The September Booklovers makes up for some rather uninteresting letter press by a collection of exceedingly interesting pictures. The reproductions of Mrs. Woodbury's "Dutch Children" are fine pieces of color work.

McClure's for September resumes Miss Tarbell's excellent history of the Standard

Oil Co., and Mr. William Allen White rejoices in a dozen pages over President Roosevelt's not very drastic cleansing of post office corruption.

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