

The value of the factory product of the 645 establishments reported in the Massachusetts Statistics of Manufactures for 1903 was \$159,247,529; and the value of stock used, \$100,300,514.

Considering the product of these 645 establishments, for which we can make approximate estimates of the values of the various kinds of materials used, we estimate the amount of the tariff tax on these materials and supplies at \$9,900,000. The tax on sole leather alone is estimated at \$2,250,000, or ten per cent. of the value of the leather used. There can be but little doubt about this tax, for both sole and upper leather, made in the United States from imported hides, is sold to foreign manufacturers at prices much less than we can buy it.

As about 25 per cent. of all leather manufactured in this country is made from foreign hides and skins, it is clear not only that the duty of 15 per cent. on hides not only enhances the price of leather made from imported hides, but the price of all sole leather to American manufacturers by 11 or 12 per cent.

Very little sole leather is made in Massachusetts. Nearly all of this tariff tax is supposed to go to the beef and sole leather trusts. To the beef trust by virtue of the 15 per cent. duty on hides, and to the leather trust by virtue of the 20 per cent. duty on leather. Some of the members of the beef trust have become large tanners of hides in order that they may get the full benefit of these duties. It is doubtful if the prices of cattle are affected in the least by the duty on hides.

As there were about 110,000,000 pairs of boots and shoes made in Massachusetts in 1903, the average manufacturing cost per pair was about \$1.44 and the average tax about nine cents per pair. The saving of this tariff tax by reciprocal trade treaties or otherwise would enable us to greatly increase our output and to give steadier employment to labor. The saving to the 3,000,000 people of Massachusetts in the cost of shoes would be nearly \$1,000,000.

Speaking for myself, I would gladly give up the duty of 25 per cent. on shoes to obtain free raw materials. Yes, even to obtain free hides and free sole leather. If the handicap of taxed leather were removed I could produce shoes at as low cost as could any manufacturer in any foreign country and meet the competition of the world. Cheap labor is not cheap. It is dear

when effectiveness is considered. Our Massachusetts methods of manufacturing and the economical division of labor enables us to produce shoes at as low labor cost, quality considered, as anywhere in the world. It is the high cost of materials that bars us from the fullest possible participation in foreign markets. In spite of this handicap our last year's exports of boots and shoes from the United States were valued at \$7,238,940.

But I am not alone in these views. Early in 1903, 311 out of 375 important manufacturers of boots and shoes in New England declared in favor of giving up the duty on shoes if hides were made free. Many of our very largest manufacturers have frequently and publicly denounced the duty on hides and proclaimed their willingness to part with the duty on shoes.

Besides the effect of the tariff tax on raw materials, which affects the manufacturers primarily, we must not forget or neglect, as the Republicans do, the interests of the consumers, of whom there are about 3,000,000 in Massachusetts. The motto of the Democratic party is, as I understand it: "The greatest good to the greatest number."

Careful estimates show that the average tariff tax per family paid in 1903 was about \$111 for the United States. Of this tax only \$16.52 per family went to the Government. Over \$94 went to the trusts and other protected interests. It is probable that this tax for the benefit of trusts averaged \$100 per family for the 650,000 families in Massachusetts, or \$65,000,000 for the Commonwealth.

While it is impossible as long as we obtain our revenue largely from tariff taxes, to prevent considerable salvage for the protected trusts, yet our aim should be to minimize this loss and to get into our treasury at Washington nearly every dollar collected from the people. There should be no tariff "graft" for the trusts. This \$100 tariff tax paid by each family should go for more and better food and clothing for our women and children, and not to increase the dividends on the watered stocks of the protected corporations. Our constant aim should be to reduce the cost of living and to increase the comforts and health of the people.

A NEW ENGLAND ESTIMATE OF WATSON.

From the Boston Evening Transcript of October 15, 1904.

Thomas E. Watson, the Georgian populist leader, now candidate for the presidency on the People's Party ticket, is not a man who will have to

be seriously reckoned with in national politics; but he is nevertheless a serious force in the South. What he said and did and the way in which he bore himself during his recent campaigning visit to New York and New Jersey attracted much attention from men who look beneath the surface in politics. Watson is worth study.

