

of the board of equalization of taxes which stands as a protector-in-ordinary for all Illinois tax-dodging corporations; at least one member of the board of tax review at Chicago (who, however, is sorry, he says, that he didn't get his pass), and several State judges. Does any one suppose that the Pullman company issues passes to public officials for the pure joy of it?

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Whom Would it Help?

In a speech last week at Chicago, James J. Hill predicted for Chicago and its tributary territory a population in less than half a century of over 70,000,000. What if the prediction came true? Great wealth would doubtless follow. But whom would it enrich, the industry of the region or the owners of the region?

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Private Initiative in Traction Service.

Chicago is suffering just now from the worst street car service (p. 732) that any city has probably ever experienced, and it isn't "M. O." service either. There is not the slightest excuse for it. The city has given to the companies everything that they have demanded—the right to trolleyize, security against loss in construction and equipment, permission freely to operate on all expired-franchise routes, and so on. Nevertheless, the cars are few, they are unheated, they are dirty, and their operation is exasperatingly irregular. Evidently the companies and their New York backers want something more from the city, which they hope to get by wearing out the people with bad service. Probably what they want to get is a 20-year stock-jobbing franchise in the guise of "fake" municipal ownership. The New York backers of the Chicago companies make no secret of their intention and expectation of getting precisely that thing.

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A Negro on the Chicago Bench.

Ferdinand L. Barnett is a Negro lawyer of Chicago. He has served acceptably several years as an assistant State's attorney. At the recent election he stood as a Republican candidate for a municipal court judgeship, and no question of his integrity was raised. But his name was scratched by thousands of Republican voters. He came near failing of election, but he was elected. And then from the newspapers of his own party there arose a demand upon him for his resignation—not for unfitness, but because he is a Negro. He had been nominated in order to hold the Negro vote for the Republican white men; but his party did not

intend that he himself should be elected. They wanted the Negro vote but they did not want a Negro judge. They had calculated that he would run behind his ticket and be defeated; and so he would have been but for the Independence League. This took away from the Democrats so many votes that Mr. Barnett, although far behind in the Republican column in consequence of Republican antipathy to the Negro, was nevertheless ahead of the strongest Democrat. And now the Republican leaders of Chicago are so much embarrassed that they urge Mr. Barnett to resign. Why? There is no reason for it except race prejudice.

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The Anti-Negro Conspiracy in Georgia.

Ex-Congressman Fleming of Georgia (p. 699) publicly makes charges of the most serious nature against Gov. Hoke Smith. Not only does he accuse Gov. Smith of having advocated unlawful disfranchisement of Negroes, but he brings the murder of Negroes at Atlanta to the doorstep of the new Governor. On the question of disfranchisement he quotes Gov. Smith as having in campaign speeches said of a Negro applicant for registration: "Ask him what is the meaning of ex-post facto law, or some other question couched in such language as you know he can not answer"; and referring to a white applicant for registration: "Ask him some simple question such as 'Can a man be imprisoned for debt?'" This alone is bad enough, but note Mr. Fleming's accusation regarding the murdering of Negroes: "Relying on the same reputable witnesses, I now further charge, as stated over their signatures, that Mr. Smith said that if it should become necessary 'we can handle them (the Negroes) as they did in Wilmington,' and in that connection referred to the 'woods being black with their hanging carcasses.' Nor is that all. I make the further charge, as stated over the signature of these same reputable citizens, that Mr. Smith in that same speech used substantially the following words: 'I declare to you, gentlemen, if one of the precincts in your county should have seventy-five Negro votes and fifty white, and should it become necessary, I would be favorable to a plan to reduce the population to ninety-nine.'" It was perhaps unnecessary, for the language is plain, for Mr. Fleming to add: "The dullest man in that audience understood what Mr. Smith meant by 'reducing' the population." Sad as are the facts that Mr. Fleming cites, the saddest fact of all is the apparent determination of so many Southern white men to excuse and justify the policy of law distortion and murder which Gov. Smith is here accused of ad-

vocating. There is something wrong with the mind that justifies or excuses the murder of some men because other men of the same race have committed crimes of which the murdered men are innocent.

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THE PUBLIC SCHOOL CONTROVERSY IN CHICAGO.

There is much in the public school controversy now raging in Chicago (pp. 667, 697) which is so common in its characteristics as to be of importance for consideration wherever school officials and school teachers are inharmonious in their relations.

I.

The fundamental defects in the present administration of the Chicago public school system are fairly summed up in briefest form if we say that the system is despotic. We do not mean that the Superintendent or any other official is a despot, but that this is the character of the system irrespective of all questions of personality. If "one man power" or "business administration" be preferred to the term we use, then let it stand at that. The thing itself is the thing, not its name; and the essence of it all is this, that some one at the top makes arbitrary decrees which the others must obey without consultation or criticism.

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This is justified in the name of "business administration." The ethics of the counting room have crowded out democratic tendencies and educational ideals. High salaries for administration with low salaries for teaching, a small expense account and much display—such is the commercialistic ideal of the system. Its conception of authoritative sequence is a docile board of directors, a dictatorial superintendent, department managers, bureau chiefs, and a body of teachers responsive as a vast mechanism, like factory workmen, to orders transmitted from above.

Is the picture overdrawn? Read the editorials of the local papers that defend the present system and denounce "Mayor Dunne's school trustees" for trying to abolish it. Factory and military analogies flow into those editorials spontaneously. And if you go back of irresponsible editorials to the system itself, you find its despotic character in full process of development.

The teachers are in fact treated and regarded as "hands" in a factory or private soldiers in an army. When they are consulted, it is usually not as a body but in selected groups. An instance was the jury of teachers for recommending reading

text-books last summer. The Superintendent selected the jury. It sat in secret and its personality was a secret kept even from the Board. On special invitation other teachers had given written advisory opinions to this jury, but these opinions were suppressed; only the bare verdict of the jury ever came to the Board, on whom the final responsibility rested.

When the teaching body is consulted otherwise than in this selective and secret way, it is done under the influence in one manner or another of superiors in authority—the principals in some cases and the Superintendent in others. So far is this feature of the "business" or military system carried out, that the Superintendent appears as president of the principals' association and leader at teachers' conferences. Inasmuch as the career and the official life of the teachers and principals are practically at the Superintendent's mercy, it is absurd to regard their deliberations and conclusions, under such circumstances, as having much more than an echo value. In consequence of it all (and we are holding the system and not Superintendent Cooley responsible; in many things we are in hearty accord with his views), the teaching body is inarticulate. The Board has no means of learning its opinions except as the Superintendent interprets them. Power comes down from the Superintendent through the teaching body, and the teachers must not only obey but must obey in silence, on pain of being regarded as disloyal. Even advice and consultation take on an air of command.

It is proposed now to extend this despotic power upward as well as downward. Already it is claimed for the Superintendent that district superintendents ought to be no longer superintendents of districts, but the personal and confidential cabinet or staff of the Superintendent, and that in choosing them the Board should have no other function than perfunctory endorsement of the Superintendent's selections.

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Nor does this reach the climax of the "one man power" idea. Not only would the district superintendents be the Superintendent's staff, but the Board itself would be put into a similar category. The "business" interests of Chicago, which have squandered the magnificent inheritance of the public schools; which have starved the school funds by shielding big franchise grabbers and tax dodgers; which have slandered the Teachers' Federation and its indefatigable and patriotic leaders, because they uncovered some of these tax