

# The Public

Fourth Year.

CHICAGO, SATURDAY, SEPTEMBER 21, 1901.

Number 181.

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Entered at the Chicago, Ill., Post-office as second-class matter.

For terms and all other particulars of publication, see last column of last page.

At the time of our last issue it was expected that Mr. McKinley would recover. Since then he has died. But this calls for no revision of our comment, made under the impression that he would survive the murderous assault upon him. It is the assault, not the president's death, that constitutes the essence of the crime. The death inspires deeper sorrow for the victim, warmer sympathy for the bereaved, a keener sense of the grandeur of democratic-republican institutions, which have by this murder been impotently assailed. But the essential conditions are unaltered.

The fatal outcome of the crime, however, has garbed a nation in mourning. For one brief interval on the funeral day it literally stood still. Every railroad train and street car stopped wherever they happened to be at the instant. The thought of this is impressively suggestive of a people turning from their routine of duties and with one accord mourning their dead. Nor could anyone hesitate at joining in a ceremony so simple and so strictly significant of the death of a chief magistrate and of nothing else. It was free from partisanship, free from revengeful impulses, free from the mob spirit, free from hysteria. Wherever one might be, and whatever his opinion of the record of the dead, he could but welcome an opportunity to bow in unison with all his fellow citizens as a token of national respect for the departed first servant of the republic.

No well balanced man, left to his own reflections can stand in the pres-

ence of death unawed. None can think of a wife widowed, without sorrow. None can contemplate a murder without horror. None can consider the portentous significance of the assassination of the head of a democratic republic with unblanched cheek. So no American citizen who appreciates his responsibility and whose mind is unruffled can regard the assassination of President McKinley even with apparent indifference. If any have done so, it is only fair to assume that they have recoiled from giving pronounced expression to their sorrow under circumstances which were practically coercive. It is not an uncommon characteristic for men to gratify even their own wishes grudgingly or not at all, when under compulsion or appearances of compulsion.

Unhappily the spirit of coercion has been too much in evidence in connection with this national mourning. One shrinks instinctively, of course, from doubting the sincerity of the general expression of sorrow; yet the dead president's admirers over the country have adopted methods which unhappily do leave it open to suspicion. By mobbing embittered men whose coarse or thoughtless utterances against the dead president should have been quietly ignored, and by making their own extravagant praises of his personality and public service a standard of patriotism to be accepted by all under more or less thinly veiled threats, they have brought the sincerity of this national expression of sorrow into legitimate question. Who can distinguish the sincere from the hypocritical, when fear reigns? Had a wiser, not to say more manly, course been pursued, had vulgar detractors been left alone, and pains been taken to show

that hypocritical professions of sorrow instead of being demanded were not desired, the national mourning would have been sincere beyond cavil, and at least as general and all the more cordial because absolutely free.

In one respect the dangers resulting from the murderous attack upon President McKinley will probably be very much intensified by his death. "Anarchy for the suppression of anarchy," as one Chicago clergyman aptly puts it, is more likely to stalk abroad than if the president had recovered. His death appeals to the diseased imaginations of the lawless-minded who manage newspapers, who get into pulpits, and who in the name of law and order instigate mobs to ignore the law and to create disorder.

This menacing spirit has gone so far as to incite influential men coolly to urge even sworn officers of the law to blink at perjury in order to make a case where no case exists. The evidence appears in two morning papers. In a Buffalo dispatch of September 12, published in the Chicago Chronicle of the 13th, this statement was made:

Mr. Penney and Superintendent of Police Bull would undoubtedly have applied to the governor of New York for requisition papers to extradite Miss Goldman if only for the purpose of giving a reason for the Chicago police to retain their hold on the woman, but the plan met with such serious opposition from Secretary Root and other members of the cabinet that it was abandoned. Now Penney and Bull are indifferent as to whether Miss Goldman is held or turned loose. They simply say they do not want her in Buffalo.

Compare that statement with this dialogue from another Buffalo dispatch of the same date published in the Chicago Record-Herald of the 13th. The dialogue takes place between the correspondent and District Attorney

Penney, of Buffalo. Questioning Mr. Penney, the correspondent said:

"It has been charged," he was told, "that an endeavor has been made to bring Emma Goldman here on trumped-up charges."

"That is quite true," he replied. "Those most concerned in the conviction of the president's assailant have desired that the whole truth be known, but they have been constantly opposed to getting beyond the limits of the law of the state. It is generally believed that if Emma Goldman was once delivered to the Buffalo authorities we could strengthen our case. I am compelled to admit that strong pressure has been brought to bear upon me to permit of a trumped-up charge being filed against the woman, thus insuring her delivery by the Illinois authorities. I am fully alive to the necessities which confront me, but I cannot ignore the requirements of the law, and the police have not been able to justify the demand for her transfer from Illinois."

We forbear comment upon this disclosure of anarchistic influences of the worst kind—influences which would strike at the integrity of the law itself. The two dispatches speak too plainly to need interpretation, and comment would be altogether superfluous.

It is gratifying to note, however, that Secretary Root has appeared throughout this whole tragedy as a man who preserves his balance and who believes in law and order—who really believes in it. And although the pulpit of most denominations has been disgraced at this critical moment with utterances inspired by the most vicious spirit of mobocracy, and its twin sister autocracy, some ministers have proved themselves as level headed as Mr. Root. It would be impossible to name all. Needless to say that Dr. Hiram W. Thomas, of Chicago, is one. Rev. Rufus A. White is another. Says Mr. White:

A little more general respect for law by all classes, a full appreciation of the fact that every man who breaks laws, be he rich or poor, high or low, practices anarchy, will do more to destroy the anarchy of the Herr Mosts than much talk and many persecutions. No compromise with that kind of anarchy; but in the meantime let many newspapers, preachers, organizations and corporations now clamoring for

revenge against the "reds" repeat the old adage: "Physician, heal thyself."

Dr. Frank S. Crane is another Chicago minister whose sensible words are worth remembering:

Above all, let each honest man search himself and see if there be in his thought, word or deed anything of injustice, of pride, of the prostitution of his advantages of gifts or of talents that may in any wise have given semblance of cause for the fact that some of the human beings among us have left off the proper joy of life and have given themselves over to the propaganda of diabolism, murder, anarchy and hate.

Here is another reassuring sentiment. We quote from the Rev. John R. Crosser:

I am not afraid that the anarchy on Carroll avenue will ever destroy our institutions. It is too black and ugly. The anarchy to be found on the boulevards is the most dangerous, the anarchy which buys a legislature. Anarchy cannot be put down with laws. We can learn nothing from European countries in this regard except what not to do. We must be careful not to go too far in annihilating the class of anarchists found on Carroll avenue, lest we injure many others who really have the best interests of our country at heart.

Dr. Muldoon, the auxiliary bishop of the Catholic arch-diocese of Chicago, gives wise counsel:

In the present moment of excitement we who love liberty should be careful that our love for the dead president does not tempt us to acts or expressions that, in themselves, injure or lessen the effects of constitutional form. No provocation on the part of disciples of anarchy will permit us to deprive them of any of their constitutional rights and privileges. It is sad to see, in these moments of excitement, that certain clergymen and public men go so far as to intimate that the people should take the law in their own hands, and not wait for the proper procedure in the line of punishment.

In the same strain was the sermon of Charles D. Williams, dean of Trinity cathedral, Cleveland, who, as reported by the Plain Dealer, "adopted a somewhat different tone from the other Cleveland ministers." After "dwelling upon the noble character of the president and the awfulness of the crime," says the Plain Dealer, he—

went on to say that it was the duty of all good citizens of a

Christian nation to protest against the clamor for lynch law which had arisen since the shooting of the president. He declared that this desire for bloody revenge was unworthy a Christian community. He also protested against overhasty legislation against anarchists. He said that if it is desired to make the lives of our rulers precious the lesson must be taught that all human life is precious. This can be taught not by oppression, he said, but by the kindly effort to help the unfortunate and elevate the lowly.

Pulpit pronouncements like these—and many more like them might be quoted,—encourage the hope that a more orderly spirit will quickly succeed the frenzy which for the past two weeks has seemed to possess so many persons who are usually neither criminal in purpose nor insane in speech.

The best resolutions on the assassination of President McKinley that have come to our attention are those adopted by the St. Louis Single Tax league. They stand out conspicuously and reassuringly from the mass of sickly rhetoric and un-American appeals to the mob spirit with which a crazed people have been deluged. Although adopted when it was expected that the late president would recover, they need no alteration now. We think them well worthy of reproduction in full:

We regard with horror and detestation the attempted assassination of President McKinley, and rejoice in the prospects of his speedy recovery. We believe that all men are by natural, unalienable right equally free, and that the sole rightful function of government is the preservation of equal freedom and the prevention of aggression by any persons against the persons and property of other persons. Any such aggression is a crime against nature and against all people, and one of the greatest and most horrible of such aggressions is the crime of deliberate assassination. While the crime would be equally great if committed against the poorest and most obscure man or woman, because President McKinley occupies the position of a representative and agent of the whole people, selected by popular vote to execute laws made by the people themselves, the man who attempted his murder struck a blow at every one of us and at free-popular government, by which alone right political principles can be established. We insist, however, that through liberty alone

can we escape the terrors of anarchy—not political freedom, merely, but economic liberty as well. When we return to natural economic laws, and labor reaps its full reward, and only then, shall we have a generally happy and prosperous people, in which anarchy and aggression will disappear.

In this connection, also, the mayor and aldermen of Chicago deserve especial recognition and praise. While other bodies were passing resolutions with reference to the president's death, in which disregard of the genius of our institutions and even of the dignity of our laws was either expressly urged, or indirectly encouraged by silence on that point when the mob spirit was rampant in high places, the mayor and aldermen of Chicago struck a high note for law and order. They denounced the crime of Mr. McKinley's assassin, as vehemently as any other public body, characterizing it—

as a crime against the illustrious man, as a crime against his sorrowing family, as a crime against the high and useful office he held, as a crime against the free institutions of our democratic-republican government.

They furthermore demanded—

that the perpetrator of this crime, and all instigators and confederates, should any be discovered, be subjected to the penalties of the criminal law in their full severity.

