Yet the property rights of the one might be utterly indefensible, while those of the other might be wholly unobjectionable. Could we examine their inventories we might find that the one owns thousands of dollars' worth of slaves (who are in justice entitled to own themselves); thousands of dollars' worth of private taxing power (which is a privilege of extortion); and thousands of dollars' worth of land (which is a common inheritance); while the entire fortune of the other might consist of buildings, machinery and the like (which are justly his if he has made them himself or has swapped his labor for them directly or indirectly to their makers). These fundamental, moral and economic distinctions are covered up by the use of Money terms for indiscriminately measuring Serviceability in Trade.

For that reason it is necessary to examine, as we have done, into the nature of Trade, where the language of Money prevails; to probe Value, which makes Trade possible; to consider Servicability, upon which Value rests; and to analyze Wealth, which embodies Serviceability. Having done that, we find that Wealth, from which spring all these phenomena—Serviceability, Value, Trade and Money—is the product of Labor applied to Land.

We are therefore able now clearly to see that the justice of any property right, though its Value be expressed in terms of Money regardless of its economic character, depends at last upon its relations to Labor and Land. These things lie back of all kinds of "vested rights." And they determine infallibly whether any of these rights are just or unjust.

For there are two ways, and, broadly speaking, only two, whereby man enslaves his fellow man. He may do so by acquiring "vested rights" in Labor, which enable him to compel workingmen to work for him. This is called chattel slavery. Or he may do so by acquiring "vested rights" in Land, which enable him to deny life to workingmen unless they work for him. This is called land monopoly. In the one case the slavery is active; in the other it is passive.

In either there may be great varieties of form. Ownership of Labor does not consist alone in title deeds to slaves. Any taxing power for private profit is of the same nature. It compels men to give up part of their earnings for nothing. Neither does ownership of Land consist alone in the title deeds to particular parcels of earth laid off by metes and bounds. All franchises, as a street car privilege, a railroad right of way, dock privileges, or the like, are in their nature the same. The essence of slavery, active or passive, is in every one of them.

"Slavery," some one has said, "is the sum of all sin." He only put into other phrase the sentiment of St. Paul: "The love of money is the root of all evil." To love money and not the earning of it, is to love slavery.

And that is the sum and substance of all economic problems and of all civic morality.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

Cleveland, Nov. 21, 1902.—No one in Cleveland, Senator Hanna least of all, believes that Tom L. Johnson was "snowed under" at the recent election.

In the initial Democratic campaign of the State under his leadership, with a radical platform and a radical candidate, with only himself and Bigelow to lead in the speaking, and all the plutocratic and spoils hunting Democrats of the State against him, as well as some of the largest corporate interests of the country, the count for Bigelow foots up 350,000 votes. Nor is that all. In the northern counties in which most of the campaigning was done, the Democratic gain was over 10,000. Even that does not sum up the gain. In the Congressional district reserved by the Republicans in their gerrymander for their Democratic coadjutor, "Doc." Norton — the tax lawyer and land expert of the B. & O. R. R.—while Norton's majority is normally 6,000, Johnson's campaign against public officials who, in their official capacity, serve the corporations that employ them, instead of the people that elect them, defeated Norton by 600 for Congress, while carrying the district for Bigelow for secretary of state. One other fact must not be forgotten. In Cuyahoga county, where Johnson and Hanna live, which was strongly Republican until Johnson came into Democratic leadership there, and where Hanna made his most desperate fight, Bigelow's plurality was 2,500, though the Democratic candidate for governor last year had a plurality of only 115. In the city of Cleveland itself Bigelow's plurality was 5,000. Under these circumstances Senator Hanna is far from easy in his mind regarding the municipal election next Spring, when Johnson will doubtless be a candidate for reelection as mayor.

Mr. Hanna is preparing for a desperate struggle. He is endeavoring to bring together Republican factions by a judicious distribution of the numerous places which his new municipal code has provided; and in addition to this political wire pulling he is centering the interest of the great money-grabbing elements of Wall street upon this Ohio city, with assurances that the one thing needful to all monopolistic combinations is the destruction of the dreadful Johnson.

Whoever imagines that the victory over plutocracy is to be an easy one, makes a monumental mistake. If that were true it would have been won long ago.

The new municipal code does not take effect until Spring, when the first elections under it are to be held in all the cities of the State.

This code was made necessary by the attempt to thwart Mayor Johnson's policy of equal taxation and three cent fares on street cars. Under Mr. Hanna's patronage, and through the attorney general whom he nominated and controls, an ouster suit was brought against the city of Cleveland on the ground that its charter was invalid as special legislation. This charter had been passed by a Republican legislature, and had been in unquestioned force 11 years. The attorney general refused to bring a similar suit against the city of Cincinnati, which also had a special charter, but where the city government was subservient to the corporation ring. In the suit against Cleveland the Supreme Court of the State declared the Cleveland charter invalid, but in doing so laid down principles which invalidated every city charter in the State. Hence the necessity for a special session of the legislature and the enactment of the municipal code which is to go into effect in the Spring.

Meanwhile, the court had granted a stay of proceedings in the Cleveland suit, which leaves the officers of that city free to administer its affairs until Spring as the officers of the other cities are doing—under its old charter.

