

gambling and that certain of the rooms were being operated for nothing but gambling purposes. I requested the police to get active in the matter some months ago, and the order of to-day was the result."

The order of yesterday will throw something like 100 men out of the work they have been doing for over two years. Among this class of men it was said last night that if the order of the police is enforced, Cleveland will be the tightest town in the country from a gambling standpoint.—Cleveland Plain Dealer of Dec. 22.

Absolutely no attempt was made by the proprietors of the twenty or more down town poker rooms to do any business yesterday following the sweeping order of the police department to close up tight issued Wednesday afternoon. Yesterday the gamekeepers learned the full scope of the order which has turned out to be the most imperative command of the kind issued by a city administration in Cleveland for a long term of years.

Even furniture is to be classed under the term "gambling paraphernalia." Heretofore when orders affecting gambling have been issued no attempt was made to stop the playing of whist, hearts, "seven up" and similar games, games where it is not usually the custom for the players to wager sums of money on the fall of the cards. But now all this must go. No card playing of any kind whatsoever is to be permitted in public places.

"There will be no arrests," was the statement given out from police headquarters last night. "The majority of the places ordered closed have complied with the order. Tables have been removed or overturned and officers have inspected them all. In case an attempt is made to reopen any of them the police court will only be called on as a last resort. Their doors will be battered in and the outfits chopped up and thrown on the wood pile. That is the way to deal with them. If they want to sue for damages, let them do it. There will be no arrests until it is absolutely unavoidable."—Plain Dealer of Dec. 23.

POPULAR SOVEREIGNTY AS THE DOMINANT NATIONAL ISSUE.

For The Public.

What should be the dominant national issue in American politics?

Certainly it should lead to the ideal civilization, and along the line of least resistance.

Judged by these standards, it would seem that the dominant national issue

in this country should be the overthrow of the rule of the few by the establishment of the people's sovereignty, which means the installation of a people's veto (through the optional referendum) and a direct initiative. Until the people possess this final power as to legislation the sovereignty will continue in the few who compose the party machine or supply the campaign funds. The improved system is Guarded Representative Government.

A study of the details will show, I believe, that the establishment of the people's sovereignty will lead to the ideal civilization, and that the proposed issue is along the line of least resistance.

It is along the line of least resistance because it appeals to the people in the strongest possible manner, and invites all who are being fleeced by the ruling few—the monopolists, the liquor interests and the other interests that are openly and notoriously opposed to the public welfare.

The people's sovereignty acting through Guarded Representative Government leads to the ideal civilization, as is demonstrated in Oregon, South Dakota, San Francisco and Switzerland. The people are advancing as rapidly as the leaders blaze the way.

The splendid features of the system are but little understood, for most of the research work has been done by professors whose income is dependent upon the trustees of universities, the funds of which are largely contributed by monopolists, or by professors in State universities whose tenure of office is dependent upon party politicians. Glorious exceptions are the writings of Prof. John R. Commons, Prof. Frank Parsons, Mr. Eltweed Pomeroy, Dr. C. F. Taylor, and others. The official magazine of the Pennsylvania State Grange has recently published a 112-page special number by the writer, showing forth the evils of party government, the evolution of sovereignty and of representative government, and the line of least resistance for the establishment of the improved system. But the most striking sentence that has ever been written concerning the people's sovereignty was penned some eight years ago by Prof. Jesse Macy, of Iowa College, in a letter from Switzerland to his students, which was afterward published in the American Journal of Sociology, July, 1896. After examining the Swiss institutions from the standpoint of an expert in political and social science, he declares:

We cannot be too prompt in reaching the understanding that what we now recognize as democracy is something absolutely new on the face of the earth.

This is the statement of a mature

and level-headed scientist who is in no wise connected with any cult. What is the feature which justifies such a startling statement—a statement which contradicts not only the standard works on political and social science, but which emphasizes that which most of the Socialist party leaders ignore?

The answer is that the Swiss people are the sovereign power, and they operate through representative government. That is the something which is absolutely new on the face of the earth.

This fact has been largely overlooked because the new system of government has been termed Direct Legislation, or it has been spoken of as the Referendum, or the Referendum System. Only by squarely recognizing the improved system of representative government can one gain anything like a clear idea of the Swiss system, which is the system now being operated in Oregon, South Dakota, San Francisco, Los Angeles and several other American cities, and is largely demanded in all the States and nationally.

What are the changes in the representative system that are caused by the establishment of the people's sovereignty?

