

tion without a further freedom, namely, economic freedom. Unless men are made equal in their economic rights, it is idle to prate about maintaining political freedom and the spirit of individual independence.

The emancipation of man from the lordship of special privilege and from the whole spirit of Protection, depends upon the enacting of actual human laws which shall embody this fact. This means, in largest terms, that we must acknowledge the equal right of every human being to the common gifts of God. This alone will make each man free among his fellows. To educate the people to this thought, to fire them with enthusiasm for this truth, is the next great work in the evolution of human freedom.

J. H. DILLARD.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Apr. 9.

After one of the most strenuous campaigns (vol. v, pp. 778, 790, 791, 796, 813, 817, 824) that any American city has ever experienced—in which Senator Marcus A. Hanna, Republican, and Mayor Tom L. Johnson, Democrat, were the opposing leaders,—Mayor Johnson won a signal victory on the 6th in the city of Cleveland. It is conceded to have placed him, beyond challenge, at the head of his party in Ohio, and in the front rank of national leadership. Besides this, it gives him what the State legislature had sought to divest him of—a free hand in the administration of the city which has again elected him to its principal office.

The principal specific issues in the campaign were—(1) 3-cent fares on street cars; (2) municipal ownership of street car lines; and, (3) just taxation. Mayor Johnson headed his party ticket as candidate for reelection, and the remainder of the ticket was composed of men who were publicly pledged to his municipal policies and most of whom had been tested regarding them. The Republican ticket was headed by Harvey D. Goulder, as candidate for mayor. His associate as candidate for vice-mayor and president of the city council was Sol Sontheimer, recently a Democrat,

who had been selected by the Republicans for this nomination because he is president of the central labor federation of the city and had committed himself and endeavored to commit his labor organization to opposition to 3-cent fares (vol. v., pp. 701, 722, 787). Mr. Sontheimer was defeated for vice mayor and president of the council by a plurality of 10,436. Mayor Johnson was reelected mayor by a plurality of 5,985. The reported vote is as follows:

Mayor—Johnson (Dem.).....	36,164
Goulder (Rep.).....	30,179
Johnson's plurality	6,985
Vice-Mayor—Lapp (Dem.).....	37,581
Sontheimer (Rep.).....	27,145
Lapp's plurality	10,436
Auditor—Madigan (Dem.).....	35,791
Townsend (Rep.).....	29,134
Madigan's plurality	6,657
Treasurer—Coffinberry (Dem.).....	36,974
Smith (Rep.).....	28,750
Coffinberry's plurality	7,224
Solicitor—Baker (Dem.).....	35,019
Mooney (Rep.).....	29,268
Baker's plurality	5,751
Public Service Board:	
Cooley (Dem.).....	35,048
Springborn (Dem.).....	35,798
Leslie (Dem.).....	35,010
Slatmeyer (Rep.).....	31,295
Towson (Rep.).....	30,545
Knight (Rep.).....	31,333

For councilmen at large there are three Democrats and three Republicans for the long term, and three of each party for the short term.

Besides scoring this victory on the general ticket, Mayor Johnson has secured a city council which represents his policies overwhelmingly. The legislature had designed to cripple his administration by providing in the new municipal code that mayoral appointments must be confirmed by two-thirds of the council, the appointments to be made by the governor if more than one-third of the council refuses to confirm. But the Cleveland election frustrates that design. The new council is distributed as follows: Democrats, 23; Republicans, 9. As the Democratic members are publicly pledged (vol. v, p. 303) to support Mayor Johnson's 3-cent fare and related policies, there is little danger of the gubernatorial interference for which the municipal code provides.

The general character and scope of Mayor Johnson's victory may be inferred from the following special dispatch to the Chicago Chronicle, a paper of Johnson's party, but hostile to him:

Cleveland, O., April 7.—The victory of Mayor Tom L. Johnson yesterday brings with it much power. By virtue of the "ripper" legislation affecting the form of the city government, instigated by his enemies for the purpose of crushing him completely, he finds himself in absolute possession of the

entire executive and legislative departments of the city. He "owns" 23 offices in the new form of city government which takes effect May 4, and is a political dictator. His victory also favors his gubernatorial aspirations and will place him in control of the Democratic State committee.

"Tom L. Johnson," said Mr. Ingalls, of the Big Four, the defeated Democratic candidate for mayor of Cincinnati, "is the logical Democratic nominee for governor of Ohio, and I am for him."