But they did not stop there. They went on to rebuke the lawless spirit of the hour by insisting that punishment in these cases should be inflicted in no hysterical or vindictive spirit, but—

with all the dignity of outraged justice, and strictly in conformity to those sacred institutions of our republic which are designed for the protection of innocence and the preservation of order and liberty.

The committee which reported these resolutions was chosen by Mayor Harrison, and was composed of Aldermen Mavor, Goldzier, Bennett, Smulski, Dunn, Scully and Byrne. The council adopted the resolutions unanimously. In a city in which there has been so marked a disposition by mobs incited—in the name of law and order, God save the mark—by some newspapers and some individuals, this action of the mayor and council is es-

pecially gratifying. They, and not the promoters and stimulators of hysteria, have, as we believe, faithfully represented the sentiment of Chicago.

Virginia has more to mourn than the death of a president. The half-masted flags and the somber draperies that mark her public buildings tell a double story of humiliation and sorrow. For Virginia, the home of Jefferson and Madison and the scene of Patrick Henry's thrilling speech for liberty, has become the first to propose repudiation of free government as a failure. Her constitutional convention, carried away let us hope by the emotional insanity of the hour, has decided to strike "freedom of speech" out of the liberties guaranteed in her bill of rights. This must have been in obedience to a crazy impulse, for who can conceive an act so self-destructive and revolutionary, as deliberately possible in the organic-law-making body of any American state? With those words struck out of the constitution of Virginia, any Virginia legislature can prohibit public speaking of any kind that it disapproves. To give up such a right, the right of free speech, for which our race has fought for more than a thousand years, is to give up one of the great essentials of liberty. And for what? To secure safety for the lives of public officials? No. Free speech is a better guarantee against assassination than suppression is. Where free speech goes out, underground conspiracies come in. That is one of the lessons of history. But suppose it were otherwise. Suppose that safety for officials could be purchased by putting a gag upon public speech. Would it be worth the price? Is not old Ben Franklin's maxim as true in spirit to-day as in the days "that tried men's souls"? Here is one of the best lessons which that sage of our infant republic left us:

Those who would give up essential liberty to purchase a little temporary safety, deserve neither liberty nor safety.

Is it yet too late for the Virginia convention to withdraw from the path of

absolutism upon which it has entered? Cannot the one voice that was raised in that convention against this suicidal action, the voice of A. C. Braxton, one of the republican leaders—cannot he resurrect the deadened democracy of his Democratic colleagues? Shall panic, played upon by traitors to liberty, be allowed to swamp this republic as it has swamped all others? And shall Virginia—of all the states, Virginia—shall she lead the way into the quagmires of absolutism?

How short a time since the people of the south were supposed to have almost a monopoly of the lawless spirit which has risen now black and grim above the whole country. Southern mobs have burned negroes suspected of crimes against women, and Southern opinion, Southern papers, Southern pulpits and Southern statesmen have apologized for it—have even urged it on. Northern as well as Southern mobs are now possessed of the same spirit of crime. They would tear limb from limb men and women whom they do not even suspect, whom no one really suspects, but whom they wish to suspect, of complicity in the murder of the president. How plainly this shows that the spirit of the mob belongs exclusively to no section. It is all one, the burning of negroes with impunity by mobs in the South, and the cry for mob vengeance against "anarchists" by press and preachers and public officials in the North. But out of the South there comes a voice to which in this hour of popular madness the whole country should stop and listen. Quincy Ewing, rector of an Episcopalian church in Mississippi, a southerner of southerners, preaches to a Mississippi congregation against Southern lynching in a tone that should reach the ear of the North also—not as a lesson to the North on the sins of the South, but as a lesson on its own sins. Mr. Ewing's sermon, republished from the Boston Herald in our Miscellany department this week, comes to the country as a message with ref-

erence to lynching "anarchists," almost as pointedly as if that, instead of Negro lynching, were its burden. The same remark applies to the Boston Herald editorial with which we introduce the sermon. It is to hoped that in discussing the murder of President McKinley, the Herald has preserved the same balance.

In Russia they make no "fine-spun distinctions" about anarchy. Says a news report of September 12, from St. Petersburg:

The pupils of a young ladies' school near Count Tolstoi's residence at Yasnaya, who, with the teacher and other young persons of the neighborhood, called upon him and presented the count with flowers, have been arrested and their teacher has been dismissed.

That attitude of government toward such anarchists as Tolstoi, influenced as it is by no "fine-spun distinctions" between anarchists who want to kill and those who want to stop killing, ought to be satisfactory even to David B. Hill.

One of the last acts of the city board of equalization of Cleveland was to assess for taxation the value of the land under water on the lake front. It fixed the value at \$1,000,000. The basis of this valuation was \$100 a front foot inside the breakwater, and \$25 outside the breakwater up to the harbor line. Railroads owning this kind of property in Cleveland announce their intention of making a contest in the courts. They have heretofore paid no taxes upon it, and they contend that it is non-taxable.

Rear Admiral Howison, who, after a trial by his associates, has been deposed for bias from the Schley-Sampson naval board, explains his reason for not withdrawing when Schley originally objected to him. He says he was ordered to this duty, and is accustomed, as a naval officer, to obeying orders. But if he had been ordered to sea when physically incapable, he surely would have advised the department of his condition and asked to be relieved. Why could he not have

done the same thing when ordered to sit as a judge in a case upon which his bias made him mentally incompetent?

In a recent article in these columns (p. 165) on the balance of trade theory, Mr. Dadabahia Naoroji, who had drawn out a remarkable letter on the subject from the American treasury department was mistakenly called a Hindu. Mr. Naoroji, the "grand old man of India," as he is affectionately and appreciatively spoken of, is not a Hindu but a Parsee.

It is a serious reflection upon the Salisbury government of Great Britain, if the news report is true that on the 12th the peace conference sitting at Glasgow "passed a resolution to the effect that any nation which refuses its opponent's offer to arbitrate loses the right to be considered a civilized power." The Boers have made arbitration offers to Great Britain both before the war and since it began, but Great Britain rejected them. Has Great Britain lost the right to be considered civilized?

The Boer war ended on the 15th, but the Boers didn't know it. They had forgotten the date.

#### THE NEW ADMINISTRATION.

With the last rites over his grave performed, President McKinley passes into history; and public attention properly turns to the administration of his successor.

What this administration will probably be, President Roosevelt has indicated in a general way. He has given notice that it will not be distinctively his administration, but will be essentially a continuation of Mr. McKinley's. His words, uttered upon taking the oath of office, were these:

In this hour of deep and terrible national bereavement I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace and prosperity and honor of our beloved country.

President Roosevelt has confirmed that declaration by requesting Mr. McKinley's cabinet advisers to remain

in office and be his advisers—not merely for "two months," as at first reported, nor for a "few months," according to subsequent reports, but for the remainder of Mr. McKinley's term, which, as vice president, he is filling out.

In thus making the spirit and policy of the old administration the spirit and policy of the new, Mr. Roosevelt is clearly justified. It is not in his own right, with a commission from the people to formulate a new policy even though he might personally prefer to do so, that Mr. Roosevelt comes into the presidential office; but in the right of and as a substitute for his predecessor. In reality it is Mr. McKinley's official term, not Mr. Roosevelt's, which the latter has been called upon to serve.

This may not be the law of the matter. The constitution, in providing for the contingency of a vice presidential succession, imposes upon the vice president no obligation to carry out the policy of his predecessor. Quite the contrary; it distinctly declares (art. ii., sec. i., par. 6) that—

In case of the removal of the president from office, or of his death, resignation or inability to discharge the powers and duties of the said office, the same shall devolve on the vice president.

It is the powers and duties of the office, consequently, and not the policy of the dead or disabled president, that devolve upon the vice president.

Yet there is room for plausible argument, even as a question of constitutional law, that a vice president merely represents the disabled president whose place he takes. The constitution does not declare that he shall be president. It only provides that as vice president he shall perform presidential duties. Mr. Roosevelt, therefore, is not president—so the argument might run; he is vice president acting as president. Upon this hypothesis it could be urged that he has no right to fundamentally alter the policy of the president for whom he acts. "Would it not be revolutionary," might be asked, "for him to do so if the president were disabled only temporarily?" And if revolutionary in those circumstances, why not revolutionary if the disability of the president happens to be permanent—even

if it is occasioned by his death? But that argument could appeal only to the conscience of the individual. No court could interfere.

And whatever view might be taken of the law of the matter, only one view is possible with reference to its politics. The American people have shown that they regard the vice president, when acting as president, as the representative, with reference to political policies, of the dead president whose term of office he serves. This is an instance in which the dead hand rules. Four times in the history of our country has the question been brought to a test, and each time it has been decided against the innovating vice president. John Tyler reversed the Harrison policy, and his name gave a new word of unpleasant significance to the language. To "tylerize" is suggestive of political bad faith. Millard Fillmore adopted, and Chester A. Arthur was identified with, policies hostile to those of the presidents they represented; and at the ensuing presidential elections, respectively, each was abandoned by his party. Between these two administrations there was the most impressive example of all. Andrew Johnson, who departed from the policy of Lincoln, was turned upon by his party, which not only overwhelmed him politically, but impeached and almost succeeded in degrading him officially.

Mr. Roosevelt needs no further political justification for his adoption of President McKinley's policies and his retention of President McKinley's cabinet, than the experience of his predecessors as acting president—Tyler, Fillmore, Johnson and Arthur.

Since Mr. Roosevelt has frankly announced his policy, there need be no doubt as to the attitude of the public mind toward his administration, in so far as that policy is to give it character.

People who believe in a protective tariff, those who believe in fostering trusts, those who believe in foreign conquest, those who believe in the maintenance of foreign sovereignty modeled upon the crown colony system of Great Britain, those who believe in a strong central government—all these will cordially and properly

support the new administration with vigor. But men who regard those policies as destructive of equal rights under the law and subversive of the best ideals of our republic, will just as cordially and just as properly oppose the new administration in so far as it promotes policies of that kind. It would indeed be a dark hour for our country if theories of public policy were sanctified by personal affections, if they were made to depend upon men instead of principles, if the bullet of an assassin which kills a president were allowed to destroy liberty of thought and freedom of discussion. No American with the instincts of a patriot, whatever theories of public policy he may hold, will tolerate strangulation of debate.

