

man, still meets with a less ready reception from us than among any of the European nations. Forgetful of our Asiatic origin and descent, forgetful that our Saviour bore the dark hue of his nativity, we seem to cling to such prejudices with a tenacity that can only be loosened by rude shocks.

There are questions in regard to race that I do not pretend to solve. That our origin was one I do not doubt. That differences that have grown up have resulted mainly from divergences of climate I believe. That institutions and systems mold the character of a people I feel sure. That our manhood is different, that there is not one Providence for all, I deny. And where is the difficulty in resting right here? Why have we to make a better plan for the Almighty than he has made for himself?—George F. Seward.

ECHOES OF THE CUYAHOGA COUNTY ELECTION.

A letter written by Mayor Tom L. Johnson, of Cleveland, O., to the Cleveland Press, and published in the Press of November 6.

Editor Cleveland Press: An equitable and reasonable plan of taxation was the issue on which the election in this county was won. For six months the inequalities and injustices of the present system have been made plain. We have continually labored to bring this question home to the people, and have persisted in showing up the evils of the present administration of our taxation laws and the necessities for some statutory changes.

The victory is to be accounted for, by the following facts:

We are now engaged in an assessment of real estate that but for our efforts would have remained unchanged for ten years.

Its unequal burdens were admitted by all, including the guilty board that performed most of the work and the republican committee that advertised the board's shortcomings.

The annual city board of equalization, appointed by this administration, has added nearly \$20,000,000 to the tax duplicate by assessments on the municipal monopolies.

The county auditors refused to assess steam railroads by the same rule that they assessed farms and homes.

Four republican state officers, by a cowardly subterfuge, refused to put \$200,000,000 of steam railroad property on the tax duplicate.

Finally, our opponents were utterly bewildered in meeting these issues.

It was foolish to attempt to meet this array of arguments with evasion, silence or "let well enough alone" policies; but the greatest folly was the attempt to mislead the people by silly personalities and mud-throwing.

The result shows that the people, regardless of party, were deeply interested in the subject and is a complete indorsement of the policy of tax equalization.

In an election where a real issue is raised it is worse than folly to attempt to either obscure or evade the question.

TOM L. JOHNSON.

UNJUST TAXATION THE CAUSE OF INDUSTRIAL WAR.

An extract from a sermon delivered in the Vine street Congregational church, Cincinnati, November 17, by the pastor, the Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow.

At the bottom of most of the wars of history there is to be found the question of taxation. Take the three great events which stand out as the milestones of Anglo-Saxon liberty.

Prominent among the grievances which the people had with King John was oppressive taxation, and the Magna Charta which they wrested from him provided that no tax "shall be imposed for our realm save by the common council of our realm."

The English revolution began with Hampden's refusal to pay the ship money, and ended in the famous declaration of rights, which was written in the blood of a king, and which declared: "Levying money for the use of the crown, without grant of parliament, is illegal."

The American revolution is the next scene in the great drama. That began with the Boston tea party, and was fought to vindicate the principle of no taxation without representation.

These civil and international feuds in which so much of the energy of mankind has been consecrated to hatred and death, were caused more by ignorance as to the right way to raise taxes, than by any innate desire in man for war and bloodshed.

A machine will not stand the strain of its work and give satisfaction until it has been constructed on correct principles. It is so with the machinery of government. Much of the friction and fatality have been due to incorrect principles of government. The most important power of government is the power to tax. If, therefore, taxes are not raised in accordance with correct principles, if in the

performance of its chief function the government is fundamentally wrong, political corruption and economic distress are to be expected. The conflicts between organized labor and monopolistic capital amount to a kind of chronic civil war. At the bottom of this industrial war is the question of taxation. Until this question is settled right the work of the arbitrator, will not be blessed. We cannot have industrial peace while the cause of industrial war exists. That cause, more than any other single cause, is a barbarous system of taxation.

True, greed is a factor. The work of improving civil government is blocked by powerful interests seeking special favors. Our real enemy, however, is not the greed of the few, but the ignorance of the many. There is no more important work than to teach people what may be done by a right system of taxation to discourage favoritism and corruption and promote a more equitable distribution of wealth.

Our present system of raising public revenue by levying a tax upon all property would not be just even if it were administered by angels. What wonder, therefore, that human beings have found it a stumbling block?

FREE TRADE THE TRUE PROTECTION.

For The Public.

The wool-growers of Montana regard an advocate of free trade with South America as a sort of infringement on their rights. It is conceded on all hands that the long-promised subsidy to agriculture, to wit, national aid for irrigation, is about to be granted. The immediate visible result will be a revival of homeseeking in the arid west. Soon the number of people in the western states will equal the number of sheep. At present it is claimed that the range will not support any more sheep. The production of wool has not increased annually in proportion to the population of the United States. This fact shows the existence of some stronger power than the law of supply and demand, which has a firm grip on the wool market.

Republicans and democrats believe in majority rule. The former favor the majority of dollars, the latter the majority of men.

When irrigation at actual cost is obtained homemade expansion will be well started on its conquering career. Every occupation and industry will be represented among the people who will cross the border into British

America. The Yankee believes, no matter how much he may try to be diplomatic on the subject, that the United States is destined to exercise sovereignty over every square mile of territory in North America. He also has a talent for home rule, and can be depended upon to assert his divine right to govern the land whose resources his energy, brains and money develop. Once at home across this imaginary line his principal business will be to produce the raw material which white men eat and wear.

