

America back a generation, and its effects have not yet disappeared. . . . Experience shows that no power of the capitalist class has ever been able to set back the triumphant march of the social revolution. Whenever it has been stayed it has been by the foolish hand of some over-impatient would-be friend of labor. We may protest against the injustice of their trial, we may denounce the capitalism that wronged and tormented them to desperation, but we cannot deny that because they sought to discourage the use of the peaceful but powerful weapon of the ballot these men must bear some share of the blame for a reactionary labor movement in America.

Precisely that ground was taken by Henry George at the time of the Chicago executions, to the sorrow of many of his friends who did not understand him and of persons who didn't want to or care to. "One bomb," said he to those in his personal confidence, "one bomb attributed to the labor movement would set the movement back fifty years." And so, at the risk of valued friendships and the certainty of gross misrepresentation which only time could set right, he refused to join in the revolutionary outcry of which those unjust executions were the occasion, but, acquiescing in the decision of the courts, simply appealed as a citizen to the Governor for clemency. Henry George was prophetically right then, as the Chicago Daily Socialist is right now. The Haymarket bomb, no matter who threw it, preceded as it was by make-believe conspiracies and foolish talk of violence among over-impatient friends of the labor movement, did set peaceful revolution back a generation and still exerts a baffling influence. Public opinion will not tolerate this kind of agitation where the mechanism of a free and effective ballot has been attained or is attainable.

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The Daily Socialist's comment upon the "anarchist" executions is thoughtfully sympathetic as well as wise. Alluding to the overwrought men who fell victims to an overwrought public opinion against them, the Daily Socialist concludes with a lesson that should be taken to heart:

They may be excused because they had had no experience to guide them, and they paid for their mistake with the last full measure with which men may pay for anything. But we cannot excuse those who today, with the knowledge of these facts before them, seek to deprive labor of its legitimate weapons, or lead the worker to throw away his political power, or to deliver it over to his enemies. These cannot plead ignorance.

It is safe to assume that the man who in this country and under existing circumstances proposes a policy of violence for the labor movement,

is either a fool friend or a tricky enemy—a sympathizer without judgment or a private detective without conscience.

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### The Congressional By-Election in Chicago.

No hesitation on the part of democratic Democrats in voting for Barnes, the "insurrection" or independent Republican candidate in the Congressional contest now on in Chicago, should be caused by any campaigning of first rate Democrats—such as ex-Mayor Dunne, Congressman Rainey, John McGoorty or Congressman Champ Clark—for the regular Democratic candidate. Like one who sits at a poker table and must "ante" when his turn comes, men in practical politics must play the game according to the rules. They cannot side-step a party obligation and survive in party politics. But Democratic voters need not be embarrassed by the rules of the game. If they are democratic Democrats they will better express themselves by voting for the Republican independent than for the regular Democratic candidate whom Roger Sullivan has nominated in order to help out his political side-partner, Senator Lorimer. Both democratic Democrats and democratic Republicans should concentrate upon Barnes in order to defeat Lorimer and Sullivan.

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### Probable Abolition of Negro Suffrage.

Senator Cullom made it clear enough in a Washington interview on the 7th—we found it in the Chicago Tribune October 8th—that Southern Negroes are to be disfranchised. He himself evidently wants it done. For, as he sees it, the "solid south" must be taken away from the politically bankrupt Democratic party and brought into the Republican fold, where it can be used as a buttress for plutocracy; and this cannot be done so long as the Republican party stands for suffrage regardless of color, even nominally. In Senator Cullom's interview the Negro who looks may plainly see the handwriting on the wall for the citizenship of his race.

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### Tax Reform in New Jersey.

