

fighting Governor. They can do so without stultifying themselves. Indeed there would be stultification should they do otherwise, for the principles of government La Follette urges are democratic principles, in that they contemplate the ascendancy of the people in all matters of public concern.

**THE COLORADO LAWLESSNESS.**

The (la.) Quasquetonian (Ind.), Sept. 16.—Another man has been found, according to press dispatches, who has confessed to the dynamite outrage in Colorado and who implicates many others, among them being leaders in the miners' union. The difficulty which the mining corporations are having to fasten upon the miners a crime which was undoubtedly committed by themselves must be really annoying. Workingmen are not all criminals and neither are they fools, therefore it is not reasonable to suppose that they would deliberately commit a crime by which they had everything to lose and the corporations everything to gain.

**GOV. GARVIN.**

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), Sept. 15.—He has asked for constitutional amendments conferring upon the Executive a limited veto power; establishing the initiative and referendum; and extending to certain citizens the right to participate in the election of city councilmen. Only persons in favor of a continuance of the corrupt and oligarchic rule which has so long disgraced Rhode Island can oppose these amendments. But now the Republican party is squarely on record in opposition to these wholesome reforms. It can no longer dodge the issues. The position of the party is as clear as daylight and it can make no explanation which will be satisfactory to honest voters. And thus the enemy has played into the hands of the aggressive and fearless Governor. The only thing that can now save the Republicans is the Presidential election. In an off year their defeat would be a foregone conclusion.

**MISCELLANY**

**TO HERBERT S. BIGELOW.**

For The Public.

I like to see thee tread where others pause,  
A pioneer where pioneers are few,  
Fearless and dauntless in a holy cause,  
A man of purpose, cowerless, and true.  
Too long the pulpit and too long the cross  
Have sought to foil and crucify the world;  
Beneath hate's ban and superstition's dross  
Their tongued anathemas and curses hurled.  
Thou art a man; a free-born son of truth,  
And loyal to the cause of human weal;  
Thy faith brooks not a world of crime and ruth,  
Which only might can end and death repeal.  
But with the fervor of the earnest soul,  
By force of truth and by conviction's creed,  
Thou speakst the words that never ceasing roll,  
To yield the harvest of the righteous seed.  
Keep up the faith! with never faltering tread,  
Plant thy firm feet on freedom's rock secure;  
There thy full soul, fixed on the stars ahead,  
In noble luster, endless, shall endure.

WILLIAM HOFFMAN.

**A PLEA FOR EQUAL RIGHTS IN SOUTH AFRICA.**

A portion of a report read before the South African Press Association, sitting at King William's Town, July 6, 1904, by the General Secretary, the Rev. E. J. Mqoboli, as reported in Izwi Labantu.

The four cabled words: "Queen Victoria is dead," cast a gloom not only over those who had a consanguinary affiliation to her, but also over those sable Africans who were under her protection—nay, more, whom she had adopted and given the liberty to enjoy the same privileges and advantages which for centuries have been the foundation of British freedom. Her demise also came as a test to all classes of people in the empire as to whether the loyalty exhibited to the great Sovereign Lady was real or imaginary. If the former, her memory would in some substantial manner be perpetuated by some movement which would be known and seen and be of help to humanity as long as the sun and moon endure, inasmuch that present and future generations should call her blessed.

At her death the elder brother (the white man), had been fully equipped with all that constitutes a full-fledged man—education—while the younger (the black man) had only had his eyes just opened to observe with astonishment not unmixed with awe, the wonderful things accomplished by the former through knowledge brought about by education.

The younger brother many a time ventured to whisper a wish to his elder brother to be initiated into the mysteries of knowledge. The reply was: "Youngster, time has not yet arrived for you to be placed on an equal footing with me. You have first to acquaint yourself with industrial education, as a test of the strength of your sinews." He obeyed. He is now a carpenter of sorts, a blacksmith, a shoemaker, in fact, he is found in all departments of public labor in this country from the Cape Town docks to the marshes of the Zambesi. He is a natural engineer. There is not a railroad in this country where the Native has not worked. He is found in the cookery and nursery, he has cooked for and nursed up more than one-half of his elder brother's children; yet time has not yet arrived for him to be elevated to the educational level of his elder brother. He is strictly confined to the rudiments of education, which only helps to engender bitter feeling, the only remedy for which is good education. Half-civilization is worse than barbarism.

