

# The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &  
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

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Vol. XII.

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JULY 30, 1909.

No. 591

Published by Louis F. Post  
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription, One Dollar  
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898 at the Post Office at  
Chicago, Illinois, under the Act of March 3, 1879

## EDITORIAL

### Our Ripening Prosperity.

Some of the characteristic signs of Protection prosperity are at hand. Note the wholesale shooting of workingmen.

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### Protected Partners in American Industry.

Owners of protected industries are most emphatic in asserting, when wages controversies arise, that their business is their own and they will manage it in their own way without dictation. But is it all their own? If there were no tariff laws for protection to American industry, they might say that their business is their own. But when the American people tax themselves heavily in order to make these businesses profitable, how can the owners call the businesses their own? Isn't it rather cheeky of them, since they solicit this protection? They are subsidized businesses, and to that extent not private. And as they are subsidized so as to enable them, as the owners say themselves, to pay American wages to American workingmen, the question of whether they do this or not is a public question and not a private question. If they take subsidies they should submit to dictation with reference to the object of the subsidy. "Protected" workingmen have rights in "protected" businesses. They are partners with their employers to the extent of their respective interests in the protection which the tariff laws are intended to afford. Either this, or tariff protec-

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is a fraud—a shameless fraud upon workingmen. If workingmen who vote for protection were not the ninnyes their protected employers take them to be, they would make it hot for protection members of Congress who refuse to investigate and regulate the working conditions and the wages paid in industries that are protected by the tariff.

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### The Cleveland Referendum.

Before another issue of *The Public*, the referendum in Cleveland will have been decided. This referendum will probably determine whether the traction system of Cleveland is to be controlled by the city or by the old traction ring. It is the crucial contest of the whole traction controversy of nearly 15 years, to which Mayor Johnson gave vitality, and which during almost two-thirds of that period, he has fought in faithfully for the public interests against monopoly rings.

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If he wins this referendum, the fight may still go on, but the monopoly hunters will be at a vital disadvantage. If he loses, the fight will certainly go on, but the monopolists will have a strangle hold.

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The issue is a simple one. At present, the monopolists are in possession of the whole street car system, subject to a receivership which cannot last long. If next week's referendum goes against Johnson, the monopolists will soon come into possession of that system, and will then need only to get new franchises in order to put themselves completely in the saddle. The franchises they would try to get would be for 25 years, irrevocable, and probably be something like that which their lawyers fooled Judge Tayler into drawing as a compromise—full of bags for street car riders to hold, and full of plums for themselves. And they would have the whip hand in their efforts to get such franchises, for there would be no competition if the Schmidt ordinance is voted down next week. But if the Schmidt ordinance is voted up, then the traction monopolists will have to see the traction system pass over to a company which is limited in its fares to three cents and may have its franchises terminated at any time.

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It is easy to understand the concentration of interests against the Schmidt ordinance at this referendum. The *Plain Dealer* opposes it because it sees municipal ownership in it, and to that its

owners have always been opposed. The *Leader* is against it because it always has been a staunch supporter of the traction ring. The Chamber of Commerce is against it because its influential members have financial interests in the other direction. All the gangs, rich and poor, that have all along been opposed to Johnson or in favor of the traction crowd, are against it, because it serves their various purposes now as it has in the past to be in opposition to him. But it is difficult to see how a majority of the people of Cleveland can be willing to line up with the traction monopolists in this crucial conflict which so vitally affects their own interests. That they would be lining up with the traction monopolists if they vote against the Schmidt ordinance, is apparent to any one who has followed the ups and downs of the long traction fight. Every selfish interest in Cleveland that has heretofore stood by the traction ring, is opposing the Schmidt franchise at this referendum. The Schmidt franchise would be entitled to be considered a good franchise for the people, if only in the light of the enemies it has made.

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### Grafting in Vice in Chicago.

Sensational proceedings against the police graft of Chicago (p. 674) have been instituted by the State's Attorney, John W. Wayman, since the impanelling of the July grand jury. Hundreds of witnesses have been examined, one police inspector has been indicted, and hints of prosecutions "higher up" are riding on the waves of underworld gossip. Doubts as to the good faith of these prosecutions are freely expressed, and vice and crime societies are coming to the defense of the indicted police inspector as a victim of the grafters' ring. But the State's Attorney is in the midst of what purports to be a genuine crusade, requiring exquisite skill and caution to make it anything more than a raid upon "small fry," and until his full hand is disclosed he should have the benefit of every doubt. It will be time enough to condemn him if his crusade proves in the end to have been a blind-alley affair. Should it prove, as we have reason to expect, to be an able and sincere effort, from motives of good public policy, to expose and destroy the wretched triangular partnership in iniquity which now exists in Chicago between nameless crimes, Big Business, and spoils politics, Mr. Wayman should receive without stint all the commendation which such a purpose courageously executed deserves.

### The Chicago Daily Socialist.

Readers of The Public know without being told that this is not a socialist paper—not of the school, at any rate, which the Chicago Daily Socialist editorially represents. Plutocratic bigots who denounce as “socialists” all who object to the existing industrial order, under which the privileged prosper at the expense of the workers, may ignorantly—or it may be maliciously—class us as a socialist, and we have no objection to their epithet. We take the trouble to differentiate here, only because we are about to say something of the Chicago Daily Socialist which we wish to be understood as saying not because but in spite of its socialism. We say it, too, because we think that every really good citizen of Chicago, whatever his political affiliations, his religious faith, or his social convictions or prejudices, ought to feel about the matter as we feel. Let him dislike or despise the socialism of the Daily Socialist all he pleases, he is either a very narrow-minded or a very empty-minded man if he does not nevertheless recognize and appreciate the value of the civic work which that paper has been doing under enormous difficulties.

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Chicago is under the domination—politically, socially, industrially—of a combine which reaches from criminal slum to criminal corporation through the ramifications of criminal politics. So powerful is this combine, that not a single daily paper in the city can be depended upon to fight it to a finish—the Daily Socialist alone excepted. Others may fight it spasmodically, or a little way below the surface; but even the most willing among them soon feel the sting of a forbidding spear point in front or the pull of a shackle behind, and at a critical moment may abandon the fight or divert it. But the Daily Socialist can be depended upon to keep up the fight to the death, and for these reasons. In the first place it has actually done so, under most menacing and disheartening circumstances, without wavering. In the second place, the personal courage of its staff is as dependable as that of any newspaper staff in the city. In the third place, its claims to confidence rest securely upon the one fact that raises a prejudice against it. It can be depended upon because it is a socialist paper. Not that socialism is peculiar in that respect, but that single minded devotion to a cause is a guarantee of fidelity and persistence in this fight. Since the Daily Socialist is in the field of journalism, not to make money, not to get advertisements, not to serve some personal interest, not to curry the favor or

avoid the vengeance of any man or group, but to serve its chosen cause,—for this reason it can be depended upon in a civic fight like the present one, when the equally willing and courageous staff of any other paper might, from no fault of their own, have to retire from the field.

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Yet the Daily Socialist—the only daily paper in Chicago that the dangerous classes (rich and poor, official and unofficial) cannot command if they set out unitedly to do it—is in desperate financial straits. This is not for lack of circulation, although wider and larger circulation would not be amiss. It is for lack of funds to meet past obligations. Without capital, it has had a menacing deficit to face every week for nearly three years; and now as it seems to be almost self-supporting, the accumulated remnants of deficits compel it to announce a financial crisis in its affairs. If the Chicago Daily Socialist should go down for want of financial backing, at this time when it is alone in making a middle-of-the-road crusade against the most powerful combine of grafters that ever cursed an honest community, the event would be nothing for anyone to gloat over but the crooks. With the Daily Socialist out of the way, the official crusade against graft which that paper forced and which is now begun, may be shunted off into blind-alley investigations; with that paper alive, any blind-alley investigation will be a difficult undertaking. There ought to be enough public spirit in Chicago, of the disinterested kind, to sink all hostility to socialism long enough at least to help the Daily Socialist survive while it carries to the end its courageous fight for civic purity.

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### Bryan's Mule, Taft's Cow.

Giving editorial attention to the report that “Major Minnemascot,” the trick mule presented to Mr. Bryan last year, is now drawing a beer wagon in Goldfield, Nevada, a Republican paper comments: “Fallen from his high estate, Mr. Bryan's accomplished mule, like his former owner, is compelled to work for a living, while Mr. Taft's mooley cow grazes peacefully on the White House lawn.” Such a contrast is unfortunate in a Republican paper. Bryan has been working for a living since he came to man's estate, while for the past thirteen or fourteen years Mr. Taft has been peacefully grazing on the public lawn. Where the Taft cow would be grazing now if the railroads, the tariff beggars, the privilege holders and others of the Interests had not pushed her owner into the White House is a matter of conjecture. Still,

this. No man, so they reason, would work so hard, and risk so much, without some personal end in view.

They see Johnson as a politician, skilled in all the tricks of the trade, and they grow suspicious of him. They see him courageous under loss of fortune, patient under ingratitude and political reverses, indomitable in the face of possible defeat, and they do not understand it. They look for ulterior motives.

And in this their instinct is partly right. No politician works as Johnson has worked, as Johnson is working, for the mere fulfillment of pre-election pledges, for the emoluments attaching to the mayoralty, and the honor of being called the "best mayor of the best governed city."

But Tom Johnson is more than a politician. Tom Johnson is not at heart a politician at all. His methods are those of the politician, but his aims and purposes are those of the idealist.

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This aspect of Johnson's character is not patent to the casual observer, and few of the plain people are more than casual. They see his political methods; they see his mistakes, and they are plenty. Johnson has sometimes taken the wrong way to do the right thing. His indomitable energy, impatient of restraint, has tried to take short-cuts which have been nearer related to common sense than to legality. He may have played horse with precedent and red-tape in trying to make adjustments by his own scale of value and relative importance. He may have overvalued his friends; he has doubtless been overgenerous toward his own and the people's enemies. His optimism may have led him to promise too much, through overestimating his own power of fulfillment.

But he has never wilfully broken a promise; he has never made a promise he did not intend to keep.

He has never betrayed a trust. He is working hard now to protect the Forest City shareholders, many of whom were led to invest through their personal confidence in Johnson, and his assurances of the safety of the investment.

He has never for a moment stopped fighting the people's fight, since they elected him to office. And he has fought the fight, not as a hireling, but as his own fight, in making all else subservient to it.

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To some, this aspect of Tom Johnson as an idealist may seem incongruous. Perhaps they are accustomed to associate an idealist with a pulpit; to picture him lank of person and long of hair,

with soulful eyes and upward gaze, with a head full of visions and a mouth full of metaphysics.

And our own Tom Johnson, round of person, jovial of manner, with his keen sense of humor, his restless energy and untiring perseverance, with a head full of resources and a mouth full of practical, everyday common-sense, does not fit the picture.

