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J. Pierpont Morgan's words are hardly uttered, his words of reassurance regarding the certainty of a continuance of our marvelous "prosperity," when Wall street receives another of those shocks that are premonitory of a general crash.

This slump in stock values, with its consequent panic, is a sharp reminder of the gaseous character of our much boasted prosperity. It depends not upon wealth production and a normally increasing volume of the values of wealth produced, but upon an inflation of the values of special privileges of one kind and another. It is the prosperity of the gambling hell, and not of the goods market. Like air in a bladder, all these inflated values may be let out with a pin puncture.

The puncture which brought on the Wall street panic was made by those Federal judges who have decided that the Northern Securities company—the holding corporation for the consolidation of the northwestern railroads—is an illegal conspiracy. Under this decision all corporations for strangling competition in inter-State commerce are within the shadow of the Sherman law; and as our "fake" prosperity is bound up in the manipulation of such organizations the decision gives it a rude shock.

It is confidently believed, however, that the Northern Securities decision, if sustained by the Supreme Court, will put an end to the evils of trusts. Nothing could well be

wider of the mark. The trust evil is not due to the consolidation of industries. It is due to the monopoly factor in industries. In railroading, for instance, there is no harm in the consolidation of interests in rolling stock and rails. Should all rolling stock and all rails be monopolized, new rolling stock and rails could be quickly produced. That fact alone would prevent such monopolization. But there is harm in the consolidation of monopoly privileges in rights of way and terminals. It is this and only this that makes railroad combinations a formidable public enemy.

Even here it is not the consolidation of these privileges but their existence, whether consolidated or not, that constitutes the root of the evil. If railway privileges did not exist they could not be consolidated. But so long as they do exist they will be consolidated, courts and judges to the contrary notwithstanding. The Northern Securities decision, though affirmed by the Supreme Court, will effect nothing permanent. When it is certain that railway privileges can no longer be consolidated by means of holding companies, they will be consolidated by other methods. The only remedy for railway consolidations is the abolition of monopoly privileges in railway rights of way and terminals. Let railways be public highways, and no longer legitimized plunder-privileges, and thereafter there will be no oppressive railway consolidations. But until then, restrictive laws and restraining decisions will no more hold them in check than a pack thread would hold a locomotive.

The San Francisco Labor Council has found it necessary to issue an appeal to workingmen throughout the United States to stay away from the

Pacific coast. For some time past the organized employers of the coast, aided by the transcontinental railroads, have been creating an abnormal tide of immigration into California, with a view to swamping labor interests there by a surplus of hungry laborers. "In some sections of California," reads the "Warning" of the San Francisco workingmen, "the extraordinary number of workingmen arriving daily is fast becoming a condition which not only menaces the welfare of the organized workers, but promises to soon become a great public danger." The "Warning" adds: "Fairly reliable figures are at hand showing that 1000 workingmen per week have landed in San Francisco for several weeks past; lodging houses are filled up and fewer residences are for rent than ever before in the history of San Francisco; traveling cards are being deposited in the local unions at an unusual rate." And here is the conclusion of this dismal "Warning":

To minimize the deceptions referred to, to protect the working people designed to be misled by such deceptions, and to save from injury the labor's cause in the West, we warn all people that there are now on the Pacific coast far more workmen than can possibly find employment, and we request all labor organizations and all newspapers to assist in making known the truth in these regards.

Yet we of the East and middle West are constantly assured that President Roosevelt has been especially generous to workingmen in general and the Pacific Coast in particular in dispensing his marvelous prosperity. What a queer thing Republican prosperity is.

Its queerness has received a new demonstration in the report of the Inter-State Commerce Commission, an extract from which was snugly stowed away in the obscure depart-

ment of railway news in the Chicago Tribune of the 14th. This report furnishes figures, to quote from the Tribune, "showing that on the average railway wages at present are lower than they were in 1892 and 1893." "These statements are interesting," continues the Tribune, "in the face of what the railroads of the country have done since the first of the year in the way of revising pay rolls and raising the pay of employes generally." Interesting indeed! And the interest is heightened by a study of the figures as the report presents them:

General officers have steadily received higher pay, the average rising from \$7.83 to \$10.97. Officers other than general officers receive \$5.56 instead of \$7.83. General clerks' wages have decreased from \$2.25 to \$2.19, and station agents from \$1.85 to \$1.77. Other station men have advanced to \$1.69 from \$1.65. Switchmen, flagmen and watchmen have been decreased to \$1.75 from \$1.82, section foremen from \$1.75 to \$1.71, and laborers from \$1.70 to \$1.69. Engineers have been advanced from \$3.60 to \$3.78, firemen from \$2.06 to \$2.16, conductors from \$3.10 to \$3.17, other trainmen from \$1.92 to \$2, machinists from \$2.31 to \$2.32, trackmen from \$1.22 to \$1.23, and telegraph operators and dispatchers from \$1.96 to \$1.98. The advance of ten per cent. being made by some of the roads is not included.

What marvelous prosperity this very marvelous prosperity of the Republican party is, to be sure! And a continuance of this Republican prosperity is promised by Senator Hanna in an interview, let loose at Syracuse, N. Y., on the 13th, "if the people give the present administration a vote of confidence." That is all that is needed—confidence. "Confidence," says Mr. Hanna, "confidence is what is needed above all other things." What a confidence game it all is!

At a dinner given on the 13th at Boston by the Massachusetts Single Tax league to "some of the landlords of Boston," the president of the league, Mr. C. B. Fillebrown, a prominent merchant of that city, delivered a unique address on the subject of ground rents. While dealing effectively with his subject in the argumentative parts, Mr. Fillebrown presented

also an array of illustrative statistics which are both instructive and new. They make a significant comparison of the assessed valuations in Boston of land and buildings, with the incomes therefrom. One illustration which Mr. Fillebrown uses in the elucidation of the single tax method of raising public revenues is very striking. He puts it in this form:

If Smith owns \$1,000 worth of Ames building upon \$1,000 worth of land, he will pay taxes on ..... \$2,000

If Jones owns a worthless building, or none at all, on \$1,000 worth of land, he will pay taxes on ..... 1,000

If Brown owns \$3,000 worth of his own house upon \$1,000 worth of land, he will pay a tax on ..... 4,000

Smith will pay twice as much, and Brown four times as much tax as Jones, and neither get any more for his money. Under the equalization of the single tax each would pay only on his \$1,000 of land value.

This assertion is quite true. Though the Smith and the Brown of the illustration would pay in taxes more than Jones, neither would be getting any more than he from society, namely, \$1,000 worth of land. The value of improvements is not derived from society; it is the market measure of things produced by the owner or purchased by him of the producer. The value of land is derived from society; it is the market measure of natural opportunities secured by society to the owner.

An able and discriminating document has been presented to the Illinois legislature by leading merchants of the State,—including John V. Farwell Co., Hibbard, Spencer, Bartlett & Co., and Sprague, Warner & Co., of Chicago—in support of a pending bill proposing to exempt the capital stock of mercantile corporations from taxation. Under the tax laws of Illinois the taxable property of corporations is assessed locally along with the tangible property of individuals; but the State assesses the value of corporate stock in addition. From the latter assessment manufacturing, newspaper and mining corporations are exempt; and it was long

the custom of the State board of Equalization virtually to exempt all other corporations. But when the Chicago school teachers forced the assessment of the stock of public service corporations, these parasites sought sympathy from mercantile corporations. The mercantile corporations appear, however, to have been too shrewd to identify their interests with franchise interests. They have memorialized the legislature for exemption in a petition which clearly argues that their stock is analogous to that of manufacturing corporations, since it represents simply the value of tangible property and good will, and that it is different from the stock of franchise corporations, since that represents especially the value of public franchises.

The petition urges this point with convincing force. We quote:

There is an essential difference between quasi-public franchise holding corporations and mercantile corporations. When individuals organize to perform a public function, such as operating street cars or manufacturing and distributing gas, and procure a certificate of incorporation from the State, such corporation cannot proceed to operate until it first obtains from the public, through a municipality, a special franchise giving to such corporation exclusive rights and privileges, such as the use of streets, right of way, or other public property. The law which empowers the State Board of Equalization to assess the capital stock of such a corporation, after deducting the assessed value of its tangible assets, merely levies upon the value of the privilege granted by the public in proportion to the benefits received by the corporation from the public. When persons organize to engage in a mercantile or other private business and procure a certificate of incorporation from the State, such corporation may then proceed to engage in business without obtaining any privilege or franchise from the public. It acquires no right, nor does it obtain any valuable privilege which others may not enjoy. It will thus be seen that there is a fundamental difference between franchise holding corporations and mercantile and other private corporations; and the present tax law which ignores this difference, is therefore fundamentally erroneous, and Senate Bill No. 49 seeks only to correct this error. Whatever may be the merits of the arguments for or against the taxing of the capital stock of public service corporations, the most po-

tent reasons assigned for such taxation have no application whatever to mercantile corporations. If the capital stock of a mercantile corporation has a value in excess of the value of its tangible assets, such excess value represents "good-will" which is produced solely by individual effort and ability.

If Tom L. Johnson is not the next governor of Ohio, whether he wants to be or not, it will be none of Senator Hanna's fault. On all hands it is conceded that Johnson is the logical Democratic candidate, and he will doubtless be obliged to accept the nomination. This would not be equivalent to an election, however, for Ohio is a Republican state. All the Democrats can now hope for, even with Johnson as their leading candidate, would be an increase of the Democratic vote, such as Johnson secured for them last fall in those parts of the State in which he was able to make a campaign. But Mr. Hanna, with his solicitude for his savings bank, as he calls his investments in the watered stocks of public service corporations, is rapidly making votes for Johnson. If Hanna continues to control the Republican machine and to use it in the interest of his private investments regardless of the public interest, as he is likely to do, it is a fair guess that Johnson will be the next governor and that he will have behind him a legislature of the democratic-Democrat variety.