In the first place bear in mind that the primary change is the establishment of a people's veto through the optional referendum, and the establishment of a direct initiative. The final power is in the people.

To trace out the resulting changes one should first note that it is no longer profitable for special interests to invest funds in the nomination and election of the representatives, for these officials are shorn of power to finally enact legislation of any character except emergency measures. The representatives can only recommend. The people, however, adopt nearly all the recommendations without a direct vote, for the system is the optional referendum.

And upon the assembling of a legislature or congress elected under the improved system there is an equally great change. There is no incentive to lobby for special privilege laws, for the passage of such a law by the legislature would meet with a people's veto. "The first effect of the referendum in Oregon," writes Hon. W. S. U'Ren, "is the comparative absence of charges of corruption and partisanship in the legislature."

The Oregon legislature, however, refused to give all the affirmative relief that had been promised at election time. A direct nominations system had been promised, but the party machine refused to give it. And a local option law as to intoxicating beverages had

been promised, and this, too, was refused. Immediately, however, after the adjournment of the legislature the several interests that had been pushing for these two reforms each printed its bill that had been turned down, and they printed copies of a direct initiative petition, pasted them to their bills, and each circulated several thousand copies throughout the State. After a time the required eight per cent. of signatures was secured for each measure, and the bills went to a direct vote of the people. The direct nominations system was adopted by a 3-to-1 vote, and the local option measure—the sovereignty of the people as to local measures concerning the liquor question—was established, but by a majority of only two thousand votes, for the management had failed to draw their bill for local option as to all questions. Had they done so, the self-interest of all classes would have caused a sweeping victory.

The submission of a woman's suffrage amendment to the constitution was planned, but a delay in starting the direct initiative petition necessitated the postponement of the vote till the next State election.

It is evident that the people of Oregon can get whatever legislation a majority of the voters may desire.

In South Dakota the improved system was finally established March, 1899, since which time two legislatures have been in session. No direct vote on a State question has been called for by the required five per cent. of the voters. In other words, there has been no vote on any bill which the legislature has enacted, nor has there been a direct initiative. An explanation of the absence of the direct initiative is the fact that there is practically no industrial organization of farmers or wage-earners, and no local newspaper of a progressive type has an extended circulation.

In Switzerland the system has existed long enough to bring out clearly the splendid features of Guarded Representative Government.

The legislators really represent the people's interests, and their recommendations are nearly always adopted without a vote by the people.

Furthermore, these representatives are experts.

But, best of all, they are uninstructed, just as the level-headed business man employs his lawyer and architect.

And these expert representatives are continued in their positions as long as they are fitted to discharge their duties, just as business men retain their expert advisers.

Such is the system, not only in the federal congress and cantonal legislatures of Switzerland, but also in the executive departments. The heads of the executive department of the Swiss federal government are elected by the national legislature, and are elected term after term. Since 1874, when the people's veto was adopted, not a single member of the federal council has been obliged to retire involuntarily. Thus these executive officers are more free to exercise their own best judgment than is the manager of a private monopoly, for he must cater to the majority of the stockholders and a majority of the board of directors, whereas the Swiss heads of departments are absolutely free to ask for such legislation as they personally believe to be for the best interest of Switzerland. Furthermore, whenever there is a change in the men who own a majority of the stock in a private trust there is sure to be a change in the presidency of the corporation—a change in the management. But in Switzerland the expert manager continues as long as he is able to serve. And there is no fossilism for the heads of sub-departments and each clerk are free to offer suggestions, and the federal assembly is the dominant power.

The fundamental reason for these high qualities in the executive department is that the legislative power is not in a party organization. The final power is in the people, who therefore leave their agents to exercise their own best judgment, each recommendation being accepted or rejected as is thought best. But before the recommendation reaches the people from the cabinet officials it passes through the body of experts in the federal assembly, where the procedure for sifting out the salient facts is practically ideal, as the following analysis shows:

The duty of a congress or legislature is to remove such legal restrictions as impede progress and to apply such legislative measures as will promote the public welfare. Conditions are ever changing. Manifestly the procedure for getting at the facts and principles in connection with proposed legislation is all-important. Here the Swiss have advanced far beyond the dream of Bellamy or any writer who has had to rely upon imagination. The completeness of the plans of the Infinite cannot be foretold by the human mind.

The Swiss system consists first and foremost of vast universities and schools in which there is academic freedom as to social truths, and compulsory education. In no other country in the world

is there academic freedom as to social truths.