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But the time came to Tom Johnson, millionaire, practical man of affairs, when he had a dream. It wasn't a pipe-dream, neither did he clothe it in fine phrases and go seeking a publisher. He is not of the sort to think himself great and demand recognition because he has conceived a fine ideal. He does not talk about it. His idealism is of the rarely practical sort that goes to work. He said to himself: "What can I *do*? What can I *do*?"

And Tom Johnson in Cleveland to-day is fighting the fight for low fare, not merely because he was elected on that platform, but because he had a dream; a dream of a city, a great city, a free city; a free land; a free people! And because he saw an opportunity right at home, in Cleveland, to begin the realization of that dream, he is giving the best years of his life, the best of his vitality and energy, to breaking the chains of special privilege, and restoring the city to the plain people; and he is doing this for the satisfaction of working along the line of his own ideal.

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That is the ulterior motive which keeps Tom Johnson in the fight. That is the "private gain" for which he is using his public office.

He expressed it in an interview last Fall, after the referendum, and shortly after the loss of his fortune:

"I entered the fight in this city with certain ideals before me. I wanted to fight Privilege and Special Interest, and I had already decided to give up working for dollars. . . . I don't want you to misunderstand what I have been working for as Mayor. I haven't been laboring with the expectation of being rewarded by the gratitude of the people. One cannot count on that. It's pleasure in doing work that I like, that has kept me in the fight."

It is this Johnson who will be remembered—Johnson the Idealist—when the mistakes of Johnson the politician have been forgotten. It is this Tom Johnson who will be honored and dealt with justly by the plain people, when they understand.

May the understanding not come too late for their own good!

Tom Johnson needs the people far less than the people need Tom Johnson.

ADELINE CHAMPNEY.

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## INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

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### PROF. FOSTER'S CASE.

New Salem, Mass.

In the issue of July 16 (p. 678), Mr. J. P. Cadman suggests that Prof. G. B. Foster should go out of the Baptist church if he would teach something not believed by that denomination; and that so to teach within it is to destroy it. Wickliffe, Luther and Wesley did not so think when they taught within the Church; and we do not call them dishonorable men. It will develop and not destroy the Baptist church to know the truth.

Mr. Cadman teaches things social that are not in accord with this nation's usages. Does honor require him therefore to go out? The early Baptists were forward lookers. Roger Williams was not content to live only in the past.

PERRY MARSHALL.

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## NEWS NARRATIVE

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To use the reference figures of this Department for obtaining continuous news narratives:

Observe the reference figures in any article; turn back to the page they indicate and find there the next preceding article, on the same subject; observe the reference figures in that article, and turn back as before; continue until you come to the earliest article on the subject; then retrace your course through the indicated pages, reading each article in chronological order, and you will have a continuous news narrative of the subject from its historical beginnings to date. ♣

Week ending Tuesday July 27, 1909.

### The British Financial Bill.

A better outlook for the British budget (p. 709) is reported by T. P. O'Conner in his London cable letter of the 24th to the Chicago Tribune. "A sign of exhaustion in the Tory ranks," he says, "are the two clauses passed in two days, which means lightning speed compared to the previous slow progress. Meantime the budget, while alarming in many sections, undoubtedly is rousing enthusiasm among the masses. Hatred of the great landlords for exactions on town tenants and despotism in villages has become almost as violent a passion among the English masses as formerly among the Irishmen. The government, too, is reinforcing its forces by making severe rules of closure and increasing the powers of the chairman to curtail debate. Whatever differences, personal and private, exist among the Ministers have had to be healed up in the presence of such a gigantic fight, and altogether the Liberal party is consolidated by the ferocity of the opposition and by the presence of common danger. Lloyd-George's position, therefore, has improved since last week, and when he returns after a week or two's vacation his immense power of rapid recuperation and lion-hearted courage and adroitness may pull him through. Rela-

tions between the Liberals and Irish party have been much improved by concessions on the budget and also by two by-elections. In both cases the Irish party supported the Liberal candidates as good home rulers and tolerant Catholics, while the English Tory ecclesiastics worked with enormous energy for the Tory candidate. This new assault on the Irish party, after the successful and repeated defense of the Catholic schools, aroused bitter resentment in the Irish ranks, especially as the assault was led by the Duke of Norfolk, Ireland's bitterest enemy, and the Irish were delighted when John Dillon and others brought Norfolk's conduct before the House of Commons. Debate further demonstrated that Norfolk, who is one of the biggest town landlords in England, made Catholic schools the pretence for attacking the budget, which imposes an increment of tax on his huge possessions. The Liberal victory in the two by-elections largely was due to the Irish voters, who obeyed loyally the advice of their leaders to support the Liberals. These victories greatly strengthen the chances of the budget and the prestige of the Government.

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A popular demonstration in favor of the budget (p. 610) was made at Hyde Park on the 24th. Associated Press dispatches of that date from London say of it that—

no Hyde Park demonstration of recent years has been able to boast of such an array of members of Parliament as spoke this afternoon from the platforms erected in London's great open-air meeting place in support of Chancellor of the Exchequer Lloyd-George's budget. The crowd in the park probably approximated 500,000 people. The demonstration, which has been preparing for several weeks, drew people from all parts of the country, and immense enthusiasm marked the proceedings. Prior to the speeches a part of a great procession, estimated at 200,000 persons, formed at the Victoria Embankment, with its ranks extending from Charing Cross to Black Friars' Bridge, and marched through the principal thoroughfares of the city to the park. Ninety bands and thousands of banners enlivened the march. "The Earth is the Lord's," "Land for the Landless," "Abolish Poverty," "The Commons Must Rule," and "Tax the Land and Not Food," were typical mottoes inscribed on the banners.

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### The Tariff in Congress.

The conference committee of the two Houses of Congress sitting on the tariff bill (p. 709) is not yet ready to report. On the 20th the President called a special cabinet meeting on the subject. Newspaper explanations of this call were to the effect that it was issued after a White House conference between the President, Senator Aldrich and Speaker Cannon, which had followed interviews between the President and Senators representing certain special interests. In all these interviews the President is reported as having de-

clared his determination, in unequivocal language, in favor of free hides, coal, iron ore and oil, and for reductions of duty on products into the manufacture of which those raw materials enter. A caucus of downward-revision Republicans of the Senate was organized on the same day, consisting of Senators Nelson and Clapp of Minnesota, Dooliver and Cummins of Iowa, Beveridge of Indiana, Burkett and Brown of Nebraska, Bristow of Kansas, Crawford of South Dakota, and La Follette of Wisconsin. On the 20th there was a tariff conference at a White House dinner, assembled for the purpose, but no agreement was reached. The downward-revisionists were not invited. Newspaper gossip of the 24th had it that the President had been obliged to recede from some of his demands, and that although hides and oil would be placed on the free list there would be duties on iron ore and coal. In this connection it was reported as significant that the President called off a dinner to the downward-revisionists, at which he had hoped to be in position to reconcile the opposing factions of his party. Washington correspondents stated on the 26th that a conference report had then been perfected, placing hides and oil in the free list, but imposing tariffs on iron ore and coal. One of the President's callers is reported as saying that the President realized that this will not be satisfactory to the people, and that he unquestionably could gain a great deal of popularity by its veto; but, as he looks at the situation, such action would be injurious to the business interests of the country, would wreck the Republican party and his own administration, and therefore he proposes to approve it.

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#### Steel Trust Strikes.

The reports of last week to the effect that work was resumed on the 19th without disturbance at the plant of the Pressed Steel Car Company at McKees Rocks, Pennsylvania, near Pittsburg (p. 709) turn out to have been false. Dispatches of the 21st from Pittsburg stated that 6,000 strikers were then surrounding the plant, excited by rumors that strike-breakers were to be brought in from Chicago and Eastern cities. No employes had yet been induced by the company to re-enter the plant. Only about 200 men were then at work, and these were not the company's employes, but were tunnel workmen from New York. Scores of eviction notices were served upon strikers on the 22d, their homes being the property of a land company subsidiary to the steel company. Although the strikers are unorganized, they are receiving the support of organized labor in and about Pittsburg and the directorate of the company is being condemned. Work had not been resumed on the 26th.

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As to the causes of this strike but little has ap-

peared in the telegraphic dispatches. We therefore give the version of the daily Leader, one of the old papers of Pittsburg. The Leader of the 16th said: "Strikers are making a final appeal to the Pressed Steel Car Company for justice. In spite of repeated refusals on the part of the company officials to listen to their grievances, or better the terrible working conditions, the men have appointed an executive committee of four, representing the American, Russian, Italian and Slav workmen, who will present a formal demand to their employers this afternoon for the abolishment of the pooling system." We also make quotations from a printed statement by the Rev. Father Toner of St. Mary's Catholic Church of Pittsburg, which appeared in the Chicago Examiner of the 21st:

Men are persecuted, robbed and killed, and their wives are abused in a manner worse than death—all to obtain or retain positions that barely keep starvation from the door. The place is a pit of infamy, where men are driven lower than the degradation of slaves and compelled to sacrifice their wives or daughters to the villainous foremen and little bosses to be allowed to work. I was allowed to enter the plant at my will a few years ago, but I saw too much of the malicious crime perpetrated daily and the gates were closed on me. It is too horrible to discuss. It is a disgrace to a civilized country. A man is given less consideration than a dog, and dead bodies are simply kicked aside, while the men are literally driven on to their death. The grafting and stealing by the bosses and other higher officials is not paralleled to my knowledge. For a few years after the plant was opened members of the company visited me, had meals at my house and we were on the most friendly terms. But men were being killed daily. Their bodies simply disappeared, and when I began to make some comment I was denied admission to the grounds.

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A strike in the Standard Steel Car Company's plant at Butler, Pa., ended on the 26th on the company's terms, except that officials of the company stated that hereafter American workmen will be given the preference in all departments, particularly in the construction of cars.

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A general crusade has set in on the part of the steel trust in the neighborhood of Pittsburg, to oust American workmen and substitute freshly arrived foreigners speaking unfamiliar tongues. According to the Pittsburg Leader of the 16th the following advertisement of the steel trust has been published in the local papers:

Men Wanted—Tiners, catchers and helpers to work in open shops. Syrians, Poles and Roumanians preferred. Steady employment and good wages to men willing to work. Fare paid and no fees charged. Commenting upon this advertisement, the Leader said:

The steel trust wants foreigners to work in its

mills. The American sheet and tin plate company, a subsidiary of the United States steel corporation, declared its sheet and tin mills "open shops" this month. Union men refused to work unless the billion dollar combination recognized their combination of labor. They are out of jobs now and the trust is filling their places with what they call "strike-breakers." This grasping, greedy combination of wealth prefers to employ foreigners. Why? Is it easier to grind foreign bodies and souls into dividends? Does this gigantic monopoly fear that the sons of the brave men who won freedom for the country and preserved and protected it will rebel against oppression? And this is the same trust that pleaded for tariff laws which would protect the American laborer. What hypocrisy! This is the trust which appealed to the American people, the American lawmakers, the American Congress for protection for the American workman. With those pleas still ringing in the ears of the country, the steel trust arrogantly kicks the American out of its mills. It insolently announces through the public press that it will give preferment to Syrians, Poles and Roumanians in filling the vacancies in its plants.

