

The Public

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

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EDITORIAL

A Third Party Embarrassment.

More or less acute political observers predict that no third party will be supported by the Hearst papers *unless* Mr. Hearst is its Presidential candidate, and that no third party will support itself *if* Mr. Hearst is its Presidential candidate.

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Democracy Finding Itself.

In its candid denial of a vital clause of the Declaration of Independence (p. 577), coupled with its emphatic assertion of the truth of a principle of that document with which the repudiated clause is connected, The Outlook has thrown a brilliant light upon an issue which is fast taking practical form in this country. That issue is nothing less vital than this: Shall American democracy be democratic or monarchical?

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The question sounds absurd, and so it is if construed literally; for the democratic principle and the monarchical are opposites. But disregarding logical nicety in language and "dealing directly with the facts," which has come to be quite the mode, the question is reasonable enough. We must give it that paradoxical form unless we would deny the pretensions of The Outlook and Mr. Roosevelt and such as they, to democracy. Shall American democracy be democratic or monarchical? That is, shall human rights be de-

veloped and established and secured by the people themselves, or shall they be conferred and conserved by superior persons? Shall the people govern themselves for their own good, or be governed for their own good by others?

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This question discloses itself practically in connection with the agitation for and the operation of the Initiative, the Referendum and the Recall. Ask any one his opinion of those reforms, and if he understands them and favors them you may safely consider him on the side of a democratic democracy; if he understands but opposes or is indifferent to them, you may prudently write him down as on the side of a monarchical democracy. The one believes that human rights must be established and defended by the people, the other that they must be handed down and conserved by superiors; the one that the people must govern themselves for their own good, the other that they must be governed for their own good by—well, by some Roosevelt or other.

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Perhaps no other one thing has done so much to clarify this issue as The Outlook's confession of faith regarding the Declaration of Independence. "We believe," to quote its words, "that the statement in the Declaration of Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is false;" but that the principle embodied in the Declaration that governments exist for the benefit of the governed" is "always, everywhere and eternally true." Turning to the Declaration one may see that the object of governments, alluded to by The Outlook as a principle, is security for "certain inalienable rights" among which "are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness," and that this statement of principle is coupled with the modifying statement which The Outlook rejects, that they derive "their just powers from the consent of the governed." According to the Declaration of Independence, then, the object of governmental authority is the good of the people governed, its source the consent of the people governed. But according to The Outlook, while its object is the good of the people governed, its source is not the consent of the people governed, but is—what? Some superior, of course. And what is that but the essence of monarchy? The monarch reigns for the good of his people, if we take his word for it. To call those persons democrats who believe in government for the good of the people governed as some quite superior person may conceive that good to be, is to

wrench language; but if out of politeness their claims be deferred to, we must call them monarchical democrats in order to distinguish them from the democrats who believe in government for the good of the people governed as the people governed conceive that good to be. The latter are the democrats Abraham Lincoln had in mind when he spoke for "government of the people, by the people and for the people."

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With this distinction apprehended, there is little difficulty in understanding why many persons who profess democracy are so paternalistic in the methods they advocate. Their democracy is of The Outlook kind, which would have government of the people and for the people, but not by the people. It is of the Roosevelt kind, which would do the people good and make them good, with grape and cannister if necessary. To such democrats Roosevelt is an idol. To such democrats, and he is indeed their great exemplar in this as in other respects, the Initiative and Referendum and the Recall are in the category of democratic sentimentalities. Mark it well, the movement for the extension of those reforms in this country, toward which the monarchical democrats have turned a cold shoulder, will yet have to encounter their active opposition. The reason is that those reforms most distinctly give practical expression to the fundamentally democratic principle which the Declaration of Independence proclaimed and Abraham Lincoln accentuated, but which to Mr. Roosevelt is sentimental and to The Outlook false.—that governments are not only for the benefit of the people but that they derive their just powers from the people.

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The Napoleonic Roosevelt.

It was with hesitation that we wrote last week of the possibility of Mr. Roosevelt's being called again to the White House (p. 577), lest we might be overestimating his popularity. It never occurred to us that this might be an underestimate. We had not then read the estimate of Rockwell D. Hunt, Ph. D., which appeared in the California Weekly of May 27. Dr. Hunt says:

Theodore Roosevelt is the greatest of living men, the "most startling character since Napoleon;" among nations the United States of America is the mightiest in achievement and potentiality; the peace of the world is the most momentous as well as most alluring of all public questions. The conditions are perfect; the hero of San Juan and of the Peace of Portsmouth, in the midst of his matchless powers, is henceforth called to serve humanity by accepting the post never before proffered to mortal man—President of the United States of the World. This is not

an idle dream. The numerous forces, economic, political, cultural, ethical and religious, now at work in all lands in earnest advocacy of international conciliation, may indeed usher in the dawn of universal peace earlier than the most sanguine have yet dared to hope. The whole world groans and yearns for peace, peace that shall be free from the burdens of war, peace that shall not be broken while earth endures. The machinery of such a peace is well-nigh completed; its consummation awaits the touch of the hand of the master engineer. In the councils and the confidence of the expectant nations one man stands forth—truly a world-citizen, if such there be—pre-eminently fitted to essay the task as unique in its possibility of blessing to posterity as in the boldness of its conception, the most commanding personality of his generation—that man is unquestionably Theodore Roosevelt.

In the same issue of the California Weekly, an editorial comment on this estimate of Mr. Roosevelt's popularity "sees the raise and goes one better"—if we may quote from the vocabulary of that highly moral American game to which Republican phrasemakers are indebted for so many happy similes for political expression. Here is the first paragraph from that editorial:

The communication, in another column, expressing the hope that Theodore Roosevelt may see his way clear to head a movement for the formation of the United States of the World, and that he may be the first President of it, will strike a responsive chord in many hearts, but the brain of our correspondent is not the only one in which the idea has been incubating. It would probably be within bounds to say that it has taken a more or less definite form in the minds of millions in Europe as well as in America, and it cannot be that it has not had a place in the thinking of Theodore Roosevelt himself.

If Mr. Roosevelt's popularity is as Napoleonic as that, our estimate was well within bounds.

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President Taft's Labor Whimsicalities.

President Taft has taken great pains in two instances to demonstrate his attitude toward organized labor interests, and incidentally toward the public service. In one instance he appoints to a responsible and lucrative Federal office in Chicago, a mere campaign henchman, removing a blameless official to make the vacancy. Not only is there no pretense that the appointment is made for the good of the service, but it is ingenuously stated in honor of Mr. Taft that he made it solely out of gratitude to his appointee for having organized a workingman's mass meeting in behalf of Mr. Taft's candidacy in 1908. Having paid an election debt in this way to one type of workingman, Mr. Taft turns his attention to another type.

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Congressman Hughes had secured an amend-

ment to a bill authorizing expenditures for enforcement of the anti-trust law, which prohibited expenditures in prosecuting labor unions as for trust conspiracies on account of organized acts not in themselves unlawful. This amendment went into the bill and would have become part of the law but for Mr. Taft's pressing demands upon members of Congress toward the end of the session to strike it out. Aided by Congressman Tawney of Minnesota, he succeeded in doing this. At the last moment the motion to strike it out was carried by 138 to 130.

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Mr. Taft defends himself on the plea that the Hughes amendment was legislation in favor of a class; but Congressman Hughes remarks, rather louder than in a stage whisper, that Mr. Taft was not so squeamish about class legislation when in a special message on the 7th of last January he asked Congress to modify the anti-trust law in favor of corporations.

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Apart from that, however, why did Mr. Taft choose to regard the Hughes amendment as class legislation? Is he overwrought on the subject, or didn't he read the amendment? As we find it quoted in a friendly paper, the Chicago Record-Herald, of the 25th, it merely provided "that no money should be spent in the prosecution of any organization or individual for entering into any combination or agreement having in view the increasing of wages, shortening of hours, or bettering the condition of labor, or for any act done in furtherance thereof *not in itself unlawful.*" Is it class legislation for Congress to guard workingmen against bureaucratic persecution at public expense for merely organizing to better their condition, and for *lawful* acting in furtherance thereof? It must not be suspected that Mr. Taft, in using Presidential influence to strike out that organized labor amendment at about the time he was removing a faithful official in order to give another kind of labor man a public job, was influenced by that old time rule of political action under which enemies were punished and friends rewarded. But he has played the part with some verisimilitude.

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A Radical King.

Maxim Gorky, the Russian exile, tells the New York World of an interview he has recently had with the King of Italy, in which the King declared himself to be this kind of a Socialist:

I am a socialist, but my socialism is more individ-

ualistic and more radical than that of the average socialist of to-day. I hate the programme of the socialistic party which deals only with the economic side of life. Socialism should not mean equality of wealth, but equality of opportunity. On the other hand, I am opposed to the idea that the State shall be the owner of every capitalistic system. I, as a statesman, know from my experience that it would lead to a dangerous imperialism. My idea is that municipalities and counties should own that which the socialists want the state to own. The only thing for the state to control would be the education.

At the same interview the Italian King, as reported by Gorky, made the following profession of republicanism:

If the people want a monarch, let them have one. If they want a republic, well, they may have it. But what I want is the United States of the World. There should be one President of the World, to be elected once every five years.

* * *

"Golden Rule" Kohler.

The acquittal of "Golden Rule" Kohler and his return to public duty at the head of the Cleveland police force is welcome news. It was evident enough that the attack upon him was not because he was an unfaithful official but because he was a faithful one.

* * *

Land Valuation in Cleveland.

An innovation of extraordinary interest and civic value is the work, now completed, of the Cleveland board of assessors of real property. This board is composed of Arthur F. May, president; John A. Zangerle, secretary; Frederic C. Howe, Joseph F. McKenna and Theodore M. Bates, who were elected last fall (vol. xii, pp. 1043, 1089, 1162; vol. xiii, 194, 219) and have been steadily at work ever since. For chief clerk they employed W. A. Somers, the inventor of the unit system of land valuation under which the entire work of the board has been done. In their report, which is now published, they say that the work "could have been done neither in the time allowed, nor with the same general satisfaction, without his constant aid and direction." That the work has been done satisfactorily appears evident from a statement in the report that although the Board had but one reply to objections to its valuations, namely, "Give the Real Estate Board an option for thirty days at our appraisal," and "if they can't sell it we will reduce it," only one owner submitted to this reasonable test. The community participated extensively with the assessors—more generally than ever before—and, as the assessors report, it was manifest to all that there was "no place for favorites." For "favor-

ing one lot meant favoring the street," which required "a change of the next street, and so on until the whole neighborhood and district would be reduced, all of which individual, local and sectional favoritism would immediately and readily be discernible even by the uninitiated." Over 145,000 parcels of land and more than 100,000 buildings have been appraised by these assessors, under unusual difficulties, in seven months, and both method and result are set out in detail in the printed report for the information of all the people.

