

can Negroes are struggling to overcome and which narrow-minded white men meanly put in their way.

That he should have added thus to the unnatural difficulties with which the American Negro has to contend, would have been above criticism had his reasons possessed genuinely scientific or logical value. The truth as one sees it should be told, when it is of great importance, even though the telling of it adds burdens to the burdened. But Mr. Adams gives no reasons that have not been worn threadbare in the service of the advocates of human slavery. His reasons have been discredited, moreover, in the progress of human freedom at every advance in the recognition of equality of human rights.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

SEATTLE.

Seattle, Wash., May 1.—Our mayor, Judge Moore, is "making good" in so able and so intelligent a way as to astonish his friends as well as completely to confound his enemies. Furthermore, his right conduct seems to spring from instinct—the gentlemanly instincts of a Southerner. It was the same when he was on the bench. The sordid things which politicians often stoop to, seem foreign to him. Do I make myself clear? It all seems to me more a matter of taste than of deep principle; but morality is three-fourths taste, somebody has said.

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First of all, he has quietly but determinedly kept out the slot machines, both money- and merchandise-paying. The cigar dealers raised a terrible outcry; they couldn't live! Very well, if a cigar store must be a gambling house in order to live, it would better die. Shaking dice is allowed, and some criticism has been made of the Mayor by the pro-slot machine people on this account; but he is not stampeded. The dear "law and order" people now want the saloons closed on Sunday, and the theaters. If this really comes to anything we shall try to have a counter movement on the theater question in the interest of wholesome Sunday amusement. A league of Christian Endeavorers, etc., are quite enthusiastic over the closing idea—all Republicans who never within my recollection have favored any such puritanism during the terms of Republican mayors.

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The Seattle Electric Company's free passes to city officials have received a complete airing, and the names of all beneficiaries have been published. Besides the elected city officials and deputies the list includes the members of boards which serve without pay—park, library, etc. Our charter provides that city officials accepting passes forfeit their offices, and furthermore that all their salary from the

time the pass was issued may be recovered by the city. The State constitution also provides that officials shall not receive passes nor railways give them. Our corporation counsel, Scott Colborne (Republican), in an absurd opinion declared the passes for officials which are provided for in the company's franchise to be compensation for the franchise; but Mayor Moore declined to entertain the idea that the Electric Company's franchise superseded the city charter and the State constitution, and the town smiled.

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Municipal ownership has received an impetus we did not anticipate. In regrading and paving certain streets on which there are no traction lines, hills are being taken down, and the question of franchise is being pushed by the Seattle Electric Company. Both parties having declared for the submission of the question of municipal ownership, the Mayor thinks the city should build lines on these streets pending an election, but the Corporation Counsel says it cannot be done without a vote. The Mayor wanted to borrow from the general fund, and finally asks the Counsel if the city may pave with brick but not with steel. As the matter is "framing up" it looks as if municipal ownership might be submitted to vote within six months. Eight of the fifteen councilmen have signified their willingness to submit it.

Mr. George Cotterell, a civil engineer, who has done more for our city's right development than any other single individual, has drafted a system of railways which would reach portions of the city not now served and at the same time be readily extensible into a competing line.

The power of recall plays a substantial part in all this municipal ownership agitation.

ADELA M. PARKER.

NEWS NARRATIVE

To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date.

Week ending Wednesday, May 9.

President Roosevelt and the Standard Oil Trust.

President Roosevelt transmitted to Congress on the 3d, the report of James R. Garfield as commissioner of the Bureau of Corporations in the Department of Commerce and Labor, on the subject of transportation and freight rates in connection with the oil industry.

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In his message the President describes the report as one of—

capital importance in view of the effort now being made to secure such enlargement of the powers of the Inter-

state Commerce Commission as will confer upon the Commission power in some measure adequately to meet the clearly demonstrated needs of the situation. The facts set forth in this report are for the most part not disputed. It is only the inferences from them that are disputed and even in this respect the dispute is practically limited to the question as to whether the transactions are or are not technically legal. The report shows that the Standard Oil Company has benefited enormously up almost to the present moment by secret rates, many of these secret rates being clearly unlawful. This benefit amounts to at least \$750,000 a year. This \$750,000 represents the profit that the Standard Oil Company obtains at the expense of the railroads; but of course the ultimate result is that it obtains a much larger profit at the expense of the public.

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Mr. Garfield in his report, which accompanied the President's message, explained that—

a general and very extensive investigation has been conducted, covering the following subjects: (1) The crude-oil production in the United States and its relation to the world's supply; the prices and methods of purchase; (2) the use, development and control of pipe lines; (3) refining of oil, the control of refineries, the cost of refining and marketing, the prices of petroleum products; (4) the organization, ownership and relation of the companies engaged in the production, manufacture and distribution of oil; (5) the competitive methods used in the production and sale of oil; (6) transportation and freight rates; and (7) foreign trade and conditions and their relation to the domestic industry.