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#### A Labor Injunction Fiasco.

Judge Baker, of the Federal court in Indiana, denied an application on the 26th of the American Sheet and Tin Plate Company of Elwood, Indiana, for an injunction restraining its striking employes from picketing the plant of the company. The company complained that some of its employes had been attacked by strikers and intimidated; that the wives of some of the men who had remained at work had been threatened and hints made that homes would be dynamited; and, that but for the picketing of the strikers many employes would return to work, but under present conditions were afraid to do so. But Judge Baker denied the injunction because, as he said, the affidavits of the company did not make any specific allegations against any of the defendants, and did not show that the defendants had attempted to interfere with the freedom of the company in the labor market. He held that the strikers had a legal right to organize and leave their employer in a body, and that they could maintain a system of picketing so long as they did not interfere with the employer's access to the labor market. Elwood city authorities testified that the strike had been orderly.

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#### A Strike in Wisconsin.

At Kenosha, Wisconsin, a strike began on the 21st at the tannery of N. R. Allen's Sons. The details do not appear in the dispatches, except that an increase of wages was demanded. Bloodshed marked the events of the second day—the 22d—and at night the hospitals were reported full of wounded men. It is said that the company faced a million dollar loss because the vats were filled with unfinished leather which must be cared for at once

or it would be ruined. The dispatches of the 22d had it that violence began on that day with the opening of the plant. A committee representing the strikers was said to have been in the office of the company negotiating a settlement. Apparently, from these reports, the plant was opened with non-strikers during the negotiations, whereupon violence of some kind took place, and when this trouble arose the managers declared the negotiations off and ejected the strikers' committee from their office. "The first outbreak occurred," says the special report of the Chicago Daily News of the 22d, "at the central entrance on Grand avenue, where Tony Monkton, one of the strikers, was shot. The bullet passed through his hip." Another report indicated that the police fired into a body of strikers to disperse them. "Soon thereafter," continued the Daily News report, "a riot was started at North Chicago and Union streets and Peter Sobocic was shot through the left side. . . . One man who said he was a strike leader was struck down with a coupling pin and was taken to the county jail and held on a charge of rioting." It appears that Mayor Scholey sympathized with the strikers, which led the president of the police and fire board, Z. G. Simmons, Jr., to order the police force to "shoot and shoot to kill," if it became necessary to "preserve law and order." The Chicago Tribune reported the strike as ended on the 24th, saying that "a committee from the strikers who still maintained an attitude of defiance conferred with Charles W. Allen, president of the company, and it was agreed that all the men should return to work Monday. The committee at first demanded that the strikers should receive pay for the time they had been out. This demand was refused by Mr. Allen, who informed the committee that the men would be taken back and paid only for the time they worked." This report added that "in several of the tannery departments the company granted the strikers an increase of 50 cents a week, but in the majority the demands were denied and in these the men who return to work will do so on the original wage scale."

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#### Legalizing Corporate Consolidations.

A curious legal proceeding was instituted in Chicago on the 26th, apparently in favor of a more complete consolidation of the public utilities corporations. It is a mandamus action to compel the recognition as law of an act of the legislature which the Governor has vetoed.

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The bill for this act was introduced in the Senate at the last session of the legislature, by Senator Billings. Considerably amended, it subsequently passed both houses, and as enacted it would permit one corporation to hold the stock of other corporations. The bill went to the Gov-

error for approval or veto on the 29th of May, and the legislature adjourned on the 4th of June, with the bill still in the Governor's hands. On the 11th of June, about 11:28 p. m., Governor Deneen sent the bill, without endorsement or other indication of Executive approval or disapproval, to the Secretary of State, who issued his receipt as for a bill which had become a law, without the Governor's approval. But two hours afterwards—about 1:30 a. m., of June 12,—the Governor's veto message reached the Secretary of State, and was stamped as having been received June 12 and filed with the bill, which was thereupon treated as a bill which, in consequence of the veto, had failed to become a law. These at any rate are the allegations of the petition of Charles H. Seeberger, through his attorney, Mil-lard R. Powers, asking for a mandamus to correct the Secretary of State's record. The petitioner's contention is that the veto message was not sent in until the day after the bill had been duly entered and filed as a bill which had become a law without objections by the Governor.

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One of the newspaper reports of the mandamus—the Tribune's—explains that—

the theory that the act is wanted to permit the purchase of elevated railroad stock by the Commonwealth Edison Company and for a general consolidation of the public utility interests in Chicago is said to be a vagary, but it is admitted that many Illinois corporations seek an easier method of controlling other corporations than the one which they now have to adopt—that of incorporating under the laws of New Jersey or of some other State. Secretary Rose is interested because the act would increase the revenue which the State receives through his office by about \$1,000,000 a year. The petition filed by Attorney Powers sets out that this would be the amount of the additional revenue, but the attorney says estimates made in the office of the Secretary of State show that the additional revenue to be derived from a new corporation tax of one-twentieth of 1 per cent of the par value of capital stock, as proposed in the act, would be more nearly \$1,500,000.

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#### The Cleveland Traction Referendum.

Opposition to the Schmidt ordinance to be voted on in Cleveland on the 3d (p. 706) found expression on the 19th at a tent meeting, the first of the Chambers of Commerce's campaign, at which Homer H. McKeehan, one of the attorneys for the old monopoly company, was the principal speaker. The speaking was of such a character that the Plain Dealer, which persistently opposes the ordinance, was obliged to say editorially on the 21st that—

the opening of the speaking campaign under the auspices of the Citizens' Committee of 100 was far from commendable. The speakers not only indulged

in personal abuse, but deliberately misrepresented facts.

Robert E. McKisson, the former mayor, who led the Republican faction opposed to Senator Hanna, entered the contest on the 21st. Since then the campaign has been an active one—McKisson with one tent against the Schmidt ordinance, the Chamber of Commerce with one on the same side, and Mayor Johnson with two tents for the ordinance. Two debates between Mayor Johnson and Mr. McKeehan have been arranged for, the dates fixed being the 27th and 28th. As the referendum takes place next Tuesday, the campaign will be over before another issue of The Public appears.

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#### The New French Ministry.

Upon the fall of the Clemenceau Ministry (p. 710), President Fallières, on the 22nd, summoned Aristide Briand, a scholar and orator of socialistic affiliations, to the Elysée palace, and gave him the task of creating a new cabinet. By the 24th Mr. Briand had succeeded in forming a ministry made up as follows:

Premier and Minister of Interior and Public Worship—Aristide Briand.

Minister of War—General Brun.

Minister of Marine—Admiral De La Payrère.

Minister of Justice—M. Barthou.

Minister of Foreign Affairs—M. Pichon.

Minister of Finance—Georges Cochery.

Minister of Education—M. Doumergue.

Minister of Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs—M. Millerand.

Minister of Commerce—Jean Dupuy.

Minister of Agriculture—M. Ruau.

Minister of Colonies—M. Trouillot.

Minister of Labor—M. Viviani.

It is reported that the position of Under Secretary of Posts and Telegraphs, which has been held by Mr. Simyan, whose resignation was demanded during the recent strike of postmen and telegraphers (pp. 277, 301, 345, 391, 468, 493, 511), will be abolished, and that Mr. Millerand, the new Minister of Public Works, Posts and Telegraphs, will restore the post officials who were dismissed, beginning with the most meritorious, but finishing with amnesty for every one.

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#### An Unpopular Spanish War.

The construction of a railway by Spanish capitalists from Melilla on the coast of Morocco (p. 711) to mines twelve miles inland, has aroused the hostility of Moorish tribes, especially of the powerful Kabyles. Spanish troops guarding the construction work have entered into numerous engagements, and on the 23rd met with serious defeat. General Marina, in command of the Spanish forces, has informed the Spanish government that he will need 40,000 soldiers to

insure victory over the Moorish tribesmen. The governmental newspapers insist that war measures should be vigorously pushed, but the Liberal press alleges that the war is being carried on solely for the protection of private mining interests, and they demand the convocation of the Cortes to handle the matter. With the great masses of the people of Spain the war is intensely unpopular. On the 22nd troops at Barcelona, about to be sent to Morocco, mutinied; and on the 21st and 22nd, in Madrid, the families of soldiers about to be sent to the front, made violent demonstrations, and many persons were injured by the troops called out to preserve order. Revolutionary propaganda among the troops and strict censorship of telegrams were reported on the 24th.

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#### Arbitration in South America.

As a result of the boundary decision against Bolivia and in favor of Peru recently rendered by the President of Argentina (p. 681), diplomatic relations have been abruptly severed between Bolivia and Argentina. There is nevertheless hope that an amicable adjustment of differences will be arrived at. In the meantime Bolivia and Peru have mutually agreed to open negotiations directly with each other and without the intervention of any other nation, in the hope of arranging a modification of the Argentine territorial award which will be satisfactory to all parties concerned.

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## NEWS NOTES

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—Charles R. Crane was confirmed by the Senate as envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to China (p. 699) on the 23rd.

—There has been issued from Des Moines an abstract of land valuations and transfers in each of the 99 counties of Iowa for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1909.

—As a consequence of the floods in the Missouri river (p. 711) a Wabash passenger train, passing over weakened tracks thirty miles east of Kansas City, plunged into the river during the night of the 24th. Six lives were lost, and many passengers were injured.

—Henry George's seventieth birthday is to be celebrated by radical democrats of the whole State of Minnesota, at Como Park, between the Twin Cities of Minneapolis and St. Paul, on Sunday afternoon, September 12, immediately after the State Fair. The speaker of the day will be Raymond Robins.

—A disastrous earthquake (p. 711) is reported to have occurred in the island of Sumatra in the middle of last month, causing a loss of three hundred lives. The earthquake followed an eruption of Mount Korintji, a volcanic peak 12,400 feet high and inland fifty miles from Indrapura. Following the eruption of the volcano and the earthquake there were tor-

rential rains, flooding the rivers and causing additional losses.

—The employers' liability act (vol. x, p. 974) passed by Congress in April, 1908, was held to be unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of Connecticut on the 20th. It provides that employers shall be liable to employes for the negligence of fellow employes.

—At an all-night sitting of the Commonwealth Parliament of Australia (pp. 5, 37, 102, 138, 173, 175, 199, 458, 470, 589, 610, 678) the 23rd, Sir Frederick Holder, the Speaker, fell in a fit and almost immediately died. He was the Speaker of the first House of Representatives of the Commonwealth.

