

on behalf of progressive policies is evident in all parts of the country, and the result in California is but another indication that that movement is slowly changing the character of Republican leadership.



SENATOR BRISTOW  
AND  
SENATOR ALDRICH

The controversy between Senator Aldrich, of Rhode Island, and Senator Bristow, of Kansas, is of National interest because it brings into the light, on the one hand, the dangers of our present method of tariff-making, and, on the other, the unwisdom of those who adopt slap-dash methods of attacking political evils. Senator Bristow accused Senator Aldrich of being a party to the introduction of a "joker" in a certain schedule of the new tariff bill, the operation of which would be of vast pecuniary profit to himself and his associates who are interested in the rubber industry of the country. To this accusation Senator Aldrich has made a categorical and detailed reply; and we are bound to say that, without some further evidence from Senator Bristow, which apparently it is impossible for him to produce, Senator Aldrich has won his case. Only tariff or rubber experts—and the editors of *The Outlook* are neither—can understand the technical details of the controversy, but Senator Aldrich has made a distinct statement of facts which we think conclusively show that he was not *particeps criminis*, as Senator Bristow intimated that he was, in an attempt to make personal dividends out of a specific clause in the tariff law. Senator Aldrich cannot complain, however, if the country was in a mood to give serious consideration to Senator Bristow's charges. The people have come to the conviction that log-rolling and favoritism are characteristic of all American tariff bills made under the present system. They believe that, as in river and harbor legislation, the "pork barrel" is almost an essential part of tariff construction. Senator Aldrich is a man of very great ability, and probably knows more about the technical side of tariff legislation than any other man in Congress. Unfortunately, however, he is believed to be a follower of the philosophy which asserts that financial prosperity is the true standard of the growth of any community.

He himself has achieved great financial prosperity by following this philosophy, and yet we suppose that his indignation and astonishment at being accused of personal dishonor are genuine. The only way in which a politician or statesman can escape such accusation is by scrupulously refraining from taking part in legislation which is designed for the special privilege of a particular community, or a particular group, at the expense of the rest of the country. Senator Bristow should never have made his specific accusations unless he was prepared to substantiate them with better evidence than he has so far produced. He is a passionate reformer, with whose general purpose of eliminating materialistic evils from Congressional legislation the country is in full sympathy; but prejudiced and unjust virtue sometimes does quite as much harm as unprejudiced vice. The only reply which Senator Bristow has made to Senator Aldrich's categorical denial is to make some more general statements, such as would be of no value in a court of law as evidence, and such as are, we think, of no value in the long run when a reformer appeals to the American people as jurymen. The episode furnishes another occasion for advocating the wisdom of having all tariff legislation initiated by a tariff commission, the members of which shall be men of expert ability and of scrupulous impartiality.



ANARCHY  
IN COLUMBUS

At the very foundation of government is the obligation to maintain order. For the greater part of a month now the city of Columbus, Ohio, has so suffered from mob violence as to know what a menace to civilized society it is to have those in authority fail to meet this obligation. The disorder has been consequent upon a strike of street car men. There have been stone-throwing, dynamiting, and other intolerable acts of violence. War is barbaric enough, but war is carried on under rules which insure at least some degree of fair and open fighting, and which protect non-combatants. The mob knows no such rules. It is underhanded and mean, and it attacks the defenseless. The primary duty of any government which calls itself civilized is to protect the people from their enemies, and certainly

from so merciless an enemy as the mob. This the authorities of the city of Columbus and of the State of Ohio have not adequately done. Mayor Marshall, of Columbus, in the early stage of the disorder, called upon Governor Harmon for troops. For the time being the disorder was so far quelled that the soldiers were sent home. Then it broke out afresh. After the Mayor had tried to control the turbulence by means of police, he found himself confronted by what amounted to a mutiny. Policemen refused to obey the orders which put them on the street cars to protect those who were engaged in running them, as well as to protect the cars themselves. There was no time for parley; the Mayor pleaded with the policemen, and did not call for the militia. Finally the Governor himself interfered. Again the troops were summoned and the city put into their control. By the middle of last week semblance of order was restored and little violence appeared. Ohio has recently shown itself particularly subject to the terroristic rule of the mob. The subjection of Newark, of that State, to a turbulent crowd of lynchers who murdered a detective brought disgrace upon that city. Zanesville has also been the scene of outrageous acts of violence. Two homes and two factories in that city were blown up, or partly blown up, by dynamite. The owner of one of these factories and one of the houses had been knocked down and beaten. Indeed, such a state of terror existed that special officers could not be induced to make arrests for fear of arousing a lynching. In one case a deputy marshal, who had been raiding disorderly resorts, was assailed by the proprietor of one of them, an ex-chief of police, but received no aid from the policeman present. Ohio is not a frontier community. It has not the excuse that a frontier community has, of immature organization.



#### CURE FOR THE MOB

For such violence as has made its appearance in these Ohio cities the first duty, as we have said, of civilized government is clear. It is severely and rigorously to repress the violence. But the first duty is not the

last duty. The obligation of civilized government is not fulfilled by the use merely of the policeman's club or the soldier's rifle. It is to get at the cause of the violence, to correct those bad relations between men out of which disorder arises, to correct the injustice against which this disorder is in part a protest and of which it is in part a product. With regard to the mobs at Newark and Zanesville it is comparatively easy to see the cause. Ohio is a State which is trying to administer a county option law for some sixty cities. The State has enacted a law by which a county may banish the sale of intoxicating liquors from its whole territory. Within that county there may be a city where public sentiment is not in favor of no-license, and yet the local authorities within that city are called upon to enforce the no-license policy. In other words, a supposedly self-governing community is called upon to enforce a law imposed by an authority outside of that community. As a consequence, time and again the people of the city have acquiesced in the election of officials who have winked at the violation of the law and who have even been in collusion with the lawbreakers. The cure for this state of things is very simple. It is the application of the elementary principles of democracy. Let the power that makes the law enforce the law; or let the power that enforces the law be free to make the law. In other words, if the State insists upon determining under what kind of laws the cities within the State shall be governed, then let the State accept the full responsibility for the law by assuming the responsibility of enforcing it. On the other hand, if the State is unwilling to assume this responsibility of enforcement, then let it give to the city that freedom which must always go with responsibility, and allow the latter to decide under what laws it shall live. The State of Ohio shares the disgrace that has come upon the cities of Zanesville and Newark. The Legislature of Ohio has violated the elementary principles of self-government by laying down precepts for the cities and failing to see that those precepts are observed. We believe that American cities should have a larger measure of home rule than they are now allowed to