But it is not certain that President Roosevelt will invite this opposition along the whole line of the McKinley policies. Just before his tragic death, President McKinley indicated in a carefully prepared speech that his policy contemplated a departure from protectionism in the direction of greater freedom of trade. Should President Roosevelt so interpret this speech, and endeavor to give that tendency to tariff legislation, good sense will suggest to all who believe protectionism to be wrong that they shall strengthen his arm.

He himself has intimated that the aggressions of predatory wealth must be checked. Should he turn Mr. McKinley's policy in the direction of doing this, by means not worse than the evil complained of, he should be and doubtless will be, encouraged. A people driven to the verge of despair by the system of class privileges that have grown up since the civil war cannot be indifferent to any honest effort to emancipate them.

So far, then, as tariffs and trusts are concerned it is possible that Mr. McKinley's successor may draw support from hitherto hostile quarters, though J. Pierpont Morgan's reported expressions of satisfaction with the assurance of Mr. Roosevelt are not prophetic of that possibility. But there is little hope in any event of his modifying the colonial policy. It is too much in harmony with his own strenuous nature. With reference, therefore, to the ques-

tion of imperialism, changes in the alignments of public sentiment are not probable, except as advocates of this innovation may be won over. No American who is imbued with the spirit of the angel's song of the Nativity, which, echoing from the hills of Judea, found political expression centuries afterward in our own declaration of independence, that spirit which makes for peace on earth, good will to men, and equal rights for all, regardless of race or nationality or creed or condition—no such American can cease to write and speak and vote against colonial policies so long as a vestige of republican government remains. Whoever opposes, and from what source soever he draws his inspiration, our great wrong against a weaker people must be righted and our departure from high national ideals must be reversed.

Still, it is not certain that Mr. Roosevelt will cling tenaciously to any of his present purposes. Time and new conditions work wondrous changes in political policies. He pledges himself now to carry out the policies of his murdered and lamented chief, and in token of his sincerity he retains the cabinet which he finds already in office. No token was necessary. The sincerity of his word no one doubted. Nor is any doubt implied by the supposition that he may yet part with some of the advisers he now retains and deflect from the policies he now adopts. John Tyler, says the eminent American historian, Alexander Johnston, "retained President Harrison's cabinet, and promised to carry out his policy." John Tyler, too, was doubtless sincere. But as time went by and new conditions confronted him he changed his mind.

With reference, therefore, to the policies of the new administration, all is as yet but speculative, notwithstanding Mr. Roosevelt's declarations and his unquestioned sincerity. But one thing is not speculative. Mr. Roosevelt has begun his career in the presidential office with a marked and encouraging reversion to some of the ideals of republican simplicity which once outwardly distinguished our honored and trusted public servants from feared and hated foreign rulers. The inaugural ceremony was se-

verely simple. This could hardly have been otherwise, owing to the solemnity of the circumstances. It was, moreover, in accord with precedent. But the very circumstances which would have made an inaugural display indecent were calculated to favor a display of military force; and this display Mr. Roosevelt peremptorily forbade. He refused at the outset to allow his person to be surrounded, monarch fashion, by detectives and soldiers. The incident is happily told in the press reports. It occurred before his inauguration, when he was leaving the house of his friend in Buffalo to go to the house where President McKinley's body lay:

As he ran lightly down the steps leading from the lawn to the sidewalk he noticed a movement among the squadrons in the street. A trumpet blared out a command, which the soldierly training of the president had taught him to understand. He stopped and turning a frowning face upon Mr. Wilcox spoke a few sharp words to his host. Mr. Wilcox hastened into the street, where men in yellow striped uniforms were mounting horses. He spoke to the captain of the mounted infantry and the sergeant of police.

"The vice president absolutely declines to be followed by an escort of this character. He has not asked for it, and he does not want it," Mr. Wilcox was heard to say.

"But the vice president should have the protection of the properly constituted authorities," protested the captain of mounted infantry. "The vice president requires no protection from any military or semimilitary body in the streets of an American city," exclaimed Mr. Roosevelt, who had come up in time to hear the protest of the captain.

"But we have orders to act as your escort, sir," said the captain.

"Then say to your commanding officer that I revoked your orders. You must not follow this carriage."

Even since that time, despite all protests, Mr. Roosevelt has insisted upon maintaining this republican simplicity. He refuses a body guard.

This is an inspiring thing. Raised to a conspicuous place by a lawless act which has evoked universal execration, driving press, pulpit, and mob into paroxysms of futile anger and bewildered fear, circumstances which might well excuse senseless precautions for his own protection, Mr. Roosevelt's determination is most reassuring. In these trying circum-

stances, his appeal to the imaginations of the people, not with pompous displays of military force, but with the spectacle of the foremost citizen of the land, the foremost servant of the republic, freely and trustfully mingling with his fellow citizens, is suggestive of a revival of at least some of the best American ideals.

And this manner of life is in fact his greatest security. It was the life adopted by the late President Harrison, who tolerated no personal guards. He believed that such precautions cannot possibly save the president from a maniac's blow. Surrounding him with an army, yet the cunning of the madman will find a way to take his life. As to the rest, Mr. Harrison held that there was no danger. And there is none, except as fits of emotional insanity may be awakened in weak minds by presenting the president to popular imagination in the role of a "ruler," like the oppressive rulers of Europe. Let the president appear to the world simply as a public servant, simply as one of the people, simply as a man among men, and his life will be safer than detectives and soldiers or restrictive laws upon press and speech can make it. Even then he may be assassinated. But the danger of his assassination is much reduced, and the danger of assassinating free institutions is infinitely less.

Though Mr. Roosevelt should do nothing more to deserve commendation, in this one respect he has done much. But this determination to appear before the public not as a ruler panoplied with power, but as a man, as a citizen, as a public servant, attending to the people's business in obedience to their will, is in itself significant of even better things.

## NEWS

The encouraging news we were able last week to republish from the sick chamber of President McKinley in Buffalo, gave place almost before the ink was dry to news of far different import. On the 12th Mr. McKinley was reported to be out of danger and steadily improving, but early in the morning of the 13th he suffered a relapse so serious as to arouse immediate fears of a fatal outcome. Yet

hope was not abandoned until about eight o'clock in the evening of that day. The announcement was then authoritatively made that he had not more than 20 minutes to live. He survived, however, until 2:15 in the morning of the 14th, when he died. Mr. McKinley had been unconscious for several hours, and his death was unattended with pain.

An autopsy was made during the day by 14 surgeons and medical men, who joined in signing the following report:

The bullet which struck over the breast bone did not pass through the skin and did little harm. The other bullet passed through both walls of the stomach near its lower border. Both holes were found to be perfectly closed by the stitches, but the tissue around each hole had become gangrenous. After passing through the stomach the bullet passed into the back walls of the abdomen, hitting and tearing the upper end of the kidney. This portion of the bullet track was also gangrenous, the gangrene involving the pancreas. The bullet has not yet been found. There was no sign of peritonitis or disease of other organs. The heart walls were very thin. There was no evidence of any attempt at repair on the part of nature, and death resulted from the gangrene which affected the stomach around the bullet wounds as well as the tissues around the further course of the bullet. Death was unavoidable by any surgical or medical treatment and was the direct result of the bullet wound.

Among the signatures attached to this report are those of Herman Mynter, two army surgeons, and Edward G. Janeway.

The funeral ceremonies began at 11 o'clock on the 15th, in the house of Mr. Milburn, where the president had died. After a simple ceremony there, the body was carried to the city hall of Buffalo, where it lay in state until the 16th, when it was borne to Washington. The funeral train left the New York Central station at 8:30 in the morning of the 16th, and upon arriving in Washington the body was taken to the white house. From the white house it was removed to the capitol, and during the 17th lay in state beneath the capitol dome, where, on that day, the official funeral ceremony took place. This service began with the singing of "Lead, Kindly Light." Prayer was spoken by the presiding elder of the Methodist churches in the District of Columbia—the Rev. Dr. Naylor. He was followed by the sing-

ing by Mrs. Thomas C. Noyes of "Some Time We'll Understand." The eulogy was then pronounced by Bishop Andrews, of Ohio, and the service closed with a benediction. Among the auditors were President Roosevelt and ex-President Cleveland. Early in the evening the body was placed upon a funeral train bound for Canton, O. It lay in state in the Canton courthouse until evening of the 18th, and after another funeral service on the 19th it was laid in a vault in the Canton cemetery. The 19th was observed as "a day of mourning and prayer throughout the United States," pursuant to the proclamation of President Roosevelt issued on the 14th from Buffalo.

At the time of President McKinley's relapse, Vice President Roosevelt was hunting in the Adirondacks. It was not until five o'clock in the afternoon of the 13th that the news found him. He was then at the top of Mount Marcy, ten miles away from the clubhouse, where teams were waiting to carry him to North Creek, the nearest railway station. He got to the club house at nine in the evening, and after a rough drive of 35 miles reached North Creek at 5:20 in the morning of the 14th. The private car of the vice president of the Delaware & Hudson company awaited him there, and in three hours and a half he arrived in Albany, where this car was attached to a New York Central special which pulled out for Buffalo at 8:02 in the morning under orders to make the time of the Empire State express. Mr. Roosevelt reached Buffalo at 1:40, accompanied by his private secretary, William Loeb, Jr., and went directly to the house of a friend—Ansley Wilcox. In his drive through the streets he was guarded by mounted policemen and a body of soldiers. Later he revoked the orders under which these troops were acting as his escort, and insisted upon having thereafter no body guard whatever. At 3:35 in the afternoon of his arrival in Buffalo—13 hours and 20 minutes after President McKinley's death—Mr. Roosevelt took the constitutional oath of office as president. It was administered at the house of Mr. Wilcox by John R. Hazel, judge of the United States district court, in the presence of Secretaries Root, Hitchcock, Long, Wilson and Postmaster General Smith; Senator Chauncey M. Depew, Judge of the Court of Appeals Haight, John Scathard, Mr. and Mrs. Ansley

Wilcox, Miss Wilcox, George P. Sawyer, Drs. Mann, Park and Stockton, Mr. and Mrs. Carleton Sprague, Mr. and Mrs. John G. Milburn, William Loeb, Jr.; George B. Cortelyou, secretary to the president; Dr. and Mrs. Charles Carey, R. C. Scathard, J. D. Sawyer, and William Jeffers, official telegrapher of the United States senate. Preliminary to the administration of the oath of office Mr. Roosevelt made this brief inaugural address:

It shall be my ambition to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and the honor of our beloved country.

