

and **humble** traveler over the highways and into the **byways** of the world's activities—a traveler **working his passage**. And very like him is the hobo of to-day.

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But you say the hobo is a vagabond, a beggar and a **thief**. Many of them probably are, and whose is the **fault**? The hobo says it is ours. He says that "as soon as a hobo out of employment hits the **pike in search of work**," some constable in **collusion with some justice of the peace**, both looking for **fees**, lock him up as a vagabond. And isn't **this true**? If it is, why blame the hobo? If **commercial drummers** were arrested as vagabonds in every new town they came to, and locked up until they could find a local customer, how much custom would they get, and how long would it be before they became vagabonds in truth just like the hobo?

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Causes of Crime.

There is much thoughtless drivel about charity for **individual sinners**—provided, of course, that they are the sinners who flourish upon the unearned **wealth** they get from others through unbalanced institutions or their unbalancing of them. **Seldom** do you hear this considerate advice about **poor devils** who have drifted into the penitentiary. But Fremont Older of the San Francisco **Bulletin** strikes a higher and a truer note. Having done all he could to send Abe Ruef to the penitentiary and succeeded, and all he could to send the respectable business group who make your **Abe Ruefs** to the same establishment and failed, **Mr. Older** now asks for Ruef's pardon. In itself that is unimportant. Any commonplace **sentimentalist** could do it, and neither he nor society be any the better. It is Mr. Older's reason on his **petition** that tells. "I have ceased to believe," he says, "that our economic difficulties are going to be solved by sending men to prison. The cure lies deeper. Men are too weak to withstand the temptations that lie in their way. So long as public necessities are controlled by private corporations there will be civic corruption."

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What Shall the Answer Be?

The same papers that reported Fremont Older's conversion from the policy of destroying men who **despoil**, to the policy of abolishing institutional temptations, reported a significant speech by a distinguished charities expert. Pointing, says this report, to the present economic condition as one in which there are ten men for every nine jobs, James

Mullenbach predicted a day when "the unemployed will ask, What are you going to do with us? and unless a quick answer and a satisfactory one is given, they will make an answer for themselves." Society is indeed sitting upon a safety valve, placed there and held there by a few who "sweat" the rest. What, then, shall that answer be, and how soon?

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Unreasonable Strikes.

In anticipation of a great railroad strike, the possible strikers are warned by newspapers allied to special interests, that the average man does not think any more that he must submit to unreasonable strikes. Nominally, these warnings are to the railroad corporations as well as to their men; but read them with a little care and you find that the warnings are to the men alone. Whether or not the average man has really come to think that he need not submit to unreasonable strikes, we are not quite sure. The corporation newspapers may be far enough in the confidence of the "average man" to know what he thinks better than we do. But unless we misunderstand human nature and misread the signs of the times, that "average man," whoever he may be, will have to submit to unreasonable strikes until he turns in with the rest of us and puts an end to the laws that give excessive economic power and profit to monopolizers of the common utilities of the people.

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The Constitution Campaign in Ohio.

An Initiative and Referendum "mare's nest" has been discovered in Ohio, probably by one of the Columbus experts of this species of discovery. In consequence of some decision or other of the Ohio Supreme Court, the inference is made that the Initiative and Referendum cannot be adopted by any State carved out of the old Northwest Territory. As Ohio is one of those States, the people thereof are enthusiastically advised, by those "mare's nest" discoveries, that a Constitution of that State providing for the Initiative and Referendum would to that extent be null and void.

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What this wonderful decision may be we do not quite understand, nor is it necessary that it should be understood. Nothing more is necessary than that it be known that the decision rests upon the Ordinance of 1787, which preceded the Constitution of the United States. The Court seems to have held that the Ordinance restrains State legislation in some particular coming before it for decision. Hence the "mare's nest." In-

asmuch as the Ordinance provides that the Constitution of any State formed in the old Northwest Territory "shall be republican," and inasmuch as representative government might be abolished in favor of direct democracy without representatives, it is therefore assumed in long columns of print that the Supreme Court of Ohio has knocked out the Initiative and Referendum, wherefore there is really no use whatever, don't you see, in electing delegates to the Constitutional convention of Ohio who will vote for Initiative and Referendum clauses. In other words, don't waste your energies, O prudent Ohioans! but leave the whole matter to the Ohio State Board of Commerce, with power.

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There is more than one way of knowing that the Columbus "mare's nest" is a "mare's nest." To say that a non-representative government is not a republican government, is like saying that a tree that doesn't bear peaches is not a fruit tree; for a non-representative government may be a democratic republic, a representative republic, or a monarchy; and it was to guard against re-establishment of monarchy that the provision in the old Ordinance of 1787 was made. Another consideration is that the Initiative and Referendum do not necessarily substitute direct democracy for representation; they may be limited to preventing representatives from becoming bosses, and in fact this is all they try to do wherever they have been adopted and all they would do wherever they are proposed—including Ohio. Still another thing is the fact that a case is now pending in the Supreme Court of the United States to determine whether the Oregon Initiative and Referendum violates that provision of the Constitution of the United States which requires the United States to "guarantee to every State in this Union a republican form of government." If that court decides that the Initiative and Referendum are inconsistent with this clause, the Northwest Ordinance won't cut any more figure in Ohio than anywhere else; and if the Supreme Court of the United States decides that the Initiative and Referendum is not contrary to the *republican* clause of the Federal Constitution, it is very unlikely that any court will regard it as contrary to the *republican* clause of the Ordinance of 1787.

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Municipal Operation of Street Cars.

Our consul at Manchester plays "ducks and drakes" with the protests over here that municipal ownership and operation of public utilities

doesn't pay. His report in the *Daily Consular and Trade Reports* for August 26, shows that in ten years the annual payments into the city treasury by the city's street car system in lieu of taxes have increased nearly four times; that the working hours of employes have been reduced one-fifth; that the maximum wages of motormen have been increased a third and of conductors a half, in addition to allowance of one week's vacation annually and half pay in sickness for a month at least; that there are bonuses for careful service; and that in spite of all this the saving to passengers, as compared with the private service the municipal service has displaced, is two-fifths—equal to two cents in five, or a three cent fare. When American experts testify that municipal operation doesn't pay, they must mean that it doesn't pay the companies that pay them.

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RHODE ISLAND AND TAXATION.*

The primary functions of city, State and national governments are to keep the peace (which properly is to defend each person from trespass), and to make just possession of property secure (which properly is to protect each person in what he earns). Execution of these functions involves expense, for which reason public revenue is *necessary*. Public revenue is secured by some method of taxation. Taxes pay for government or public service.

That the peaceful existence of each individual is closely connected with the correct exercise of the police power and security of property is well enough understood, but that a like intimate relationship exists between individual well-being and the system of taxation is not commonly realized. It is, however, a fact, and to be fully apprehended needs but a small part of the attention habitually bestowed upon matters of relatively trivial importance.

When a warrant for arrest, or a policeman's club, interferes with the free action of a neighbor, we are interested; for if the interference is unjust, we may soon be involved in a like predicament. But if the goods of a neighbor are taxed, we usually pay little heed; for most of us possess little, if any goods. As a matter of fact, however, there is more reason for interest in the tax than in the arrest; for we are much more likely to have occasion to buy those goods than we are to endure arrest. If we do buy the goods the tax is added to the price, and so, although the tax was paid by our neighbor, its burden really falls on the

*See *The Public* of August 25, page 870.