though it was they that displaced a Dunne with a Busse and swept valuable traction rights of the city over into the lap of Mr. Morgan and his compeers, yet it remained for the first primary under the new direct primary law to bring their methods to light. This has been done by Frank J. Loesch, local attorney for the Pennsylvania Railroad and recently president of the Chicago Bar Association.

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When the results of the primary last summer pointed distinctly to corruption, Mr. Loesch was selected by the county authorities as a special prosecutor to unearth the rascals. Whether it was expected that he would be an "easy" prosecutor or not, it is somewhat difficult to determine; but if there were any such expectations they have been badly shattered. A large number of indictments have been found, some against political hucksters of pretty high degree—of as high a degree possibly as may be hoped for; for the hucksters of very high degree are as usual beyond the reach of the criminal law. But the indictments strike a blow at the working machinery of the combine, and if prosecuted unwaveringly they may produce surprising as well as beneficent results. Mr. Loesch's disposition to follow the trail wherever it leads has been demonstrated. It is to be hoped that the new State's attorney will not think it necessary to interpose any further obstacles.

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Quite as valuable as the indictments themselves is this finding of the grand jury:

> From the facts coming to our knowledge we express serious doubt whether there has been any honest general or city election in Chicago for years past. We report that in our opinion much of said fraudulent voting was done in pursuance of general schemes of corruption, the nature, character, and extent of which we had not the time to fully develop. Almost universally we found the persons immediately responsible for many of said election frauds to be men holding elective offices and men holding responsible subordinate positions in the service of elected or appointed county officials and, of course, paid by the taxpayers. Out of such facts grow the creation and continuance of offices serving no other purpose than to draw salaries from the taxpayers for assumed public services, but, in fact, being used to pay for venal services rendered to party bosses.

While this finding does not go as far as the facts of common knowledge would warrant, it has especial value as being supported by judicial evidence and as indicating the sink of civic corruption upon which the city of Chicago rests and from which Big Business as well as little politicians wickedly profit. The grand jury which returned this presentment was composed of men chosen without special discrimination—average citizens who needed only to learn the facts to act with intelligence and courage.

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Chicago Strap-Hangers.

The Chicago newspapers and voters through whose influence the streets of Chicago were turned over to J. Pierpont Morgan (pp. 819, 842, 843), and who are now complaining bitterly of the bad service, overlook the fact that bad service is incidental to the kind of partnership of the traction company and the city of which they have been boasting. They have made much of what the companies have paid into the city treasury in distribution of profits; but they have not observed that this sum has been collected of strap-hangers.

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Labor Unions Illegal.

Another milestone has been passed in the judicial march toward the extirpation of labor unions. The court in this case—Wilcutt against Boston Bricklayers—is the Supreme Court of Massachusetts. It holds that a labor union cannot fine a member under its rules for refusing to join strikes provided for in its rules. This decision comes pretty close to holding that trade unions are illegal. For how can any court hold that a legal body must not fine a member in accordance with its rules and for violating its rules? The right of legal organizations to do this is so firmly established, that its abrogation by the courts can hardly find any other logical resting place than that the organization seeking to impose the fine is unlawful. No matter what reasons may be given in the court's opinion, there can be no other substantial reason for the decision. Denial of the right to fine members for breach of rules is inconsistent with the right to organize for purposes which the fine is intended to promote. With this Massachusetts decision holding that unions cannot enforce upon their own membership their decisions to strike, and a Federal decision holding that labor unions are criminal conspiracies in restraint of trade, little remains to complete the outlawry of labor organization.

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Courage in Journalism.

Persons who lightly complain of the venality and cowardice of newspapers may learn a good deal to their advantage, besides reading a most interesting story of the inside of journalism, by sending to the San Francisco Bulletin for its editorial page of November 27, 1908. In a broadside of vivid description this page gives the experience

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of the Bulletin in an upright and downright fight to serve the public interests. It fought the Schmitz-Ruef ring when that ring was in power. It denounced the crimes and named the powerful criminals. But it ran great risks and made little headway. The ruffians threatened its managers, and the good folks complained of its "sensationalism," its "intemperate" tone, its "hysteria." Of course the advertisers murmured. Yet at great outlay, at great loss of business, at great risk of person, property and patronage, the Bulletin kept up the fight, until at last it had the "boodlers" on their way to prison.

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When it had scored on these confederates of the Big Business interests, Big Business began to lend a hand to make the city clean. But no sooner was it understood that the Bulletin and Spreckels and Heney and Burns "intended to prosecute the wealthy and eminent bribe givers as well as the unfortunate weaklings whom these predatory gentlemen had debauched," than the Interests sought to stop the fight the Bulletin was making. Its course was again called "intemperate," it was accused of "injuring the good name of the city" and of "hurting business," a boycott of advertisers was organized, the banks brought pressure upon business concerns to withdraw their advertisements, and so on and on and on. In consequence the Bulletin suffered enormous loss of business. But it held firm and still holds firm. Its owners happened to be financially able to. And now they are reaping their reward in a larger circulation of more permanent character than ever before. But suppose they could not have held firm! It is no child's play for a newspaper to be honest when powerful interests are on the war path for plunder.

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William Marion Reedy's Accident.

It would seem heartless to wish that William Marion Reedy, the editor of the St. Louis Mirror, might break his other leg when this one mends. But the temptation will be sore if Providence does not invent another way of coaxing from him a further supply of those unique editorials of his which have kept the Mirror up to normal during his vacation in a hospital bed. They are everything that the most readable editorial ought to be. All too seldom are versatility and brilliancy so delightful as Reedy's drawn so steadily into the service of high purpose as are these enviable talents of his; and seldom has he himself equaled, in wholesome substance and captivating form, his charming editorials from a bed of pain in an environment of suffering and service.

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THE SCIENCE OF SOCIAL SERVICE.

Conclusion.

Natural Method of Applying the Law of Equal Freedom.

Any method of divesting capitalism of its perversions and applying to it in practice the social service law of equal freedom (p. 844), must conform at the outset to prevailing customs. If it doesn't do this it won't be practical; for human nature is not revolutionary, but progressive. As it is true of the individual that he is largely a creature of habit, so it is true of society that it is largely a creature of custom. I have here an excellent book on that subject. It is Carter's "Law: Its Origin, Growth and Function," and I will let you take it with you if you wish—James C. Carter, you know; probably the ablest lawyer at the New York bar ten or fifteen years ago. But may we not agree for the present, without turning to any books upon the subject, that in choosing a practical method for so radical a purpose, we must select one that is adaptable in its beginnings to deep rooted custom? Well enough it may be, Doctor, to hitch your wagon to a star; indeed, it is the thing to do if your wagon be an observation vehicle. But your plow you must hitch to something nearer the center of the earth. And practical reforms are more like subsoil plows than sky-sailing wagons. You must hitch practical reforms to prevailing customs.

Now what are the customs to which any method for effecting our ultimate purpose must at the outset conform? Listen. We are dealing with landlordism in its modern guise of land capitalism. That is the prevailing custom of which we have to take account. And we want to alter its effect from a fostering of special privileges to the establishing of equal opportunities. Isn't that our problem?

Obviously, then, the thing to do is to make land capitalizations common property. This is the star to which we must hitch our wagon.

But in attempting at once to make land capitalizations common, we should come in conflict with the deep-rooted custom of private land tenure, which must be respected if we would succeed. Whether common occupancy be the best tenure of land or not—and let me assure you that I am very far from thinking it so—but whether

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