

ficials they are compelled to provide funds in the form of taxes to pay the legitimate expenses of the city and the illegitimate expenses of the grafters. Municipal corruption brings home to the taxpayer the evils of graft. But the national graft permitted by a tariff system, a watered stock system or a privileged banking monopoly, has an element of remoteness that does not appeal so keenly to the people, and thus it is that from year to year they are robbed without being aroused to determined opposition.

EVIL DAYS FOR JUSTICE

The Bartley bondsmen have at last made good their technicalities and have been released by the supreme court of Nebraska from the obligation of paying into the state treasury over \$600,000. This is another illustration of the growing disparity between law and justice in this country. Justice is an ideal of which law is the real. However much men may respect the ideal they cannot but feel how poorly human devices work to attain this ideal.

There is much nonsense uttered by the ultra-conservative about respect for the law. Justice is divine; law is human. Men respect justice; but their respect for law is, and should always be, mingled with discrimination. There is a growing suspicion not only among the people but among lawyers that our system of law is inadequate to the requirements of the age. Admitting all the restrictions of the human intellect, they yet argue that radical changes in our legal system would be fruitful of much good, for they recognize that the system operated more beneficently years ago than it does today. Some blame must attach to those who make the laws and to those who fail to enforce them justly and intelligently, but much of the machinery of the law is outworn; the machinery has been patched so often that its product is frequently botch-work.

It is an old saying that possession is nine points of the law, and yet it may not be one point of justice. In this country it is possible for a man to seize the property of his neighbor in his neighbor's absence and to hold it indefinitely. If the man who is despoiled uses violence he may recover his property without much delay, but he may be killed by the usurper. If he appeals to the courts he will probably find that the thief has nine points of the law in his favor.

MR. ECKELS AS AN APOLOGIST

When President McCurdy of the Mutual Life insurance company resigned, it was reported that James Eckels, who was controller of the currency under Cleveland would be chosen in his place. A worse selection hardly could be made. Mr. Eckels has been and still is one of the stout, hide-bound defenders of predatory wealth who fancy that the inspiring motive of all protest against dishonest finance is envy.

A few days ago he spoke before "the New York city group of the New York State Bankers' association." The theme of his discourse was what he termed "the regulation of business by statute." He deplored the fact that the government was becoming "a partner" in private enterprises in which it did not have a dollar invested. Mr. Eckels would have business entirely unfettered and he argued that because some business men had been found to be dishonest is no good reason why all business men be made victims of federal supervision. "These statutes," said Mr. Eckels, "are founded upon the curiously contradictory theory that demonstrated success in the business world, large investment and risk of personal capital and reputation and wide experience, not only unfit an individual for the proper and wise conduct of his own business, but deaden his sense of patriotism and make him an enemy of the republic."

Mr. Eckels once called himself a democrat and denounced special privileges. What he is now we must judge by his speeches, for we no longer hear from him denunciation of the special privileges which have made it possible for the successful business men, honest and dishonest, to accumulate fortunes that would not have been possible under a "square deal."

There was a time when the newspapers referred slightly to "the young" and "the youthful" Mr. Eckels, but he is not so young now, although he still continues to "harp upon the mouldered string" of his youthful prejudices. He has been the valiant defender of the rich and their ways and he has profited enormously, and, it is to be hoped, within the limits of the law. But Mr. Eckels, like many of his kind, has a bad habit of misrepresenting his countrymen and his misrepresentations ought not to go unchallenged. In his New York discourse he said some things that were true, even though they did not ring true coming from his lips; but when he said that the present protest against dishonesty in business

is "indiscriminate denunciation of success wherever found, or wealth wherever acquired" and that "all success is placed in the attitude of being a crime and all acquirement of wealth is denounced as criminal," he resorted to a cheap and common method of reviling those whose arguments he does not dare to answer.

Mr. Eckels could not say that the Depews, McCurdys, McCalls, Odells and their ilk were honest and respectable citizens, but he could say that the "American people cannot afford to be led by mountebanks, nor yield sway to business or political blackmail." Neither can the American people afford, Mr. Eckels, to be led by toady apologists for corruption. He would have the public understand that much of the money misspent by insurance officials was wrung from them by blackmailers, but the dishonesty and corruption existed before the blackmailing, and the blackmailing arose in the ranks of those who knew that among the "rich" and "successful" there were many who posed as respectable citizens while acquiring their "riches" and "success" through corruption and theft. Mr. Eckels attempts to re-whiten the sepulchres, but he merely soils his hands. He has played with pitch, and has become defiled. No apologist for McCurdy practices should replace McCurdy as president of the Mutual Life.

Eben W. Martin of South Dakota has introduced a bill which, if it becomes a law, will give the government effective control over corporations, but it is so radical that congress is startled. The present congress, especially the senate, is apt to be startled by any measure that is honestly designed to control corporations.

If Secretary Cortelyou is not to be a witness before the Armstrong committee in New York, he should take the president's suggestion regarding publicity as a hint and publish the list of those who contributed to the republican national campaign fund.

The case against the Nebraska grain trust was submitted in the supreme court without argument. It is to be hoped that the sudden calm which has fallen upon everything connected with this case is not "a conspiracy of silence" to cover a fiasco.

It is reported that the czar's household is now the scene of some family spats. The report that the czar seriously contemplates flight from Russia must therefore be well-founded.

Mayor Dunne, of Chicago, is still striving for municipal ownership, but finds a corrupt council ready to check him at every step.

The United States senate will pay no tribute of respect to poor Senator Mitchell who was so unlucky as to "be found out."

President Roosevelt is apt to meet with more success in regulating football than in regulating the railways.

The standpatters who awaited the president's message with deep anxiety will heave a sigh of relief.

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