* * *

SCHOOLS FOR CITIZENSHIP.

The fevered anxiety of perhaps a majority of the American people over what Theodore Roosevelt would say and do when he returned, presents a curious spectacle to a reflective mind. That the views of a former President or any distinguished man should awaken interest and be discussed is always a sign of political health, but that sort of waiting interest which implies, "Please tell us what to do and think," is not.

Why should the most energetic people on earth, with the tools of self-government in their hands, entertain for an instant the idea that they need any "man on horseback" to save them in the presence of any crisis, however momentous? Why does not the political atmosphere vibrate with this sentiment: "We can save ourselves. The welfare of our Republic, or the success of any policy, depends upon the whim of no man or party of men"?

The astonishment of the American people that a President should talk vigorously about a square deal, is a sad confession of their own inefficiency as citizens of a republic.

* * *

Once, when in Bern, Switzerland, I sought an interview with the then President, Mr. Brenner, but found he was spending a short vacation in Germany. A few days later I called upon Mr. Mühlmann, statistician of the Canton Berne, at his residence, to secure some data upon the public utilities owned and operated by the Canton. Incidentally I asked Mr. Mühlman if President Brenner had returned. He replied: "Really I do not know, but he lives just across the street. You can readily find out there." Afterwards I did ascertain from the housemaid, without the formality of cards, guards, secret service detectives, or pomp of any sort.

The incident was typically 'Swiss. President Brenner is an able, highly honored and much-loved man. He has influence, but his personality and

opinions, or even his actions, are not vital to the welfare of this democratic people. What they think counts, and they do not degrade themselves by maudlin hero-worship or render their President's existence intolerable by vulgar curiosity, or prying into his private affairs. I do not suppose one man in fifty in Switzerland knew their President was out of the country.

But they all did know a popular vote was soon to be taken upon an amendment to the national Constitution, placing the water power of the nation under the absolute control of the Federal Congress, to be used for the public good.

They were not interested in Mrs. Brenner's wardrobe, or President Brenner's daily itinerary, but they were discussing the private monopoly formed to seize the power sites and trustify the people's "white coal," as they picturesquely call their mountain streams. And when the time came they "conserved" these natural resources while we were still talking about it and waiting for Teddy to come home.

This difference in the attitude of the Swiss and the American people toward their public men is pregnant with meaning. In the last analysis it spells life or death for popular government.

It is not the result of any superiority of the Swiss in point of natural intelligence, but of different methods of political action.

We elect men to do things for us; they not only elect men, but they hold the power to do things themselves.

We identify political issues with the personalities of leaders; they separate issues from politicians.

We are forced to pin our hopes for reform upon some man or some party; they look to the voice of the whole people.

We depend upon representative democracy; they upon direct democracy.

When we are misrepresented we howl, yowl, protest and elect other men, usually to find ourselves betrayed as before; they promptly invoke a vote of the people upon the issue at stake, settle the question, end the whole farce, and the land has peace.

In short, the American waits for some leader to save him; the Swiss waits not, but saves himself.

If the Swiss Federal Congress enacts a law which provokes enough popular disapproval to lead 30,000 citizens to demand, by means of a formal petition, a popular vote thereon, the fate of the law is determined at the polls by that ulti-

mate legislature—the whole people. This is called the Referendum.

Should desired laws be delayed, 50,000 citizens can, by a petition, secure action by this larger legislature, and if their proposal finds favor, it is enacted by the people without delay. There is the power of the Initiative.

It is scarcely necessary to add that copies of all laws so voted upon, are circulated among the people before the poll is taken, and are widely discussed. Such laws are void of legal verbiage, are written in plain language, are easily understood, and woe to that proposed law which is obscure in meaning or contains the gentle joker. The only time a Swiss representative appears before the people either before or after election, is when he takes the platform to favor or oppose measures up under the referendum.

This luminous phrase in the constitution in the Canton Zurich, puts the Swiss point of view before us in a nutshell: "The people exercise the law-making power with the assistance of the legislature."

In local, State and national affairs, the people have been exercising legislative functions for half a century. Surely enough practical experience has been had to determine the results of this extremely democratic system. The Swiss people themselves seem satisfied with the Initiative and Referendum to such a degree that, as ex-President Frey, in an interesting letter, writes: "The Swiss people will not give them up, and you might just as well propose to change the Swiss republic into a monarchy as to expect them to abandon these constitutional rights."

But this does not necessarily answer the demand for "results." If we consult the authorities we shall find a majority of them basing their whole estimate upon the legislative product—that is, upon the kind of laws which have been adopted or rejected. The democratic student points to some change made by the people which he thinks desirable, and says, "There, see that! A legislature would not have done that. What a fine thing! The Referendum is a success." But the aristocratic student digs up what he thinks vast mistakes in judgment on the part of the people and cries, "Look at that popular decision! A legislature would have known better. The Referendum is a failure." So the authorities clash over what one were tempted to call their predestined conclusions.

Generally the really significant result of this whole marvelous experience is given scant consideration. That result is this: Direct participation in

law-making by means of the Initiative and Referendum has vitalized, educated, and charged with courage the whole Swiss electorate. It has created in them as nothing else could possibly have done, a real consciousness that the government is theirs, and that while leaders may come and leaders go, their permanent welfare depends upon themselves. It has exalted the status of the private man and filled him with a fine pride of citizenship.

The Swiss do not look up to government, but across at it. Franz Arnold of Altdorf, the home of William Tell, may be elected to the Federal Congress, but he is still Franz Arnold and is not held to be suddenly endowed with supernatural wisdom or legislative ability by the incident of election. His constituents also have opinions and the Referendum has made them all legislators. As long as "Nationalrat Arnold" represents them fairly and honestly, they will return him, and not stupidly go into a fury, forget his whole record and reject him, should he vote for one or two measures they dislike. They will simply veto the objectionable measure at a referendum and send Franz back to try it again. "The Nationalrat" may think one way, but they think another, and they will not deprive themselves of the service of an able legislator because he differs from them on a few points.

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In Switzerland, these fearful and wonderful things called "laws" have lost their halo of sanctity, and power to awe and suppress. The people are accustomed to having bills placed in their hands to make and unmake. They have found that laws are simply proposals agreed to, and that they are quite as able as legislators to determine their utility and value. If mistakes are made, they know themselves to be responsible and so they have learned caution, prudence and restraint, and to act only on due deliberation.

"Does the Referendum lead to a more intelligent and actively interested citizenship?" I asked M. Gaston de Muralt, banker, conservative, descendant of an old Swiss patrician family, and the British consul at Bern.

"I think so by all means," was the reply.

"How do you know that? From what do you judge?"

"From my own experience. I am continually led to the investigation of questions by being called to vote upon them, which otherwise I would have taken no interest in, or have left to the city or State councils to decide. From my conversations with friends on pending questions and from the general interest aroused, I conclude that this increased interest is true of all."

It was interesting to have a highly educated business man state in a matter of fact way that the Referendum had educated *him* and made *him* a better citizen.

I knew it was universally true, since in all essential features Swiss politics were before the introduction of Direct Legislation, in exactly the same condition as American politics to-day—apathy, indifference, corruption, and all.

Adopting Direct Legislation as a practical expedient for securing equitable laws, the Swiss have not only got the laws they wanted, but they have discovered to the world a far greater thing: a *practical method of making efficient citizens*. Their school for citizenship is as hopeful for the future of democracy as was the school of Pestalozzi at Zurich for the education of children. They have not finished their education, nor are they terrestrial angels, but they are very busy with fundamental, economic and social problems, and as fast as the national mind advances, needed changes are made, so institutions are kept flexible. Switzerland is the only country on the globe in which the political center of gravity lies in the people, and in which it is impossible for the people to be betrayed.

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It would no doubt be impertinent and unpatriotic to suggest that we wise Americans could learn anything from a little country like Switzerland, since we have so many more dollars, skyscrapers and acres of land than they. But surely the sons of Uncle Sam who realize that the high carnival of misrepresentative government which has been going on in this country these many years, is mainly due to the indifference, apathy, and stupid partisan prejudices of the people themselves, cannot afford to turn up their noses at *American* institutions and experience.

It is notable that six States of the Union have already started these schools for citizenship—that is, have adopted the Initiative and Referendum; and, if we find that the citizens of these States are "waking up" and discharging their duties with hitherto unprecedented fidelity, it may be cheering to those who have lost hope and see no way out of the perplexing labyrinth in which in the other States we find ourselves.

Oregon and Oklahoma are two of those States—one Republican, the other Democratic. Oregon has voted upon 32 questions in the three State elections held since the adoption of the Initiative and Referendum. Oklahoma has had one election and voted on five problems. It were highly interesting, but outside the purpose of this writing, to discuss those laws the people have enacted or re-

jected. Our inquiry is: "What has been the effect of the Referendum upon the people?"

The bald fact that an average of 77 per cent of those who go to the polls in Oregon vote upon questions, shows a live interest. In Oklahoma the average stands at 79 per cent. This is an average—mind you. The lowest stands at 61 per cent; the highest at 89 per cent. On all important issues 8 or 9 voters out of 10 show their concern by their votes.

Associate Justice McBride of the Oregon Supreme Court, writes: "I am satisfied that this method of legislation is a great educator of the ordinary citizen in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship."

Mr. J. J. Johnson, editor of the "Pacific Grange Bulletin," who is perhaps in closer touch with the masses than Judge McBride, in a marvelously interesting survey, says: "The voters show marked interest in all matters submitted to them, and their good judgment has been exemplified by the results of their ballots. It was freely predicted by the enemies of this system and by some others that many untried measures would become laws by the want of interest among the voters—that the State would be flooded with extreme and unwise legislation, but our experience has proven otherwise. We have found this system a great educational factor. The new responsibility thus placed directly upon the voters has caused them individually to study not only the measures submitted to them under the Initiative or Referendum, but all other matters of legislation as well. They have become more interested in all matters affecting the well-being of the State."

It is true that "inspired" reports about Oregon, emanating mainly from corporation sources, tell a different tale. But the overwhelming flood of evidence from uninspired sources leaves no doubt that Mr. Johnson and Judge McBride have spoken the truth.

