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For several days one of those newspaper contempt cases by means of which judges occasionally assert despotic authority over the press, has been in progress in Chicago. It was concluded last week.

The essential facts of this case may be briefly stated. A quo warranto proceeding was pending in the Chicago courts, which sought a judgment depriving the local gas trust of its charter, under which competing gas companies had been consolidated. The Chicago American had promoted this litigation, not as an injured party, but as an act of public spirit. The hearing came on before Judge Hanecy, who was the republican candidate for mayor last spring, and he decided the case favorably to the gas trust. He made this decision on the 28th of October, publicly, and it was immediately reported by the press; but he did not at once enter the formal order dismissing the quo warranto proceedings. After his decision, but before the entry of the order, the Chicago American assailed Judge Hanecy and his decision, both in writing and by cartoon, whereupon the judge instituted summary proceedings before himself against the managing editor and a reporter of the American, who afterward acknowledged that they alone were responsible for the publications complained of.

After extended arguments upon the law of the case, Judge Hanecy adjudged these two men guilty of contempt of court and sentenced one to 40 and the other to 30 days' imprisonment. The vital point in the mat-

ter, as a contempt proceeding, relates to the time when the offending comment was published. According to decisions of the Illinois supreme court, it is contempt of court to publish, pending the decision of a case, any comment upon it which is calculated to influence the result; and Judge Hanecy holds that these decisions apply to comments made before the formal order or decree which records the decision, even though made after the decision is officially announced from the bench.

An explanation of contempt proceedings may make the position of Judge Hanecy in the American case more clear. It is a long established and entirely proper thing for courts to punish for contempt persons who willfully disobey lawful orders of the court. But that practice has no application to this case. The only other class of contempt proceedings is that which rests upon disorderly behavior in the presence of the court, which is calculated to disturb, interrupt, or otherwise interfere with the orderly administration of justice. This second kind of prosecution for contempt of court is also proper. It is manifest that unless judges may summarily punish disorder in their presence when sitting as courts of justice, they might be unable to conduct judicial proceedings with becoming and necessary dignity. But on the basis of that authority for the protection of judicial decorum, some judges have asserted the right; and the supreme court of Illinois appears to have acquiesced in this judicial usurpation, to summarily punish for conduct not actually but only constructively in the presence of the court.

An unscrupulous litigant, for illustration, meets the judge upon the street during a recess of the court, or

calls upon him at his house, and coaxes, threatens, assaults or attempts to bribe him, or otherwise by personal conduct toward the judge while off the bench endeavors to affect the action of the court. Instead of turning this matter over to the grand jury for orderly prosecution under circumstances and safeguards that would enable the accused to get a fair trial before a jury and a disinterested judge, the judge in question wrathfully hales the alleged delinquent before himself for contempt of court constructively in the court's presence; denies him a jury; tries him himself; and sentences him at his own discretion. The mere statement of the theory of constructive contempt condemns it. Yet it is upon this theory that newspapers are held in contempt for commenting upon court proceedings. Asserting that the printed comment is calculated to obstruct the due administration of justice, if published of a pending case, judges whose personal feelings are hurt by such comment, sometimes summarily arrest, summarily try without a jury and before themselves, summarily convict (they never acquit, for they usually decide the question of guilt in advance), and summarily sentence newspaper men whose publications offend them. The proceeding is in reality a device to enable judges to try their own libel suits.

This is what Judge Hanecy has done in the case of the two American employes. The American's criticism was leveled at him personally. It was bitter, and may have been unjust and unlawful. If it seemed to be so, a disinterested judge, and not the injured Judge Hanecy, should have presided at the trial; a jury, and not Judge Hanecy, should have passed upon the facts; the disinterested judge, and not Judge Hanecy, should

have imposed sentence. But that was not done. Judge Hanecy in his own person acted as judge and jury in what was substantially his own case. Asked for a change of venue to a disinterested judge he denied the application. Asked to impanel a jury, he denied that. The whole atmosphere of the proceeding was autocratic, and calculated to cast suspicion upon its fairness.

If judges may in this arbitrary fashion try their own libel suits, under cover of proceedings to punish for publications as contempt of court committed constructively in the presence of the court, a corrupt judge could arbitrarily punish an honest and vigilant newspaper man for exposing his corruption, and the judicial bench might become putrid, while newspapers were silent under fears of judicial vengeance. Though it is important that courts should be treated with respect, it is more important that the avenues of information about courts be kept open, so that the people may know whether the judges deserve the respect which a faithful administration of their sacred office ought to command.

Whether Judge Hanecy's decision is supported by judicial authority, makes no difference to the vital question, which is the American doctrine of a free press. If courts are trying to acquire autocratic power over the press, it would be strange if judicial precedents were lacking. But courts must not be allowed to make their own law for exercising arbitrary authority in derogation of constitutional rights. While it is true, as Judge Hanecy says in his opinion, that unwarranted attacks upon the judiciary cannot safely be allowed to go unpunished, it is also true, as Gov. Altgeld said in his argument for the American employes that—

whenever you have institutions under which the press is muzzled, under which the writer has the jail before him constantly, where the iron hand of the law is constantly at his throat, republican institutions are impossible, they cannot exist. Free government

cannot exist under these circumstances. We must have a free press, an unmuzzled press, holding them responsible for what they do, and whenever we wish to bring them to justice they must be tried by due process of law. They must be tried by the machinery which the law has created for trying offenders. They cannot be tried by the very men whom they are accused of having maligned.

Gov. Altgeld forcibly and truly added:

If we are to choose between a licentious press, if you will, using its power recklessly and viciously, and a muzzled press, subject to censorship and with writers subject to the orders of governmental agents, there is not a man who understands the theory of American institutions but who would unhesitatingly choose the former. The one can be punished if it invades private rights, the other would mean the destruction of free institutions; the difference between the two is that of America and Russia, of free and despotic institutions.

It does not follow that judges should be open to malicious or reckless newspaper assaults. What does follow is that such crimes must be inquired into like other crimes, by the regular processes of the criminal law. While a case is on trial, it is the duty of newspapers, beyond publishing an unvarnished story of the proceedings and commenting argumentatively and fairly upon such questions of public policy as may be involved, to be silent. That duty is seldom adhered to, and judges are almost criminally negligent in not noticing the breach. Men upon trial for their lives have been hounded by newspapers, before the trial and at the trial, the writers making their notes in the actual presence of the court. This is a common thing. But what judge has ever noticed it? Constructive contempt cases against newspapers are almost if not quite invariably based upon libels upon the judge who institutes them. They are seldom or never based upon reports and comments which, while not personally prejudicial to the judge are prejudicial to litigants or prisoners on trial. This was so in the case under consideration. It was evidently less the administration of justice than himself, that

Judge Hanecy was sensitive about. No judge should exercise the power of punishment for contempt in cases which concern only his own probity, even if he has the power. No judge worthy the title will do so. If newspapers are to be prosecuted at all for constructive contempt, it should be for articles which concern the rights of the parties to the lawsuit commented upon rather than the self-esteem of the judge who presides. He should be quicker to punish as contemptuous, newspaper stories and comments published pending a trial and designed to sway public opinion and through that the verdict of the jury, than to act in his his own case. But in the best interests of good government judges should not have the power to institute summary proceedings for contempt for acts committed outside the court, such as newspaper comment. What they should do is to bring the offense to the attention of the grand jury. By pursuing that course they could maintain the dignity of the court and protect the administration of justice, while properly punishing the offender, without themselves acting as complainant, prosecutor, judge and jury, all in one.

