

grand jury, was taken by the policemen who had her in custody to the police "identification" bureau, and there minutely measured and photographed against her will. We refer to the particular case only to illustrate a criminal practice which the police of our cities pursue with impunity. Whether this woman is a criminal or not is immaterial. The material fact is that she had not been convicted of crime by due process of law. The police had the right and it was their duty to deliver her to the proper custodian at the proper house of detention. She was a prisoner but not a convict. To take her measurements and secure her photograph for their "rogues' gallery," before a jury had condemned her as a rogue, was as much an invasion of her rights and a violation of their duty as it would have been an invasion of the rights of a person not under arrest to seize upon and photograph him for a "rogues' gallery." How soon will our Americanism again become vital enough to prompt us to insist upon obedience to the law by our police?

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#### Police Confessions.

"Sweatbox" confessions are going out of fashion in Detroit, juries refusing to accept them as a basis for verdicts. In the most recent instance the judge scolded the jury for acquitting in the face of a "sweatbox" confession. But it was the judge and not the jury who was derelict. Confessions extorted from prisoners under arrest are not legal evidence. They have been found from long experience to be untrustworthy. Under the influence of fear and hope, men have confessed to capital crimes they had not committed—even to those that nobody had committed. And confessions are properly regarded as having been extorted if obtained from a prisoner under arrest for the crime, unless made before a magistrate and after admonition to the prisoner that whatever he may say may be used against him at his trial. This is not in the special interest of individual prisoners, but in the interest of truth. "Sweatbox" confessions are not likely to be true. The police proceed by breaking down the will power of prisoners through nervous torture, and then treat as a confession what is drawn from them in their irresponsible condition. As a mode of getting at the truth, "sweating" is absurd; as a practice, it is unlawful. Any policeman who practices it ought to be dismissed; any judge who encourages it ought to be impeached; any jury that refuses to believe these confessions ought to be commended for intelligence and public spirit.

## SOCIAL SETTLEMENTS AND ANARCHY.\*

A month has passed since the assassination of Father Heinrichs in Denver, and three weeks since the tragedy in the house of the Chief of Police in this city. The community has been profoundly disturbed. The disturbance has not been caused by the mere fact that one man has shot a priest in a distant city, nor that another man has been shot down in the presumable attempt to assassinate a police officer. Unfortunately events of such desperate and criminal character are only too frequent in this city and the country. Almost every day murders with revolting details are spread before us in the daily press. They appear to us as isolated events. As a rule no one assumes that the study of their details would inform our minds or enlarge our hearts. But these two crimes have taken hold upon the public mind because they seemed to stand for organized murderous assault upon the church and the state. The revolutionist of Russia seemed to have domesticated himself among us. The priest trembled as he went to the altar, and the Chief of Police nervously awaited the consummation of some plot against his life. The public demanded that this strange, un-American, unforgivable cult of anarchy be rooted out.

But all the investigations of the police here and in Denver have failed to make these anything but isolated and individual acts. No associates, no fellow plotters have been found for Guiseppa or Averbuch. And there remains only a somewhat mournful interest in noting against whom the confused public sentiment has been directed.

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First of all comes the Giordano Bruno society, an Italian group that fosters national sentiment, and is anti-clerical in the sense of favoring separation of church and state. It represents the sentiment which is so powerful, and for that matter so respectable, in Italy; which has been responsible for the recent anti-clerical legislation in France; and even in Spain in earlier days dispossessed the monastic orders of their lands. That the members of this society here have not always been careful in the choice of their expressions in attacking the clergy is true; but not a scintilla of proof has been or probably could be offered that the society could in any manner be associated with

\*The disposition of the Chicago newspapers to suppress rational discussion—even temperately defensive discussion—when the mad-dog cry of "Anarchy" is raised, may be inferred from the fact that this paper, written about three weeks ago by a leading educator of Chicago, connected with the University, was refused publication in the Record-Herald.—Editors of The Public.

the murder of Father Heinrichs in Denver, or could prepare the way for similar outrageous crimes in this city. And yet the public has been left with the vague feeling that out of this and similar organizations arise premeditated brutal murders.

