

dred and twenty years, and assume to pass adversely to the expressed views of the Executive and Congress, given upon purely political questions.

It has asked, for the logic of its position can be no less, that this Court shall say that the people may not act directly upon any law, even though their power so to act be reserved by their Constitution.

It has called upon this body to defeat the natural and peaceful evolution of republican institutions, and to inaugurate a reactionary revolution. Instead of permitting the forward movement of the people, under our Constitution, allowing freedom to grow with the growth of public intelligence, it would make of their constitutions something greater than the people creating them, bands stronger than iron, preventing national progress.

It asks that, although two co-ordinate branches of the government, and although two successive Presidents, have recognized the Initiative and Referendum as appropriate under a republican form of government, nevertheless, this Court shall declare the contrary, and say in effect that in its opinion not only Oregon but seven other States of the Union are not such members of the American commonwealth of States, as are contemplated by the Constitution; that their Senators and Representatives are wrongfully seated at the capitol; that when a President certifies to the official character of the officers of Oregon and seven other States of the Union, the utmost he is doing is to recognize them as *de facto* and not *de jure* officers.

The fact is not to be overlooked that utterances of this Court are simply statements of the law as between the parties thereto, and that even though this Court could be induced in this case to hold that the Initiative and Referendum amendment to the Constitution of Oregon was contrary to the Federal Constitution, *the amendment itself would still remain, and similar provisions would likewise remain in a number of other States.* Whether operative or inoperative in the courts, the constitutions, until the people have acted, would remain in the judgment of the appellant un-republican, and the Senators and Representatives of the States in question still not entitled to retain or receive seats in Congress, and Presidential certifications of the acts of civil officers continue to be certifications to the acts of those who were representing an un-republican State. The most vivid imagination will hardly suffice to picture the political and legal ills to follow upon the granting of the correctness of the appellant's position.

But above all, the moral and social ill resultant upon the declaration of the unconstitutionality of the Initiative and Referendum would be infinitely greater. To say that the people rule, and in the next breath to say that they may not rule save

through representatives who may be faithless to their trust, or may fail to represent; to say that the evils committed by representatives through mistakes as to their mandate, through corruption, through official pressure, are beyond the control of the constituents, is to make popular government a mockery. To say that reforms may not be had save by the chance agreement of a majority of the legislature with a majority of the people, or, in the case of Constitutional amendments, of two-thirds, or three-fifths, or three-fourths, or two successive legislatures with the popular majority, is to urge the placing in the way of natural and peaceful political progress of obstacles which may lead even to possibly dangerous irritation. If we would pretend to have a government of the people, we must be prepared to live up to our pretension and not to "keep the word of promise to the ear, to break it to our hope."

BOOKS

A WORD FOR THE TIMES.

The Labor Question. By Washington Gladden. The Pilgrim Press, Boston, New York, Chicago. Price, 75 cts.

The author aims at a fair statement of the much discussed question so often considered from opposite points of view and presenting in argument only one of the two important factors of the problem.

While dealing freely with the abuses of Unionism, because most of those whom he wishes to convince are aware of nothing but the abuses, Mr. Gladden proceeds to show the eminently just and reasonable demands of Unionism which no fair-minded employer can honorably dispute. Every instinct of justice urges the principle of co-operation among labor forces as a protection against the combined power of the money corporations. The only criticism passed on the resistance that labor offers to capital is on the acts of lawlessness in the destruction of life and property which sometimes occurs during labor disturbances. John Mitchell is quoted as saying: "A single act of violence, while it may deter a strike-breaker, or a score of them, inflicts much greater and more irreparable damage upon the party giving than upon the party receiving the blow." And the labor leader goes on to pronounce much stronger condemnation of all dastardly and destructive work on the part of strikers though it is known that many acts attributed to them are instigated and accomplished by their enemies.

In his review of industrial warfares Mr. Gladden betrays his sympathy with the union forces while taking the stand of a dispassionate and un-

ge between opposing forces. His
y of the situation is to be strongly
the notice of employers who regard
material interests in their dealings
his argument appeals directly to the
standing and conscience of men who
themselves to take a wide, impartial
conflict which arises from a grasping
which human nature unfaillingly

recommends to employers not only
but the encouragement of unions.
clearly discussed in his chapter on
and Counter-claims," where he pic-
turer going out among the men and
to organize. "I mean to trust you
s, "but I do not want you to be de-
y favor. I insist that you shall
to stand for your own rights and
men in this shop to join this union.
urry favor with me by staying out
going to be friends with the union
the union to be my friend. This is
s, not your business, it is our busi-
stand for my rights if you are mean
ble, and you will stand for yours if
n unjust, but if we must fight we
el and fight fair."

Mr. Gladden declares: "My own
upon the proposition that if I were
in any trade I should feel under
oin the trade union. It is so en-
me that the freedom of the work-
be maintained these days only by
on that I could not get the consent
ce to stand outside of the union.
lly sure that I could not feel any
ic admiration for men of my own
ed to join the union and did what
feat its purposes. I trust I should
ain from applying to them oppro-
and from assailing them with
I should not be able to hold them

viewer aims to reflect the real spirit
s book its substance will be missed
employer and the wage-earner who
Simply because it presents a dis-
openly and dispassionately before
of contending forces it merits the
tion of both.

A. L. M.

† † †

BUSINESS CHARACTER.

nts of Business Character. By Her-
ell. Published by Fleming H. Revell
ork and Chicago.

lure: whereip lies the difference?"
question, which always raises an-
all the essential elements of busi-

ness character, is one sure to succeed? For in-
stance:

There is in New York a man who manufactures a
product ninety per cent of which is controlled by a
trust. This independent, though pressed, will not
join the consolidation, and time after time efforts
have been made to dislodge him from his trade. He
manufactures an article with a brand that has be-
come known among a certain class of people who
will accept no substitute. He is alert and vigorous,
watching, studying, to counteract a subtle move by
the giant corporation. Now the big men realize
that, with all their capital, they have met an equal.

In that case, apparently, the corporation has
not control of the raw material. Often they have,
and no amount of business strategy and knowledge
can avail in a fight against them.

Like so many of our books on business, this vol-
ume, brimful of suggestive thoughts invaluable to
anyone in business, leaves in the reader's mind the
impression that much of our modern success-talk
is built upon an "if" foundation—*If* Justice
ruled!

At the same time there can be no doubt that if
our business men studied the science and psychol-
ogy of business and developed in themselves the
qualities of character that Mr. Stockwell holds to
be essential to success, we should have only a very
small percentage of our present-day failures. The
harder the fight the greater the need for charac-

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