Hanna's latest "break" is in connection with the back taxes of the public service corporations of Cleveland in which he is interested. For years these corporations had largely evaded their county taxes, being well taken care of in that respect by the Republican county officials. But at the elections of 1901 they lost their friend at court. Mr. Hanna's county auditor was defeated by a Tom Johnson Democrat—Robert C. Wright. Mr. Wright could not take office, however, for nearly a year after his election,—a provision of the law well calculated to protect official crookedness. In the interim, Mr. Hanna's lawyers and his defeated but hold-

over county auditor cooked up a settlement of the back taxes of the delinquent corporations. This was done to head off Auditor Wright. But the settlement was so absurdly low and so manifestly fraudulent, that when Auditor Wright did come into office he promptly proceeded to assess against the delinquent corporations the full amount of their evaded taxes, utterly disregarding the fraudulent settlement. Of course Senator Hanna flew to arms. His savings bank was again in danger. But the municipal campaign was on by that time, and he dared not resort to arbitrary methods. Very quietly, therefore, he secured a temporary injunction from a local judge. An injunction, implying a judicial inquiry, had none of the appearance of carrying things with a high hand, and was therefore best adapted to the delicacy of the situation. But now that the election is over, and the next one is far enough off to make it reasonably certain that "the people will forget," Mr. Hanna drops his injunction and orders his State treasurer to interfere. Under some pretense that the State treasurer has plenary authority over county treasurers, as if they were official clerks, this obedient official has peremptorily ordered Auditor Wright to refrain from all efforts to assess back taxes upon the Cleveland corporations in which Senator Hanna is interested.

In his order, the State treasurer gave no reasons for his extraordinary action, but in newspaper interviews subsequently he has explained that the corporations had already paid their evaded taxes. His reference was to the fraudulent settlement mentioned above. What Auditor Wright will do remains to be seen. He states that he is taking legal advice and that if it appears that the State treasurer has no authority over him he will proceed as he has begun. It is quite certain, at all events, that, as in previous contests with Mr. Johnson and his coadjutors, Mr. Hanna "stands to lose" no matter which way the dispute is decided. His

kind of politics loses even when it seems to win.

In a short time the Ohio auditors are to meet for the purpose of assessing railroad values. Heretofore the auditors have made their assessments on the value of the equipment as scrap iron, thus assessing railroads at about 10 per cent of their market value while assessing ordinary property at 60 or more. Mayor Johnson has fought this custom (vol. iv, pp. 548, 741), but the auditors of both parties have sided with the railroads. Mr. Hanna's auditor in Cleveland was especially loyal to the interests of the roads. Mayor Johnson consequently carried the question to the people. In the Cuyahoga county election of 1901 he supported Wright for auditor on that issue and Wright was elected; and in 1902 he stumped the northern counties on the same issue, advising the people to defeat railroad candidates for auditor no matter whether they were Democrats or Republicans. (vol. v, p. 472). It will soon be seen how strong the hold of the railroad is upon the Ohio auditors. Wright can be depended upon. A democratic Democrat, he is heartily in sympathy with Johnson's policy. Other auditors were publicly pledged by Johnson (vol. v, p. 409) when they were candidates last fall. The meetings of these boards, especially those at Cleveland, where the auditors from all the counties having railroads which run into Cleveland are required by law to meet, will be deeply interesting.

Further evidence testifying curiously to the white man's much boasted intellectual and moral superiority over the Negro is furnished this week by the Missouri mob at Joplin. Holding the whole Negro population of Joplin responsible for the unproved crime of a Negro tramp, and without discrimination either of sex or age, this white mob assails the law-abiding Negro section of the town, and, after hurling stones at the inhabitants, viciously burns their homes to the ground. Can even

the lowest and worst Negroes be inferior to such cowardly brutes as those Joplin whites?

The proposed child labor law of Illinois is bringing out opposition which reflects no credit upon the white man's civilization of our time and country. If native Africans or Asiatics were to sacrifice their children with half the barbarity that characterizes the sacrifice of white children in modern factories, Destiny would forthwith give orders to Duty, and these inferior people would be summarily annexed and given drastic lessons in civilization.

Those confiding creatures who suppose that all is well in the Philippines because President Roosevelt and Secretary Root refuse to divulge the facts, ought to subscribe for City and State, of Philadelphia, and read it conscientiously. City and State is edited by Herbert Welsh, son of a former American minister to Great Britain (Republican) and himself a highly respected citizen of Philadelphia who has won national fame of an enviable kind for his services in behalf of the American Indian. He has devoted himself in recent years to the work of cleansing the American name of its smirch of imperialism and rescuing the American army from the dishonor in which some of its officers have involved it.

If all is really well in the Philippines why does the administration suppress Gen. Miles's report? Is it because the report confirms the following horrible story which the Philadelphia Ledger tells, upon the authority of the New York Evening Post:

Captain Howze set up in the public plaza of Laoag a perfected form of the bastinado. Prisoners who refused to confess what was expected of them were stripped, laid on benches, and beaten with rattan rods in the hands usually of six torturers. The flesh of victims was frightfully gashed, and insensibility frequently produced. The scenes, with the pavements covered with blood and scraps of skin and flesh torn from the bleeding wretches, is described by

the soldiers who were forced to witness them as horrible in the extreme. One victim, who had been a captain in the native revolutionary army, when the blows had ceased begged to be shot, and, though this mercy was not granted him, died during the night following the whipping. On one day as many as 20 men of Laoag could be seen lying, half-flayed, bruised, bleeding, and unable to move, stretched out on the benches on which they had been beaten. Among other victims were Jose Ver, mayor of San Miguel, and Juan Avila, mayor of San Nicholas, nearby towns. These men were twice beaten; three days after the second torture both were dead. The story of these murders, as revealed in their brutal particulars by the investigation ordered by the general of the army, and fully told by a special correspondent of the New York Evening Post, reads like an account of the performances of savages, and constitutes one more inexpressibly shameful blot upon the history of our operations in the east.

If all is well in the Philippines, why does the administration make no other response to this tale of horror and shame than that silence is necessary to protect the honor of the army?

Bad as is that story about Capt. Howze, it is no worse except in its wholesale character than scores of others, also well authenticated. Read the one embodied in this piercing question which City and State puts to Gov. Taft, and which not to answer is to stand condemned:

Did you ever hear of the Filipino woman tortured under orders from an American army officer at Cabatuan, Panay, in June, 1900—the poor native woman who was stripped of clothing, and with a rope attached to her ankles was lowered, head downward, into a deep well and so tortured until, half dead with fright and drowning, she gave so-called evidence on which four men were hanged; the presidente of Cabatuan, the vice presidente, the chief of police, and the sergeant of police? Four human souls, so the story runs, were sent by an ignominious death out of life. For what crime? Because they knew the fact that the husband of this woman had killed a United States soldier and had not informed on the slayer. Because as the story further runs, the native's wife had entered into criminal relations with this member of an invading subjugating army. These four members of the conquered people were hanged because they hid that fact! And

hanged on tortured testimony of a woman!

Before President Roosevelt "took to the woods" he urged the importance of having a larger navy,—not to make war with, of course not; but to be ready for war when it comes. His favorite expression was "Speak softly and carry a big stick!" This is the utterance of a man always ready for a fight. He wants the nation to be ready to fight "at the drop of the hat." With a navy already too large he calls for an increase in size, forgetting that Satan always finds evil work for idle war ships to do! He would imitate the bad points of monarchical governments and none of the good. The man in individual life who lives the nearest to Mr. Roosevelt's model, is the footpad. He "speaks softly and carries a club." What is the nation to come to with such precepts from the man in highest office? An educated man, too; supposed to be a gentleman; reported to be a Christian!

Judge Wm. J. Gaynor, of New York, who severely criticized arbitrary and lawless police methods in the North American Review last Fall, has now made a judicial decision on the same subject, which is of unusual interest and exceptional value. He holds that the police have no right to invade any house without a warrant, and that even suspicion of gambling or other misdemeanors within, though harbored by a policeman, will not justify the act. Judge Gaynor's decision was made in a prosecution of three members of the police force whom he has committed to jail to await the action of the grand jury. His official opinion explains the case, and it is refreshing reading when the abuses of authority by policemen all over the country are considered:

It is difficult to conceive how any one so ignorant as to suppose that the police have the right to do what these defendants are charged with could ever be made a captain of police in any community of enlightened American citizens. It does not seem to be explainable at all, except on

what might well be deemed the incredible theory that not only ordinary policemen, but even police captains are appointed to the police force in the city of New York without any instruction or examination whatever in respect to the rights of individuals, and the limitations on the power of the police to make arrests, or enter houses or private places, or meddle in any way with others; or else on still another theory, namely, that in the past those in official control of the police force have not only sanctioned such acts of police lawlessness, but often required them to be committed, until they grew to be deemed lawful. The law knows of no greater folly than the notion that the police are the custodians or conservers of the private morals of the community, or could be made such with any safety whatever or with any possibility of uplifting morals instead of debasing them. The moral growth of a community depends on its churches, schools and teachers and the influence of a healthy and comfortable home life, and not on the police. It was said on the argument that the floor above the plaintiff's store is occupied by a club of men, and that this captain suspects they play cards for money or do some kind of gaming there and wants to stop them. But that gives no right to the police to enter or stay in the complainant's store. If they had any warrant, whether to arrest any one or search the club premises, it was their duty to execute it and go away. If they had no warrant, then their presence was unlawful, whether in the complainant's store or in the club rooms.

It is to be regretted that Chicago has no Gaynor on the bench to protect men charged with crime from lawless oppression by the police. At this very time there is a prisoner in police custody in Chicago who is repeatedly subjected to what is called the "sweat box" experience—a process unknown to the law and in violation of one at least of the plainest dictates of the law, namely, that no one charged with crime shall be compelled to give evidence against himself. Over and over again has this outrage upon prisoners been committed, and over and over have the newspapers told about it. It is matter of general notoriety. Yet no judge has yet charged the grand jury to investigate the "sweat box" crime and indict police officers whom they find guilty of indulging in it. If po-

licemen are allowed to violate the law, why should ordinary criminals be punished for not obeying it?

#### THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

To the Negro there is no Negro problem. Keenly conscious though he may be of a white-man problem of the most serious kind, no Negro problem ever bothers him. The very name, "Negro problem," suggests a white man's dilemma.\*

The Negro is, of course, involved in this dilemma. It concerns both races. But it concerns them in different ways. The phrase "Negro problem" indicates the way in which it is supposed to concern the white race alone. An attitude of mind is thus disclosed somewhat analogous to that of the farmer when he speaks of the "potato bug pest." Whoever speaks of the "Negro problem" betrays his race partisanship. He approaches the subject from the white man's point of view.