Three days afterward President Roosevelt authorized the postmaster general to make public the following statement with reference to his cabinet:

The president has invited all the members of the present cabinet to remain permanently at their posts, and has said that he makes this suggestion as if there were vacancies in the cabinet and he had the opportunity of original choice. The president thinks, however, whereas in case of original selection of the cabinet the men invited to compose it have the right to decline, in the present instance they have no such right. All the members of the cabinet have accepted.

President McKinley's assassin, who was in custody at police headquarters in Buffalo at the time of our last report, was removed to a safer place when his victim's condition changed for the worse. The precaution was well timed, for a mob began to organize, when news of the change became public, for the purpose of lynching the prisoner. A militia force was held in readiness to act, but the police dispersed the mob. No arrests of members, inciters or leaders of the mob are reported. On the 16th, the assassin was indicted by the Erie county (N. Y.) grand jury for murder in the first degree. He was immediately arraigned. From the reports, he appears to have been dazed and speechless. At any rate he made no answer to questions and stood mute when asked to plead. Whether this behavior was due to mental incapacity or to stubbornness, can only be inferred. The reporters attribute it to the latter cause; but their descriptions both of the appearance and the manner of the man indicate that he was at this time, however he may be at others, quite devoid of reason. The pris-

oner had no counsel, and two eminent lawyers were assigned by the court to defend him. This was done at the unanimous request of the Buffalo Bar association. On the 17th the prisoner was arraigned again, and still standing mute, one of the assigned counsel, ex-Judge Loren L. Lewis, entered a plea of "not guilty." The trial was set for the 23d.

The writs of habeas corpus in the cases of the Chicago communist-anarchists, arrested as accessories to Czolgosz's crime, which were returnable on the 13th as noted last week (p. 360), were partly argued on that day before Judge Chetlain. The points raised in behalf of the prisoners were that (1) there is no evidence against them; (2) the only reason for their arrest is that they hold political beliefs which differ from those held by the majority of citizens; (3) they are held on false pretenses; (4) the complaint and warrant are defective; (5) the prisoners were refused an immediate hearing before a justice of the peace; and (6) they were held without bail in a bailable case. While the argument was in progress the prisoner died, and the defendants' attorneys moved the court on the 14th for an adjournment, which was granted, the 17th being named. A further adjournment has since been taken to the 23d.

It is now conceded that there is no evidence of crime against these prisoners, a news dispatch from Buffalo on the 14th having announced that—the officials of the secret service have abandoned the idea of proving that a conspiracy existed looking to the assassination of President McKinley.

But the Chicago authorities evidently fear that the craze for blood which has been stimulated by some of the newspapers, if not instigated by them, makes it unsafe to discharge these people from custody, however innocent they may be. In fact a mob did attack the jail on the 14th, threatening to lynch them; but, like the Buffalo mob, it was easily dispersed. As in the case of the Buffalo mob, also, no arrests were reported. Another mob attacked the house of one of the attorneys for the prisoners, on the 17th, while from different parts of the country come reports—printed in the papers with head lines calculated to inspire like crimes—of similar acts of lawlessness.

In consequence of the president's

death, the Schley-Sampson board of inquiry (pp. 280, 265, 250) has suspended its sessions. But before doing so the competency of Rear Admiral Howison was passed upon by his associates on the board. This action was taken at the first session of the board, on the 12th. Admiral Schley objected to Howison on the ground that he had formed and expressed an opinion on the merits of the inquiry and as to the personal and professional characteristics of Schley, which indicated a bias and prejudice sufficient to unfit him to serve. Testimony was taken, and the board sustained Admiral Schley's challenge. The vacancy was filled the next day by the appointment of Rear Admiral Francis M. Ramsay. The board now consists of Dewey, Benham and Ramsay.

The steel strike has come to an end, notwithstanding the indications in Mr. Shaffer's interview of last week (p. 362) that an early settlement was improbable. The settlement was made on the 14th at a conference in New York between the leaders of the strikers and officers of the trust. The full terms of the settlement are as yet withheld. It is understood, however, that the strikers were to return to work on the 16th, and that the trust had made no concessions. This outcome has de-unionized several establishments, and the striking workmen in those establishments are furious at the settlement, which they call a surrender. The tin-plate workmen, who are in this category, have withdrawn from the Amalgamated association and resolved to continue the strike.

The principal political event of the week is the state convention of the new political party of Missouri, ordered last summer by a conference of various elements (p. 172) to be called in the fall, and held at Kansas City on the 17th and 18th. Some 200 delegates were in attendance. A joint committee on resolutions from the different reform organizations represented, formulated the following platform on the 17th:

(1) We demand the initiative and referendum and the imperative mandate. (2) We favor the public ownership of all public utilities as the people shall from time to time elect. (3) The land, including all natural resources, the heritages of the people, should not be monopolized for speculative purposes and alien ownership should be prohibited. All lands now held by rail-

roads and other corporations in excess of their actual needs or held by aliens should be reclaimed and held for actual settlers only. (4) We favor scientific money, based upon the entire wealth of the people of the nation, and not redeemable in any specific commodity, but to be full legal tender for all debts, private or public, to be issued by the government only, without the intervention of banks, in sufficient quantity to meet the requirements of commerce. (5) We believe in just and natural taxation. (6) We demand the election of the president, vice president, federal judges and senators by the people. (7) We favor the creation of a cabinet office of the department of labor and equitable arbitration. (8) We favor the establishment of postal savings banks. (9) We favor the adoption of such constitutional amendments as may be necessary to make the above laws.

This platform came before the convention on the 18th, and was adopted. The convention adopted "Allied Party" as the name of the new organization, and made arrangements for calling a national convention.

The only other political event was the fusion effected between the Democratic and the Populist parties of Nebraska by their respective state conventions, in session at Lincoln on the 17th. Mr. Bryan spoke before both conventions. His reference before the Democratic convention to the president's death is noteworthy. Said he:

When the days of mourning are over, I am satisfied that the Democrats will believe with me, that as the blow of the anarchist cannot destroy our government, nothing can ever make imperialism right. I am glad the reform parties are not taking advantage of this calamity, and I am sorry that the Republicans are taking advantage of it.

Under the fusion agreement the Democrats have the head of the ticket (Conrad Hollenbeck for supreme court judge), and the Populists have the two regents of the university.

South American news corroborates the reports of last week that La Hacha, the Colombian town on the north coast of that country near the Venezuelan border had been successfully bombarded by Columbian liberals (insurgents), and not by the government of Venezuela. This news comes by way of Caracas and is to the effect that La Hacha has been evacuated by the Columbian government and is now occupied by a force composed of Columbian liberals and

Venezuelans. They use the Columbian flag. It would seem, therefore, that Venezuelans who have participated in this fight have done so as individuals. It would appear, also, that the Columbian liberals are making headway in the civil war.

China once more claims attention. Since our last report from this part of the world (p. 312), the required apology has been made to Germany (p. 345), and the terms of settlement have been agreed upon though not yet fully made public. Consequently the Chinese are permitted to resume their occupation of the empire. They did this in form on the 17th, when Chinese troops entered Peking and the Americans and the Japanese delivered the "forbidden city" in Peking over to the Chinese authorities.

But for the newspaper excitement in the United States over the death and burial of President McKinley, this week's news from South Africa would have challenged universal attention. The Boers have celebrated Lord Kitchener's surrender proclamation, which matured on the 15th, by winning on the 17th one of the greatest victories of their guerrilla warfare. The event took place near Scheeper's Nek. According to Lord Kitchener's official report, they ambushed three companies of mounted British infantry and after severe fighting overpowered them. The British loss was 16 killed, 30 wounded and 155 captured. The Boers are said by the British commandant, who escaped, to have numbered 1,000 and to have been under the command of Gen. Botha. Another affair is reported by Gen. French, who says that the Boer Commandant Smuts "rushed" a British squadron at Eland's River Poort, killing 23 and wounding 31. There appear also to be grave fears of another Boer invasion of Natal. The authorities at Pietermaritzburg, in view of the imminence of this reinvasion, ordered a muster on the 19th of the Natal corps.

#### NEWS NOTES.

—The duke and duchess of Cornwall made their formal entry into the Dominion of Canada at Quebec on the 16th.

—The celebration of the one thousandth anniversary of the death of King Alfred the Great began in Winchester on the 19th.

—Bishop Whipple, of Minnesota, died at Faribault on the 16th. He was

78 years old, and the senior bishop of the Protestant Episcopal church in America.

—Private Devine, of company H, Fifteenth United States cavalry, is reported to have been sentenced by court-martial to 20 years' imprisonment for saying, when he heard that President McKinley had been shot: "Served him right."

—The statistics of exports and imports of the United States for the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1901, as given by the August treasury sheet, were as follows (M standing for merchandise, G for gold and S for silver):

|   | Exports.      | Imports.      | Balance.         |
|---|---------------|---------------|------------------|
| M | \$216,457,675 | \$145,903,927 | \$70,553,648 exp |
| G | 2,923,832     | 4,873,704     | 1,949,872 imp    |
| S | 8,218,944     | 4,815,500     | 3,403,444 exp    |
|   | \$227,606,351 | \$155,493,131 | \$72,112,220 exp |

—The emperor of Germany gave the czar of Russia an imposing reception on the 11th, upon the occasion of the czar's passage through Germany in his journey to France. The tsar and his suite arrived in France on the 18th and was received by the president and his ministers at Dunkirk. The party went by rail to Compiègne between lines of soldiers guarding each side of the railroad track all the way.

