

rests with the workers, if they only knew how to use it. It is with the workers that the final decision will rest whether landlordism shall triumph over the Budget, or whether the new basis, more just and more democratic, for the finance of the country, shall be widened and extended from year to year. Money is needed to defend this country not only against foreign powers, but also against poverty, disease, ignorance, and destitution; not only to defend it, but to make it worth defending. The principle of the Budget is that the money needed shall come in the first place from the values which the community itself creates, from luxuries and from the superfluities of the very rich. It is called a triumph for Socialism. It is, at any rate, a triumph for common justice and common sense.

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THE INITIATIVE AND THE REFERENDUM.

A High School Graduation Essay.

To restore the rule of the people and thus insure clean politics, to trim our governmental lamp so that it will shine more brightly, to maintain a republican form of government in fact as well as in name, are the objects of the Initiative and Referendum.

The Initiative provides for new legislation. Any new law may be proposed by a petition signed by a fixed percentage of the voters in any political division. The Referendum provides for the submission of all or certain legislation to the people for approval before the measures become law.

In this country the people should be the only rulers, and this principle in legislation will restore to them the rights which our present representative form of government does not protect. This is going back to first principles. There can be no better or more representative form of government than the New England town meeting which Professor Bryce described as "not only the source but the school of democracy"; and of which Thomas Jefferson said, "It has proved to be the wisest invention ever devised by the wit of man for the perfect exercise of self-government and its preservation." Popular self-government in this country originated with the compact drawn up and signed in the cabin of the Mayflower, and the same principles were recognized in the Articles of Confederation established by the Thirteen Colonies, and later in the Constitution of the United States.

The terms Initiative and Referendum are derived from the Latin "initium," to introduce, and "referre," to carry or send back. We have the idea in our own New England town government. Legislation may be initiated by any ten citizens who petition for an article to be put into the war-

rant. The town meeting is itself the referendum, at which all citizens may by voice and vote approve or reject the measures proposed. Nothing can be more democratic than this method of self-government, where the voice of every citizen may be heard, and the vote of every citizen must be recorded. It is truly "government of the people, for the people and by the people," and should ensure equality and perfect liberty.

Municipalities cling to the town meeting as long as possible. Brookline, with her vast wealth still maintains it, and desires to perpetuate it. Boston remained a town until 1822, when the population reached forty thousand; and it was well governed. The change in form of government was opposed by John Adams and Josiah Quincy, who cautioned their fellow citizens against giving up the method of self-government which had so well preserved their liberties and rights. The result of the change proves their wisdom.

It is not practical, however, to assemble all the voters of a city, a county, a State or a nation. Therefore representative government has been substituted; and if the people could be truly represented, nothing better could be desired. This condition, however, does not obtain. Persons elected to represent the people do not carry out the will of the people. Sometimes they can not because they do not know it. What is everybody's business is attended to by nobody. The corporations, especially the public franchise corporations, make it a business to influence legislation. Through their representatives they enter the primaries and try to secure the nomination of men who will do their will. If one man is more willing to do this than his opponent, they do their best to secure the election of that man. If the man elected is not their choice, he is seen and won over, if possible, to the side of the corporation. The corporation is neither Republican nor Democratic in politics. If a Republican will answer its purposes best, its influence is cast for him; otherwise a Democrat is favored. As Jay Gould is reported to have said, "I am a Democrat in a Democratic county, a Republican in a Republican county, but an Erie Railroad man all the time."

It is not always or often a matter of straight bribery. Plausible arguments are used; business associations, social influence, railway passes, situations for friends, flattery and sometimes threats;—all these are ready weapons. If a bribe is offered it is usually sugar-coated—a tip on the stock market, some shares of stock free, a large retainer for the lawyer, a contribution to the church, a box of fine cigars or a case of old wine; the inducement varies with the character of the legislator. There are able lawyers and public men who as lobbyists do better than they can in office or at legitimate law. These men can be depended on to look out for the interests of their

clients, and have a direct influence on legislation that is not exerted by those who elect them. The people of Massachusetts elect 380 representatives; and many of them do not know, or care to know, the will of those by whom they are elected. It is no wonder that we are badly represented when millions are appropriated by corporations seeking franchises. This does not mean that all the representatives are corrupt men. On this matter a prominent politician once remarked, "The body of representatives is divided into three parts, good men, knaves and fools. A great many of them are good men, but the knaves and fools together make the majority."