The defeat of Harvey D. Goulder is said to show the weakness of Senator Hanna at home. With this new evidence of Senator Hanna's weakness the adherents of Gen. Charles Dick have begun to reassert the claims of their candidate for the nomination for governor on the Republican ticket. Cox, of Cincinnati, has declared openly that he would be only too happy to work for Gen. Dick against Myron T. Herrick, whom Senator Hanna has designated as the accepted candidate for the party.

In an interview published in the Cleveland Plain Dealer of the 8th Mayor Johnson gave his own views of the situation and outlined his plans in these words:

The campaign was fought entirely upon local issues. National issues did not figure in the campaign, and the result has no significance outside of Cleveland. It was merely a demonstration of the fact that the people of this city have attained a high degree of good citizenship in that they have studied municipal questions and have learned to think independently. Senator Hanna brought great energy to the campaign, and by his able management secured an organization of merit. He also secured more harmony than has been known within his party for some time. But through it all Mr. Hanna made no effort to conceal the fact that he was endeavoring to make use of his party merely for the furtherance of his private interests. The people knew this, and its bad effect more than counterbalanced Mr. Hanna's energy and his skill as an organizer. As soon as the Supreme Court injunction expires, on May 4, we purpose at once to push forward the plan of asking for new bids for a three-cent fare street railroad. We intend to do everything possible to secure the payment of whatever back taxes are owed by the street railroads and other public service corporations. We shall try to find a plan to carry on an investigation of other inequalities in taxation. Next fall we expect to agitate all over the State the right of home rule and we shall endeavor to free the hands of each community so that equal taxation may be achieved. Of course these are legislative measures, and, in order to

achieve them, it will be necessary to awaken the people to the necessity of choosing a legislature which will act for the people.

Mayor Jones has won a victory in Toledo, which, though different in scope and effectiveness from Mayor Johnson's in Cleveland, is as significant as it is unique. This also occurred on the 6th. Originally elected mayor of Toledo in 1897 as the regular Republican candidate, Mayor Jones bolted his party in 1899 and was reelected against both parties; he had abandoned parties in 1901 and was reelected as an independent with the Democratic endorsement; and now, in 1903, he is reelected on petition as a "no party" candidate by a vote almost as large as that of the Democratic and Republican candidates combined. The vote for mayor is as follows:

Jones (non-partisan).....	10,354
Dowd (Rep.).....	7,504
Edson (Dem.).....	4,255
Bragg (Soc.).....	507
Total vote cast.....	22,620
Jones's plurality.....	2,850

In explanation of this remarkable result Mayor Jones says:

As a triumph of the people, the election is beyond all comparison more significant and hopeful than that of four years ago, when as an independent candidate I received nearly 70 per cent. of the total vote, with a Republican and Democratic candidate in the field. In that year we had the support of a daily newspaper and the endorsement of many "organizations." There was a revolt of the whole city against the unblushingly outrageous and dishonest methods of the Republican convention from which I had bolted, and the desire to administer a stinging rebuke to the machine was a prominent factor in contributing to the result. The vote was rather more a vote of protest than one of promise. In this election, every daily paper in the city, English and German, has supported the machine candidates, and, therefore, opposed my election. Every English daily declined to even publish my letter accepting the nomination from thousands of petitioners. Not a single organization has endorsed the movement this year. The result, therefore, is the cleanest-cut and most hopeful sign of the rise of the spirit of democracy of our time. With Republican, Democratic and Socialist party candidates in the field, unaided and alone, that unorganized mass, the people, have discovered that they, and not the parties, are the power, are the government, and I believe have served notice by their votes on the political machines in this city that their services are no longer needed. They may be tolerated for awhile, but it will only be by sufferance. The child, Democ-

racy, has become a man and can walk alone.

Two important elections in Ohio on the 6th were won by the Republicans. One of them was that at Columbus, where Mayor Hinkle, Democrat, (elected two years ago by 350) was defeated for reelection by Robert H. Jeffrey, Republican, by 3,000 plurality. The other was at Cincinnati, where M. E. Ingalls, president of the Cleveland, Cincinnati, Chicago and St. Louis railway (the "Big Four"), who had been nominated for mayor of Cincinnati by a citizens' movement and was supported by the Democrats, was defeated by Mayor Fleischman, the Republican candidate. Fleischman has a plurality of over 16,000. His plurality three years ago was 5,500.