Accordingly, Mayor Johnson pro-

ceeded with the low fare and equal taxation reforms which he had entered upon immediately after his election. But instantly an injunction was procured from the Supreme Court to protect Mr. Hanna's street-car interests. Consequently any other city in the state can deal with the street-car question. Cleveland alone is enjoined. The explanation is that Cleveland is the only Ohio city in which monopoly interests are threatened.

Johnson also continued his tax investigation in the interest of the small property owners who are now taxed with gross unfairness. That, too, was stopped by injunction.

He then procured the appointment by the new county offices of a "tax inquisitor" under the Ohio law in place of the Republican "inquisitor," with a view to compelling the corporations to pay back taxes which they had dodged. The new "inquisitor" was promptly shackled with an injunction.

And now comes up a matter of another kind, which shows the determination of the Hanna ring to deprive the city administration of all power to administer the affairs for which it is responsible to the people.

For the purpose of increasing the efficiency of the police force, Mayor Johnson had, after long and careful investigation into its condition and the causes of its efficiency, decided to unload five of the six captains, who were barnacles, and to put in the place of the inefficient superintendent the sixth captain, whom he had found to be a competent officer. By thus getting rid of five useless captains, whose duties are performed by lieutenants, he would have had the funds to increase the number of patrolmen, and by promoting the efficient captain he could have secured a good superintendent for what under a competent chief he believed would be an efficient force.

The captains resigned when called upon to do so, but the superintendent interested Mr. Hanna's attorney general, and that convenient official secured from the accommodating Supreme Court an injunction so broad that the city government has no further authority over the police force. This injunction was granted without notice to the city or a hearing of any kind, but by a secret proceeding at Columbus.

To give it the color of good faith the Hanna papers manufactured and circulated a rumor that Johnson was removing these police officers for the purpose of putting his own political followers into their places. The disingenuousness of this manufactured rumor is apparent when the fact is disclosed that Johnson expressly intended and had fully arranged to make no appointments in place of the captains, and to fill the superintendent's place by the promotion of an officer who is universally regarded in Cleveland as one of the best on the force and who is a thorough-going Republican.

L. F. P.

NEWS

Rumors of a probable settlement of the anthracite coal strike gained currency on the 21st. The proceedings before the arbitration commission (p. 521) had gone on regularly on the 20th, when the Rev. Dr. Peter Roberts continued to give testimony regarding the condition of the miners. Among other statements he said that the fatalities in anthracite mining are 3.5 per 1,000 employes annually, while in railroading they amount to only 2.5. Dr. Roberts was followed on the witness stand by two physicians, one of whom, Dr. Lenahan, of Wilkesbarre, testified that few miners live to be over 50 years of age, and that the average life of a miner after beginning work at this calling is about 25 or 30 years. When Mr. Darrow applied on the 21st for an extended adjournment Judge Gray, as chairman of the commission, made the announcement which gave rise to the rumors of settlement. He said:

> Acceding to the suggestion just made by counsel that an interval of time be taken for the preparation of the documentary evidence and for a possible agreement as to certain facts and figures which would forward the work of the commission, the commission desires to express the hope that an effort will be made by the parties to come to an agreement upon nearly all, if not all, the matters now in controversy, and that they will adopt the suggestion heretofore made by the commission to counsel on both sides, that we aid them in such an effort by our conciliatory offices. It seems to us that many of the conditions complained of, and which have been the subject and study of our examination, might be better remedied by the parties to the controversy approaching the subject in a proper spirit.

Thereupon the commission adjourned on the 21st to the 3d of December.

Subsequently the commission found it advisable to issue the following supplementary explanation:

> It appears that there is some misunderstanding or some lack of understanding in connection with the recess taken by the commission and the suggestion in that connection that, possibly, the contestants might be able to agree upon some of the important points involved. The recess was desired by counsel for both sides, because authoritative statements of hours and wages which are being prepared are not as yet ready. The suggestion was made that perhaps some agreement might be reached between the principals which would simplify the problem and assist in reaching proper conclusions. The chairman, speaking for the commission, stated that the commission would gladly cooperate as far as could consistently be done in furthering an effort to reach an understanding through conciliatory means and methods. The idea has gone out in some quarters that the matter is to be settled without further effort or responsibility on the part of the commission. This idea is entirely wrong. The commission will, as announced, cheerfully encourage conciliatory spirit and action between the parties to the controversy, but has not surrendered, and will not surrender, jurisdiction of any of the matters which have been referred to it, nor responsibility for the conclusion reached. No adjustment can be made which does not, by its terms commend itself strongly enough to secure the approval of the commission and its incorporation in the award. With a view and for the purpose of removing any misunderstanding which might exist, the subcommittee of the commission invited such of the counsel representing the several interests involved as could be reached to meet this afternoon.

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The independent coal operators were seriously disturbed by the probable settlement, and immediately used their influence to prevent it. On the 22d they addressed to President Baer and the other representatives of the coal and railroad trust a protest against a settlement at this time. They urged four objections: First, that the proposed settlement "would forever establish the power and perpetuate the injustice perpetrated" by the miners' union; second, that it "would be in the eyes of the public a confession" of guilt on the part of the operators of all the offenses charged against them by the miners; third, that after a final hearing before the commission any money award which the commission might make would be far less than the amount proposed in settlement;