Note especially Mr. Johnson's observation that the voters are interested not alone in the laws submitted, but are alert upon "all matters affecting the well-being of the State."

He continues: "Our system is especially good, I think, along educational lines—in that to each legal voter is sent the text and arguments, pro and con, of each measure submitted. This is done by the Secretary of State in pamphlet form. We find these measures being discussed by debating societies, trade unions, and other gatherings for that special purpose. In fact people everywhere and from nearly every walk in life, immediately prior to election are busy in this discussion and study. And we have found that the voters as a

rule desire to serve the best interests of the State and strive earnestly to understand every measure to be voted upon."

Like evidence can be had from Oklahoma.

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Stop a moment and think how much the average voter in any State actually knows about the five most important laws proposed or passed at the last session of his State legislature—to say nothing of the minor legislation enacted, or the vast flood of bills introduced. Try it upon yourself to begin with. Then bring your imagination into play and follow those Oklahoma and Oregon voters studying *the actual text of statutes*, with the responsibility of the decision upon them,—laws pertaining to taxation, education, military matters, temperance, home rule for cities, sale of public lands, regulation of corporations, etc. Think of the voters studying these questions wholly aside from partisan politics and the squabbles of candidates for official jobs.

Is not this literally a State *at school*?

Can you not see that aside from the vast body of sociological, economic and political facts literally ramifying the body politic by this process, the people are bound incidentally to discover other things of great importance to them? They gain, for example, a better knowledge of the workings of governmental machinery, which must eventuate in a better operation of that machinery; that is, better administration of law.

Again: they find out, often to their surprise, "Who's who." It is an old trick of those highly respectable citizens composing the Interests to hide behind political machines and get through their special legislation under the cover of the Republican or Democratic parties. Your sound Republican, who thinks he is casting his ballot for the Grand Old Party of Lincoln, may actually be voting for a railroad company, an oil trust, or whatever patriotic group of dollar gatherers happens to be placing its eggs for the hatchings. It is, no doubt, a pleasant and profitable arrangement. But when an issue is brought up under the Referendum, the party loyalty argument goes glimmering. The beneficiaries of privilege are forced into the open. The private wires between corrupt and detested bosses and the respected president of the first national bank who supplies him with funds, are laid bare. The disillusioned voters then begin a complete revision of their economic and political notions, which is the first necessary step toward emancipation from the burdens they now complain about so loudly.

Direct legislation is not "the remedy" for our

social ills, but it will educate the masses regarding those ills and provide the means of applying effectually whatever remedy proves best.

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Another result is the generation of a social consciousness as against the old insane spirit of party fealty. Men to-day will even refuse to consider thoroughly the proposals of an opposing party; or, even if they favor those proposals, will remain silent. But an entirely new alignment of forces appears when a referendum is taken. Men disregard party and vote their convictions upon issues so presented. A higher good is visibly at stake than party success—the good of all. In this atmosphere is born a new conception of citizenship and a passion for social service.

Did you note Mr. Johnson's word, "the voters as a rule desire to serve the best interests of the people"? Thus the field of what we may call the social psychology of the Referendum opens before us. We may not now follow its pleasant, cheering pathways, but I trust I have made clear the truth that the most important consequence of Direct Legislation is not the intrinsic value of the laws that are voted up or down, but the fact that the *people are doing it*. The social intelligence and political muscle so developed render it easy for the people to take care of themselves in any emergency. If they make mistakes, they can readily rectify them and learn caution from that experience.

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From this school of citizenship there comes forth a body of voters who cannot be fooled, who cannot be bribed to sell their birthright for a mess of pottage, and who cannot be frightened since the exercise of their powers brings self-confidence and courage.

In such a democracy it is impossible for tyranny of any type to flourish, and the "man-on-horseback" type of leader shall find scant room for the display of his personality, however spectacular that may be, or the exercise of his dangerous powers.

"Has the President of Switzerland returned from abroad?" "I do not know, but he lives just across the street. You can find out there." *O wise Swiss!*

GEORGE JUDSON KING.

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I suppose the result must be . . . the establishment of society under a wholly new idea. . . . The leading features of any such radical change must be a deep modification of the institution of property—certainly in regard to land, and probably in regard to much else.—Harriet Martineau.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE

THE SOMERS SYSTEM FOR VALUING REAL ESTATE.

Cleveland, June 26.

The unit system of valuing land and buildings used in the recent quadrennial valuations in Cleveland, was devised by Mr. W. A. Somers (vol. x, p. 2), formerly City Engineer of St. Paul, Minn. He started an investigation which resulted in the completion of this system about sixteen years ago, and during all these years he has been a close observer and careful investigator of site values in very many of the large cities of the United States. His system undertakes to furnish persons charged with the appraisal of land values in cities, with a standard of measurement.

The Somers unit system itself may be likened to a yard stick. It is a method by which judgments of value may be easily applied to sites having varying conditions and differing sizes and shapes.

Into the value of a city lot enter three factors. These three factors are location, size, shape. Comparing the value of one lot with another, one must necessarily compare or attempt to compare three factors on one hand with three on the other. The impossibility of comparing three separate and distinct things with three other separate and distinct things must be apparent to any one. The trouble that we have always had in ascertaining land values is largely due to the failure to recognize the existence of these three factors. Obviously to make an intelligent comparison, two of the three factors must be eliminated.

Under the Somers unit system, size and shape are at first eliminated and only location is considered. Thus we are able to compare street with street, block with block, one side of the street with the other side of the same street—comparisons that are easily made.

This makes it easy, first, for the appraiser to use the knowledge and judgment that he may possess in comparing and arriving at valuations; and, second, for the people of the community to convey to the appraiser their notion of the comparative values of various locations.

The size and shape are eliminated by assuming a lot a foot wide and one hundred feet deep in every instance. Thus, at all times we are considering the same size and shape. That being so, we pay no attention to the size and shape of any particular lot but simply compare one location with another. Location, of course, is the chief factor in the value of a city site. Every such site gets its value through its frontage, because through its frontage there is access to the life and business of the city, and in no other way can there be such access.

By obtaining values on unit feet, as they are called, the whole method of appraisal is simplified; and when such unit feet are valued, the application of the value to varying sizes and differing shapes and locations, with reference to corners and alleys, is performed mathematically by means of a table of values that Mr. Somers after very wide investigation has devised. Lots that have various depths have a

certain percentage of value as compared with the unit value. For instance, a lot fifty feet deep from the front has 72½ per cent of the value of a lot one hundred feet deep, the widths being the same. But a lot one hundred and fifty feet deep has 115 per cent of the value of a lot one hundred feet deep, widths being the same. Mr. Somers has worked out the value of each foot so that any depth may be computed.

When two streets intersect, the values in both rise as the intersection is approached. This upward tendency has been called, for want of a better term, the "corner influence." Mr. Somers has found that this "corner influence" extends not to exceed 100 feet from the corner on both streets—not evenly nor by jumps, but in a rapidly falling curve from the corner, the course of the curve being entirely dependent upon the effect of one value upon another. Therefore, every time there is a differing relation of values on the two streets there will be differing conditions as a result. Scarcely any two corners, especially in the business section of a city, are alike, and no percentage rule will fit. If, perchance, one should by accident hit upon the proper percentage to add to the ordinary value of a given lot because it is on a corner, it would be found that the same percentage would not apply in the case of any other corner lot.

By dividing each corner influence into 100 squares of 10 feet each, and diagramming all the lots at a given corner upon these 100 squares, the values of each owner are distinguished. By adding up the values of each of the squares in the assignment to each owner, the values are properly and equitably distributed; provided, of course, that it is possible to find out in any way the value of each square when the unit value on each contributing street is known. It is exactly this information that Mr. Somers has worked out.

Each combination of two unit values necessitates its own table, and to work out this computation access must be had to these tables, several hundred in number. Other tables based upon the same underlying principles have been devised for the purpose of computing the values of irregularly shaped plots, of corner lots with acute or obtuse angles.

Mr. Somers has also devised an equitable plan of assigning additional values to lots abutting upon alleys or public places that are not thoroughfares and that are used for purposes of light, area and access for merchandise.

To value buildings, Mr. Somers divides all buildings into four classes in accordance with their use, and each of these classes is sub-divided into divisions in accordance with their construction. It is a comparatively easy matter to measure each building to be valued, and ascertain by investigation the cost of material and labor to produce a square foot or cubic foot, as the case may be, for any one of the divisions referred to. The calculation to ascertain the total value of any building is thus found to be very simple. From this reconstruction of value must of course be taken an agreed amount for age, condition and lack of utility, if any.

I have attempted to describe as briefly as possible and in a very general way the practical side of the application of the Somers unit system. It is a scientific and mathematical tool by which values of prop-

erty, largely intangible, may be ascertained easily, satisfactorily and quickly.

E. W. DOTY.

INCIDENTAL SUGGESTIONS

WE HAVE SINNED.

Chicago.

One day, now many years ago, I found John P. Altgeld reading a copy of *The Public* in which was given an account of a banquet held in New York city by the "get together" Democrats, who are always for harmony when they can lead the procession and dictate party policies. Bryan had been defeated twice, and they believed that he surely would not trouble the party again. The slogan was: "Get together, you lean hungry Democrats—so long out of office—and unite on some acceptable candidate, and drive the Republicans out of power." Midnight approached and no discordant sound had been heard. The knowing ones winked at each other, as if to say, "All's well." Finally our friend C. E. S. Wood of Oregon got up and discharged such a fusillade of anti-monopoly material that these representatives of predatory wealth were dismayed. "Oh, Schilling," said Altgeld, "I can't tell you how glad I am to know that the time has finally come when these pirates can't meet anywhere any more without some one's getting up and exposing their designs."

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I thought of all this the other day when I learned that the Evanston Congregational Church Club had been discussing the subject of graft as manifested by the last legislature of our State. Some of these church members confessed their shame in having worked and voted for the member who is accused of having distributed the "jack pot;" others regretted the lack of strength and moral fiber that make up the characters of many of our public men. "Graft everywhere!" they exclaimed. "Graft in San Francisco, in Pittsburg, in Chicago and Springfield! Graft in the nation, in the State, in the city! O Lord, deliver us: what must we do?" Finally our friend A. P. Canning got the floor and said:

"Brethren, the fact of nation-wide graft is admitted, ranging from small amounts to the gift of a nation's natural resources by political puppets. The request of the first speaker, that he be considered a transgressor, because he aided in the election of one of the officials under charges, is a hopeful sign. No doubt the man was honest when you elected him, and surely the people are not guiltless when they turn into the political arena millions of dollars in franchises and special privileges as prizes for Big Business and weak politicians. I am glad we are approaching this graft problem today in the attitude of sinners, and not of pharisees; the spirit of the 'publican' will work wonders in politics, just as it does in religion. Is it any wonder so many of our young men of excellent reputation go to our legislative halls fired with an ambition to serve the country, but return dishonored and disgraced? Honesty and integrity will accomplish much if you give it a chance. But vice becomes very alluring when the only key that opens the door to dignity and fame is

in the hands of those who desire or possess special privileges under the law. I am glad you men and women realize the dangers to which you expose your sons when you send them to legislatures to tinker with tariffs and to grant franchises and subsidies.

