

banks' statements as resources, but not appear in the item of individual deposits. The cash thus received from other banking institutions outside of New York City, and the decrease of loans and discounts that changed \$7,577,327 of this resource into cash, will explain why the banks did not show a decrease of cash but did show an increase.

It also indicates that a very much larger amount of manufactured and fictitious credits were destroyed by cancellation than the amount stated above. But for this there would have been much less shrinkage in the aggregate of resources than was shown between the two dates.

FLAVIUS J. VAN VORHIS.

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## EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

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### THE RECALL IN SEATTLE.

Seattle, Wash., Feb. 8.

The first exercise of the recall power by the citizens of Seattle occurred yesterday when Mayor Hiram C. Gill was removed from office and George W. Dilling elected to fill out the unexpired term.

Mayor Gill is a typical big business machine politician of the Busse type. His removal from office under the circumstances amounts to a revolution in Seattle politics.

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Prior to his election Seattle had been for ten years engaged in an effort to put an end to open privileged law-breaking of the kind permitted in so many American cities. The first time this effort was successful at an election was in 1904 when Richard A. Ballinger, now Secretary of the Interior, was elected mayor. But Mr. Ballinger proved too amenable to Big Business influences to carry into effect the law-enforcement policies he had promised, while his subservience on the economic side aroused a revolt against franchise-grabbing which in 1906 brought on a municipal ownership campaign that swept Wm. Hickman Moore into the office of mayor on a closed-town and municipal ownership platform. Moore's administration was successful on the law-enforcement side, but a disappointment on the economic side. The issue of a municipal street car system was submitted to the people and defeated with the aid of a big corporation "slush fund."

Moore was succeeded in 1908 by John F. Miller, who like Gill was a machine politician, although elected under pledges of strict law-enforcement. Like Ballinger, Miller failed on the law-enforcement side through his subservience to the business interests, and a year ago the tide turned again and Gill was elected on a semi-wide-open platform.

Immediately word went forth to the sporting world that Seattle was to be wide open, and hundreds of undesirable characters flocked here for "easy pickings" under protected lawlessness. For several months last year Seattle reverted to the lawless conditions existing during the Klondike days of unpleasant memory.

Late last summer conditions grew so bad that a committee of the City Council instituted an investigation which exposed the police department as both lawless and inefficient. Law-breaking privileges were farmed out to certain persons, and the sporting world was alive with rumors of graft paid for police protection.

The people of Seattle five years before had submitted by petition and adopted under a State statute a charter amendment reserving the recall power. Until now this had lain dormant on the statute books. But when the Council committee began its investigation the Public Welfare League was organized under the patronage of Lawrence W. Colman, a young millionaire, which organization, after exhausting other available remedies, started a recall petition against the Mayor.

The Seattle charter provision requires a 25 per cent petition to invoke a recall election. The experience of this organization indicates that this percentage is too high rather than too low. Despite the fact that the city was aroused to a high pitch of indignation, much volunteer effort, several weeks time, and the expenditure of some \$3,000 was necessary in the effort to get up a petition. Some 8,000 signatures were required.

This petition was filed just before Christmas, and on December 28 the Council designated February 7 as the date for the election. About the same time Mr. Dilling was agreed upon as the opposition candidate and the campaign for his election inaugurated.

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Mayor Gill and his supporters first appealed to the courts to stay the proceedings. The State courts declined to interfere, but Judge C. H. Hanford, an ultra reactionary Federal district judge, issued an injunction against the proposed election on the application of a cousin of the mayor's private secretary. The cousin claimed to be a resident of Illinois and charged that his taxes would be increased by the expense of the election. Calculation made by volunteer investigators disclosed that his possible loss from increased taxation would have been nine-tenths of one cent. On appeal Circuit Judge Gilbert of Portland promptly dissolved the injunction and the case was dismissed.

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In the campaign the moral issue was paramount, though almost equal importance was given to an economic question.

The city owns its own electric light and power plant, and has as a competitor the Seattle Electric Company, a factor of the national water power trust. Immediately upon taking office Mayor Gill had appointed an employe of the Seattle Electric Company superintendent of the city lighting department, one Richard M. Arms. Arms abandoned extensions of the plant into Seattle Electric territory, turned down much profitable business and reduced the margin of profit from the plant's operations to one of loss, all in less than three months. These facts, also, were all disclosed by the Council's investigation.

Mr. Dilling is a vigorous young real estate man, has shown marked independence in politics, and has held but one public office. As a member of the State legislature in 1903 he voted for such pro-

gressive measures as a railroad commission law, an anti-pass law, an anti-child labor law, an eight hour law for public work, a factory act, an anti-trust law, a direct primary law and other measures which either were not enacted years later or have not yet been enacted at all. While both Gill and Dilling are Republicans, party politics did not figure. A charter amendment adopted a year ago forbids the injection of national party politics into municipal campaigns.