The second group in the city that has suffered in an unwarranted way through these events is the Russian Jewish population that in the public mind has to bear the sins of Averbuch. Those that come in contact with them openly charge them with dealing in bombs. The police and street-car conductors do not hesitate to summarily accuse them of revolutionary doctrines and designs, and we see the beginnings of an anti-semitic movement threatening a peaceable and law-abiding population because the public does not distinguish in its uncertainty and uneasiness between the individual, whose act we are still at a loss to understand, and the social group of which he was a member. Many of the families in this harmless folk are straining every nerve to gain the passage money for the members who have not yet been able to join them in supposedly free America. They are terrified by the threats of legislation and drastic and unintelligent execution of our present exclusion acts, that may forever divide families in cases where there is not a particle of reason for such division.

Finally the Settlements have come in for the most unmerited abuse that could well be imagined. Both members high up in the police force, and notably the Inter Ocean and the official organ of the Catholic Archbishop—in less degree other sheets, either in their editorial columns or in the presentation of the news—have outrageously misinterpreted, misquoted, and maligned one of the few means which the city has of comprehending, interpreting, and speaking for the great masses of foreign born people who make up so large a part of our community.

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There is a peculiar fatuousness about this assault on the Settlements. That we have unjustifiably assailed the Italians and the Russian Jews is due to our ignorance of these people in our midst. We have invited these people to come to us. We have opened our doors to them in the name of political freedom. We have enticed them with the cunning and frequently lying advertisements of the steamships and railway companies. They alone have made possible our enormous expansion of industry, have provided the countless multitudes of hands which have built up this great Babylon of ours. They are crying for them in the South. Even the ships that brought the dearly bought gold

to stay the late financial crash have not brought in such cargoes of wealth as the liners that have dropped week by week the living parts of the machines which have quadrupled our foreign trade in so short a time, and the muscle and nerve which have driven our railways forward and opened up the riches of farm and mine.

With the inherited carelessness of our neighbors, which we have still from the pioneer life which has set its stamp on the American community, we have given these people no thought. An abstract political freedom that could have but little positive meaning to them, the schooling for their children, have been our only provisions for their assimilation. Their strangeness, their homesickness, their misery, and their humanity have been made into the debased political currency of ward politics.

Among these people have sprung up the Settlements, which have first and foremost aimed to understand, to comprehend, and so to mediate, to be the ambassadors, between the business, the politics, the industry which is too eager and onrushing to give a second thought to the means it has used, and the patient, ill-used men and women and children who have made the second city in the country possible.

It is to the Settlements that we should have turned to comprehend these communities which we have so improperly attacked. It is they which could have made clear the possible connections between these tragedies and the foreign-born peoples whom we know so little. The charity, the immediate assistance in suffering which has proceeded from the Settlements, have been the smallest part of the mission which they have fulfilled. The crying need which we have been too preoccupied to hear, has been for comprehension, the understanding which is dearer to the human heart than bread, the comprehension which could adapt stereotyped ways and institutions to do their duty under new conditions, for the democratic intelligence which realizes that God has made of one blood all nations of men.

The Settlements have been too few, too inadequately manned and endowed to fulfil this task which they almost alone have taken up. But it certainly ill becomes the community to attack those who have understood and who have attempted to make us understand what is involved in the task of making American citizens of those who have been called in to help make American wealth.

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Chicago is responsible for its police and for its

press, as a community it is not responsible for its Settlements, but that is certainly no reason why the police and the press should attack the Settlements and the people whom they are trying to interpret. What one must regret the most is that so profound a stirring of the emotion of the city should have taken place with so hapless and seemingly hopeless a result. Perhaps it has served to make us feel that we need light—more light if we are to advance securely to the critical task of community-building.

GEO. H. MEAD.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE "DES MOINES PLAN" IN OPERATION.