Though prosecutions for contempt constructively in the presence of the court are not usually associated with "government by injunction," they belong in that category. The objectionable thing about government by injunction" is that it is a method of giving autocratic power to judges. It enables them to make laws as well as to interpret and enforce them, and to do so summarily without the intervention of a jury. Denial of jury trial is one of the broad characteristics both of newspaper contempt cases and of labor injunction cases. Judge Hanecy exemplified this as to newspaper cases in his prosecution of the American employes; Judge Kohlsaat has done so as to labor injunction cases in the injunction case against the striking machinists of Chicago. In proceedings to punish some of these men for contempt for vio-

lation of the injunction, Judge Kohlsaasat was asked to impanel a jury to try the question of guilt, and he refused. It should be noted, therefore, that the question for the people to consider is not whether strikers may do what these novel injunctions forbid, but whether, when accused of it, and they deny the accusation, their guilt should be inquired into by a jury or passed upon by a judge. Jefferson expressed deep concern with reference to the powers of the American judiciary. He said it is of the nature of courts to draw power to themselves, and that if they get a little they will take more. His fears are in process of realization.

It is a good move, even if dilatory, which is being started in labor circles to petition congress with reference to government by injunction. It would be somewhat remarkable, however, if congress, as now constituted, after two presidential elections which virtually endorsed "government by injunction," should give the matter any consideration. As to impeaching Judge Kohlsaasat, which is also proposed, no congress, however constituted, could decently do that. Judge Kohlsaasat is not especially blameable. His action rests upon a body of precedents which have been accumulating for several years. Even if he has gone beyond the letter of these precedents he has not gone beyond their spirit. "Government by injunction" cannot be stayed by voting for it at election time and complaining between elections of judges who practice it.

A movement is reported to be on foot in Chicago for the organization of a labor party. It is assumed that the result in San Francisco, where the labor union candidate for mayor was elected this month over the candidates of the other parties, can be perpetuated and everywhere repeated. What gives plausibility to this mistaken idea is the fact that the labor vote, if concentrated, would hold the balance of power. The "if" is the big obstacle. Except temporarily, under

extraordinary circumstances, the labor vote cannot be concentrated.

Upon all class voting, as such, abstract principle has little or no effect. It does not appeal to class interests. But it does appeal to individuals, and with such force as to disarrange class lines. The history of party politics goes far to prove that this is so. Abstract party principle, and not party machines, holds great political parties permanently together. Though these parties do not seem to be conspicuous custodians of principle, it is nevertheless true that they do represent principle. In all countries and at all times, there are two opposing currents, one setting toward democracy and the other toward some form of centralized power (aristocracy, monarchy, plutocracy, or the like). These two tendencies are the great primary political principles, and they are always represented permanently by two great parties.

Sometimes these parties are armed with guns and sometimes with ballots. Sometimes they change front without changing banners. But always their power depends not upon organization merely, but chiefly upon popular convictions or instincts with reference to democracy and some opposite of democracy. This is a fact which no one who reflects will deny, and which labor politicians should take to heart. Were it possible to concentrate the labor vote at all, it would be most effective in the long run if concentrated as a faction in that one of the two great parties which could be most easily propelled in the direction of serving labor interests. But no permanent concentration of the labor vote is possible. For workingmen in politics, like other men in politics, are as a rule either democrats or anti-democrats before everything else. When President Roosevelt, a free trader, abandoned that principle, saying he was a Republican first and a free trader afterward, he stood forth as the type not of a class but of the

voter, even of the labor voter. It seems contradictory, but it is true, that among workingmen there are aristocrats and plutocrats in abundance. The backbone of monarchy, aristocracy, and plutocracy, is always supplied by the working masses. Of all aristocrats the "Alameda citizen" is most devoted to aristocratic ideals; of all plutocrats the "penniless plute" has most respect for government of the dollar, by the dollar and for the dollar.

Harris R. Cooley, the Cleveland director of charities under Mayor Johnson, has excited criticism for liberality in pardoning workhouse convicts. We are inclined to the belief that thoughtful men who know the facts will agree with Mr. Cooley rather than with his critics. One ground of criticism is that he has pardoned "repeaters"—men and women sentenced repeatedly for intoxication. But the results of this leniency justify it. Mr. Cooley has recommended pardons in these cases when the prisoners had been sentenced for the seventieth or eightieth time. They had never been pardoned before. No one had ever taken any interest in their misfortunes except to punish them by imprisonment and to exact the last hour of their sentences. Pathetic descriptions have been published in the Cleveland press of the gratitude which these unfortunates have expressed for the unprecedented and unexpected intervention of the authorities under the new and less heartless regime. And of all the many persons pardoned upon Mr. Cooley's recommendation, only a small percentage have been sentenced again. So the philanthropic method of dealing with "repeaters" appears to have been more effective than the vindictive policy.

Another kind of case in which Mayor Johnson has granted pardons upon Mr. Cooley's recommendation is that in which the prisoner is imprisoned merely upon a fine that he cannot pay. Two men, for illustration, are convicted of petty theft and

sentenced to imprisonment and fine. The imprisonment part of the sentences being served, one of them, having money or friends or confederates with money, pays his fine and is released. But the other, though no worse an offender than the first, yet having neither money nor friends or confederates with money, is for that reason alone compelled to serve further time in prison. In recommending pardons in cases of the latter class, Mr. Cooley is right. The sentence to pay a fine with imprisonment until paid is a relic of barbarism which no criminal judge should allow himself to perpetuate, and which the pardoning power everywhere should discourage. Criminal fines make a bald discrimination between poor convicts and those who are better off. Under this fining system the well-to-do thief lessens his imprisonment while the poor thief serves on; and the well-to-do drunkard pays his fine and escapes imprisonment, while the poor drunkard goes to the workhouse. Any crime for which imprisonment is imposed at all, should be punished regardless of the pecuniary ability of the culprit. And this wholesome rule ought no longer to be evaded by the prevalent system of imposing fines which offenders of the richer class can pay, while those of the poorer class, though they offend only in like manner, must work out in prison. It is encouraging to find a penal official in one of our large cities who, recognizing the true democratic principle in this matter, has the courage to put it in practice.

We do not pretend to pass critical judgment upon the merits of vaccination, though it is a practice which really does exhibit the usual earmarks of a medical superstition. But more than the merits of this dubious preventive of small pox are at stake, whenever and wherever vaccination is made compulsory by law. That invasion of private rights is something which cannot be defended. Few things could be more abhorrent than laws compelling healthy persons to

submit to surgical operations for the purpose of injecting foul and it may be dangerous animal matter into their blood. Voluntary vaccination is one thing; enforced vaccination is a very different thing. Yet cases are reported now and again which disclose the fact that this outrage upon individual rights is not infrequently committed. At this moment Sharon Hill, a suburb of Philadelphia, is excited over an attempt to compel universal vaccination on penalty of \$25 fine for each refusal.