It is with deliberate purpose, therefore, that we adopt this term for the overshadowing race problem now pressing upon the American people for solution. We intend to approach its discussion from the white man's point of view. We expect to be influenced by the white man's race prejudices. We are trying to reach a white man's solution. Yet we shall hope to be no more than just to the white race, nor less than just to the Negro.

From the point of view of the white man, there is, indeed, a Negro problem.

In some parts of the country it is of no importance. Negroes there are relatively few.

In other parts it is irritating. With restricted opportunities for labor, colored laborers take work away from white laborers and are cordially and not unnaturally hated for doing so. It seems like taking bread out of their mouths, and no superior will tolerate that aggression by an inferior. In consequence, labor riots may now and then be the result. But there is nothing portentous about these disturbances. A policeman's club or a militiaman's

\*See DuBois's "The Souls of Black Folk," published by McClurg, Chicago.

rifle, or, failing these, a rope and a lamppost, can be relied upon to restore peace and order.

It is in the Southern States that the Negro problem is a menace. There the Negro population is in many places overbalancing, and in the estimation of the whites the blacks must be kept in subjection or they will govern the whites. As Senator Tillman, of South Carolina, said in his speech before the New York Press club, February 14, 1903, referring to the Negro, "we have given him the right of suffrage, and as a result we of South Carolina have been obliged to use the shot gun and the tissue ballot to prevent his domination," there being "thirty thousand more Negro voters in the State than there are white voters." This means a race war.

There are many other indications of such a war. Black men commit heinous crimes against white women, and white men summarily burn the culprits at the stake. Sometimes mistakes are made in these summary executions, for it is impracticable to give the accused a legal trial, and these mistakes, to say nothing of the appalling character of the executions even of guilty victims, cannot fail in time to bring the race war on to its crisis. They are intended to terrorize, but from terror to murderous frenzy is only a degree. A country laid waste with fire, and its inhabitants, black and white, slaughtered without mercy, is quite within the possibilities for the South, if terror, with its consequent frenzy, once takes the place in the Negro mind of wonder and awe at the outrages upon his race.

Those were fateful words of John S. Wise, of Virginia, son of a once famous governor of that State, when in a speech in Boston only two days before Senator Tillman's speech in New York, he predicted that some day the people of Boston will read in their morning papers "of a great organized outbreak of blacks, murdering white men and women, and how the infuriated whites are slaughtering in retaliation." This climax is inevitable, if the Negro problem be not rightly solved, because, as Mr. Wise also said, "the white race is proud" and the black race, though

gentle, "is not below the worm."

Here, then, is a community in which two races are divided into two distinct classes. Although there are individual instances of affection across the dividing line between these classes, yet, as races, each hates the other; and that race hatred is blazing into a flame.

Never mind the reason for it. Never mind which race has caused it or perpetuates it. What we have to confront at the outset is nothing but the fact. Two hostile classes, as plainly distinguished by race color as are hostile armies by uniforms, are coming into deadly combat with each other in a large section of their common country. This is the fact to be dealt with. This is the core of the problem to be solved.

When a community, partly of one race and partly of another, both native to the place and each large in numbers, is divided into two hostile classes by such plainly distinguishable signs as black skins and white skins, the resulting problem is susceptible of but eight possible modes of solution—(1) reduction of the blacks to slavery, (2) reduction of the whites to slavery, (3) reduction of the blacks to servitude in nominal freedom, (4) reduction of the whites to servitude in nominal freedom, (5) organization of black States and white States, (6) extinction of the whites, (7) extinction of the blacks, or (8) creation of mutual interests between the races through the establishment of equality of legal rights.

The first solution is out of the question in the United States. In this country, the Negro cannot again be reduced to slavery. Public sentiment, South as well as North and among whites as well as blacks, would not tolerate that reaction. Even if this were otherwise, private interests would stand in the way; for in a country where land is so completely monopolized as in ours, slavery wouldn't pay. It is cheaper to hire common labor than to own it. Few workingmen, white or black, would sell for as much to-day, were they slaves, as Negro slaves brought upon the auction block in the South half a century ago.

Of the second solution, nothing need be said. No one supposes that the white race could be reduced to slavery.

On the point of servitude, however, it is entirely within the possibilities that either race in the South might reduce the other to servitude, for that status depends upon ownership of the soil. The blacks at the South are now, as a race, in servitude to the whites as a race, because the whites as a race own the soil of the South. A large proportion of the whites, North and South, are in like servitude to others of their own race, which goes to show that whites as well as blacks may be reduced to servitude in nominal freedom. The possibility may therefore be assumed of a reduction of the white race of the South to a state of servitude to the blacks. It all depends upon possession of the land. Should the technical education which Booker T. Washington and other acute Negro leaders are promoting among their race of the South bear its probable fruit, the land of the South will gradually but rapidly pass from whites who don't know how to use it profitably to blacks who will know how to use it profitably. Blacks would then become landlords and whites would become landless, which would give us a black South.

But serfdom is not a permanent solution of race problems. Its pacifying effects last no longer than the serf is submissive; and it is by no means probable that either blacks or whites in the South would remain submissive in a state of nominal freedom but actual servitude. The whites certainly would not; and the blacks, though already in servitude as a race, are fast giving evidence of a disposition to submit only a little longer. As Mr. Wise says, they are "not below the worm"—which turns.

But if neither race can enslave the other, and neither would submit in perpetuity to the servitude which land monopoly creates and fosters, nothing remains, if the race hostility continues, but for each race to establish itself in States of its own (which our form of government would not permit), or for one race to destroy the other. This is the inev-

itable alternative that confronts the South.

Endless race hatred means the extinction, then, of one race or the other. Let race war once flame up, and the Negro regions of the South would become a charred waste, all white or all black. Not through tissue ballots nor through shotguns alone would this come about; but through fagot and flame and midnight murder as well.

The only escape from this catastrophe, since slavery is impracticable and servitude could be but temporary, is the eighth possible mode of solving the Negro problem. Race war must be prevented by a just peace. Race antagonism must be allayed by race friendship. Race hostility must be overcome by mutual interests between the races. And this can be secured only by an effective recognition of equal legal rights, regardless of race and irrespective of color.

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## NEWS

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Week ending Thursday, Apr. 16.

Interest in the possibility of suppressing trusts under the Sherman anti-trust law has been revived by an affirmative decision rendered on the 9th by the Federal Circuit Court of Appeals of the Eighth circuit, sitting at Minneapolis. This decision was made in a suit instituted by Attorney General Knox against the Northern Securities Co., of New Jersey.

The Northern Securities company is a "holding" company, chartered under the laws of New Jersey in the fall of 1901, (vol. iv. p 505) for the purpose of controlling and disposing of the bonds and stock of other companies; and its board of directors is empowered by the charter to act in secrecy, even with reference to its stockholders. The particular object of creating this corporation was to centralize in one control the interests and management of certain competing railway systems west of the Mississippi river. As soon as that object leaked out, the northwestern States that had made grants to the competing roads now to be in this indirect manner consolidated, and had made those grants with a view to perpetuating railroad competition, took steps to check the consolidating movement.



In November, 1901, (vol. iv, p. 534), Gov. Van Sant, of Minnesota, began this opposition movement by inviting the governors of all the affected States having laws forbidding the consolidation of competing lines, as do those of Minnesota, to meet in conference. A conference of the kind was accordingly held at Helena, Mont., in December (vol. iv. p. 617) at which a plan of procedure was agreed upon. The details of the plan were not announced, but early in January, 1902. (vol. iv. p. 634) the State of Minnesota applied to the Supreme Court of the United States for leave to begin suit in that court against the Northern Securities Co., for the purpose of preventing the consolidation by and through that company of the Great Northern, the Northern Pacific and the Burlington railway systems. The application was elaborately argued on both sides (vol. iv. p. 681) a few days later, and on the 24th of February (vol. iv. p. 746) it was denied. The denial rested upon a technicality, but an incurable one. Observing that only a majority of the stockholders of the competing lines had been brought into court, namely, those who had assented to the consolidation and were therefore represented by the Northern Securities company, in which they were stockholders, the court held that no judgment could be rendered which would be binding upon the other stockholders of the subsidiary corporations, and that therefore these corporations were necessary parties. But as these corporations were citizens of the State of Minnesota, the court held also that they could not be brought into court by that State, because a State cannot sue its own citizens in the Supreme Court of the United States. This decision ended that plan of procedure. But prior to this decision it had been reported (vol. iv. p. 746) that the President had directed Attorney General Knox to make a test case of the Northern Securities merger, under the Sherman anti-trust law, and the report was subsequently confirmed by the attorney general himself. Pursuant to the President's directions, therefore the attorney general did bring such a suit in the name of the United States, and it is on this suit that the Sherman anti-trust law is now held to apply to the Northern Securities Co.

By that decision it is adjudged that—  
the stock of the Northern Pacific and

Great Northern companies, now held by the Securities company, was acquired in virtue of a combination among the defendants in restraint of trade and commerce among the several States, such as the anti-trust act denounces as illegal.

And an injunction is allowed—  
enjoining the Securities company from acquiring or attempting to acquire further stock of either of said companies; enjoining it from voting such stock at any meeting of the stockholders of either of said railroad companies, or exercising or attempting to exercise any control, direction or supervision or influence over the acts of said companies or either of them by virtue of its holding such stocks; enjoining the Northern Pacific and Great Northern companies respectively, their officers, directors, and agents, from permitting such stock to be voted by the Northern Securities company or any of its agents or attorneys on its behalf at any corporate election, for directors or officers of either of said companies; and enjoining them from paying any dividends to the Securities company on account of said stock or permitting or suffering the Securities company to exercise any control whatsoever over the corporate acts of said companies to direct the policy of either.

But—  
the Securities company is permitted to return and transfer to the stockholders of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern companies any and all shares of stock of those companies which it may have received from such stockholders in exchange for its own stock, or to make such transfer and assignment to such person or persons as are now the holders and owners of its own stock originally issued in exchange for the stock of said companies. An appeal from this judgment is to be taken to the Supreme Court of the United States.