"Surely there must be a better way to handle public property and escape these dangers. Perhaps those who oppose government control of railroads, and municipal ownership of municipal property, are not as wise as we think they are. We ought also to remember that lying is as easy as bribery. Government by the people is a dream and the 'Revolution was indeed fought in vain,' unless we can remove this source of corruption which is destroying the Republic. The wish was expressed here today that the heads of corporations might see the dangers that threaten our nation, and resolve to quit buying legislation. That is a splendid suggestion, and I would like to offer another: That we, the people, help them to keep their good resolution by giving up our foolish and vicious custom of selling the sovereign powers of government for small cash payments, given by Big Business to those who misrepresent us, and by equitable taxation, the taxation of privilege—not industry and thrift—undo as far as lies in our power the mistakes of the past.

"As to remedies, give the people control of legislation, let them take again the power which should be theirs only, to initiate legislation, to O. K. or reject laws that have been passed, to call back their servants from Washington or Springfield when they doubt their honesty and efficiency; then our graft problem could be easily solved. How much money do you think corporations would pay for legislation that had to be O. K.'d by the people? Do you think certain mid-night transactions relative to school land leases and street car franchises in Chicago would have been consummated if the O. K. of the citizens had been necessary to validate these deals? When we have the initiative and the referendum we will have government by the people, and not till then. And if we study carefully the causes which have destroyed republics in the past, and profit by their mistakes, we may yet have a republic here greater than any the world has yet seen—a country like that described by Isalah, 'where those who build houses shall inhabit them, and those who plant vineyards shall eat the fruit of them'—a nation in which the possession of wealth shall be an evidence of good work, well done, by those who possess it."

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I am glad to note this discussion because, after all, it's a splendid sign when the church clubs take up for discussion and consideration such vital questions. The majority of their members will, I am sure, do the right thing when they know what to do and how to do it; and for that reason I wish that every reader of *The Public* who is also a member of a church would aid in organizing such clubs for the discussion of such questions.

GEO. A. SCHILLING.

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The question is not how much prosperity the tariff will produce, but how much tariff the prosperity will stand.—Kansas City Post.

NEWS NARRATIVE

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, June 28, 1910.

Congressional Corruption.

An exposure of gigantic corruption in Congress in connection with sales of Indian lands was made on the 24th in a speech in the Senate by Senator Gore of Oklahoma. Under existing law, tribal contracts must be approved by the President and the Secretary of the Interior; but these officials have no authority over individual contracts with Indians. To protect the Indians in both respects Senator Gore had secured an amendment in the Senate to the deficiency appropriation bill when it came from the House, whereby contracts with the Choctaw and Chickasaw nations and by individual Choctaws and Chickasaws, were required to be approved by Congress as a condition of their validity. But when the deficiency bill came out of conference committee of the two houses, Senator Gore's protective clause had been altered.

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Senator Gore did not learn of this until the Senate had adopted the conference committee's report. He was then assured by Senator Hale on the floor of the Senate that the matter had been properly safeguarded. This explanation he accepted, though with a monitory statement that John F. McMurray (the representative of the two Indian nations for several years) would receive graft to the extent of \$3,000,000 from individual contracts and that improper influence had been used by a representative of McMurray's to defeat the protective amendment.

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Upon examining the substitute provision later, Senator Gore found it unsatisfactory and moved to recall the conference report. Senator Gallinger moved to lay this motion on the table, which was done. Senator Gore thereupon stated, as matter of personal privilege, that on May 4th last he had offered a resolution similar in terms to the protective amendment he had afterward had placed in the deficiency bill in the Senate, and that his resolution, which had now been struck out, had been referred to the committee on Indian affairs; that on the following day Senator Hughes had been di-

rected to make a favorable report on the resolution; and that—

"on May 6 a man came to me with an improper suggestion. He was a representative of Mr. McMurray, a resident of my home town, and had been my friend in a time of need. He assured me it would be to my financial interest if I would call on the Senator from Colorado and advise him not to report the resolution. There was a suggestion that \$50,000 would be available if the contracts were not prohibited. And I am informed that a similar proposition was made yesterday to a member of the House of Representatives."

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Learning meanwhile that the House had not yet adopted the conference report, Senator Gore secured the attention of Congressman Murphy of Missouri, and through Mr. Murphy's vigorous opposition the House rejected the conference report by an almost unanimous vote. This action being reported to the Senate, Senator Hale moved that the Senate insist upon the Gore amendment and ask for further conference. On that motion Senator Gore spoke more fully. He stated that the man who had approached him on May 6th said that an ex-Senator from Nebraska, an ex-Senator from Kansas, and a member of the House Committee on Indian Affairs were interested in the contracts. He added that he had just seen Mr. Tawney, one of the House conferees, and had asked him who had suggested the inefficient provision which was substituted by the conference committee for the Gore amendment, and Mr. Tawney named the very member of the House mentioned by the man who had approached Senator Gore. Gore's account of the attempt to bribe him is thus reported in one of the dispatches:

"A former personal friend, a man who had loaned me money, indorsed my notes, and had otherwise befriended me, came to me at the time I introduced my bill," said Mr. Gore, following his charges on the Senate floor, "and in the course of our conversation he said: 'I am interested in these McMurray contracts. There is a big fee in them.' I replied that I understood so. 'Yes,' he added, 'and there is enough for two.' I resented the intimation, but, nothing deterred, he continued: 'I can get you \$25,000 if you will call off Senator Hughes and not have your bill reported.' Receiving no encouragement from me, he raised the offer, saying: 'I believe if I should go and lay down on McMurray I could get you \$50,000.' I told him I would not do it for all the lands in Oklahoma. No, 'I will not at this time name the man, but I will in case of a Congressional investigation.'"

Although Senator Gore refused to mention any names but McMurray's, he said he hoped there would be an investigation of the whole matter, in the course of which he would make full disclosures. He went so far as to prepare a resolution for an investigation, but withheld it upon assurance from Senator Hale that the interests of the Indians would be properly safeguarded.

When Senator Gore in the Senate and Mr. Murphy in the House had finished speaking, the deficiency bill was returned to conference committee where a protective clause satisfactory to Senator Gore was inserted, and with this clause the bill was enacted by both Houses. Involved in this scandal there are reported to be in Oklahoma 450,000 acres of coal lands worth \$160,000,000. Before adjournment both Houses adopted on the 25th resolutions for a thorough investigation. The resolutions were mutually independent, and each House appointed its own committee, as follows: For the Senate—Wesley L. Jones of Washington, chairman, Theodore E. Burton of Ohio, Coe I. Crawford of South Dakota, Charles J. Hughes Jr. of Colorado, Leroy Percy of Mississippi. For the House—Charles H. Burke of South Dakota, chairman, Philip Campbell of Kansas, Clarence B. Miller of Minnesota, John H. Stephens of Texas, Edward W. Saunders of Virginia. This action was taken reluctantly, according to John Callan O'Laughlin in his Washington correspondence for the Chicago Tribune, who reports:

The sudden change of heart on the part of the leaders in Congress with respect to the Gore charges was not the least of the surprising developments in this astounding matter. Early in the day it had been determined to smother an inquiry if possible into the relation of any Senator or member of Congress to the Indian contracts. The leaders were willing to have the Indian affairs committee inquire into the validity of the contracts which J. F. McMurray had made with the Chickasaws and Choctaws and whether or not the fee of 10 per cent he had exacted was reasonable. They showed little disposition to have investigated the charges that members of Congress and two former Senators were interested in the agreements as alleged by Senator Gore. The matter was so pregnant with serious possibilities for the Republican party, however, that after careful consideration the conclusion was reached that an investigation would have to be made.

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Conference on the Breakdown of Representative Government in Illinois.

What may become an historical conference of national interest and influence assembled at Peoria on the 27th in response to an open call (p. 587), and came to order under the temporary chairmanship of Charles L. Capen, of Bloomington, formerly President of the Illinois Bar Association. The object of the conference, as stated in the call, was "to consider the breakdown of the representative government of Illinois" an allusion to recent exposures of bribery in the legislature in connection with the Senatorial election and other legislative affairs,—“and to devise ways and means if possible, of restoring it.”

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The opening meeting, on Monday afternoon, showed an earnest but not large attendance. The

temporary officers were made permanent, as follows: Chairman, Charles L. Capen; Vice-Chairman, Philo C. Miles of Peoria; Secretary, Harold L. Ickes of Chicago; and Assistant Secretary, Robert M. Gibboney of Rockford. Among the afternoon speakers beside the Chairman, were Morton D. Hull of Chicago on legislative methods; George E. Cole of Chicago on the frauds involved in the minority representation plan; D. R. Sheen of Peoria on legislative experience; George E. Green of Peoria on the murder of the commission government bill; Robert Catherwood of Chicago on civil service legislation; Judge Lewis Rinaker of Chicago on election laws and rules for the conduct of the legislature. The following committee on resolutions was appointed: Walter S. Rogers of La Grange, A. S. Leckie of Joliet, George L. Carpenter of Amboy, George A. Scherer of Peoria, and Raymond Robins of Chicago.

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In the evening Senator Jonathan Bourne, Jr., spoke at the Majestic Theatre on "The Oregon Plan," on the lines of the speech delivered by him in the United States Senate on May 5.* The speech was well adapted for popular interest and was attractively delivered, and it was received with great enthusiasm.

