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PORTLAND, SATURDAY, JAN. 21, 1911.

MR. ROOSEVELT ON OREGON.

The Oregonian has deemed it worth while to print today extracts from a signed article by Theodore Roosevelt published in The Outlook for January 21. Mr. Roosevelt has given an illuminative and intelligent discussion of the initiative and referendum and the recall. He has balanced their good and their bad faults to a nicety and has described in a general way the safeguards that should be placed around such power when granted the people that it may not be abused.

It is interesting to observe, how ever, that the very safeguards that Roosevelt suggests as necessary are absent in Oregon, but that he expresses the opinion that the principle in Oregon has produced good results-"certainly in the case of the of the initiative.

"If it is rendered too easy to invoke either process the result can only 36 mischievous," says the exlowing the minutiae of legislation; this work ought to be delegated to the legislators. If scores of bills are presented the percentage of wise decisions will be less than if only a few essary to guard not only against the not. with fads, but also against the extreme laxity with which men are accustomed to sign petitions."

Can anybody suggest an easier way to invoke the initiative or referendum than the method provided in Oregon? Eight per cent of the legal voters estimated on the vote cast for Supreme Judge, will invoke the initiative in Oregon and 5 per cent will invoke the referendum. There is no safeguard against indiscriminate and unintelligent signing of petitions. Oregon had more than a score of measures to approve or reject in the last election-thirty-two in all. We expressed our opinion on state ownership of railroads, on woman's suffrage, on prohibition, on proportional election of members of the Legislature, on a scheme providing for a spying department, and the issuance of a state magazine devoted to politidebate, on a measure depriving the Legislature of its power to pass tax laws and on a round dezen or more of bills of local interest and of no general importance. We adopted some of them, too. If there were any dists who did not inflict their ideas on the public in the form of bills or endments it was not because the ready means were not at hand. With all this we elected a full state ticket. Were the results achieved good or It is still problematical, and we do not take wholly the hopeful view expressed by Mr. Roosevelt. Tho results are problematical hecause no one knows what mean some of the important measures adopted.

The brightest lights of the Oregon her cannot agree on the interpretation of the amendment designed to reform procedure on appeals to the Supreme Court, and the Supreme Court itself has asked lawyers in gento submit briefs to aid it in reaching a conclusion.

On the amendment designed to give cities home rule in controlling the liquer traffic the Attorney-General has reversed himself, the lawyers employed by the liquor interests do not agree with him, and a ruling by the courts is to be invoked.

A bill to establish a branch insane asylum in Eastern Oregon has procoked a bitter political row and has resulted in severe charges against high officials.

A fisheries bill of direct interest to about 5 per cent of the people of the state was adopted and will destroy for the benefit of sportsmen with hoand line a canning industry in which \$100,000 has been invested.

In the amendment taking from the Legislature the power to regulate taxopening is given for every tax faddist to present his ideas in the form of state or county measures. We have gone deep into the "minutiae of legislation" and are preparing to go

What Mr. Roosevelt has mentioned as the possible bad results of an unrestricted form of the initiative and referendum have come to pass in Oregon. Experience here has proved the soundness of his conclusions.

But let Mr. Roosevelt beware. The Oregonian has been preaching the same doctrine. It has advocated the safeguarding of the initiative and refidum so that the processes may be applied only in matters of importance and solely as weapons of offense or defense against the legislative thwarting of the public will. And The Oreconian has been roundly accused of holding enmity for this principle of government.