A smash in Wall street on the 13th was the immediate result of the anti-trust decision against the Northern Securities company. Not only did the stock of that company fall off enormously, but a whole list of other stocks fell off in sympathy. The total reduction of fictitious values was estimated at \$200,000,000. Among the interests principally affected were the following:

Northern Securities.....	\$32,050,000
United States Steel.....	17,192,138
Great Northern pfd.....	12,371,000
Balto & Ohio (com.).....	5,312,500
Pennsylvania (com.).....	5,068,200
Amal. Copper.....	4,808,750
Erie.....	4,656,247
Southern Pacific.....	4,451,333
New York Central.....	4,290,000
Reading (com.).....	3,675,000

Union Pacific.....	3,250,000
St. L. & San Fran.....	2,440,000

Though this depression in stocks is attributed to the anti-trust decision, that was in all probability only the immediate cause. Those general speculative conditions which have produced a series of panics in Wall street (vol. v, p. 586) were evidently the ultimate cause. Extensive liquidations appeared to have been forced by the exhaustion of margins and the uncovering of stop-loss orders. It was thought in Wall street, however, that other shares had been sold to protect holdings of Northern Securities stock. While rumors circulated that powerful financial interests had come together and would afford support to the market, there was not at any time much indication of such support. The closing of the market was weak, the rallies from the lowest prices being very slight, and apparently due merely to a limited buying to cover "short" contracts. Yet the money market showed no unusual disturbance. Rates for loans on call did not get above 6 per cent., closing at 2½ per cent., and since the day of the slump no alarming reports have come over the wires.

More fighting is reported from the Philippines. It occurred on the 7th and 8th at Bacolor, in the Mohammedan island of Mindanao, and was reported from Manila on the 10th and 11th. This is the latest of a series of battles with hostile natives in a campaign of exploration which began a year ago.

On the 16th of April, 1902 (vol. v, p. 25), Gen. Chaffee advised the President of native resistance to American sovereignty in Mindanao, and stated that he was fitting out an expedition of 1200 men to leave Manila for Mindanao on the 27th of that month. Regarding this expedition as premature (vol. v, p. 39), the President ordered its recall; but Gen. Chaffee replied that the expedition was already on the ground and had been fired upon and that its withdrawal would ruin American prestige with the natives: whereupon the president (vol. v. p. 40) gave him a free hand, cautioning him, however, to avoid a general war with the Mindanaos on account of their overwhelming numbers. Aggressive operations were accordingly continued. On the 24th of April (vol. v. p. 71) a fort at Pulas was captured after only slight resistance; but on the 2d of May a hard battle was fought in the territory of

the sultan of Bayan, on the southern coast. With a loss of 9 killed and 41 wounded, the Americans overcame the natives with terrific slaughter. Nothing further was heard from Mindanao until July (vol. v, p. 265), when indications of further resistance were reported; and a month later (vol. v, p. 311) a party of natives from the strongly fortified native town of Bacolod surprised an American outpost, killing two men and wounding another. This and later acts of hostility provoked Gen. Chaffee into ordering out another expedition (vol. v, p. 362), the objective of which was the Maciu county whence the resistance to American sovereignty seemed to proceed. Capt. Pershing accordingly advanced with a small reconnoitering force (vol. v, p. 423); but, the sultans refusing to surrender, he withdrew temporarily and then returned at the head of a strong force with which, after a succession of battles, terribly destructive to the natives, he finally, on the 2d of October (vol. v, p. 424) captured their strongest fort. No further serious resistance was reported until the 10th of this month, when the news of the battle at Bacoler arrived.

As officially reported by Gen. Davis, Gen. Chaffee's successor in command, Capt. Pershing had started on the 6th, pursuant to orders from Gen. Davis based on the recommendation of Gen. Sumner.—

for the exploration of the west coast of Lake Lanao. He visited many of the dattos by invitation. The Bacolod Moros have defied us persistently since we reached the lake, and have kept war flags flying over their forts, which were reported the strongest on the lake. Repeated efforts were made to induce the sultan to come to Camp Vicars for a friendly talk, but he never came. When Capt. Pershing approached the fort last Monday (the 6th) he was fired upon and two men were severely wounded. There was nothing left but to overcome the resistance. The place was very strong, surrounded by a ditch 30 feet deep. The first attack drove the defenders out of the exterior trench. April 8 the fort was assaulted and the ditch crossed, under fire, over a bamboo bridge made by the troops. The walls of the fort were scaled, the Moros inside defending the place desperately. By 2 p. m. our troops were in full possession. Many Moros were killed. Complete list of [American] casualties: Eleven wounded. Seven cannon, four lantakas and many other captured arms. . . . Capt. Pershing . . . has moved forward to complete his exploration and visit the friendlies, his objective point being Marahui, where

I have forwarded supplies from Pantar, near the outlet to the lake.

It is now evident that the war in Morocco was not ended as intimated in February (vol. v, p. 742), for a battle in which the insurgents were victorious was reported from Melilla, on the north coast of Morocco, on the 13th. This insurrection began early in the past winter, when the government army was routed by the insurgents at Taza (vol. v, p. 616). Early in January it was reported (vol. v, p. 632) that terms favorable to the government had been made; but a week later (vol. v, p. 649) it appeared that the insurrection was in full blast and the cause of the government hopeless. One week more (vol. v, p. 663) and the government army was reported as in a state of total demoralization; but in another week (vol. v, p. 695) the government was safe and the insurgent army had been annihilated. Yet it had sufficiently recovered the next week (vol. v, p. 712) to fight up to the very gates of Fez, where, however, it was driven back. Late in February (vol. v, p. 742) a settlement was reported through one channel and denied through another. Through the latter it was also stated that neither side dared risk an engagement. Reports of an adjustment for peace have been made since, but on the 13th of this month dispatches by way of Madrid were to the effect that the insurgents had captured the Shereefian fortress of Frajana and that a part of the garrison had escaped and taken refuge in Melilla. Official advices from Melilla confirmed the capture of the fortress, reporting that the garrison had held out for some time and then fled into Spanish territory, where the Spanish took possession of the arms of the fugitives and tended their wounded. The insurgents had exploded a mine beneath the fortress and then made their victorious assault through the breach caused by the explosion. Private dispatches state that 50 men and one officer of the garrison perished in the explosion. Among the wounded at Melilla was the Pasha who had commanded the fort.

The industrial war in Holland, reported down to the 8th in these columns last week (p. 7), has been called off by the "defense committee" that ordered it, but as yet it has not terminated. On the 9th the second chamber of the Netherlands states

general (parliament) passed the bill forbidding public employes to strike. The vote for the bill was 81 and against it 14, the Socialists and the Liberal Democrats voting in the negative. The bill providing for the organization of a railway brigade to run railways in case of need was also passed. On the 11th an urgent session of the first or upper chamber was held at which these bills were passed unanimously. The queen immediately sanctioned them and they went forthwith into operation. Meanwhile the strike had spread all over the country, but it does not appear to have been general enough to be as effective as intended, and at noon on the 10th the "defense committee" formally called it off. They were not obeyed, however,—at any rate not promptly—and in the afternoon of the same day the federated trades unions held a large mass meeting at Amsterdam at which the action of the "defense committee" was repudiated and the strike ordered to be continued. Public opinion in Amsterdam, as reflected by the press dispatches, looked upon the situation on the 10th as a complete victory for the ministry over the labor organizations.

An American strike of unprecedented magnitude has probably been prevented by the interposition of J. Pierpont Morgan. Five thousand bridge and structural iron workers were on strike in New York against the American Bridge Co., a subsidiary corporation of the steel trust. The bridge company having ignored their organization and their demands, the strikers carried the question of recognition up to Mr. Morgan, with an intimation that the strike would extend through the entire steel industry unless negotiations were opened. Mr. Morgan seems to have responded favorably rather than risk a strike of half a million workmen. Henry George, Jr., reporting to the New York American of the 9th what is known of the facts, writes:

It now appears that Mr. Morgan has in some effective way intimated to the officials of the American Bridge company that they should do what only a few days ago they coldly said they would not do—namely, meet representatives of the 5,000 of their bridge and structural iron workers who are out on strike and make concessions for the sake of peace. The reason for such action becomes more and more evident. It is estimated that American Bridge Company contracts in New York city alone amount to \$232,000,000.



Add to this large sum the company's contracts in the other large cities of the country, and the extraordinary significance of the bridge and structural iron workers' strike against that company may be inferred. Not that all of these contracts are now involved in the strike, but that a large part of them are, and the remainder may be at any moment by the extension of the strike to members of the union who have not as yet been ordered out. This reveals J. Pierpont Morgan's very difficult position just now. As a director in the United States Steel corporation he had to uphold the officers of the subsidiary corporation, the American Bridge company. But as the financial sponsor of the greater corporation, with its mass of "undigested securities," he is compelled to intercede and try to establish industrial peace, even at the expense of some officials' dignity, as he had to do in the case of the coal strike. Either this or else he must face an extension of the strike, in which event the "undigested securities" will be still more difficult to place; for one reason, that dividends will be reduced in consequence of the idleness of the great plants, and for another reason, that the purchasing public, which has for some time been very shy of buying into these mountainous combinations, with their vast chambers of explosive gases, would, because of this dividend-destroying strike and its suggestion that other similar strikes might follow, be rendered still more timid.

As official returns of the municipal election in Chicago differ somewhat from the police reports given last week (p. 6) we append the figures of the official count, which was completed on the 11th:

Harrison (Dem.)	146,201
Stewart (Rep.)	138,529
Breckon (Soc.)	11,124
Cruice (Ind. Lab.)	9,947
Haines (Pro.)	2,674
Sale (Soc. Lab.)	1,014

Total vote ..... 309,489

Harrison's plurality ..... 7,672

Councilman, Thirty-third ward:

Johnson (Soc.)	3,070
Hall (Dem.)	2,818
Dabney (Rep.)	2,129
Field (Pro.)	152
Allison (Soc. L.)	43

Results of the Socialist vote at the recent municipal elections, as far as they have come to our attention, are as follows, in addition to what we have already reported (page 6).

Sheboygan, Mich., carried for the

ticket, the mayor receiving 1,723 votes and a plurality of 191.

Anaconda, Mont., carried for the ticket, including mayor and three out of six aldermen.