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At the morning session of Tuesday Merritt Starr of Chicago spoke on "corrupt practices" legislation; Joseph Farris of Springfield on municipal home rule, and Dr. Charles McCarthy of Madison, Wis., on the Wisconsin legislative bureau. At the afternoon session the Conference adopted resolutions pledging effort to secure for Illinois the initiative and referendum substantially as now in use in Oregon; and also directing the appointment of a committee of seven to submit this matter to the people of the State, and to co-operate in obtaining from legislative candidates pledges for the initiative and referendum, a corrupt practices act, and a comprehensive civil service system. This committee was appointed by the Chairman as follows: Walter S. Rogers of La Grange, chairman; Merritt Starr, Chicago; George E. Cole, Wilmette, George L. Carpenter, Amboy; Frederick A. McFarland, Galesburg; A. L. Surran, Decatur, and Frank H. Bode, Springfield. The Conference also adopted resolutions demanding a searching investigation of the charges of corruption in connection with the election of Senator Lorimer.

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The Conference closed with an address on Tuesday evening by Winston Churchill, the New Hampshire novelist and legislator, on the Interest-fostered corruption of his State, and the value of the short ballot.

*A condensed form of the Senate speech will be found in the Related Things department of this Public.

Minnesota Republican Convention.

At the Republican convention in Minnesota, held at St. Paul on the 21st, and at which Gov. A. O. Eberhart, who succeeded Governor J. A. Johnson upon his death (vol. xii, p. 950), was nominated for Governor, the platform endorsed President Taft's "wise and conciliatory" administration, favored State and national regulation of transportation companies, and endorsed the tariff commission idea. The Insurgent element, led by Hugh T. Halbert, secured the passage of a resolution favoring the conservation of natural resources "along the lines suggested by Theodore Roosevelt;" but a resolution endorsing the "Roosevelt policies" generally, and one denouncing the Aldrich tariff bill as a "repudiation of the pledges of the Republican party to the American people," were overwhelmed.

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The Ohio Democratic Convention.

The Ohio Democratic convention, which met at Dayton on the 21st, is of national interest because it put forward Judson Harmon, the present Governor, whom it renominates, as the Democratic candidate for President in 1912. Also because it refused, on Gov. Harmon's advice, to nominate a Senatorial candidate. Tom L. Johnson was not physically strong enough to risk being there, and Newton D. Baker took his place. In the State committee Baker's motion to endorse a candidate for United States Senator was defeated by 14 to 6. It was defeated again in the committee on resolutions, and Baker brought it before the convention in a minority report in support of which he made a vigorous speech to a hostile body. The minority report was defeated by 840 to 254.

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Atlee Pomerene was temporary chairman. He is a friend of Johnson's and made a radical speech. Ex-Governor Campbell was permanent chairman. Gov. Harmon was renominated by acclamation; and Atlee Pomerene also by acclamation (after failure to nominate on first ballot and his withdrawal in consequence) was nominated for Lieutenant Governor.

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The points in the platform of general interest are a "fair and just regulation of all public utilities" with "home rule as to franchises carefully guarded;" ratification of the income tax amendment; "the principle of the initiative and referendum;" "legislation limiting the hours of employed women;" and election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people, and a State law meanwhile for the nomination of United States Senators by a popular party vote; gradual reduction of the tariff to a revenue basis; and conservation of natural resources. A separate resolution named

Gov. Harmon as Ohio's candidate for the Democratic nomination for President.

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According to the Cleveland Plain Dealer, Gov. Harmon was "the absolute controlling factor on every important issue, including platform, candidates, and party organization." The favorable mention of Bryan's name and Johnson's policies by the temporary chairman was received significantly without applause except by the Cuyahoga county delegation, the Cleveland county, and scattered delegates. Bryan had written to Gov. Harmon, urging him, in the best interests of the party, to use his influence to have the convention nominate a candidate for United States Senator.

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Diaz Re-Elected President of Mexico.

Porfirio Diaz, for thirty-four years President of the Republic of Mexico, was re-elected to the office for the eighth time on the 26th. His seventh term will expire on the 30th of next November. Ramon Corral, the present vice-president, was also re-elected. The winning ticket carried by a large majority. The anti-re-electionist ticket, headed by Francisco Madero, a wealthy planter of the State of Nuevo Leon, received only about two per cent of the vote cast in Mexico City. This is not difficult to account for, however, since President Diaz has held his rival candidate in prison since the 5th of June, on charges of having maligned himself and aroused sedition (pp. 564, 584.) That detaining an opposing candidate in prison is an efficacious way to diminish his vote may be deduced from statements made in the Chicago Record-Herald's dispatch from the City of Mexico on the day before election: "The biggest anti-re-election demonstration ever held in Mexico City was that which the Madero party held three or four weeks ago. There was a surprisingly large number of marchers in the procession that passed through the streets, and the enthusiasm was unmistakable." Madero's political status is thus described in the same dispatch: "Madero is the residuary legatee, politically, of General Reyes. Both Madero and Reyes believe there are reforms that Mexico could and should have at once. It is complained by them, or the more radical spokesmen for them, that American capital is getting too strong a foothold in Mexico and that native labor is being kept out of the choice jobs by Americans."

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British Politics.

Of the inter-party conference (p. 585), T. P. O'Connor, M. P., cables the Chicago Tribune from London on the 25th that—
the hopes of a compromise between the two parties, which were high on some days of last week, have diminished, and even that incurable optimist, Lloyd-George, shows signs of discouragement. It is signif-

icant that, in spite of the different rumors in the papers, the conference has only met twice up to now, and these preliminary meetings have not even approached the serious points which will lead to a settlement or a final rupture. Accordingly the feeling increases that both sides are only playing for time and to avoid the reproach of forcing the young King into the gravest Constitutional crisis. The arrival of Redmond and the other Irish leaders this week brings another disturbing factor into the situation.

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Woman Suffrage in Great Britain.

Following the public demonstration in London in behalf of the compromise suffrage bill (p. 586), the Cabinet gave a hearing on the 23d to advocates and opponents of women's suffrage, and decided to afford Parliamentary facilities for a full debate and vote on the subject in the House of Commons.

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Religious Freedom in Spain.

Relations between the Spanish government and the Vatican continue strained (p. 563). The Vatican insists on the withdrawal of the government's decree of June 11 (p. 563), granting non-Catholics liberty of public worship, as a condition precedent to the continuation of negotiations over the revision of the Concordat. This instrument, bearing date of 1851, defines and regulates the relation between the church and the state in Spain. The Vatican assumes its violation by the decree of the 11th.

NEWS NOTES

—George V (p. 468) is to be formally crowned in May, 1911.

—The first regular session of the Sixty-first Congress adjourned sine die on the 25th.

—The Tennessee Supreme Court rendered a decision on the 25th upholding the commission form of government in Memphis, which has been in force in that city since Jan. 1, 1910.

—The Republican State convention of Pennsylvania, held at Harrisburg on the 22d, nominated John K. Tener for Governor and endorsed the State and national administrations, especially approving the Aldrich tariff law.

—In accordance with her referendum vote of 1908 (vol. xi, p. 349), the Swiss parliament has passed a law prohibiting the manufacture, importation or sale of absinthe or any imitation thereof, after October 7 of this year.

—An international congress of Chambers of Commerce began its sessions at London on the 21st. It was attended by 450 delegates and was opened by Sydney C. Buxton, a Cabinet minister as president of the Board of Trade.

—Gov. Dickerson, of Nevada, was reported in dispatches of the 23d to have announced officially re-

garding the proposed prize fight at Reno on the 4th (p. 585) that he will not prevent it "providing it is on the square," and that he believes "it will be so."

—Quo warranto suits were begun in Missouri by the Attorney General of that State on the 20th against the Armour Packing Company, Morris & Co., Swift & Co., Hammond Packing Company and the St. Louis Dressed Beef and Provision Company, charging conspiracy to control the meat packing business in Missouri.

—Jane Addams was given the honorary degree of Master of Arts by Yale University at New Haven on the 22d. She is the first woman to receive an honorary degree from Yale. James J. Hill, of the Great Northern Railroad, was at the same time and by the same university given the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

—The House bill establishing a postal savings bank system (p. 565) passed the Senate on the 22d by 44 to 25. Senators Cummins, Bristow, and La Follette voted against it on the ground that it favors the big banking interests. Senator Dolliver was paired against it. Only one Democrat, Senator Chamberlain of Oregon, voted for it. The bill was signed on the 24th by President Taft.

—Government owned stock yards and abattoirs throughout Manitoba (pp. 160, 540) are to be in operation by the autumn. There will be no yardage, storage or other charges made, and the operation of the yards and abattoirs will be under the direct supervision of the government, whose approval must be obtained on any regulations or orders.

—Upon the meeting in special session of the New York legislature on the 20th (p. 542), Gov. Hughes submitted a special message recommending enactment of a law providing for a system of direct nominations of candidates for public office, amplification of the resolution providing for an investigation of alleged legislative corruption, and provision to meet the increasing demands upon State revenues.

—A sub-committee of the Senate committee on privileges and elections was appointed on the 21st by Senator Burrows, chairman of the latter committee, to investigate the circumstances of the election of Senator Lorimer (p. 506) of Illinois. The sub-committee is composed of Senators J. C. Burrows of Michigan, chairman; W. P. Dillingham of Vermont, Robert J. Gamble of South Dakota, and Weldon B. Heyburn of Idaho, Republicans; James B. Frazier of Tennessee, Thomas H. Paynter of Kentucky, and Joseph F. Johnston of Alabama, Democrats.

—Pursuant to China's program of a ten years' progression to constitutional government, and following the provincial assemblies of last fall (pp. 37, 112, 294, 304), national assemblies were called to meet on the 3rd of next October, by an Imperial decree of May 9 (p. 468). So fast has the desire for self-government developed, that popular clamor has demanded that the assemblies be replaced by a national parliament with legislative powers. This the Imperial Regent, Prince Chun, refused in a decree of the 27th.

—Indictments for conspiracy to bribe were found on the 25th by the Sangamon county (Ill.) grand jury at Springfield against two members of the lower house of the legislature, Lee O'Neil Browne and

Robert E. Wilson, and Frank J. Traut, Louis D. Hirschheimer and A. B. Johnson. Mr. Browne, the Democratic leader in the lower house, was put on trial in Chicago last week for conspiracy to bribe in connection with the election of Senator Lorimer (p. 506). At two o'clock on the morning of the 29th the jury, which had been out 106 hours, had not come to an agreement.

—A series of measures designed to stimulate the falling birthrate in France (p. 444) was introduced into the French parliament on the 22nd. According to the dispatch of the Chicago Inter Ocean the measures include "the imposition of additional military service upon bachelors over 29 years of age; making obligatory the marriage of state employes who have reached the age of 25 years, with supplementary salaries and pension allowances for those with more than three children, and the repeal of the law requiring equal distribution of estates among the children."