Andrew Carnegie has given another \$10,000,000 to the research fund of the Carnegie Institution at Washing-Lest the public should become fearful that Andy may become impoverished through this liberality, atten-tion is called to some of the testimony of Mr. Brandels who has been exposing the prodigality of the railroads. According to Mr. Brandels it costs \$15 per ton to manufacture steel rails and the minimum price to the railroads is \$28. The profit is thus nearly 100 The same generous profits are returned on other forms of steel. It is estimated that this country uses about 25,000,000 tons of steel annualfriends who control the steel business are fully \$250,000,000 in excess of a fair and reasonable return on the in-vestment. If the people had cheaper steel and steel products they might get along with a few millions less for peace, scientific research, hero funds

IN GREEK ATTIRE,

It is possible that time and increase of wisdom may temper the natural aversion which the Portland patrolmen feel for the costume of the anclent Greeks. It is reported that when one of the modern lovers of this scant attire disclosed himself on our streets the other day he was rudely entreated. He was even threatened with a dungeon cell, while a club impended over his head. To our modern taste, perverted by trousers, stiff shirt-bosoms and high collars, Greek simplicity of costume cannot be other than startling. Thoselightsome and healthy ancients were little but a sheet wrapped more or less Often they losely around them. elided even the sheet and appeared just as Adam and Eve did before the

unfortunate incident of the apple. It is understood, however, that Raymond Duncan, the apostle of Hellenism who favored Portland with his presence the other day, did not omit the sheet. He wore it wrapped shiveringly around his exquisite form, albeit his shins shone out icily Was he barefoot? History sayeth nothing to the contrary, so to make the picture complete we will

The costume of the ancient Greeks mny perhaps leave something to be desired as a fashion for these climes. Our weather is more unkindly than of the Athenians in the days of Pericles. Sophocles says of those slaveholders that they enviable "marched ever delicately through most pellucid air." Our air is oftentimes anything but pellucid and occasionally it is too thick with rain to be marched through at all. But for referendum and probably in the case all that there is little to be said in behalf of our usual attire. It is ugly. inconvenient and unwholesome. The starched shirt and collar propagate diseases of the throat. The stiff cuffs are devices of Satart. The lower half private life, he asserts, neither can of the trousers legs is an imperti-nor ought to spend his time in fol- nence. The inflavible has be us all baldheaded.

Surely something better could be figured out for modern wear if one of our numerous genluses would only apply his mind to the problem. But of really great importance are presented. To quote again: "It is necourselves in his creations?" Probably if he did, would we consent to clothe Humanity is not only desperate-

cranks and well-meaning busybodies ly wicked, but it is also desperately foolish and it usually welcomes reforms either with brickbats or the policeman's club. Very likely several generations must elapse before leave off either trousers or the derby hat.

THE BOURNE-KELLAHER IDEA.

Possibly State Senator Kellaher got along better with his little resolution at Salem if his motives had not been so obviously political and personal. He wanted to put the Legislature "on record." To get it on record he insisted that it declare the "Oregon plan" the "best system of government in the world."

Kellaher meant, of course, the "Bourne method." The very phraselogy was invented by Bourne and the whole business-resolution, private stenographer to take it all down and so forth and so forth-smelt of the Bourne strategy and the Bourne typewriter, Everything came from Bourne as an official public indorsement of the man and his methods.

ly because Bourne propos gon is tired of Bourne. Nobody is for be done by stealth, under cover, as a the Oregonians. Now that Portland which Bourne attaches himself who will "play the game,"

How does Kellaher or anybody know that Oregon has the best government in the world? What immense assumption for anybody anywhere to say solemnly in an official public utterance that any government was or is the best. The Kellaher performance was incredibly silly.

RESURBECTING COMPULSORY PILOT-AGE.

The State Board of Pilot Commissioners is unduly alarmed over the abolishment of compulsory pilotage. In its report submitted to the Governor the board gravely predicts that unless the Legislature intervenes it will be only a question of time until "a great commonwealth with a large ocean commerce will be without a licensed pilot at the entrance to its greatest port."

This belated attempt to revive compulsory pilotage, the greatest handicap ever placed on our deep-water shipping, should receive scant consideration. Compulsory pilotage was abolished for the purpose of breaking up. at the entrance of the Columbia River, a pilot ring that for years had levied on shipping a toll out of all proportion to the service rendered. The ancient system, which was displaced through the efforts of the Portland business men who were in a position to know what kind of a service was needed, was followed by the best service we ever had.