The active part of the campaign lasted but two weeks. Mayor Gill was supplied by the corporation and law-breaking interests with a large campaign fund, estimated at \$40,000; the Dilling campaign cost about \$4,000, and was conducted chiefly by volunteer workers, except for checking fraudulent registration which was unusually heavy. Much of the fraudulent registration was prevented from voting.

The canvass of votes showed that the women voters marked their ballots with a higher average intelligence than was customary when men alone voted, and the independence of the women is disclosed in scores of instances privately reported. The returns, however, do not indicate whether they were a material element in the Dilling victory or not.

A gratifying feature of the returns is the figures from the Tenth ward in which is located the Washington State University. This ward gave Gill 880 and Dilling 2,944. The second precinct, which includes the university buildings, dormitories and fraternity houses as well as the homes of many professors and resident students, gave Gill 136 and Dilling 460. All of the saloon and water-front wards gave Gill majorities, some of them as high as 20 to 1. The restricted district precinct gave Gill 369 and Dilling but 19.

JOE SMITH.

## JUDGE LINDSEY IN NEBRASKA.

Lincoln, Feb. 11.

Judge Ben B. Lindsey of Denver, the "kids' judge," has addressed the two houses of the legislature in joint session on their invitation. He spoke in a manner peculiarly his own, and peculiarly effective. Beginning by talking of the juvenile court, he related many stories, both interesting and instructive. They were told in such splendid spirit that he won the entire audience and was frequently interrupted by bursts of spontaneous applause.

To show how boys are bad as a result of environment he told of a certain man who had an orchard from which he seldom got any fruit. "The boys swiped all of it." He built a high barbed wire fence, but they climbed it. He got a great big dog, but in three days that dog was out playing with the boys. Then he got a bull pup. For a while the boys were baffled, but one day the pup was found dead—poisoned. The story was interestingly told, but no one saw any moral.

Then Judge Lindsey told another. A certain teacher left her pocketbook on her desk one evening after school and it was stolen. In a little time the boy who stole it was found. With him were implicated two others, "a goody-goody Willie boy" and a big bully. These two knew of the theft. Willie's silence had been bought for a dime. The bully was not so cheap; he got half the "swag" as the price of his silence. "Now," said Lindsey, "that

school teacher represents the people, who are leading bad little boys into temptation. For the people, too, are leaving their pocketbook—or their orchard if you will—lying around loose, in the shape of unearned increment, franchises and special privileges of all kinds. Little Willie is sometimes the president of a college, or maybe he preaches sometimes, and he is bought off by the dime of donations to his college or church. The big bully is the public press. The high fence is the various statutes placed upon our law books but evaded by the bad boys who represent special interests. The unfaithful watch dog is the legislatures and city councils which too frequently are found playing with the bad boys. The initiative and referendum is the vigilant bull pup. But we must be careful that this faithful watch dog is not poisoned by nugatory provisions in the law."\*

During the first of his speech the applause was practically unanimous, but as Judge Lindsey began to draw his moral it was noticed that several members of the legislature were less enthusiastic.

The applause from this faction was completely a minus quantity when Judge Lindsey told how the special interests tried to thwart the people's will in Colorado. The Democrats there had declared for the initiative and referendum and were elected on that platform. But a good many were too willing to play with the bad little boys, and some were honestly fooled. The bill forced upon the Democratic caucus was a farce. The petition had to be signed by 15 per cent of the total electorate, while measures under the initiative or referendum required 51 per cent of the vote cast at that election to be operative. How a real measure was passed was another story.

Judge Lindsey laid the lash on hard, while the Nebraska reactionaries squirmed in their seats. Yet you could never have known from the way the Judge spoke that the initiative and referendum was an issue at all in Nebraska.\* He talked always of Colorado or of the public in general, but so plainly that the most stupid saw his point. He finished with a severe castigation of special interests in politics and the most earnest of pleas for political purity.

The friends of real direct legislation had struck one of the luckiest accidents known to occur in Nebraska politics in several years. Nebraska has her 15 and 51 percenters too, and they are not few. But Judge Lindsey has put it squarely up to them, whether they will be watch-dogs, faithful to the people their master, or like the dog of the story, make friends with bad boy thieves.

HORACE B. ENGLISH.

\*See The Public this volume page 130.

A Baltimore man tells of an address made to some school children in that city by a member of the Board of Trustees. "My young friends," said the speaker, "let me urge upon you the necessity of not only reading good books, but also of owning them, so that you may have access to them at all times. Why, when I was a young man, I used frequently to work all night to earn money to buy books, and then get up before daylight to read them."—Success.