

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 Flynn.

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, Mither 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 admit 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, Mither 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, Mither 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 unrelentingly 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 av 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, Mither Flyntt, the average man av to-day is—in himself—but a step in advance av 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, annyhow, I seen 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 av intelligence, the sweeter the thought av revenge. The example av 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 av the social problem. Back av ut all, and underlying ut all is the assumption av inequality av human rights.

"Answer me this, Mither Flyntt: Don't you want all min to accord you equal rights with thim?"

"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, Mither 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 min should do unto you, do ye even so unto thim. Every man who confesses a wish for the enjoyment av rights equal to those of all others, is thus commanded to accord equal right to all others. Hate breeds hate, love breeds love. Min do not hate those that love thim. They do not hate those that act as if they loved thim. 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 thim.'

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