The Port of Portland has had no difficulty in securing the services of the best bar pilots engaged in the business, and their tenure of employment has always been based on the quality of their work. In addition to this improvement there has been a aber of independent pilots, who, in their eagorness to give ships the best possible service for the money, have traveled to San Francisco, to Seattle and to Vancouver, R. C., to meet incoming ships and pilot them over the bar-a proceeding unheard of in the old days of compulsory pilotage, when the pilots took orders from no one. Every pilot operating at the mouth of the Columbia River is "liensed" by the United States Government; the men holding these licenser are selected by the Port of Portland Commission solely on their merits. There will never be a time when the "greatest port" of this "great com-monwealth" will be without "a. li-

ensed pilot." The Board of Pilot Commissioners suggests that the state provide a power pilot schooner upon which pilots "licensed by the State Board of Pilot Commissioners may be served and accommodated, that under any and all contingencies the great commerce of this port may be served by a sufficient number of capable licensed | rusif of water in '61 was more sudden

ly, so the profits to Carnegie and his pliots at all times." The Port of Portland, using one of its bar tugs as a cruising pilot boat, and with the power chooner Joseph Pulitzer also in servis giving a better pilot service than the state ever gave or ever could give, and the burden on shipping is lighter than it has ever been.

There is absolutely no reason for any change in the present excellent and towage system at the mouth of the river, and a very slight investigation is all that will be needed to convince the Legislature that there is nothing in the suggestions of the Pilot Commissioners entitled to con-

sideration. Compulsory pilotage will never again be permitted with its poor service to levy tell on the commerce of the Columbia River, and it is surprising that its restoration should urged by the Pilot Commission.

OUR OMINOUS UNPREPAREDNESS.

Congressman Humphrey's eye must have been in "a fine frenzy rolling" at the annual banquet of the Lake Carriers' Association at Detroit Thursday evening. "The nations of the earth know our condition," declared Mr. Humphrey, "and they know that we are utterly unprepared for war. They know that our Army is too small and that our Navy is practically helpless because we have no merchant vessels as an auxiliary."

Shivers must have run up and down the banquet board and the spines of the banqueters when the member from Washington informed them that Japan could selze Scattle, Tacoma, Portland, the Bremerton Government Navy-yard, five great transcontinental rallways, fortify mountain passes, and have an empire upon which to before the United States could get

75,000 troops to the Pacific Ocean.' The United States has a reputation extending back clear into the British king row for being unprepared for and for licking the everlasting stuffing out of the antagonist who mistakes the meaning of our unprepared-The thing that prepares the United States or any other really great nation for war is some real or fancied wrong, which, suddenly unfolded before the gaze, produces the enervating effect that is shown in a bull when a red rag is flaunted before him. This National spirit developed quite rapidly when the Maine was blown up in Ha-vana harbor, and it also flared up with a rush when Sumter was fired on. were not even "prepared" for war in 1812 or in 1775, but in spite of our unpreparedness we managed to make a very creditable showing.

It is true, as stated by Congressman Humphrey, "the nations of the earth know our condition." They also know omething about our past history.

Meanwhile, if it will allay the fears of Mr. Humphrey to have an auxiliary merchant marine, he might trot swift-ly back to Washington and Introduce a bill permitting the Government and private citizens to secure a fleet of chenp, well-built vessels such, as are always to be found on the bargain counters of the foreign shipbuilders. oney talks, and the foreign shipbuilder has not yet learned to distinguish between that which has an American and that which has a foreign ring.

DEEP SEA FISHERIES.

Two Bandon men will leave, February I, on a cruise west of Cape Blanco to search for halibut banks which are supposed to exist in that vicinity. While hallbut have been taken in small numbers at a dozen places off Bourne; it would have gone back to the Oregon coast, no definite attempt has ever been made to locate their breeding grounds, and if "banks" of That was the game. It failed main- similar importance to those off North- her to get together as great a fund ed it. Ore- ern British Columbia can be found in this vicinity, a new and promising in--nobody who will openly defend dustry will be added to the many that and support him. Everything must are already increasing the wealth of result of the pulling of strings by has become the greatest railroad center on the Pacific Coast, our oppormen here and there like Kellaher, tunities for distributing sea food are superior to those of any other port, and the market for fish and other foods could be enlarged in-

definitely. Halibut has, perhaps, attracted more attention than any other of the Pacific Coast food fishes, but right off the Oregon coast, there are practically unlimited quantities of ling cod. redfish, flounders, porgies, herring and other palatable fish which would find a ready market throughout the Pacific Northwest and far into the Rocky

Mountain country. Development of resources on land this state that little attention has been paid to our deep sea resources, but in the future they are destined to attract much more.

