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EDITORIAL

Pipe Lines as Common Carriers.

The best thing in the railroad-rate bill is the provision making common carriers of pipe lines. It is its monopoly of pipe lines that has enabled the Standard Oil Company to control the production of oil at one end and its distribution at the other.

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The Cost of Protection.

What may seem to many persons a surprising statement is made by the New York Reform Club, in a circular calling attention to the supreme importance of tariff revision. This circular states, upon the basis of reliable estimates, that Ameri-

can consumers are compelled by the protective tariff to pay \$1,500,000,000 more a year than the government gets, most of it being "graft for the benefit of the trusts and other protected interests."

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One of Mr. Roosevelt's Habits.

"It can be no surprise," says the New York Evening Post, "to the run of newspaper men, for example, who have been in a position closely to observe Mr. Roosevelt, whether as Police Commissioner, Governor or President, to discover that he will occasionally repudiate a statement which he finds it inconvenient to have recalled." This is entirely true, and yet Mr. Roosevelt's worshippers have been so idolatrous that until the Tillman-Chandler-Roosevelt affair they would hear nothing of Mr. Roosevelt that did not tend to glorify him. For "grand stand plays" he has never had an equal. But at last the grand stand has collapsed under him.

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The Railroad-Rate Bill.

As the railroad rate bill has been amended by the Senate the Interstate Commerce Commission will be unable to fix railroad rates without subjecting its decisions to a complete revision by the courts on the whole record and on both the law and the facts. This puts a weapon into the hands of the railroads which will enable them largely if not wholly to baffle the Commission in any efforts it may make at just regulation. It was what the railroad Senators contended for, and what President Roosevelt at first said they should not have. Nor need they have had it. With such of his own party and such of the Democrats as were opposed to it, he could have defeated the railroad ring. They were in fact defeated when he came to their rescue by reversing his position and acceding to their demands.

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End of the Chicago Traction Fight.

The fight over the Chicago traction question is now practically at an end. The traction companies have accepted Mayor Dunne's ultimatum, and nothing remains, so far as they are concerned, but to adjust the details. The value of their present property is to be appraised, they are to reconstruct and modernize the system as the city's

property and to operate it as mortgagee in possession, and the city is to have the right to take it over at any time upon paying them the appraised value of their present property plus the actual cost of reconstruction, with interest. Meanwhile, a part of the profits of operation are to go regularly into a sinking fund to be applied toward payment of the purchase price. The fight has been a long one, but it is now over, and the constructive period has set in.

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Judge Magruder.

At the June judicial election, a vacancy on the Supreme Court bench of Illinois is to be filled. It is caused by the expiration of the term of Judge Magruder, who has served with distinction for more than a score of years. He should have been renominated by the Democrats, but the Democratic machine had in view other ends than any that Judge Magruder would have served. He should have been renominated by the Republicans, but Republican non-partisanship was not big enough. As it is, his name has been put forward by petition as an independent. It ought to draw the vote of every independent citizen. Having displeased the corporate influences by his career on the bench, Judge Magruder has been marked for their discipline, and it would be a fine example of independent citizenship if the people were to re-elect him in spite of the plans of machine politicians and corporation lawyers and newspapers.

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Gov. Deneen and Primary Legislation.

In his memorandum approving the wretched apology for primary legislation which the Illinois legislature passed at the recent special session, Gov. Deneen attributes the origin of the demand for primary legislation to the gubernatorial contest of 1904 in the Republican party. He does not mention the vastly more important fact that this demand, however it may have originated, took a definite form at the election of 1904, when the people of Illinois, by advisory referendum, voted overwhelmingly (vol. vii, pp. 457, 535) in favor of amending "the primary election law so as to provide for party primaries at which the voter will vote under the Australian ballot directly for the candidate whom he wishes nominated by his party, instead of voting for delegates to convention or caucus." The affirmative vote on that proposition was 590,976. This was a clear majority of all the votes cast at the same election

for governor, and within 43,100 of as many votes as were cast for Deneen himself. Mr. Deneen has not only persistently ignored that specific popular demand for direct primaries, but has used all the influence at his command to prevent the enactment of any direct primary law.

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Nor has Gov. Deneen been altogether ingenuous in his opposition. He has frequently spoken of "primary legislation," "compulsory primaries," etc., as if he meant direct primary legislation; and in his message calling the special session of the legislature he said (p. 31) that "the people have demanded the substance instead of the semblance of participation in the nomination of candidates," and that it is the duty of the legislature to secure to the voters "the power not merely of electing but of selecting their candidates." But in dealing with the members of the legislature he threw his influence in opposition to direct primaries—the only means whereby the people can select as well as elect, the only means whereby they can get "the substance instead of the semblance of participation in the nomination of candidates."

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It is useless for Gov. Deneen to say, as he does in his memorandum, that the law he now signs, which offers not the substance of participation but only the semblance, that it was a compromise. There was no necessity for compromise. A strong sentiment appeared among the Republican members for direct primaries, and even in the face of the Governor's opposition, Daily, a Republican member of the lower house from Peoria, led a movement for direct primaries which would have succeeded but for Gov. Deneen's opposition. The Governor and his friends made a party measure of the matter and stigmatized Republicans who favored the direct primary policy as party insurgents. In this opposition the Governor was aided by some Democrats who were opposed to the direct primary for the same reason that all political hucksters are opposed to it. But for their timely aid Gov. Deneen's efforts to balk the people's will, especially declared at the polls by a vote almost as large as his own and a majority much larger than his own, would have failed, and the people of Illinois would now have a direct primary system unless the Governor had come into the open with a veto. If he had really favored a direct primary, he had only to keep his hands off. There were enough honest Republican members who, if unintimidated, would, with the hon-

est Democrats, have made a majority for direct primaries.

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It is evident enough, then, that Gov. Deneen was solicitous not for the wishes of the people, but for the good will of the powerful politicians in his own party whose power depends upon giving to the people the semblance, and only the semblance, of participating in the nomination of candidates. That is precisely what is done by this measure, which owes its enactment not only to Gov. Deneen's signature as governor, but to his active participation in pushing it through the legislature. The nearest it comes to giving the people the power to nominate candidates is to make it morally, not legally, obligatory upon delegates to vote once for candidates having in their districts respectively a plurality of the popular vote. If this is not semblance instead of substance, we miss the meaning of the words. It is said that Mr. Deneen is in training to succeed Mr. Roosevelt. He is getting on famously. But he should consider that Rooseveltian standards may be going out of fashion.

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Louisiana Oyster Laws.

The Louisiana oyster law of 1904, intended to protect and develop the Louisiana oyster lands, is worthy of study as an effort in the right direction with reference to other land tenures for business purposes. Claiming title to the beds of the waters within its jurisdiction, Louisiana provides for leasing them for oyster culture,—natural oyster beds being withheld, however, as a sort of oyster fishery commons. The leases, limited to 1,000 acres, run for fifteen years at a nominal rental; and during that term the leased tract must be placed under oyster cultivation at the rate of one-tenth of its area per year after the first five years. At the expiration of this term the tenant has a right of renewal for ten years at double the previous rent; and after the expiration of the extended term, the rentals are to be fixed by the State, presumably at their fair values. The substance of it all is this: that cultivators of oyster lands, not natural oyster beds, shall have the right of occupancy and use for twenty-five years on consideration of putting the land under cultivation, and that after that term the plant as well as the land shall belong to the State. To realize the significance of this manner of dealing with the subject, one needs but to reflect upon the manner in which governments have dealt with other kinds of land. Instead of giving a limited use to improvers for a

reasonably limited time, in consideration of the improvements they make, whole continents, embracing rich mines and city sites, now of enormous value, have been given away or sold for nominal prices, for every use and forever. Yet the only difference is that in the one case the land is, and in the other it is not, covered with water. And what real difference does that make?

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THE INITIATIVE AND THE REFER- ENDUM.*

Were I asked to single out the most distinctively American of all our political institutions, I should name the New England town meeting. Yet I am influenced by no New England bias. A Dutchman from the fresh water streams and hilly horizons of northern New Jersey, I merely acknowledge what no one can fairly deny. The New England town meeting has woven its story into the history of the whole Republic, and its lessons, pregnant with democracy, have been learned in every township.

Of course, New England cannot claim priority of invention. In some form or other, the town meeting has always existed. They had it in Athens and in Rome; it was once a Scandinavian institution, and also a Germanic; even in Russia its survival in some localities after centuries of centralized despotism has preserved a degree of liberty in local affairs down to our own day. It prevailed in England until the development of landlordism had undermined it and made way for the Norman conquest; and Switzerland has not only maintained it unimpaired but has vastly improved it. The oldest mode of government known—dating back historically to times whereof the memory of man runneth not to the contrary, and by sociological inference to the very earliest political organizations—the town meeting cannot indeed be called a New England institution in the sense of original invention. But does not the notable transplanting here by New England of this ancient institution, together with the supreme importance of its influence upon the political development of our whole country, fully warrant my opening statement? Isn't it true that the most distinctively American of all our political institutions is the New England town meeting?

May we not add that it is also one of our best? Convinced that it is, I earnestly urge the advisability of extending its application and perfecting

*Paper by Louis F. Post, prepared for and read and discussed at the twelfth annual meeting of the National Municipal League at Atlantic City, N. J., April 26, 1906.

it in form. To this end let me invite a moment's preliminary reflection upon its nature.

What is the essential principle of the New England town meeting? I take it to be two-fold: first, municipal home rule; and, second, direct legislation. With the home rule feature this paper has little to do. We ought, however, to observe in passing that the idea of municipal home rule is coming into more general acceptance as the problems of municipal government attract greater attention and cause closer study. This fact may suggest their error to such of our friends as imagine that direct legislation in the United States is a far cry. The same political impulses that are speeding us on to the policy of home rule for municipalities are likewise speeding us on to direct legislation in municipalities. Indeed, without people's rule at home, home rule would be a delusion; for home rule by local dynasties, whether political or financial, is as undemocratic as imperial centralization.

That the truth of this is felt by the people is evident from the fact, for fact it is, that the New England town meeting principle, not only in its home rule aspect but also in its direct-legislation aspect, is taking a hold upon public opinion such as has not been experienced before in many a year. I doubt if it has been so strongly felt in America since the time when Thomas Hooker and his congregation, faithful churchmen though they were, migrated from Massachusetts to the Connecticut wilderness rather than countenance a town meeting system which limited the suffrage to church members. It is with the principle that moved Hooker's congregation to quit Massachusetts that I am here chiefly concerned—the same principle that moved Abraham Lincoln two centuries later to proclaim as the American political ideal that government must be not only of the people and for the people but by the people. And this ideal can be realized in no other way, I confidently submit, than by some such adaptation of the town meeting principle of direct legislation as is offered by the Initiative and the Referendum.

