

with "the slow development of the merchant marine of the United States." For, whereas "the tonnage of vessels engaged in the foreign trade of the United States was, in 1855, 2,348,358 tons;" it was, "in 1875, 1,515,598 tons; in 1895, 822,347 tons; and in 1905, 943,750 tons." This is, of course, a hint for ship subsidies. But it is more impressive as a condemnation of protection. Why should we expect an increase in our ocean tonnage in the face of tariff laws intended to diminish our ocean trade? If tariff protection is a good thing because it hampers international trade, then a reduction of ocean tonnage ought to be desirable. It proves that in our attempts at hampering international trade we have been to this extent successful.

#### Tariffs and subsidies.

Subsidies for the promotion of foreign trade among privileged ship owners are a natural consequence of tariffs for the obstruction of foreign trade in general. The tariff makes manufacturing monopolies, the ship subsidies make ocean trading monopolies, and the two together foster good will among their plutocratic beneficiaries and promote respectable corruption in government. It is done on pretense of principle, and the rascals who do it are shielded from the just scorn of mankind by the plea that the question is one of opinion and not of plunder. Pursuant to their so-called principles they themselves defend their plunder with the demand that the tariff should be revised by its friends. But no one is recognized as its friend unless he stands for plunder. Gov. Cummings of Iowa and Congressman McCall of Massachusetts have begun to realize this, and Mr. McCall says he is "tired of the oft-repeated cry." He wants to know when the friends of the tariff are going to revise it, if they can't do so with two-thirds of both houses of Congress Republican; and he solemnly warns his fellow Republicans that if they "do not treat protection as a rational principle in-

stead of a cast-iron immutable system of schedules, then we are liable to have the Democratic party and possibly the deluge." Aye, and deluge it will be if by deluge Mr. McCall means the sweeping away of those tariff barriers which rob the American masses for the enrichment of a few exploiters.

#### The free trade revival in England.

Such a political deluge as is surely coming in this country has begun in England. They, like us, have had their era of plutocracy and of imperialism and are sickening of it. Although they have not been cursed for more than half a century with the tariff protection that has cursed us almost that long, the issue of protection has been raised among them. At first it seemed to take with the people, and England was in danger of forgetting Cobden and returning to her protection vomit. But that danger is past. With a background of 60 years of comparative free trade, the English people were quick to see through the sophistries of the protection argument, and a political tidal wave for free trade is now sweeping over the English constituencies. It is free trade, too, in a deeper and truer sense than the British free trade of the past; for the logic of the situation has driven free traders to demanding the taxation of landed privileges for public revenues, and the consequent release of productive business and produced property from the burdens of taxation. In other words, the parliamentary campaign is at bottom an opening of the contest in England for the freeing of all labor forces from taxation and the shackling of land monopoly with taxation.

#### Mayor Dunne in Denver.

To promote a municipal ownership movement in Denver, Mayor Dunne of Chicago was invited to speak there; and when he arrived, the acting mayor of Denver refused to extend him the ordinary courtesies, lest he might thereby commit the Denver mayor, an ad-

versary of municipal ownership, to Mayor Dunne's views. This fatuity on the part of their municipal executive aroused the people of Denver, and Mayor Dunne received an ovation. His reception almost paralleled that of the President. And he made an effective speech in favor of municipal ownership. In that speech, reporting upon progress in Chicago, he denounced the traction ring in the Chicago Council as that ring deserved. Nothing could have been better, and the ring felt the lash. It set out to "discipline Dunne" again, but was so demoralized that its leaders lost their heads. They offered a puerile resolution in the Council, requesting the mayor to "refrain from presiding over" the Council's deliberations. It was something he could not legally do if he wished to. Whether for this reason, or for another, or for an accumulating mass of reasons, the ringsters found themselves in a humiliating minority. This is only one of many indications of approaching disaster to the traction ring of Chicago, and in making note of it a name besides Mayor Dunne's must not be overlooked. Throughout all this controversy, Alderman Dever has not only been faithful to the cause that Mayor Dunne leads, as others have, but—and this may be said without making an invidious distinction—he has proved himself an able and worthy leader. His speech in defense of Dunne against the attacks of the ring has deservedly won him a high place in public respect and confidence.