The Chicago election came off on the 7th. It had been hotly contested (vol. v, p. 818). Mayor Harrison was the Democratic candidate for reelection for a fourth term; Graeme Stewart was the Republican candidate, and Daniel L. Cruice the candidate of the Independent Labor party which had first tendered its nomination to Clarence S. Darrow. There were also two Socialist candidates and a Prohibitionist. Following is the result:

Harrison (Dem.).....	146,323
Stewart (Rep.).....	138,485
Breckon (Soc.).....	11,207
Cruice (Ind. Lab.).....	9,999
Sale (Soc. Lab.).....	1,062
Haines (Pro.).....	2,480
Total vote.....	309,556
Harrison's plurality.....	7,838

Though Mayor Harrison is reelected, his majority is scant and he will have to face a city council in which there are 16 Democrats, 17 Republicans and 2 members who owe allegiance to neither of those parties. These two members hold the balance of power in the council. One of the two is an independent; the other is a Socialist. As both were recommended by the Municipal Voters' League, their election is a triumph for that body. This is obvious upon the face of the returns in the case of the Socialist, William Johnson. Mr. Johnson is elected from the 33d ward by a vote of 3,116, whereas the Socialist candidate for mayor polled in that ward only 1,097. Mr. Johnson received, therefore, 2,019 in addition to his party vote.

This is about the loss suffered by the Republican and the Democratic candidates, both of whom were condemned by the Voters' league when it recommended the Socialist. The Republican polled 1,888 votes less than did the mayoral candidate of his party, and the Democrat polled 132 less than his mayoral candidate. Yet the total vote was 8,342 for mayor and 8,309 for councilman, a difference of only 33. The relative distribution of the vote is as follows:

Compared with Republican, for mayor.....	Loss on Councilman.....	Gain on Councilman.....
Democrat, for mayor.....	1,888
Socialist for mayor.....	132	2,019
Cruice, for mayor.....	115
Prohibitionist for mayor.....	66
Soc.-Labor for mayor.....	17
Fall off in total vote.....	33
	2,135	2,135

After his election Mayor Harrison made public the following statement of his purpose regarding the traction question:

I am willing to take up the settlement of the traction question at any time. It must be understood in advance, however, that no ordinance is to be passed until the legislature has given Chicago the right to own and operate street car lines. The ordinance must provide, moreover, for the referendum; and the rights claimed by the companies under the 99-year act must be expressly waived. There can be, of course, no question of a grant for a longer term of years than now permitted by the horse and dummy act—namely, 20 years—and provision must be made for city acquirement at the earliest possible date. With these fundamentals properly cared for, the remaining essentials for franchise extensions can be readily handled. For the immediate future all citizens having the best interests of Chicago at heart should exert their full influence to prevail upon the legislature to pass at once municipal-ownership enabling legislation, as well as an act establishing a reasonable and effective referendum.

The Socialist vote for mayor of Chicago is double that of two years ago, but only a little more than half the vote of the party for State treasurer last Fall. Following are the comparative figures:

	Socialist	Socialist	
	Soc.-Dem.	P'ty.	Lab. P'ty.
Mayor, 1901.....	2,046	5,334	679
State Tr's., 1902.....	13,650	6,512	20,162
Mayor, 1903.....	11,207	1,062	12,269

From other cities the only Socialist vote so far at hand is reported from Battle Creek, Mich., where 2 Socialist aldermen are elected, making 4 Socialists now in the council. The

total Socialist vote at this election was 1,558, the Republican candidate for mayor being elected over the Socialist by a plurality of 706.

In the Netherlands a great strike, the organization of which is promoted by Socialists as part of the evolutionary programme of socialism, has broken out. It began on the 6th, and is now reported to be a menace to the peace not only of Holland but even of Europe. For this reason it attracts more attention in Europe than does the advancing shadow of the Macedonian question.