Butte, Mont., lost by 400 out of a total vote of 9,500.

Kenosha, Wis., elect one alderman, a supervisor and a school commissioner.

Plymouth, Wis., elect an alderman.

St. Louis, poll 2,458 votes, gaining right to place as a party on the official ballot.

Kiel, Wis., elect president of the village.

A terrible outrage upon Negroes by white men was committed on the 15th at Joplin, Mo. A policeman had attempted the night before to arrest a party of Negro tramps in the railroad yards who were charged with theft. They refused to surrender and the policeman fired at them. Thereupon one of their number, Thomas Gelyard (so it is charged, though he denied it when lynched), stepped behind the policeman and shot him in the back, killing him. A mob gathered and with bloodhounds hunted for the Negro all the night and the following morning. About 2 o'clock in the afternoon of the 15th he was captured by the police and put into jail. When the mob, now numbering 3,000 whites of all classes, learned of this they broke into the jail, seized the prisoner, beat him to insensibility and then hanged him by the neck to a telegraph pole. But they did not stop there. With their criminal appetites whetted by this murder they rushed through the principal street of Joplin, driving every Negro before them into the colored section, and, having corralled these inoffensive and terrified inhabitants of the town, they charged wildly upon them, breaking the doors and windows of the Negroes' houses and burning several of the houses to the ground. The frenzied mob of whites ignored the feeble efforts of the authorities to preserve the peace, and made no distinction of age or sex in their furious onslaughts.

It was reported from New Orleans on the 15th that a Negro murdered recently at Shreveport, and whose body was burned by a white mob, was the victim of a mistaken identity. He was supposed to be a negro charged with murdering a white woman and her daughter, but it now transpires that he was an entirely different Negro, who could not possibly have committed this crime.

NEWS NOTES.

—President Roosevelt (p. 8) is still in Yellowstone park.

—The Rev. Dr. William H. Milburn, the blind chaplain of the United States Senate, died at Santa Barbara, Cal., on the 10th, aged nearly 80 years.

—Jefferson's birthday was celebrated at Washington on the 13th with a dinner at which the principal speakers were Senator Hoar and William J. Bryan.

—Emperor William of Germany observed Good Friday this year by causing the royal standard on the imperial castle to be placed at half mast in memory of the crucifixion of Christ.

—By a vote of 32 to 5 the Illinois senate passed a bill on the 14th amending the Torrens law, by giving the probate court in Cook county discretion to compel the registration of probated property under the Torrens system.

—An "Irish evening of art, poetry, music and history" is to be given at the Carnegie Lyceum, New York city, on the 21st, by the Women's South African league, for the benefit of the Boer children made orphans and destitute by the British war in the Transvaal.

—Ex-Congressman Fred J. Kern, a well known single tax man of southern Illinois, and editor and proprietor of the News-Democrat of Bellville, Ill., was elected mayor of Bellville on the 7th by a plurality of 1,918. His vote was 2,123 and his leading opponent's 205.

—A St. Louis court on the 10th dissolved the Association of Master Plumbers of St. Louis as an illegal combination organized to monopolize the plumbing business in St. Louis by determining prices and restricting the sale of plumbing supplies to master plumbers only.

—The National Association of Manufacturers met at New Orleans on the 14th. The feature of the opening meeting was the address of David M. Parry, the president, which made what the dispatches call "one of the severest, most scorching arraignment of labor unions ever heard."

—Brigham Young, the president of the 12 apostles of the Mormon church, died in Salt Lake City on the 11th after an illness of several weeks. He was the eldest son of the famous Brigham Young, and was the logical candidate for his father's position after the death of President Snow. He died at the age of 67.

—Dr. Jennie Nicholson Browne took the highest average in a medical examination of 105 candidates by the Maryland State Board at Baltimore on the 10th, her average being 92¾. She is now medical examiner for the Baltimore board of charities, professor of physiology at the Woman's Medical college at Baltimore, and medical ex-

aminer at large for the Woman's Catholic Benevolent legion of the same city.

—President Loubet, of France, accompanied by M. Fallieres, president of the senate; Foreign Minister Delcasse, and M. Pelletan, the minister of marine, left Paris on the 12th for Marseilles on his way to Algeria. He arrived in Marseilles on the 13th, where he was honored with a brilliant popular demonstration.

—Mrs. Agnes Moody, the fine old colored woman known as "Aunt Agnes," who became famous at the Paris exposition of 1900 as the manager of the American corn kitchen, died at Chicago on the 8th. She was born a slave in Virginia, and escaped to Canada before the civil war through the underground railway system.

—Announcement was made on the 8th that United States Senator Clark, of Montana, was the client for whom a local real estate broker had made application to the city council of Los Angeles, Cal., for a street railway franchise covering about 32 miles of streets. Senator Clark's application asks for a franchise for a complete system of street railways and fixes the fare to be charged on the lines of the new system at three cents.

### PRESS OPINIONS.

#### THE ANTI-TRUST DECISION.

Buffalo Enquirer (Dem.), April 10.—If the Supreme Court should render a sweeping judgment against combinations in restraint of trade, the administration will be deprived of its last excuse for not enforcing the anti-trust laws now in existence. There should be no distinctions in this regard. All trusts which violate the law of the land stand alike in theory, and they should occupy the same position in fact.

Cole County (Mo.) Daily Democrat (Dem.), April 11.—Suppose that J. P. Morgan himself should buy these railroads? He can easily do it. In that event the same conditions would be present—minus the "trust" feature. But it would be a monopoly, for all that; and J. P. would own it, nor could any anti-trust law or Federal court take it from him. The real evil of the "merger" would still be present, because of the monopoly.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), April 11.—The immediate effect of the decision will be the abandonment of plans for the organization of holding companies to control other competing railroad systems. The Pennsylvania and Vanderbilt interests will be combined. The contemplated merger of certain Western roads cannot be carried out, though it would have been if the Circuit Court of Appeals had not rendered a decision which the Supreme court is likely to affirm. In this emergency the defeated financiers will turn to their lawyers and ask them to try again. They look to their legal advisers. If the Supreme court shall give the final blow to their holding company device they will work out something else and keep the attorney general and the courts pursuing them.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), April 14.—It is apparent that should the Sherman law be enforced the great trusts could be dissolved. The trust magnates have taken chances, depending upon the Republican party to protect them from the sword of justice. They felt secure. Bryan was de-

feated. Bryan promised that, if elected, he would appoint an attorney general who would enforce the law. McKinley made no promises, but he did not enforce the law. Then through an unforeseen event Theodore Roosevelt became President. He took up Bryan's anti-trust cry. The merger of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railways was undertaken. There was a great outpour from the Northwest. Roosevelt hesitated, but the pressure became so strong that he either had to act or confess that he'd been insincere. The suit against the Northern Securities company was begun. It was a body blow to the trusts.

#### MAYOR JOHNSON'S REELECTION.

Cleveland Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), April 7.—It was the injunction of the People against the Injunctions of the Corporations. The People passed final judgment and condemned the Corporations.

Chicago Farmer's Voice and National Rural (agr'l), April 11.—The reelection of Tom Johnson to the mayoralty of the city of Cleveland is one of the most emphatic expressions against special privilege in the form of street railway franchises ever registered.

Seattle Mail and Herald (Dem.), April 11.—Again the normally Republican city of Cleveland has given him its vote of confidence, this time by 6,000 majority out of a total vote of about 75,000. Home rule, honest taxation, public ownership and Tom L. Johnson have won a deserved victory.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), April 11.—Johnson is the most prominent radical reformer in national life to-day. He is a millionaire whose highest ambition is to promote good government, civic, State and national. He has achieved repeated triumphs in Ohio despite the most persistent opposition.

Cinton (Ind.) Saturday Argus (Dem.), April 11.—The reelection of Tom L. Johnson has done much to clarify the Democratic atmosphere as to reorganization and future leadership. Mr. Johnson is in no sense a reorganizer, and his victory is a chunk of ice down the spine of the deserters who now want to rule or ruin the Democratic party.

Springfield Republican (Ind.), April 10 (weekly ed.).—Mr. Johnson's present victory is not only a blow to Senator Hanna's prestige in Ohio politics but, side by side with the defeat of Mr. Ingalls, it becomes an inspiring influence for the continued radicalism of the Democratic party. Along with Mayor Jones' reelection in Toledo, it shows that radical proposals are popular among the urban voters of Ohio, and that the Democratic party under an anti-Bryan leadership can expect to make no headway in at least that part of the country.

St. Paul (Minn.) Globe (Dem.).—It may be the mission of Tom L. Johnson to redeem Ohio from the clutches of the Republican party. His election in Cleveland by a large majority shows the trend of public opinion in his own town. He stands for the most advanced ideas in municipal government and he is quite broad enough in his views to adapt those same ideas to the State government. His popularity is undoubted, and, although he was elected in Cleveland largely on local issues and because he represented the views of a majority of the people in the matter of control of public utilities, still he is a big man in the State.

Pendleton (Ore.) East Oregonian (Dem.), April 8.—The election of Johnson is a scathing rebuke to the fossilized forces arrayed against him. In a leading Republican State, and in the best city in that State, it is refreshing to find the common people tearing away from the worn-out, threadbare policy which has built up one man and one fortune at the expense of a thousand. It would be a happy choice and one that the great mass of the plain people would welcome, should Tom Johnson be named as

the standard-bearer for Democracy. The record he has made in Ohio entitles him to consideration. In the stronghold of the enemy he has won laurels of which any leader may well be proud.

Columbus (O.) Daily Press (Dem.), April 9.—More significant and more suggestive than any and all other elections, is the reelection of Tom L. Johnson as mayor of Cleveland by a magnificent majority. For some years it has been well known that Tom L. Johnson proposed to retire Hannalism, not only from the city of Cleveland, but from domination in the State of Ohio as well as in the nation. Hanna was in his own city, as well as in the State and nation, the best representative of the corporate greed of the Republican party. Tom Johnson has been the boldest and the plainest spoken opponent of those who live and fatten upon special privileges. The issue has been plainly drawn in the home city of Johnson and Hanna.

