

which manifest themselves in the unearned fortunes that distinguish the age in which we live.

Nor is it by pernicious example alone that the reputable criminal class produces and fosters the disreputable. It does it also and chiefly by forcing abnormal individual development into a mould of disorderly social development.

What, for illustration, could contribute more effectively to the creation and propagation of a disreputable criminal class than a law denying to everybody except a favored few and their assigns the right to live? Since only these few and their favorites, and purchasers from them of life rights, could live without committing legal depredations, a class would inevitably grow up which would prey upon all other classes. Even though they might buy the right to live, and buy it cheap, yet it is conceivable that under the influence of environment—and heredity, if you insist upon it—they would prefer a precarious but strenuous life of disreputable crime to a reputable existence at the price of legalized blackmail. The old "free traders," who would now be known as "smugglers," were examples of this disposition to become lawless criminals rather than submit to the exactions of lawful criminals.

But it is not necessary to imagine an institution which makes of the natural right to live a legal privilege. The right to live necessitates the right to a place on the earth to live upon, and the right to live the social life necessitates the right to live on the earth at places where social opportunities cluster. To deny the latter right is to deny social life; to deny the former is to deny life altogether. Yet the law denies both. Except to a favorite few and their assigns, the right to a place upon the earth is denied. Babies are born by the hundreds of thousands every year, who have no legal right upon this planet. It is true that they may buy a right of babies whose ancestors were in the game of grab. But they must buy it by supporting in greater or less degree those other babies with their labor, as both classes grow up. It is true, too, that they may buy some places for very little. But if they

would buy where social opportunities cluster they must pay dear. Some of these places are so rich in social opportunities that even a few square feet could not be bought with all the earnings of a day laborer accumulated since the birth of Christ. But whether the price be high or low, it is a price for the right to live—for the bare right to live if low; for the right to live the social life if high. In either case it is legalized crime, whereby some of the people are forced either to support others in idleness by reputable labor, or to prey as a criminal class upon the community.

While that phase of the problem of dealing with the criminal classes remains unnoticed by criminologists, the possibility that those "scientists" will solve the problem is hopeless.

#### EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Cleveland, April 15.—There has been a civic revolution in Cleveland. Last summer the "gray wolves," as we call them in Chicago, seemed to be in hopeless possession of the city government. To-night the whole pack is dispersed. It is entirely within bounds to say that this is due to the election of Tom L. Johnson as mayor.

Johnson's campaign, which closed with his election by some 6,000 majority in this republican city on the 1st, was a single tax campaign. The specific issue, to be sure, was a demand for three-cent fares on the street railroads, with ultimate municipal ownership. But Johnson's well-known views on the Henry George land and fiscal reform, and his characteristic refusal to minimize his radicalism, made the single tax the most prominent and persistent subject of discussion. In this way that subject was brought definitely to the attention of the voters of Cleveland; but it was doubtless a minor factor in producing the result. Probably the most important factor was something of which Mr. Johnson would be least proud as a cause of his victory—public confidence in his administrative ability.

But even at this early day evidence that that confidence was not misplaced has accumulated. The people of Cleveland are obviously well pleased. Yet there is a comical distrust among some of the particularly good people, as if they wondered when Johnson's jack-in-the-box would

pop out at them. Probably this distrust on the part of those who luxuriate in special privileges will not be wholly disappointed.

Johnson's first move was to take possession of the mayor's office in time to prevent his predecessor from signing away the lake front to the railroads. Prior to his election the council had passed and Mayor Farley had signed an ordinance directing the mayor to enter into a contract transferring the lake front to the railroads in fee. Johnson brought suit, as a citizen to enjoin the mayor from signing this contract, his contention being that the state owns the land and that the city holds it in trust. That injunction would have expired on the 4th at 11 o'clock; but at 10:30 Johnson had qualified as mayor and taken possession of the office. The railroads are now trying to compel him, by legal action, to sign the contract transferring this immense property to them; but they will have to secure a decree of the highest court to which the case can go before they succeed in that design.

The new mayor's activity in saving the lake front property has been followed in rapid succession by several decisive moves which bode no good to several kinds of social parasites, but promise well for the people of Cleveland. He has ordered all combustible rookeries within the fire limits to be pulled down. He has ordered bill boards within the fire limits to be taken away. He has put policemen in uniform at the entrances to dives and gambling hells, and so made a successful start toward breaking them up. All this is pursuant to his pledge to enforce the law. And he has sent an official inquiry to certain street railroads for their authority to use a certain important street—wherein there is much meaning which is not concealed. It is Johnson's preliminary step toward redeeming his promise to give Cleveland three-cent fares if possible.

One of Mayor Johnson's first acts was to set Peter Witt at work compiling a comparative statement of real estate taxation in Cleveland. No better selection could have been possible. Witt has had experience as an assessor, and besides being alert is thoroughly and intelligently devoted to the fiscal work that Johnson has in hand. He is a blacklisted molder, whose enforced exclusion from his trade has had the effect of turning

his attention to the study of municipal affairs. From the work that Witt is preparing, developments that are useful as well as startling may be confidently looked for.