The next great departure from the existing order of things under the rule of the few is that each proposed change in legislation is subject to the criticism and advocacy of whatever interests are specially affected, which can bring forward the latest word which academic freedom and research have unearthed. This takes place in committee. Afterward there is fair and full debate in committee and in the house, followed by a recorded vote by the expert representatives, who exercise their own best judgment. Then such laws as are enacted lie before the people for ninety days after the adjournment of the legislative body, during which time a petition signed by 5 per cent. of the voters can carry any one or more of the measures to a campaign and vote by the people.

When the measures are being thus considered, either after adjournment or during the campaign which precedes a vote, there is an absence of party prejudices, for the control of the government is not at stake, and each individual and organization looks at the proposed law from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest. That, too, is ideal, for wherever a majority vote in accordance with real self-interest it promotes the general welfare.

The people look at the proposed law from the standpoint of enlightened self-interest because the actual facts in the case are brought to the people's attention. This is accomplished because the system is such that the ruling power—the people—have no incentive to deceive themselves.

When the time arrives for the referendum vote there is no vote purchasing, for there is no thought of enacting a special privilege law (except for a natural monopoly, such as the location of a railroad or county seat), and with no special privilege at stake there is no incentive to purchase votes at referendum elections.

With an absence of vote-purchasing the ignorant and indifferent voters do not come to the polls, leaving the decision of public questions with the intelligent and earnest voters. Here is an automatic disfranchisement of which none should complain. There are nine cantons, however, in which the compulsory referendum of all bills exists; and as a consequence only a few voters turn out, for the system is an absurdity. It is proposed by some that the voters be compelled by law to attend and vote, but the upshot must eventually be the adoption of the optional referendum.

The direct initiative is yet to be described—a most important part of the

system. It was adopted in federal Switzerland in 1891, and there were doleful prophecies. Some feared that the people would be induced to undertake visionary schemes. Only three measures, however, have been put to vote and two of these were rejected. The measure adopted provides that animals that are slaughtered shall be numbed before being bled to death. But the mere existence of the direct initiative has kept the representatives from continuing the entrenched privileges, such as private ownership of the paper currency and private ownership of the railways. This potential power of the people through a right to the direct initiative is exceedingly valuable.

Think for a moment what this direct initiative system is! It is a highly developed court for the trial of social questions. Eight per cent. of the voters can file a bill at any time, which will result in the taking of testimony, the hearing of arguments and a vote by the expert representatives, followed by a campaign before the people and a vote. This can be repeated for its educational effect. It is the establishment of this court of justice which has most completely transcended the imagination of idealists.

Reviewing as a whole the system of Guarded Representative Government, it is seen that the mechanism is such that society can develop with the utmost speed on which it is capable. If a truly democratic party should set itself at work along this line of lease resistance in the United States, what mighty strides we would soon be taking!

What is the actual outlook? The people's sovereignty working through representative government is in successful operation in Switzerland and in several of our American commonwealths and in partial operation in every State, and it would seem that the complete establishment of the system in the remaining States and in the nation may well be placed as the dominant issue, for the proposition to the voters is that they refuse to vote for a candidate who refuses to promise that, if elected, he will vote for their sovereignty. Candidates do not openly refuse, thus resulting in an immediate success as rapidly as candidates are compelled to face the issue.

This general plan of campaign is strong in strategic features. The people's sovereignty is the broadest possible issue and appeals to everyone, while voters readily agree to vote only for such candidates as promise that, if elected, they will vote for the people's sovereignty. This forces the candidates to pledge.

The American Federation of Labor understands this fully, for in the recent campaign the 25,000 affiliated Unions were instructed to question the candidates for Congress as to whether, if elected, they would vote for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty. The result is phenomenal: Twelve of the sixteen congressmen elected in Missouri are pledged, as also is the junior United States Senator, who was elected two years ago; and throughout the cities of the country in other States there are pledged congressmen wherever a live campaign was conducted. None of the candidates in these districts openly opposed the people's sovereignty. Manifestly, then, the only thing required is to force the issue and win out completely at the next congressional election! Accordingly the American Federation of Labor at its annual convention, which commenced the next week after the election, declared as follows:

Resolved, That the American Federation of Labor reaffirms the referendum resolutions of previous conventions which declare, in effect, that the establishment of the people's sovereignty is the dominant issue (Resolution 270, Boston convention, 121 New Orleans convention); and

Resolved, That every voter is urged to agree with his fellow citizens that he will vote for such legislative candidates only as are pledged to the immediate establishment of the people's rule. To-day, as in 1776, the establishment of political liberty is the dominant issue. Why should voters choose between rulers when they can at once become the sovereign power?