We find the terms Initiative and Referendum in use in Switzerland, where the system was adopted by the canton of Zurich in 1867, and later by all the political divisions except those where a direct vote of the people is taken, as in our town meeting. The principle was recognized by our Teutonic ancestors, who alike settled in England and Switzerland, and in both places upheld the equal rights of all in the public assembly.

But we need not go as far as Switzerland for examples. We find it in use in Oregon, South Dakota, Nevada, Utah, and some of the cities of California.

In Oregon the amendment was adopted by a vote of eleven to one. This State was the first to obtain direct legislation, and has made the most use of it. In 1904 two measures were submitted to the people, both of which were adopted. In 1906 the people voted on eleven questions. Four were defeated and seven were adopted. Among those adopted were three measures to enlarge the scope of direct legislation. In 1908 nineteen proposals were submitted, seven were defeated and twelve adopted. An examination of the various bills will show that the people used proper discrimination and voted wisely.

In the State of Iowa, on petition of twenty-five property owners, the mayor must submit the question of granting franchises for gas works, electric light and power plants to the people for approval. No such plant can be erected, no telegraph, telephone or street railway franchise can be given without a popular vote.

In South Dakota the very existence of the municipal referendum has prevented much bad legislation.

In Massachusetts the governor vetoed a bill for the construction of a new subway to be paid for by a street railway corporation in consideration of a forty years' lease without payment of rent, unless the bill should be referred to the voters. The bill in question never became a law.

In Chicago, street railway questions have been submitted to the people, who always supported municipal ownership, although this same idea was opposed by the majority of the aldermen and coun-

cilmen elected by these same people to represent them.

Maine and Missouri have both adopted an amendment to the Constitution providing for the Initiative and Referendum at the last election, in each case by a considerable majority.

Oklahoma has it, and Nebraska is likely to follow soon. To bring about this change for Federal matters may require an amendment to the Constitution. But, what of that? When our Constitution was adopted it represented the most progressive thought of the time, but as our country grows changes become necessary. Why, then, is it not proper to alter it according to our will? Why should not the city people have a vote in their government, as well as the country people in their town meeting?

The object of the Referendum is not to submit every petty question to the people, but to allow the people by a certain percentage in signatures to demand a direct vote. When a man desires to build he employs an architect whom he directs to make the plans. When they are finished he approves or disapproves of them, and they are revised unless satisfactory. The employer may represent the people, the architect, the representatives, and the plans the bills proposed.

This measure would restore to the people the right to govern themselves, and would destroy the monopoly of lawmakers. It is going back to the principles upon which this government was founded, and restores to the people the right to rule in fact as well as in theory. Representatives would then represent the people, or their work would be undone. Bribery or undue influence will be useless as the people may veto any legislative act. Mr. Brown may be influenced, but the ten thousand voters who elected him can not; and his vote will be useless unless supported by his constituency. Men will not be in public life on account of the spoils, for there will be none, and better men will be attracted to public service. Party spirit will lose its power, as votes will be cast for measures, not for men. There will be no cause for discontent, as any demand for new legislation can be met, and bad laws may be repealed if the people so will. No man need be dissatisfied when the remedy is so easily within his reach.

Without the Initiative and Referendum, popular self-government in the best sense of the term cannot exist. The Initiative and the Referendum mean equality, and equality is the true source of happiness. It was only while they governed themselves that Rome and Greece were at the height of their power.