It seems that in a codification of the borough laws of Pennsylvania a few years ago, the codifiers slipped in a clause authorizing borough boards of health "to enforce vaccination." Acting under this clause the board of health of Sharon Hill has made refusal to submit punishable by the heavy fine of \$25, and begun its crusade. One of the residents, Mr. A. C. Pleydell, with the assistance of several of his neighbors, and the aid of such contributions as sympathizers send him for legal expenses, is strenuously resisifying the board. He himself, according to the Philadelphia North American's report, suffered seriously for four years from the effects of poisonous vaccination. He consequently refuses to allow his healthy little girl to risk a like experience. So far Mr. Pleydell appears to have the best of the contest, but it is not yet at an end. One of its peculiarities is the fact that the autocratic and possibly dangerous power which the health board of this village of a thousand inhabitants asserts, cannot be exercised by the health board of the city of Philadelphia, only a mile away and in the same state.

We are glad to learn of one man whose antipathy to Negroes rests upon grounds which, however false in fact, are at least logical. In denying their human rights, he is not so illogical as to concede that they are human beings. We refer to Robert S. McCallen, St. Louis manager of the American Book and Bible house. Mr. McCallen was called as a juror

last week in a case in which a Negro woman was suing a St. Louis street car company for damages for injuries. Being examined as to his qualifications as a juror, Mr. McCallen was asked if he had any prejudices that might bias his judgment, and he replied that he had. He said he had a prejudice against the plaintiff, distinct and unalterable, not for any personal reasons, but solely because she was a Negro. This reply startled the judge, who propounded further questions and finally dismissed the Negro-hating juror; for in his replies Mr. McCallen said, we quote from the news report, that "he didn't believe the Negro was a human being any more than a dog or an ape."

Mr. McCallen is to be commended for his candor, and for the sturdiness with which he has made a logical foundation for what would otherwise be an utterly illogical race animosity. It is, perhaps, fairly due to Southerners to add that Mr. McCallen was formerly a Northern man. This may account for the rigidity of his logic. But his residence in St. Louis in pursuit of the book and bible business, must be held accountable for the luxuriance of his race prejudice. It was here he learned, as he explains in a book he is reported to have written, "The Negro a Beast," that the Negro cannot be human because he does not descend from Adam, who was the only representative of God. Mr. McCallen's logical processes appear to lose some of their rigidity at this point, for they assume that Adam was a white man; but his logical balance is completely recovered when he argues that—

if the negro and the human family both have souls the souls are all alike and the negro is your equal as far as souls are concerned; if he is your equal in spiritual things then he is your equal in everything.

To such a mind there was no alternative but to accord to the Negro the rights of manhood or else to deny his human nature. The generous Christian spirit and angular logical qualities of Mr. McCallen drove him to the latter conclusion. Nevertheless,

the Negro himself proves, by his delinquencies if by nothing else, that he is as human as the white man. And the white man, by his readiness to deny equal rights of life and liberty to the Negro, does something to prove his own inferiority.

One of the methods adopted by the McKinley monument committee for raising funds is not quite complimentary to the late president's memory. It smacks too much of the coercive spirit of the Republican campaign committee under Mr. Hanna. The principal and objectionable feature of this method is suggestive not of confidence in the generous good will of a mourning people, but of a disposition to intimidate dependent hired men into contributing whether they want to or not. Looking over the list of contributions reported a week ago, we find several items which credit particular sums to this or that firm or company "and employes." In the report are also such statements as this:

Many of the big wholesale establishments and factories are circulating the lists among their employes with good results. In each department of such a concern the manager handles the money, and contributions of from five cents to five dollars are asked of each employe.

To the mind of an employe fearful of losing his job, these so-called contributions to managers are not voluntary. They are assessments. Whether they wish to help build the McKinley monument or not, timid employes discreetly pay their tax. It is to be regretted that Mr. Hanna's methods should be thus projected into the plans for honoring the memory of the dead president. They cannot but cast a characteristic shadow even over his monument. A monument to the memory of the head of a state for whom its people mourn ought above all things to be free from even the appearance of having been paid for by coerced employes. Even though it were necessary to modify the magnificence of the memorial, only spontaneous and vol-

untary contributions should be solicited or received for such a purpose.

The great American game of thimble-herig, in which American law juggles with the American colony system—now you see the law and now you don't—has broken out in another place. It is whisky, beer and the internal revenue laws this time. Under those laws, beer and whisky shipped to foreign countries are exempt from internal revenue taxation. Consequently, shipments of beer and whisky to Manila raise the question of the relation of the Philippine islands to the United States. If they are part of the United States, beer and whisky shipped there must pay the internal revenue tax. If they are a foreign country, the tax must be remitted. This is the shape in which the matter came before the internal revenue commissioner for his decision. He decided last week that beer and whisky must pay the tax, thus holding that the Philippines are for that purpose part of the United States.

In explanation of an immense shipment of gold from New York to Europe, the financiers explain that it is to pay foreign debts owing by Americans. Says one of the press dispatches, this gold shipment "is taken to indicate that the credits of this country in Europe have been exhausted, and Europe is calling for the payment of the debts due her from the United States." That explanation ought to make the "favorable balance" touters think. Why is it that our credit abroad is exhausted notwithstanding that our exports have exceeded our imports steadily for a generation, and for the past few years enormously. Europe has paid us but a trifle in gold for that stupendous balance of exports, and we have been told that we were lending it abroad. How then can our credit abroad be now exhausted? Does one exhaust his credit with borrowers by liberal lending? Can this be another of the inverted theories of the "favorable balance" philosophers?

Are we really to understand hereafter not only that the more wealth you send away and the less you get back the richer you are, but also that the more wealth you send away and the less you get back the deeper you are in debt?

Dispatches from New York announce that Mayor-elect Low has invited Senator Platt to call upon him. Mr. Low explains the invitation by saying:

I have invited Senator Platt to confer with me on matters relating to the city. First of all I want to thank him in person for the strong support he has given to the fusion movement at all times, and, secondly, I want to secure his cooperation if I can in all matters where his influence can be of service to the city.

Mr. Platt gracefully acknowledges the invitation in this phrase:

I am going to call on Mr. Low on Thursday morning. It was good of him to invite me. There is no misunderstanding between Mr. Low and myself.

Of course there is no misunderstanding between Mr. Low and Mr. Platt. Nor is there likely to be unless Mr. Low is looking for trouble. Mr. Low was Mr. Platt's candidate for mayor, and it is strictly in accordance with the fitness of things that Mr. Platt should be Mayor Low's adviser.