Des Moines, April 6.—Before the primary election two weeks earlier than the municipal election (p. 27), there were 43 candidates for commissioner and nine for mayor, all independent excepting a whole ticket (mayor and four commissioners) put up for the people's acceptance by two newspapers.

This ticket was nominated by means of a so-called representative committee of 500, which selected 25, who in turn selected 5 to put upon the ticket. These five were called the Citizens' Ticket, or the "Des Moines plan" ticket, implying that this ticket business was a part of the "Des Moines plan," while in fact every precaution had been taken in the law to avoid such a thing as a "ticket." Again, this ticket of five men was referred to as "Des Moines plan" candidates in contradistinction to the other 47 supposedly not in favor of the "plan," the facts being that two of the five didn't know what plan they were for till put on the "ticket," while many of the other candidates were pronouncedly for the plan. Well, the primary election knocked out one of the five entirely, the other four just coming in "under the rope." The three having the highest number of votes of all were not on the "ticket."

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Last Monday, the five elected had from 3,000 to 4,000 votes over those on the "ticket." Its promoters reported the "defeat" of the "Des Moines plan" candidates, and "the success of the City Hall gang," or something to that effect, while the facts are that the old "City Hall gang" was as completely eliminated as was the "ticket."

Four of the commissioners were certainly the very best choice of all; and the fifth, Wesley Ash, a coal miner four years ago, and a labor union man little known, polled an unexpectedly large vote, giving a little color to the rumor that he was a corporation candidate as well as a "labor" candidate. But he may turn out all right.

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The main opposition in the first place to the "Des Moines plan" was its origin, which had been in rather plutocratic circles. Then, when practically the same men set up a "ticket," all the old suspicions

were naturally aroused, as well as those of many who had faith in the plan itself. So it was snowed under. But the result may be called a victory for labor unionism. Mr. Hamery is a painter belonging to the union; Mr. Mathis favors unions, and believes in municipal ownership of public utilities, as of course does Mr. MacVicar; and Mr. Schramm is an honest German, good to have charge of accounts, taxes and finance. Had it not been for D. M. Parry's work here against unionism, organizing his "Business Men's Association," which made such a mess a few years ago in trying to break up unionism, the labor men would never have tried to break into politics; but now that they have broken in and have won, they will not go to sleep again here.

LONA I. ROBINSON.

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### THE POLITICAL SITUATION IN GREAT BRITAIN.

London, March 31.—The political situation in all countries is the outcome of the prevailing social and economic conditions. From this standpoint the present political situation in Great Britain is a specially interesting one, full of lessons to the political student, and revealing even to the uninitiated the enormous difficulties in the path of radical social reform.

Despite the glowing records of the Board of Trade returns, indicating as they do the enormous natural resources and productive power of the country as a whole, the economic conditions of the masses of our industrial population is such as to arouse serious misgivings in the minds of all attentive to anything beyond the range of their own individual or class interests. To give but one well authenticated illustration. According to an investigation undertaken by Mr. B. Seebohm Rowntree (see his book "Poverty: A Study of Town Life") in the ancient and interesting city of York—where things are certainly not worse, probably a little better, than those prevailing in other towns and industrial centers—"it was found that families comprising 20,302 persons, equal to 43.4 per cent of the wage-earning class, and to 27.84 per cent of the total population of the city, were living in poverty." And what is even worse, though far more suggestive, of this poverty only some 25 per cent could be attributed to temporary or accidental causes, such as irregularity of employment, unemployment, old age, illness or death of the chief wage-earner; some 22 per cent only to "largeness of family," more than four children; and over 50 per cent to the chronic permanent cause of low wages, to the fact that those enjoying the boon of regular work did not earn sufficient "for the maintenance of merely physical efficiency."

Though minimized by the journalistic press, it was facts such as these that had brought home to the people the necessity for some far-reaching social or economic changes. Even the Tory party were swift to realize this fact. The most reactionary amongst them have always looked back to "the good old days of Protection," and have seen in Protective duties the best means of advancing the class interests of the owners of Great Britain. Their chance had at length arrived. Suddenly, as it appeared to super-