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By the Initiative we understand the reservation to the people of the power of originating legislation by direct vote; the Referendum is the reservation to the people of the power, also by direct vote, of vetoing the objectionable legislation of representatives. Considered as correlative methods of popular government, the two differ from the town meeting system only in their adaptation of its essential principle to larger uses. At the

town meeting the people vote on questions of public policy orally or by show of hands and in the confusion of a mass meeting. This is direct legislation in its narrowest and crudest form. In its broadest and most refined and effective form, direct legislation is by the Initiative and the Referendum. For the confusion of mass meetings these substitute campaigns of orderly discussion, culminating in individual voting by ballot. In place of off-hand popular legislation on all subjects, as at town meeting, they would repose legislative authority in representative bodies precisely as now, but would safeguard this delegation of authority by reserving to the people their inherent power of command and veto, to be exercised at all seasonable times and with reference to all legislative subjects. They would enable the people themselves, who are the ultimate source of governing authority, to compel legislation if the legislature were laggard, and to stop legislation if the legislature were swift. Designed to guide and govern legislation with reference rather to principle and policy than to detail and form, the Initiative and the Referendum are to the New England town meeting as is a modern dwelling house to the old log cabin. Perfected in form, and general as well as local in application, they would operate comprehensively, in all respects and at all times, for securing to the people their sovereign powers unimpaired; and thereby, as we contend, they would continuously and effectively guard the people from misrepresentation by representatives.

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In their comprehensive application, the Initiative and the Referendum originated with the Swiss, these correlative methods of direct legislation having now been available to the people of Switzerland for a quarter of a century. Their character and effect in that democratic oasis of Europe is tersely described by McCrackan in his inspiring story, "The Rise of the Swiss Republic." He says they have developed "the Swiss people into a nation governing itself upon an almost ideal plan, directly, logically and without intermediaries." But this ideal plan is only a common sense adaptation to larger constituencies and newer conditions, of the essential principle of the same town meeting custom which Americans trace to New England, and with which the Swiss were familiar half a thousand years before there was a New England.

Genuine Americanism has no call to quarrel with this plan whencesoever it may have come. The town-meeting parentage of the Initiative and

the Referendum, which in itself commends them to our favorable consideration, is coupled with a recommendation that should appeal to our patriotic sympathies. For the Swiss initiative and referendum sprang out of that revival of the democratic spirit in Europe which culminated in the French revolution of 1830, and brought to an end the era of the divine right of kings. A democratic republic like ours, whose boast it is that the people are sovereign and even their highest official is their servant, stultifies itself if it rejects as a foreign exotic what is in fact a weapon for the security of popular government.

There is another reason still for turning a deaf ear to those who argue that the Swiss initiative and referendum are alien institutions. Not alone do these correlated devices appeal to American democracy because they were born of the democratic spirit. Not only do they demand our favorable consideration because they are logical developments of the town meeting principle of our own New England. Beyond these primary considerations they are historically American even in scope and form, albeit the historical American form is imperfect. The Swiss did no more in this matter than to perfect a form of democratic government which we had long before invented and crudely used.

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Having always recognized the democratic principle that sovereignty resides in the people, we began our constitution-making with the Initiative and the Referendum. Massachusetts took the lead with the Referendum as long ago as 1778. The constitution then submitted to the people was defeated, but in 1779 a similar referendum resulted favorably. Other States followed, and in 1821 New York joined this democratic procession. Since that time the custom has been almost unbroken among American States. The exceptions, other than those connected with the secession period of 1860-61, are Florida in 1838, Mississippi in 1890, South Carolina and Delaware in 1895, and Louisiana in 1898. In each of these instances, however, with the possible exception of Florida, the unconcealed purpose of denying the referendum was in contravention of the fundamental American doctrine that sovereignty resides with the people.

As with the organic Referendum so with the organic Initiative, the former having as a rule in the United States been accompanied by the latter. It is said to have been quite as common (perhaps there have been fewer exceptions to the rule), for the people by direct vote to initiate the calling of

conventions to formulate new constitutions, as it has been for them to pass by referendum upon new constitutions when formulated. Just as Massachusetts was the American pioneer with the organic Referendum, so Georgia appears to have been with the organic Initiative. Back in 1777, a year before the Massachusetts referendum, Georgia provided in her constitution for an initiative by requiring that the constitution should not be altered "without petitions from a majority of the counties, the petition from each county to be signed by a majority of voters." But thereupon the legislature was required to call a convention to amend the constitution, the call to specify "the alterations to be made according to the petitions."

With so broad a recognition of popular sovereignty, advances from the generals of the constitutional to the particulars of the legislative initiative and referendum were natural and logical. Does not the greater include the less? If a people can directly dictate general constitutional powers and limitations, why may they not directly dictate specific legislation? There is but one valid reason to the contrary. In establishing general powers and limitations in their organic law, they may have delegated their specific powers. In such a case it is clear that they cannot without revolution resume those powers otherwise than by the constitutional methods which they themselves have established. But this reason would obviously fail in any case in which the people by their constitution either did not create a legislative agency with exclusive powers, or did reserve to themselves the right not only of organic but also of legislative initiative and referendum.

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Moreover, our courts have completely established the rule that though legislative power be so conferred upon a legislative body as to prevent a general transfer of that power by that body, even to the people themselves, yet a transfer of the power for local purposes and within local limitations may be made not only to local and subordinate legislative bodies, but to the people of the respective localities. This is a clear judicial acknowledgment of the Initiative and the Referendum as American institutions.

And both have been resorted to in the United States for many local purposes and over a long period of time. The mere recital of instances would astonish some of the patriotic objectors who denounce the Initiative and the Referendum as foreign. If any institution is more distinctively American than another, and this without reference, if you please, to its town meeting origin and

its use in constitution-making, but with reference only to the statutory history of the States of the American Union, it is the institution of the Initiative and the Referendum. "They exist together in fact if not in name in nearly all the States of the Union." So says Dr. Oberholtzer in his work on "The Referendum in America," a book which is without bias unless the bias be against the general initiative and referendum that I am advocating. It is withal a book whose claims to be "an unvarnished historical account" are justly made, and I cordially acknowledge indebtedness to it for most of the statements of fact in this paper. According to Dr. Oberholtzer the legislative referendum in the United States dates back some twenty years earlier than the period of its beginnings in Switzerland. It was first resorted to by Maryland, which in 1825 referred to the voters of each county the question of establishing free primary schools, the law to become operative only in those counties in which a majority of the votes cast on the question were in the affirmative. Pennsylvania established a school-district referendum on the same subject in 1836, and in 1849 New York also made the subject a referendum issue. Meanwhile, Virginia in 1837 and Pennsylvania in 1842 provided for submission to local referendums of questions of local public subscriptions to internal improvements. From these beginnings the local or municipal referendum has grown into a common American custom, and the local initiative has kept pace with it. To quote again from Dr. Oberholtzer's excellent historical work, "both have been developing side by side until they have become familiar to us by general usage in all but every State in the great American Republic."

Among the local questions which it has long been customary in the United States to submit to local referendum either with or without the aid of the initiative, we find civil service regulations and minority representation, as well as the care of the poor, highway control, the subdivision of counties, and the organization of townships. A very general subject of local referendum is the loaning of public credit, and another is the expenditure of public money. One of the oldest is the question of public subscriptions to private enterprises, and among the newest are the adoption of voting machines and the question of granting public utility franchises. In sheep-raising sections regulations for compensation for sheep killed by dogs have been made a subject of referendum. Out of the patriotism of the Civil War period have come local referendums on erecting soldiers' monuments at public expense, and in

Ohio the erection of local monuments to the memory of "Mad" Anthony Wayne were by general law long ago made a subject of local referendum. In cities we have had referendums on the question of selling beer on Sunday. And is not the local-option liquor referendum familiar everywhere? The submission of city charters to referendum has come to be well nigh regarded as a cherished right, while such questions as levying taxes for special purposes, exempting industrial enterprises, and removing county seats have long been referendum subjects of general recognition as such. Like the man who had been reading prose all his life without knowing it, we have habitually, even if unawares, been using the Initiative and the Referendum ever since Jackson's time.

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Who shall say, then, that South Dakota, the first of our States to adopt the general Initiative and Referendum, imported them from Europe? Even if their particular form and scope were borrowed from Switzerland, where they had been in actual and satisfactory operation, who can deny that the idea was absolutely American? We have seen that it is an established principle of American jurisprudence as well as American polity to consider that all legislative power inheres in the people; that it remains with them unless they delegate it by constitutional provision; and that it returns to them if by constitutional amendment they revoke the delegated authority. Now, the people of South Dakota did nothing more than to revoke, constitutionally, the legislative authority they had previously delegated. But when that was done, the Initiative and the Referendum, as inherent powers of the people, were ipso facto revived. The people of South Dakota did not import a Swiss invention; they resumed an American power.

Their Constitution of 1889 having delegated the legislative power of the people to a senate and house of representatives, their amendment of 1898 so altered this delegation of power as expressly to reserve thereafter to themselves, first, the right, upon petition signed by a percentage of the voters, to propose measures which the legislature must enact and submit to popular vote for final approval, and, second, the requirement that by like petition any laws the legislature might enact of its own motion should be submitted to popular vote before going into effect—emergency laws alone excepted. The same reservations of popular sovereignty in law-making were applied by this constitutional amendment to

municipalities with reference to municipal bodies and municipal questions, as to the State with reference to the legislature and State questions. Laws in execution of this constitutional reform in South Dakota were enacted in 1899, but the reform has never been used directly in any notable instance. It has, however, headed off much corrupt legislation, the mere threat of resorting to it having proved effective.

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In Utah the South Dakota amendment was adopted in 1900, but no legislation to carry it into effect has yet been enacted. A similar amendment adopted in Nevada appears also to be a dead letter. But in Oregon the amendment has not only been adopted as in the other three States, and a law in execution been enacted as in South Dakota, but the Supreme Court of the State has given it judicial sanction, and the people are utilizing it vigorously and intelligently for its intended purpose.

Although the reform was first adopted in South Dakota and has been effective in heading off corrupt legislation there, Oregon is the first State actually to utilize it at the polls. A direct primary and a local-option liquor law, both under the Initiative, were adopted at the election of 1904; and at the municipal election of 1905 in Portland seven charter amendments were voted on, five of which carried and two were lost. Other questions are now pending in the State—an appropriation bill, an anti-pass bill, and five Constitutional amendments, all of which are to be voted on in June. One of the proposed amendments, presented on Initiative by the Equal Suffrage Association, provides for voting by women on an equality with men; another would invest municipalities with power to make and amend their own charters.

The further progress of the American movement in behalf of the comprehensive Initiative and Referendum is too obvious to need particularization. At any rate the most modest attempt at particularization would far transcend the limits of this paper. Perhaps, however, before passing to another phase of the general subject, I should note the fact that the people of Montana will vote next Fall on a constitutional amendment like that of South Dakota. It is to be added, moreover, that the right to the Initiative and the Referendum for municipal purposes but without further limitation as to subject than that the questions shall be of local concern, has been conferred upon other municipalities than those of the four initiative and referendum States.

Among these are the cities and counties of California, the municipal subdivisions of Nebraska, the capital city of Colorado, and the counties of Iowa.

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For the sake of distinction the phase of the general subject which I have thus far considered may be described as the mandatory. It relates, that is to say, to initiatives and referendums at which a favorable vote gives legal vitality to the proposition voted on. But out of the movement for direct legislation of the mandatory sort, has arisen a movement for advisory methods.