—The first regular airship passenger service was inaugurated on the 22d when Count Zeppelin's (vol. xi, p. 849) "Deutschland" carrying twenty passengers, made its first scheduled trip from Friedrichshafen to Dusseldorf, a distance of 300 miles, in nine hours. Regular trips were announced, and tickets were being sold for them at \$50 each. The airship was equipped with a buffet restaurant. In a flight on the 28th the "Deutschland" was caught in a storm, and after rising nearly 4,000 feet to escape a whirlwind, for lack of petrol came to earth helpless, and was wrecked on the top of a pine forest. No lives were lost.

—Fred C. Kohler, Mayor Johnson's "golden rule" police chief (pp. 61, 322, 444), has just been tried by the civil service commission of Cleveland, on charges of intoxication and immorality, and has been fully acquitted. The chief was suspended during the trial, and at its termination was immediately reinstated by Mayor Baehr. The elements in the community that would profit from a corrupt police system are believed to have been behind the charges. Following his reinstatement Chief Kohler once more put in practice his "golden rule," and declared to his force that bygones were bygones; that he cherished no enmity against the detectives who testified against him, and that each man's job was secure "as long as he delivers the goods."

—A constitutional amendment in Arkansas, to be voted on at the election there in September, known as "Amendment No. 10," will, if carried, establish the initiative and referendum in that State. In an address on the 25th, Gov. Lonaghey of Arkansas said of this amendment: "I am in favor of safeguarding the welfare of the people of Arkansas by giving them the option and power of invoking the initiative and referendum whenever they deem it to their interest to do so. There is no more important plank in our Democratic platform than the one which indorses this amendment. The legislature will do better work when it knows the people have the power to overhaul that work if it is not done right. Hence only a few laws will ever be voted on."

—As a result of the two conferences at New York on the civil and political status of the Negro (p. 395), the National Association for the Advancement

of Colored People has been permanently organized, with Moorfield Storey as president, Wm. English Walling as chairman of the executive committee, John E. Mulholland as treasurer, Oswald Garrison Villard as disbursing treasurer, a general committee of 100 members of both races, and executive offices at 20 Vesey street, New York. Its program, already carried out as far as funds permit, is to educate "public opinion in healthy ideals of inter-racial relations under a democracy, principally through publication of facts and a central bureau of information and correspondence. The terms of membership range from \$1 a year to \$500 in one payment.

PRESS OPINIONS

A Financial View of President Taft.

Moody's Magazine (financial), June.—People are trying to figure out how it happens to be that the Administration at Washington has so completely changed front on the railroad question. Wall Street had begun to feel in recent months that Mr. Taft was really more friendly to the corporation interests of the country than most people had supposed. . . . The real explanation of the changed attitude of the President is doubtless based on the political situation. Mr. Taft has begun finally to realize that his administration up to date has been very unpopular, even with his own party. He is finding that the temper of the people, particularly in the Central and Western States, is extremely bitter toward the policies which he had adopted.

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A Practical Application of the "Golden Rule."

The Cleveland Plain Dealer (ind.), June 25.—Chief Kohler's address to his men, following his reinstatement, shows him to be a bigger man than even his friends had estimated him. The chief plainly stated that no animosity would be shown against those members of the police department who had testified against him, worked against him, sought evidence against him and done everything in their power to blacken his reputation. From the moment of his reinstatement Kohler has declared a "new deal." All that happened prior to that time has been wiped off the slate. Merit and efficiency alone will count for favor or promotion. In view of the finding of the civil service commission there is no doubt that the testimony of some of the members of the police department against Kohler was not only malicious but also false. It would have been but human for the chief to single out some of the worst offenders for at least a reprimand. He would not have been severely criticised had he pursued such a course, but there is no doubt that he has chosen the wiser policy. With the fine vindication that has been given him, with the strong manifestation of popular sympathy and approval that has marked the progress and culmination of the trial before the civil service commission, the chief can well be content. The policemen whose testimony was discredited have been sufficiently punished without any show of vindictiveness on the part of the man they sought to injure. It is at least possible that some of them

will see that it is now not only their duty but also their personal advantage to turn in and prove efficient subordinates of the chief who has made the Cleveland police force a model.

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Platitudes.

The (Chicago) Tribune (Rep.), June 6.—There are times when platitudes under pressure of momentous issues give forth the latent heat they keep within their smooth worn surfaces. Then they are likely to burn the fingers of those who have carried them about for many years as pocket pieces to ward off the pangs of spiritual rheumatism, or have worn them, expensively mounted, as watch charms to mark one's moral wealth and to set one apart in the eyes of one's admiring neighbors as one who can afford such luxuries. It would seem that the present is a time when this is happening. Certain platitudes, moral, and social, and political platitudes, which during many peaceful years have enjoyed the favor of our best citizens, have grown incandescent, uncomfortable, and undesirable. They are coming to be suspected of being not respectable. To handle them openly in public is already bad form in some circles, and they will presently be nothing better than a badge of the crank, the agitator, and the visionary. . . . But incandescent platitudes are difficult to put away. They shine in spite of us. They burn in spite of us. They develop a life of their own and dance before us in spite of our shocked protest. Yet as they become worse than valueless to some, they take on a new and unexpected value to many.

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The Strangling of Finnish Liberties.

The (London) Nation (Lib.), June 11.—The Russian Douma, as it exists in its third incarnation, with a jerrymandered electorate and a Siberian purge behind it, has done little as yet to distinguish itself among the world's Parliaments. But by the levity with which it is voting away the liberties of Finland, it has at last succeeded in establishing a record. For anything resembling the frivolity of its proceedings one would have to search the records of those sessions of our own House of Commons which dealt in an equally summary way with a conquered and unrepresented Ireland under the last of the Stuarts. To the accompaniment of the guillotine, under a reign of mitrailleuse speeches, each limited to a few minutes, the history of a century was blotted out, the promises of dead Tsars obliterated, and a developed Western civilization subjected to a semi-Asiatic despotism. . . . The Extreme Left, it seems to us, took the more self-respecting course when it left the House in protest after the first fatal decision. The Liberals under M. Millukoff made a good and resolute fight, but against an overwhelming majority under summary rules of procedure their efforts were foredoomed to failure. . . . The sequel one may anticipate with a certain gloomy assurance. The Finns are not of the stuff that bends before a threat. Everything which they valued, from the form of their cherished Constitution to the more intimate liberties of their daily life, is now in danger of overthrow. . . . But Russia, if she triumphs,

will do so only by losing the culture, the prosperity, and the contentment of the one corner of her dominions which reaches in these respects a European standard. It remains for the democracies of the West to see to it that she shall lose much more than this. It happens that we have no legal ground for protest, as we had in the much less gross case of Bosnia. But treaty rights have none the less been violated, solemn oaths forgotten, and the public law of Europe flouted. The Government which has done these things has proclaimed itself a Government which does not keep faith. Prudence itself counsels us that the ally who attempts to transact with it risks behavior equally faithless. There were reasons enough before in the internal misgovernment of Russia why we should refrain from any entente cordiale. Those reasons are multiplied tenfold today. In all our dealings, diplomatic, social and financial, with the official classes of Russia, there is now a plain duty to remember, first of all, that on them falls the guilt of libicide in Finland. If there is talk again of an exchange of courtesies with the Douma which has done this thing, or with the Court which prompted it, the politicians or the party which on our side make or welcome the advance will stand branded before public opinion for condoning the grossest wrong in modern history.

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Human Derelicts.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (dem. Dem.), May 14.—Undoubtedly there is a persistent competition for the services of the exceptional man. The world is not worrying over the man who has unusual gifts and capacities. It is the average man of whom we are called upon to think. If the men out of work are the victims of their own incapacity they are really not to be blamed. We do not blame the child because he cannot lift as much as a man or run as fast or do things as well. The great average of mankind is ungifted. It possesses no peculiar talent. It has had no particular advantage or opportunity. But God has created few in his image without the capacity to provide for their reasonable wants under natural conditions. Even the lowest types of the human race are able to produce food and to provide shelter. It is only in our boasted civilization that vast hordes of strong men and women are condemned to hopeless poverty and to a benumbing dependence on others for mere leave to toil. If the census enumerators find 292 people crowded into one house and 350 into another under conditions to which we would not subject a dog it is not because these herded creatures prefer so to live. It is because economic conditions force them to it; it is because poverty grips them so hard that they cannot escape its palsy effects; it is because they are shut out from God's great and generous storehouse and so are denied the chance to supply their wants and to live lives of decency and hope.

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Vision and sight
Are not the same, quite.
You may call her a vision,
Don't call her a sight.

—Kansas City Times.

RELATED THINGS

CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

SONG.

For The Public.

O keep you safely all the night and bravely thro'
the day
The charm that lights your gentle eyes as charms
none other may.
My thoughts about you build of joy protection naught
shall mar,
And ever hides my song to you the near fear and
the far.

O hold you sweetly in the dusk and gladly in the
dawn
The heart that in your service dear thro' every fear
has gone.
My life were little to account if value less you gave
To courage that for you I claim and songs for you
I save.

GEORGE E. BOWEN.

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POPULAR VERSUS DELEGATED GOVERNMENT.

Portions of a Speech Made by Jonathan Bourne, Jr.,
of Oregon, in the United States Senate on
May 5, 1910.*

Successful and permanent government must rest primarily on recognition of the rights of men and the absolute sovereignty of the people. Upon these principles is built the superstructure of our Republic. Their maintenance and perpetuation measure the life of the Republic. . . .

Much has been said in favor of representative government. I believe in a truly representative government, but where the selection of public servants is left to a political machine or boss, as is frequently the case under our convention system, the tendency is toward misrepresentative, and not a truly representative, form of government, notwithstanding the election is supposedly by the people.

There are doubtless some people who honestly believe that the people as a whole have not reached the stage of development qualifying them individually to participate in government. Others whom I credit with the intelligence which I have seen manifested by them in other directions assert the inability of the people to govern themselves as an excuse rather than a conviction; but from thirty years' experience in practical politics, I am absolutely convinced not only that the people are fully

*See Public of May 20, page 458. See also volume xl, pp. 278, 320, 388.

capable of governing themselves, but that they are decidedly the best judges as to those individuals to whom they shall delegate the truly representative power. . . .

Time was when a few self-constituted leaders in Oregon politics arrogated to themselves the prerogatives of government and made their assumption effective through illicit combinations and the use of money in any and every quarter where necessary to their purposes of control—that is, they commercialized conventions, legislatures, and the administrative branches of the city, county, and State government. It was not a condition peculiar to Oregon. It obtained, and I believe still obtains in a more or less flagrant degree, in every State in the Union. . . .