#### BRYANISM.

Cameron (Mo.) Sun (Dem.), April 10.—Bryanism, so-called, is said to be waning in the West, but it isn't true. Bryanism stands as the representative of a fundamental Democracy, a Democracy which means something to the Western farmer, mechanic and business man. The Bryan Democracy stands for a great principle of which Cleveland representatives seem to know nothing. Bryanism and the Chicago and Kansas City platform stand as the representatives of a movement of the people to purify the Democratic party of such men as would make of it a Republican party under a Democratic name.

## MISCELLANY

#### POVERTY'S LULLABY.

For The Public.

"It happened here in Detroit, and the poor woman was refused a Christian burial. The priest who sprinkled holy water on the little girls' coffins, would not put a drop on the mother's. But I could not help hoping, when I read about it in our daily papers, that there is somewhere a high priest touched with a feeling of our infirmities, one who was now and then tempted like ourselves, who would look after this poor soul, and take her home. M. M'N. J."

There she lies, in her slumber cold;  
And beside her, two babies fair.  
Look at their faces—their story is told;  
Life's failure is written there.

Poor widowed mother! scarce more than  
a child,  
She had struggled unaided, alone,  
Till her heart was faint and her brain  
grew wild.  
And her prayer was a piteous moan.

Too weary to work, and too ill to rest,  
Dear Saviour! What else could she do?  
'Twas a strange, sad way, but it seemed the  
best  
For herself and her children two.

For herself and them the poison-draught;  
Mother love she must crucify.  
It was mingled with care, and eagerly  
quaffed;  
It is poverty's lullaby.

And the dear Lord Christ will understand;  
Let us pray she will pardoned be,  
Though she opened the gate of a kinder  
land  
With the suicide's terrible key.

MARY M'NABB JOHNSTON.

**MAYOR JOHNSON'S WAY.**

The city tax commission met in the office of City Clerk Toland yesterday afternoon and approved the appointments of assessors made by County Auditor Wright. These assessors will have in charge the important duty of fixing the valuation of all the property of the city. While the county auditor has, according to law, the appointing power, his appointees must all be confirmed by the tax commission.

In past years this confirmation has been a mere perfunctory formality, the auditor sending his list of names to the tax commission and the commission ratifying without ever seeing one of the appointees. Last year Mayor Johnson inaugurated an innovation. He assembled the tax commission and ordered the entire batch of assessors appointed by Auditor Craig to come personally for inspection before the commission. This year it was deemed proper that Auditor Wright's appointees should be examined just as Auditor Craig's were last year.

The tax commission, consisting of Mayor Johnson, Auditor Madigan, Clerk Toland, C. B. Lockwood, A. P. Winslow and Moses Waterson, conducted the examination in about one hour yesterday. The meeting was held in Mr. Toland's private office, and the assessors were mustered through in assortments of twos and threes. Not one of Auditor Wright's 78 appointees failed of confirmation.

Of these men half are Democrats and half Republicans. A large number of them are men who were appointed by Auditor Craig and reappointed by Auditor Wright. Former Deputy Auditor Sarstedt furnished Auditor Wright with a list of men who had given good satisfaction and another list of those who had not done their work well. Of the former list the majority were named by Mr. Wright. Mr. Sarstedt's father is one of the holdovers.

Mayor Johnson holds that the work of the assessors is very important. Before the appointments were made he held several conferences with Auditor Wright and consulted with him in regard to the appointees.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of April 12.

**WE DRIFT TOWARD FREEDOM.**

An extract from a letter written by C. E. S. Wood, of Oregon.

The whole drift of human progress, slow as it has been, has been toward freedom; and this lends me the hope that nothing will finally bar the future progress of the race toward greater freedom. If there were no laws protecting certain industries at

the expense of the people, no laws giving exclusive private ownership in land which is not being used, no laws regulating the circulating medium so that only one thing is a legal tender and men and banks are absolutely prohibited from using local notes and securities as money, I think there would be no need to restrict corporations within the boundaries of the parent state. Moreover, I have an abiding faith that just as a dam across a great river only serves to lift the water to the height of the dam when the river resumes its way over the top, so restrictive laws and obstructive laws, aimed at corporations, only serve as dams to be avoided and overrun by the unconquerable ingenuity of human self-interest, so long as that self-interest is fed by living springs of special privilege. As an attorney, I have never known a case of a law aimed against human nature and human interest which has been successful in doing more than closing the front door and opening a back door. I know of no law which has ever stopped gambling, drinking, prostitution, or the gains and operations of corporations. The interstate commerce act is a laughing stock among railroad men. Perhaps the commissioners think they are doing something; perhaps some farmer thinks they are doing something, but if anyone thinks that, so far as railroad methods are concerned, the interstate commerce commission has done more than to cut off passes from those people the railroad would willingly deny, he is mistaken.

To conclude, I have no faith whatever in the efficacy of laws which attempt to control or regulate economic laws and the laws of human nature.

**UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.**

Printed from the Original MS.

Dear John: I am glad to see your boy Chamberlain stands firm for African Slavery and the "hut tax." Imperialism is not so lonesome when you back me up strong. Your boys, like mine, have the courage of their stock interests every time. I overthrew slavery in America once, and one time you had a saying that a slave "could not exist on British soil," but we have got well over all such weakness, John. To-day you and I are on the backs of more people than any other two nations in the world. We are world powers, John, and niggers and poor folks had better take to the woods. You bet! Even that won't save 'em. They have

got to work for the glory of God and the par value of shares.

Do you remember, John, my General Funston? Well, he has a successor. You wouldn't believe Funston could have a successor; but he has—a lineal successor. Baldwin, his name is. He is a new apple just bobbed up, and he says—he is in command of my department of Colorado—Gen. Baldwin says: He "likes a Negro or Filipino soldier" because "in a fight it don't make any difference whether he is killed or not." He "is not worried about his safety." He is a "cur dog." The general had just arrived, and tied his horse, and delivered this declaration of love from the warmth of his heart; but, John, I'm interested in what's in the bottom of my military kittle when apples like Baldwin and Funston boil to the top.

I am beginning to wonder who I'll have for President next time. Sometimes I think it will be Theodore again; and then again sometimes I don't see how Hearst can wait nohow till Theodore's term is out. Hearst's bee is the biggest I ever see. It's a bumble bee, and he is butting his head all to pieces tryin' to get into the national holly-hock.

Theodore is cute, too. His scheme of big families, all fighters and all voters, is good politics; but, Law Me! too subsequent—comes twenty-one years too late for the coming election. Still, he may scrape up a lot of colored folks and win. Theodore is a good advertiser.

Then there's Dave Hill and Cleveland. They take their dinner buckets and work all day, waiving the Bryan vote and offering the presidency to each other; and they play it so well that sometimes I begin to be worried which I'll have, till I count up and find there are only two of 'em, and two votes won't elect even a New York man.

There might be some chance for Tom Johnson, if his friends don't ripen him too soon, and his fool enemies keep on fighting him into the limelight—but I don't know; sometimes I doubt if I can find a President at all who will suit Henri Watterson.

Say, John, in a fight with a foreign nation of about our own size, what strength would there be to either of us in conquered territory like Ireland, the Transvaal and the Philippines? Did you ever think of that?

Yours to command.

UNCLE SAM.

Said the intoxicated cowslip: "Nothing to do but drink; nothing to drink but dew."—Yale Record.

## AFTER ELECTION.

Therefore have my people gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge.—Isa. 5:13.

Diabolism in nature staggers one's faith in God. Diabolism in politics staggers one's faith in the Republic.

The man who engages in a noble cause and who finds, the day after election, that he has addressed himself to deaf ears and that the people have not been moved by his appeals, that man is likely to sit down and ask himself: Is popular government a success? Is the voice of the people the voice of God? Is it worth while to fight the battles of those who do not care?

It was with such doubts as these that Elijah betook himself to a cave, resolved to retire from public life and let the ungrateful people shift for themselves. It was here that the angel of the Lord found him and rebuked him. The angel told him not to be fool enough to fancy he was the only righteous man left in the kingdom and admonished him to come out of his cave of despair and go to work. Pessimism means paralysis. Faith and hope are the great watchwords of the race.

What we need is more faith in the Republic. But this implies faith in the people, for the Republic means popular government.

We have popular government. It is the people who rule. Political machines may frequently balk their rule. Money may do much to thwart the popular will. Our representative form of government, wherein the people have no direct veto or initiative, is often subversive of the declared wish of the majority. Notwithstanding all these things, the people get their way when they are in earnest about it.

The recent election in Toledo furnished a striking proof of this. With every political organization against him, with every paper silent as to his candidacy, "Golden Rule" Jones has, for the fourth time, won a popular victory. The people are stronger than all papers and all politicians and all corporate wealth combined. They cannot plead any of these things as excuse for their failures. They alone are responsible. Those who work for the upbuilding of the race have no reason to despair of the people. It is true, the voice of the people is frequently the voice of the devil. How often through the ages, and even now, do we hear the mad cry of the mob: "Away with him!" How often, even to-day, do

the people choose Barabbas! "Up with the tyrant!" "Down with the friends of justice!" "Give us chains!" "A heavier yoke for our necks! More burdens for our backs!" These are, alas, how often, the unreasoning cries of the multitude.

Yet in the face of all that, the creed of every American must be: "I believe in the Republic; I believe in the people; I believe in progress; I believe in the spreading light; I believe in the growing truth; I believe in the future of American civilization."

The voice of the people is the voice of God. In spite of the sneers of the cynic and the doubts of the disheartened, it is true.

The people are not right to-day, nor to-morrow, perhaps. The people are never wholly right. It is true, the great majority are always in the wrong. Truth is always in the minority. The progress of truth is the eternal struggle of the few who see, against the many who sit in darkness.

What then do we mean when we say the voice of the people is the voice of God? We mean that if a cause is just, it must ultimately triumph. Under a free discussion the truth must prevail. There is no higher test of truth than this, that it should have encountered the prejudices of a nation, that it should have advanced in the face of opposition, that it should have been exposed to the light of day, and that the people should have finally adopted it. How do I know that this cause which I advocate is God's truth? If it prevails in the hearts of men. If it does not prevail, if it does not commend itself to the human understanding, if it does not at last receive the indorsement of the people and hold its place in their favor, then there must be some mistake about it.

Down underneath our popular institutions is the faith that right is right and truth is truth, and that the race is at heart virtuous, that it wants to know the truth and to do right, and must do so ultimately.