In connection with the above the American Federation of Labor convention provided a system for the immediate circulation of petitions to Congress for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty in national affairs. Thus the campaign is to go on with increasing power, for the distracting features of a presidential campaign are removed. Furthermore, the State Federations of Labor are requested to consider and vote upon the advisability of instructing the affiliated central and local unions to circulate petitions to the legislatures, asking that a constitutional amendment for the people's sovereignty be submitted. And many of the city centrals will circulate petitions to the common councils, asking for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty in city affairs.

Thus is there a forcing of the people's sovereignty issue by organized labor—a dominant element in our political life.

And 11 State Granges have declared for the people's sovereignty, and many more of them will immediately join in the work, for they are holding their State meetings, and the National Grange

has referred to the State Granges the question of whether or not the organized farmers are to demand an increase of power in themselves as against the great trusts. And in any event the question will come before the farmers themselves in their local lodges.

All the Turner societies of the country have long been demanding the people's sovereignty.

Isn't it time for the formation of State Leagues of Democratic Clubs that shall join in the procession? Shouldn't the progressive Democrats of the country organize clubs and immediately begin work? If they do they can win the city elections next spring, the State elections next year in New York, Massachusetts, Rhode Island and Maryland, and greatly reduce the Republican majority in Ohio. These are the only Northern States that elect legislatures next year. The following spring (1906) more of the cities can be carried. In the autumn of 1906 the national House can be carried, and in the Senate a majority vote can be secured for the immediate establishment of the people's sovereignty. This Senate vote can be secured by pledging the legislatures to instruct their Senators.

These successes will insure Democratic supremacy in 1908. The only possible failure will come from Democratic delay in coming out for the people's sovereignty. The Republicans in Oregon forestalled the Democrats in 1904 and won, while in Missouri the Democrats were first to declare for the system in 1902 and won, the Republicans trailing after. In Montana for the last two years Gov. Toole, Democrat, and his supporters have been working for the Initiative and Referendum, and the Democratic State convention of this year declared for it. Then the Republican State convention did likewise, but it came in too late, for the people recognized that they had been forced to it. Nationally the American Federation of Labor with its 25,000 Unions has not only conducted a national campaign for the people's sovereignty, but in its recent annual convention it declared that it is the dominant issue, as we have seen, and all Unions are instructed to at once circulate petitions for the people's immediate sovereignty. The Granges are likewise picking up the work. Can there be any question but that Democratic clubs should take up the issue? If they do not do so, it will be because there is not a sufficiently high degree of democracy, and the party will continue to trail in second place, as it is doing in Oregon; but if a league of clubs is organized on a Democratic basis there can be no failure.

Republican Clubs should also be organized wherever there are Republican workers who believe in the people's sovereignty.

GEORGE H. SHIBLEY,

Director of Department of Representative Government, Bureau of Research, and Chairman of People's Sovereignty League of America.

Washington, D. C., Dec. 9, 1904.

THE GOSPEL OF WORK.

Work is creation. Whoever puts his heart in his work is not alone at his task, but he and God work together. If it is digging a field, or sweeping a room, or moulding a sculpture, or making a new shirt waist, or singing or painting—however homely the work or however exalted it be—it is part of God's work if heart and conscience are in it.
—John Stone Pardee, in Goodhue Co. News.

The sooner this country wakes up to the fact that brains count, and that a worthless, stupid, lazy, dishonest white man is not the equal, socially or otherwise, of the hard-working, intelligent, decent man, either black or white, the sooner the race problem and many other problems will be settled. So long as money counts, and the colorless skin counts, and birth and position count—things will be badly out of joint.—Wm. Allen White.

An ordinary echo is a curious thing; but, according to the statements of a Frenchman at a watering-place in the Pyrenees, one echo on the Franco-Prussian frontier is far from ordinary. "As soon as you have spoken," said the Frenchman, who had secured an audience of wide-eyed tourists, "you hear distinctly the voice leap from rock to rock, from precipice to precipice, and as soon as it has passed the frontier it assumes the Spanish tongue!"—Argonaut.

If the pictures in the family album were taken as long as thirty years ago, looking through it is almost as interesting as seeing a different tribe of the human race.—Atchison Globe.