Revolting against these conditions, the State which I have the honor, in part, to represent, has evolved the best-known system of popular government, and, because of this conviction, I take this opportunity of presenting not only to the senate but to the country a brief analysis of the Oregon laws bearing upon this question, with my own deductions as to the improvement they show and the merits they possess.

Australian Ballot Law.

Oregon in 1891 adopted the Australian ballot, which insures secrecy, prevents intimidation, and reduces the opportunity for bribery. This, of course, is a prerequisite to any form of popular government.

Registration Law.

Supplementing the Australian ballot law, Oregon enacted in 1899 a registration law applying to general elections, and enlarged its scope in 1904 in the law creating a direct primary. . . .

Initiative and Referendum.

Oregon's next step in popular government was the adoption of the initiative and referendum amendment to the constitution, which amendment was adopted in June, 1902, by a vote of 62,024 to 5,668. It provides that legislative authority shall be vested in a legislative assembly, but that the people reserve to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same at the polls independent of the legislative assembly, and also reserve power to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature. An initiative petition must be signed by 8 per cent of the legal voters, as shown by the vote for supreme judge at the last preceding general election, and filed with the secretary of state not less than four months before the election.

A referendum petition need be signed by only 5 per cent of the voters and filed with the secretary of state within ninety days after final adjournment of the legislature which passed the bill on which the referendum is demanded. The legislature may itself refer to the people any act passed

by it. The veto power of the governor does not extend to any measure referred to the people.

In addition to the publicity incident to the circulation of the petitions, the law provides that the secretary of state shall, at the expense of the State, mail to every registered voter in the State a printed pamphlet containing a true copy of the title and text of each measure to be submitted to the people, and the proponents and opponents of the law have the right to insert in said pamphlet, at the actual cost to themselves of paper and printing only, such arguments as they see fit to make. These pamphlets must be mailed not later than fifty-five days before a general election and twenty days before a special election.

The initiative develops the electorate, placing directly upon them the responsibility for legislation enacted under its provision; the referendum elevates the legislature because of the possibility of its use in case of undesirable legislation. Brains, ideas, and argument, rather than money, intimidation, and log rolling, govern the standards of legislation.

Corporation attorneys must exercise their mental activities along constructive rather than destructive and avoidance lines. Possibility of scandal is minimized, recipients of franchises freed from the imputation of secret purchase, and general community confidence is secured.

Since that amendment was adopted, the people of Oregon have voted upon 23 measures submitted to them under the initiative, 5 submitted under the referendum and 4 referred to the people by the legislature. Nineteen measures were submitted at one election. That the people acted intelligently is evident from the fact that in no instance has there been general dissatisfaction with the result of the vote. The measures submitted presented almost every phase of legislation, and some of them were bills of considerable length.

Results attained under direct legislation in Oregon compare so favorably with the work of a legislative assembly that an effort to repeal the initiative and referendum would be overwhelmingly defeated. No effort has ever been attempted.

It has been asserted that the people will not study a large number of measures, but will vote in the affirmative, regardless of the merits of measures submitted. Experience in Oregon has disproved this, for the results show that the people have exercised discriminating judgment. They have enacted laws and have adopted constitutional amendments in which they believed and have defeated those of which they did not approve. . . .

I do not care to take the time of the Senate to discuss each of the measures that have been acted upon by the people of the State, but in order that those who desire may have the opportunity to observe the wide range the measures have taken and the attitude assumed toward them by the people of Oregon, I ask consent to have published in this

connection a very brief summary of the titles of the measures, together with the vote upon each.

Popular vote upon measures submitted to the people of Oregon under either the initiative or referendum.

	1904.	Yes.	No.
Direct primary law with direct selection of United States Senator*	56,205		16,354
Local-option liquor law*	43,316		40,198
1906.			
Omnibus appropriation bill, state institution†	43,918		26,758
Equal suffrage constitutional amendment*	36,902		47,075
Local-option bill proposed by liquor people*	35,297		45,144
Bill for purchase by State of Barlow toll road*	31,525		44,527
Amendment requiring referendum on any act calling constitutional convention*	47,661		18,751
Amendment giving cities sole power to amend their charters*	52,567		19,852
Legislature authorized to fix pay of state printer*	63,749		9,571
Initiative and referendum to apply to all local, special and municipal laws*	47,678		16,735
Bill prohibiting free passes on railroads*	57,281		16,779
Gross-earnings tax on sleeping, refrigerator and oil car companies*	69,635		6,441
Gross-earnings tax on express, telephone and telegraph companies*	70,872		6,369
1908.			
Amendment increasing pay of legislators from \$120 to \$400 per session‡	19,691		68,892
Amendment permitting location of state institutions at places other than the capital‡	41,971		40,863
Amendment reorganizing system of courts and increasing supreme judges from three to five‡	30,243		50,591
Amendment changing general election from June to November‡	65,728		18,590
Bill giving sheriffs control of county prisoners‡	60,443		30,033
Railroads required to give public officials free passes‡	28,856		59,406
Bill appropriating \$100,000 for armoriest...	33,507		54,848
Bill increasing fixed appropriation for state university from \$47,500 to \$125,000 annually†	44,115		40,535
Equal-suffrage amendment*	36,858		58,670
Fishery bill proposed by fish-wheel operators*	46,582		40,720
Fishery bill proposed by gill-net operators*	56,130		30,280
Amendment giving cities control of liquor selling, poolrooms, theaters, etc., subject to local-option law*	39,442		52,346
Modified form of single-tax amendment*	32,066		60,871
Recall power on public officials*	58,381		31,002
Bill instructing legislators to vote for people's choice for United States Senators*	69,668		21,162
Amendment authorizing proportional-representation law*	48,868		34,128
Corrupt-practices act governing elections*	54,042		31,301
Amendment requiring indictment to be by grand jury*	52,214		28,487
Bill creating Hood River County*	43,948		26,778

Direct Legislation Not Expensive.

Anticipating the objection that direct legislation is expensive to the State, I will say that the sub-

* Submitted under the initiative.
 † Submitted under the referendum upon legislative act.
 ‡ Submitted to the people by the legislature.

mission of a total of 32 measures at three different elections in Oregon has cost the State \$25,000, or an average of about \$781 for each measure. At the election in 1908 there were 19 measures submitted, at a cost to the State of \$12,362, or an average of about \$651 each. Five of these 19 measures were submitted without argument. Upon the other 14 measures there were 19 arguments submitted, for which the authors paid the cost, amounting to \$3,157.

I have no hesitation in saying that the people of Oregon feel satisfied that they have received full value for the \$25,000 they have spent for the submission of measures under the initiative and referendum. The only persons who raise the question of cost are those who would be opposed to direct legislation if it were free of cost. I think I could cite numerous instances of laws passed by the legislature which cost the people much more than \$25,000 without any tangible return, and perhaps could cite a few measures which had been defeated by legislatures with resultant loss to the people of many times \$25,000. The cost of legislation can not always be measured in dollars. . . .

The initiative and referendum is but one of the features of popular government in Oregon. It has been the means by which other reforms and progressive laws and constitutional amendments have been secured, for it has been found that the people can not always get the laws they desire through the legislature, but can get them through resort to the initiative.

Direct Primary Law.

The next step after the adoption of the initiative and referendum was the adoption, in 1904, by a vote of 56,205 to 16,354, of a direct primary law, which is designed to supersede the old and unsatisfactory convention system. . . .

Corrupt Practices Act.

The next step in popular government in Oregon after the adoption of the direct primary law was the adoption of a corrupt practices act, which the legislature had refused to enact, but which the people of the State adopted under the initiative.

The corrupt practices act was adopted under the initiative in 1908 by popular vote of 54,042 to 31,301. It provides that no candidate for office shall expend in his campaign for nomination more than 15 per cent of one year's compensation of the office for which he is a candidate, provided that no candidate shall be restricted to less than \$100.

Publicity Pamphlet.

The act provides, however, for the publication of a pamphlet by the secretary of state for the information of voters, in which pamphlet a candidate in the primary campaign may have published a statement setting forth his qualifications, the principles and policies he advocates and favors, or any other matter he may wish to submit in support of his candidacy. Each candidate must pay

for at least one page, the amount to be paid varying from \$100 for the highest office to \$10 for the minor offices. Every candidate may secure the use of additional pages at \$100 per page, not exceeding three additional pages. Any person may use space in this pamphlet in opposition to any candidate, the matter submitted by him being first served upon the candidate and the space being paid for the same as in the case of candidates. The matter submitted in opposition to candidates must be signed by the author, who is subject to the general laws regarding slander and libel. Information regarding State and congressional candidates is printed in a pamphlet issued by the secretary of state, one copy being mailed to each registered voter in the State. Pamphlets regarding county candidates are issued by the county clerk and mailed to each voter in the county. These pamphlets must be mailed at least eight days before the primary election. The amount of money paid for space in the public pamphlet of information is not considered in determining the amount each candidate has expended in his campaign; that is, he is entitled to expend in his primary campaign 15 per cent of one year's compensation in addition to what he pays for space in the public pamphlet. . . .

The Recall.

The final step in the establishment of popular government in Oregon was the adoption of the recall amendment to the constitution which was adopted in 1908 by a vote of 58,381 to 31,002. Under this amendment any public officer may be recalled by the filing of a petition signed by 25 per cent of the number of electors who voted in his district in the preceding election. The petition must set forth the reasons for the recall, and if the officer does not resign within five days after the petition is filed a special election must be ordered to be held within twenty days to determine whether the people will recall such officer. On the ballot at such election the reasons for demanding the recall of said officer may be set forth in not more than 200 words. His justification of his course in office may be set forth in a like number of words. He retains his office until the results of the special election have been officially declared.

No petition can be circulated against any officer until he has held office six months, except that in the case of a member of the State Legislature it may be filed at any time after five days from the beginning of the first session after his election. At the special election the candidate receiving the highest number of votes is declared elected. The special election is held at public expense, but a second recall petition can not be filed against an officer unless the petitioners first pay the entire expense of the first recall election.

The Best System of Popular Government.

I reiterate that Oregon has evolved the best sys-

tem of popular government that exists in the world today.

The Australian ballot assures the honesty of elections.

The registration law guards the integrity of the privilege of American citizenship—participation in government.

The direct primary absolutely insures popular selection of all candidates and establishes the responsibility of the public servant to the electorate and not to any political boss or special interest.