## MISCELLANY

### THE PENALTY OF CONQUEST.

We are mad—grown mad in the race for gold.

We are drunk with the wine of gain.  
The truths our fathers proclaimed of old  
We spurn with a high disdain.  
But while the conqueror's race we run,  
Our rulers should not forget  
That the God who reigned over Babylon  
Is the God who is reigning yet.

Would we tread in the paths of tyranny,  
Nor reckon the tyrant's cost?  
Who taketh another's liberty,  
His freedom is also lost.  
Would we win as the strong have ever won?  
Make ready to pay the debt.  
For the God who reigned over Babylon  
Is the God who is reigning yet.

The ruins of dynasties passed away  
In eloquent silence lie;  
And the despot's fate is the same to-day  
That it was in the days gone by.  
Against all wrong and injustice done  
A rigid account is set.  
For the God who reigned over Babylon  
Is the God who is reigning yet.

The laws of right are eternal laws.  
The judgments of truth are true.  
My greed-blind masters, I bid you pause  
And look on the work you do.  
You bind with shackles your fellow man.  
Your hands with his blood are wet.  
And the God who reigned over Babylon  
Is the God who is reigning yet.

—J. A. Edgerton, in Democratic Magazine.

The bookkeeper who had worked 12 hours a day for 30 years paused to look at the captivity of a cahariy.

"How pathetic!" he exclaimed.—Life.

### THE SERVICE OF HENRY GEORGE TO RELIGION.

At a dinner given in New York, Saturday night, September 7, Rev. Herbert S. Bigelow, of Cincinnati, delivered an address on "The Religious Aspect of the Philosophy of Henry George." Mr. Bigelow said in part:

The philosophy of Henry George involves merely the application to social affairs of those fundamental principles which, in the abstract at least, religion has always taught. Henry George had the strength of the clergyman's convictions.

Man learns that his happiness is impaired if, through ignorance or neglect, his conduct is in conflict with natural laws. Henry George showed that the poverty which men had dutifully submitted to as a part of the natural order, was evidence that man had not yet learned to arrange his social affairs in accordance with the natural order.

In helping men to see the operation of natural law in the domain of political and social affairs Henry George supplied a compass which will direct the reforms of the future; he strengthened the foundations of a rational faith; he widened the scope of morality; he dignified the office of the Christian minister whose duty it is to teach the nation as well as the individual the meaning of that prayer, Thy kingdom come.

It was an immeasurable service which he rendered religion when he showed that when men obey the laws of God's universe they will be able to abolish the plague of poverty as certainly as they have abolished the bubonic plague and the smallpox.

The church is not serving humanity completely, it is not doing everything possible for the race, until it recognizes the essentially religious character of the struggle for freedom. It is doing only half its work when it appeals to men to be good while ignoring the fact that unjust laws make it unnaturally hard to be good.

The economic condition of a man has more to do with his salvation than his theological opinion. The church cannot be a vital force in this age, it can be nothing but a "salvation zoo" if it does not teach men that when their brothers are oppressed it is a higher religious duty to be breaking chains than counting beads.

What's the use of trying to legislate men up? Why not stop legislating them down? The crimes which the law commits against the people in the slums are far greater than the crimes which they commit against the law.

The golden rule is good politics. The Declaration of Independence is good

religion. That is creed enough for the political and religious faith of a democracy.

No man can be a true Christian without being a democrat at heart. Faith in the faithfulness of God's universe, faith in the inherent virtue of man, faith in liberty, faith in the practicability of the right, faith in the power of truth and in the future of the race—that is the faith which inspired the philosophy of Henry George.

### TOM JOHNSON ON RAILROAD TAXES.

Editorial in Chicago Chronicle of September 7.

The report of Mayor Tom L. Johnson of Cleveland on the true value of Ohio railroads for purposes of taxation is to the effect that often property owners are assessed about three times as much in proportion to the value of their property as the railroad companies are.

It is to be observed that this is the report of Mayor Johnson, not of the agent who compiled the facts and performed a certain kind of clerical work for him. Mr. Johnson approves all the findings and adopts the report as his own.

It is to be observed also that Mayor Johnson is not a populist or any kind of a socialist. He is a man of large wealth, who is himself a leading spirit in more than one corporation. He knows what corporations are, including railroad companies, from large personal experience. He is, therefore, far from being an enemy of corporations. On the other hand, he is a man not at all likely to be deceived in regard to such facts as his report deals with.

From the nature of his business interests he cannot be suspected of a desire to rob corporations merely because they are corporations or for any other reason. At the same time he is not the kind of man to be imposed upon by undervaluation fallacies or tricks.

In short, we must assume that he wishes the railroad companies to bear their due proportion of the public burdens, neither more nor less. And his attitude in this respect is that of all intelligent and fair-minded men.

Now what Mayor Johnson finds is this: The railroads in Ohio are assessed at \$117,000,000, and this is only about 21½ per cent. of the true value of their property in the state of Ohio. It is commonly assumed that other property in the state is assessed at about 60 per cent. of its true value.

At the same ratio railroad property would be assessed at over \$321,000,000, and the revenue derived therefrom should be \$6,171,000 instead of \$2,109,000.

While it is true that railroad companies ought not to be fleeced because they are corporations or for any other reason, it is equally true that they are not entitled to special favors. Those who demand that they bear their just share of the public burdens are not their enemies any more than they are enemies of their individual neighbors with respect to whom they make precisely the same demand.

The facts reported by Mayor Johnson show that in Ohio the railroads are not bearing their share of the burden. What is true in Ohio is not unlikely to be true elsewhere. The companies know how to look after their own interests as well in one state as another. The facts go to show that they are not the victims of persecution in the matter of taxation, but that, on the contrary, they are more favored than individual property owners.

They cannot rightfully complain, therefore, if individual property owners insist that the subject be thoroughly investigated and that if the companies are found to be specially favored the favoritism shall cease. The companies have power enough to pass on part of the burden to the community in general if at any time it becomes really excessive.

#### THE RAILWAY TAX ISSUE IN OHIO.

Editorial in the Springfield Republican of September 13.

The informal opening of the democratic campaign in Ohio took place last week, when Mayor Johnson, of Cleveland carried the matter of the assessment of the railroads of the state for taxation up to the state board of equalization at Columbus. This board is composed of the state auditor, treasurer, attorney general and railroad commissioner. It is a republican body and is empowered to adjust the county assessments of the roads and change the figures so far as the facts justify a change. The Ohio law calls for the taxation of railroad property according to its real value the same as other property, and decisions of the supreme court have made the market value of the property the standard by which to adjudge its worth for purposes of taxation.

Mayor Johnson went before the state board armed with a printed re-

port prepared by Prof. E. W. Bemis at Mr. Johnson's request, showing the true value of the railroads in Ohio for taxation. Among others present were Col. Kilbourne, democratic candidate for governor, Mayor Jones, of Toledo, and representatives of the Ohio League of Municipalities which has undertaken to support the Johnson tax reform movement. Curiously enough the state board began at once the suppressive tactics employed by the county auditors when Johnson made his appeal to them. Their first step was to deny the petitioners an adequate hearing. Next it was decided that the board could only equalize, not increase, the county auditor's figures, but when it was shown that the board had repeatedly exercised the power to raise the figures that position was abandoned. Then there was an apparent attempt to browbeat the Cleveland mayor, which will explain the severity of Johnson's closing remarks at the hearing:—

The big corporations get all the benefits of the present methods of assessments. How? By influencing auditors, by influencing legislators, by influencing courts and by influencing elections. Let us take off the mask and be frank with each other. I say that no auditor or other official who has a railroad pass in his pocket or accepts other favors from these corporations is a fit man to say how much of the tax burden they shall pay. Some men may be above these influences, but I doubt it. Why, gentlemen, this business of extending favors to public officials has even gone so far as to extend to your august body. Two of you accepted an invitation of a certain railroad official to take a long trip in a private car to California. I hope it did not influence you.

And not a word of response or explanation came from the members of the board.

Prof. Bemis's exhibit of present railway valuations and assessments in Ohio was of an astonishing character. He computed the fair cash values of several properties on the basis of the quoted market value of their securities. Where this value was readily obtainable, the relationship between net earnings and total market value was noted and applied in the case of roads whose market value was not readily obtainable, in order to determine their value. The fairness of the method does not seem to have been questioned by the board. It showed, however, that the total estimated true value of all the steam roads in the state is \$535,059,811, and it further appears that farm, mercantile and other property in the state is commonly assessed for taxation at 60 per cent. of its true or market value. Accordingly the roads should be, on that basis, assessed at some \$321,000,-

000, but as a matter of fact their actual assessment by the various county boards aggregates only \$117,000,000, or about 21 per cent. of the true value. The Johnsonites figure that the roads should pay to the counties this year taxes aggregating \$6,170,990, while they are actually assessed to pay only \$2,108,734—showing a loss of over \$4,000,000, which the roads would pay were they taxed on an equality with the property of merchants, farmers and others.

The roads are yet to make their argument before the state board. But it is easy to see that a pretty sharp and appealing issue is being made up for the state campaign should the board refuse to change the assessment materially. Evidence is not wanting to show that the taxation of railroads in Ohio per mile is little more than one-half of what it is in the adjoining state of Indiana, where actual values should be lower on account of the smaller density of population and absence of large cities with expensive terminals and approaches.

#### THE LESSON OF THE TRAGEDY.

The springs of action which terminated in the shocking and revolting tragedy at Buffalo last Friday may run back to the dismemberment of Poland. The young man who fired the shot which laid the president of the United States low was not born in Poland, but Polish blood is in his veins and doubtless Polish traditions have affected his life. Some old strain of the patriotism of that unhappy country and of the hatred which long oppression and hoary wrong engendered among its people may have survived in this son of an unbalanced woman to fire his imagination and send him forth with the slumbering passions of his race kindled to flame and with murder in his heart.

