

bestial outrages or ferocious murders are punished by mob law and with every circumstance of atrocity, as was the horrible crime by the more horrible lynching in Delaware. The trembling brute who was burned to death spoke the simple truth when he told his tormentors that he would not have been dealt with in that savage fashion had he not been a Negro. Not all monsters of depravity are black; yet where do we hear of the red fury of the mob turning so upon white fiends? No, the idea is abroad that "niggers" may be hunted like wild beasts. Beginning by attempting to de-citizenize them, we have passed on to considering them de-humanized. We deny them the inalienable rights of every human being under our laws. For the white criminal the orderly processes of the law, the court, the sentence, the noose; but for his fellow in crime—that is all he is—the colored man, there is nothing but the howling of the mob and the leaping flame.

This is the first and great warning which the lynching mania speaks to every man who will hear. Class prejudice is at the bottom of these ferocities. In Bessarabia it is the Jew who is the outlaw, and who may with impunity be massacred because he belongs to a hated class; in America it is the Negro for whom the most sacred guarantees of the law simply do not exist. Discrimination against a man because of his race or color shows us, in the insensate mob at Wilmington, into what wild animals it turns human beings when it does its perfect work. And we have not the slightest security that such class prejudice, erected into the controlling passion of the mob, will stop with any particular race or color. Any day it may suddenly be declared, and adopted in practice, that other classes of men, other races, other colors, are fit only for lynching. When once you depart from the principle that all men as such have fundamental and equal rights, or from the duty of doing justice even upon the vilest under the strict form of the law, you cannot tell to what fearful and bloody consequences you may be driven.

That is really the alarming aspect of this invasion of old communities by the lynching habit. It threatens to burst the social bond itself, and make us all cave-men again, every one taking justice into his own hand. "Rough justice" lynching has been called by its apologists. We perceive the roughness, but not the justice. Society exists at all only because individuals

agree to put their private griefs into the hands of the ministers of the law; and every attempt by individuals or by mobs—be they "mobs of gentlemen"—to wreak vengeance on their own account, is a stab at the life of our society. How deep our shame as a nation should be at these awful barbarities, no one perhaps can fully perceive who does not read the foreign newspapers. The story of our lawless ways is telegraphed to them in all its ghastliness. Englishmen, Germans and Frenchmen have been thinking of America at their breakfast tables just as we were thinking a few weeks ago of the murderous Russians at Kishineff. The stain has come upon our country's name at the very moment when we were loudest in protesting against the atrocities of others.

#### HOW MISS HALEY AND MISS GOGGIN BROKE UP THE RING.

From the Woman's Journal of July 4.

Miss Margaret Haley and Miss Catherine Goggin were the two young women who discovered that the reason there was not money enough to keep the Chicago schools open the full year to pay the teachers was because the great street railroad corporations were dodging the taxes legally due from them.

Miss Haley and Miss Goggin, acting for the Chicago Teachers' Federation, pursued them from court to court and forced them to pay up, thus adding a million a year to the city's revenue.

Miss Haley is the only woman on the legislative committee of the Chicago Federation of Labor, and has been largely instrumental in getting the unusual amount of legislation they have secured during the past year—a child labor law, a prison labor law, a compulsory education law, and a bill opening the schoolhouses to public use free of charge.

Miss Haley has lately brought about another reform. Soon after the Chicago Teachers' Federation joined the Chicago Federation of Labor, Miss Haley found that there was much discontent in the latter organization, owing to a belief that its elections were not conducted fairly. Its officers were in the habit of carrying off the ballot box to the Sherman house, counting the votes in private, and declaring themselves all reelected. Miss Haley put the Teachers' union up to demanding, at the close of the election, that the ballots should be counted in the hall where they were cast, and that Miss Catherine Goggin and Miss Murphy should be allowed to watch the count. This was reluctantly conceded, but the tellers spun out the

counting till the hour when the electric lights in the hall were about to be put out. Then they said it would be necessary to adjourn to the Sherman house or be left in the dark. "Miss Haley thought of that," said Miss Goggin, "and has left a box of candles with me." "Ah, very thoughtful of Miss Haley," said the leader of the "ring," and the candles were lit, and the count dragged along with all possible slowness. Midnight came. "Now we must adjourn to the Sherman house," said the leader; "we only rented this hall till midnight." "Miss Haley thought of that," answered Miss Goggin, "and she has re-rented the hall for us till midnight to-morrow." "Oh! very kind of Miss Haley, really," said the discomfited corruptionists. They spun out the count, which could easily have been completed in an hour, until four p. m. the next day, hoping to tire the women out, but Miss Goggin and Miss Murphy stuck to their post, and watched the count like lynxes. The election, said to be the first honestly-counted one that the Chicago Federation of Labor had had for years, resulted in an overwhelming defeat for "the ring." The Chicago teachers have sworn by Miss Haley for a long time, and now the Chicago Federation of Labor swears by her also.

#### WHAT TEACHERS' FEDERATIONS CAN DO.

The National Federation of Teachers held a meeting in Boston on July 6, during the convention of the National Educational Association. From The Woman's Journal of July 11 we take the following extract from an address made before the Federation by Mr. William McAndrew, principal of the Girls' Technical High School of New York:

##### MR. McANDREW'S SPEECH.

The average salary of men teachers in the United States is less than \$322 a year, and the average salary of women teachers is less than \$270 a year. For some of them the pay is less than \$200 a year. One living on such wages cannot develop skill as an educator, because it cannot be done. How could you do it? By reading books? Where are you going to get books when your income is less than a dollar a day? Even if you could get them, you could not reach an adequate perfection of skill by the study of books. You must come in contact with progressive men who are studying and experimenting. You must in order to achieve skill in this remarkably complex business of training human minds, subject yourself to a long course of interesting and extensive study. You must keep up with the times by attending inspiring and refreshing summer schools in localities far distant from

your home. The average American teacher cannot do this.