#### Lincoln Steffens on the warpath.

Not satisfied with the slow processes of magazine publication, Lincoln Steffens has gone upon the lecture platform and into the syndicate correspondence corps. His work is always welcome. On the platform he is telling of the notable fights in various cities over municipal corruption, especially with reference to street franchises; and through McClure's syndicate he is explaining graft at the national capital. Mr. Steffens be-

gan his investigations as a mere reporter. He exposed graft, of course, as everybody can and does, but it was the kind of graft that the pharisees are thankful for not indulging in. As he proceeded with his investigations Steffens traced corruption to public utilities corporations and the financial interests which such corporations foster. Being a reporter, a conscientious one, he reported what he learned, no matter whose interests were hurt; and his fidelity led him on from minor graft in cities to major graft in cities; from the graft of local politicians to the graft of their rich tempters; and from the cities up to the States, whence the city grafting power emanated. But when he explored the State capitols, he found himself hot upon the trail to Washington, where he is now at work. His opening letter, published in Chicago by the Record-Herald of Sunday last, promises a series of most interesting and instructive revelations entirely out of the beaten path.

#### THE GOOD GOVERNMENT MOVEMENT.

After many years of political diletantism, the movement for good government in cities, which, with some irreverence yet not wholly without propriety, was long ago dubbed "goo-goo," has begun to exhibit civic purpose and political virility of an order that deserves and will doubtless command respect outside of society drawing rooms. Whether this movement with its later gratifying tendencies will retain the respect and continue to receive the encouragement of our superior classes is another question.

In their beginnings the good government clubs, by whatever name they were known or in whatever specialty in good government they were interested, had but one theory of good government, and that was conventional honesty and routine efficiency in public office. They were consequently solicitous for little else than the "election of good men to office," and the elaboration of civil service merit systems or

mechanisms for the bafflement of party spoilsmen. Of their petty and often ludicrous accomplishments in these matters their members were ever fond of boasting, and this weakness persists.

But most of the active men in the movement, however superficial they may have been, were sincere of purpose. The evils of dishonesty and inefficiency in office had impressed them in connection with the spoils system and partyism, so they turned single mindedly upon the party boss and the spoils hunter. Those were the evils, as they saw the matter, and at those evils they struck directly. They did not mean, however, to be a buffer for more subtle evils; and when the truth began to dawn upon them, that the evils which they saw were merely effects of deeper seated and more subtle ones, they leveled their lance at these. At least they tried to.

But they were hampered. Their freedom of movement was mortgaged to beneficiaries of great financial interests; not mortgaged in any reprehensible sense, but tied by the subtle influences of wealth and respectability based upon privilege. For back of the active and sincere men in the good government movement were financial backers and smug applauders who were themselves beneficiaries or admirers or both, of dishonesty and inefficiency in public office—a species of dishonesty and inefficiency which, though infinitely worse for the public than that of the spoilsman, is neither disreputable nor so easily detected.

The Citizens' Union of New York had an illuminating experience in financial circles when its active workers struck at the great franchise grafts.

The experience of the Municipal Voters' League of Chicago is even more significant.

The Municipal Voters' League of Chicago was organized to effect one particular purpose. This purpose was the prevention of the election of conventionally dishonest and inefficient aldermen. It is a good purpose, and the League has served good uses in pursuing it.

When this League came into existence, the Chicago Council was packed with a dominant faction

of aldermen, colloquially known as "gray wolves," whose votes were for sale in the open market, and who regarded public denunciations for their corruption as valuable advertisements of their wares. The League made genuine war upon this condition and these men, and with such success that hardly any of the "gray wolf" pack are left in the Council—perhaps not more than a dozen or fifteen.

But new methods of corruption have since taken the place of the rough and ready ones of the "gray wolves." They are similar to those of which Lincoln Steffens, referring to Congressmen, says:

There is no bribery at Washington. Many men have told me that, and I do not expect to find any; not cash bribery. But cash bribery is crude and unnecessary; cash bribery is the least dangerous form of political corruption. Offices, promotion, committees, stock tips, business, campaign contributions, social position, dinners—these and such as these, are the higher, subtler, more respectable, and therefore the more really dangerous forms of our political corruption.

Corruption of this species is rampant in the Chicago Council; and the observant members of the Municipal Voters' League know it full well. But for this kind of corruption, which reaches out its tentacles into newspaper offices, lawyers' offices, pulpits and drawing-rooms, as well as into the Council chamber, the franchise grabbing corporations could not have made the progress they have made in the direction of defeating the popular will expressed overwhelmingly at the polls.

Yet this is a species of corruption against which the Municipal Voters' League is by its limitations powerless. There is no use in condemning its officers; the fault is in the narrowness of its function. It has no test of honesty much higher than the "business" test of maintaining a good reputation on the street and keeping out of jail. Consequently it has within a few days given a clean bill of civic health to aldermen who, by Lincoln Steffens's reasonable standard, are more dangerous grafters than the "gray wolf" pack.

This kind of good government club, no matter how useful it may have been in the past, is useful no longer. If its functions and possi-