The advisory referendum is usually regulated by parliamentary rules of procedure. The custom appears to have originated in Winnetka, a Lake-Michigan village of Illinois north of Chicago. The village council had before it some years ago an ordinance granting a private franchise for supplying gas. Against this ordinance there was a public protest, and upon the suggestion of the late Henry D. Lloyd, who led the opposition, the council resolved to submit the question to an advisory vote of the people and abide the result. This vote being taken, the ordinance was overwhelmingly condemned, and out of that experience the citizens of Winnetka got a valuable lesson which they proceeded to profit by. At the next election they agreed to vote only for those candidates who would pledge themselves if elected to refer all important measures to the voters and to vote in council in accordance with their instructions. The nominees thus pledged were elected, and what was then an innovation in Winnetka became an institution.

Acting upon this hint Mr. George H. Shibley of Washington has for several years been engaged in popularizing the Winnetka system and adapting it, not only to municipal but to State and national uses. Mr. Shibley's method contemplates the adoption by legislative bodies of a rule of procedure relative to all legislation of a specified character. Pursuant to this rule, action by the body on any of the measures specified, is, after second reading, suspended for a convenient length of time, during which the filing of a petition for submission to referendum vote operates to postpone third reading until the referendum vote has been taken. If the referendum vote be favorable, the members of the legislative body are obligated by their rule, reinforced by their election pledges, to proceed to third reading and pass the measure; if the referendum vote be unfavorable, the measure is lost. This system in substance has been adopted, I am informed, by several

municipal bodies, including the city council of Detroit.

This type of advisory referendum, which may be distinguished as the voluntary or non-legal form, has been supplemented by a legalized form which was introduced in 1901 by the State of Illinois. The bill for the latter was drawn by Mr. Allen Ripley Foote, and carried through the legislature of Illinois by Mr. Clayton E. Crafts, a member of the lower house from Chicago. As originally presented the Crafts bill allowed the submission to popular vote of any question of public policy when petitioned for by 10 per cent. of the voters within the territory to which the question applied. Inasmuch as the referendum thus provided for was to be only advisory, the bill was regarded by the politicians and corporations as harmless, and only from an excess of caution did the legislature raise the percentage to 25 per cent. for municipalities. But this gun that didn't seem to be loaded, has gone off several times with important results.

No State has yet followed the lead of Illinois in adopting an advisory referendum law, although the lower house in Massachusetts has recently passed a bill which is now pending in the Senate. But the city of Buffalo applies the same principle under the "general welfare" clause of the city charter. By ordinance the council provides that upon a five per cent. petition any question of local public policy shall be submitted to the voters for the purpose of obtaining their opinion, and under the provisions of this ordinance important advisory referendums have been had in Buffalo.

Interesting, however, and even important as are these experiments with the advisory referendum, it is after all the mandatory referendum with which we are chiefly concerned. For the question at issue is between representative legislation unrestricted save by constitutions, and direct popular legislation upon popular demand. If representatives yield to advisory popular votes, their doing so is only voluntary; whereas mandatory initiatives and referendums have the effect of a command. When these are invoked they place the legislative representative in the position not of a noble who may oblige, but of a servant who must obey.

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To such a mandate directly from the people there are of course vociferous if not profound objections. Some are merely special pleas for special interests; but others are genuine, arising in some instances from sincere hostility to and in others from sincere distrust of popular govern-

ment. With these objections I shall not attempt to deal seriatim. Except as they may be refuted by the facts I have cited and my affirmative argument, they must be accorded such validity as upon the surface they may appear to have. The essential issue, as it seems to me, is one of people's rule or bosses' rule, and to that issue broadly I invite your attention.

Is it not obvious that unless the people rule freely, with the least possible obstruction and friction consistent with good order and true expression, their rule will wane and the rule of bosses strengthen? And is it not equally true that representative legislation with no popular initiative or veto, does operate to obstruct the people's rule by making public opinion more or less inarticulate and consequently impotent? It seems to me that the obstruction and the friction thereby interposed to people's rule, make the coming of the boss as certain as fate. This sinister lesson may be learned from the evolution of the boss in American politics. With legislators empowered to choose between the people's will and their own, people's rule has given way to party rule, party rule to caucus rule, caucus rule to ring rule, and ring rule to boss rule. The source of the boss's power, both the old time political boss and the later corporation type, is the system which enables legislative representatives to represent the boss, whose puppets they become, instead of the people, whose agents they are.

Yet the usefulness of representative government I cordially concede. For purposes of administration, representatives are absolutely necessary; and for purposes of legislation they have functions of a high order. But the functions of the legislator are as truly to execute the people's will in their sphere as are those of the administrative official in his. The legislative function in a republic consists in adjusting details and forms in execution of popular demands as to principles and policies. It is true that these demands may be inferred by legislatures; and they are rightly inferred if, having a referendum veto, the people do not exercise it. But the legislative function in a republic should not extend to the point of dominion over the people. Legislatures should be servants and not masters.

While it is true that republics may be representative, the people speaking not directly but through legislative agents to whom they have delegated with certain restrictions the legislative power that belongs to themselves, it is also true that they may be democratic, reserving to themselves final power over all legislation—to order, to

veto, and to revoke. These two types of the republican form of government are expressly recognized by the first article of the Swiss Constitution, in which, to quote the exact language, cantons are assured "the exercise of political rights according to republican forms, representative or democratic." Our own Federal constitution guarantees "to every State in this Union a republican form of government," but no express discrimination is made, as in the Swiss Constitution. The intention, however, was clearly in the minds of the fathers of our Republic. When they declared for republicanism they had no thought of opposing democracy. The contrast they sought to make was between the republican and the monarchical form, not between the representative and the democratic method. All of them feared the encroachments of absolutism; few of them feared the evolution of democracy. One of the greatest among them all, a man who probably contributed more than any other to the acceptance of the Constitution by the people, was James Madison; and in No. 39 of the Federalist he wrote of the republican form as "a government which derives all its power *directly* or *indirectly* from the great body of the people."

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The whole question of representative in contradistinction to democratic republicanism, in the American sense at any rate, may be reduced to one proposition: Representation which does not tend toward democracy is not truly republican. There is a radical difference between representation of the people and abdication by the people. The true American spirit in this respect was expressed by a Swiss democrat, Felix Diog, when in the constitutional assembly of the Canton of St. Gall in 1845, he said: "The people are sovereign. The people, and the people only, should exercise supreme power. Their will should be law. Sovereignty cannot be delegated. A sovereign who acts only through delegates may be said to have abdicated."

Is it objected that the people are not intelligent enough to be trusted with this supervisory power? Or is it argued that they would be apathetic, because in American experience the voting on candidates is larger than on questions of public policy? These objections nullify each other. The argument that the people are apathetic takes into consideration only the unintelligent who neglect to vote, ignoring the public spirit of the intelligent who do vote. Those who do vote are not apathetic; they prove it by voting. Neither are they unintelligent, except by the frail test that he

who is with us is intelligent and he who is against us is not. What, then, does the apathy argument lead to but the conclusion that the Initiative and the Referendum would operate automatically to disfranchise the unintelligent?

But that would be an ideal system for making intelligence the condition of suffrage. That the suffrage ought to be limited to the intelligent may be granted. But that any class of citizens should disfranchise others by labeling them "unintelligent" is repugnant to republicanism, whether the republicanism be representative or democratic. Each citizen should be his own disfranchiser. He should be his own judge of his own intelligence at each election as to each question of public policy on which a difference of opinion is sufficiently pronounced to call for a show of hands. And this self-judgment is what the Initiative and the Referendum would demand of all citizens.

Nor should we overlook in the same connection the influence of the Initiative and the Referendum in promoting and extending civic intelligence. For it is civic intelligence, not mere business intelligence, that is needed for good government. The kind of intelligence that is developed by the principles of "cent. per cent." and the experiences of "the merry chase for elusive dollars," may be competent to deal with questions of private policy, but it is not the best kind for determining questions of public policy. Only active participation in public affairs, with a sense of personal responsibility, can develop this civic intelligence; and under the Initiative and the Referendum that participation would be open to every citizen. If there is a deficiency of civic intelligence now, who can deny without better tests than we have yet had, that it may be due to that abuse of our representative system which transfers the voter's responsibility to his legislative representatives, and tends to transmute his natural and wholesome interest in questions of public policy into a morbid interest in the mere personality of candidates? A degree of interest in the personality of candidates is indeed natural and wholesome; but the custom of investing them when elected with full legislative power disturbs the civic equilibrium. Considerations relating to person, party or class, confused with an intermixture of public questions, tend to distract the voter when he has to choose between one candidate for irresponsible legislative power and another. Not infrequently, therefore, he votes for the candidate who will misrepresent him on some questions, because he prefers that candidate for personal or party reasons, or as his representative on other questions, or it may

be for his efficiency in the business details of public life. This would not occur if the voter were able when voting for the candidate of his choice to instruct or overrule that candidate by mandatory initiative or referendum on questions of public policy regarding which they disagree. Neither would the reverse of this any longer occur. It not infrequently happens now, that voters prefer a bad representative who will represent them truly on a dominant issue, to a good one who opposes them on that issue. And shall we condemn voters for making such a choice of evils, when we offer them only the alternative of voting for a bad candidate or a bad policy?

Not only would the Initiative and the Referendum tend to enhance the civic intelligence of all citizens—even those citizens of the slums whose civic intelligence is almost nil, and those infinitely more dangerous citizens of the business world whose civic intelligence is hardly better than a mere reflection of their own business interests—not only would all civic intelligence improve in this clash of mind with mind in rendering direct and responsible judgment on questions of public policy, but the fidelity of public servants would be vastly improved. For is it not true that the more directly we bring governmental machinery within the influence of public opinion the better the government tends to become? Such at any rate seems to be the impressive lesson of all political experience.

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That every government springs from the people is no speculative theory. It is an observed fact. No matter what may be the forms of government, the people rule everywhere. But if they are so far removed from the machinery of government that they can enforce their rule only by revolution, their governing agents become despotic and corrupt. And to the degree that they are so removed, to that degree is despotism and corruption engendered. Our question, then, is not whether the people shall rule, for in the last analysis they do rule; it is whether they shall rule with a minimum of friction or with a maximum of obstruction—whether their governments shall respond to their will quickly and without disorder, or sluggishly and with culminating upheavals.

What a glorious response to this question was that of Norway and Sweden. Had the people's representatives in those countries decided the dispute, a devastating war might have resulted with its aftermath of international hatred. But when

the people of Norway were allowed to decide directly through referendum, peace was assured and international friendship followed. Always and everywhere the principle works with similar effect. The greatest advances in government are where political forms make government sensitive to the popular will.

