

tion to direct nominations and direct legislation, as inconsistent with "representative institutions," are in point.

What are representative institutions? Should representatives of the people not represent the whole body of the people? If we have representative government why is there a general refusal of representatives to adopt a conclusive method of determining what the will of the whole body of the people on any given question, in any given district, is? Why do party press, partizan leaders and Big Business contributors to party campaign funds fear the real touchstone of public opinion—the referendum?

Is it of the essence of representative government that representatives shall be allowed to guess, and not be accurately informed, as to the public will? Is it essential to republican forms of government that corporation agents in press and in party machine shall alone have the power of informing the people's representatives?

Shall those who refuse to accept the situation be permitted to express their insurgency, or shall they be branded as dangerous demagogues because they demand authoritative expressions of public opinion?

Are republican government and representative institutions to be left to the mercy of party newspapers which suppress information as to the exploitation of the people? to party managers whose puppets in our legislatures easily pass measures in the interest of Big Business and defeat referendum measures? to corporate agents who alone can draft "safe, sane and well considered" legislative acts? to college professors whose prodigious learning prevents their seeing straight or thinking clear?

LEWIS STOCKTON.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### "IT" AT WORK IN OREGON.

Portland, Ore., Sept. 15.

If you have read Lincoln Steffens' article in the September number of Everybody's Magazine, you know what "IT" means. If you haven't read it, read it. Judge Lindsey calls "IT" the "Beast"; other aliases are "Franchise Big Business," "Special Privilege," the "Corporations," the "Money Power," the "Interests," "Capitalism"; and some call it the "Taxing Power," and "Private Monopoly." Whatever you prefer to call it, "IT" is busy trying to undermine and destroy popular government in Oregon, for the simple reason that popular government means "taxing power in the hands of the people," and when the people get the taxing power "IT" is going to have more trouble than it can attend to. Not that the people of Oregon have taken the tax-

ing power, but that under their system of popular government they are able to take it without asking the consent of the legislature, and they are getting ready to take it.

Therefore, "IT" is making an attack all along the line in Oregon on the Initiative and Referendum, the Recall, Direct Primaries, and everything else the people have won in the last eight years.

The attack is engineered, managed and financed by the private owners of public utilities or "franchise corporations."

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The first gun was fired by the Pacific States Telephone Company. The voters had approved a bill, initiated by petition, for a gross earnings tax on telegraph and telephone companies. The telephone company refused to pay the tax. Beaten in the Circuit Court at Portland and in the Supreme Court of the State, it appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, where the case is now pending, on the ground that the Initiative power in the hands of the people destroys the "republican form of government" guaranteed to every State by the Federal Constitution.

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The next point of attack was in the legislature, in 1909, when that body—alleged to represent the people of Oregon—submitted to the voters a bill to call a Constitutional convention to revise the State Constitution. It was suddenly discovered that the Constitution of Oregon was fifty years old, out of joint with the times. The advocates of a new Constitution do not state wherein the old document needs revision, and ignore the fact that any needed revision or amendment may be proposed by Initiative petition, as has been done at each election since 1902. It is as easy for a corporation as for citizens to have an amendment prepared and circulated for signatures, and then placed on the ballot for approval or rejection by the voters.

However, it is not that the corporations want an easy road to constitutional amendments. What they want is a Constitution that can't be amended without their consent. So they had the legislature submit that bill for a Constitutional convention, with provision for popular vote upon the Constitution that might be drafted by the convention.

It would seem, then, that if the voters approve the bill and order a Constitutional convention, they have it in their power to reject the proposed Constitution if it doesn't suit them. But, as is very evident, the tricksters behind this Constitutional convention scheme don't intend that the people shall have an opportunity to vote on a new Constitution.

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Big Business employs shrewd lawyers who know that in six States, since 1890, Constitutional conventions have made new Constitutions and then "proclaimed" or "promulgated" them without giving the voters an opportunity to express their wishes.

That trick was worked in a particularly flagrant manner in Delaware, Virginia and Kentucky.

Under a law providing that the new Constitution should be submitted to popular vote, the Delaware

Constitutional Convention of 1896 prepared a Constitution and ordered it submitted to the voters, but before the election could be held the convention met again, cancelled the election, and "proclaimed" the Constitution it had made as the Constitution of Delaware,—and the people had no vote on it.