A Chicago man predicts the end of the world in 1924. We haven't much faith in predictions of the end of the world. Very few of them ever come true.—Kansas City Journal.

"Were you frightened, Willard?" asked Mr. Grimes of his little boy, whom he had sent on an errand after dark. "Well, I should say so!" answered the little fellow. "The streaks

of scaredness just ran up and down my legs!"—Selected.

BOOKS

TWO "UNIT BOOKS."

A most useful and attractive little volume for all students of history, and for those whose work, political or otherwise, demands a constant freshening of their knowledge of historical and political details, is the "Letters and Addresses of Abraham Lincoln," issued by the Unit Book Publishing Company (Howard Wilford Bell), New York. This book, which has been adopted as a text book for Princeton University, is the only cheap authoritative compilation of Lincoln's own writings in existence at present, and as such has had an astonishing measure of success in the year since its appearance.

The study of Lincoln's utterances brings more clearly to light than almost anything else can do, the change in basic principle of our two great political parties within the last three decades. It cannot be too heartily recommended to those who desire to have their own political convictions,—and not to follow merely along the lines laid down by accident of birth or surroundings,—to compare what the great Republican Lincoln has said on important political questions, with the utterances, and (still more important, for talk is cheap), with the policy of the Republican party of to-day.

The comparison may cause grief to some well-meaning, busy people who have no time to study the matter at first hand, but who, father and son, vote the Republican ticket of to-day because they dimly believe that party to be still inspired by the ideals of Lincoln. But there are many others whom a renewed study of Lincoln's speeches and writings may cause to see the truth of a delightful little cartoon which appeared in *The Public* not so long ago, representing the Republican party throwing away a volume (perhaps the very one we are speaking of now) of Lincoln's writings, with the disgusted remark that he "used to believe in Old Abe, but he finds him now just full of the heresies preached by Bryan, Tom Johnson, and the rest of the seditious crew," or words to that effect.

Lincoln drew his inspiration from Thomas Jefferson in his ideals of what a true republican government should stand for, and there is no better source of inspiration. This is a little fact often neglected by the tongue-allegiance to Lincoln that affects to decry Jefferson. Lincoln's remarks on mob violence; on the secret state reasons for involving a country in war; on the race question; and on a few other little matters pertinent then as now, would come somewhat as a shock to many good Republicans who have been blindly lauding Lincoln without a knowledge of what he has

left us as the expression of his life's ideals and his life work.

To return to the original object of this notice, which was to talk of books and not of politics, one of the main good points about the little volume of Lincoln's Addresses is that it is really cheap, and really good in paper, print, binding, and general and careful equipment. The idea of the "Unit Books," as they are called, is to cheapen good literature, to issue in uniform shape a number of reprints of books worth keeping, in handy size and attractive form. The price of the books is determined by the number of pages, an idea which comes from Germany and is well worth imitating. The books are 4½ by 7 inches large, bound in paper, cloth or leather, in a dark agreeable shade of green with simple gold lettering. Paper and print are alike in all bindings, and according to the Unit system the Lincoln, which contains sixteen units (a unit is a section of twenty-five pages and costs two cents) is priced at 32 cents for paper binding, 62 for cloth, and 82 for leather. The idea of the "Unit Books has been praised by authorities on book making all over the country, and the "Lincoln" has been included in the American Library Association catalogue, as well as in the Model Library chosen for the St. Louis Exhibition.

Another volume of the same system is entitled "National Documents" and is also a remarkably useful book of handy reference. It contains the texts of almost all important state papers issued by our government since the beginnings of our history. Besides the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, the volumes contain the texts of the Mayflower Compact, Declaration of the Causes and Necessity of Taking Up War, 1775; Articles of Confederation; Washington's Inaugural Addresses; Treaty with the Six Nations; Missouri Compromise, and many others, even such recent documents as the Reciprocal Commercial Convention between the United States and Cuba; and the Convention between the United States and the Republic of Panama. The value to the political student or speaker of having these important documents all together and handy for instant use cannot be overestimated. The fact that it has not been done before reminds one of the story of Columbus and the egg. Anyone might have done it, but nobody did.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

PAMPHLETS.

A pamphlet on "Taxation in Jamaica," published by Mr. Wellesley Bourke, a member of the bar of Jamaica and formerly mayor of Kingston, the capital city of that West Indian island, discloses the fact that fiscal problems there are drawing public attention to the tendency observable everywhere of land monopolists to escape, both through the