

about the country last week, calling forth ribald comment from Democrats of the non-democratic type. With jeers for his "kind word," and for his solitary state, the Cincinnati Times-Star quotes Daniel Kiefer as thus sturdily standing for Bryanism, as against Cleveland-Parker-Harmon Democracy:

I do not believe the statement said to have been authoritatively made by Mr. Metcalf, editor of the Commoner, that Mr. Bryan is to be a candidate in 1912. Mr. Bryan is en route to South America, and it is altogether unlikely that any one may speak for him in his absence on any such matter. Mr. Bryan's willingness to be a candidate in 1908 was, as it was in 1900, and for the same reason that he made the fight against Parker's nomination in 1904, that in the ranks of real Democrats there seemed to be no one else to satisfy the call for a representative of true Democracy. Fair-weather and imaginary Democrats of the Cleveland-Parker stripe, personally estimable though they be, were admittedly better satisfied with their party distinctions when, previous to Bryan's first nomination, the party was a competitor of the Republican party for the favor and support of plutocracy. While Mr. Bryan does not stand for all that is democratic that I could wish he did, so long as the talk of candidates for the Presidency on the Democratic ticket is of men whose like characteristics to those of Taft are that they will be the pliant and subservient tools to monopolies and trusts, I hope that Mr. Bryan will consent to be a candidate for the balance of his life, and the people of the United States demonstrate, as they have three times by their more than six million votes (a greater vote each time than was cast for Cleveland), that it is far better to deserve to win and lose, than win without deserving it.

To Democrats, to whom Democracy is more than a tradition and a name, the fight for Bryanism will continue, and until an equally able exponent of it comes forward, and one considered more available, true Democrats will find it necessary to keep Mr. Bryan at the helm. Personally, I should rather make a fight for La Follette Republicanism than for Cleveland-Parker-Harmon Democracy.

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A Vindication of the Dunne School Board.

Many good people of Chicago, misled by newspaper reports and comments which were intentional and malignant misrepresentations, believed that the appointees of Mayor Dunne to the School Board were not safe guardians of the interests of the schools and school children of Chicago. Ingenuous and simple-minded clergymen and "Alameda citizens" joined with smug Pecksniffian representatives of "big business" in wagging their heads and declaring that apart from the traction questions involved in the last mayoralty election, the great educational interests of Chicago demanded that "visionary theorists and faddists who had no proper idea of business methods" should give

place to "sane, safe, reasonable business men"; and that to that end Busse should be elected over Dunne. They got the desired change. Mayor Dunne's School Board gave place to Mayor Busse's. How do the good people like the results? Probably they know little about them. The newspapers on which they pinned their faith are not exploiting the doings of the Board of Education in these days. To those who may see this paragraph, we should like to make a suggestion. Let them procure a copy of the Chicago Inter Ocean of January 22, and learn from facts of which there can be no denial, the difference between the dealings of the Dunne School Board under the leadership of its President, Emil Ritter, and the dealings of the Busse School Board, with the "coal ring." Perhaps their eyes may be so far opened as to induce hereafter in similar matters a more deliberate judgment.

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WAGE WORKERS AS NATION BUILDERS.

The average American is extremely proud of his "national front-yard." He points with pride to the Declaration of Independence, the Emancipation Proclamation, Washington, Lincoln, and almost invariably to the free school system as the great bulwark of free American institutions.

If asked as to the origin of the public school system, he will speak of Horace Mann, Henry Barnard and the New England ministers as the sole architects of our important educational edifice. Throughout the length and breadth of the nation, men pay tribute to these great reformers as the founders of the American public school system. But recent investigations, while recognizing the importance of the work of these pioneer educators, has found another and more potent force which has long lain concealed from view. This underlying force proceeded from the wage earners, dominated by a bread-and-butter argument.

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Free schools had existed in New England and New York in Colonial times; but the Revolution and the long period of adjustment subsequent to the war, together with the growing heterogeneity of the population, led to the practical abandonment of the system.