The general results of the investigation are then described as having disclosed the existence of—

numerous and flagrant discriminations by the railroads in behalf of the Standard Oil Company and its affiliated corporations. With comparatively few exceptions, mainly of other large concerns in California, the Standard has been the sole beneficiary of such discriminations. In almost every section of the country that company has been found to enjoy some unfair advantages over its competitors and some of these discriminations affect enormous areas. Discriminations in the transportation of oil embrace a variety of forms, the more important of which may be classed under the following heads: (1) Secret and semi-secret rates; (2) discriminations in the open arrangement of rates; (3) discriminations in classification and rules of shipment; (4) discriminations in treatment of private tank cars. Many of the secret rates discovered by the Bureau of Corporations have applied only on shipments of oil wholly within single States. The Standard Oil Company, which controls refineries in twelve States, is obviously in a position to make extensive use of such inter-State rates, or as they are ordinarily designated, State rates. I have personally visited nearly all of the great fields and have been in communication, either personally or through the agents of the Bureau, with many hundred producers and practically all the refiners and transportation agencies engaged in the distribution of oil. A special agent of the Bureau was sent to Europe to study at first hand the conditions in foreign producing fields and distributing markets. The facts obtained have in every feasible way been verified by examination of the original sources of information. By far the greater part of the material necessary for the completion of the entire report has been collected. The preliminary study of this material showed that the most important subject was transportation, because the cost of transportation is a very large percentage of the total cost to the consumer of the finished product and hence a most important factor in competition. The control of the Standard Oil Company over the entire oil industry is so great as to require a special study of its relations to transportation companies. I, therefore, first submit the accompanying report upon the subject of railway transportation and freight rates.

As this report covers many details, Mr. Garfield presents a summary of its more prominent features, which, however, is too long for reproduction.

Summarizing Mr. Garfield's summary, we have the following disclosures:

The Standard Oil Company directly and indirectly controls the manufacture of 23,000,000 out of the total of 26,000,000 barrels of kerosene manufactured annually in the United States, and about the same proportion of the other finished products of petroleum. This monopolistic control extends from the well of the producer to the doorstep of the consumer. The Standard's advantages of location and pipe line have been obtained in part by means of unfair competitive methods after years of fierce industrial strife. The consequent delimitation of the competitive area has resulted in making prices from 2 to 5 cents a gallon higher in the non-competitive than in the competitive fields, which is from 1½ to 4½ cents more than a reasonable profit. The Standard Oil Company has habitually received from the railroads and is now receiving secret rates and other unjust and illegal discriminations. These discriminations have been so long continued, so secret, so ingeniously applied to new conditions of trade, and so large in amount as to make it certain that they were due to concerted action by the Standard and the railroads. The area of discriminations includes New England, through collusion with the New York, New Haven and Hartford and the Boston and Maine railroads, and a great area in the South, south of the Ohio and east of the Mississippi, through collusion with the Chicago and Eastern Illinois, the Illinois Central and the Southern railways. Most of the secret rates and some open discriminations have been abolished by the railroads since their discovery by the Bureau; nevertheless the widespread discriminations in open rates still in force leave independent shippers at a serious disadvantage.

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Promptly upon the publication of the Garfield report and President Roosevelt's message of transmittal, H. H. Rogers and John D. Archbold of the Standard Oil Company published a lengthy statement, in the course of which they said that—

the Standard Oil Company has at all times, within the limits of fairness and with due regard for the law, sought to secure the most advantageous freight rates and routes possible. There will be no denial of this fact on our part. The question is whether we have at any point violated the law or the proprieties. One does not care to bandy words with the President of the United States. It is not easy to differentiate between Mr. Roosevelt, the President, and Mr. Roosevelt, the individual. He has given of his advice most generously on every subject, from the size of our families to the mistakes of Federal judges, and some error is inevitable now and then to the most conservative man under such circumstances. We say flatly that any assertion that the Standard Oil Company has been or is now knowingly engaged in practices which are unlawful is alike untruthful and unjust. The Commissioner's report, upon which the President's message is based, opens with the statement that the manufacture of refined oil in this country is about 26,000,000 barrels annually. It is unimportant, but it would, nevertheless, have been fair for him to have stated that over 15,000,000 barrels of this annual manufacture is exported and with its manufacture or price the American public is not concerned. He says the "development of the pipe-line system by the Standard Oil Company was the result of special agreement with the railroad companies." What he can mean is past our comprehension. As a matter of fact the development of the pipe-line system by the Standard Oil Company was in the face of violent hostility on the part of the railroads, which naturally were opposed to the introduction of such means of transportation. . . . There have been no secret rates or unlawful discriminations in the interest of the Standard Oil Company. . . . The Standard Oil Company has been investigated over and over again, at the instigation of its rivals, and it always welcomes such investigation when conducted in good faith and fairly. We are engaged in a large and honorable business. We are conducting it honorably, and, we sincerely believe, in conformity to law.