The initiative and referendum is the keystone of the arch of popular government, for by means of this the people may accomplish such other reforms as they desire. The initiative develops the electorate because it encourages study of principles and policies of government, and affords the originator of new ideas in government an opportunity to secure popular judgment upon his measures if 8 per cent of the voters of his State deem the same worthy of submission to popular vote. The referendum prevents misuse of the power temporarily centralized in the legislature.

The corrupt-practices act is necessary as a complement to the initiative and referendum and the direct primary, for, without the corrupt-practices act, these other features of popular government could be abused. As I have fully explained, the publicity pamphlet provided for by the corrupt-practices act affords all candidates for nomination or election equal means of presenting before the voter their views upon public questions, and protects the honest candidate against the misuse of money in political campaigns. Under the operation of this law popular verdicts will be based upon ideas, not money; argument, not abuse; principles, not boss or machine dictation.

The recall, to my mind, is rather an admonitory or precautionary measure, the existence of which will prevent the necessity for its use. At rare intervals there may be occasion for exercise of the recall against municipal or county officers, but I believe the fact of its existence will prevent need for its use against the higher officials. It is, however, an essential feature of a complete system of popular government.

Absolute Government by the People.

Under the machine and political-boss system the confidence of sincere partisans is often betrayed by recreant leaders in political contests and by public servants who recognize the irresponsible machine instead of the electorate as the source of power to which they are responsible. If the enforcement of the Oregon laws will right these wrongs, then they were conceived in wisdom and born in justice to the people, in justice to the public servant, and in justice to the partisan.

Plainly stated, the aim and purpose of the laws is to destroy the irresponsible political machine and to put all elective offices in the State in direct

touch with the people as the real source of authority; in short, to give direct and full force to the ballot of every individual elector in Oregon and to eliminate dominance of corporate and corrupt influences in the administration of public affairs. The Oregon laws mark the course that must be pursued before the wrongful use of corporate power can be dethroned, the people restored to power, and lasting reform secured. They insure absolute government by the people.

BOOKS

THE OLD WEST AND THE NEW.

Cavanagh: Forest Ranger. By Hamlin Garland. Published by Harper Bros., New York.

That sterling radical and faithful Single Taxer, Hamlin Garland, has found the inspiration for his latest novel in the timely question of the Conservation fight.

In his new book Mr. Garland gives us a first hand glimpse of the intimate side of this battle for the people's right. His hero is one of the forest rangers appointed by Gifford Pinchot to care for the great heritage of our nation in its splendid forests. This new conqueror of the West meets the last defiant stand of the old reckless lawlessness which characterized the vast cattle ranges and sheep grazing grounds of the limitless Western prairies. This picturesque lawlessness has served often enough, too often perhaps for our proper understanding of right and wrong, for the scene of many a story of adventure, stories so fascinating in their sweep of incident that they blind the reader to the fact that in applauding them he is really condoning brutality and crime.

Not the least of many good points in Mr. Garland's latest book is that he shows so clearly how behind all this colorful recklessness, extolled by writers as "the play of strong human passions," there is nothing but the sordid greed of gain and capitalistic intrigue such as we find in our corrupt politics, and in our dealings with our new found "dependencies." As one of the characters in the novel puts it—

The Old West was picturesque and in a way, manly and fine; . . . certain phases of it were heroic. I hate to see it all pass, but some of us begin to realize that it was not all poetry. The plain truth is my companions for over twenty years were lawless ruffians and the cattle business as we practiced it in those days was founded on selfishness and defended at the mouth of the pistol. We were all pensioners on Uncle Sam and fighting to keep the other fellow off from having a share in his bounty. We didn't want settlement, we didn't want law, we didn't want a State. We wanted free range. We were a lot of pirates from beginning to end and we aren't wholly reformed yet.

Mr. Garland shows how the New West, coming

under the sign of the automobile and the telephone, is bringing largely through the Forest Service the ideal of brotherhood and community interests into this scene of selfishness and lawlessness. Ross Cavanagh dreams of a day when "each of these great ranges will be a national forest and each of these canyons will contain its lake, its reservoir."

Very significant are the words of the indignant forester's assistant:

"The President has fired the Chief, the man that's built up this Forestry Service. The whole works is going to hell, that's what it is. We'll have all the coal thieves, water-power thieves, poachers and free grass pirates piling in on us in mobs. They'll eat up the forest. They'll put some Western man in, somebody they can work."

With his greater outlook of an understanding of basic economic truths, and his ideals of a true brotherhood of man, Mr. Garland has seen the importance of this conflict which those of us who live more to the Eastward do not realize in all its urgency. He has given us a picture of it so intense and vivid that the mere human story built around it, pales into insignificance beside the great theme of the novel. The book should be read by all those who have the true good of our country at heart.

GRACE ISABEL COLBRON.

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OLD CHICAGO.

By Gone Days in Chicago. Recollections of the "Garden City" of the Sixties. By Frederick Francis Cook. A. C. McClurg & Co., Chicago.

This book is rambling and largely reminiscent, and therefore naturally vague. But in spite of its defects, it is full of interest to those who would glimpse the past through the eyes of one who saw and was a part of it.

The supplementing of reminiscence by historical incident gleaned from 1835 to 1880 would seem to mar instead of adorning the work, but those who were alive and observant during the stirring period of 1857-1867 will recall with intense interest the bitterness of the contest waged between the "Copperhead" and the "Black Republican" of that period, and will philosophize over the peculiar shift in the position of the parties. Democrats, who in 1856-1860 were emphatically the Union savers, became in 1861-1865, rebels and traitors. Anti-slavery men who during the former period were Union haters and the victims of mob law, later became the only Union savers and treated their former persecutors to liberal doses of their own medicine.

It will interest the young of today to learn that none of the men of the sixties were quite as bad as their enemies painted them; and, alas! that none were quite as good as their friends believed them. It will interest the thinker to learn that George M. Pullman disavowed any sentiment of philanthropy

in his operations and asked to be written down as mercenary. Students will not be surprised to read that the utmost secrecy was required in the acquisition of the land on which he built his town, in order to avoid the blackmail of the land speculator. Politicians may learn that the Socialist party polled their largest proportional vote in 1879, and many other details of political strife. Those whose faces are not set to the front so strongly that they cannot look backward will find the book worth reading.

GEO. V. WELLS.

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AFTER A CENTURY—WHAT?

The Awakening of Zojas. By Miriam Michelson. New York. Doubleday, Page & Company. Price, \$1.00.

A bandit condemned to death becomes the willing subject of an experiment by Luigi Rossi, a celebrated scientist. He is put to sleep for one hundred years by a subtle drug compounded by Rossi who had studied and improved on Hindoo arts. For forty-seven years the scientist watches over the splendid form hidden in the secret chamber connected with his laboratory. Then at eighty-two he bequeaths his mystery to his nephew, Paolo Rossi, who religiously presides over the mystic rites of the grotto chamber for fifty-three more years when—presto! the sleeping Zojas awakes.

But how he awakes, and how he takes up the interrupted action of his life the reader will discover when he buys Miss Michelson's book, which contains also the stories, "Peach Blossoms," "The Cradle," "Tares."

A. L. M.

BOOKS RECEIVED

—**Together.** By Robert Herrick. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.50.

—**A Life for a Life.** By Robert Herrick. Published by The Macmillan Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.50.

—**Blaze Derringer.** By Eugene P. Lyle, Jr. Published by Doubleday, Page & Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.20.

—**Social and Mental Traits of the Negro.** By Howard W. Odum. Studies in History, Economics and Public Law. Vol. XXXV'I, Number 3. Published for

Columbia University by Longmans, Green & Co., New York. 1910.

—**Wage-Earning Women.** By Annie Marlon MacLean. Published by the Macmillan Co., New York. 1910. Price, \$1.25 net.

—**Bulletin of the Bureau of Labor.** March, 1910. Wholesale Prices, 1890 to March, 1910. Cost of Living in Belgium. Court Decisions Affecting Labor. Published by the Department of Commerce and Labor, Washington, D. C. 1910.

PAMPHLETS

The Purposes of the Fels Fund.

"The Taxation of Land Values, a Proposal for Economic and Social Reform" (The Joseph Fels Fund of America, Commercial Tribune Building, Cincinnati, Ohio), makes a concise explanation of the purposes of the Fels Fund (vol. xii, pp. 466, 520, 545, 796, 953, 1169). Though distributed free on application, it is not issued for the purpose of soliciting subscriptions. Its publication is to emphasize the far-reaching nature of the social and economic changes that would flow from the reform suggested by Henry George more than a quarter of a century ago. But a hearing, comments, and criticism are solicited. Written by Frederic C. Howe and printed by Horace Carr, this pamphlet is as strong in presentation and interesting in statement as it is handsome in appearance. It brings out with exceptional clearness the answer to the crude notion that the single tax is a mere fiscal reform, or at most a land reform and not a social reform. "The single tax is least of all a taxing measure," to quote from the pamphlet; "this is but incidental, though essential, to a larger social ideal—an ideal as far-reaching in its consequences as socialism but far simpler in its application." How far reaching it is may be inferred from this additional and demonstrable statement of fact, that "land value taxation would socialize from 50 to 75 per cent of the wealth of America."

PERIODICALS

The fisheries—except pearl and shark—of Lower California, a distance of 1,500 miles, are controlled by one company, which holds a concession from the Mexican government so strict in its provisions that no one at any point along the entire coast of the peninsula can take fish for any market without consent of the company. The Consular Report (June 4) of the resultant meager amount of fishing done, serves as a reminder that the earth's re-

Where the Trouble Lies.

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DANIEL KIEFER.

sources are locked up, as well as laid waste, by monopoly.

A. L. G.

+ + +

A traveling salesman tells that one time he was in a town in Central Kansas where a protracted

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form of vice and calling down drastic condemnation upon them.

"Woe to the drunkard! Woe to the drunkard! Woe to the drunkard!" he shouted in doleful tones.

Old Toby got on his feet and tugged at his whiskers, and the fact that he stuttered only made his interruption more marked: "G-g-guess th-th-th-at's m-m-e! I-I-I'm p-p-present!"

The preacher went on. "Woe to the liars! Woe

to the liars! Woe to the thieves! Woe to the thieves!" His voice was dolorous and sepulchral.

Again old Toby got to his feet. He motioned around the room, swinging and pointing with his arms and fingers.

"G-g-get up!" he commanded, "G-g-get up! He's callin' on s-s-some of you fellers! I've answered p-p-present. It's your turn now. S-s-stand up and be c-counted!"—Kansas City Journal.

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