If people seem indifferent to truth it is because, in the main, they do not understand. "Therefore have my people gone into captivity, because they have no knowledge." He who sows seeds of truth in the public mind must wait for his harvest. He may be amazed at the stupidity of the people. He ought never to despair of their vir-

tue. He may marvel that it takes an idea so long to take root and grow in the minds of men; but he makes a grievous mistake if he permits his impatience to rob him of hope.

Barely a quarter of a century has passed since "Progress and Poverty" was written. That book said to the world: "Put the burden of taxation upon land values; free the products of labor; thereby put a premium upon wealth production; thereby put a penalty on nothing but monopoly; do this and you will increase the opportunities of employment, raise wages, discourage the accumulation of unearned fortunes and take a mighty step in the progress of the race." Twenty-five years or so ago that idea was proclaimed to the world. The people said: "Away with it!" Their voice then was the voice of prejudice, and not the voice of God. But a few saw the truth and they had heart to work for it, because they believed in God and man.

What has been the result? Two weeks ago a bill was introduced by the Liberal party in England, to allow the municipalities of the kingdom to adopt, as a method of raising taxes, this plan proposed by Henry George. What did they do with the bill? Parliament came within 13 votes of passing it. That single tax measure brought the Tory government to the verge of defeat. When, in the history of the world, has an idea made such marvelous progress?

Those who fight the battles of truth will have much to try their faith; if that were not so, there would be no virtue in faith. They will have severe tests for their moral courage; if that were not so, where would be the glory of the strife? It is with no false optimism, but with due regard to the forces against us, that we may declare with Browning:

The year's at the spring  
And the day's at the morn;  
Morning's at seven;  
The hillside's dew pearled;  
The lark's on the wing;  
The snail's on the thorn;  
God's in his heaven—  
All's right with the world!

HERBERT S. BIGELOW.

Cincinnati, Ohio.

### "SOME FACTORS IN THE RISING OF THE NEGRO."

#### A NEGRO'S VIEW OF THE QUESTION.

Speculation as to the specific possibilities of an undeveloped person or race cannot be indulged in with any degree of impunity by those who expect to remain within the pale of common sense. Nobody pays much attention nowadays to the Jew's estimate

of the Gentiles, or the Greek's and Roman's estimate of the capabilities of barbarians.

A little more than half a century ago it was generally believed in Europe and America that the black man was incapable of social improvement, and that nature or God had produced him merely to serve the white man as a slave. Calhoun is said to have exclaimed: "Show me a Negro who can conjugate a Greek verb, and I will concede to him the right of human brotherhood!" And thus the divine right of the white man to the labor and liberty of the Negro seemed as divinely ordained and as securely established as the ancient and sacred right of man to rule over woman.

But the passion for absolute supremacy among individuals and groups of individuals, after causing countless millions to mourn from time immemorial, is slowly though surely being transmitted from a gross, brutal and sanguinary impulse to a bridled and humane rivalry for intellectual, moral and spiritual existence.

It is a fact that—

Dogma and Descent, potential twin,  
Which erst could rein submissive millions  
In,  
Are now spent forces on the eddying surge  
Of thought enfranchised. Agencies emerge  
Unhampered by the incubus of dread  
Which cramped men's hearts and clogged  
their onward tread.  
Dynasty, Prescription! spectral in these  
days  
When Science points to Thought its surest  
ways,  
And men who scorn obedience when not  
free  
Demand the logic of Authority!  
The day of manhood to the world is here,  
And ancient homage waxes faint and drear.  
Vision of rapture! See Salvation's plan  
'Tis serving God through ceaseless toil for  
man!

And while it is true that here and there and now and then among civilized men the claim of "divine rights" is still set up by the arrogant and belated, nevertheless the sweep of social evolution has acquired such tremendous momentum consequent upon the development of a higher social consciousness nowadays, that no careful student of the times need be hoodwinked by such paltry eddies in the mighty and irresistible current of human progress. There never was so much tolerance and sympathy at any one time among mankind. Never in the history of the world, so far as we know, have there existed so many contemporaneous civilized nations of any magnitude and fighting power as to-day. In fact, international law as a result of international tolerance and sympathy seems not very far from

evolving an international tribunal, and the very much longed-for international arbitration. The Christian sects, though legion in number, do not persecute each other, and Mussulman missionary effort among Christians in England does not excite a Chinese-like Boxer rising in that country. Monarchy and Democracy and the myriad political creeds exist side by side. Science and religion, like the rest, and with no less degree of aggressive ardor, are compelled to respect the rights of each other. And in the industrial world, feudalism and Negro slavery have passed away. That the institution of feudalism and Negro slavery had respectively outlived their social and economic utility does not detract from the validity of the fact that the human mind had become so possessed of the incubus of sympathy and liberty that the black man's freedom came to him not only as an economic necessity in the British dominions and as a military expedient in the United States, but as a moral necessity of Christendom all the world over.

No phenomenon is isolated. Every fact in the universe is in some way related to every other fact. Surely, the spirit of the reformation was incarnate in the American revolution, and also in the anti-slavery agitation of Great Britain and the United States. Is there naught in common between Martin Luther, Oliver Cromwell and John Brown? And so we find that sympathy and tolerance for those who differed from us in opinion or belief, was extended to sympathy and tolerance for those who differed from us in race, color or sex.

It is true that in Europe the Jew has few rights which the Christian thinks himself bound to respect, and that the Negro in the southern states of America has few, if any, rights which the white man feels himself bound to respect; yet men have ceased to cry out very vehemently against the competition of women in the industrial and intellectual walks of life, and are rather seeking to cooperate with them; the American laborer is forced to say comrade to his competitor of foreign birth and alien tongue, if the dignity of labor is to be upheld; the rich and cultured are waking up to their duty to the mass of ignorant and poor people; the virtuous are lifting the fallen; and the best and fullest education is no longer the monopoly of the rich or privileged classes.

When we consider that even in war

the sick and helpless are cared for by the strong and healthy; that the foreign missionary enterprise of Christendom constitutes a firm and enormous ladder reaching from the depths of barbarism to the heights of civilization; that our systems of railroads and steamboats, of telegraph and newspapers, of free libraries and free education, are the heralds of the ultimate comparative annihilation of distance and ignorance;—when we consider these facts it is easy to see that the present status of humanity is the most tolerant, the most integrated, and the most sympathetic known to history. With the growth of social self-consciousness has come the revelation of man's relations to man, in spite of differences in the abstract or the concrete, in the subjective or the objective. In fact, the transcendental cosmic consciousness of Krishna, the Buddha, the Christ, Spinoza and Walt Whitman, is to-day the gospel of science or Monism, and is consequently permeating the masses and destined to imbue them with the sweet spirit of the masters, leading on to universal harmony and universal good.

In this whirligig of things social, man is learning that his neighbor is part of himself, that the black man and the white man are neighbors, and consequently parts of each other; that man is part of the universe, and the universe is part of man; and that in virtue of such facts it is to man's highest interest that he be in harmony with all his relations and thus avoid hurting himself. The relation of the slum to the mansion is the relation of barbarism to civilization. Neither wealth nor civilization is safe while the majority of men are poverty-stricken and barbarous.

There is a spirit abroad that looks grudgingly upon the higher education of the poor, and of the Negro, especially. It was claimed that the poor child ought to be taught to work; but the wave of industrial education, or the gospel of labor, has engulfed the children of the rich, also. Men are learning the dignity and peagoc value of manual work. But some say that because it took the Anglo-Saxon a thousand years to acquire culture and refinement, the Negro ought to be made to travel at the same slow pace, or his progress will not be real. Such people do not ask themselves why the Anglo-Saxon was forced to move so slowly, and whether the conditions for human development have changed any since the granting of

Magna Charta or not. While the Negro was toiling for the material advancement of the white man, the white man was toiling for the intellectual advancement of the Negro. How compensatory it all is!

But there are still others who contend that the race problem should not be interfered with; that things will come right of themselves without our trying to force matters; that the force of social evolution will eventually right the wrongs; that the *vis medicatrix naturae* will cure the lesion. Yet the science of surgery and therapeutics disproves such a contention. A man may die for lack of proper aid, and a man may recover from a malady rapidly if his treatment is scientifically correct, or slowly or not at all, if the treatment is antagonistic to the operation of the *vis medicatrix naturae*. We may cooperate with the trend of the evolutionary forces, or we may oppose them. It should not be forgotten that evolution may proceed in spite of us, and in virtue of us. In the main, humanity has bleedingly struggled up to its present status through the conflict of its passions, and appetites, and desires. Humanity as an evolving unit may truly sing:

By the light of burning martyr fires  
Christ's bleeding feet I track,  
Tolling up new Calvaries ever  
With the cross that turns not back.

It is for us of the present age of knowledge wittingly to harmonize our lives and the lives of our children with the mighty forces which are compelling us onward. The white man and the black man must learn respectively that one cannot hurt or neglect the other with impunity. The higher consciousness brings a knowledge of more relations and consequently of more responsibilities. We cannot escape if we neglect to ennoble ourselves by ennobling our neighbors. In the light of our higher consciousness and wider vision may the guilt of strangling a soul because of difference in color, birth or sex be the least of our sins!—Joseph Jeffrey, M. D., in *Open Court*.

There are only three opinions among eminent doctors as to the best material for underwear.

Wool, or linen, or silk is best.

If cotton ever becomes expensive enough to be suitable for refined people such as eminent doctors practice amongst, or on, there will then be four opinions, of course. But nobody supposes cotton will ever become so expensive as that.—*Life*.

#### THE MAZE.

From right to left, and to and fro,  
Caught in a labyrinth, you go,  
And turn, and turn, and turn again,  
To solve the myst'ry, but in vain;  
Stand still and breathe, and take from me  
A clue, that soon shall set you free!  
Not Ariadne, if you met her,  
Herself could serve you with a better.  
You enter'd easily—find, where—  
And make, with ease, your exit there.  
—Translated from the Latin of Vincent Bourne.

"Next month," wrote the editor of one of the most progressive of the many magazines having each the greatest number of intelligent readers, in his prospectus, "we shall begin the publication of a series of 1,000—count them—1,000 articles on the Second Epistle of St. Peter, by the colonel of the Seventy-ninth regiment of Oklahoma volunteers!" Then he remarked to his entourage that he guessed certain rival publications would wish they had never been born, so hot had the pace become.—*Detroit Journal*.