In 1900 the Legislature of Virginia submitted to popular vote the question of calling a Constitutional convention. The voters approved it. The legislature called an election for delegates to the convention and nominated it in the bond that "said revised and amended Constitution shall be submitted to the qualified voters of the Commonwealth as a whole or by separate articles or sections" at the general election in 1901. The convention met, wrote a new Constitution and "proclaimed" it without submitting it to the voters. The new Constitution was taken to the Supreme Court of the State on the ground that it had been put in force without being submitted to the voters for approval or rejection, as the law required (see *Taylor vs. Commonwealth*, Va. Supreme Court Reports, vol. 101, page 829), and the Virginia Supreme Court upheld the action of the Constitutional convention.

In the case of *Miller vs. Johnson* (92 Kentucky, page 589), the Kentucky Supreme Court made a similar decision, though the law creating the Constitutional convention had provided that the new Constitution must be submitted to the voters before it could be put into effect.

These infamous precedents, established by three States, are good enough for Big Business in Oregon or anywhere else. If the people of Oregon decide that they need a Constitutional convention, and vote for one, they may know now what to expect—a new Constitution written by corporation attorneys and put into effect by "proclamation" without giving the voters an opportunity to reject it if they wish to do so.

Yes, "IT" is very busy in Oregon this year, and its chief mouthpiece is the Portland Oregonian, the only morning paper of any size or circulation in Oregon. It has the Associated Press monopoly here, and faithfully does it serve all other private monopolies.

W. G. EGGLESTON.

## A MOVING PICTURE.

Pittsburg, Pa.

When Theodore Roosevelt spoke here, I sat at his feet—literally, I mean, and not altogether as Paul at the feet of Gamaliel. Through the courtesy of Allen T. Burns, secretary of the Civic Commission, I had a seat in the press gallery, which happened in this case to be in "the pit" and directly in front of the speaker. I could hear every word clearly, could see every gesture distinctly, and above all could observe in minute detail those curious facial contortions which make Mr. Roosevelt's oratory peculiar.

It was intensely interesting.

If I could, I wished to find out what the magic is of this man's clutch upon the popular imagination. And as I sat and looked and listened, those contortions, that square build, the bull neck and bullet

head, those grotesque gestures, those tupperian sentiments in stentorian tones and with the masterful manner of the inerrant, grew more and more luminous as interpreters to me of this singular man's singular popularity.

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A brilliant preface in the daily press, always eager to exploit anything theatrical, and a startling index of contents, appear to be the qualities that make this animate book of platitudes a big seller with a people awaking from a long and stupefying lethargy.

I jotted down his phrases that "brought a hand",—and here are some of the characteristic ones:

The people that hurt Pittsburg are the people who are corrupt.

Don't attack a man unless you are sure he is a bad man, but when you do attack him, don't let up on him.

The greatest injustice that can be imagined, a greater injustice than any of the industrial system, would be in giving equal reward for unequal service.

Every man of us at times needs a helping hand. Stretch out that hand and help the man who has stumbled; but if he lies down, don't carry him.

If you don't go forward, you will slip backward.

Can you imagine William Jennings Bryan or Robert La Follette before an American audience giving voice to such sentiments as if they were novelties? Aren't the same things and better said from a thousand humble pulpits every Sunday? Yet the fact remains that the audiences go away from Roosevelt's meetings with smiles and head wags, saying: "Wasn't that bully!"

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Are they hypnotized, or have they merely grown foolish?

A little of each perhaps. But I am now convinced that Roosevelt's popularity depends not upon what he says nor upon what he does, but upon a way he has of doing what he does and of saying what he says.

When the chairman at the Pittsburg meeting was reading his introductory speech—which by the way was infinitely more meaty than Roosevelt's—he was interrupted by an impatient and unthinking crowd. Roosevelt scowled fiercely, fidgeted in his seat, shook his head, and suddenly jumping to his feet and shaking his finger at the crowd, shouted: "You will not hear from me unless you hear the chairman first!"

Bully? Of course it's bully!

Then he talked. Every word, every syllable, slowly, dis-sin-ct-ly e-nun-she-a-ted, fairly hissed through a splendid set of formidable teeth. He began with a recital of the characteristics of the American people—"en-er-gy, pow-er, force, keen business intelligence, rigid industry, immense versatility of mind, a vigorous, masterful people." Over each word he lingered and gloated. They snapped and sizzled with electricity plus. Then his voice broke into a high treble. It quavered like a child's as he cried: "I wish I could stop!" To run out of adjectives seemed to hurt him.

And no matter what he said, light or heavy, trivial or important, he pounded every word, every phrase