One of the most useful things in the way of biblical literature is exciting a good deal of pious criticism on both sides of the Atlantic. We mean the "Twentieth Century New Testament." Instead of translating the gospels into the archaic literary English of three hundred years ago, these little volumes translate it into the living literary English of to-day. The work is admirably and reverently done, and in consequence the gospel narratives become instinct with genuine religious life. The characters appear as real people, the events as actual events, and the exemplified truths as vital. Such a book does not lend itself, of course, to fetish worship. You can't make an idol of the vernacular as you can of obsolete forms of speech. And this, we suspect, is the principal reason why the

"Twentieth Century New Testament" is condemned. Religion is so much easier when it consists in reverence for sanctified phrases than in conformity to eternal principles of right, that obsolete habits of speech, which obscure scriptural truths, are ever more popular with mere pietists than the current forms of expression, which make their embodied truths obvious. This may be good piety, but it is poor religion. The real value of the New Testament is the vitality of its message and not the odor of sanctity that clings to the King James translation.

"The abandoned farms of New England," has long been a stock argument with pleaders for plutocracy in answer to the claim that land in the United States is getting to be scarce. Even to the average newspaper editor it is now becoming clear that these so-called abandoned farms were never an indication of cheap land. Against the competition of the great northwest, they were useless for farming purposes; and during the transition period from an old use to a new one, their value fell. But the new use began to assert itself several years ago, and now is evident to everybody. The Boston Transcript calls attention to this change in Berkshire, Mass., where depopulation was at one time feared, but where latterly—

there has been a record-breaking period of construction of street railways. The erection of big and modern hotels has been noteworthy. A large number of new industries of a minor importance have been inaugurated. In many cases the former abandoned farms have become summer residences for those who have plenty of money to spend and who are anxious to spend it. The advent of the summer boarder has caused the desert of the last decade to bloom as a rose garden. The abandoned summer house has now become a summer cottage, whose picturesqueness delights the trained eye of the artist.

It is hardly necessary to add that this improvement will put unearned money into some people's pockets. The Chicago Tribune says so in such a way as to remove all need of empha-

sis from us. Commenting upon the Boston Transcript's article, it concludes:

Thus what was at one time a serious problem has been most happily solved, and those who have been lucky enough, after moving away to the cities or elsewhere, to hold on to their land will make handsome profits. The worn-out old farm has more than once proved to be a bonanza.

In one of those fantastical classifications of human character with which inductive sociologists amuse themselves, Prof. Giddings, of Columbia college, the eminent advocate of imperialism for republics, tell us that in the United States there are four distinct kinds of human. One kind is an animal-like creature, instinctive, passionate and violent. In a second and somewhat superior class are persons who are "imaginative, weakly, but persistently emotional and easily influenced by suggestion." The third class "are more or less fanatical, speculative, devoted to 'causes,' 'reforms,' and so on, without end." And high over all is the fourth class, to which it is to be presumed Prof. Giddings himself belongs. This superlative class "are critical, calculating, inductive, scientific." Curiously enough, they are also creative, though the critical and the creative faculties are not usually congenial. We fear that Prof. Giddings has borrowed for his own class at least one of the virtues of the "crank" class, which he ranks as inferior. Curiosity may be excited also by the absence from Prof. Giddings's classifications of criminal characteristics. But close inspection will reveal their presence in the highest class. One of its characteristics is described by the learned professor as "rationally conscientious." If that means anything it must be an allusion to the kind of conscience that aims, usually with success, to keep its possessor just nicely on the outside side of the penitentiary.

The author of a recent book in defense of the plutocratic order of things, Prof. Gustav Simonson by name, starts with the assertion that

no one has a natural right to live. Does it follow, then, that some one has a right to kill? If so, who? Prof. Simonson further declares that no one has a natural right to labor. Then some one, surely, must have a natural right to prevent his laboring, for nothing is essentially requisite to labor but the laborers and their natural environment. If no one has a natural right to labor, some one must have a natural right — either by superiority of strength or strategy — to interfere. Who is this highly privileged person or class?

The Northwestern Christian Advocate, published at Chicago, has called out from an old and watchful subscriber a just rebuke for having republished an extract from one of the letters of that fluent but irresponsible gossipier who, under the signature of William E. Curtis, furnishes the Record-Herald with contemporaneous fairy tales.

WAGES AND PROSPERITY.

Several census bulletins embodying statistics of wages in manufacturing industries have been issued since those (p. 436) which we last commented on. One of them is Bulletin 105. It relates to the manufactures of Oregon, and shows a fall in individual wages since 1890, with an increase in profits on invested capital. Following is a summary:

1890.—Value of product.....	\$41,432,174
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses	23,902,246
Net product	\$17,529,928
Net product per wage earner (16,760 wage earners)...	\$1.045
Individual wages, \$9,569,734 for 16,760 wage earners....	570
Surplus	\$475
Profit on capital, namely, gross product, less cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses and wages.....	\$7,970,194
Percentage of profit (33.122,051 invested capital)....	5
1900.—Value of product.....	\$46,000,587
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses.....	28,342,550
Net product	\$17,657,937
Net product per wage earner (17,236 wage earners)...	\$1.024
Individual wages (\$8,533,433 for 17,236 wage earners)....	493
Surplus	\$541
Profit on capital, namely, gross product, less cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses, and wages.....	\$9,324,504

Percentage of profit (\$33,-422,393 invested capital).... 28

Another of these census bulletins is No. 107, which relates to the manufactures of Colorado and Utah. For Colorado, the following excerpts make the wages comparison, showing a decrease in both wages and profits:

1890.—Value of product.....\$42,480,206
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses 22,796,541
Net product\$19,683,664

Net product per wage earner (16,016 wage earners).... \$1,311
Individual wages (\$9,873,406 for 15,016 wage earners).... 651
Surplus\$660

Profit on capital, namely, gross product, less cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses and wages..... \$9,811,269
Percentage of profit (\$26,651,-840 invested capital)..... 37

1900.—Value of product.....\$102,830,137
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses 71,055,651
Net product \$31,774,486

Net product per wage earner (24,725 wage earners).... \$1,235
Individual wages (\$15,146,667 for 24,725 wage earners).... 613
Surplus\$672

Profit on capital, namely, gross product, less cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses and wages. \$16,627,819
Percentage of profit (\$32,-825,472 invested capital).... 26

For Utah, the figures show an increase in individual wages and a decrease in the profit percentage; but the product as compared with wages is increased—each wage earner turning out a larger average product in 1900 for every dollar of his wages than in 1890:

1890.—Value of product..... \$8,911,047
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses 4,707,998
Net product \$4,203,049

Net product per wage earner (4,349 wage earners)..... \$966
Individual wages (\$2,191,266 for 4,349 wage earners).... 504
Surplus\$462

Profit on capital, namely, gross product, less cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses and wages..... \$2,011,784
Percentage (\$6,583,022 invested capital)..... 30

1900.—Value of products.....\$21,215,783
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses 13,841,877
Net product \$7,373,906

Net product per wage earner (6,615 wage earners).... \$1,115
Individual wages (\$3,388,370 for 6,615 wage earners).... 512
Surplus\$603

