

he might go to jail for it. But jails have no terrors and no disgrace for the man who goes there for the good of the people. And Mayor Tom, knowing he was right, showed a splendid contempt of court. Bully for Mayor Tom! When more mayors show the same intelligent contempt of corporation-controlled courts there will be more chance for getting justice on the spot, instead of after you are dead.

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THE SPOILS OF POLITICS.

The Chicago Examiner (Dem.), July 16.—The cheap rewards of political place count for little now in political maneuvers. The "boss" is no longer the man who distributes "patronage." The real boss is the railroad man, the traction man, the insurance man, the man who is willing to contribute enormous sums to the campaign fund, if only his own interests be left safe or his new projects be aided. The new boss is more dangerous than the old boss. The new politics is more menacing than the old politics. The day of cheap boodling, the day when a party was put in or out of power merely to give some thousands of its adherents cheap "jobs," has gone by. Now this or that candidate finds his chief support among the men who wish to get from him franchises and special privileges. The small men who want public places are still active, but their influence is as nothing compared with that of the financiers who, through their agents, really run the game. . . . When franchises are no longer granted, but the functions which corporations seeking them now discharge are held in the hands of public officers to be administered not for profit, but for the good of the people, the bosses will disappear, the new politics will give way to the newer politics—which is the policy of running the government for all the people instead of, as now, for a few.

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A TRUE NOTE FROM THE SOUTH.

Collier's (Ind.), July 14.—"We of the South," said ex-Congressman Fleming of Georgia, in a university address in June, "can not afford to sacrifice our ideals of justice, of law, and of religion, for the purpose of preventing the Negro from elevating himself." If the Southern whites wish to preserve the wide gap between the races, it should be, in this Southerner's opinion, by lifting up themselves, not by holding down the blacks. If the Negro is to fall by the wayside, "let him fall by his own inferiority, and not by our tyranny."

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

HAVE FAITH.

R. E. Chadwick in *The Public* of June 23, 1906.

To go through life with a song and a smile,
With an open hand and a word of cheer,
With a heart that's pure and an eye that's clear,
Is the only way that is well worth while.

And if one have a faith that will endure—
A faith in God and a faith in man,
That truth and love and joy are the plan—
Then will eyes be clear and heart be pure.

* *

A Reply.

"To go through life with a song and a smile,"
And "an open hand and a word of cheer,
With a heart that's pure and an eye that's clear,"
Is surely a "way that is well worth while."

But as for the "faith that will endure—

A faith in God and a faith in man"—

Why, will isn't faith, in Nature's plan,
For belief is what Reason accepts as sure.

Song doesn't come from a harrowing voice,

Nor smiles beam forth from a cankerous heart;

And yet no one of us chose his part,

Nor in what he should be, was given a choice.

Let's sing and smile as much as we can,

And try to brighten the path of life;

But let us remember, amid the strife,

That all weren't built on exactly our plan.

July 7, 1906.

W. W. CATLIN.

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SECRETARY SHAW'S BOND JUGGLE.

AN INSIDE OPINION.

An Editorial in the *New York Times* of July 23, 1906.

Secretary Shaw is being congratulated upon all sides on his success in floating an issue of government 2 per cents at a premium, something without precedent in the financial history of any country. We add our own felicitations to him personally, and regret that the country will have the bill to pay. That the bill must be paid is certain. The gentlemen who are paying more for the bonds than they are worth are patriots, all honorable men, and capable of contributing to the country's relief in times of need. This is not one of those times. The Treasury and the nation are enjoying an excess of prosperity, and there is no excuse for asking contributions in aid of any public enterprise. Nor will any contributions be made voluntarily. The difference between the fair worth of 2 per cents and the artificial price obtained for them will be paid by somebody, and not the less certainly because it will be paid unawares, if all goes well, and paid with rack interest in the way of general embarrassment if anything goes wrong. And a very plain matter is made so obscure that our Republican friends will shuffle out of their responsibility in the latter case, and will claim inordinate credit if Providence once more tempers the financial tempest to the American lambs.

We suppose there is no necessity of demonstrating that about 104 is not a fair price for 2 per cent. bonds at this time. Less was bid on Friday for bonds having every quality of the Panamas, and the better for their longer maturity. There is no 2 per cent. investment money offering in the market, neither in New York nor in the world. Our credit is impregnable, but as pure credit it is no better than that of other nations which cannot float threes at par. Whoever is capable of thinking that these bonds are wanted for the income they yield is capable of any self-deception. But if they are wanted for anything except their yield their price reflects not the credit of the United States, but the opportunity to levy upon somebody a toll which is legal in form but extortionate in effect. The successful bidders are thinking not of the 2 per cent. which they will receive, but of the uncertain per cent. which they will demand from those who, under our system, will have to pay more than they should for accommodations that they have a right to expect at a lower price.