The Initiative and Referendum will restore to the people the right to rule of which they have been deprived. A prominent advocate of this measure says: "This restoration can be brought about by the Initiative and Referendum. Shall it be done? We appeal to public opinion as the

court of last resort. The Initiative and Referendum will make this court articulate. It is now only a speechless fetish whose silent and incoherent mandates are interpreted by an interested political priesthood. Let us restore to public opinion the powers of speech of which it has been deprived. Let us allow public opinion to speak for itself, to interpret its own commands. This will not abolish representative republicanism among us, it will perfect it. This will not be a government by a mob, it will be a government by an orderly democracy. This will not be a foreign innovation; it will be in the strictest sense an American evolution."

Southboro, Mass.

ADDIE L. HOWES.

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THE STRUGGLE OF THE RICH.

"I could have dropped out some time ago, but I stayed in for the satisfaction I derived."—E. H. Harriman.

That's what's the matter with men of wealth—

It isn't at all that they need

The money for which they will peril their souls;

It is simply ambition's greed.

They want to be part of the magnate push,

And to mix in a row to see

Which one of the captains shall gain control

Of the stuff that spells Victory.

It is only to win in a corporate war

That they stay in the game and play,

While a helpless and suffering world looks on,

With the blood of the bill to pay.

Theirs isn't the struggle that millions put up

To secure their daily bread,

And give of their lives that others may live:

It is power they're after instead.

For that they will hazard the best that they have,

Their health and their peace of mind;

Their consciences go with the rest as well,

For the pleasure they think they find.

It is power they're after—not power of right,

That may count for a glory crown;

It is merely the power to keep themselves up

By keeping the other man down.

If they struggled for wealth for the good they could do

With abundance of golden might,

Their motives no man would dare to condemn

And the world would applaud their fight.

Nobody denies they are giants of strength,

And each has a right to his

As long as he hews to the line of the law,

But, God, what a shame it is!

—W. J. Lampton, in the New York World.

✦ ✦ ✦

Old Gent: Here, you boy, what are you doing out here fishing? Don't you know you ought to be at school?

Small Boy: There now! I knew I'd forgotten something.—Philadelphia Inquirer.

BOOKS

A STUDY IN LABOR UNIONISM.

Trade Unionism and Labor Problems. Edited with an Introduction by John R. Commons. Published by Ginn & Co., Boston. 1905.

Under the editorship of Professor Commons are here collected twenty-eight essays by various authors, each dealing with a different kind of trades union or a separate aspect of the labor problem. The book "is intended to do for the study of labor unions and labor problems, what Ripley's 'Trusts, Pools and Corporations' has done for the study of capital and its organization"; that is, to provide a text-book of "concrete, definite and convenient" data for the student of economics.

All this sounds very useful—and dry. It is both. But the likes of this book it is high time for all of us to read, artisan, financier or clerk.

The workingman will see more clearly through it the trend of his great campaign, its points of weakness and strength. Our immigrants and the problems they set and solve are not so hazy after reading Professor Commons' articles on "Labor Conditions in Slaughtering and Meat Packing," "The Sweating System in the Clothing Trade," and "Slaves in Coal Mining." The disadvantages if not disasters of incorporation for trades unions are convincing in the symposium on that subject.

It would seem difficult for any business man or politician to read "The Miners' Union: Its Business Management," without a wholesome respect for the broad-minded ability and great power shown in the upbuilding of that vast organization.

Yet the volume must really be meant not for any of these, laboringman, businessman or student, but to rouse a third and neediest class of non-readers—all the tame-lived, clerkly mortals around whom the great industrial world seethes and to whom it is only a dim mass, undifferentiated, its vital impact upon them all unheeded. Fed only on their daily paper, which is carefully edited for politicians and advertisers, unused to the solid food which the unionists get in all their journals, the non-artisan, non-capitalist, the Alameda needs awakening, and this book will help. For in all its array of facts, histories and conditions, its six hundred pages tell one great truth, that the industrial world is a huge tangle, all its knots being pulled at and mostly being tightened.

ANGELINE LOESCH.

✦ ✦ ✦

The soil of a nation is primarily the property of the whole nation—the common inheritance of all.—Robert Giffen.