

will be devoted to increasing the prosperity of the city, the comfort of all the citizens through the improved service, the lowering of taxes and better pay for street car employes.

Not only will municipal ownership add to the comfort of the citizens, to the prosperity of all, but it will promote in the surest and most legitimate way the growth of the city of Chicago. The management of the municipal street car lines, being dictated solely by the interests of the city, will attend to the extension of those lines wherever the public welfare demands such extension. There will be no neglect of the outlying districts, no more reckless disregard of the needs of large sections of the city in the effort to force profits out of an inadequate system.

Municipal ownership will restore to the people their rights in their own streets.

If you believe that the streets of Chicago belong to the people of Chicago, and that they should not be exploited for the benefit of non-resident financial syndicates, I think that you will not fail to vote for municipal ownership.

If I am elected Mayor of Chicago, I shall use every effort, faithfully, honestly and diligently, to carry out the orders of the citizens—that is to say, to make municipal ownership a reality in the shortest possible space of time.

EDWARD F. DUNNE.

317 Beacon St., Chicago, Ill., Apr. 1, 1905.

ADVISORY REFERENDUM AS A PARTY ISSUE.

For The Public.

The Democratic Referendum club programme is being discussed. One of the main points is as to the plan for the establishment of the advisory referendum system instead of the usual form of the referendum. The editor of The Public has consented that I briefly present the reasons for the programme.

The principal reason is that in no other way can the referendum system be installed nationally. To amend the written Constitution is a practically impossible task under the existing system. The direct election of senators, though demanded almost unanimously, is still unaccomplished, likewise the direct election of President and Vice President. Even the consideration of public questions in a national campaign is by a roundabout method, the written Constitution declaring that the decision of the legislative questions is in Congress and not in the people.

The manner in which the people have been gaining power in the face of the rockbound written Constitution

is by instructing representatives. The presidential electors are instructed for whom they shall vote, and the congressmen and senators are instructed by party platforms. The next step is the establishment of a system whereby members of Congress and senators can be instructed by direct vote.

The feasibility of the plan is beyond dispute. Congress has authority to provide for advisory referendum voting, and this, combined with the pledging of candidates to obey the will of their constituents when expressed by referendum vote, makes a practicable system, one of the first effects of which referendum system "a bridge ready for a referendum system that will legally control legislation. But without waiting for this change, the advisory system can be used to control the railroads and the other inter-State trusts.

For more than four years this programme has been approved by experts in political science. Immediately after the campaign of 1900 the plan was presented to Chairman James K. Jones and approved; and approved by Gov. Altgeld, Senator Pettigrew and ex-Congressman Towne. Mr. Bryan was consulted. Six months later the plan was published in book form and presented to the Second Social and Political Conference at Detroit, and approved. About the same time it was approved at a meeting of the National Direct Legislation league. At that time Prof. Frank Parsons termed the advisory referendum system "a bridge ready for immediate use to the promised land." Mr. Louis F. Post, after a visit to Winnetka, Ill., described the advisory system in The Public of September 7, 1901, saying:

It can for one thing be easily made the subject of effective nonpartisan organization. For another, if the organization were to become influential it would completely effect its purpose.

Henry George, Jr., in his writings during 1901, urged that the advisory system be installed nationally for immediate use against the trusts, saying:

The potency of the monopolists in our politics would obviously be short-lived; indeed the people would probably make it a "short shrift" for the monopolies themselves.

The same year, 1901, the executive council of the American Federation of Labor took the following action, as reported in the minutes of the meeting and published in the American Federationist:

It was decided to issue an address to all affiliated organizations, requesting them to endeavor to secure the passage of local ordinances and laws for the initiative and referendum on measures relating to local interests, and thus to secure the beginning

of this system of direct legislation, with the view of subsequently enlarging the scope of that method of enacting laws in the interest of the people.

The discovery of a referendum for national affairs that can be installed without a change in the written Constitution opened the way for an immediate solution of the trust question. When the trusts are attacked through the direct-vote system they will become politically powerless. Their political strength is due to the delegate system.

To spread the news of the improved system required time and hard work. In less than two years, though, the Missouri State Federation of Labor, backed by Mr. Bryan and other leading Democrats, pledged nine of the 16 successful candidates for Congress, also the successful candidate for United States Senator, ex-Gov. Stone. In Illinois both the candidates for the United States Senate pledged for the referendum, the successful candidate in these words:

I favor any principle—I care not what it may be called—that will enlarge the power of the people on all questions, State and National, that affect the well-being of the citizens.

Other members of Congress elected in 1902 were pledged. In 1904 the Missouri Federation of Labor pledged 12 of the 16 members of Congress. In Chicago five of the ten members were pledged, all ten being Republicans. Wherever candidates were questioned by an organization that meant "business," or an opposing candidate took up the issue, the people elected a majority rulist.

In Massachusetts the advisory referendum was brought into prominence in another way. In the campaign where-in Gov. Douglas was elected in a Republican State, he advocated that an advisory vote by the people of Massachusetts be taken on the tariff question, and he pledged that, if elected, he would do his best to help secure the advisory vote. Such a vote, it was recognized, would be an instruction to the Massachusetts representatives in Congress.

The programme was heartily endorsed by the conservative Democratic press, such as the Boston Herald and Harper's Weekly. Even the Wall Street Journal pointed out the growing popularity of the direct-vote system, and commented favorably upon the results where it has been used.

