

copies. I trust also that a way may be found to secure insert sheet and plate matter reprint for widest circulation.

GEORGE FOSTER PEABODY.



Chardon, Ohio, April 23.

After reading your editorial on the "Lesson of the Titanic Disaster," the feeling strongest in my mind is a wish that every member of the so-called privileged class could be induced to read it and reflect on the sentiment it embodies.

The triumph of democracy! What is it but the recognition of the essential unity of the human race? And that it is coming nearer and nearer to fulfillment I confidently believe.

The rule of might which man (the social unit) has inherited from his brute ancestors, bolstered up by the evolutionary doctrine of the survival of the fittest, is giving place to the rule of man over himself,—the only individual over whom he has undoubted control.

We are coming to realize that men are the unchangeable primary elements whose combination builds up every form of society, just as the life units—the living cells—are the unchangeable primary elements whose different groupings build up every form of organic life. We are coming to realize there is a force and desire inherent in the individual social units amply sufficient to bring about perfect equilibrium, perfect justice, in the social body if given free play; that any interference with the individual in finding his proper place in the social organism in obedience to his inherent desires results in social disorder injuriously affecting every member of society.

The idle rich, even more than the working poor, are beginning to realize that legislative restrictions upon the liberty of individuals is the cause of the discontent and unrest from which they suffer. They have tasted the fruits of wealth and power and found them bitterly disappointing. They feel that the servility and adulation of the poor for the rich is nothing but the homage of the slave, and they must inevitably turn from enslaving their fellows, for it is only by having the approbation and good will of free men they can enjoy the felicity that comes from being in harmony with God's law of human association.

W. T. BETHUNE.



FOR REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

East Jaffrey, N. H.

Within the past few months Senator Lodge of Massachusetts and President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University* have delivered scholarly addresses respectively on "The Constitution and Its Makers" and "Why Should We Change Our Form of Government?" They have had wide circulation; and since they represent the principal opposition, they merit the attention of advocates of the Initiative and Referendum.



Both these learned gentlemen show the growth of

*See current volume, page 340.

the representative system. They argue impressively that it is the only system of government which can be applied to so large a community as a State or our nation. They demonstrate also that a pure democracy could not attend to all the minor details of legislation. From this they infer that the Initiative and Referendum—intended, as they assume, to replace representative government by pure democracy—would destroy the Republic; and they point to the fate of various democracies of the past to prove the truth of their assertions.

Only the acid test of time could determine whether Twentieth century enlightenment could prevent a repetition of the misfortunes which befell the so-called democracies of Greece and Rome, were the crude systems followed by them to be tried today. Fortunately, however, we need not be disturbed by such a doleful outlook. For all that advocates of the Initiative and Referendum ask is that representative government be *truly representative* of the people, and not of privilege. The Initiative and Referendum are aids of representative government and not substitutes for it.

While it would be possible for a man to do without carpenters when building a house, to pull his own tooth when it aches, to plead his own case in court, the average person prefers to leave the management of such matters to experts. But he reserves the right to decide how many stories his house shall have, to indicate which tooth is to be extracted, and to say whether his lawsuit shall be prosecuted or dropped. Likewise, it would be possible for the people by the Initiative to abolish legislatures; but is it not probable that they would prefer to leave most of the law-making to such a body, even if they did reserve the right to advise or direct on occasion.



The Initiative and Referendum will not destroy representative government. They will perfect it. They will bring about in very fact that condition which was expressed in theory in the Bill of Rights of the New Hampshire Constitution one hundred and twenty years ago—"All power . . . being derived from the people, all . . . the officers of government are their servants and agents, and at all times accountable to them."

GEORGE H. DUNCAN.

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of *The Public* for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, April 30, 1912.

Climax of the Taft-Roosevelt Alienation.