—Cornelius P. Shea, the leader of the teamsters' strike in Chicago four years ago (vol. ix, pp. 1132, 1138), was sentenced at New York on the 23rd to imprisonment at hard labor in Sing Sing for not less than five nor more than twenty-five years for stabbing a woman associate with intent to kill.

—The police commissioners of Mobile, Ala., established on the 21st a curfew law for Negroes. Beginning that night all Negroes must be at home or in bed at 10 p. m. Any of them caught at large after this hour will be locked up. This action is reported as due to an epidemic of hold-ups said to have been perpetrated by Negroes.

—A successful flight (p. 541) across the English channel, from Calais to Dover, was achieved on the morning of the 25th, by Louis Bleriot, a Frenchman, in a small monoplane. Herbert Latham, an Englishman, had attempted the same feat on the 19th, but the motor of his monoplane gave out in mid-passage, and he had to be rescued from the sea, into which he fell with his machine.

—Not all the suffragettes were released from Holloway jail, London, on the 19th as indicated by the dispatches of that date (p. 710), but up to the 21st, six out of the fourteen recently imprisoned had been released for the reason stated—self-imposed starvation. In reporting to the House of Commons on the 21st, the Home Secretary intimated that it was only a question of a few days until all of the women would be turned out, as the "hunger strike" had become general.

—"The World's Prohibition Confederation" was formed on the 21st at the London Imperial Institute, by delegates from 30 nations. Its object is to unite for mutual help the organizations of the world which are working for the suppression of the liquor traffic. Guy Hayler presided. Among the Americans present were Charles R. Jones, chairman of the National Prohibition Committee; Edward P. Gaston and Dr. Wilbur F. Crafts. The central offices of the Confederation will be in London.

—Mrs. Elizabeth Taylor Dandridge, third daughter of President Zachary Taylor, died at Winchester, Va., on the 25th, at the age of 85. Mrs. Dandridge was married at the age of 19 to Major Wm. W. S. Bliss, a member of General Taylor's staff in the Mexican war. During her father's occupancy of the White House she had charge of his household. Some years after the death of Major Bliss in 1853, she married Philip P. Dandridge, who died 28 years ago. Mrs. Dandridge's eldest sister, Sarah Knox

Taylor, was the first wife of Jefferson Davis, president of the Southern Confederacy.

—At the 17th annual meeting of the Wisconsin Federation of Labor, which convened at Eau Claire on the 21st, Victor L. Berger introduced a resolution directing the following telegram to be sent to President Taft: "The Wisconsin State Federation of Labor, in annual convention assembled, demands by unanimous vote the total abolition of duties on all raw materials, and on all necessities of life, and also demands a gradually increasing tax on incomes and inheritances." This was made a special order of business and was adopted unanimously.

—The Providence, R. I., daily papers report active single tax campaigning in street meetings under the auspices of the Providence Single Tax Club. One of the meetings at the Doyle monument, addressed by Charles O'Conner, Thomas Fullerton, D. S. Fraser and Dr. MacLaughlin, is reported by the local press as having been made especially interesting by the illustrated lecture of Mr. Fraser, who argued that the city should be divided into zones and the land valued from 50 cents a foot in the richest zone to one-twelfth of a cent in the poorer ones.

—The anniversary of the proclamation of the Turkish constitution (vol. xi, p. 419) was celebrated at Constantinople on the 23d. A military review was held in the morning before the "Hill of Liberty." Fifteen thousand troops were assembled. Sultan Mehmed, wearing a military uniform, arrived shortly before 10 o'clock in a carriage drawn by four magnificent horses. A crowd of more than 100,000 was present, which included members of the diplomatic corps, a number of Bulgarian officers and members of religious communities (p. 711).

—The ideals of the Persian Nationalists, now victorious over the Shah (p. 710), were given expression while they were still struggling at Tabriz, in an appeal to Europe against Russian intervention, from which the London Labor Leader makes this quotation:

In the name of a people oppressed for centuries, hungering for liberty, and shedding its blood for its imprescriptible rights, we protest before the whole of humanity, and pray that we shall not be allowed to fall the victims of brutal force; that civilized Europe shall not watch unmoved the martyrdom of a nation which desires to regenerate itself.

—Madarlal Dhinagr', the Indian student who on the night of July 1 shot and killed Lieutenant Colonel Sir William Hutt Curzon-Wyllie and Dr. Cawas Lalcaha (p. 685), was found guilty and sentenced to death at the conclusion of a trial of less than an hour's duration on the 23d. As the Lord Chief Justice concluded pronouncing the sentence, the prisoner drew himself up in military style and saluted, saying: "I thank you, my lord. I am proud to have the honor of laying down my humble life for my country. Your sentence of death is perfectly illegal. You are all-powerful and can do what you like; but remember we will have the power some time. That is all I have to say."

—A huge demonstration of protest against the approaching visit (p. 637) of the Czar of Russia to the King of England was held in Trafalgar square on the 25th. Numerous banners, which headed the different processions, were inscribed with uncomplimentary

mentary mottoes, such as: "Let the hanging Czar remember"; "Shall we grasp his bloody hand?" "A message from hell—Welcome, Little Father." James Keir Hardie, Labor member of Parliament; James Ramsey McDonald, Labor member; Benjamin Tillet, secretary of the Dock, Wharf, Riverside and General Workers' Union of Great Britain and Ireland; George Bernard Shaw, and Henry Mayers Hyndman, made speeches, voicing angry protests against the proposed visit. Resolutions to the same effect were adopted.

—Reports of a United States protectorate over the Central American State of Honduras (vol. xi, p. 446) receive definite form in John Callan O'Laughlin's letter to the Chicago Tribune of the 25th. Mr. O'Laughlin says: "Secretary of State Knox has begun in Honduras the application of a financial policy which is expected to bring peace to revolutionary Central America. The Secretary has arranged, through the New York house of J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. to refund the debt of Honduras, and when this shall be accomplished he will use the influence and power of the government to see that the interest is paid. As a corollary of this attitude, he will force the neighboring countries of Guatemala, Salvador and Nicaragua to preserve inviolate the neutrality of Honduras."

—A frightful storm from the Caribbean Sea swept over the city of Galveston and along the whole Gulf coast of Texas and Louisiana on the 21st. Only its new sea wall saved Galveston from something like a repetition of its terrible experience of nine years ago when 8,000 persons were drowned. On the night of the day of the storm Galveston sent out to the press of the country the following exultant message:

The City of Galveston sends greetings to her sister cities, the people of the United States and of the world, that in this hour it has just passed through a most formidable storm, manifesting in its course some of the most violent incidents and cyclonic disturbances, and its great sea wall has completely vindicated its efficiency and protected the city against dangers from the sea, leaving such insignificant damages as are incident to all storms. The city, its great business interests and its people, have safely passed through a most severe hurricane; the sea wall proved a complete success. The city's great wharves and shipping interests suffered no damage and not a life was lost. Lewis Fisher, Mayor; Mac O. Stewart, President Security Building Co.; M. E. Kleberg, City Attorney; V. E. Austin, Commissioner of Streets; E. O. Flood, President Chamber of Commerce; B. Adone, President Maritime Association.

Later information showed a few lives lost in Galveston on a fishing pier, and a few more elsewhere, with a property loss totaling in the two States millions of dollars.

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## PRESS OPINIONS

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### For Free Trade.

The Oklahoma (Ind. Dem.), July 13.—No little interest has been aroused throughout the country by the recent announcement that an organization of national scope is being launched to promote the principle of free trade. Recent events at Washington

have caused many of the old line Republicans to abandon forever the protective tariff idea, while most Democrats are ready and willing to cast aside their ancient policy of protection for revenue. It is now generally recognized that tariffs mean protection of the few and robbery of the many.

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The Rockville (Ind.) Tribune (Dem.), July 14.—The Tribune rejoices that once more in this country the tariff question is to be put forth from the standpoint of principle. Protection is a policy. Free trade is a principle. It lays down the broad proposition of commercial freedom—the right to buy and sell unfettered by artificial restraint—the same principle that the fathers put in the Constitution when no State was permitted to deny free trade to any of the States. It is because the principle of free trade operates over so large a territory that we have prospered as a nation under the baneful influence of "protection."

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#### The Income Tax and Bryan.

New Haven (Conn.) Union (ind. Dem.), July 17.—The last Democratic national platform adopted at Denver in July last year stated that: "We favor an income tax as part of our revenue system, and we urge the submission of a Constitutional amendment specifically authorizing Congress to levy and collect taxes upon individual and corporate incomes, to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burdens of the Federal government. The Republican platform was silent on this important matter. Republican Candidate Taft criticised the Democratic plank and his acceptance address stated: "In my judgment an amendment to the Constitution for an income tax is not necessary." Mr. Bryan has fought for the income tax ever since he has been in political life. The other day the United States Senate adopted an income tax amendment by unanimous vote. The House adopted it by 317 yeas to 14 nays (all Republicans). Bryan was defeated for the Presidency, but whose is the real victory?"

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#### "Beautiful Chicago."

The Chicago Daily Socialist (Soc.), July 16.—We are hearing much these days of a "beautiful Chicago." Distinguished architects have drawn up magnificent plans describing long and broad vistas, encircling boulevards, far-reaching parks, restful reaches of flowers, green-banked rivers, colonnaded and boulevarded beaches. . . . The plan of the architects calls for an inner circle of beauty starting from the lake and running about the center of the city, a little more than a mile distant from the present downtown portion. There is to be a magnificent "civic center" near Halsted and Congress. . . . Throughout all the plans of these dreamers of a beautiful Chicago one important element seems to have been omitted. No place is left for, and nothing is said about, the people who are to live in this city and do its work. Where and how are they going to live? Will they be "slaves in a gilded cage" or free men and women? Who is going to own "beautiful Chicago"? Will it be the property of a few or the

common heritage of all? . . . Let us have all the things that the Commercial Club proposes, but let us first of all have a free people, enjoying the full product of their labor, to live in this new and beautiful Chicago.

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#### "Eaters of Other Men's Bread."

The (San Francisco) Star (ind.), July 3.—Rudyard Kipling has written a poem in which he arraigns the Liberal party of Great Britain for its campaign in favor of "land value taxation" and in denunciation of landlordism. He particularly objects to the designation of landlords as oppressors of the landless people and as "eaters of other men's bread." . . . That the landlords eat bread will be admitted without evidence; that the landlords do not produce the bread they eat will be admitted; that they give nothing in return for the bread they eat can be proved beyond question. Why then should they object to being called "eaters of other men's bread"? They, and their ancestors, have boasted of this very fact for ages. Have they suddenly become conscience-stricken, or has the awakening thought of Great Britain filled them with fear that the demand of the common people for justice will soon compel them to produce their own bread?