The mad dog cry has already been raised and in its tumult and fury all soberer appeal is lost. The tragedy is deplorable in every conceivable view. It is deplorable that any human being should be shot down in cold blood. It is deplorable that a high officer of the government should become the victim of a maniac's malevolence. It is deplorable that the nation should be shamed and disgraced by a deed that no charity can excuse. But more deplorable than the deed is the spirit of anarchy which it has aroused even among men of sober mind. Senators of the United States, gray-headed men of long experience, catch its fatal infection, forget civic order, cast aside the traditions of their country,

depreciate its institutions, disregard its laws and its safeguards of liberty, and with primal ferocity appeal to that same spirit of force without reason which impelled the assassin to his deadly work.

Lynching is boldly urged by men like Cullom and Platt; and David B. Hill wishes to extend this fanaticism of disorder beyond the assassin into vague fields where anarchy is supposed to lurk and to propagate its schemes of murder. He urges the inauguration of a reign of proscription such as that which has followed the Jews from land to land for 2,000 years and such as that which Russia practices to-day in her fear of the people. He demands that weapons shall be placed in the hands of fanaticism for the hunting of men and women supposed to hold views contrary to those commonly accepted; and were his plan adopted free thought and free speech would be at an end, repression would take the place of uplifting freedom, the era of witch-burning and of Jew baiting would come again. . . .

The peril of this tragedy lies less in its attack upon the head of the nation and the idol of a great party than in the reaction it excites. It makes even such papers as the Springfield Republican forget their teachings and their traditions and hark back to the devices of kings and despots for curing evils such as this great one which has found shocking expression in a madman's bullet. The Springfield Republican joins in the mad dog cry. Proscription and repression are its weapons for fighting this phase of social disorder. Yet for curing other forms of social disorder it does not advocate worse disorder. It does not suggest the lynching of those anarchists who defy all government and all morals in the evasion of private ambitions and the satisfaction of personal greed. Yet these anarchists take more lives every day in the year than all the other anarchists take in a hundred years. They bring sorrow into thousands of homes. They orphan children and widow women; they drive men to despair and send them forth through the gate of vice into the highway of crime; they worse than kill government by corrupting it; and they mock at God by disregarding all his commandments and by trampling his sons and daughters under the heel of their sordid oppressions.

Freedom is still the ideal of democracy. If wrong challenges the nation, it is not because freedom has been abused; it is because there have been

restrictions somewhere upon it. And when fear hovers over a country it is a portent of rottenness below. For fear, as Emerson says, is a carrion crow, and though you see not well what he hovers for, there is death somewhere. That obscene bird is not there for nothing. He indicates great wrongs which must be revised. And this is the deepest lesson of the appalling tragedy at Buffalo.—Editorial in Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat of September 9.

#### LYNCHING IN THE STATE OF MISSISSIPPI.

##### THE GOSPEL IN MISSISSIPPI.

An editorial published in the Boston Herald of August 27.

In another part of this issue of the Herald is printed a sermon, preached by Rev. Quincy Ewing in St. James' Episcopal church, in Greenville, Miss., for which we bespeak a reading. We hope that every Christian will read it, and that every politician will read it. No clearer, braver note of righteousness and patriotism regarding the unchristian and unpatriotic barbarism of lynching has been uttered by any voice in the north or the south. It is an indictment of the prevalent, uncivilized conditions in the state of Mississippi and other southern states, showing itself also in sporadic manifestations in some northern states, and certain to spread if unresisted. This utterance cannot be derided and dismissed as a Pharisaical, I-am-holier-than-thou preachment of a northern sentimentalist, who does not know what he is talking about, and fails to apprehend the peculiar conditions of southern society. Mr. Ewing was born and reared in the south, the far south, "sired and grandsired, mothered and grandmothered," as he says, "by southern people." But no northern man, not one, so far as we can remember, has spoken with a more sane and solemn condemnation of the crimes of brutal lawlessness committed in the abused names of purity and justice than this southern clergyman and patriot.

We do not know for what reason he bears his historic names; but if, instead of being by birth and ancestry a southerner, the blood of all the Quincys and all the Ewings ran in his veins, his nobility and eloquence would add honor to their fame. He speaks with the conviction and serious earnestness of a prophet of God in a time of moral degradation and shame. He makes no weak, compro-

missing apologies for the wrong he exposes and denounces. In truth, he strips it of the sophistications with which craven Christians and mob-cultivating politicians have attempted to disguise or minimize its enormity. He has no mercy on those northern politicians and journalists who condemn and condone in the same voice. It seems not two weeks since we read in a Boston newspaper a discussion of the crime of lynching that went far toward accepting as valid and sufficient the commonest excuse for it. This sermon, coming so soon after, suggests an incident of the anti-slavery contest. When Edward Everett had made a soothing speech in the house of representatives deprecating agitation, and treating the institution of slavery with apologetic approbation, John Randolph, of Virginia, rose in his place and, pointing his terrible finger at the Massachusetts representative, retorted: "I envy neither the head nor the heart of the man from the north who rises on this floor to defend the institution of slavery on principle." So this southern clergyman, without personality, of course, and without conscious sarcasm, leaves the northern apologists of negro lynchings under a rebuke not less scornful because the scorn is unspoken.

It must not be supposed that this sermon is "sensational," in the common newspaper sense of the word. There is no ranting in its phrases. The internal evidence is that it was intended only as faithful plain talk to his own parish in the city of Greenville and the county of Washington, lying along the Mississippi river, in the mid-latitudes of the state. There is no indication that it was consciously preached to the whole south, or would ever be heard of far from his pulpit. Almost all of its illustrative facts are local, matters within the cognizance of the men and women who heard him, being in this regard singularly like the discourses of the Master. How it got to the north we do not know. We find it in the New York Sun of Sunday, and presume that it may have had a local publication, and been discovered by some exchange editor, who sagaciously apprehended its merit and significance. Truth, wisdom and humanity shine in it with singular brightness. It is a light which, in the nature of things, could not be long hidden under a bushel.

After all, the most surprising and

hopeful of its teachings is not the wickedness and degradation of lynch law, but the sureness of its exposition of the profound underlying principles of human rights. In this respect it has a logical coherence and a philosophical breath that are frequently wanting in the most liberal utterances of southern men. There is not a false nor an inconsistent note in the discourse. In his view negroes are human beings, and they are citizens of the United States, entitled to have and to exercise all the rights of humanity and all the privileges of citizenship equally with white men. He pours deserved ridicule upon the sham pretense that the white race in the south will be overwhelmed if the negro race is treated with equal justice, instead of being subjected to a savage oppression. True, many of them are ignorant and shiftless, but the same is true of many white men. The exclusion from political power on that account should not affect one race only, but the line of intelligence should be run straight, impartially dividing in both races the sheep from the goats. Without expressly declaring this purpose, the argument is as vital and powerful against the political injustice imbedded in the new southern constitutions as against the debasing wrong of public murder by lynching.

This is such a voice of Christianity and humanity as we have long waited to hear from the south. We have believed that there must be in the breasts of the white race, there a conscience which some time would speak out defying the regnant tyranny, oppression and cruelty, not in part, but completely, not on grounds of policy alone, but on the fundamental basis of right, proclaiming and obeying the "Thus saith the Lord" of true religion and undefiled. Quincy Ewing's is such a voice, surprising, even startling, in its high, full note of righteousness and patriotism, because it is so conspicuously alone. From the far south, from the lowlands of Mississippi, comes this lofty, ringing godly defiance of the satanic braggardism of Tillman, and the calculating, selfish, demoralization of Gorman, and of all their abettors in the prostitution of American liberty.

#### THE LYNCHING OF NEGROES IN MISSISSIPPI.

An extract from a sermon on lynching preached by the Rev. Quincy Ewing in St. James' Episcopal church, Greenville, Miss.,

on August 11. Reprinted from the Boston Herald of August 27.

It may be well to preface my remarks this morning with the statement that what I shall say of Mississippi might be said with equal justice of several other southern states. I speak of Mississippi, because I live in Mississippi, and am more intimately concerned with the affairs of Mississippi than those of any other state.

My text is the Sermon on the Mount of Jesus Christ and the constitution of the state of Mississippi. My subject suggested by the text is the lynching of negroes in Mississippi.

It is no pleasure to me to speak upon this subject to-day. It is very decidedly painful to me, a southern man, sired and grandsired, mothered and grandmothered, by southern people born and reared farther south than the latitude of this town; it is very decidedly painful to me to have to deal with this subject, and, in dealing with it, to say what the time demands shall be said. It could give me no pleasure to need to speak out in denunciation of crime, lawlessness, brutality, anywhere on the earth; but perhaps it is a pardonable infirmity of human nature for one to feel more pain in acknowledging and denouncing the sins of one's own land, own people, than in holding up the standard of moral protest against the crimes of people separated from one by an ocean, or a Mason and Dixon's line. I confess to such an infirmity.

But I should be unfit to stand in this place if I allowed that infirmity to blind my eyes to one of the dimmest crimes of the ages because it is being perpetrated in this southern land by southern men; or to seal my lips from denunciation of that crime, and the moral tone of the south, and especially of this state, to-day; the moral tone which permits it, and in certain quarters makes a virtue of it.

If some one were to declare in Boston that there were more Massachusetts murderers in Massachusetts outside than inside the state penitentiary, or that the great majority of Massachusetts murderers were not hanged, or imprisoned, or brought to trial, or arrested—who would doubt that a very untrue and foolish thing had been said; that an absurd slander had been uttered against the fair name of Massachusetts? But if some one were to stand up in Greenville to-day and de-

clare that there are more Mississippi murderers outside than inside the state's prison; that the great majority of Mississippi murderers are never hanged, or imprisoned, or brought to trial, or indicted, or arrested, or forced to flee from one county to another, or seriously bothered in any way—if some one were to stand up in Greenville and say that, who could be sure that he had said an untrue thing?

Who could truthfully declare that an absurd slander had been uttered against the state? Who could fairly deny, that but the simple truth had been spoken? Who could be so blind and so dull as to contend that the men of all colors and races who have been hanged, or imprisoned, or tried, or arrested, or fined, or bothered, for murder, have not been outnumbered during the past ten years by the men of one race, and that race the one to which we belong—by the men of one race, who have got together in bands and crowds, and deliberately slain their fellow-men, setting aside all the forms of law and making of themselves murderers as clearly as he who lies in ambush and sends a bullet through the heart of his foe?