Profit on capital, namely, gross product, less cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses and wages..... \$3,985,536
Percentage of profit (\$14,650,-948 invested capital)..... 27

But the most important census bulletin yet issued, with reference to

wages in manufacturing industries, that for Rhode Island alone excepted, is No. 109; for it relates to Connecticut, which is an old-settled and distinctively manufacturing state. If the year 1900 was more prosperous than 1890 in manufacturing industries in that state, this bulletin fails to disclose the latent fact. Not only did the wage earners produce more in 1900 for every dollar in wages they received than in 1890, but they actually got lower average wages. Nor do the capitalists appear to have enjoyed exceptional prosperity, for their percentage of profit in 1900 was the same as in 1890. Following is the table:

1890.—Value of product.....\$248,336,364
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses 138,582,181
Net product\$109,754,183

Net product per wage earner (140,514 wage earners).... \$781
Individual wages (\$66,465,-317 for 140,514 wage earners).... 473
Surplus\$308

Profit on capital, namely, gross product, less cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses and wages.. \$43,288,866
Percentage of profit (\$227,-004,496 invested capital).... 19

1900.—Value of product.....\$352,824,106
Cost of materials and miscellaneous expenses 208,731,025
Net product\$144,093,081

Net product per wage earner (176,694 wage earners).... \$816
Individual wages (\$32,767,725 for 176,694 wage earners).... 468
Surplus\$348

Profit on capital, namely, gross product, less cost of materials, miscellaneous expenses and wages. \$61,325,366
Percentage of profit (\$314,-696,736 invested capital).... 19

Tabulating all the census bulletins so far issued and noticed in these columns, we have this result:

	1890.	1900.
Coke industry (1889 and 1899):		
Net product per wage earner.....	\$554	\$936
Individual wages.....	453	417
Percentage of wages to net product.....	81	45
Percentage of profit on capital.....	2½	16

Manufacturing in Delaware:		
Net product per wage earner.....	711	747
Individual wages.....	421	417
Percentage of wages to net product.....	59	56
Percentage of profit on capital.....	18	18

Manufactures of Idaho, Nevada and Wyoming:		
Net product per wage earner.....	1,108	1,113
Individual wages.....	632	617
Percentage of wages to net product.....	57	55
Percentage of profit on capital.....	29	31

Manufacturing and mechanical industries of Montana:		
Net product per wage earner.....	1,242	2,161
Individual wages.....	691	787
Percentage of wages to net product.....	56	35

Percentage of profit on capital 30 34

Manufactures of Rhode Island:		
Net product per wage earner.....	708	782
Individual wages.....	410	426
Percentage of wages to net product.....	58	53
Percentage of profit on capital.....	19	19

Manufacturing in Oregon:		
Net product per wage earner.....	1,045	1,024
Individual wages.....	670	483
Percentage of wages to net product.....	55	47
Percentage of profit on capital.....	25	28

Manufacturing in Colorado:		
Net product per wage earner.....	1,311	1,285
Individual wages.....	651	613
Percentage of wages to net product.....	49	48
Percentage of profit on capital.....	37	26

Manufacturing in Utah:		
Net product per wage earner.....	966	1,115
Individual wages.....	604	612
Percentage of wages to net product.....	52	46
Percentage of profit on capital.....	30	27

Manufacturing in Connecticut:		
Net product per wage earner.....	781	816
Individual wages.....	473	468
Percentage of wages to net product.....	61	57
Percentage of profit on capital.....	19	19

If these census statistics could be put into the form of one of those concealed pictures which are now so familiar, the most appropriate legend would be: "Find the prosperity."

NEWS

The struggle of the Chicago public school teachers to enforce the Illinois tax laws against the special privilege or franchise corporations of Chicago, 20 in number, has now got into the federal courts.

A decision in favor of the teachers (p. 467) was made last month by the Supreme Court of Illinois. Pursuant to that decision, Judge Thompson, of the Circuit Court for Sangamon county, sitting at Springfield, issued a mandamus (p. 489) directing the state board of equalization to meet and assess the 20 delinquent Chicago corporations upon the value of their stock for the year 1900, the year with reference to which the teachers' law suit had been begun, and to report to the court on the 22d of November. Following Judge Thompson's action came a rumor (p. 500) that the corporations were about to apply to a federal judge for an injunction prohibiting the board of equalization from obeying the mandate of the state courts. This rumor was confirmed on the 15th by an authentic newspaper report that on the 14th two of the Chicago corporations, the Chicago Union Traction company (lessee of five of the street railways

of Chicago) and the Chicago Consolidated Traction company (lessee of seven of the street railways of Chicago, and itself owned in turn to the extent of 90 per cent. of its stock by the Chicago Union Traction company), had filed bills at Springfield in the United States circuit court for the Southern District of Illinois, asking for an injunction against the equalization board.

These injunction proceedings are based upon that clause of the fourteenth amendment to the constitution of the United States which requires that no state shall "deprive any person of life, liberty or property, without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." It is asserted by the corporations that the taxation of their capital stock at its full value, as required by the state courts, would amount to a discrimination against them, with reference to property rights, as compared with other Illinois tax payers, since other tax payers are assessed at less than full value. They also assert that the state statute requiring this tax makes discriminations by exempting other corporations, such as manufacturing, coal mining, newspaper, stock breeding and trust companies.

Upon beginning their suits in the federal court, the Chicago street car corporations applied to Judge Humphrey, federal district judge for the Southern District of Illinois, for a preliminary injunction. He refused to grant an injunction without notice to the other side, but named the 21st as a day on which he would hear both sides on the question. Thereupon the board of equalization applied to Judge Thompson, of the state court, for an extension of the time, by him limited as stated above to the 22d, within which to make the required tax assessment. Judge Thompson refused the extension. Consequently the corporations applied in Chicago to Judge Grosscup, federal judge for the circuit which includes the Southern District of Illinois, for a restraining order until the decision of the motion for the preliminary injunction to be heard in the federal court at Springfield on the 21st. By Judge Grosscup's order, which was granted without notice to the other side, the federal court prohibits, until its own further order, the Illinois board of equalization from making the tax as-

essment on the capital stock of the Chicago street car companies which the highest court of the state of Illinois has decided that it must make, and which the subordinate state court has required it to make by the 22d.

This example of the street car companies has not been followed by all the delinquent Chicago corporations. On the contrary, the Chicago Gas Light & Coke company has offered to compromise upon the basis of a capital stock assessment of \$10,000,000. Its capital stock assessment heretofore has been nominal. The offer was made to the board on the 19th. In proposing this basis, the gas company's attorney asserted that the valuation conceded by his client would call for taxation upon 40 per cent. of the value of all the company's property, and he contended that this would be equitable because other property is assessed upon a 40 per cent. valuation. Should its offer be accepted, the gas company would be required in consequence to pay in taxes about \$140,000 more than heretofore. The teachers estimate the fair increase in taxation of this corporation at \$612,000.