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#### The Persian Revolution.

Springfield (Mass.) Republican (ind.), July 22.—The Persian revolution, curiously enough, is following the Turkish revolution on somewhat parallel lines. The constitution was granted by the present Shah's predecessor and it was overthrown after the present Shah came to the throne. Civil war followed, and the constitutionalists, or nationalists, have gradually made triumphant headway against the court party, whose military forces have been commanded by Russian officers in the service of the Shah. Like the Turkish constitutionalists, the Persian constitutionalists have finally been able to seize the capital. . . . It must be owned, however, that constitutionalism in Persia has seemed a much more forlorn cause than in Turkey. Persia is so much more isolated, so much more remote from those European influences that sustain modern movements against absolutism and medievalism in the near East, that the outlook has not seemed promising. Yet the dogged persistence of the constitutional cause, under discouraging circumstances, must arouse our wonder and command our admiration. When such things are possible in a land like Persia, there must be a stirring of new life in the whole Orient such as our imaginations as yet have failed to grasp.

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#### Patriotism Up to Date.

The (San Francisco) Liberator, July 17.—At a luncheon given recently, at which several ladies of wealth and social prominence were present, the conversation turned upon the Calhoun case and the graft prosecution generally. There was considerable difference manifested in the point of view. One of the ladies remarked that Mr. Calhoun had had a magnificent opportunity to have come forward in the first instance and expose the graft and render an inestimable public service. Another lady replied "No. If he had done so he would have impoverished himself.

No man can do business nowadays unless he does the very things that Mr. Calhoun did. They all do it, if they are successful business men." "It is hardly possible that a man of Mr. Calhoun's ability, business experience and financial connections would ever be a poor man by reason of taking a stand for honesty, and even if he did, would it not be better to be poor than to commit crime?" The lady who had foreboded poverty for Mr. Calhoun replied "No. A man's first duty is to his wife and family, to keep them in the position and comfort to which they are accustomed." . . . The poor man steals his loaf of bread for starving wife and babes, and goes to jail—the law must have its course. Private property must be protected without regard to the station of the wife and children. The rich man robs the city, steals public property,—and is defended by this new type of American wife and mother, as necessary to maintain her station of luxury; he does not go to jail. Public property does not need to be protected—in fact, with most consistent logic, it is justifiable to steal public property to protect private property—if you do it on a big enough scale. There is nothing to get excited about. This old-fashioned patriotism of the little woman who would rather take in washing than have her husband maintain her station by public corruption—perhaps "his is obsolete, perhaps the other teaching will get us faster along the line of true Americanism. It will encourage Emma Goldman. It is a better argument for anarchy than any she is likely to make. It is better for two reasons—it is so easy and attractive that it will win adherents fast; it is so effective because it can destroy the government absolutely in a generation. All hail to the fashionable anarchist and her anarchistic teaching!

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#### The Jibe at Nazareth.

The (Chicago) Christian Century (rel.), July 15.—Tom Johnson once declared he was not a reformer. Many a real reformer has sought to deny his supreme title. He has feared the jibe against his Nazareth. He knows the multitude of hair-brained, the eccentric, the fervently biased, the demagogic, the one-sided and he fears the generic term. Then he must deny himself classification with the opposite kind, for there will be found the avaricious, misanthropic, the haters of their kind, the birds of prey, and the plutocratic horde of "help yourself and let the devil take the hindmost" kind. The jibe of "Nazarene" is glorified in its bearer and many a term of derision has become a diadem of glory. The true reformer is the only man that keeps step with the process of the suns. He alone "thinks God's thoughts after Him." The spirit of things is onward and upward. He who leads in the breaking of those ancient customs that have solidified around the spirit and imprisoned it reforms the body to the needs of the enlarging soul. His age may cling to the creed and the custom and defame him as an enemy of his kind, but time sees him emerge from the obscure minority and his host grow as an army out of the night.

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Individual virtue and personal morality, considered as an end, is an instrument of hell.—G. A. Briggs.

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## RELATED THINGS

### CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

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#### LESSON LEAVES.

##### For The Public.

You may preach of depravity, sin and damnation,  
And sing of a dolorous way to salvation;  
Swamp me with volumes of man's pious knowledge  
Straight from theology's sacredest college;  
You may startle with views of the cosmic creation,  
Spontaneous growth or divine revelation;  
With forms of selection and symptoms of science,  
With altar and psalter that stand in defiance—

The soul of me turns with no reason to offer  
To pagan or pedant, to saint or to scoffer;  
Turns to the Love that abides and is wooing  
Silently, out where my garden is growing—  
My garden of flowers, such fragrance distilling  
To rapture the senses and set the soul thrilling  
With sweet recognition—no isms and proses—  
Just the lines writ in the leaves of the roses.

EUFINA C. TOMPKINS.

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#### SOME REMARKS BY OLD TOM HARDER,

##### About Killing, and Other Gentle Amusements.

##### For The Public.

"Like as not ye won't believe me, but sure as I'm livin' an' talkin' to you, Tomkins come clear to the middle o' the corn field to tell me that Roosevelt had killed a big lion with a black mane, an' a lioness without any mane, an' four big rhinoceroses with everything that belongs properly to the rhinoceros tribe. Caught it goin' over the wire, he said; an' Kermit, that's the little Roosevelt, did a lot o' killin on his own account—lions an' rhinos an' other things. Tomkins expected me to be astonished at the news, but try as hard as I could I couldn't git up a bit of astonishment.

"I says to Tomkins, 'I don't see nothin' out o' the ordinary in it. In my readin' an' observation o' things it's the most natural thing in the world for men that don't have some good healthy sort o' work to keep 'em out o' mischief, to git hysterical an' restless an' go out an' kill something. That's the reason we have laws against killin' human bein's, an' laws to protect the game an' fish. If it wasn't that most people have to work for a livin', there wouldn't be hardly anything left alive on the face of the earth.

"'Astonished! Well, I guess not. Now, if you'd come out here an' told me that the King o' the tribe o' Lions had sailed five thousand miles over the ocean an' killed two Roosevelts an' four Aldriches an' a couple o' Joe Cannons, I would have been astonished. If you had told me that

the King o' Lions had sailed all that distance to do some killin', not because he was hungry, but simply because he wanted to kill an' have some hides to adorn the floor o' his kingly den, then I would have been astonished. If you had told me that the Lion King had brought along his youngest cub to participate in the killin', an' lay in a few aristocratic human hides to show his prowess in the killin' line, I should have been more astonished, for I never heard about anything in the animal kingdom actin' that way, 'less it was a weasel. Most animals kill to satisfy their hunger, an' because they know no other way to satisfy it.' An', come to think about it, why should a sane an' reasonable human bein' want to load himself down with killin' machines, an' go out in the wilderness an' shoot down animals that are doin' no harm?

"Of course we start with the presumption that the man is sane an' reasonable. If we admit that he has homicidal, or circular, or some o' the other fashionable kinds of lunacy, we can understand why he delights in killin'. But there's a mystery concealed in the actions of a person who takes so much pains an' trouble to go to the wilderness to shoot wild animals. If the animals was injurin' the crops or makin' it dangerous for the killee in his own country, self-defense would be a reasonable excuse for the killin'; but you can't find such an excuse in the case of the mighty modern hunters. You can't find the excuse of hunger, although some of 'em turns a little ready money by sellin' the spoils. The natives o' the country where the wild beasts breed have not called on any of the big killers to go to their help. At least, the call hasn't been printed yet. Yes, sir-ee! It makes a man think sometimes when he reads about the natives of the countries where the wild beasts live that they would suffer a little less from the wild beasts than they do from the kind o' civilization that the hunters an' the diamond diggers an' the lawmakers bring along with 'em an' impose on the natives, without askin' their consent.

"Of course the men o' science that try to figure out the why is it, about everything, can demonstrate to our satisfaction that the big animals don't have much nerves an' no feelin' to speak of, an' that the killin' don't hurt 'em much, which may be true or may be jest a little untrue. But that ain't what bothers me. I want to know what it is in the man that makes him delight to kill. It would take a man a long time to make a reasonably respectable lookin' lion; an' the man never lived that could put that mysterious thing we call life into the best lookin' lion that could be made. If some feller should make an imitation that looked an' acted jest like a real lion, do you suppose the mighty hunters would travel round the earth to shoot an' destroy it? I think not. Now, if you can explain the impulse that

leads sane an' Christian men to enjoy the takin' o' life without any excuse, an' to enjoy the killin' jest because it is killin', you will give me a heap o' satisfaction.

"I never read about Christ loadin' up with destructive weapons an' goin' out to kill things jest for the fun of it. St. Paul was a strenuous sort of a man, an' we never read about him goin' out to do a little shootin' jest for the fun of it. We read about them goin' fishin', but that was because the hunger drove 'em to it. They made a livin' by it, an' as soon as they got the light o' the gospel in their brains, they cut out the fish, an' went out to catch men an' wean 'em from wrong-doin'.

"No! I ain't a bit astonished when I hear about the killin' o' things for fun. I'll be astonished when they quit killin'. After all, I 'spect it is better to kill the wild beasts than it is to capture 'em, an' shut 'em up in cages, an' treat 'em the way they do in the shows an' menageries. There's a whole lot o' things done by men, an' especially by white men, that could be done better if we could only make our Christianity a little more on the Christian pattern."

GEORGE V. WELLS.

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## THE INITIATIVE AND REFERENDUM.

### An Effective Ally of Representative Government.

Lewis Jerome Johnson, Professor of Civil Engineering, Harvard University, in the *New England Magazine* for June.

Our fathers founded this government in order to secure for the people—all the people—the blessings of life, liberty, and happiness. They devised institutions and machinery for attaining this end.

Today, after the lapse of a century and a quarter, combinations of power, of financial, industrial, and even political power, have found intrenchment in these institutions in the face of which, for multitudes of our population, life is precarious, liberty practically despaired of, and happiness, except of a kind enjoyed by the Roman proletariat and the plantation slave, unknown. We wonder why. We know that no one would be more impatient of such conditions than our revolutionary forefathers, and no one more keen and resolute in seeking a remedy. Honor to their revered memory requires us to scrutinize their work, and modernize it if necessary, just as they modernized their inherited institutions.

Accordingly we turn first to the underlying spirit and purposes of our institutions. We find nothing to criticize, even after all this time. Even in this blasé age we are thrilled and inspired with a new enthusiasm by the ideals expressed by our fathers in founding this Republic. We quickly conclude we cannot hope to suggest improvements in this quarter.

We turn next to the details of their governmental machinery. Little of their industrial methods and institutions survives. Perhaps their political devices are now equally out of date. If they are, perhaps it is not too late to supplement or replace them with better. Let us see.