The advisory referendum system has been used in Canada. In the Province of Ontario, some years ago, the liberal cabinet took an advisory referendum vote on the question of legally prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquor. In

England whenever parliament is dissolved the election of candidates is based upon the issue that caused the dissolution. This is an indirect form of advisory referendum. In the United States the vote on the national platform by voting for candidates is an advisory referendum. An improved form of advisory voting has been discovered for national issues, the direct system of advisory referendum, as we have pointed out. The establishment of this system is logically the next step, and it is an open sesame to a Constitutional amendment, but, without waiting for the amendment, the legislative issues can at once be settled.

This programme is an admirable party issue. It meets all the requirements, which are:

1. An issue that is capable of immediate settlement by a majority vote in Congress.

2. An issue on which the progressive elements in the several parties can agree. Such is especially the case as to the referendum, for if installed in the Congress to be elected next year, it will open at once the way for a direct vote by the people on every kind of national reform that is likely to poll a majority vote, at the same time shutting out the political power of special-privilege funds and terminating corruption.

3. No candidate will dare to openly oppose the issue where it is prominent. The proposition is merely to establish an institution through which the people can instruct representatives—the mere reestablishment of an old-time Constitutional right.

4. The issue is so popular that next year a majority of the legislatures can be pledged to instruct the Senators, while a majority in the House can readily be secured, because many of the Republicans are already pledged, and others will quickly pledge when the issue is raised in their districts. The only difficulty will be in getting the Republicans where their pledges to vote for the people's sovereignty will avail them naught. In order to thus out-general them, it is necessary that the Democratic candidates for Congress and the legislatures shall earnestly champion the issue before they are actually forced to do so. In last year's Congressional campaign some of the Democratic candidates for Congress were defeated because they ignored the referendum questions, while the opposing Republicans answered in the affirmative; in other places some of the Republicans were defeated because they ignored the questions.

Leading up to the Congressional campaign, the Democrats will have plenty of opportunity to show that they favor majority rule. A Democratic Referendum Club can be formed in every city and county, even though only a half dozen or more Democrats should take hold, and the combined work of the clubs will leaven the whole party. Immediate work along many lines can be engaged in, as is pointed out in the Constitution and By-Laws. In this work the cities can immediately be emancipated from machine rule, while in the State campaign the citizens can become freed from machine rule by establishing through the legislature a direct vote system for instructing representatives. In both State and city there exists the best possible kind of a party issue.

Until last year in Massachusetts the referendum did not become a live party issue anywhere, because the demand was for a Constitutional amendment, which requires one or more years to establish; and for the further reason that in many States the machine politicians held back the issue. To-day the questioning of candidates at Democratic primaries and conventions by means of Democratic Referendum Clubs will prevent the sidetracking of the issue, while the demand for the immediate establishment of a direct-vote system will furnish an effective party issue.

The results in Illinois, where an advisory referendum system has existed for four years, is no criterion of what can be accomplished when a leading party makes this direct-vote system a live issue. In Illinois it has been the non-partisan organizations that have used the system. They have brought six State questions to a direct vote, but the instructions have not been as binding as would have been the case had the advisory system been used by one of the leading parties. Furthermore, the Illinois system is deficient in that it does not force a vote in the legislature at the time the measure is initiated by the people.

Summarizing the advantages of the several portions of the programme of the Democratic Referendum Clubs, it can be truthfully said that it is a plan for immediate work along irresistible lines. Already the anti-monopoly business interests, organized farmers and organized wage-earners are pushing for the immediate establishment of a direct-vote system. It is not a question of whether the Democrats will take hold and lead in the emancipation of the people, but whether they will keep from being run over by

the existing movement among the non-partisan organizations. It is believed that partisan clubs and leagues will take a leading place, for it is the means whereby the self-interest of individuals can be promoted—they can win the offices. Furthermore, the newspapers that take up the Democratic programme for the people's emancipation can increase their circulation. In short, the two great incentives to party action are present, an opportunity for successful office-seeking and an increase of newspaper circulation.

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BOOKS

A NEW BOOK ON AMERICAN LITERATURE.

"I have endeavored," says the author, "to furnish a condensed account of the development of American literature, rather than a series of connected essays on leading American authors." The happy carrying out of this intent, so far as is possible in a brief treatise of 250 pages, is a main ground for commending this volume (A Brief History of American Literature, by W. P. Trent, Appleton, N. Y.)

The reader who wishes to get a good running view of what America has produced in literature cannot do better than to take Prof. Trent's book as his guide. The style is clear and interesting, with perhaps a little too much consciousness of making a text-book. The judgments are free and candid, and at the same time, as the critics say, sane. The transitions and periods are, as the author proposes, well linked into a connected chain, making in truth a history of the literature.

There is no better part of the book than the treatment of the transcendentalists, a part which the author unnecessarily fears may be unsuited to the "wants of pupils." He has treated the subject, however, in so clear a way that even young readers may follow him. Ripley, Alcott, Margaret Fuller, Emerson and Thoreau are all happily touched off. To Channing he seems not to do full justice. To call his style "formal, old-fashioned, and lacking in profound appeal" is not quite fair. Let one read the essay on Napoleon or the essay on Milton, which Prof. Trent names, and he will find himself engaged in as clear, strong and beautiful prose as America has produced.

His treatment of the poets is excellent, and many will be glad to see his testimony to the growing fame of the one really great literary genius of the South, Sidney Lanier. There can now be no doubt that Lanier is to be ranked with the best of American poets. Some have already ventured to say that he is the most original of all. This can hardly be said in comparison with