In the United States, for instance, the popular will sways government as it does not and cannot in Russia. The people of the United States live under political forms that admit at frequent intervals of expressions of their opinion. These forms for the most part are, indeed, crude and defective; but for ascertaining and executing the people's will, Russia has no forms at all. Consequently, although the people of Russia do govern, in the sense that Russia is what her inhabitants allow her to be, yet the obstacles in the way of their action have been such as to make their influence upon government so remote that it could be exerted for progress only through conspiracies and revolutions. Government in the United States is, therefore, more truly than in Russia, government by the people. But in this respect American government yields to British government. The "responsible system" dominant in Great Britain and her autonomous colonies, under which important questions are promptly though imperfectly referred to the people, and an administration in comparative harmony with the people's verdict comes into power as soon as that verdict is rendered, puts the British government more directly under popular control than any other great government on the globe.

Besides the direct effect of democratic forms in strengthening popular checks upon governing agencies, there is the secondary effect which I have already mentioned. It is of even greater importance, considered by itself, than the direct effect. This is the tendency of democratic forms to vitalize the civic spirit of the people. The more democratic the forms, the more general and vital will civic spirit become. If it is true that a people make their government—and as a primary conception it is true—then it is no less true that by reaction their government helps to mold their civic character. Democratic forms of government tend to make the spirit of the people democratic; despotic forms tend to make the spirit of the people disorderly.

For examples we need go no farther than to the countries already mentioned. In Russia until the recent terrific disorders, there was no orderly civic spirit; individual exceptions did not weaken the rule. Nor was there any civic intelligence

except the fantastic or the bookish. But in the United States there is civic spirit and there is civic intelligence. Our democratic inheritance from the free constitutions of old New England and the free thought of old Virginia still vitalizes American citizenship. Yet it must be conceded that in old England, whence our colonial democracy came, in "little England" which lighted the torch of liberty long before Magna Charta and has never allowed its blaze to die wholly down, in the England which to-day gives the world an example of representative government responsible immediately and directly to the people—it must be conceded that to that England (despite its imperialistic reactions, its pasteboard throne, and its tinsel crown), the civic spirit and the intelligence of the people are on the whole superior to those of our own fellow citizens. The American patriot who doubts may easily convince himself. Let him compare parliamentary debates with a debate in Congress, speeches at English elections with speeches at ours, the contents of popular English newspapers with the contents of popular American newspapers, or the common talk on public questions of the common people of both countries—let the thick and thin American patriot do this, and he will be satisfied. His patriotic pride may suffer, but his patriotic intelligence will be the gainer. Reacting upon the people, the more democratic forms of English government, as compared with those of the United States, have produced a superior and more general civic spirit and intelligence.

But England must yield in turn to Switzerland, where the forms of government are more democratic still. In Switzerland the people not only express their political judgment indirectly by voting for representatives, as in Great Britain and the United States; they express it also specifically whenever they wish to, by voting directly upon public measures. The preservation by the Swiss of their ancient democratic aspirations, symbolized in their legend of William Tell, is not to be accounted for, of course, by their present ballot method of direct legislation. But it certainly is to be accounted for in part by the cruder and more ancient mass-meeting methods, resembling the New England town meeting on which the ballot method is an improvement. There can be little doubt that the progressive action and reaction of democratic sentiment upon government, giving to it more and more the democratic form, and of democratic forms upon public intelligence and sentiment, elevating and strengthening them, have had much to do with putting the Swiss

as a people at the head of the nations for civic spirit and civic intelligence.

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Let us take these lessons to ourselves. We cannot trust to our constitutional restraints upon legislation to improve the administration of our government and preserve the democracy of our Republic. While constitutions may embalm the dead public opinion of the past, they do not express the living public opinion of the present. Judges may indeed read into them from time to time the public opinion of the present, or possibly the opinion of a mere party or class, but at the best this is not enough. With only a constitution and a bench of judges between public opinion and representative power, public opinion is inarticulate. What the people need in order to make it vital and expressive, is freedom to choose legislative servants without investing them with despotic authority. Such freedom they would have were their sovereign powers over legislation restored. They could then instruct their legislatures on questions of public policy with instructions that must be obeyed.

This restoration can be accomplished through the Initiative and the Referendum. Shall it be done? We all appeal to public opinion as the court of last resort. The Initiative and the Referendum would make this court articulate. It is now only a speechless fetish, whose silent or incoherent mandates are interpreted by an interested political priesthood. Let us restore to public opinion the powers of speech of which it has been deprived. Let us allow public opinion to speak for itself and interpret its own commands. This would not abolish representative republicanism among us; it would perfect it. This would not be government by a mob; it would be government by an orderly democracy. This would not be a foreign innovation; it would be in the strictest sense an American evolution.

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Little Girl: Please, sir, mamma sent me back with this castle soap and says to tell you it won't raise a lather.

Grocer (examining substance): Let me see. Didn't you buy this the other day? Didn't you buy some cheese and some soap together? This isn't the soap.

Little Girl (light breaking in): O-oh! Then that's what made the rabbit taste so funny last night!—
Boston Transcript.

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.

Weed ending Wednesday, May 23

The Railroad-Rate Bill.

After a long controversy the Senate on the 18th passed the Hepburn railroad-rate bill (p. 154), but with important amendments. As amended by the Senate the bill provides that—

The Interstate Commerce Commission shall [the words "in its judgment" struck out] fix maximum rates to be charged where complaints are made.

Rates so fixed may be reviewed by the courts.

Before a rate can be enjoined by interlocutory decree of the courts, notice of five days and a hearing before three judges are necessary.

After a Commission-made rate is suspended by injunction, appeal lies direct to the Supreme Court.

Rates fixed and passed upon go into effect within thirty days and may remain in force for two years.

The Commission may fix joint through rates and part rail and part water rates.

The Commission is to consist of five members as at present.

Railroads and carriers are prohibited from dealing in the commodities they carry.

Pipe lines, private car lines, express companies and palace car companies are made common carriers.

Rebates are punished by imprisonment of either party or fines of from \$1,000 to \$20,000.

Person soliciting or compelling a rebate may also be fined three times the amount of the rebate.

Railroads must keep uniform books accessible to the Commission at all times.

Railroads must make uniform reports.

Giving of inter-State passes except in stated cases is prohibited.

The Commission may compel switch and siding connections.

Damage done to goods sent over through route shall be borne by the initial carrier.

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Three important changes were made in the Senate, namely: (1) The provision for court review, (2) the making of pipe lines common carriers, and (3) provisions against issuing passes. By the striking out of the words "in its judgment" from the clause authorizing the Interstate Commerce Commission to fix rates, it is believed that the courts are given unlimited power of supervision over the Commission.

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The bill has gone back to the House for concurrence in the amendments. The House having refused to concur, the bill is now in conference committee of the two houses.

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Religious Conventions.

At the opening of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church at Des Moines on the 17th the

Rev. Dr. Hunter Corbett was elected moderator. An exciting subject under consideration has been the question of adopting a book of prayer. The Assembly is still in session.

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The General Assembly of the Cumberland Presbyterian Church opened at Decatur, Ill., on the 17th. The issue in the election of moderator was over the question of union with the Presbyterian Church (vol. viii, p. 121), and J. L. Landrith, the union candidate, was elected. This question is before the courts in a suit for injunction instituted by the anti-unionists. The hearing took place at Decatur and on the 22d the court decided in favor of the unionists by refusing to grant an injunction.

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At the eighteenth triennial session of the General Council of the Reformed Episcopal Church, held at Philadelphia on the 16th, Bishop Samuel Fallows was elected president.

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The annual convention of the Church of the New Jerusalem (Swedenborgian) met at Cincinnati on the 18th and remained in session until the 23d. S. S. Seward was re-elected president.

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The Illinois Primary Law.

After a long special session the Illinois legislature has passed a primary law to take the place of the one which was held by the courts to be unconstitutional (pp. 30, 59). The Democratic caucus favored direct nominations and the Republican caucus, supported by Gov. Deneen, favored nomination by convention. A large Republican contingent, led by Dailey of Peoria, opposed the caucus measure and endeavored to secure a law providing for direct nominations; but the opponents of direct primaries were successful. As enacted the law provides that—

The county central committee of each political party shall establish delegate districts for their respective parties.

Primary elections shall be held at the regular election polling places at stated times, the polls to be open at the usual election hours.

The names of candidates for U. S. Senator may be placed on the official ballot at the candidate's request and without petition; the names of other candidates to be placed there on petitions.

Voters must declare party affiliation in order to vote; and signing the petition of any candidate of any party with which he does not affiliate, or of an independent, disqualifies him.

If, upon completion of the canvass, it appears that any candidate of any party for nomination for any State, Congressional or Senatorial office has received a plurality of all the votes cast for candidates for nomination for such office in a delegate district, such candidate shall have cast for him the votes of all the delegates from such delegate district to the convention before which he is a candidate, for at least the first ballot. Nominations shall be made by a majority vote of all the delegates elected to each convention.

Gov. Deneen signed this bill on the 23d.

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The Democratic members have issued an address containing the following statement:

The so-called primary bill just passed is a travesty on justice, a parody on primary elections, and a gross violation of the specific instructions of nearly 600,000 voters

of Illinois. We charge the Republican party of Illinois, through its representatives in the General Assembly bowing to the will of Gov. Deneen and the Republican organization of the State, with the enactment of a law that takes away from the people the last vestige of the right of nominating their candidates by direct primary vote. We charge the Republican members of the forty-fourth General Assembly with violating the expressed will of their constituents, in obedience to party discipline. And we charge that the bill just passed is a deception, a travesty upon justice, a result of party dictation, a sham, and a fraud, the work of political schemers to perpetuate themselves in office.

* * *

Settling the Traction Question in Chicago.

Mayor Dunne has secured the services of the American Trust and Savings Bank in the capacity of trustee for the issuance of Mueller certificates with which to acquire municipal ownership of the traction system (pp. 123, 158), and steps are in progress to authorize the actual issuance of certificates. An ordinance for the purpose was introduced in the Council on the 21st. It is expected that litigation will speedily follow the passage of the ordinance, and that in this the validity of the certificates will be brought to a judicial test.

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On the 17th the representatives of the Chicago City and the Union Traction lines appeared before the local transportation committee of the Council and asserted their ability and willingness to negotiate on the basis of Mayor Dunne's ultimatum (p. 105).

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The Russian Douma.

Proceedings in the Russian Douma (p. 157) are in suspense pending the delivery of the address to the Czar. A deputation had been appointed to deliver the address, but the Czar refused to receive a deputation, saying that the address must be presented through the ministry of the court. This caused a good deal of feeling in the Douma, but the leaders allayed the excitement by urging that the address itself and not the form of its presentation is the important thing.

NEWS NOTES

—Commissioner Garfield's complete report on the oil trust (p. 127) was transmitted to Congress by the President on the 17th.

—The conviction of Senator Burton of Kansas (vol. viii, p. 525) has been affirmed by the Supreme Court of the United States.

—A mass meeting in memory of Carl Schurz (pp. 145, 158) will be held at the Auditorium, Chicago, on the afternoon of June 3.

—George E. McNeill of Boston, long a prominent trade unionist and known as "the father of the eight hour day," died at Boston on the 18th, at the age of 70.

—The Commonwealth Trust and Savings Bank, a union labor institution, opened at Chicago on the 19th. It is organized under the laws of Arizona with an authorized capital of \$500,000, divided into \$5 shares.