We come first to the legislative machinery. At the first glance we observe something peculiar. We find the law-making power entrusted to representative bodies, the personnel of which, so far as the party machines will permit, is under partial popular control, but the output of which is, to an astonishing degree, not under effective popular control at all. On reflection, it occurs to us that the predatory interests do not work on that principle. They seek to control results, and are quite indifferent to the names or professed opinions of the parties or men who actually deliver the goods. We realize that this is not only another instance of big business being wiser than the big, powerful, but at present dazed and more or less delirious public, but we surmise that there is a suggestion involved.

Further reflection and survey of the field convinces us that here is the loose screw of the mechanism, that whatever else need be done, and there may be much else, this glaring defect should be corrected at once, and furthermore that when corrected, the way will be open for the rest of the progress as soon as the public can be shown that it is good.

The problem is, then, how shall the public get effective control of results?

The answer is easy.

The public must do as the other, but smaller, corporations do, which are so skillfully run for private profit. It must adopt means for dictating and revising the policies of agents and representatives whenever it sees fit, expecting these representatives, however, to frame policies and produce acceptable results under broad, general instructions (constitutions), with a minimum of interference from higher authority.

The means to this end have already been devised and tested in actual practice and have met expectations. They are called the Initiative and Referendum, or combined in one term, Direct Legislation.

The Initiative enables the people to enact, by direct popular vote, desirable measures, ignored, pigeonholed, or defeated by their representatives. The Referendum is the power of veto, by direct popular vote, of acts of the representatives. Each includes, of course, suitable machinery for its safe and intelligent operation, which will be described below.

The Initiative and Referendum secure popular control over legislation. The former corrects sins of omission, the latter of commission.

They usually result, before being long in operation, in the establishment of the Recall, or the

properly guarded power of removal of unsatisfactory officeholders before the expiration of their terms. This adds popular power of removal to the already existing power of election, only it may extend to the incumbents of non-elective offices.

The Recall secures popular control over personnel.

The Recall, though sometimes, as in city charters, established contemporaneously with the Initiative and Referendum, and logically part of complete popular control, will not be discussed further here. It should be looked upon as one of the numerous desirable measures to which the Initiative would open the way, and may, more safely than the Referendum, be left to be taken as a second step.

With the Initiative and Referendum, then, and what they will secure, the people can control their own government, in cities, States, and nations, as effectively as the owners control a large private business, and with the better results to be expected in so far as honest public service is more ennobling than the pursuit of private profit or ambition.

The machinery of Direct Legislation, although not complicated, was not a possibility before the introduction of the modern means of spreading news and ideas by the telegraph, high-speed printing press and the railway. For the system presupposes not only means for quick returns from elections, but, even more important, it now presupposes an adequate system of providing each voter with the information he needs as a basis for his conclusions.

The Initiative is set in operation by volunteer groups of citizens, trade, labor, or political organizations, who draw up laws which they think good for themselves, or the public, or perhaps both. If they can get a certain moderate percentage of the voters of the city or State to sign a petition to that effect, the measure goes to the legislature for adoption without amendment or change of any kind, if the legislature is willing; or, if not, to be transmitted unchanged to the people for their decision. If the legislature thinks it can produce a better enactment in the same line it can draw it up and send it to the people with the other as a competing measure. The voters then choose which they prefer or reject both.

The Referendum, upon similar petition, usually by a somewhat smaller number of voters, calls to the popular tribunal acts of the representative body for veto or confirmation.

All this carries with it adequate and systematic means, independent of the newspapers, of furnishing each voter with the full text of the measures to be voted on, also the highly condensed form in which it will be printed on the ballot, an impartial statement of the reasons for and against each measure, and the names of those behind each call to popular action—also the provision of a suitable

amount of time for deliberation and discussion before the vote is taken. These are details which it has not been found difficult to meet in practice. In Oregon, this information goes eight weeks before election by mail to each voter in the form of a State document from the Secretary of State. The cost of this pamphlet is divided between the State and the interests who wish to insert arguments therein. Conciseness and sincerity of argument are secured by charging the contributors some sixty dollars per page. In cases of initiated measures, supporting arguments are accepted from none but duly accredited representatives of the friends of the measure, while any one who will pay the cost may insert arguments against such a measure, or on either side in a referendum case. In the election last June, when nineteen measures were acted upon by the electorate, the State pamphlet was a document of one hundred and twenty-five pages.

A feature to be observed at once in this system is the way it forestalls the misleading of voters by a subsidized press.

Further protection from false or misleading campaign literature was secured by a popular vote last June—part of a law of some twenty pages coming from the people by the Initiative—which provided a heavy penalty for circulating political literature without the names of its authors and publishers. This law also requires that such charges as any may wish to make against the character or motives of any candidate shall be submitted in person to the candidate assailed, in the exact form in which they are to be printed fifteen days before publication. If this is not done, all concerned in printing and circulating such charges, are punishable for criminal political libel. Space forbids going further into this matter, but the general scheme and its spirit may be gathered from the foregoing.

It is expected that popular voting will ordinarily take place only at regular elections.

Supplemented by the Initiative and Referendum, to serve as a permanent background, and for application when called for, the representative system will gradually but surely enter upon an era of honor and usefulness hitherto never surpassed and probably never equaled. Relieved of the unnatural excess of power under which they now stagger and fall, legislative bodies will cease to be attractive fields for bribery and secret influence. Log-rolling will greatly diminish. The power of bosses and rings will be undermined. Seats in the legislatures will then begin to be unattractive to grafters. At the same time they will be more attractive to high-minded, public-spirited citizens. There will be a fairer chance that a man clean when elected will stay clean. It will make it safe materially to reduce the size of legislatures and to diminish greatly the number of elective offices; we may reach the point of competing

successfully with the corporations in attracting the best young talent to our, the public's, service. It is believed that the practice of repeated re-elections will develop under this system here as it has in Switzerland and the New England towns. In the presence of Direct Legislation it is not necessary to defeat a good legislator to express disapproval of his work. The bad laws can actually be got rid of and the man retained. Thus real representative experts may gradually be developed.

In view of such undeveloped possibilities, it is beside the mark to wonder whether representative government is a failure. We begin to realize that it has not yet been fairly tried, or at least not in recent years. We realize that our legislators have been working under almost intolerable conditions. They have been continually under temptations that no ordinary man ought to be asked to face, and it is a tribute to human nature that so many of our legislators have stayed straight. Under the new conditions they will have all the power that is ever accorded to representatives and agents in business, which is all that is wholesome or attractive to worthy citizens of a democratic republic. Any man who enjoys for its own sake or deliberately seeks final power over his fellows belongs in a despotism, not in a republic.

While an ample sufficiency of power is thus left with the representatives, a very wholesome and salutary increase of responsibility is thrown upon the voter. It brings him into closer touch with great affairs to some purpose. It enables him to vote for men apart from measures. He can begin to assume the stature of a man, a sovereign in fact as well as in fancy—at least a member of a very large board of sovereigns—instead of the muddled and thwarted chooser between unattractive nominees of the party rings. It will enable him to settle something at an election besides the party label of officeholders, which settles in turn little except which crowd shall hold and dispense the offices. We know only too well that platforms are “merely to get in on, not to ride on.” Even if they were expected to be observed, they are composites which rarely represent except in the roughest sort of a way the views of any one voter.

With Direct Legislation in vogue the State offers an attractive field of usefulness for such of her citizens as do not care to give up their whole time to public life. Public-spirited citizens, without dislocation of business or profession, may and will devote a much larger share of their time than now to the consideration of public questions. If they conceive of a desirable step in legislation, they will not have to contrive to get into office and to stay there long enough to accomplish their ends. They have a dignified and honorable chance to lay the best fruits of their labors, in the form desired by them and their trusted and sympathetic advisers, before the final authority for adoption and rejection, free from the chance of mutilation or

distortion by ill-informed, overworked, or officious legislatures. This alone would be a powerful means of bringing spontaneously to the public service, and at no expense, a large amount of talent of the finest possible sort for which there is now little encouragement in public life. This is the talent on which we probably must depend for the most serious law making, and which we have had little chance to utilize. The legislature will thus be facing a reasonable and wholesome competition and the public cannot fail to profit.

Most fundamental of all, and of the most far-reaching value of all, is the education afforded the average voter. One cannot help believing that a toning up of the public standard of thought and morals would be in the long run the most beneficent feature of the innovation. In a word one can discern in the Initiative and Referendum a fair prospect for the actual realization of the cherished American aspiration—a government of and by as well as for the people.

The historical development of the Initiative and Referendum idea has been quiet and unostentatious. It may be seen in the institutions of the Plymouth Colony. It appears in our time-honored New England town-meeting—a most radical exemplification of the Initiative and Referendum principle, and very similar to the ancient Swiss Landsgemeinde. It appears in the insistence by our State constitution framers, in spite of their pitifully inadequate facilities, on a popular vote to ratify their doings and the doings of amenders. Finally, we note the steady development and extension of the Initiative and Referendum in its more modern form from canton to canton in Switzerland, its application to the Swiss Federal government in 1874, and its adoption in the last decade by city after city and State after State in this country. Direct legislation (usually accompanied from the start by the Recall) is an essential feature of nearly all modern city charters, and those without it will doubtless have to add it sooner or later to get satisfactory results. Notable among the direct legislation cities stand Los Angeles, Des Moines, our own Haverhill and Gloucester, and the newest recruits, Berkeley, Cal., and Colorado Springs. Similar examples among the States are South Dakota since 1898, Oregon since 1902, Montana since 1906, Oklahoma since 1907, and Maine and Missouri since last autumn.

This steady progress—though sometimes in the face of strenuous opposition by favorites or managers of political machines—misrepresentations by professional lobbyists and conspicuous and sometimes even eminent officeholders, the appearance of hostile plate matter “editorials” in a certain portion of the public press, all indicate that public attention is becoming really focussed upon the Initiative and Referendum.

New England, the home of the town meeting, enjoying the inspiration the Massachusetts and

other New England State constitutions, with Maine already in the ranks, may be expected to take especially kindly to this new and long advance step toward the realization of her ancient ideals.

For examples of the effect of Direct Legislation, we naturally turn first to Switzerland, where it has been in operation on what may be called a large scale for fifty years. Since the establishment of Direct Legislation, and with no burdensome use of it, Switzerland has rid herself of the regime of exploitation and corruption, which were rampant under their unperfected form of representative and party government of only a few decades ago—a system much like our own present one—and has come to be an admirably governed country. Mr. James Bryce, the present English ambassador, declared to a Cambridge audience in 1904 that Switzerland is the most successful democracy the world has ever seen. Our own President A. Lawrence Lowell, of Harvard, wrote of it\* in 1897: “The Swiss Confederation is on the whole the most successful democracy in the world. . . . The people are contented. The government is patriotic, far-sighted, efficient, and economical, steady in its policy, not changing its course with party fluctuations. Corruption in public life is almost unknown. . . . Officials are selected on their merits, and retained as long as they can do the work, and yet the evils of bureaucracy scarcely exist. . . .” This is the work of representative government with a fair chance. The Referendum is only occasionally resorted to, except in a little over a third of the cantons, where it is obligatory, but nobody forgets that it is there, and the Initiative has been far less frequently resorted to even than the Referendum.