Not long ago we noted the fact that in F. R. Low, Passaic, N. J., was blessed with a Mayor who did not yield to the land speculators' pleas for low land taxes, but had appointed a single tax appraiser (p. 55). At the Republican primaries, however, Mr. Low was "turned down" for reelection and Gen. Bird W. Spencer substituted. Gen. Spencer was accounted a corporation man

when nominated; but now that he is elected it appears that he is not trammelled by corporate interests. Here is what he says on taxation, taken from an interview in the Passaic News of November 5:

"Aren't you coming pretty near to the Henry George doctrine, General?" the Daily News man asked. "Oh, when it comes to taxing the land, I'm a single taxer," replied the Mayor-elect. "Now, look here. We are standing in front of the People's bank, in which I happen to be interested. The land, the bare land, is taxed \$7,500 a lot. That's because we have put up on it a bank building of which we are rather proud. Right above there is a precisely similar plot with a ramshackle old building on it, a building that is a nuisance to us all, and the land is only assessed \$2,500 a lot. Don't you see the inequality? The justification that this land on which the People's bank stands brings in revenue and the land just above doesn't bring in much revenue, is all nonsense. I'll tell you what we've got to do. We've got to go all over the situation and parcel out the land fairly and assess it equally. Let us get the values up; personally I'd like to see them 'way up, say ninety per cent of the true value. When it comes to the improvements I don't care what is done so long as the assessments are fair. I should like to see the assessments on improvements as low as possible. Improvements are a benefit, not a detriment."

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### DEFEAT HATH ITS VICTORIES.

Tom L. Johnson would have missed something had he won, something that has come to almost every man who has lighted a fire in advance of his time.

In every age, in every clime, in every democracy—no matter what the form of popular expression has been—the same thing has happened. Aristides had to leave Athens because he was just; the Gracchi were deserted by the Romans because they disturbed the existing order. When Caesar turned his mind from the camp to the social condition of the people they did not comprehend. In our own era Cobden and Bright had to sit idly by and wait for the tide to ebb and flow again. Washington was eclipsed for a time, so was Jefferson; the people wanted peace, and with both men there could be no peace. Only fortunate accident saved Lincoln. Grant passed from the Presidency to temporary obscurity only to take a new place in the people's hearts. Clemenceau in France, in many ways the most wonderful, the most democratic, the one man who has brought pride to the French people in recent years, passed from the Ministry last year only to be appreciated as he never was before in a few weeks' time.

No one has yet analyzed the mind of man in the mass. Possibly no one ever will. But every

line of experience shows that it is like the seasons.

There is a seed time and a harvest. Their coming and going cannot be created, cannot be hastened, cannot be controlled. It seems to be necessary to rotate from agitation to calm, from achievement to rest or reaction. This is true of every sentiment that moves men in their political relations.

The purely moral issue lives at most through a single administration. Witness San Francisco, and Seth Low's administration in New York.

Even a military issue cannot hold a people who have been carried into it with overwhelming enthusiasm. In the field of social and economic politics it is even more true. The fires seem to bank themselves automatically, and no man can keep them aflame for the time being.

It is cruel, bitter cruel, to those who have gone out on the skirmish line and found themselves abandoned there. But it is probably only a manifestation of nature in the progress of the world.

I confess I am rebellious about it. I am never inclined to say, "It is all for the best." Some day the advantage may be obvious; but it isn't now. Yet if a man can, he ought to go out and look up at the stars to get a proper perspective of the things his heart is set upon. If you have done that, or if you have not, then let us think about tomorrow, and how Tom L. Johnson can spend the next two years.

He won't go to Africa for lions; so much we know. It is certain that there is big game enough in America to keep him occupied for an unlimited period; the only question is which jungle here is most promising.

FREDERIC C. H.

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### PARTISAN DISINTEGRATION.

Signs of that disintegration in the Republican party which the Democratic party has experienced possibly to the limit, multiply on all hands, and Senator Cummins' speech at Chicago two weeks ago was in no sense the least of them.

The outlook is hopeful.

Not that Senator Cummins said anything to hearten impatiently expectant radicalism. He did not. He stood out frankly for Protection. There was not a free trade note in all his speech. But he did hold up Protection in its nakedness, albeit he gave it his approval.

Senator Cummins really believes in the Republican platform, which demands Protection through such tariff duties "as will equal the difference between the cost of production at home and