—Nearly 400 women, escorted by 40 members of Parliament, and representing organizations from all parts of the country, had an audience with Premier Campbell-Bannerman on the 19th in behalf of woman suffrage in Great Britain.

—The County Democracy of Cook County, Illinois, (embracing Chicago), adopted the following principles at their meeting on the 20th: The initiative and mandatory referendum veto and right of recall; direct primary nomination of candidates by plurality vote; public ownership and operation of all public utilities; home rule in taxation; abolition of government by injunction; the largest measure of personal liberty that is consistent with the rights of others.

—A municipal election in Denver on the 15th is reported to have resulted on referendum as follows: 20-year franchise to traction company, carried; gas company franchise, carried; purchase by the city of electric lighting plant, carried; franchise to permit the Moffat road to enter Union Station, carried; franchise for the Union Pacific Railway on wholesale business street, defeated; park improvement bonds, defeated; Denver terminal franchise to permit the entry into the city of an interurban electric line not constructed, defeated. Wholesale frauds by politicians on behalf of the traction company are charged.

PRESS OPINIONS

ROOSEVELT AND THE RATE BILL.

Dubuque Telegraph (Dem.), May 18.—If the question of veracity between President Roosevelt and ex-Senator Chandler had arisen a year ago, or even six months ago, the country would have believed the President and burned in the brand on Chandler. But to-day no such conclusion is reached. Judgment is in most instances suspended, it being the preference of most persons to believe that the question raised is the result of a misunderstanding, and that neither party wilfully lies. Yet another large number who have reached judgment, believe that the President's unchecked tongue led him into a predicament to get out of which he did not hesitate to call the other man a liar. Few, if any, believe that Senator Chandler lied.

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Louisville Courier-Journal (Dem.), May 15.—Though we get nothing to speak of in the Rate Bill, and though the various trust investigations come to nothing, the country will owe a great debt to Theodore Roosevelt. He has done in a day, as it were, what no other man could have done in a decade; brought the people to a realizing sense of the existence and operations of that insidious power, which has been, ever since the War of Sections, stealthily intrenching itself at Washington, and reaching thence into the manufacturing districts and the money centers, and slowly but surely preparing to replace the oligarchy of African slavery with the oligarchy of organized money. In other words, Theodore Roosevelt has clearly revealed to us the new irrepressible conflict. The Republican party stands to this new irrepressible conflict precisely where the Democratic party stood to the old, the sectional relations reversed; for, whereas the slave power dominating the government had its lodgment in the South, the money power now dominating it has its lodgment in the North and East.

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THE POSTAL CENSORSHIP.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), May 22.—The high-handed methods of the postoffice department in denying to citizens the use of the mails under the law authoriz-

ing it to issue "fraud orders" have led to the introduction of a bill in Congress to provide for an appeal from the orders of the department to the courts. . . . In view of the fact that many of the eminent constitutional lawyers in Congress argued for five months continuously that it would be unconstitutional and a great wrong to deprive the railroads or right to appeal on questions of fact as well as law from the Interstate Commerce Commission's orders, it would seem that they might spend a day at least in urging that the citizen's right to use the mails should not be subject without the right of appeal to the arbitrary decision of a postal bureaucrat.

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THE LINE OF CIVILIZATION.

(Cleveland) Waechter und Anzeiger (Dem.), May 21.—The celebration of the completion of the Simplon Tunnel has greater civilizing value for Italy than the disastrous expansion in Africa (Abyssinia). Likewise the millions which expansion in the Philippines has cost the United States might have been applied to the irrigation and reclamation of the desert lands of the West, with far better results, and this is only from the material point of view. A comparison from the moral standpoint is hardly possible. Here every people that engages in expansion suffers the same sad consequences. You cannot destroy the liberty of other nations without putting your own in jeopardy. You cannot comport yourself in a brutal manner toward other nations without becoming more brutal yourself.

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MAYOR DUNNE'S VICTORY.

Dubuque Telegraph (Dem.), May 22.—Slowly but inevitably Chicago is realizing the four times expressed desire for the ownership and operation of its traction lines. . . . Forced to their knees, the companies have now indicated their willingness to agree to the Mayor's revocable license plan. . . . Obituaries of the Mayor and his traction plans have been written frequently and without warrant. Steeled by a fixed and unalterable determination to execute the will of the people, and with their moral support back of him, and equipped as he is with thorough knowledge of the law and of the traction situation, he has hewn to the line, pushing steadily ahead against the titanic force of money and corruption.

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JUDGE MAGRUDER.

Chicago Examiner (Dem.), May 23.—When a man of long and useful service, universally recognized as a great jurist, brings down upon himself the wrath of corporate influences because his decisions happen to be on the side of the people, it is clearly incumbent upon an honest electorate to rally to his support and see that he is retained on the bench. A case in point is that of Justice Magruder. An intended victim of the machinations of party spollsmen and corrupt corporations, he is now modestly seeking re-election as an Independent candidate. It is for the distinct purpose of subordinating partisan politics that judicial elections are held in June. And it is distinctly creditable to Justice Magruder that he asks the suffrage of the people on his record solely, rather than on account of his affiliation with any particular party. Once before he appealed from the party bosses to the people and was triumphantly re-elected. Assuredly history should repeat itself now.

IN CONGRESS

This report is an abstract of the Congressional Record, the official report of Congressional proceedings. It includes all matters of general interest, and closes with the last issue of the Record at hand upon going to press. Page references are to the pages of Vol. 40 of that publication.

Washington, May 14-19.

Senate.

Consideration of the railroad rate bill was resumed on the 14th (p. 7001) and continued on the 15th (p. 7084), 16th (p. 7147), 17th (p. 7207), and 18th (p. 7266), when the Senate adjourned to the 21st.

House.

Miscellaneous business was done on the 14th and 15th, and on the 16th consideration of the naval appropriation bill was resumed (p. 7171). Being further considered on the 17th this bill was passed (p. 7241), and on the same day the naturalization bill was further considered (p. 7241). Miscellaneous business was done on the 18th and 19th.

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Record Notes.

Text of ex-Senator Wm. E. Chandler's letter to Senator Tillman relative to the relations of President Roosevelt to the railroad rate regulation bill (p. 7153).

RELATED THINGS CONTRIBUTIONS AND REPRINT

NATURE.

The babbling brook doth leap when I come by,
Because my feet find measures with its call;
The birds know when the friend they love is nigh,
For I am known to them, both great and small.
The flower that on the lonely hillside grows
Expects me there when spring its bloom has given;
And many a tree and bush my wanderings knows,
And e'en the clouds and silent stars of heaven;
For he who with his Maker walks aright,
Shall be their lord as Adam was before;
His ear shall catch each sound with new delight,
Each object wear the dress that then it wore;
And he, as when erect in soul he stood,
Hear from his Father's lips that all is good.

—Jones Very.

* * *

A WOMAN WHO LOVED ALL.

On Louise Michel's voyage to New Caledonia whatever she possessed was at the service of her fellow prisoners. Shoes and stockings went to her companions, and she remained barefoot. Louise never could be got to understand that anything she had belonged to her; it always belonged to those who needed it the most, she said. To this revolutionary anarchist, life consisted not at all in the abundance of possessions, but in giving oneself up for the brethren. Years later, after she had been released, in Paris and in London Louise was the same, sharing all she had with "comrades," unmoved and undisturbed by the fact that those who took her help were often poor, feckless rascals. She gave ungrudgingly because those who asked her aid were hungry and wretched, and because her heart had room for all the despised and rejected of the world. They were part and parcel of herself, and she was content to lay down her life for the least worthy.

Louise Michel's love was not confined to her race, all birds and beasts were dear to her too. In New Caledonia every stray cat, dog and goat took refuge in her hut, and were tended. In one of her imprisonments in France both cats and rats were allowed to live in her cell, and Louise set to work to train them to live together.—The New Age.

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ANOTHER MINIATURE REPUBLIC.

The wonders of the little Republic of San Marino are quite overshadowed by another republic, also Italian, which numbers only sixty souls all told, ~~men,~~

women and children. These happy people live on a small island called Tavolara, near Sardinia.

Their history is interesting. When Vittorio Amedeo II was made King of Sardinia, the little island was overlooked, much to the pleasure of the people, who were thus free from police, galling laws, military service and taxes. In 1836 King Carlo Alberto, in cruising about, saw the island, and no one being able to tell him anything about it, he landed. A young and attractive looking man at once came to meet him, speaking simply, but with courtesy. To various questions, he replied that he was the king of the island, which rather took Carlo Alberto aback, as he certainly did not expect to find a colleague there. He was, however, much amused, and on returning to the mainland confirmed by royal decree the king in his possession, and thus began the dynasty of the Bartolloni, with Paolo I.

When Paolo died, no aspirants to the throne appearing, the population remained for four years without any government at all, until a sudden resolution was taken, and they proclaimed the republic. The president remains in office for six years, the position being absolutely without compensation, as are all the other public offices, so that this free people live in peace and comparative prosperity, with neither taxes nor laws, which might rouse envy in the breasts of those who have these—benefits.

—New York Times.

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MONOPOLY QUESTIONS IN CANADA.

From a Sermon on "The City and Its Problems," Delivered April 29, 1906, in Halifax, Can., by the Rev.

C. L. Ball, as Reported in the Halifax Evening Mail.

What gives right to private property? Labor. Private wealth is the result of labor applied to the land. Production gives right of property. Pro, duco, i. e., to draw forth from the land. If a man produces anything he owns it as against all the world, or if he acquires it from the producer, or if he can trace it through a line of exchanges back to the producer.

But who produced the land; whoever had a just right to give title of ownership to it? All titles to land rest back on force, fraud and pre-emption. No one has a title (except Baer the Pennsylvania coal baron) from the producer, because God created it. The land never belonging by right to any one, it belongs as a gift from God to all.

All the monopolies that seem oppressive are land monopolies. The Standard Oil Company is a land monopoly. It secured control of the markets by railroad rebates (land monopoly) and its pipe lines (land monopoly). The beef trust was built up by the same means. All these immense fortunes are made up of public wealth which a few individuals have been allowed to appropriate to their own uses.

These great fortunes are a menace to free institutions. A few men already control industrial America. They actually govern the country through congressman and senator, who are no more than the hired agents of these corporations. They own the courts, and their friends are officers in the army.

Not in Canada? Yes, in Canada. I am burning

oil rather than pay \$2.50 per thousand for gas, and I pay twice as much for my oil as I did in Springfield, Mass. It cost more to get there? No. The gas monopoly enables the Standard to charge more.

What interests do our members in parliaments represent if they do not represent transportation, coal, banking, landed interests? Have we forgotten the millions given to the Canadian Pacific? Have we forgotten the more millions given the Grand Trunk? These corporations have debauched our public morality. I happen to know of money used in the last Dominion election. Do you believe it was spent without regard for value to be received?

Public wealth in private hands is a menace. The public wealth must be kept for the public. The people must go into politics, especially the laboring people, as they are doing in England.

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DEMOCRACY IN EDUCATION.

II. EFFICIENT TEACHING.

Portions of an Address Delivered Before the Western Section of the Northern Illinois Teachers' Association, at Dixon, Ill., October, 1905, by David Kinley, Professor of Economics, and Dean of College of Literature and Arts, University of Illinois.