Mr. Lowell, after speaking so highly of the present conditions in Switzerland, suggests that little Switzerland is not an adequate precedent for an immense nation like the United States. Nevertheless it may be asserted that Switzerland does form a most reassuring precedent for the adoption of Direct Legislation in our cities and States, particularly the small, highly educated manufacturing New England States. Switzerland, a pre-eminently manufacturing nation, is larger than any one of these States except Maine, which already has the Initiative and Referendum, and is larger than Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut combined, with a population slightly larger than Massachusetts.

The real questions for us in New England to answer are:

1. Are we in Boston, in Massachusetts, Vermont, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, or Connecticut, as fit for this forward step as the Swiss were when they were putting the system in operation thirty to fifty years ago?

2. Is not even a complicated law, properly ex-

\*Lowell: “Governments and Parties in Europe,” vol. II, pp. 334, 335.

plained and vouched for, as suitable a thing for a popular vote as a choice between complicated candidates?

3. Is not an occasional vote on an ordinary law a natural and reasonable addition to our time-honored system of popular votes on State constitutions and their amendments?

4. Is not the separation of men from measures likely to be salutary in any effort at popular government?

To ask these questions in America, in New England, is to answer them in the affirmative. Many Americans are coming to share in this view. Oregon, nearly half as large again as all New England combined, is setting us a most encouraging example.

Seven years ago she adopted direct legislation. She was then in no specially enviable condition politically. Thanks mainly to the Initiative, and measures secured with it which legislatures had refused to pass, she has made great progress toward better government and the house-cleaning is going right on.

We in New England are interested to see how gracefully Direct Legislation fits in with the spirit of our wonderfully far-sighted and successful constitution framers. It will be worth while to quote a few passages from the Massachusetts constitution, passages found in different form and phraseology, but without change in spirit, in the Constitutions of other New England States. Such sentiments, moreover, are no strangers in other parts of the country.

They seem, however, to be quite unfamiliar to a few of our editors and conspicuous officeholders. These gentlemen, although themselves quite apt to flout the Declaration of Independence when it suits their convenience, profess great alarm that any one could so far think of "subverting the institutions of our fathers" as seriously to propose Direct Legislation. For the benefit of such as might be misled by these filial gentlemen Articles V, VII, and VIII of the Bill of Rights in the Constitution of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts are here reproduced to show what the fathers were really trying to do:

Article V. All power residing originally in the people, and being derived from them, the several magistrates and officers of government, vested with authority, whether legislative, executive, or judicial, are their substitutes and agents, and are at all times accountable to them.

Art. VII. Government is instituted for the common good; for the protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness of the people; and not for the profit, honor, or private interest of any one man, family, or class of men: Therefore the people have an incontestable, unalienable, and indefeasible right to institute government; and to reform, alter, or totally change the same, when their protection, safety, prosperity, and happiness require it.

Art. VIII. In order to prevent those who are

vested with authority from becoming oppressors, the people have a right, at such periods and in such manner as they shall establish by their frame of government, to cause their public officers to return to private life; and to fill up vacant places by certain and regular elections and appointments.

On reading these sturdy New England doctrines one can hardly help concluding that the only reason in the world the Fathers did not there and then establish direct legislation for the State, and for cities as they might develop, was that it was at that time physically impossible. Mechanical invention had not provided the means even if they had conceived the idea. We must not forget that their facilities for disseminating information and gathering returns were little if any superior to those of Julius Cæsar. They knew no more of railways than Cæsar did, such highways as they had were probably not so good as Cæsar's. But they did what they could in this direction. They provided an obligatory referendum on the adoption and amendment of the Constitution of the Commonwealth. And it is clear that nothing was farther from their minds than that the will of representatives should prevail over the will of the people, some modern officeholders' insinuations to the contrary notwithstanding.

Sometimes officeholders are heard to profess a great fear that "mob rule" will be the result of Direct Legislation. This must be taken to mean that they fear, probably with reason, that the people after weeks of deliberation and with adequate information would not support their pet schemes. Prospective abundance of popular majorities in their favor would neither excite their alarm nor be called by them "mob-rule." No; hasty mob-action finds a more promising field in nominating conventions, in legislatures, and even town meetings than in the long, quiet process of gathering signatures, weeks of discussion, and deliberation, and the quiet vote on an Australian ballot in isolated, individual booths.

How simple an enactment would suffice in Massachusetts to bring the Constitution of that Commonwealth right up to date can perhaps best be shown by quoting in full the constitutional amendment prepared by the Massachusetts Direct Legislation League and presented to the present legislature for its approval. The league, not unexpectedly, met the firm but courteous refusal implied in "leave to withdraw." But the campaign has only just begun in Massachusetts.

The proposed amendment runs as follows:

#### RESOLVE,

To provide for an Amendment of the Constitution authorizing Direct Legislation or a People's Veto through the Optional Referendum and a Direct Initiative by Petition.

#### Article of Amendment.

The legislative authority of the Commonwealth

shall be vested in a General Court,\* but the people reserve to themselves power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution, and to enact or reject the same at the polls, independently of the general court, and also reserve the power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act or resolve of the general court, except as herein-after provided.

The style of all laws shall be, "Be it enacted by the people of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts."

The first power reserved by the people is the initiative, and shall be set in operation by petition requiring the signatures of legal voters of not more than eight per cent in number of the vote cast for governor at the last preceding election. The full text of the measure so proposed shall be included in the petition.

Initiative petitions shall be filed in the office of the secretary of the Commonwealth within six weeks after the general court assembles.

If the measure thus petitioned for is not passed without amendment in that session, or if vetoed by the governor is not passed over his veto, it shall be referred, together with any amended form or substitute recommended by the general court, to the people at the next State election. If passed either with or without amendment it shall still be subject to a referendum petition.

The second power is the referendum. It may be ordered either by the general court, as other bills are enacted, or, except, as to emergency measures, by petition requiring the signatures of legal voters of not more than five per cent in number of the vote cast for governor at the last preceding election and filed in the office of the secretary of the commonwealth within ninety days after the signature of the act or resolve by the governor or its passage over his veto. A referendum may be ordered against one or more sections or parts of an act or resolve.

An act or resolve shall not take effect until the expiration of ninety days after its signature by the governor or its passage over his veto, except such as by a two-thirds yea and nay vote of all members in each house shall be declared to be an emergency measure, and shall in the preamble state the facts constituting the emergency and contain the statement that therefore the act or resolve is necessary for the immediate preservation of the public peace, health, or safety. But no grant of any franchise shall be declared to be an emergency measure. Any measure, or part thereof, upon which a referendum has been ordered shall either as to the whole or such part thereof, be suspended from taking effect until approved by the people at the election to which it shall be referred.

Measures referred to the people of the State shall be voted on at the next regular State election.

Measures so referred shall become law at the expiration of thirty days after the election if approved by a majority of the votes cast thereon.

\*In the States of Massachusetts and New Hampshire the official designation of the legislatures is the "General Court." According to the Century Dictionary they are so called because the Colonial legislature of Massachusetts grew out of the general court or meeting of the Massachusetts Company.—Editors of The Public.

The veto power of the governor shall not extend to measures approved by the people.

Every measure referred to the people shall be described on the ballots by the secretary of the Commonwealth clearly and simply. When there are competing measures or substitutes the secretary of the Commonwealth shall have the ballot so printed that the voter (first) can choose between any measure or none, and (secondly) can express his preference between one and the other. If a majority of the votes on the first question is affirmative then the measure receiving the larger number of votes shall become law.

The secretary of the Commonwealth shall print and distribute to each voter a sample ballot with the text of every measure to be submitted to a vote of the people, and the general court shall provide for public dissemination of information and arguments thereon.

In carrying out the provisions of this amendment, which shall be self-enforcing, the secretary of the Commonwealth and all other officers are to be guided by the general laws and by the act submitting this amendment until further legislation shall be especially provided therefor.

All the provisions of the existing constitution inconsistent with the provisions herein contained are hereby annulled.

This amendment follows closely the lines of the Oregon enactment which has been working so well since 1902. It adds, however, the provision, above referred to, for a competing measure from the legislature in case of an initiative, with a means by which a voter can express a preference for one over the other, while voting against both. This feature is known to be approved by the leaders in Oregon, and is likely soon to be adopted there.

In closing it may be said that the Initiative and Referendum are found to appeal to progressive Americans in whom still glows the spirit of the liberty-loving men of '76. They readily grasp the necessity of controlling the important results, and of not limiting themselves to toying with the husk of popular government while the privileged few make off with the kernel. They take great satisfaction in a remedial measure so thoroughly in harmony with the old ideals and institutions, involving, after all, only a bit of additional machinery, and dependent for its success only upon our fitness for self-government. Of course it is only a machine. It will not suffice merely to set it up. It must be made to work promptly and with vigor when required. This will take real citizens. Oregon shows that such citizens still exist—some of them of New England stock, some of them born in old world monarchies.

It is proposed, then, to shift from the representatives the excess of power which is now engulfing them, to the body of voters who have not enough power to enable them to retain their self-respect, to say nothing of securing life, liberty, and happiness. This may well prove to be the

salvation of representative government and hence of popular government.

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## BOOKS

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### MALTHUS REVIVED.

**The Distribution of Livelihood.** By Rossington Stanton. Published by C. O. Farwell, New York and London.

Production forces are divided into three groups: First, those working on the land directly; second, those engaged in "making tools, refining raw materials, or making exchanges," i. e., "the artisan, commercial and professional occupations"; third, those "neither connected with land direct, nor even with its materials"—meaning hired labor. "These may be designated as Land, Landless, and Simple Value, respectively."

Rent represents the difference between Land and Landless value; interest the difference between Landless and Simple value, comparatively considered.

By sufficiently limiting the hours of labor of the third group the livelihood (or wages) of this group would advance till it equaled that of the second group—and interest disappear! Equity, says the author, demands that this be done. Rent remains to be disposed of. As "this exists at all times in the varying fertility of the soil," and "since there are no means by which the soil can be equalized, it must be effected through taxation." "In practical application, the workday of labor should be gradually restricted, and land at the same time taxed until no rent is offered for it! If conditions of livelihood are still distressful, population must be restricted. Two possible methods are given: First, holding the number of births at a given point; second, reducing the number of infants as they are born! (Swift's irony, as to the disposal of Irish infants, is lost.) Individual effort in the first failing, the State's duty "seems very clear." The book is interesting, like backgammon, and as valuable.