This strike is the supplementary event to a 48-hour dockers' strike in Amsterdam last January, which in that brief time spread to the railways and resulted in cutting off Amsterdam from the rest of the world. The railway company was consequently compelled to concede the demands of the striking workmen. But as a result of the public inconvenience caused by the strike, a demand for legislation against all railway strikes was made, and in February the Kuyper ministry (Conservative) introduced three bills in the states general prohibiting such strikes. Bill number one provided for the organization of a railway brigade to run the railways in case of need; bill number two appointed a royal commission to settle railway grievances; bill number three forbade "public servants" to strike. The importance of the bill with regard to "public servants" will be appreciated when it is observed that of the 1,730 miles of railway in Holland 968 belong to the government. Even the independent roads, moreover, are said by the London Times to have such contracts with the government as to make them quasi-governmental enterprises. Upon the introduction of these bills into the states general the representatives of 50 labor organizations held a convention and appointed a "defense committee" composed of two representatives of the railroad employes, two of the boatmen's union, one of the national labor office, one of the Independent Socialist party, and one of the Social Democratic party. Pledges are said to have been made to this committee by all the labor unions that they would strike when the committee should so order.

According to Mr. Melchers, a well known Socialist member of the sec-

ond chamber of the states general, the ministry promised the Socialists that the antistrike bills should not be "rushed" through arbitrarily, but would be made a subject of constitutional deliberation in regular form; in consideration whereof, the labor "defense committee" promised to call no strike. But, says Mr. Melchers, "the ministry paid no heed to its promises, but essayed to place the workers under the heels of the soldiery and then to carry things in the chamber with a high hand." The irritation and doubt so caused seems to have been aggravated by an anti-workingman speech of Kuyper's in the chamber. For this reason a general strike on all land and water transportation systems in Holland was proclaimed on the 6th by the "defense committee," partly for better wages and partly to coerce the states general with reference to the anti-strike bills. The president of this committee explained on that day that the strike proclamation involves the entire railroad system and other land transport of Holland, and the water transport of the important ports—Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Dordrecht and Zaandam. The strike, he added, was intended as a protest against the anti-strike bills, as well as to support the demand of the railroad men for an increase of wages.

The strike proclamation was promptly obeyed. With the exception of a few through express trains, transportation was practically suspended on the 7th and the centers of population were threatened with famine. The government was striving to counteract the effects of the strike by the wholesale use of the military and of nonunion laborers, but thus far had accomplished little. Seventy per cent. of the total number of railway men were on strike, in addition to 3,000 men from the railway repair shops of the companies and other workmen who had struck in sympathy. The Dutch authorities had notified the Belgian government that they would not guarantee an international train service. Passengers on their way to Holland were turned back at Roosendaal and no mails were sent out of Holland. That country was practically cut off from the business world. The stress of this situation was increased on the 8th when the "defense committee" proclaimed a universal strike of all trades throughout Holland to go into effect on the 9th. Many workers did

not wait for the appointed hour, but struck at once.

At The Hague the states general resumed the discussion of the anti-strike bills on the 7th with a crowded chamber and the Socialist members all in their seats. The streets in the vicinity were occupied by dense crowds, but there were no disorders. Some headway in legislation had been made on the 8th, but amid a tumult of opposition from the Socialist members.

International complications are feared because Germany has offered to send troops into Holland to preserve order and protect the railways. The Emperor's excuse for this offer is the great business interests of Germany which the strike jeopardizes. This would be regarded by other European nations as an invasion, though invited by the Dutch government; and it is not probable that Holland and Germany would be quietly allowed to make an arrangement for such protection on their own account or without concert of action even if the Holland government were willing. The conviction is general that if the German Emperor ever got German troops into Holland they would never be withdrawn.

NEWS NOTES.

—The Cuban Congress assembled at Havana on the 6th. In his message President Palma reported \$2,638,000 in the treasury.

—Jefferson's birthday was celebrated at Des Moines on the 2d with a banquet, at which William J. Bryan and Adlai Stevenson were the principal speakers.

—Secretary Root and Senator Lodge spoke on the 2d at the annual dinner of the Home Market club, Boston, in opposition to revision of the protective tariff.

—Edward VII. of England arrived at Lisbon on the 2d on a five months' tour of the continent. He replied to addresses of welcome of the Portuguese parliament on the 3d.

—Col. Julian Santos, former aid-de-camp of the late Gen. San Miguel, the Filipino commander, and who participated in San Miguel's operations and was captured over a month ago by the Americans, was found guilty at Pasig on the 4th of brigandage, abduction and disarming the police at Novaliches. He has been sentenced to death upon this conviction.

—The monthly statement of the United States treasury department