

Free speech has but one meaning, and that a broad one. Its meaning is that thought should be unfettered. This is what the idea stands for in Anglo-Saxon history and in the American polity. Whoever obstructs it, officially or unofficially, commits a crime of the first magnitude against American institutions. It will be well to bear in mind these suggestions when considering the Goldman case at Philadelphia.

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It Is to Laugh.

The substitute which McClure's Magazine for November offers for Tammany Hall in the city government of New York has less of a civic than of a comic opera flavor. Advocating the "commission plan" of government, but without the referendum, initiative and recall features—unless it be in its bare allusion to the plan as "the Galveston or Des Moines plan," the latter of which does but the former does not embody those protective devices—McClure's gives its idea of the kind of commission New York ought to have. "It could and naturally would," says this magazine, "expect to secure the direction of a board of men of the caliber of the following ticket: Mayor, Theodore Roosevelt; Commissioner of Finance, J. Pierpont Morgan; Commissioner of Police, Gen. Leonard Wood; Commissioner of Public Works, William G. McAdoo, the builder of the Hudson tunnels; Commissioner of Law, Senator Elihu Root." Most men of that caliber would out-Tammany Tammany in letting their friends loot the public; although it must be admitted that they would be more careful to get the authority of law for the looting.

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Business and Boodle.

One of the results of having a "Bodeite," Willis J. Spaulding, at the head of the water works in Springfield, Illinois, is the discovery of a "business man's" combine with corrupt politicians for the purpose of cheating the city in the interest of coal men. The bids are so arranged, as Mr. Spaulding has discovered, that a grade of coal which none but the conspiring company can supply is the only kind to bid upon. This grade, however, is not adapted to the uses of the water works; and after contracts are made another and cheaper grade, which any of the companies might supply, is substituted. If this species of business boodle were only a Springfield discovery, it might hardly be worth mention outside of Springfield; but everywhere else, in slightly varied form perhaps, the same kind of swindle is common—

only there are seldom any Willis J. Spauldings or other "Bodeites" to expose it. And as in Springfield, so everywhere else—from Podunk to San Francisco, Chicago or New York,—when you find corrupt contracts made through corrupted politicians, you have only to look a little farther to find a very respectable group of immaculate business men getting most of the "swag."

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The "Best" Money System the "Worst."

After boasting so long about the "best money system the world ever saw," aren't the leaders of the Republican party a little bit shame-faced at such an admission as this, which one of their organs, the Chicago Tribune, made for them editorially in its issue of October 15? "The Tribune itself is determined to keep its mind open for a year and to consider deliberately all the plans that may be brought forward for the improvement of the most defective currency system known to civilization."

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John Z. White in the "Twin Cities."

A week of speaking by John Z. White in Minneapolis and St. Paul, brings reports from local newspapers and enthusiastic auditors which make that a red letter week in the work of a man who is doing service for good government second to none in its essential value and effectiveness. Mr. White's lectures in St. Paul are reported from local sources to have been "a revelation to students of affairs and an inspiration to all." Among other audiences which he addressed were the Y. M. C. A., the Elks, the Commercial Club, the Knights of Columbus, the School of Agriculture, and three high schools. He was also in conference with the Charter Commission and the State Tax Commission.

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Before the Commercial Club and the Elks, both composed of business men, Mr. White was welcomed with especial heartiness for a discussion of rational city government. He advocated the "commission plan," of which he is reported in the local press to have said:

In the commission plan is combined the efficiency of the monarchy and the safety of the republic. The monarchy is an efficient government, because there is concentrated in the monarch all the power and authority of the government. When the czar wants a thing done, he orders it done; immediately it is accomplished. But monarchy is deficient because it does not give the people any means of defending their rights. On the other hand, the republic, with its diffused authority and responsibility, gives the

people reasonable means of defending their rights, but is cumbersome and inefficient as an instrument of government. The thing to be desired is a governmental system which is as efficient as a monarchy and which safeguards popular rights at least as well as a republic. This we have in the commission plan. The important thing is to concentrate authority so as to get efficiency, and to furnish by initiative, referendum and recall a means of popular defense against abuse of that authority.

Mr. White is on his way to the Pacific Coast.

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The "Sweatbox" Again Condemned.

The judges of the Appellate Court at Chicago are to be congratulated upon having decided a "sweatbox" (p. 987) case in accordance with the law. Their decision is of course a shock to the sensibilities of police officials who know nothing historically of the Anglo-Saxon struggle for liberty and care nothing for American ideals; but it is another indication of a judicial tendency toward government by law and not by men.

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That court decided on the 25th, that a conviction upon the testimony of policemen reciting confessions made to them by prisoners in their custody upon charges of the crime confessed to, is invalid. This is strictly in accordance with elementary principles of law which the police in all our large cities have treated with contempt. From long experience, it was long ago learned that confessions made in those circumstances are not trustworthy. They are influenced by hope or fear, and this deprives them of the voluntary element which is necessary to give value to confessions. A confession obtained under duress is likely to be a false confession, and false confessions are as abhorrent to any well-balanced mind as any other form of false testimony.

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"White Slavery" in New York.

Whatever may be one's opinions regarding Tammany Hall in general, or the present municipal campaign in New York in particular, there can hardly be two opinions regarding the conclusiveness of Tammany's reply to the attempt of McClure's Magazine for November to influence the election by holding Tammany responsible for the "white slave" traffic in New York. "During the time in which these conditions are alleged to have existed," says the Tammany leader, "George B. McClellan and Seth Low were mayors of New York; William Travers Jerome and Eugene A. Philbin were district attorneys of New York Coun-

ty; Commissioners Bingham, McAdoo, Partridge and Greene were at the head of the police department; and Charles E. Hughes, Frank W. Higgins, Benjamin B. Odell and Theodore Roosevelt were governors of the State." To this list of respectables (all Republicans but one), the fact might be added that the "white slave" traffic flourishes in Chicago under a Republican mayor (elected by the best elements of the party), a Republican prosecutor, and a Republican governor; yet they are not charged especially with responsibility for it. The truth is that public officials, respectable or otherwise, Republicans or Democrats, are not the most culpable in connection with the "white slave" traffic. Traffic in "white slaves" is less criminal than making "white slaves"; and the makers of white slaves are our "good people." They are those smug persons who grow rich by screwing down the wages and screwing up the hours of working women, and by compressing opportunities to work so as to glut the labor market. Their doing this is made possible by laws regarding property which are unfair, larcenous and oppressive, but which they insist upon perpetuating. Every man and woman of wealth unearned, is living in part upon the proceeds of "white slavery." Some of them know it, but do not dislike it enough to abolish it at the cost of their own luxuries.

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AN IDEAL CHICAGO AND THE COST OF IT.

III. Obstacles in the Way, Especially the Cost.

We have described the Commercial Club's plans for an Ideal Chicago; and, as we believe every one of public spirit who informs himself must do, have passed favorable judgment upon them (p. 1012), subject of course to such modifications of technical detail as the experts may advise, and of policy detail as the people may demand. Assuming, then, the desirability of the project in its general outlines, we confront the question of its feasibility.

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Why should this project not be taken up at once and in earnest?

Why should the Commercial Club's plans not be brought immediately under public scrutiny and discussion? And why, when approved in technical details by the experts or modified so as to secure expert approval, and approved in details of policy by public opinion ascertained in some reasonable way,—why should not the work of realization begin?