JOHN Z. WHITE.

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## PERIODICALS

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Fruit as a food should interest us all. It is the subject of an illustrated article in *Physical Culture* (New York) for August.

The story of the sugar trust is the subject for July of John Moody's series in *Moody's Magazine* (New York) on "The Great American Industrials."

"The Wisdom of Yesterday," by Grace MacGowan Cooke and Alice McGowan, in *Everybody's* (New York) for August, blends with much charm the chief

characteristics of present-day life in progressive localities of the South—the left-over ante-bellum white and black aristocracy, with the incoming white and black business elements. O. Henry, always funny and always sane, is up to the mark in his "Poor Rule" in this issue of *Everybody's*.

"Some Fallacies of the Peacemakers," the leading editorial of *The Open Court* (Chicago) for May, furnishes Paul Carus with an opportunity to say the best things that can be said in justification of war, as that "there are goods in this world which are higher than human lives," and that "there are super-individual interests, there are ideals dearer than our own persons, for which it is worth while struggling, suffering, fighting and dying"; that "life is not the highest boon of existence, and no sentimental reason, based on the notion of the sacredness of life, will abolish struggle in the world or make war impossible." All of which is very true. War is indeed an alternative to which any people may be driven in defense of something dearer than life. But isn't this academic? The practical question which the peace movement raises today, is not whether a nation shall through war resist invasion by other peoples, but whether it shall cultivate a war spirit which leads irresistibly on to the invasion of other peoples.

Judge Lindsey's fight for Denver's juvenile court, and how it was saved, is graphically told in the *Arena* (Trenton and Boston) for July, by William MacLeod Raine. The suffrage question in the *Far West*, by Elsie Wallace Moore, is another contribution of unusual importance. Carl S. Vrooman tells interestingly of what but little is known in this country, the recent extraordinary changes in the French educational system which have culminated in the displacement of the priest by the schoolmaster as the communal representative of the nation, giving to his story a personal flavor by making Charles Seignobos, "an apostle of light," its hero. Another article especially enlightening is William Kittle's exposure of the plutocratic methods of manufacturing public opinion in the United States; and Charles E. Russell contributes a pointed satire on Roosevelt's notions of socialism. "The Master Note in the Message of Christian Science"—its spiritual vitality at a time of ecclesiastical and business materialism—is Mr. Flower's own special contribution to this number.

"Initiative, Referendum, and Recall; but the greatest of these is Recall." "Under the Initiative and Referendum alone it would not be possible to refer to the people more than one-twentieth, or even a smaller per cent, of the important measures; in the rest the legislators could have their way, regardless of popular opinion. . . . Under the Recall the people could force the legislators to make all the laws as the people saw fit." So writes Roger Sherman Hoar, President of the National Democratic League of College Clubs, in *Equity* for July. And this statement of opinion is emphasized by a subsequent article describing how the politicians of St.

Louis are "dodging the verdict of a Referendum" for the building of a free bridge across the Mississippi. This same Equity contains too a brief summary of the recent vote in Portland, Oregon, on thirty-five measures submitted to the people. These three columns of results make instructive reading, especially for any one who doubts the common citizen's power of discrimination.

A. L. G.

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Revision of the tariff "by its friends," is the subject of William Lloyd Garrison's editorial in the Free Trade Broadside (Boston) for July. The real resistance to the "standpatter" is described as coming, not from the Democrats, but from La Follette

and some other Republicans from the middle West. The editorial surmises that the upshot of the revision is likely to be a perpetuation of the Dingley rates. "What cleverer device to keep the Dingley rates intact," it asks, "than to threaten higher duties and then gracefully agree, after semblance of violent passion, to let them stand?"

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Heinrich was wearily waving his shears in an aimless way. At intervals he patted or poked the customer who was conscientiously trying to fit herself to the half-made garment that hung upon her shoulders. Schmidt, the head tailor, entering at the moment, glowered in Teutonic rage. "Vat for,"

## NEWSPAPER REVIEWS

### of Louis F. Post's

# Ethics of Democracy

Springfield (Mass.) Republican, December 3, 1904:

"A VOLUME of essays of exceptional quality and force \* \* \* It would be difficult to speak too highly of these papers either in respect to penetration of thought or power of reasoning. \* \* \* The volume is full of stimulating and illuminating discussion of vital subjects, and nowhere have the principles of democratic institutions found a more masterly exposition and defense than in this book."

Nashville (Tenn.) News, December, 12, 1903:

"MR. Post has done some thinking for himself, and no thoughtful reader can fail to find his book interesting and suggestive. His chapters on the trusts are a somewhat novel presentation of these outgrowths of present economic conditions and form some of the most valuable parts of the volume \* \* \* Every real believer in democratic institutions can read this book with interest and profit."

Manchester (Eng.) Guardian, November 3, 1904:

"THE essays in this volume upon such topics as patriotism and self government breathe the best spirit of that enthusiastic Americanism which is so gravely imperilled by the new career to which the Republic is committing herself. But the economics are after all the backbone of the teaching. The distinctive feature here consists in the subordinate position given to the power of capitalism and the corresponding prominence given to land as the breeding-ground of economic abuses. Mr. Post writes on this theme with clearness and force, and his chapter entitled 'An Economic Exploration and Survey' is one of the ablest statements of elementary economics we have read."

Detroit (Mich.) Tribune, September 10, 1904:

"THIS book is a marvel of clear thinking and clear writing."

New York Nation, March 31, and New York Evening Post, April 2, 1904:

"IN the course of it there is a good deal of writing which may almost be called eloquent, and a good deal that is nearly incoherent. The drift of the whole is socialistic, but there is in it political economy of the most systematic kind, and political writing of a sound sort. The difficulty is that the author seems unable to distinguish what is sound from what is unsound, and the result is that we have a jumble instead of a book \* \* \* On the whole it may safely be said that Mr. Post is not a guide to be implicitly followed, and that those who accept him as a teacher will find it exceedingly difficult to calculate to what conclusions he may not lead them."

St. Louis Globe-Democrat, March 20, 1904:

"THERE is something refreshing in the placid fashion in which Louis F. Post discusses all the familiar sins of the social and political world of today in his 'Ethics of Democracy' with-

cried he, "you make the coat in the waist so short? Vat for you cut it like that?"

Heinrich lapsed into the father tongue for the sake of perfect secrecy and free expression.

"Who am I that I should fit a giraffe?" he asked. "Look at her, ten yards or more from neck to waist! I am no tailor to a menagerie."

"It is true you are no tailor," cried Fritz, scornfully, and also in the father tongue. "This woman may be lopsided, with one shoulder above her ears. It is true that she stoops like an ashman, also that her waist is as wide as her shoulders, but she pays good money, and you should fit her were she the hippopotamus and all the camels."

"You should fit me," remarked the customer, also in German, as she gathered up her wraps, "you

should fit me were I Mt. Pisgah and all the Sandwich Islands."

"Gott in Himmel!" cried Fritz, as he watched the customer leave the shop. "Gott in Himmel. Heinrich, you lose me all my customers. You speak the German so bad that the New York women understand."—New York Evening Sun.

† † †

Emerson Hough is very fond of outdoor life, and many is the good story which he tells around the campfire at night. While camping out in the Adirondacks with a party of friends, the conversation turned on echoes and how easily they might be heard. Many good stories were told, but the following statement by Mr. Hough was acknowledged the

out consigning the planet to any hot finish at the end. That all will come out right at last, he cheerily believes, though very much is far from right at present. There is no firing in the air \* \* \* His book is made up of different essays, which may be taken together or singly, but the thread of the discourse runs through all of them."

Chicago Christian Century, July 6, 1905:

**T**HE book is sound morally. Its theories are founded on natural principles, and the constant protest is against artificial rights \* \* \* In all the essays the Golden Rule is the moral monitor \* \* \* He makes a splendid protest against eating bread in the sweat of some other's brow."

Chicago Tribune, March 5, 1904, (Review by George C. Howland):

**I**T is a pleasure to find questions on which it is so easy to rant discussed in a serene, courteous fashion. Mr. Post's ideal democracy does not consist in a habit of dress or trick of manners, or adherence to a particular platform, but in a habit of looking at each question from the standpoint of abstract right."

The Outlook, February 13, 1904:

**T**HE chief merit of this volume is its fundamentally wholesome spirit. Mr. Post writes forcefully, sincerely, seriously and with apt turns of humor \* \* \* He is rigorous and keen in applying moral tests to social conditions \* \* \* When he cites biblical passages, he is generally illuminating in what theologians would call his exegesis—illuminating just because he does not intend his comments to be exegesis at all \* \* \* There are gaps in his arguments. He raises questions he does not answer. He is often academic, as he admits he expects to be considered, and bookish. He writes, however, so as to stimulate the reader to find out for himself why his statements are true or why they are not."

Chicago Inter Ocean, January 14, 1904:

**I**T may be said at the outset that Mr. Post is a democratic Democrat, one who really believes that the Declaration of Independence meant what it said in declaring that all men are born free and equal in respect of their natural political rights to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness \* \* \* It is written by a man who has not permitted any person or periodical to do his thinking for him, and is vastly more democratic than the Democratic party and more republican than the Republican party."

New York Public Opinion, January 14, 1904:

**M**R. Post's discussion of the place and value of foreign trade is one of the most satisfactory chapters in the book. He shows in a convincing manner the many fallacies in the arguments of those who would prove that an excess of exports over imports is always a desirable thing and a source and index of national wealth \* \* \* One statement of the author's would seem to be fallacious, at least in its bald form. This is the one in which he denies the validity of contracts made by governments as effecting future generations."

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best. "Out in the Rocky mountains it takes eight hours to hear the echo of your voice. When I camp out there and just before I pull the blanket around me for the night, I shout out, 'Time to get up!' and—do you believe it?—the echo wakes me next morning!"—Christian Register.

\* \* \*

De Lancey Nicol, the New York lawyer, discussing a celebrated case, gave his idea of a suspicious question—one of those suspicious questions which carry

**I**F A DEALER is so unfair to Fels-Naptha soap—the genuine—as to offer a woman an imitation of it, that dealer will likewise be so unfair as to steadily take her money for "under-values" in other general merchandise.

Amend that dealer, madam, by ever insisting on the red and green wrapper (genuine) Fels-Naptha soap.

their own conviction with them. "It is just such a question as a gilded youth asked the head waiter in a Broadway restaurant the other morning. 'Was Blank here last night?' he began. 'Yes, sir,' the waiter answered. 'And,' said the youth, nervously, 'was I with him?'"—Argonaut.

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Published weekly by Louis F. Post, Ellsworth Bldg., 357 Dearborn St., Chicago, Ill.

Entered at the Chicago, Illinois, Postoffice as second class matter.

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