The modern free tax-supported school originated in the eventful period, 1820 to 1850. The famous embargo act of Jefferson's administration and the war of 1812 artificially forced the rapid development of American manufacture. At the

conclusion of the struggle there was a panic and financial depression. Long continued hard times adversely affected the wage earners in our truly infant industries. With the return of business activity, towns, cities and factories were enlarged and multiplied. People long accustomed to rural environment were suddenly thrust into barrack-like homes in dreary mushroom factory towns. The now familiar evils of city life began to make their first appearance on American soil. Pauperism, juvenile crime, woman and child labor in factories became well known.

The modern American wage earner then appeared on the industrial and political horizon.

Massed together in the growing cities and towns, opportunities for organization and agitation were not lacking. The long struggle between the conservatives of the Atlantic coast region and the turbulent and individualistic frontiersmen of the uplands and the back-woods had finally forced the abolition in most of the Northern States of the old religious and property qualifications for the exercise of the suffrage. At a propitious time the democratic frontiersman placed the ballot in the hands of the newly created class of factory and town wage earners; and the workingmen's ballots gave the nation its free school system.

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New and unusual social and industrial conditions breed evils, apparent and real, and foster discontent and unrest. In the cities and factory towns of the period, the workers felt that the times were awry; and with the child-like faith of utopia builders they looked for a panacea for the ills they suffered.

For years influential and learned men had been preaching the doctrine that the uneducated must ever remain in a degraded caste. "Equality among men results only from education"; "the educated man is a good citizen, the uneducated an undesirable member of the body politic." These were the oft-repeated phrases which came from many sources to the anxious wage earners.

Suddenly the disturbed mass of toiling humanity was touched by the monotonous repetition. Free, equal, practical, republican education became the shibboleth of the workers. Practically every workingmen's meeting from Albany and Boston on the north to Wilmington and Charleston on the south took up the cry. Speeches, editorials and resolutions galore, and planks in local workingmen's party platforms, are recorded of the period from 1828 to about 1832 or 1833. Horace Mann, Henry Barnard, James G. Carter, Robert

Dale Owen, George H. Evans and others directed the movement; but the potent push came from the firm demand of an aroused and insistent wage earning class armed with the ballot.

The rural districts, employers, and men of wealth were rarely favorable to the tax-supported school; and often their voices were raised against it in bitter protest or stinging invective.

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A careful study of the development of the public school system in different States—Massachusetts, Connecticut, Vermont, Rhode Island, New York, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Ohio—and the utter lack of a free school system in the slave-holding South, confirm these brief general statements.

The wage earners were touched with the enthusiasm of a utopian dreamer. Given free and universal education, and, they firmly believed, all social ills would vanish as the mists before the morning sun. A mistaken idea it has proved to be; but it was nevertheless potent and compelling in that formative period of our industrial history.

Only a few years later, following another panic, the workers, again discontented and suffering, looked for another social panacea. They found it then in free homesteads for actual settlers. Give each man the right to acquire a quarter section of virgin soil, and all will be well. Again, the wage earners play no small part in giving the nation another important measure—the Homestead Act.

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He who interprets our national history aright must not overlook the influence of the workingmen.

Witness the free school system, the abolition of imprisonment for debt, mechanics' lien laws, the Homestead Act, departments of labor statistics, eight hour laws, and so on through a list which is not short.

Many of our cherished institutions and legislative measures are the concrete results of the efforts of a combination of insurgent reformers and the wage earners, made in opposition to organized wealth and traditional conservatism. To the wage earner who gets his bread by the sweat of his brow are due many of the important stones in our national edifice.

Let us give credit where credit is due; and let us remember that the past has valuable lessons for today.

FRANK T. CARLTON.

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Equity does not permit property in land.—Herbert Spencer, in 1850 edition of "Social Statics."