Owing to the federal injunction described above, the board of equalization, in session at Springfield on the 20th, took no action with reference to the Union and the Consolidated Traction companies. Neither did it act upon the compromise proposed by the Gas Light and Coke Co. But it did agree upon a report as to the street car companies not protected by the federal injunction, and one gas company, one telephone company and one electric lighting company. Following is a comparison of the assessment of the net capital stock valuations of these companies for 1900 as made by the board last year, as demanded by the Chicago school-teachers, and as made by the board on the 20th:

	Made by board last year.	Demanded by teachers.	Made by board on 20th.
City Ry	\$700,000	\$6,600,000	\$5,100,300
People's Gas . . .	450,000	10,000,000	9,217,067
Teleph. Co.	175,000	1,850,000	775,226
Edison Co.	325,000	2,200,000	1,800,761
So. Chl. City Ry	50,000	500,000	433,886
Totals	\$1,700,000	\$21,150,000	\$17,327,240

The war in the Philippines is a subject far away from that of taxation in Illinois, but it is the only other American news of the week that has developed to the point of historical importance. Although assurances of

pacification in these islands are as abundant as they have been for two years, fighting still goes on. In an engagement near Tarangan, in the Island of Samar, an attack upon the Americans was repulsed with an American loss of two killed. Four engagements are reported from Batangas province, Luzon, by Capt. Hall; and Capt. Hartman reports a fifth in the same province near Buan. In the latter fight 400 Filipinos were dislodged from rifle pits.

Death sentences have been passed by an American military commission upon the president, the chief of police, a sergeant of police and a native priest of Taytay, upon an accusation of "stabbing and burying alive" seven Filipinos under orders from Filipino leaders. The sentence of the priest was afterward commuted by Gen. Chaffee to imprisonment for 20 years. Another military convict is Private Pollard, of the Thirtieth infantry, who has been sentenced by court-martial to five years' imprisonment at hard labor for having said relative to President McKinley's assassination that he was glad of it.

Nothing further is reported regarding the convention of the Federal party of the Philippines, which was in session at Manila two weeks ago (p. 488); but it appears that a new party has been organized, to which Federals in large numbers are flocking and toward which the Federal party is consequently hostile. The new party is a peace party. It advocates cessation of resistance to the American invasion, and has elected as its president or leader the former chief of the Filipino cabinet, Senor Paterno.

The British war in South Africa continues to resemble that of the Americans in the Philippines, except that it is upon a larger scale and is more hopeful for the resisting people. A mail dispatch of October 25 from Middleburgh, Cape Colony, tells of the surrender in that colony on October 13 of 180 mounted troops of the British army, mostly Cape Colony Dutchmen, to a Boer commando. They fired away most of their ammunition at long range, and then, refusing to fight further, surrendered themselves with their arms and horses. On the 3d of November a strong patrol of British yeomanry was surrounded near Zeerust, about 140 miles west of Pretoria, and in the ensuing fight lost six killed and 16 wounded. Those

who were captured by the Boers were subsequently released. Ten days later, on the 14th, a British column under Col. Byng was attacked near Heilbron, in the Orange Free State, by a body of Boers supposed to be under Gen. De Wet. After two hours' fighting the attack was repulsed. The British lost two killed and 12 wounded, and report that the Boers left eight dead on the field.

Dissensions in the British cabinet (in session last week) are rumored. They are supposed to be over questions in connection with the war, but nothing definite has yet transpired. It is inferred, however, that the particular point of controversy is a recent public speech of Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, Chancellor of the Exchequer, in which he was indiscreetly candid upon some of the fiscal aspects of the war.

The application of the Boers to the international arbitration tribunal at The Hague for intervention and arbitration has been formally rejected. The administrative council of the tribunal decided on the 20th that it is without jurisdiction.

NEWS NOTES.

—Beds of live asphalt are said to have been found near Rapid River, a village in Escanaba county, Mich.

—The lower house of the Georgia legislature on the 19th rejected a bill to disfranchise Negroes, by a vote of 113 to 17.

—At the city election last week in Naples, Italy, 10 out of the 12 socialist candidates were elected to the municipal council by heavy majorities.

—Leading college students at Dartmouth have formed what they call an "Intelligent Anarchy Club," for the purpose of investigating the subject of anarchy.

—The national convention of the Women's Christian Temperance Union met last week at Fort Worth, Texas. The officers were reelected for another year and a resolution indorsing the Prohibition party was defeated.

—At San Francisco on the 15th a prize fight for the heavy-weight championship of the world was fought between "Jim" Jeffries, the champion, and "Gus." Ruhlin. The fight ended with the fifth round in a victory for the champion.

—In Webster county, Kentucky, at the Providence coal mines, a battle occurred on the 17th between armed guards and striking miners. Over

2,000 shots were fired. One striking miner was killed and one striker and three guards were wounded. All were Negroes, except one guard.

—On the 16th the New York Evening Post celebrated its 100th birthday with a special issue. The paper was founded by Alexander Hamilton in 1801, and has been edited by William Cullen Bryant, Parke Goodwin, Carl Schurz and E. L. Godkin. The editor now is Horace White, formerly of Chicago.

—It is reported that on the 19th, the city of Colon, Colombia, was captured by the insurgent forces, after a short fight in which some 15 men were killed and 40 wounded. The same dispatch reports the landing from the United States gunboat Machias, of 100 marines to guard the isthmus railroad station.

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the ten months ending October 31, 1901, as given by the October treasury sheet, are as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

	Exports	Imports.	Balance.
M ...	\$1,191,960,322	\$727,897,358	\$464,062,964 exp
G ...	36,439,012	40,833,906	4,404,894 imp
S ...	26,226,618	25,561,660	663,958 exp
	\$1,254,625,952	\$794,352,924	\$460,272,028 exp

—A conference of manufacturers to consider the question of international trade assembled at Washington on the 19th. It had been called by the sixth annual convention of the National Association of Manufacturers, which met last June (p. 135) at Detroit. On the 20th the Washington conference resolved in favor of reciprocity "only where it can be done without injury to any of our home interests of manufactures, commerce or farming."

—A new treaty between Great Britain and the United States relative to the Nicaragua canal, the draft of which was delivered by Secretary Hay to the British ambassador (p. 106) last May, was signed at Washington on the 18th by Lord Pauncefote for Great Britain and Secretary Hay for the United States. This treaty is proposed as the substitute for that which Great Britain rejected last March (vol. iii., p. 775), on account of the senate amendments. Its terms are not yet disclosed.

—The mayor of Ottawa, Canada, has lost his office for buying alcoholic beverages during prohibition hours. This clause of the law has not heretofore been enforced; but the chief of police, who is unfriendly to the deposed mayor, took advantage of the latter's having stopped at a bar with two friends and purchased liquor during prohibition hours. He arrested the mayor, who, upon learning of this clause of the law, pleaded guilty, and was fined. The sentence suspends his citizenship for two years.

—In 15 test cases brought by the

Coal Owners' Association against individual leaders of the miners' organizations, and growing out of the action of the unions in stopping work in the mines of Wales last October in order to keep up the price of coal, and, consequently, of wages under the sliding scale agreement, the Welsh magistrates, sitting at Aberdare on the 19th, awarded small damages to the employes, holding that workmen, though giving notice of intention, have no right to stop work with the object of restricting production.