The personal alienation of President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt came to a climax of mutual resentment last week in the Massachusetts campaign for the primary election which took place on the 30th. Since his speech at the Ohio Constitutional convention, reported in *The Public* of

March 1 at pages 193 and 200, Mr. Roosevelt had in his speeches become progressively more pointed and personal in his allusions to President Taft. No attention in any authoritative way was paid to this by Mr. Taft until the 24th, when he, in response to a resolution of the Senate calling for Executive documents regarding the Harvester trust, transmitted a long letter of August 22, 1907, from President Roosevelt to his Attorney General (Mr. Bonaparte) in which, after explaining that George W. Perkins (Pierpont Morgan's partner) had conferred with him about the Harvester trust, Mr. Roosevelt instructed the Attorney General to look into the matter as presented by Mr. Perkins, and closed with these words: "Please do not file the suit until I hear from you." At the time these papers were called for by the Senate, no suit had yet been started against the Harvester trust, either by President Roosevelt's administration or President Taft's. On the day following his transmittal of those papers to the Senate, President Taft entered the primary campaign in Massachusetts with a speech, circumstantial and comprehensive, in direct and bitter response to ex-President Roosevelt's attacks upon him and his administration. This speech was delivered at Boston on the 25th. In it Mr. Taft expressed his gratitude to Mr. Roosevelt for having made him President in 1908 and his reluctance at entering into a personal controversy, but stated that he regarded it as his duty to do so as the titular leader of a cause. He then charged Mr. Roosevelt with misrepresenting him, and at great length and in minute detail specified the instances and the particulars. His speech fills a newspaper page. Ex-President Roosevelt replied at Worcester on the 26th, in a speech denouncing President Taft as hypocritical, as saying "what he must know to be untrue," and as having for his supporters political bosses who are responsible for "the alliance between crooked politics and crooked business." His speech also was long and circumstantial. In a speech at Boston on the 27th, Mr. Roosevelt appears from the dispatches to have placed his principal emphasis upon the bad political character of Mr. Taft's supporters. Asked by an auditor in the course of this speech, "Where's Perkins?" Mr. Roosevelt replied: "He's for me! You can't put a question to me that will embarrass me for a moment. You can search my record and you will find that I never have done and I never will do for Mr. Perkins or any other human being one thing that I won't tell to you in detail." Both President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt toured the State on the 29th, continuing their personal campaign and repeating, emphasizing and expanding their personal denunciations of each other.



Primary Elections in Massachusetts.

The latest reports upon our going to press indicate that at the primary elections in Massa-

chusetts on the 30th, which are made especially notable by the bitterly recriminatory speeches of President Taft and ex-President Roosevelt as candidates for the Republican nomination for President, Mr. Taft and Mr. Roosevelt have nearly a tie for first place for the Republican nomination, and Mr. La Follette runs third. For the Democratic nomination, Mr. Champ Clark appears to be first, Mr. Wilson second, and Governor Foss third.



The Judicial Recall in Arizona.

By a unanimous vote in the lower house of the Arizona legislature, and with only two dissenting votes in the upper house, an amendment to the State Constitution, providing the Recall for judges, was carried on the 26th and signed by Governor Hunt on the same day. This is the provision which the people of the Territory embodied in their Statehood Constitution and which they were forced by President Taft to strike out as a condition of his permitting the Territory to become a State. [See *The Public*, vol. xiv, p. 866.]



Syndicalism in the American Railway Service.

At Kansas City on the 22nd a Federation of Federations in the railway service was formed, which includes all organized labor of whatever special craft which is employed in the railway service of the United States west and south of Chicago. This Federation is officered for the first year as follows: President, W. O. Wharton (Machinists), St. Louis; Vice President, George W. Pring (Boilermakers), Des Moines, Iowa; Secretary and Treasurer, John Scott (Brotherhood of Railway Carmen), San Francisco. The Executive Council is composed of all the International presidents of the affiliated Federations. [See current volume, pages 255, 338.]



Immediately upon perfecting its organization a committee of International Presidents acting in behalf of the Federation of Federations addressed an official letter to President Taft in which they said:

Convention of federated railway employes, representing all roads west and south of Chicago, now in session at Kansas City, having under consideration the Harriman lines and Illinois Central strike, have decided to extend, or to make preparation to extend the strike over all Western railways unless a settlement of an honorable character can be secured. Permit us to refer you to recent correspondence on this strike, in which it was pointed out to you the great loss to business interests, the tremendous loss of life and the delay of the United State mail. The men are determined, and when it is taken into consideration that these other roads affiliated with the General Managers' associa-