His platform, made very plain in his sincere, impassioned and somewhat bitter letter of acceptance, to which all the New York newspapers gave much space on Sunday and Monday, is of course the old Bryan platform with additions. It stands for "bimetallism," the public ownership of railroads, etc., the popular election of judges (including the justices of the United States supreme court), the referendum, etc. But none of these specific "planks" or demands explains the man or gives a very clear idea of what he stands for; for they are more or less ineffective efforts to translate into current political phraseology what is really a social idea. Watson is more interesting than his platform, and more significant.

Respectably born and reared, of good Southern stock, with no pretensions to "aristocracy," but with a good and secure claim on dignity, decency and sincerity, he took seriously the Southern talk about Jeffersonian democracy which to most men is a mere formula—a dogma that is useful and sonorous in public addresses, but has no relation to public or private life. For the whole tendency of Southern thought is away from a real democracy. Every step it has taken in Watson's lifetime has been towards an oligarchy—directly away from a real democracy. But here is a man who really read Jefferson (he has written a "life" of him), who sincerely accepted the Declaration of Independence, who believes that the people ought to decide all public questions and that they will decide wisely—a real democratic man.

He has practiced the law with a fair measure of success; he has served in Congress; he has already had a long experience in politics, as a candidate once for the vice presidency and now for the presidency; he has done as much public speaking, perhaps, as any man in public life, Bryan only excepted, but none of these activities gives the central clew to the man's character and temperament. His real life has been spent in his library. His "Life of Jefferson" and his "History of the French Revolution" tell the true story of his ambition and dis-

position. Not having had the training of a scholar, his literary and historical work is faulty. It is work done by a man who has lived alone in a little Georgian town, who does not know what the great scholars and historians of this era of scholarship have done. His books are books of the sort—second-hand books, of course—that men wrote on such subjects 50 years ago. But they show sincerity of conviction, an intellectual zeal, and a clear style. All his life he has hammered on the one idea of the people, the people, the people. They are the source of power; and they must regain power; and they must use it directly. The nation must, as nearly as possible, be a town-meeting.

He has lived in a simple community where the people are poor. Their poverty, then, like all other misfortunes, is due to the loss of direct power by the people. The Jeffersonian doctrine would cure poverty as well as boss-ship.

The practically socialistic doctrine that he has developed is not the result of Karl Marx's books. It is not European socialism of any of the well-known types. It is not the doctrine that you hear expounded by either of the organized groups of Socialists that we have in all our industrial centers. The interesting thing about it is that it is a native Georgia product. Watson differs from Bryan in several ways; and in these differences appears the really Southern quality of his thought.

What he stands for is rebellion against the insincerity that he has found all about him. The Southern Democracy is not democratic. To him, then, it is a lie, and this is the one truth that he is trying to express in terms of tariffs, currency plans, municipal ownership, and the like. He represents a revolt, as clearly as Tillman represented a revolt, and, in its essence, it is a social revolt. "You mumble the Declaration," he says in effect, "but your conduct gives the lie to it every day of your life."

Now what are the instruments of revolt in the South? In politics the Republican party seems a natural instrument. But to a man of Watson's rearing and bent of mind, it was impossible to use it. His dogma includes free trade and "bimetallism," and other doctrines that the Republican party does not stand for. Watson does not see—perhaps can never see—that as regards the large, simple question of human rights he is in close sympathy with all the great Republicans. His doctrinal way leads elsewhere. Since he must express himself politically, he had no course

open to him (from his point of view) but a third party.

His third party is a hopeless undertaking. He is little better than a political outcast in the South; and he will never make his revolt an effective political movement. It is academic and antiquated. He is, therefore, only a sort of voice crying in the wilderness; and the miscellaneous group of doctrines that he carries will not win him a large compact following—certainly not in prosperous times.

But this is by no means the end of the matter or of its significance. The one fact that has forced Watson to revolt from the Democratic party is that speech and opinion are not free in the South. There is a central falsehood in a Democracy that is not democratic. He is not a charlatan, not a poseur. He is both sincere and brave. His doctrines are mistaken—his remedies false remedies. But that is an intellectual, not a moral mistake. And the necessity of revolt is not an intellectual mistake.