We do not ask that at present we should be considered on an equality with the white man in every respect, but what we do ask for is that elemental right of every human being—equality of opportunity—to enable us of ourselves if possible to attain those lofty heights of accomplishment already gained by those more favored mortals into whose midst the principles of Christian civilization have been introduced.

**GOVERNOR GARVIN AND THE RHODE ISLAND LEGISLATURE.**

An editorial in the Weekly Springfield Republican of Sept. 16.

The extraordinary session of the Rhode Island legislature, convened by Governor Garvin, on Tuesday, lasted about five hours, and then there was an end of it. With their overwhelming majority in the Senate, the Republicans were able to adopt partisan resolutions of censure on the Governor, and of adjournment, and this action was confirmed by the Republican majority in the House. The session in the Senate was stormy, owing to the deliberate purpose of the majority to choke off discussion of the measures mentioned in the Governor's message. The general result, however, was what everyone had anticipated, for the Republicans were sure to use their numerical power in the two houses to checkmate at once the Governor's move in convening in special session.

That the Governor's course in this matter was "politics" may be conceded, but, viewed in any fair or impartial light, it was a kind of politics that is the most legitimate conceivable. Governor Garvin is fighting against a powerfully entrenched oligarchy for certain desirable reforms in the government of Rhode Island. These reforms have been virtually indorsed by the people, for the man who has publicly and persistently championed them has been twice elected governor by the people of the State. He would have lacked courage had he failed to press his reform programme to the uttermost limit upon a hostile legislature that is made up on a rotten borough system of representation. Dr. Garvin has never been wanting in courage, however, and he is now too old to show the white feather to forces which he has been fighting all his life.

There are at least four points in the present system in Rhode Island which merit condemnation. One is the basis of representation in the legislature, by which the majority can never rule unless it happens to be a Republican majority. The second is the discrimination against registry voters, who can vote

for a congressman, a governor or a president, whereby they are denied the right of suffrage in the election of city councils. The third is the denial to the governor of any effective veto power upon legislation, however vicious or tainted or premature. The fourth is the method of choosing judges by the State legislature; which has resulted in the custom, now well established, of electing only members of that body to the State Supreme Court. The Governor had all of these points in mind, when convening the legislature in special session; and he has also called attention to the need of more stringent bribery laws, and the viciousness of the so-called post-election session which the Republican leaders have revived again this year.

The Rhode Island system is made a burlesque upon popular government by these various devices. The legislature has done nothing, it has even refused to consider the measures framed to remedy the evils and wrongs complained of. Governor Garvin, therefore, has done well to force the issue to the front again, and he has adopted the best possible way to command public attention. In his special message he proposes the Constitutional Initiative, which, if adopted, would enable the people to modify the present rotten borough system of representation and make the legislature truly representative of the people. He proposes equal suffrage and the veto power for the executive. His programme, in short, meets the needs of the hour, and, in pushing it upon a reluctant and enraged legislative majority, he discharges his duty to the people who elected him to office. No one can say that Governor Garvin has not been true to his pledges in these matters, and has not kept the faith that was in him.

The Governor had a most successful day with the legislature in the five hours' session, judging from the reports. He has prodded the inert body of public opinion, and it comes to a lively consciousness of its mission once more. He has again infuriated a conservatism that has crowned an oligarchy of dollars as the ruler of the commonwealth. All goes well. It will be a sad day for Rhode Island when it has no more Garvins to defy its happy and contented plutocracy under the dome of the "marble palace."

"If our combination is illegal," said the capitalist, "I suppose we will have to change it."