If the time ever comes when the public shall lay more emphasis upon the importance of a complete and smooth administrative machinery in our schools than it lays upon the efficiency of the teaching; if public opinion ever comes to the point where it believes that the teachers as a body are incapable of giving sound advice on educational matters, it will mean the degradation of the teaching profession. It will mean that self-respecting men and women, the equals of any officers in any administrative position, will seek other fields for their life activities and will refuse to subject themselves to the whims and dictates of men who might have been good slave drivers in the days of slavery, but are hardly fit members of the educational system of an intelligent community, where men and women believe that individual initiative spontaneity, of sense of responsibility, knowledge, intelligence and sympathy, individuality—are more important factors in education than smooth administration or strong executive action. The question before us, then, is whether the tone and character of our educational systems in this country are to be determined by the great body of the teachers of the country, or are to be imposed upon the teachers by a relatively small number of men of autocratic temperament, who sneer at the teacher and insist that his proper place is a subordinate one of obedience to higher authority.

The demand for so called strong administration is based largely on the alleged necessity for uniformity of method and smoothness in the work of the administrative machinery. The desire for uniformity is a curse in every department of educational matters. The ideal school would be one which had no uniformity of method or administration, because each individual pupil would be treated according to his specific characteristics; the only place where method and system would be needed would be in

the keeping of accounts, in order that thereby the progress of the pupil might be noted. To crowd every teacher into the same mold is to destroy personality; to cast every complex character and undeveloped life into the same frame is to destroy individuality. A flower that has been pressed for herbarium purposes is after all only a mummy; however well it may serve as a specimen in a collection, it cannot be compared for beauty or for the discharge of the service of flowers to mankind, with a flower in its natural condition. Its fragrance is gone, color is lost, the lights and shadows of its surface have disappeared; it is dead. So with teachers who are crowded too closely in the press of administrative machinery.

The time for dogmatism and for coercive uniformity is past. Administrative school systems, like all institutions, are good only so far as they give opportunity to all the influences within them to contribute to the growth of the people whom they affect.

The substitution of a higher form of control for a lower, of voluntary obedience and intelligent acquiescence for external control, marks a step in social progress. It always involves higher moral training and therefore a more developed individuality and a better character to offer more alternatives and trust a man to make the right selection than to deprive him of all choice and compel him to walk in a prescribed way. What we need in educational administration is the replacement of coercive control and authority, with free action combined with a responsibility for the consequences of that action.

When a superintendent distrusts his teachers or a college president distrusts his faculty; when either says that the teachers are incapable of advising with reference to school policy; when he says that they are without sound judgment and that they need to have their ways of action pointed out to them and kept well within the limits of a system laid down for them by their superior officers, the only conclusion that can be drawn is that that superintendent or that president has not yet learned the superiority of the organic over the mechanical. He has not learned that the flower expanding to the sun, blooming and shedding its fragrance and beauty in response to internal forces, is more typical of moral character and of the ideal individual life than the steam engine, however smoothly it runs, which is driven by a force outside of itself and is absolutely under the control of the manager of that force. He has failed to grasp that great truth of evolution that responsiveness to influence is a higher form of action than action in response to coercion. He has failed to see that spontaneous action is better than compulsory movement. He has failed to see that leadership is a higher form of authority, and is productive of far better results for the world than is driving. He has failed to distinguish between a leader of men and a driver of slaves. He has failed to grasp the great moral and economic truth that the product of free labor is greater in quantity and far better in character than that of slave labor. He has failed to learn that in many cases influence is more powerful than authority.

A favorite illustration of some school officers, when speaking of their faculties and teachers, is that of the stage driver. They look upon and liken the corps of teachers to a group of unruly horses which need a

driver to control them and make them pull together. The figure is a vicious one. If we are to go to the animal kingdom for an example, rather should we go to the dogs pulling the sledge of the arctic traveler. The movement of the team is controlled by the leader, who is at the front of the line. He it is, who, setting the example, pointing the way, blazing the path, rouses his followers to enthusiasm and brings about that unison of action that results in the highest speed. The former figure is gratifying to the men who, by accident of office, have been led to feel themselves superior to their fellow workers, but who, by the very use of the figure in question, show that they have not grasped the first principle of sound administration.

Mere differentiation and coordination of function, mere complexity of organization, mere exercise of authority to compel uniformity of action, does not prove that the system under which it is done is a good system or that it is making for progress. There is an order and peace that may be attained in the streets of a city under martial law, but it is not to be compared for a moment in its effects on human character or in its results for the progress of civilization with the peace that comes from the acquiescence of the citizens of the town in the laws of the land. The peace and order and system that make for progress are those that command voluntary obedience and the willing cooperation of those who are subject to them. The best system of administration in school work, as in all other work, is that which does indeed work smoothly, but which attains its results from and through the acts of intelligent voluntary cooperation of all the individuals working in it, because all these individuals see its beneficent character and because it supplies them with multifarious opportunities whereby all their differing individualities can work out a congenial development.

* * *

THE BREAKING OF THE TIE.

For The Public.

I must confess that my feelings were badly hurt when I heard of the rupture of the friendly relations between my friend Tom Knolls and the railroad magnate, General Peak.

The grief was if anything more intense than it was at the time Lieutenant Hance's mule threw me over his head into the cactus patch. Goose grease and sweet oil will alleviate the stings of cactus needles, if patiently applied, but the inward stings that come from bad news are beyond the reach of any of the remedies mentioned in the doctors' books.

It may be surmised from the similarity of the names that Tom Knolls and General Peak were blood relations, but such was not the case.

The relation that existed and was so sadly ruptured was merely that which can be sometimes traced between the reception of railroad passes and other substantial favors, on the one hand, and friendly services in legislative and political circles on the other.

Tom did not ride on the railroad all the time. It was not from lack of passes, however, but from the fact that he had to stay at home part of the time in

order to earn a little money in other than legislative and political fields.

There is an absurd prejudice in a good many minds against the reception of passes and other favors from railroad magnates that lessens the influence of the recipient in the community; so Tom to guard against such loss worked at other congenial things and suppressed any mention of passes and kindred things in the local press.

His good judgment in this respect impressed itself very favorably upon the mind of General Peak and made it easier for Tom to get passes. He was careful, however, and did not overwork the General's good opinion.

The beginning of the silly and ridiculous campaign for the regulation of railroad rates gave the opportunity that brought about the rupture between the friends.

Tom became possessed of an idea that he was sure would settle the question of rate regulation if properly applied and he was equally sure that he had only to mention it to General Peak to have it tried.

The incongruity of the idea as compared with Tom's former cast of mind will be noticed, but it cannot be explained or accounted for, except on the theory that the business of getting something for nothing is too strenuous for ordinary minds and causes startling mental confusions.

About the time that this idea grew too large and too hot for Tom to hold, the private car of General Peak went through town, and being sidetracked to permit the passage of a regular train, Tom had an opportunity to relieve himself of his burden.

"Well, General, what's doing down there at Washington?" queried Tom, as he greeted the magnate and secured a comfortable seat.

Some people may question the truth of this record on account of the familiarity of address manifested by Tom, and to assure such doubting minds it may be said that a phonographic record of this interview is in existence which will fully establish its accuracy.

"Oh," replied the General, "I'm not worrying about Washington. There's a good many of the boys there trying to do it, but there's a good many more of them that are trying how not to do it, so I'm resting easy."

"You look it, sure," said Tom, "but this regulation business must take up a good deal of your time and it must cost some money."

"Oh, I don't know," said the General, reaching for a cigar and passing one to Tom. "I'm not losing sleep on account of it. I must put in the time some way and while I'm tending to rate regulation I can't be handing out passes and fixing up rebates. I shouldn't wonder if we're saving money as it is. The member of Congress often comes cheaper than the prominent business man that wants a sidetrack."

A sensitive man would have been hurt by this comparison of market quotations between congressmen and prominent business men, but Tom was too full of his great idea to mind such little ironies.

"Yes, General, that may all be true," he replied; "but I have an idea that will surely remove all your troubles in that direction. If you will only adopt it you may lay your market quotations on congressmen on the shelf and give some attention to accommodating the public."

"Oh, is that so?" queried the General. "Do you know that I have more trouble with men of ideas than with anything else. Now I'm in the idea business myself. I want men to carry out ideas, not men to furnish them."

"But this is a new one," said Tom.

"They're all new for that matter, Tom. But I don't know as one more will cut much of a figure. Trot out your idea."

"Well, I'll tell you," said Tom. "It's just this. You build a railroad. It costs so much for the charter and so much for the right of way, and so much for the grading and bridging and the ties and the rails and the rolling stock and the stations, etc.; and then you have to add so much to the cost of the whole thing for the influence of the politician with influence and the prominent business man with a lot of freight to haul. The result is that freight and passenger rates must be put a good deal higher than they otherwise would. The small shipper and the occasional traveler have to pay the living expenses of the politician and the prominent business man. The little fellows kick, and so you have an appeal to Congress for rate regulation.

"Now here's the idea, General. Don't wait for this appeal. Cut down your rates to a reasonable basis, and cut out the politicians' and the prominent business man's rake-off, and treat everybody alike. The time you now spend in fighting legislation and fixing rebates could be taken up in improving your service and taking care of the increase of business which would be pretty sure to come."

"Hold on a minute, Tom," said General Peak with a very serious expression on his countenance. "You've forgotten one thing entirely. If this is done the railroad business won't be any more profitable than the ordinary grocery business. If we abandon the power to charge all the traffic will bear, there won't be any more great fortunes piled up in this country. The private cars will be abolished and the railroad magnate won't be of any more importance than the ordinary run of men. What kind of business will a man go into that feels like he wants to own the whole earth?"

"I haven't solved that part of it yet," replied Tom.

"Well, Tom, I've got a pretty good grip on the northern part of the United States and Southern Canada, and things might turn so I can own the whole thing later. I don't want to give up my dream. I don't think much of your advice, Tom. I won't give up my job yet. You may go now."

Tom climbed down the steps of the private car with a heavy heart, and General Peak and the car went on.

This is a true account of the severing of a friendly tie, and should be kept strictly confidential, but if it is printed anywhere outside of the sporting page or the market columns nobody will read it.

JACKSON BIGGLES.

+ + +

"I suppose," said the chemist, "that the secret of transmuting the baser metals into gold will never be discovered."

"Nonsense," answered the mining magnate. "I discovered that secret long ago. All you have to do is to choose your baser metal and then corner the market."—Washington Star.

STATE AND MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP
IN SWEDEN.

V. RAILROADS.

The opposers of public ownership of the means of communication and transportation in this country altogether too often base their claims for private ownership on the supposition that public ownership of public utilities in general in Europe has proven a failure. In particular they endeavor to enlighten the public with the statement that the government-owned railroads have either proven to be a financial fiasco or, at best, an experiment, the many shortcomings of which will soon turn popular opinion in the countries where it has been tried. These statements must be made either out of ignorance or malice. The ignorance amongst some editorial writers in many of our leading papers, when treating European subjects, is surprising. The extent of the malicious element amongst the same class of writers is more deplorable than surprising, when taking in consideration the powers behind the pen. The facts stated in previous articles in relation to government ownership of public utilities do not carry with them the conclusion that state ownership has either proven a failure or been a recent, uncertain experiment in Sweden. Nor are the state owned railroads in that country an exception from the general rule that governmental functions will always be best controlled and cared for by the government itself.