The wind will sweep with bitter chill;  
The snow will sweep across the hill;  
The clouds will sweep across the sky;  
But pavements still unswept will lie.  
—Washington Star.

Customer—Have you any problem novels?

Bookseller—No, but here is a treatise on integral calculus which is said to contain some novel problems.—*Rocky Mountain News*.

"He's making money selling a very clever little paper-weight."

"What is it?"

"Why, it is a striking imitation of a tea-biscuit; looks for all the world like the real thing."

"It is the real thing. His wife makes them."—*Philadelphia Press*.

St. Peter—Where did you come from?

Arrival—I jumped down from the roof of a New York office building.—*Life*.

#### BOOKS

SNIDER'S "SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS."

When one looks upon the present status of the State, upon the State as she is, and sees all the good that she does not try to do, and all the evil that she does do; when he sees her legislature beset by private lobbyists and corrupted by corporations, her governor the servant of a ring, her courts the mere tools of special privilege—when, seeing all this, he feels hopelessly "agin the government," then let him read the first section of Mr. Snider's "Social Institutions."

Again, when one sees the church higgling over petty details, bold to uphold some policy of ecclesiastical Bourbonism; timid to proclaim essential principles of her gospel; when he sees her debauched by personal ambitions and by the lowest forms of worldly strife and envy—when, seeing all this, he feels that she has become hopelessly astray from her spiritual ideals, then let him read the second section of "Social Institutions."

Thirdly, when one sees the little result of our schools, sees them educating the intellect and apparently untouched the heart and will, sees the institutions of higher learning surrendered to loudness and vanity—when, seeing all this, he wonders whether there is any influence left to uphold the higher ideals of humanity, whether the governmental, religious and educational institutions which we have developed are not perhaps, after all, retarders rather than promoters of human betterment, then let him read the third section, and reread the whole of this work on "Social Institutions."

In my opinion no such complete, philosophical and closely reasoned book on this subject has been written as this by Mr. Denton J. Snider (Sigma Publishing Co., St. Louis). Those who know Mr. Snider from his books and from his lectures need not be told of his great work as a thinker, as an educator and as an interpreter of real literature. His work is not yet sufficiently known outside a special circle of readers. His books on literature—including three volumes on Shakespeare, two on Goethe, two on Homer, two on Dante, not to speak of others—deserve a wider reading, especially by all teachers of literature in school and college. There are hardly to be found any other books of literary criticism which go at once so effectively to the heart of the subject and endeavor to bring out the real ethical value of the works studied.

This volume of his on "Social Institutions" well deserves the careful study of all students of modern social problems. We are in a time when the great institutions of civilization are being seriously questioned by many thoughtful people, and when their value and permanence are destined to be put to the severest test in all history. We have here a calm, philosophical and yet clearly written exposition of the growth and the essentialness of the institutions of society. The thesis that man can be free only in the institutional life is ably maintained throughout.

There are of course parts of the book which this or that reader will make exceptions to, and other parts



which will meet with absolute objection. And of course some students will oppose the whole line of reasoning; but even these will hardly regret the study spent in making acquaintance with the author's philosophy.

I wish here to call attention to a few passages under the head of what the author calls "civic communism." On p. 326 he says: "The communal will is not to despoil the individual will, nor is the individual will to despoil the communal will; both are integral elements of the social order, and each is not only to allow passively the other to exist, but is positively to secure this existence." On the same page we read: "The increased value of the soil and of other things, which results from communal activity, should belong to the community, which ought not to be despoiled of it by the individual, as is too often the case. Franchises which are really a form of communal property should not be disposed of to private parties without adequate compensation to the community, their owner." Surely the wayfaring man, even though he be no philosopher, can accept this thought. One might, however, like to ask incidentally what are those "other things," the value of which results from communal activity and should belong to the community. But to return to the soil, Mr. Snider, after writing as above, goes on to say that "all the land of the earth, even that which is still unoccupied, seems destined to pass through the crucible of individual ownership. And for this a good reason is apparent—the soil must be [a man's] own as well as the fruits of his toil, if he is to do his best."

Now, in spite of the fact that the author inserts a fine passage of appreciation of the work of Henry George, it is evident from the last quotation above that he has failed to see that George's great service was to show how individual energy and pride could still be maintained in the various uses of the soil, while at the same time acknowledging the rights of the "communal will." Furthermore, when he says "George's scheme has difficulties which render it impossible to be adopted," and does not say what these difficulties are, except that "at certain points it violates established rights," we feel like saying to him that George's scheme has indeed difficulties to overcome, one of the chief of which is that men like himself, who can see and say so much in support of its essential justice, stop short—apparently so hypnotized by "established" right that they cannot see the far deeper right that needs to become established.

Is it not just this sort of petrifica-

tion of conservatism, imbedded in school, church and state, which has unhappily driven so many earnest souls in all ages into a negative attitude toward social institutions? Will not the fact that the fight against institutional wrong has so often been the fight for freedom be the strongest appeal in the minds of many against the acceptance of Mr. Snider's main argument in this book?

J. H. DILLARD.

#### "THE SOULS OF BLACK FOLK."

"Between me and the other world is ever an unasked question: unasked by some through feelings of delicacy; by others through the difficulty of framing it. All, nevertheless, flutter round it. They approach me in a half-hesitant sort of way, eye me curiously or compassionately, and then, instead of saying directly: How does it feel to be a problem? They say: I know an excellent colored man in my town; or," etc., etc. These are the introductory words of a book just issued by McClurg, of Chicago, of which it can be truly said, and would be said were the expression not so trite, that it fills a long felt want. It is an intelligent and candid message to the world directly from the Negro race.

White men have written about the Negro, but they have written without knowledge. Even those who have boasted of knowing his character have known him only as masters know slaves and not as men know men. Black men, too, have written about the Negro, but it is all too plain that they have written from the white man's point of view. Though Lawrence Dunbar is a Negro, he is not a Negro poet. Though Booker T. Washington is also a Negro, his pen is a white man's pen. To W. E. Burghart DuBois, the Negro educator of Atlanta, it has been left to reveal in literature the soul of the Negro. In these essays of his on "The Souls of Black Folk," DuBois has lifted the veil behind which the Negro lives his real life. And what we behold is, after all, simply a man. He thinks the same thoughts, he enjoys the same affections, he struggles with the same hatreds, he possesses the same knowledge, he fosters the same aspirations and he does the same things that would go to make up the lives of other men in the same circumstances.

Drawn irresistibly by Prof. DuBois's admirable style into full sympathy with his theme and his treatment of it, the reader forgets the black skin and the degrading history of the Negro race. What he sees is the soul of the black folk as the black folk themselves see it. He sees with them and feels with them, as if their hopes and sufferings were

his own. In this book he may realize, perhaps for the first time, the deadening blow that comes to the Negro when in the early days of rollicking boyhood some chivalrous pale face makes him understand that he is forever shut out from the white man's world by a vast veil. Here he may learn to know why the Negro faithfully and humbly protected his master's family and property while his master fought against other white men to perpetuate his slavery. Here he may enter with the Negro into his ambitions and disappointments—as a man and not as a menial; into his pride of fatherhood or love of motherhood and the anguish of Negro bereavement; and may sympathize with the hypocrisy with which the Negro defends himself against the aggressions of the superior caste or the bitterness with which he would avenge them. Never before has the Negro asked with so much emphasis and such power of thought and persuasiveness of diction, "Am I not a man and brother?" as in this book.

Yet there is in the book neither bitterness nor sycophancy. It is the work of a man who knows that Negro blood as well as white blood has a message for the world, and seeks for nothing more than "to make it possible for a man to be both a Negro and an American, without being cursed and spit upon by his fellows."

The book would be more satisfactory if it were lengthened out with a summing-up chapter, and the phrase "the rule of inequality" on page 84, were changed to "the rule of differences." Among its merits not the least is the fact that few white men can read it without harboring a suspicion that if a Negro only four generations removed from the savagery of central Africa can acquire the ability to do philosophical and literary work of such excellence, there must be something absurdly wrong with the heredity theory of Negro inferiority.

#### BOOKS RECEIVED.

—"Clue to the Economic Labyrinth." By Michael Flurscheim, author of "Auf friedlichem Wege," "Der einzige Rettungsweg," "Rent, Interest and Wages," "The Real History of Money Island," etc. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co., Ltd., Paternoster Square. To be reviewed.

#### LITERARY NOTES.

The Independent, of Lincoln, Neb., one of the ablest and brightest of Populist papers, announces a Henry George edition for May 14, to be made up of articles by single taxers. The programme suggested by the editor in the issue of the 9th is most intelligently conceived. The issue of June 11 is to be devoted to replies.

Mr. William Morton Payne contributes a very valuable article on the great Norwegian, Bjornson, in the International Quarterly, the March-June number. Fifteen or 20 years ago two little books were brought out in Lovell's library, "Arne" and "A Happy Boy," and many who read these simple stories at once recognize them as the work of a great master. It is prob-



A SAN JUAN HILL HE DOES NOT DARE!

able that many American readers have no other acquaintance with Bjornson than that which they make in this way. Mr. Payne's article will doubtless lead to a wider reading of his works in this country. J. H. D.

A recent number of the Literary Digest quotes from Mr. H. Morse Stephens's criticism of John Fiske in the World's Work for April. Mr. Stephens classes Fiske with those "who occasionally abuse their position as recorders of the history of the past to advocate their own political and economic and literary ideas with regard to the present." How willingly John Fiske would acknowledge the impeachment! It is easy to imagine that he might even say that this was one of his reasons for writing history. "Mr. Fiske," he continues, "was a convinced free trader, and dozens of allusions can be found, sometimes in the most unlikely places, in all his books, in which he takes a fling at the policy of protection. Wherever a pretext can be found, he was ready to appeal to the past for the condemnation of this particular present policy that offended his political and economic ideas." One night after a lecture in which he provoked a number of very audible hisses for being guilty of some such "appeal to the past," I asked him how he

liked those hisses. He chuckled in his massive way and said: "Did they hiss?" J. H. D.

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