MISCELLANY

FREEDOM.

We are not free; Freedom doth not consist
In musing with our faces toward the Past,
While petty cares and crawling interests
twist
Their spider-threads about us, which at
last
Grow strong as iron chains to cramp and
bind
In formal narrowness heart, soul and
mind.
Freedom is recreated year by year,
In hearts wide open on the Godward side,
In souls calm-cadenced as the whirling
sphere,
In minds that sway the future like a tide.
No broadest creeds can hold her, and no
codes;
She chooses men for her august abodes,
Building them fair and fronting to the
dawn;
Yet when we seek her, we but find a few
Light footprints, leading mornward
through the dew;
Before the day had risen, she was gone.
And we must follow; swiftly runs she on,
And, if our steps should slacken in despair,
Half turns her face, half smiles through
golden hair,
Forever yielding, never wholly won.
—James Russell Lowell.

"HAVE WE NOT ALL ONE FATHER?"

Have we not all one Father? Hath not one God created us? Why do we deal treacherously every man against his brother, by profaning the covenant of our fathers?—Malachi 2:10.

I know of no people who have seemed to me to have so many prejudices of race as ourselves. Whether it is due to our long contests with savage tribes, the natives of the vast territory that we have occupied, or to the institution of slavery, which took upon itself among us the very worst features that slavery has ever exhibited; whether it is the pride of stock stimulated by our successful conquests over the many difficulties attending the settlement of a new, and in some respects, an inhospitable region, or whether all these have combined to produce the result, it would seem that a negro, in times now passing by as we may hope, or a China-

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

within grasp are at an end. Personal differences can well be postponed until home rule has been won for Ireland.

It is the fashion in all countries, when liberty seems for the moment overwhelmed, for faint-hearted men, professing allegiance to her suddenly to lose faith in moral law, discovering that, after all, the true deity is "the god of the things that are." Then they make haste "to sell unto the cunning enemy their swords." Feigning to regret the accomplished fact, they ask: "Under the circumstances, must we not as practical men accept the situation?" It is to Ireland's lasting credit that she spurns such brazen materialism, staking allegiance on the god of the things that ought to be. Foul situations are to be reversed, not accepted. When evil conditions confront right theories, who shall doubt the final issue? In their nature conditions are changeable, while principles are fixed and eternal. The echo of Charles Sumner's words still lingers in freedom-loving hearts: "Nothing can be settled that is not settled right."

It is predicted by a leading paper that the visit of the friends we are to welcome "will be the occasion of many demonstrations of the anti-English feeling of Irish-descended Americans." I venture to hope that the demonstrations will be just and discriminating, intelligently directed against the real enemy, the autocratic and plutocratic classes now holding political control. I trust that generous recognition will be made of that better England, at present stigmatized as "little," temporarily eclipsed and courageously bearing public disfavor and abuse. Stigmatized as pro-Boers and traitors, the English men and women who stand for true democracy are a legion yet to be reckoned with in national politics. They are typified by John Morley, Frederic Harrison, John Burns, Miss Emily Hobhouse and Dr. Spence Watson, and are a body always to be counted upon whenever and wherever liberty is imperiled. In many an English home I have found the names of John Dillon, Michael Davitt and William O'Brien held in admiring esteem. The Irish cause will gain respect and strength by recognizing common kinship with oppressed peoples the world over, its leaders standing for universal liberty, their sympathies including every land and race. Mere national and racial hatred never appeals to lofty minds. John Boyle O'Reilly touched the chord of true unselfishness:

O, blood of the people! changeless tide,
through century, creed and race!
Still one as the sweet salt sea is one,
though tempered by sun and place;

The same in the ocean currents, the same
in the sheltered seas;

Forever the fountain of common hopes and
kindly sympathies;

Indian and negro, Saxon and Celt, Teuton
and Latin and Gaul—

Mere surface shadow and sunshine; while
the sounding unifies all!

One love, one hope, one duty theirs! No
matter the time or ken,

There never was separate heart beat in all
the races of men!

Our friends will find many sympathizers in the United States on the burning land question, which in every country, as well as in Ireland, lies at the base of tyranny. Where land is not free, men cannot be free. No political changes which allow the landlord to absorb without return the earnings of labor can be of lasting good. Ireland for the Irish? Yes. The right of self-government upon God's acres? Yes. The abolition of alien ownership of land? Yes. But in that struggle hide not the truth that landlordism is the same evil thing whether the power be vested in English or in Irish hands. Landlordism is the heart of privilege. So far it has proved a citadel surviving every battle, and leaving the most ruthless foes of freedom undislodged. Keep in the forefront the only legend under which victory can be assured. "The land belongs equally to all the people of a nation, to whom its use can and must be equitably assured." With this free expression of my own views, for which alone I am responsible, and bespeaking the same untrammelled speech for the distinguished gentlemen who are to address you, I welcome with cordial sympathy this delegation from an oppressed and long-suffering people. May their appeal for substantial aid find ready response, and may Americans ever remember that in helping the downtrodden of other countries they, in like measure, help to uplift and save their own land.

MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.

Rev. Harris R. Cooley, director of charities, made a statement yesterday answering those who have been criticising the acts of the workhouse pardon board. Incidentally he spoke of the Jeha case, about which Judge Phillips has made a stir.

"The question has been raised concerning the pardoning of George Jeha, the Syrian, from the workhouse," began Mr. Cooley. . . . "Personally I had known from experience something of the Syrian people in their own country and realized that there was back of them centuries of oppression and wrong by the Turkish government. These facts entered into the consideration of the

case, but there was no thought of reviewing or criticising the action of the court. The real difference was a difference of standpoint. One standpoint was judicial; the other standpoint was that of the mother with her five children—a stranger in a strange land, and at the beginning of the cold and severe winter. For my part, I considered the case from the standpoint of the director of charities, and not from the standpoint of the court. Personally I have a high regard for Judge Phillips and I trust that no one will believe that in any wise I thought of criticising his official acts. We look at the thing from a different standpoint, and I feel sure that this fact will not change our friendship and regard for one another.

"Passing from this special case to the general criticism of the pardon board, which has come from many quarters, it might be proper to say a few words: We have great respect for just judges, but not for all judicial precedents. This action of the pardon board is not the result of a temporary sentiment, but of an abiding feeling that in the treatment of the so-called 'criminal classes' our principles have been essentially pagan. These people are all the children of the same father. In our work we have deliberately and steadfastly tried to apply the teaching of brotherhood to these men and women and boys. As was foreseen and inevitable, we have come into conflict with the old conceptions and traditional forms of the courts. On the part of many good people there is a fear of any departure from these conventional customs which have been crystallized into a law.

"We have taken the ground that the traditional system of fines is not true justice. Here are two men guilty of the same offense. They were sent to the workhouse each with a sentence of ten days and a fine of ten dollars. One of them has plenty of money, or a father, wife or friend who pays his fine, at the end of the ten days. The other one is poor and cannot get the money; he remains in prison. He is really in prison because he cannot raise ten dollars. It seems to us simply a case of imprisonment for debt, or imprisonment because a man is poor.