This is the interesting spectacle that he presents, then—a man of the South, a man of the common people, a man, too, of honesty and sincerity, comes and says: "We are mocked by this so-called Democracy. We call on Jefferson, and we do not know what Jefferson stood for. We talk about equal rights, and we have no equal rights. If a man differs with you, you yell 'Negro rule,' thus using the poor Negro as a cloak to your lie. Let us be honest. We shall have freedom at least of discussion." It were better that a man who raises such a cry of revolt were not encumbered with a lot of doctrinal baggage, which impedes his journey. But it is better to have this revolt than none at all.

And the Southern masses recognize the fundamental truth that moves him out of the beaten paths. He is having an influence far beyond the number of votes that he will poll. He is an important step in the growth of revolt. First there was Tillman, who overthrew in South Carolina the aristocratic oligarchy. But he did it in the manner of a bully, and he set up an oligarchy of his own vulgar sort, outdoing the old oligarchies. They were at least gentlemen. That social revolt did not get far. Now as the next revolt (among the people themselves) comes Watson's. A gentler, higher, finer man, he has nothing in common with Tillman. He is a democrat, not a bully. He has a sort of apostolic fervor. Eloquent in his way, he wins your sympathy. He hurts his cause, no doubt, by his easy use of sarcasm; but he is not coarse. He has the gift of speech, too, to an uncommon degree of clearness as well as

of fluency. There are few Southern men in public life who speak as well. He has humor, too; and you find when you talk with him that he has companionable qualities. You like the man. As you come closer to him, you discover a reason for his declaration of independence. You respect him. His remedies may be wrong. But he is no demagogue. He means every word that he says. He has not analyzed the great forces of political life clearly, but he has made a good moral analysis of the Southern repressive attitude. He sees that the political use of the Negro is a piece of humbug. He revolts at the fraud of it. He sees and feels the neglect of the masses of the whites. The pretended political concern for them also is a humbug. In him the honest, uninformed, common Southern man finds a voice—a voice crying against a real wrong.

In physique and in manner he is very Southern. Thin, wiry, somewhat ungainly, yet perfectly self-possessed; good-natured—there is no bitterness in the man, but a serene, philosophical temper—apt in illustration; a man with a dreamy, unpractical mind, like most Southerners he can ride a theory from one end of life to the other, and never discover that he has not moved forward a foot; he mistakes prancing for progress. His homely face lights up wonderfully in conversation, and it can become set, too, when he becomes earnest, to a mood of the utmost seriousness.

This earnest son of the soil says to you when you come to know him that the Southern masses must throw off the essential falsehood of Southern political life. Although he seeks a national audience and proclaims his economic formulae in New York and in New Jersey with the same confidence as in Georgia and Mississippi, he is really speaking all the while for and to the Southern masses, the men who are led by their race feeling to smother independence of thought on most important public subjects. Men everywhere discern this. His thoughtful hearers understand it even better, perhaps, than Mr. Watson understands it himself.

When, for instance, a cry was raised in one Southern community against a white man that he had once voted for a colored man, and thereby showed himself a "traitor" to his race, and the whole dominant crowd raised the cry of "traitor," Watson said in a speech there that the white Democrats' use of the Negro was simply to stifle thought and discussion. He knew nothing of the local incident; but his hearers applied his philosophy to it, and knew that he spoke truly.

Again, no man has spoken more fear-

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected miscellany, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest. Familiarity with THE PUBLIC will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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A BANQUET will be given in honor of the Rev. H. S. Bigelow on November 21st, at Kinsley's. For further information, Miss Nellie Carlin, 1202 Ashland Block, Tel.—Central 927—or Dr. Anna M. Lund, 1014 Masonic Temple, Tel. Central 2691, Automatic 7391. Speakers and programme will be announced later.

Mr. John Z. White's Dates FOR THE SEASON.