"Wouldn't it be easier to change the law?" asked his associate.—Chicago Evening Post.

#### THE CHICAGO TRACTION QUESTION.

Contribution of Louis F. Post to the Chicago Record-Herald, of September 14, 1904, in the series arranged for the Record-Herald, and described by it as follows:

"The Record-Herald has arranged for the publication of a series of discussions of the tentative ordinance dealing with the local traction problem so far as it pertains to the Chicago City Railway. The contributions will be from men who have given the traction question generally and the tentative ordinance specifically serious consideration. Representatives of the numerous schools of opinion that have grown out of the local traction situation will be given an opportunity to be heard, so that from the variety of expression Chicagoans who have not made a special study of the subject may be able to glean the best arguments from all sides and to form an unbiased opinion of the pending ordinance. The contributors will furnish expression of individual opinion only, and will not speak for any organization with which they may be affiliated.—Editor the Record-Herald."

Under existing circumstances the question of whether or not the pending traction ordinance would be a desirable compromise is, in my judgment, of secondary concern. The primary question now, is whether this or any other extension ordinance shall be officially approved by the mayor until it has been sanctioned by the people on a referendum vote.

That question springs from a deep political principle and involves serious civic consequences. For the mayor is firmly pledged, by his campaign platform and his campaign speeches, to withhold his approval from all extension ordinances not so sanctioned; and pledges of this character cannot be lightly broken without endangering republican institutions. The immediate tendency would be to weaken, the ultimate effect to destroy, public confidence in the election pledges of all candidates for office.

I am not unmindful of the mayor's denial of having made pledges inconsistent with the action he now proposes. But he is mistaken. His platform pledge is embodied in the Democratic platform for the municipal election of 1903, at which he was last elected. After insisting that "it is more important that the traction question be settled right than that it be settled speedily," this platform declares that one of the terms "necessary to a proper settlement of the traction question" is "the reference of all proposed extension ordinances to a vote of the people for their sanction and indorsement." The same pledge was made by Mr. Harrison himself in his campaign speeches. Of these he wrote at the time, over his own signature, the following description:

In every speech I am making in the present campaign I am calling attention to the necessity of the referendum on all proposed franchise-extension ordinances, and am giving my pledge to the people direct to withhold my approval from any ordinance which does not give to the people a right they expect and demand, viz.: A referendum vote on all franchise-extension ordinances passed by the city council.

All the more firmly is Mayor Harrison seen to be bound by these pledges when the referendum vote of last spring is considered. By that vote the principle of the ordinance now proposed was condemned by the people of Chicago. It was condemned by an overwhelming majority of the voters who were intelligent enough to have formed an opinion on the subject and public-spirited enough to express their opinion at the polls.

Mayor Harrison cannot escape these obligations by shifting to other persons the responsibility for securing the 100,000 signatures necessary for a referendum. This responsibility does not in fairness rest upon private citizens whose petition against the principle of the ordinance was sustained less than six months ago; it rests upon a mayor who is pledged not to approve any extension ordinance whatever until it has been sanctioned by referendum.

Even if the mayor be released from his obligation to procure petitions, he cannot relieve himself from the rest of his pledge by requiring that the petitions be started before the ordinance is formulated by the council. Formulation by a council committee is not enough. How can there be a fair referendum upon an ordinance not yet considered by the council? Between the starting of the petitions and the time for the referendum vote it may be so altered, for better or worse, as to lose its identity.

On this point the Record-Herald itself has spoken in no uncertain phrase. In 1903 this paper, standing firmly for an opportunity for a fair referendum on every ordinance of the kind now in question, anticipated a possibility of the objectionable course the mayor now contemplates, by suggesting a method of preventing it. I quote from its editorial of January 31, 1903. After stating that, in the Record-Herald's opinion, the traction question should be settled substantially in accordance with certain specified terms, this editorial placed the following condition at the head of the list:

When the council has formulated a measure acceptable to it, a pause should ensue and an opportunity be given voters to demand a referendum.

I feel safe in assuming that the Rec-