It is not denunciation, understand, to say that every lyncher is a murderer—just as surely a murderer as any one who ever dangled from a gallows. That is not denunciation; it is but a statement of fact in thorough accord with the law of the state of Mississippi. And the fact is not altered by what the lyncher may think of himself or what his friends may think of him. He is a murderer in the eyes of Almighty God, unless Almighty God sits blind or asleep upon his throne while the lyncher does his devil's work. He is a murderer—supposing there is no God, mighty or unmighty, and the lyncher is hardly to be expected to suppose anything about any sort of God—he is a murderer, because the law of the state of Mississippi has no other name for him.

It is his privilege to repudiate God Almighty and God Almighty's justice, or think he does, but he cannot, living in Mississippi, repudiate the state of Mississippi; he cannot outlaw the state's law, however he may violate it and trample it under foot, because the state, in spite of its law, which names murder murder, is cursed by a lot of cowardly or criminal officials, without the nerve or the inclination to protect a prisoner from a cowardly and criminal mob, or to bring mur-

derers to justice, swift or tardy, after their murder is done!

Now, surely, this is a fact that ought to appeal very painfully and tragically to the decent, law-abiding citizens of Mississippi—the strong probability, or certainty, that the great majority of Mississippi murderers are not hanged, or imprisoned, or arrested, or forced to leave the state, or even to change their residence from one county to another! So long as this probability, or this certainty, remains, what decent, law-abiding man can be proud to own himself a son or citizen of Mississippi? What decent, law-abiding citizen of Mississippi can think of the civilization of his state as of a sort that might be copied to its advantage by any other state or community on the face of God's earth, except, perhaps, some community where it is lawful custom for men to batter out one another's brains, and spill one another's blood, and feed on the one and drink the other?

If that is a civilized state where it is probable that the majority of its murderers from year to year, from decade to decade, are not made to feel by gallows, or prison, or fine, or banishment, that they have committed an offense against the state's law—if that is a civilized state, who will define for us a barbarous one? If that is an elevated, enlightened, Christian state, who will distinguish for us between it and one that, from the standpoint of Jesus Christ, is morally blind and brutal and degraded; between it and some other state that might be pointed to as testifying unmistakably in its moral tone to the existence and very active and lavish inspiration of the devil?

Let me pass to another fact, which I suppose nobody will dispute; this, namely, that white men do not lynch white men in the state of Mississippi, or so rarely as to create no problem for us to consider. Our moral and legal problem is created for us by the spectacle of white men engaged again and again in the lynching of negroes. It is safe to say that the lynching of white men by white men would not long be tolerated in this state; some way would speedily be found to put a stop to it; the unhappy people who are loud now in applause of lynching would be equally loud in condemnation of it if lynchings of white men by white men were at all frequent. What a sickening truth was suggested, even if the

suggestion was somewhat in the form of exaggeration, by the statement to the deputy sheriff of that dago, recently sentenced to death in Greenwood for murdering a negro woman: "Me no kill her in Tenn'see; me kill her in Miss'sip; me no think it harm to kill nig in Miss'sip!"

Now, why, let me ask, are there so many lynchings of negroes in this state of Mississippi, and why are these lynchings applauded by so many people who have no hand in them?

What is the explanation of this fact? Is it that we don't want the negroes here, that they are in our way, that we want to get rid of them, and lynch them in order to show them that we don't want them here, in order to make it so hot for them that they will get out of the state, and give us more room; more room to black our boots, to nurse our babies, and cook our dinners, and clean up our houses, and sweep out our stores, and drive our wagons, and labor in our oil mills and sawmills and compresses, and pile dirt on our levees in July sun, and plow our fields, and dig our sewer trenches, and plant and pick our cotton? Is it that we want more room to do these things ourselves, or want to replace the negro by some other race of people better qualified than he to do these things?

Nay, this explanation could not explain. We are not trying to get rid of the negro; we are not longing to pick our own cotton, or black our own boots, or pile dirt on our own levees; we don't want him to leave us; we are not anxious to replace him with any other race of people. We want the negro to stay with us; his virtues appeal to the intelligence of our pockets, if not to the humanity of our hearts! Go from this county to another, and make yourself conspicuous urging the negroes to leave there and come here, and you will be likely to get warmer entertainment from the white citizens of that county than you desire. You might get a coat of tar and feathers, or be ridden on a rail, or a stray bullet—so deeply would your effort to rid them of the negro be appreciated by the aforesaid white citizens!

The dullest of us knows that the great bulk of raw material of the state's wealth is produced from year to year by negro labor. The bread we eat, the summer trips we take, the houses we live in, the tailor-made suits and silk dresses we wear, the money we put into missionary boxes to Christianize yellow people in China and Japan, point all, or nearly all, directly or in-

directly, to negro labor; to negro men and women, to negro grandfathers and grandmothers and little children, picking our cotton or gathering our corn, while we work or sit under cover, and fan ourselves, or have ourselves fanned by electricity—and complain of the heat!

No, we don't want to get rid of the negro. He tried to get rid of us, I have been told, some years ago, by getting away from us in this county; and steamboats were not allowed to land in front of this town to take him away. I have been told that shotguns in the hands of white men forbade him to leave Washington county to seek a more congenial environment in Kansas!

We don't want to get rid of the negro; he is our wealth producer; yet we lynch him; murder him with as little sense of the law's offended majesty as would possess us if we were killing a rattlesnake or a rabid dog.

Do we lynch him because we are trying to get even with him for coming here in the first instance; for coming here and thriving here, and getting us so accustomed to him that we cannot now do without him, in spite of our dislike for him? Nay, for we all know his coming here in the first instance was not through any choice of his; our ancestors wanted him to come, and he thought of coming only when the coming was forced upon him; only when he was in the power of white men whose business it was to buy him or steal him in Africa, and see that he did come here in salable condition! I doubt if you or I ever saw a single negro whose ancestors came to this country of their own will, and not rather by the will of some of our ancestors.

Do we lynch the negro because he has invented some new, stupendous crime that white men have no taste for, or because he is prone to indulge in many crimes that civilized white men have not outgrown? Nay, the negro has not invented any new crime; he is not lynched for any one crime only; he is lynched, again and again, for crimes that white men have not outgrown, and do frequently commit. We are likely to pick up a paper any day, and read, without any emotion or any great surprise, that a negro has been lynched in Mississippi for assault and battery, or some offense less than assault and battery! Look at that affair in the county of Carroll—that affair with its

mob that couldn't be restrained in its mad thirst for blood by the governor of the state, the district attorney, the circuit judge and the "leading citizens."

A white man suspects a negro boy of putting rough-on-rats in his drinking water. He gets up a party of his friends, and goes with them to the house of that boy, and murders him. There is no mob to avenge this murder. We do not read that the murderers were ever tried, or indicted, or arrested, or bothered in any way. The dago's idea seems here to have been borne out very vividly and impressively: "Me no think it harm to kill nig in Miss'sip!" The murderers of that negro boy knew—as well as they knew anything on this earth—that if there was producible the very thinnest reasonable evidence that he had poisoned the water jugs, he could be indicted, tried, convicted and punished according to law. But they chose to murder him.

The relatives of that murdered boy, unable to invoke the law's avenging arm, themselves resolve upon an awful crime—following the example of the white murderers; resolve upon it and commit it. They murder the parents of the leader of the band who had shown them how easily a murder might be committed. Immediately a lynching mob is formed, and they are not going to be overparticular, not at all squeamish, as to whom they lynch! And lynch they do—a helpless old woman and young girl, not known, as far as authentic reports show, to have had anything whatever to do with the murder of the aged couple. And lynch they do—after the governor's visit and plea for law and order—a negro man, not known to have had anything to do with the murder, and described in the press report as "one of the most trusted negroes in the county." No one in Carrollton, it seems, had ever heard any charge whispered against him of complicity in the horrible crime—but the mob is at work—and an order comes to Carrollton for his coffin.

His crime seems to have been that he was a servant of the aged people, and occupied a cabin 200 yards from their residence. He, of course, should have prevented the murder of his employers, even if he was quietly in his bed asleep and had no dream that murder threatened them! And while the mob is engaged in this delectable rampage of butchery the

actual perpetrators of the bloody deed escape. The ringleaders of the mob know that they are putting to death the only witnesses who could help them to a knowledge of the murderers at large, the number of them, and possibly their whereabouts; yet the lynching orgy goes on—proving well enough that the mob was not moved so much by the desire to serve justice in a rude and barbarous way as by the utterly despicable, brutal impulse to go out and kill a "lot o' niggers," because a white man and woman had been murdered by negroes!

Far be it from me to extenuate for one moment the shocking crime which compassed the death of those aged people in Carroll county. The perpetrators of it should have been legally run down, legally indicted, legally tried, legally convicted and legally hanged, just as quickly as possible. But there was nothing in this crime, let us clearly understand, characteristic of one race rather than another; there was nothing in it characteristic of the negro rather than of the white man.

Surely we have not forgotten that in Washington county, a few weeks ago, an innocent, gray-haired old man was murdered in his sleep by white men, and another man murdered with him, in his sleep, because it was rumored—simply rumored—that he had threatened to kill some one of the brave citizens of the neighborhood of Erwin! And let me say this: Get up a party of your friends; go with them to the home of some white boy and shoot him to death; give his relatives no redress at law, and then ask yourself if you would not deem it necessary to guard the members of your family from the vengeance of that murdered boy's relatives!

The negro, then, is not lynched because he is addicted to crimes that are characteristic of him as a negro; not lynched because the hands of white men are clean of deeds that bloody his.

Is the negro lynched in Mississippi because when he has committed a crime it is hard to convict him of it—hard to convict him in a Mississippi court, before a Mississippi judge and a Mississippi jury, composed of the most part, if not altogether, of Mississippi white men? Hard in Mississippi to convict a negro because accused of crime, and send him to the farm, the penitentiary or the gallows! Why, to think the thought

even humorously were to trench upon the borderland of absurdity!