Monday, October 17th, to Monday, October 24th—Kansas City, Mo. Tuesday, October 25th, to Wednesday, October 26th—St. Joseph, Mo. Thursday, October 27th, to Sunday, November 6th—St. Louis, Mo. Thursday, November 10th—First Address 9:00 a. m.—Creston, Ia. Friday, November 11th, to November 13th—Omaha, Neb. Monday, November 14th—Lincoln, Neb. Wednesday 18th to Saturday 18th inclusive—Bloomington, Ill. Monday Evening, November 21st—Bigelow dinner, Chicago. Thursday, November 24th, to Wednesday, November 30th inclusive—Butler County, Penn. Thursday, December 1st, to Wednesday, December 14th—Pittsburg, Penn. Thursday, December 15th—Greensburg, Penn. Friday, December 16th, to Thursday, December 22—Johnstown, Penn. Friday, December 23—Allentown, Penn. Saturday, December 25th, to December 28th—Reading, Penn. December 30th—Pottstown, Penn. January 2d to January 15th—Philadelphia, Penn. January 16th to 19th—Wilmington, Del. January 20th to January 24th—Baltimore, Md. January 25th to January 28th—Washington, D. C. January 29th—Lancaster, Penn. January 30th—York, Penn. February 1st to February 7th—Cleveland, O. February 8th to February 12th—Akron, O. February 11th to 15th—Columbus, O. February 16th—Newark, O. February 17th—Zanesville, O. February 18th to 21st—Hamilton, O. February 22d to March 7th—Cincinnati, O. March 8th to March 17th—Indianapolis, Ind. March 18th to March 19th—St. Wayne, Ind. March 20th to 25th—Chicago, Ill. March 27th to April 30th—Tour including Toledo, Ohio, Albany and Birmingham, N. Y., and intermediate points. Address F. H. MONROE, Pres. Henry George Lecture Association, PALOS PARK (Suburb of Chicago), ILL.

FROM THE NEW YORK...

...APATHY

lessly and plainly about child-labor in the Southern cotton mills. In fact he made this a part of his letter of acceptance.

When the political solidity of the South is broken—if it ever is—it will not be broken by pressure from without. The soldiers invite pressure from without, and use it to their advantage. "Northern interference" is one of their best cards. But the solidity will be broken by a revolt from within. It is because of the general tendency of the Watson campaign to break up this stolid solidity of mind that it has a deeper meaning than will appear in the election returns. His particular political programme will be forgotten long before his influence dies away.

SONG OF A CAMPAIGN MANAGER.

For The Public.

At St. Louis we triumphed over Bryan in the fight. By tricks we'd cogitated on through many a sleepless night; We have given every guarantee the case could well admit That if we are successful nothing much will come of it. On no radical proposals have we sympathy to waste, We teach the earth is round or flat according to your taste; Democracy historic we have thus reorganized Only by General Apathy to see it paralyzed.

CHORUS.

We are the genuinely safe and sane, We have cleansed away the Bryanistic stain; But what are we to do—is the question we ask you, To put a little life in our campaign?

In the abstract we believe the Filipinos should be free; But we've got them, and we'd scorn to shirk responsibility; The tariff robbery we fain would reasonably reduce, But the senate stands to render all our efforts of no use. So our giant infant industries have naught to fear from us, We repudiate with emphasis this Bryan railroad muss. Monopolies triumphant find us prompt to pay them court, And why, oh why, do they delay to rush to our support?

CHORUS.

They surely know that we are safe and sane, That politically Bryan's dead again; But they don't come out and say what would be the proper way To put some signs of life in our campaign.

Our candidate—Heaven help the man!—is harassed night and day, So many strings pull on him, pulling each a different way; With safety and with sanity he's hampered, head and hands, Till he almost wishes that he knew himself just where he stands. And the mighty city dailies, which have told and told again How the country would be with us when we ended Bryan's reign, Now that we've planned and schemed and sacrificed and paid the cost, Unkindly nag and scold us shivering out here in the frost.

CHORUS.

Though undeniably we're safe and sane, And have put an end to Bryan's fatal reign, There's a pressing question now that confronts us, namely: How Can we galvanize to life this dead campaign?

JAY HAWKINS.