The first state owned railroad in Sweden was opened for traffic in 1856 and ample time has thus been provided for the people to form a sound judgment regarding the manifold disadvantages of state railroads. The most peculiar fact in this connection is that after a fifty years' "experiment," the people have not refrained from continuing "experimenting," and are constantly demanding more government owned railroads. The private roads, many of which are well equipped and well managed, have only in a very few instances been able to achieve as high an estimation in the popular opinion as have the state railroads, and the very fact that a certain railroad line is operated by the government is considered as a certain indication of good service. However, it must be admitted that the example set by the government in conducting its roads has greatly influenced the way in which the private roads are managed, and most of them compare favorably with the railroads of any other country.

It must also be understood that all the roads spoken of as private are not as strictly private as are the railroads in the United States. For there is hardly a railroad in Sweden in which the municipalities through which the road is carried are not greatly financially interested. This, however, is properly spoken of as municipal ownership, and should not be confused with the state ownership pure and simple.

The government owns practically all the great main lines of the country, branching out in all directions to the largest centers of industry and trade from the capital, Stockholm. The smaller connecting lines are as rule private. They are greater in number and length, but do not equal the importance of the government's lines. All the railroads in the country have a combined length of about 8,000 miles, which is nearly the same as the combined

The Public

is a weekly review which prints in concise and plain terms, with lucid explanations and without editorial bias, all the news of the world of historical value. It is also an editorial paper. Though it abstains from mingling editorial opinions with its news accounts, it has opinions of a pronounced character, based upon the principles of radical democracy, which, in the columns reserved for editorial comment, it expresses fully and freely, without favor or prejudice, without fear of consequences, and without hope of discreditable reward. Yet it makes no pretensions to infallibility, either in opinions or in statements of fact; it simply aspires to a deserved reputation for intelligence and honesty in both. Besides its editorial and news features, the paper contains a department of original and selected matter, in which appear articles and extracts upon various subjects, verse as well as prose, chosen alike for their literary merit and their wholesome human interest.

Familiarity with The Public will commend it as a paper that is not only worth reading, but also worth filing.

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This book treats of the adulterants used in the different foods—
The drugs used in the adulteration—
Their effect upon the body—

The chapter on drugged meats will make more vegetarians than all vegetarian arguments. Price, 50c, postpaid.

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length of the railroads in the State of New York. Of these roads the government owns nearly 3,000 miles, and owing to the greater traffic on the state roads, the amount of business done on this portion of the railroads of the country practically equals the combined business done by all the private roads.

In proportion to population Sweden has more railroads than any other country in Europe, and more than New England or the State of New York. This gives us so much the greater opportunity for a fair judgment as to the possibilities of government ownership, inasmuch as we here deal with a country with a comparatively sparse population, having only a limited amount of trade and business activity if compared with this country, and not endowed with any extraordinary natural resources. Here, if anywhere, the "experiment" would be subject to failure; here, if anywhere, the financial outcome would be at best uncertain.

However, during the past fifty years the net income of the Swedish state railroads has been on an average more than 25 per cent. of the gross income. In relation to the cost of construction the percentage has varied relatively to the business prosperity of the country, having been on an average between 3 and 4 per cent.; but in 1897 the net income amounted to 4.74, and in 1898 to 4.40 per cent. of the cost of construction and equipment. It is true that the private roads in the country show a higher percentage of net income, but this is not due to the superior or more economical management alone, but to poorer service and less well paid employes as well.

If we now, after having realized that the government's undertaking has proven more of a success than a failure financially, enter upon an examination of the rates charged for various accommodations, it is only fair to admit that a direct comparison with the United States is not very easy on account of many varying conditions. In the first place wages are lower in Sweden, which of course lessens the operation cost. General trainmen do not receive more than about one-half the pay usually paid in this country. Clerks and officials, however, are in many instances equally well paid in Sweden. As to the cost of construction and equipment there are no reasons why this cost should be very much higher in this country. The rails are imported from England, Germany, or Belgium, and in one instance a number of locomotives were imported from America, which proves that equipment can be had no cheaper in Sweden than here. In fact, the reason for the import of these locomotives was chiefly that they could be had at lower cost than the locomotives turned out in Sweden, a peculiar fact after all that our tariff friends have told us about the "pauper labor" of Europe. Of course, labor for railroad construction is higher in this country, but this item is most assuredly outweighed by the incomparably much greater traffic on the railroads in a country with the business activity and the natural resources of the United States. All this taken into consideration, it may be open to question whether even a direct comparison of rates would be very unfair to this country, although wages are higher. However, such a comparison might or might not be fair. The important fact is that the rates charged by the railroads in Sweden

The Growth of An Influence

A subscriber said to us recently: "In those parts of my town where a number of new subscriptions to THE PUBLIC were obtained some months ago, we made a much better showing for municipal ownership, at the last election, than we expected to." Others in other localities have often spoken or written to the same effect. It is a recognition of the success of THE PUBLIC in teaching and spreading democratic principles.

There is a helpful hint in this for all who wish to obtain success for a campaign based on democratic principles—whether for public ownership of public utilities, direct legislation, suffrage for women, home rule for cities, equal assessments, or whatever the cause may be. THE PUBLIC will impart the democratic mind and view-point, which cannot fail to bring support and enthusiasm to democratic causes.

Anyone can readily obtain many new readers for THE PUBLIC. Those who give it attention like it. The form and contents are attractive, and the size is convenient. The subscription price is a very popular one, and the terms for which subscriptions can be taken are easy for everybody. For one year, one dollar; for six months, 50 cents; for three months, 25 cents; for four weeks, 10 cents. Here are terms and prices to suit all inclinations and circumstances. And how cheap for a forceful journal of ideas!

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THE PUBLIC has been reduced in price from \$2.00 to \$1.00 yearly, in order to place it easily within the reach of all. Moreover, it has been enlarged in size and improved in form. In making these changes the publishers relied upon securing promptly a much larger circulation. The circulation is increasing steadily, but it is essential to our purpose this year that it increase much more rapidly. The time is especially favorable for the extension of our influence.

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A weekly paper, founded 1870, devoted to women's progress and especially to woman suffrage. Editors, Henry B. Blackwell and Alice Stone Blackwell. Three months on trial, 25 cents; per year, \$1.50.

in many instances are so very much lower than the rates charged for the same accommodations in this country that no reference whatever to the lower wages paid in the former country can give a satisfactory explanation.

In Sweden, as in all European countries, the trains carry coaches for three classes of passengers—first, second; and third. The third class is not as comfortable as the coaches on the American roads, but are cleaner and more hygienic, the seats being of polished wood. The difference between the second and first class is one merely in name and price, both being equal in comfort to a Pullman car. The third class, however, is the one most frequented, being used by about 90 per cent of all passengers.

The system now used for determining ticket rates is recently adopted in Sweden, but has been in use in some other European countries for a number of years. It is a zone tariff system, which makes the rates comparatively lower for long distance traveling. The prices for third class travel are \$1.95 for 200 miles, and gradually becoming lower, so as to amount to \$6.85 for 1,000 miles. For admission to through express trains an extra charge of 27 cents is made. The object of this is to prevent the local traffic in the vicinity of the larger cities from patronizing the express trains, that long distance travelers may be better served. This was at first a regulation not very much appreciated, but the beneficent results—as well the comfort of the passengers as the improvement of the service—are apparent.

For travel in second class, fully comparing with travel in Pullman cars in America, the rates are \$2.95 for 200 miles, and \$10.30 for 1,000 miles. For admission to through express trains an extra charge of 39 cents is made. Sleeping car accommodations in second class are uniform in price, being \$1.35 per night extra. The third class has no sleeping car accommodations.

All freight service is handled directly by the railroads. The freight is divided in two classes, express freight and regular freight. The former is conveyed by the fastest and shortest route by express trains, and constitutes in fact the same class of goods as is handled by the express companies in this country.

The government roads are all working in cooperation with the private roads and uniform rates are fixed for all through traffic. In all local traffic the private roads manage their own affairs almost without interference by the government, except that the government fixes maximum rates permissible to be charged.

It may be of interest to note the safety offered travelers on the Swedish state railroads. At present these roads carry more than 11,000,000 passengers a year. The total number of passengers killed by accidents not caused by personal carelessness is eight for a period of forty years. The number of passengers injured during the same period not caused by their own carelessness is fifteen. These latter figures are well worth the consideration of all those who approve of the way the private railroad corporations here conduct their business. We have here grown so used to having hundreds of people killed yearly by railroad "accidents" that we have commenced to look upon it as a natural re-

A Card to Friends of Real Democracy

All about us are men and women who really want our message of fundamental democracy. They may already believe in it, in which case they gladly entertain it and wish to carry it to others. Or, if they do not yet believe in it, they are ready to consider it. To all these our announcement, printed below, should be promptly carried. It is printed in the form of a white card, size 3 in. by 5¼ in., convenient for envelope or the pocket. It can be used as a mailing card by writing address and affixing one-cent stamp on the blank side; if anything is written on the printed side, the words Post Card must be stamped at the top on the blank side. These cards are gladly supplied to those who will distribute them.

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WE are in a turmoil of political and social discussion. The questions under consideration are of vital importance to us and to our children, who will inherit the conditions we help to create. Where can reliable publications (books and pamphlets) be obtained, dealing honestly and fairly with such questions, from the view-point of popular rights and fundamental democracy?

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They also publish in Chicago a thirty-two page weekly journal of fundamental democracy called THE PUBLIC, of which Louis F. Post is Editor. The subscription price is only \$1.00 yearly or 50c. half-yearly. Sample copies free.

sult of railroads. If, however, we would study the painstaking efforts made by government owned railroads in Europe for the safety of the public we would realize that the necessity of railroad accidents would be less imperative if the lives of the citizens were valued more than private franchises and an all powerful monopoly.

There can be no good reason why state or government ownership in this country should prove a failure, when it has proven a success in so many other countries, most of which do not possess the natural possibilities possessed by the United States. Indeed, it is a poor objection to offer to intimate that such a system of governmental departments as it would be necessary to create could not be carried on without corruption. The American, if true to the ideals of his country and his ancestors, ought to be too proud to confess that he fears that there could not be enough honesty found amongst Americans to conduct public property in an honest way. It may look difficult. But let us remember that we are not obliged to elect only corporation lawyers to our public offices. Let us remember that the office will find the honest man if the people look for him—something which has been too often forgotten in the past.

ERIK OBERG.

* * *

THE PLUTOCRAT'S CHANT.

Tell me not in mournful numbers
Trusts are but an empty dream,
And the merger dead that slumbers
And things are not what they seem.

Trusts are real, trusts are earnest,
Wealth unbounded is their goal;
Dust thou art, to dust returnest,
Was not spoken of King Coal.