But the protective tariff will hurt his market for such products. What will he do about it? Why, just what free born white men have always done. Seize the responsibilities and opportunities of self-government, and tear down the barriers to prosperity.

Men like Henry Clay and James G. Blaine sacrificed their ambition because they were unable to get out of the protectionist fog. They desired to cultivate the friendship of South America, but were willing for these neighbors to pay the freight. Their policy was a suspicious, instead of a liberal one. The United States can meet the competition of Europe and undersell her in the markets of the world. Our resources stagger the old world. South America cannot be called a competitor because the continent is undeveloped.

Montana wool-growers are afraid of competition with Argentine wool. An isthmian canal and intercontinental railway will make trade and commerce between the two continents thrive. Russia's Trans-Siberian railway gives her command of the orient. The two races are related, just as the Anglo-Saxon and Spanish American Yankees are related. We know what railroad development has done for North America, and we have faith in what it will do for South America. The number of white men at work in South America will be doubled every ten years, for a long time to come. They will have to eat and wear clothes. It requires no stretch of the imagination to believe that Argentine wool will be consumed by manufacturing plants located in the centers of commercial and industrial activity on the South American continent.

Free trade with South America will be better protection to domestic wool than a high tariff. Adherence to a Dingley bill, with a decreasing production of wool, which will be caused by rapid growth in population, will have one of two results:

First, it will force the price of the raw material up higher than it has ever been known to go hitherto. Then the manufacturers will have a valid excuse to raise the prices of their goods.

Second, the people will not submit to the extortionate demands of the manufacturers, and will vote to put wool on the free list. Whatever touches the pocketbooks of the greatest number will effect a political revolution.

Prosperity can be prepared for in time of peace as readily as it can be obtained in chunks, by going to war.

JAMES E. FREE.

Billings, Mont., Sept. 4, 1901.

IRELAND FOR THE IRISH.

An address delivered by William Lloyd Garrison as presiding officer of the meeting held November 10, in Mechanics' hall, Boston, under the auspices of the United Irish league, to welcome the Irish envoys, John P. Redmond, P. A. McHugh and Thomas O'Donnell, as printed in the Springfield Daily Republican of November 11.

At a time when powerful nations are stifling the independent aspirations of weaker ones, when the clamor of commercial greed drowns the voice of conscience and of humanity, it is especially fitting that we should welcome the distinguished guests of this evening to the city of Boston. Although representatives of a small country and a diminishing population, the rapacious government of Great Britain finds in them and their associates a stubborn obstacle to imperial success. Pitiful in numbers compared with their oppressor, weak in industrial enterprises, baptized in poverty, victim of a land monopoly which closes avenues of labor and multiplies exiles, Ireland still retains her resolute and unconquerable determination to be free. Like Mordecai, she sits at the king's gate, and little wonder that the high Chamberlain is wrath. Many a time have the weak things of earth been chosen to confound the strong, but never has Anglo-Saxon arrogance encountered substantial checks from feeble nationalities so signally as in this day and generation. The element of justice, nerving the outraged champions of liberty to heroic deeds, is an ally more potent than warships and regiments in khaki.

The uprisings in South Africa and in the Philippines, both now and extending into years, have baffled shortsighted statesmen who looked for their subsidence in a few weeks. It is possible for an intimidated press to conceal the gravity of the situation,

but no power can hinder the ultimate confession of the annual budgets, inevitable specters haunting chancellors of exchequers and secretaries of the treasury. Centuries of injustice to Ireland, a record of Britain's reproach and failure, have seemingly brought no lessons to the conqueror. Each and all of the bitter conflicts which curse the earth to-day are simply confirmations of Lincoln's declaration that "No man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent." Ireland and South Africa, common victims of English wrong, are separated by wide seas and the barrier of language. Happily the sturdy burghers of the Transvaal and the Orange Free State are able to speak through Irish lips in the house of commons with uncompromising effectiveness. The liberal party, disunited, futile in opposition, and embarrassed by imperialistic leaders, has in a measure been shorn of its strength through supporting a wicked war, revolting to the consciences of men bred in the school of Cobden, Mill and Gladstone. The protest of anti-war liberals is stultified whenever they vote supplies to the army and navy. When their acknowledged leader, with mistaken magnanimity and effusive phrase, seconded the tory motion to present Lord Roberts with £100,000 from the pockets of British taxpayers, the true liberal was tempted to

Walk backward with averted gaze
And hide the shame.

It is to the honor and glory of Ireland that in this crisis her representative sons, compact, undaunted and without reserve, have stood as a bulwark for freedom, measurably redeeming the cowardice so largely infecting the liberal ranks. Ask of the English liberals themselves to whom belong the laurels won on their side in the late parliament. They will tell you that, although Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman gained in power of leadership; though John Morley nobly voiced the ethics of peace and justice; though James Bryce ably exposed the ministerial sophistries; for incessant watchfulness, for aggressive attack, for searching questions and for consummate skill in seizing every opportunity to turn the tory flanks and force divisions, it was united Ireland, led by John E. Redmond, John Dillon and their lieutenants, that should be crowned! It is cheering to see Irishmen again in solid phalanx, with reunited front, no longer "discordant and belligerent." American well-wishers trust that the dissensions which have in the past discouraged friendly faith and lost victories almost