The great educational associations consider themselves above this whole matter of teachers' pay. The officials and leading members of the National Educational Association have been asked to take it up, but have declined. This meeting to-night is not under the auspices of the venerable and dignified organization which brought us to Boston. That association has gone on for year after year delivering itself of programs to teach the teachers how to teach better; but I venture to propose to you that the rank and file of teachers in the United States at this moment need to be put into better physical condition, to elevate the work of teaching. A body of intellectual workers averaging \$270 a year cannot carry out the theories propounded by the experts of the National Educational Association in Boston this week. We are planning time-tables for trains that haven't coal enough to make the speed. Unless the Association looks to this end of the problem, those who are intelligently sincere in their devotion to educational advancement must organize and do it themselves.

Also from the same number of The Woman's Journal we take the following portions of the address of the President of the National Federation, Miss Margaret A. Haley, of Chicago:

#### MISS HALEY'S ADDRESS.

Mr. McAndrew has pictured to you the condition of the grade teacher. What is the sense of blaming the American people for it? I believe there is not much blame. These conditions are the legitimate outcome of our economic and industrial conditions. We shall continue to have poor schools and poorly-paid teachers till we have entirely different economic conditions; and until we throw ourselves with our whole hearts into the work of changing them. . . .

We have a system of taxation that makes it impossible for schools to obtain the revenue they need.

I will show you the way to remedy these conditions, as we did in Chicago—as we did in the Illinois headquarters to-day. Follow this course, and then you will not need to come here and hire a hall for yourselves after paying your two dollars to the National Educational Association; you will have the use of its machinery. If you stick at that two dollars, you have no right to growl if you have to teach for \$265 a year, and if the National Educational Association refuses to discuss the fact. It is your own fault. We found in Chicago that only five per cent. of the male voters turn out to the primary meetings, and then the

95 per cent. growl all the rest of the year at what the five per cent. did. . . .

I believe in action. The moment you find out what you ought to do, that is the time to go and do it. When the Chicago Teachers' Federation heard the report of their executive committee that the shortage of money for school purposes was due to the great corporations' failure to pay their taxes, it did not take these women thirty minutes to make up their minds what to do. When the Board of Education offered two of the teachers a year's vacation, and probably pay, if they would follow the matter up, the teachers said, "No, we will not let the board pay our representatives;" and they took up a collection and have paid the two women ever since. Meantime the Board has cut the teachers' salaries once, and then abolished their schedule entirely, and has done so many other things that I don't like to speak of them because it makes me angry. When, through the efforts of the teachers, \$1,200,000 of delinquent taxes was turned into the public treasury, that very night the city council voted to appropriate from it back pay for the policemen and firemen, and the Board of Education the same night voted large appropriations for a gymnasium and other purposes, but not a dollar for the arrears of salary due to the teachers, who had secured the money. Why was this? Because a director of the Chicago Union Traction company was a member of the Board of Education. Our investigations had added \$75,000,000 to the value on which his street car lines would have to pay taxes, and he did not wish to encourage us. The teachers had to go to the courts to get the arrears of salary which were due them; the case has been postponed 12 times at the request of the Board of Education, and we have not got our money yet. But did the teachers stop for that? No. They kept right on with the fight.

Our Chicago Board of Education represents "good business" in the ordinary industrial sense. They represent the idea that "good business" is to put the largest number of people into the smallest number of cars, with the fewest possible conductors and motormen. Why should they not regard the same thing as "good business" in the schools? Last year they took 500 teachers from the Chicago schools, closed their rooms and divided the pupils among the other teachers. We shall fight to have a Board that understands "good business" in a better way, and to get a Board of Education that is elected by the people, instead of appointed by the Mayor. Waging this fight may not be very sweet and womanly, but perhaps it is as much so

as to stay in the school room from 9 a. m. to 3:30 p. m., and be continually irritated. Dr. Winship once said, "An irritator is not an educator." We are going to remove the irritations.

In every city there is an ample fund available for the schools and the public service. The people of Chicago pay ten million dollars yearly to five companies for the use of their own streets. When anyone puts in five cents as car fare, he pays two cents for the use of the cars and three cents for the use of his own streets. Do the people do this because they want to? They don't want to any more than the people who are held up on the streets in China. Those ten million dollars are more than Chicago pays for its schools and its public library put together. We are going to get the use of those ten millions for the city. The franchise of our street railroads is about to expire and unless all signs fail, they will never get another.

#### THE CONSULTATION.

The managing editor disappeared through the door leading to the business manager's office.

"I am ready for instructions," said the M. E.

"All right. Don't say anything about the Consolidated Oil company. We've just sold a block of our stock to its president."

"All right."

"Remain discreetly silent concerning the Union Traction company franchise steal, for we expect to be let in on the ground floor."

"All right."

"We are preparing to trade some of our treasury stock for a block of stock in the United States Iron company, so avoid any reference to its business."

"All right."

"And some of our leading stockholders are interested in the new trust that is combining our gas plants and trying to get hold of the municipal water plant. Don't say anything about it."

"All right."

Two hours later the foreman thrust his head into the managing editor's room and asked:

"What's the leader for to-morrow morning's editorial page?"

"I'll have it ready in a few minutes," replied the M. E. "It will be entitled 'The Free and Untrammelled Press.'"—Will M. Maupin, in The Commoner.

"I dreamed last night," remarked the man who always has and always will vote the Republican ticket,