These bonds are wanted, of course, as a basis of national bank circulation, and they have a scarcity

value because the law forbids bank circulation to be issued in better and cheaper ways. The banks could ease the money market a trifle more by lending directly the money they must pay for the bonds. But here the juggle begins. The Secretary does not compel the bonds to be entirely paid for; part of the price is left with the purchasing banks. Moreover, the money already loaned to the banks by the Treasury—there have been times when that simple phrase would have caused thought if not fright—is under notice of recall unless these bonds are deposited as security for the loan. The banks simply had to have these bonds at any price, and they know very well who will pay the excess cost.

Is any American proud of these facts? Is any one too blind to see that this shuffling and juggling is beneath government finance, except in times of war, or embarrassment like Russia's? Are not such doings worthier of a water-logged trust, with kited promissory notes, and a total indifference to what may happen day after to-morrow? And is that an unfair description of our Treasury finances, with \$236,401,454 of pure fiat "money" in the form of a forced loan outstanding and nearly double that in the form of credit money printed upon silver? Ought we not as a nation to blush when we read in the concurrent telegrams that benighted Japan is paying off its war notes already, whereas ours are outstanding after a generation—of Republican administration at that? And ought any one to blush more than those intelligent gentlemen who in their private capacities teach exactly what we preach, and in their capacity as national bankers congratulate Secretary Shaw upon his success in doing what they declare is inconsistent with national interests?

* * *

GROWTH OF DEMOCRACY IN OREGON

For The Public.

Many eyes are directed towards Oregon. In that State pure democracy is being put to a test that is without a parallel in the history of our nation. Direct legislation in operation there is fulfilling the claims made for it by its friends, and refuting the arguments made against it by its enemies.

That the readers of *The Public* may have in convenient form a summary of the chief events that have occurred in Oregon in connection with direct legislation, I give the following resume, together with some deductions therefrom. All the figures are official.

After ten years of untiring effort on the part of Judge F. Williams and Hon. W. S. U'Ren in favor of the measure, and after a favorable vote for it by two legislatures had been secured, a direct legislation amendment to the Oregon constitution was carried by the electors of the State on June 3rd, 1902, by a vote of 62,024 for, and 5,668 against it, being a majority of eleven to one in its favor; and about 70 per cent. of the total vote cast for candidates (which was 92,920).

Subsequently one of the Circuit Courts of Oregon declared the amendment unconstitutional, one of the grounds for the adverse decision being that it was in conflict with Section 4, Article 4, of the Constitution of the United States, guaranteeing to every State a republican form of government. In Decem-

ber, 1903, the Supreme Court of Oregon reversed the decision of the lower tribunal and confirmed the validity of the amendment.

First Enactments.

On the 6th of June, 1904, the electors enacted at the polls two laws, one for local option in temperance matters, and one for direct primaries. This was the first time in the history of our nation that State laws were passed by the electors without the intervention in any form, of the legislature or other representative body. The vote on the first mentioned law was 43,316 for, and 40,198 against it, a favoring majority of 3,118. The vote on the second mentioned law was 56,205 for, and 16,354 against it, a majority of 39,851, or over three to one in its favor. The vote cast on the question of local option was about 84 per cent. of the total vote polled for candidates (which was 99,315).

The law for direct primaries carried every one of the 33 counties comprising the State. The law for local option carried in 24 counties, and lost in 9 counties. It lost in the two most populous counties of the State where are located the cities of Portland and Salem. It carried in the third and fourth most populous counties.

The *Christian Endeavor World*, in speaking of the local option enactment, says: "Such a law could never have been passed through the legislature. It is a clear triumph of the people, against the whiskey ring."

The statute for direct primaries was passed by direct legislation because, said Mr. U'Ren, "party bosses have heretofore defeated all attempts to secure such a law" [through the legislature].

Second Enactments.

On the 4th of June, 1906, the electors of Oregon passed upon eleven propositions, ratifying eight and defeating three. The largest vote cast was upon one of the defeated propositions, namely, "equal suffrage"; and was over 84 per cent. of the total vote for candidates. The vote on equal suffrage was 36,902 for, and 47,075 against it, an adverse majority of 10,173. This proposition carried in 10 counties and lost in 23. Nearly half of this adverse majority came from the county in which Portland is situated, and was 4,356.

Alice Stone Blackwell, in an able article entitled "Enemies of Equal Suffrage," in *The Public* of July 7th, writes fully of the combinations which aided in the defeat of this proposition. She says in part, "To sum up: equal suffrage had against it a coalition of the saloons, the brothels, the trusts, the railroads, the machine politicians and the frivolous society women. * * * Under the initiative and referendum law of Oregon, any question can be submitted to popular vote as often as its friends wish; and the women of Oregon are already taking measures to have the equal suffrage amendment brought before the voters again at the next election." Miss Blackwell says that this "amendment was endorsed by the State Grange, the State Federation of Women's Clubs and the State Federation of Labor. It had the support of a majority of the churches, and a remarkably large proportion of the editors. Out of the 238 papers published in Oregon, only seven opposed it."

Of the other propositions which were defeated at