"Another is that of Henry Jones. He was sent to the workhouse for 30 days with a fine and costs amounting to \$56. We found that he was a professional pickpocket with a rec-

ord in the cities of the east, west and south. Although one of our papers said that we were trying to pardon him, yet the fact was that we refused to pardon him. It was the general feeling that it was only just that he should be confined; but when his time was out, some of his friends, perhaps in the same business, paid \$56 and he went free. That is, justice demanded that he should be kept in prison, but the payment of \$56 let him go. It would seem as though in this case justice was officially sold for a consideration of \$56.

"Mistakes have been made by the pardon board and I feel sure they will be made in the future. Even our highest courts do that.

"Laying aside any technicality of the law, we believe we are acting according to the spirit of the common law of justice and of humanity. The fact is that out of 300 pardoned only 22 have been returned. If the number returned had been three times as great, the result would have been gratifying."—Cleveland Plain Dealer of November 16.

Superintendent George Mulhern, of the Little Consolidated, appeared before the board of control Friday and explained why the company was not giving better service on its lines, particularly the Detroit street line.

"Just at present," Mulhern said, "we are up to the limit of our power and cannot run any more cars. We are making large additions to our power house under the Superior street viaduct, and as soon as they are completed we will be able to run more cars. We have ordered 25 new cars and nine of them have arrived. I think the others will be here in 30 days. The additions to the power house will be in shape for use in 60 days. We are putting in five new boilers and a generator. Inability to get up steam enough to run more cars is what is bothering us now."

"After you complete these additions will you put on more cars?" asked Mayor Johnson.

"We will put on just as many cars as is reasonable. We will go further than that, Mr. Johnson, we will do whatever you think is reasonable, and I have no doubt that whatever you demand of us to do will be reasonable."

"Thank you," the mayor replied. "What are you going to do about trailers? They are the worst feature of your service, I think."

"You are exactly right about that,

Mr. Johnson, and we are doing away with them just as fast as we can get more cars to take the place of the trailers. By next summer I do not believe that we will have a trailer on any of our lines."

As the result of Mulhern's explanation the board postponed action on the crowded car ordinance. This measure seeks to eliminate the crowded car nuisance by compelling both companies to run more cars. The question of half-hour cars after midnight will probably be settled by an amicable agreement between the companies and the city.—Plain Dealer of November 16.

Cuyahoga legislators will be backed up by Mayor Johnson at Columbus this winter just as earnestly as they were backed by him in their fight for election. The mayor intends to spend most of the winter at Columbus. He will live at the Great Southern, making frequent trips to Cleveland to take care of the city's business.

He believes, however, that during the few months of the legislative session the city's most important interests will be at Columbus, and he proposes to be on the ground to look after them. Mayor Johnson, by his election as mayor, his victory at the last democratic state convention, and his victory in Cuyahoga county this fall, has come to be recognized all over the state as a new and rising power in Ohio politics, and he will undoubtedly have a heap of influence in the shaping of new laws this winter. In the first place he wants to be there to keep a vigilant eye on the tax bills and the railroad lobbies that are expected to swarm about the legislative halls, and while he is on the field of action he will urge along all other meritorious measures which may come up.

Many bills which greatly interest the people of Cleveland are on the card. The democratic members of the legislature already have something like 30 prepared or in the process of preparation. After they get to Columbus they will be flooded by bills drawn by others, some of which will be introduced, and most of which will probably be consigned to the legislative waste basket.

But there will be some bills offered affecting Cleveland, which will not be offered by Cuyahoga legislators. Among these will be the general gerrymander bill, the federal plan ripper, and others on the subject of taxation. These will come from re-

publican sources, and will be intended to crop Mayor Johnson of some of his power, and block some of his tax reforms. The first step to weaken him will probably come in the selection of the house committees.

Owing to the republican majority the speaker will, of course, be republican, and as he has the naming of all the committees it goes without saying that if Cuyahoga gets any recognition it will only be after some mighty shrewd manipulation of politics. No power can prevent Cuyahoga members introducing any bills they like, but some little committee may kill the bills forever, by refusing to report them back to the house or by amending them out of all shape. There will be democrats on every committee, of course, but the republicans will have a safe majority of each.

Among the many bills which are being talked of in political circles is one wiping out the office of coroner. The plan most favored is to place the morgue in the charge of the health officer and the legal end of the coroner's business in the office of the county prosecutor, giving the prosecutor another assistant. Such a bill, its friends claim, appeals to the intelligence of all men, and will go through the legislature without any trouble.—Plain Dealer of November 17.

THINGS TO BE THANKFUL FOR.

A sermon delivered in Washington, D. C., November 25, 1900, by the Rev. Alexander Kent, pastor of the People's church.

O that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.—Ps. 107:31.

Morally speaking, the ancient psalmist struck a much higher note in this passage than is usually reached in Thanksgiving proclamations. So far as I know, there never was one written that was not an insult to Deity, or to any respectable moral being. They are always framed from the local or national standpoint, and the things specifically mentioned as grounds for thankfulness are the local and accidental, not the universal and constant. In other words, they are the things that we have and many others haven't; not the things that we all share in common. God is thanked, for instance, for prosperity, for health, for the peace that prevails within our borders, for the abundance of our harvests and the excellence of our markets—for all the special things in our individual and national life which we recognize as blessings

13,261. In Italy during the same period the number was 4,110, while in France it was 2,245, in Germany 4,261 and in Great Britain 2,432.

PERIODICALS.

—The Rev. William Thurston Brown, the well-known clergyman of Rochester, N. Y., has begun the publication of a monthly paper, "Here and Now, a Journal of Life and Labor." The October number contains one of Mr. Brown's spirited sermons on the materialism of modern life and its temptations.

—The November number of "The Comrade" (New York: The Comrade Publishing Co., 28 Lafayette place. Price, \$1 a year; 40 cents a copy), the illustrated socialist monthly, of which the October number was the first, is a lurid example of fantastic amateurishness in illustrated periodical literature. The general effect is so distracting that readers can hardly be expected to consider details judiciously. But the magazine will doubtless improve as the work of making it drops into a monthly routine and the irresponsible friskiness and freakishness which characterize the early numbers consequently wear away. For the necessary talent for

a good illustrated publication is distinctly in evidence, despite the phantasmagoria of messy make-up and poster printing.

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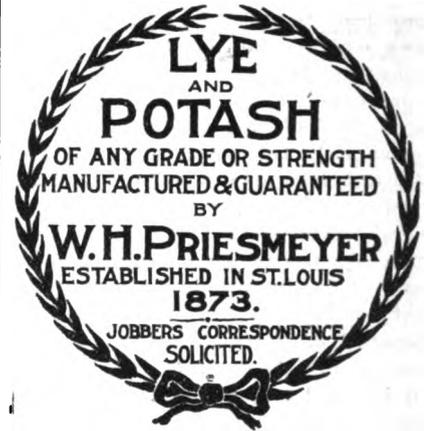
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