Another of Johnson's appointments is at least unique. He has chosen the Rev. Harris R. Cooley, pastor of the Cedar Avenue Disciples' church of which President Garfield's mother was a member, and a prominent single tax advocate of Ohio, to a place in his cabinet as director of charities. When the mayor consulted with reference to Mr. Cooley, one friend heartily approved the appointment, but made the reservation that he supposed Mr. Cooley's business experience was limited. Johnson replied: "There is plenty of business experience lying around loose; what I want for this position is a man of judgment and heart." About those qualifications there was no doubt, and Mr. Cooley is now performing the functions of director of charities in the mayor's cabinet as well as those of pastor of the church to which he has ministered for nearly a quarter of a century.

Most impressive, however, of all Mr. Johnson's acts thus far was his organization of the new council, for he it was who organized it. The council consists of 22 members, half of them being elected every year. In the last council there was a gray wolf combine. Thirteen members were united for any sort of profitable deviltry. This combination was broken up by the failure of some of its members to secure reelection. Of the hold-over members four are democrats and seven are republicans. Of the new members, six are democrats and five are republicans. The council, therefore, is republican by two majorities. Out of this material Mayor Johnson gathered six republicans and six democrats, who were believed to be straight men, and secured from them a pledge to organize the council against the gray wolves and the corporations. He proposed, to begin with, that as the council was republican, the republican members of this entirely novel kind of combine should select the candidates for council officials, and that the democrats should support them if they were the right kind of men with reference to the purpose of the combine. This was agreed to, and as a result the president, the vice president and the clerk agreed to by the 12 whom Johnson had got together were elected with virtual unanimity. Every councilman voted for them rather than expose the

fact that he was not in the honest combine. The only exception was on the vote for clerk. The old clerk had been in office twelve years. Johnson had said to him before election: "It is more important to defeat you than to elect me; but I am going for both." He was a marked man as a go-between. The candidate of Johnson's combine had made a record in the council for his hostility to monopoly legislation in favor of the street car corporations. In this instance only three besides the combine voted for the new clerk, the others scattering their votes. It was indeed a new kind of combine—perhaps the first in the history of municipal politics in which good government instead of bad, the people instead of corporations, was the object. And it worked with thrilling precision. For the first time in many years the corporate monopolies had no part in the organization of the city council.

Of course there is much talk about Johnson as a new comet in the political firmament. A whole political career has been mapped out for him. He is to run for governor next fall—or for senator—and with his election to either office as a stepping stone, he is to contest the next presidential nomination with all comers, Bryan included. This talk is entirely in the air. Johnson has no purpose of contesting the presidential nomination. He has no disposition to allow himself to be put into an attitude of hostility to Bryan. Since 1896, though disagreeing with Bryan on the silver question, he has regarded that gentleman as leading the democratic party up out of the jungles of plutocracy and monopoly, and has looked upon himself politically as being in the fight with Bryan and not against him. There are no indications of any change in this respect. Quite the contrary. Neither will Johnson be a candidate in the fall for senator or for governor. This he definitely declares in a way which to all who know him puts doubt out of the case. The whole matter may be summed up in the single statement that Johnson is mayor of Cleveland and intends to devote himself absolutely to the business of that office until the end of his term. He will allow nothing to interfere with this purpose. Neither state politics nor national politics will be permitted to divert his attention from the important civic obligations he has accepted in behalf of the city of Cleveland.

L. F. P.

## NEWS

After the action of the Cuban constitutional convention, reported last week (p. 10), that body on the 12th adopted a more conciliatory motion regarding the so-called Platt amendment than the one it had previously passed rejecting the amendment peremptorily. It simply expressed the opinion, by a vote of 18 to 10 that the convention is opposed to the terms in some respects and to the substance in others, of the Platt amendment. The especially objectionable clauses of the amendment are the third, sixth and seventh. Those clauses are as follows:

III. That the government of Cuba consents that the United States may exercise the right to intervene for the preservation of Cuban independence, the maintenance of a government adequate for the protection of life, property and individual liberty, and for discharging the obligations with respect to Cuba imposed by the treaty of Paris on the United States, now to be assumed and undertaken by the government of Cuba.

VI. That the Isle of Pines shall be omitted from the proposed constitutional boundaries of Cuba, the title thereto being left to future adjustment by treaty.

VII. That to enable the United States to maintain the independence of Cuba, and to protect the people thereof, as well as for its own defense, the government of Cuba will sell or lease to the United States lands necessary for coaling or naval stations at certain specified points, to be agreed upon with the president of the United States.

The motion was carried in connection with one providing for the appointment of a commission to wait upon President McKinley. Still more conciliatory action was taken on the 13th. The motion of the 12th was reconsidered and the whole matter left in abeyance until the return of the commission, which is required to endeavor to make a satisfactory agreement with President McKinley. The resolution appointing it provides, however, that nothing it shall agree to or offer shall be binding unless accepted by the Cuban convention as a whole. Senors Diego, Tamayo, Capote, Berriel, Portuendo and I. Lorente constitute the commission. It is to leave for Washington on the 20th under the escort of Gov. Gen. Wood.

From the Philippines there is no