Do we lynch negroes or sanction the lynching of them in Mississippi lest they should get the upper hand of us; lest they should negroize our politics and our government; lest they should forge to the front ahead of us, and thrust us into the backward places now occupied by them? Do we lynch them in order to keep them down and backward? Do we lynch them because we fear them? If that is the reason, what becomes of our oft-repeated boast of race superiority, our oft-uttered conviction that the white man, by virtue of the natural inherent superiority of his intellect and character, is destined to lead and rule, and the black man, by reason of the natural inferiority of his intellect and character, to follow and serve? The politician wanting votes in solid blocks may afford to play upon the emotions of the dull and thoughtless with the bugaboo of negro domination; but can the thinking white men of Mississippi in this day afford to confess to themselves even that they are afraid of negro domination? Can they afford to acknowledge themselves such ridiculous cowards? Can they afford to admit that, dealt with justly, dealt with in simple obedience to the laws of the state, the negro will rise to the top of things political, and hold them writhing and wriggling in subjection at the bottom? I cannot bring myself to believe that the dominant white people of Mississippi entertain any such puerile fear!

One more question, and then I am done asking for a solution of this problem, if problem it be. Are negroes lynched in Mississippi lest, if they were dealt with when criminal as citizens of the state in accordance with the laws that white men make and enforce, they might, perceiving their equality with white people before the law, gradually, by slow degrees, push on to something like equality with white people in the ways and byways of society? Are they lynched in order to keep solid and sound the mortar between the stones that build the barrier wall against "social equality?"

Nay, nay, nay! This will not do. Why, white men of the sort that gather in mobs to "lynch niggers" are doing more right here in this town in the year 1901, are doing more, doubtless, in every other town of Mississippi, unmolested, to batter down this barrier wall against social equality than has ever been done by the negroes in all their history as American citizens! I need not be more explicit; you

know what I mean; and, if possibly you do not, I need only say, keep your eyes open as you walk your street, keep them open night or day, and you will know!

For none of the reasons suggested is the negro lynched in Mississippi. He is lynched for the simple reason that in race he is an alien to the people who lynch him, and by reason of the law, as respected and administered, their underling, powerless to appeal to the law for protection. Replace the negro in Mississippi by any other race of aliens, make them also underlings, and as certain as the sun shines they would be lynched just as the negro is. And this means that the same essential spirit is dominant in Mississippi—in Mississippi of the twentieth century—that was dominant in Europe in the dark ages; that ruled in France more than 500 years ago, when pious Louis canceled a third of the claims held by Jews against Frenchmen for the benefit of his soul; that ruled at Verdun, where the Jews, mad with agony, huddled together in a tower of refuge, hurled down their children to the howling mob, hoping thus, vainly, to satiate their greed for Jewish blood; the same spirit that, 500 years ago, lighted a fire for every Jew in whole French provinces and dug the trench at Chignon, and raised that pile where nearly 200 Jewish men and women were burned together; burned because fundamentally they were not Frenchmen by religion, not Frenchmen by race!

Alas! alas! that we should do such boasting of our civilization putting to shame the centuries gone; such boasting of our progress, our freedom, our democratic ideals, our enlightened laws; such boasting, while we hark back to the dark age to copy its standards and methods; such boasting, and we are not yet enlightened enough to abstain from trampling under bloody feet the law we boast of; not yet masters sufficiently of the passions that fasten the fangs of one brute in the throat of another not his kind that we are able to treat with simple justice, to deal with, even according to the forms of law, the members of an alien and weaker race dwelling among us by our own will, surely, as much as their own!

Can the lynching of negroes be stopped in Mississippi? Can it be stopped? It can be, just as soon as the people of Mississippi elect a legislature decent enough to want to stop it. We have elected a decent governor, and all honor crown his head for the stand he has taken in this matter of

negro lynching, in the face of his blatant and venomous detractors! We have elected a decent governor; now let the people of Mississippi elect a decent legislature and the lynching demon will be bound within its hell den.

Elect a legislature with manhood enough, with moral backbone enough, to pass a law simply imposing a big money fine upon any county in which a lynching occurs; and lynchings, I doubt not, would be of rare occurrence even in our counties that civilization has most slighted. Probe the pocket of the lyncher and you will speedily get at his conscience!

Elect a legislature with decency enough to want to stop lynching, manifested in the passing of a law vacating the sheriff's office and making the sheriff forever ineligible to any office of any kind who surrendered a prisoner to a mob, or did not do all that could reasonably be expected of him to prevent anybody charged with a crime from falling into the hands of a mob. That would discourage lynching for obvious reasons that I need not mention.

In case neither of these laws should discourage it sufficiently, let the legislature give the governor explicit power to send troops into any county where, in his judgment, the sheriff is clearly not doing his duty; is "standing in with" a mob; has not taken those precautions which the law allows him to protect a prisoner from would-be lynchers, or persons not prisoners from a mob's frenzy; to send troops into the county to handle the mob and run them down and drag them to prison, just as federal troops in the west have often run down and dragged to prison murderous Indians and white desperadoes.

I have always been, and am now, a states-rights democrat; but I say, with no sort of hesitation, that if Mississippi cannot put a stop to the lynching of negroes within her borders—negroes, let us remember, who are citizens of the United States as well as of Mississippi—then the federal government ought to take a hand in this business; for the constitution of the United States, along with the constitution and laws of Mississippi, is shoved aside and trampled down every time a lynching occurs in this state. If Mississippi cannot prevent its citizens, who are also citizens of the United States, from being deprived of life by mobs without any process of law, due or otherwise, then Mississippi has no

right to the prerogatives of statehood. Let the United States constitution be amended, if necessary, that Mississippi, unfit to be a sovereign commonwealth, may lapse back into the status of a territory!

While we are waiting for a legislature to be elected decent enough to pass some law in restraint of lynching, there is one very practical thing that the respectable people of this county and of every other county in the state can do to keep this blot upon our civilization from getting any bigger or blacker than it is. Law and order leagues should be formed in every county of men willing, if need be, to give up their lives in defense of the fair name of their state, sworn to stand together and see to it as far as lies within their power that in their several counties there shall be no hangings of their fellow men, black or white or yellow or brown, who have not been duly indicted, duly tried before judge and jury, with counsel to defend them, duly convicted and sentenced to death. I have no doubt that such a league could be formed here. I have no doubt that there is honest, brave, enlightened, respectable manhood enough here to form it of such quality that the cowardly mob demon would not show its head in Washington county.

We do need such a law and order league in Washington county to protect these black people in their right to live; to see to it that, having lost the ballot, they shall not lose their lives except by command of the sovereign law of the state of Mississippi. If such a league is formed here I want to be a member of it. I don't want to be passed by because I stand in this pulpit on Sunday. I have stood here to-day and criticised the state of Mississippi. I am ready to-morrow or to-day to risk my life facing any mob to keep the blot upon the escutcheon of her statehood from getting any bigger or blacker.

#### THE SANCTITY OF LIFE.

For The Public.

O sons of freemen, will this awful crime Our blood-thirst check for men of other clime?

Was this hard lesson needed, to assuage Our lust of power and gain, so long the rage?

Could we not else—a people brave and just—

Discern the shame and crime of Empire's lust?

Must God, who suffers long, this anguish give

Ere we would let the brown-skinned freemen live?

O, blind to truth, and hardened in our  
lust,  
That only such a loss could make us just!  
The blow that laid our great First Servant  
low,  
Hath shocked mankind, and filled all hearts  
with woe,  
As only thoughtful men's hearts writhed  
in pain  
When Boer and Filipino hopes were slain.  
And may all hearts, now shocked and angu-  
ish-torn,  
And choked with griefs too heavy to be  
borne,  
Expand to feel all lives are sacred still  
And how atrocious 'tis our "wards" to  
kill;—  
Enlarge to feel the sacredness of life,  
And courage take to stop our wicked strife!  
O thoughtful men, be brave and thought-  
ful now;  
Our wicked pride in sad contrition bow;  
From Asia's blood our erring souls now  
purge,—  
And learn the lesson of this awful scourge.  
WILEY WRIGHT MILLS.

The democratic party for years has  
been seeking to overcome tendencies  
in government which it knew to be  
breeding anarchy. It has recognized  
the peril to our institutions involved in  
building up a monstrous fabric of  
class privilege. It has known that in  
sowing the wind of class favors we  
were bound sooner or later to reap the  
whirlwind of class hatred. And it has  
sought in an orderly way by invoking  
the spirit of civic virtue to check the  
reckless progress of class selfishness  
and class greed as exemplified in  
shameless laws which brought want  
and sorrow into thousands of homes  
and bitterness and revolt into tens of  
thousands of hearts.—Johnstown  
(Pa.) Democrat.

Pious Patriarch (who is seeing  
worse days, calling on his old school-  
mate, who is now the Hon. Mr. Grown-  
rich)—Do you believe that the meek  
shall inherit the earth?

Hon. Mr. Grownrich—Now, my good  
friend, P. P., I have never thought  
along that line; but I am very positive  
that they will never be rivals in fran-  
chises.

C. E. L.

## MAGAZINES.

—The Socialist Spirit (Chicago: Franklin  
H. Wentworth, editor and publisher, 609  
Ashland Block. Price, 50 cents a year; five  
cents a copy), begins its career with the  
September number as successor to the  
Social Crusader. Its declared object is  
not only to "interest those who are already  
socialists," but to "help to make social-  
ists." Among the contributors to the ini-

tial number are William Thurston Brown  
and George McA. Miller. Its special fea-  
ture is a review of current events in the  
spirit of socialism, and its promoters are  
"a group organized for service in the so-  
cialist movement," called "The Fellow-  
ship," the executive of which consists of  
George D. Herron, William T. Brown, Wil-  
liam Mally, Leonard D. Abbott, John  
Spargo, Marion Craig Wentworth and  
Franklin H. Wentworth.

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week. Payment of subscription is acknowledged up-  
to the date in the address label on the wrapper.

Single copies, five cents each.

Published weekly by  
THE PUBLIC PUBLISHING COMPANY,  
1501 Schiller Bldg., Chicago, Ill.

Post-office address:  
THE PUBLIC, Box 687, Chicago, Ill.

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