—B. Prieth, in The Whim.

* * *

"Why do bears sleep through the winter?" asked the boy who is studying natural history.

"Because," answered his father, "the President does not go hunting then. They've got to sleep sometime."—Washington Times.

* * *

"What will become of their children?"

"They will be taken from the servants of the father and brought up by the servants of the mother."—New York Sun.

BOOKS

OPTIMISTIC DEMOCRACY.

The Soul of the People. A New Year's Sermon. By William M. Ivins. Published by The Century Co., New York. Sold by The Public Publishing Co., Chicago. Price, 60 cents, net.

The speeches of William M. Ivins as Republican candidate for mayor of New York last Fall, were at times startling in the ideas of fundamental democracy to which they gave expression. That a man of his high standing in the business world, and the candidate of the most conservative political party of the country for mayor of its richest city, should

Announcements

MEETINGS, LECTURES, DEBATES, ETC.

Brooklyn, N. Y.—The Sixth Annual Conference of the Woman's National Single Tax League will be held in Brooklyn, New York, Tuesday, Wednesday and Thursday, May 29th, 30th and 31st, 1906. Tuesday, 2 p. m., business meeting with short addresses by visiting delegates; Tuesday, 8 p. m., public meeting with music, and addresses by well known Single Taxers; Wednesday morning, Memorial Day, a visit will be paid to the grave of Henry George in Greenwood Cemetery; Wednesday evening, 6:30 p. m., banquet; Thursday, 10 a. m., business meeting, followed by a luncheon to the delegates, tendered by the local club. The Brooklyn Woman's Single Tax Club sends greetings, and an invitation to attend the conference. All meetings, including the banquet and luncheon, will be held at "Edgett's," Fulton street, near Flatbush avenue. Tickets for the banquet (\$1.00) must be ordered before May 29th, and may be obtained from Mrs. John S. Crosby, 110 West 84th street, New York City, or Mrs. Minnie R. Ryan, 485 Hancock street, Brooklyn, New York.

Chicago.—Corinthian Hall, Masonic Temple, May 20, 8 p. m., Spencer-Whitman Center. "What is Morality?" Speakers: Rev. R. A. White, Prof. Henderson of the University of Chicago, and J. J. McNamara of the Juvenile Court.

New York.—Tariff Reform dinner under the auspices of the Tariff Reform Committee of the Reform Club. Hotel Astor, 44th street and Broadway, June 2, at 7 p. m. Speakers: Ex-Gov. Wm. L. Douglas of Massachusetts and Congressman John Sharp Williams of Mississippi. Seats \$2.50. Send checks to Louis Windmuller, treasurer, 37 W. 34th street, New York.

SPECIAL NOTICE TO SINGLE TAXERS OF CHICAGO

The Single Taxers of Chicago and vicinity, and their friends, will dine at the **Washington Restuarant, N. W. Corner Wabash Avenue and Adams Street, Chicago**, on the first Friday evening of each month, at 6 p. m. The dinner on **June 1st** will be table d'hote. For further particulars communicate with the committee at 1202 Ashland Block, Chicago. (Telephone, Central 925)

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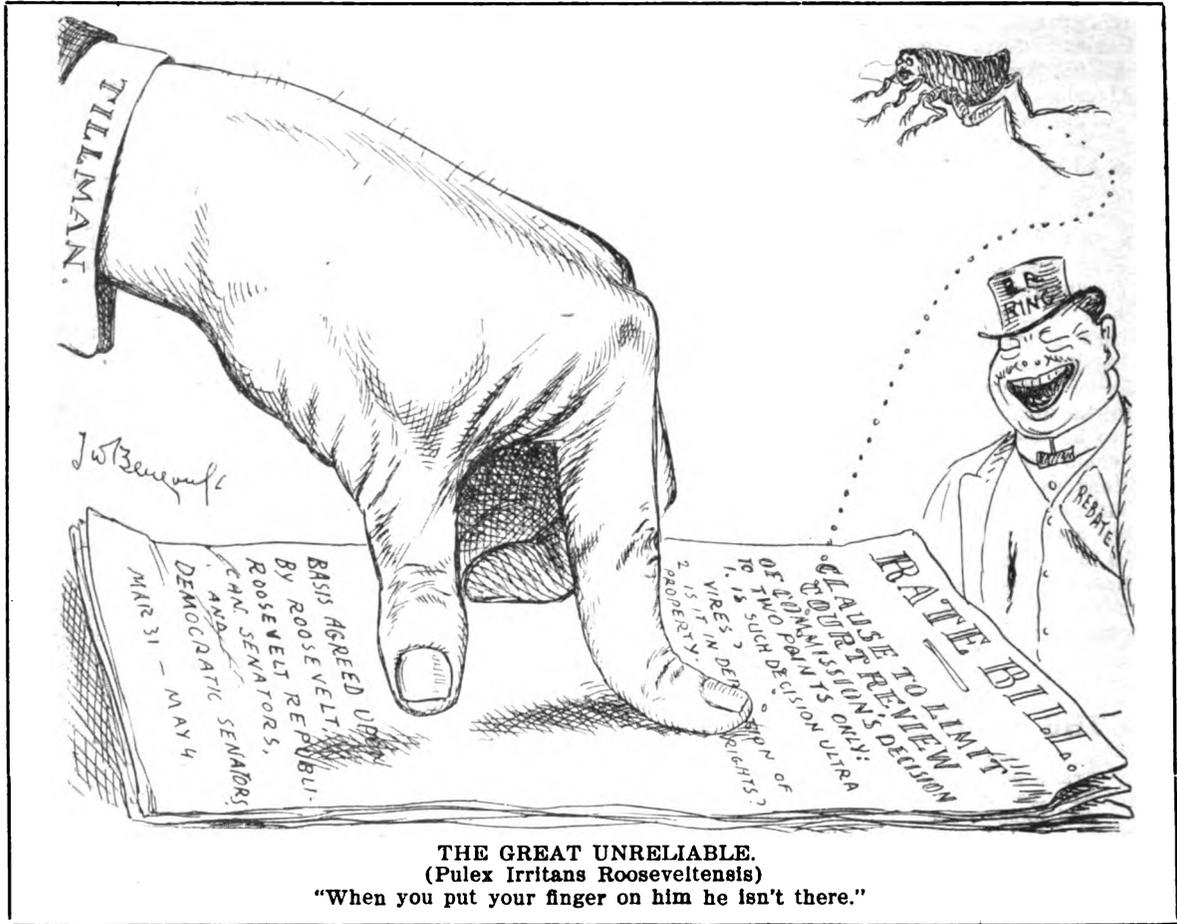
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 (Pulex Irritans Rooseveltensis)
 "When you put your finger on him he isn't there."

really touch the depths of democracy with conviction and sympathy, was not easy to believe. But this little monograph leaves no room for doubt. Distinctions of party labels and of bank accounts fade away in the presence of democratic principle advanced with so much intelligence and such evident sincerity.

Mr. Ivins attributes a psychical individuality—metaphorically, a soul of its own—to each race, people, and nation. As the national personality perpetually takes on new aspects and throws off old ones, it is not of one period but of all the periods of the nation's history. Thus America "consists not only of the living men and women" but "of all the fine and brave spirits that have lived on our soil, and whose souls go marching on in our history still dominating and still shaping it." Mr. Ivins dwells upon our own national psychology eloquently and interestingly, with a delightful optimism even if it be with an excess of patriotic exuberance, but he does not confine himself to national psychology and character. Going farther, and this is where his fundamental democracy shines and gives to his monograph its greatest value, he points out the work that our national character has cut out for it.

Seeing that the advance of society means necessarily the advance of its individual members, Mr. Ivins revolts at the notion of its meaning the advance of only a few, whether "in the form of a pure

intellectual aristocracy or in that of an unspeakable kleptocracy." To him it means the advance of all, "in mental endowment and in provision against want." While he has "no sympathy with envious railing at wealth," he does not hesitate to say that "as a people today, we are suffering socially and politically from the tyranny of ill-gotten wealth." So called "society" may take off its hat to wealth, but "society" is no part of the people; it is "the mere rotten fruit of the tree of prosperity."

The "money-hungry" he regards as "unfit to rule a state, chiefly because they do not appreciate their complete inability to reach or to influence our nobler instincts," and are utterly indifferent to and disregarding of them. It is an important hint that Mr. Ivins gives the money-hungry "owners of public utility franchises" and their politicians, when he bids them "ask themselves whether they have conducted and are conducting our national and our municipal business so well that the people will be burdened by them forever." He is not hinting at the noisy mob. His allusion is to "the great silent people, which, when it learns, learns forever, and when it speaks, speaks curtly and in finalities."

"A time comes," says Mr. Ivins, "when, dangerous as innovations are, the people reaches the conclusion that the most dangerous of all innovations would be not to innovate"; and "in the struggle between vested interests and the realization of national des-

tiny the vested interests always succumb; there is no prescriptive right that can withstand the right of a nation to achieve and realize its fullest development, which is the right of the whole as distinguished from the rights of a part."

* *

AN AMERICAN ANARCHIST.

Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist. A Sociological Study, by William Baille. Published by Small, Maynard & Co., Boston.

The core of Warren's principle of anarchism, as the author describes it, is that "every one should be free to dispose of his person, his time, his property and his reputation, as he pleases; but always at his own cost." In economics Warren held cost to be the limit of price; and to exemplify this doctrine he opened the "Equity" store in Cincinnati in 1827. The unit of exchange here was the labor hour. All goods being marked at cost price, customers paid this in cash, and gave in addition their notes payable in an equal time of their own labor, for the length of time expended in serving them. There were other features of like character, all exemplifying as fully as possible under the circumstances the principle of service for service. It was a crude and inefficient method of producing the equitable results in exchange which unobstructed competition would produce automatically. Other experiments succeeded this one, some of them being on a much larger scale. There is little trace of them now. But the failure of these experiments proves no more than that Warren's primitive methods were unadaptable to modern conditions. Service for service remains nevertheless the true principle of exchange, and cost is the actual limit of price. When the price of a product exceeds its labor cost, this is because legislative obstructions to exchange operate to enhance labor difficulties. The weakness of Warren's philosophy lay in his attributing monopoly power to money, and in assuming as to land monopoly that it can be abolished by arbitrary regulations of tenure.

PAMPHLETS

Of all conservative publications on the question of public ownership and operation, John H. Gray's pamphlet (Boston), "The Control of Quasi-Public Enterprises," is the best we have seen. Dr. Gray does not advocate municipal ownership, but he is emphatic in declaring that the question is not between "evils of municipal ownership and an ideal situation," and he admits that "attempts at regulation have heretofore proven entirely futile or at least very unsatisfactory." What he insists upon as the absolute condition of public operation instead of public ownership is "complete publicity of the affairs of the privately owned companies." Dr. Gray strikes a true note at the outset in saying: "The growth of wealth, the progress of invention, the consequent growth of our large cities, have changed the whole face of our civilization, and have brought us to realize that, as the mediaeval cities were the nurseries of civilization and liberty in their day, so the life of our own great cities is to furnish the standard by which our whole civilization must be measured."

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