BIG FLOODS OF '61 AND '90.

The greatest Willamette River flood was probably that of December 1861. Such is the verdict of "oldest-settler" pioneers. Although "long-ago" floods often grow in subsequent narrative, there is no doubt that the volume of water that swelled the Williamette River forty-nine years ago was greater than any since that time.

Next in size was the flood of February, 1890. Many citizens remember that the old Morrison bridge was expected to fall before its current. height of the river then was 28.7 feet and large part of the northern dis-

trict of the city was awash. Minor floods were those of Febru ary, 1881, when the river stood 23.8 feet at Portland, and of February, 1907, when the recorded height was 22.5. The present rush of water will be classed with lesser floods.

In each of these cases the "high water" has been that of the Willam-ette River. The Columbia River freshet does not reach its crest until May and June, and although it may raise the Willamette River to greater height, as to 30 feet in 1894, yet the river at Portland then is "dead" or quiet, on account of "back water." The flood that causes most damage to property in Portland is that of the Williamette, which comes at uncertain

intervals in January or February. The rainfall that produced the great flood of 1861 came in the space of about three days; in 1890 the rainfall lasted during a period of nearly fifteen days. The rainfall this week lasted not quite three days, or almost as long as that in 1861. But the flood in 1861 vastly exceeded that of the present time-which indicates that the rainfall during the three days in 1861 greatly exceeded that of the three days this week. The rush of water from rain, forty-nine years ago was

augmented by melting snow.

From all obtainable information it may be accepted as certain that the than this year and that its volume was DIVIDED PARTY BOURNE'S HOPE. much greater. It may also be accepted as certain that the height of the Williamette at Portland in 1861 was 30 inches lower than in 1890. Yet this does not mean that the ume of the current in 1861 could have een less than in 1890; the Columbia River was higher in 1890, and as its channel was well filled by its own flood, the waters poured into it by the Willamette could not so readily escape. Again, the channel had been considerably narrowed at Portland by

docks, embankments, bridge piers. In 1890 it was supposed by many persons that the flood of that year was the greatest that ever poured down the Willamette; but it is known to have been much smaller than that of 1861 and but little greater than that of 1881. A flood equal to that of 1861 would have done incalculable

It will be well henceforward, in making improvements, to keep high water marks in view. Heavy fall of rain at this senson is not uncommon although there are often intervals of considerable length between its recur-

The climate of the Pacific Northwest does not change from one decade to another; nor does Winter weather. There are variations and recurrences but climate and weather of this region are the same as when Lewis and Clark spent the first recorded white man's Winter here, more than a century ago, and as when the first pioneers made their homes here during the fifty years following.

The distribution in the shape of Thristman bonuses to the employes of the United States Steel Corporathis year reached a total of \$2,700,000. This disbursement was in the nature of a reward of merit and covered a wide range, according to the efficiency and punctuality of the individual employe and the practical suggestions he may have made during the year. The term ,"addiearnings" might better apply to the large sum thus distributed as being much more appropriate than that of "bonuses." It is not prompted by a sentimental and passing feeling of Christmas good will, nor is it performed unsystematically. It is, on the contrary, the result of a carefully elaborated profit-sharing plan or system inaugurated several years ago. Every employe is eligible to share of the fund which expands with each year according to the individual efforts of the employes and without relation to the salary that each receives. It is literally a reward of merit and the recipient can take the amount awarded either in money or stock in the corporation. A large majority so far have taken stock and thus become more closely identified with the interests of the company. It is regarded as a practical and genersatisfactory means of bridging ally the chasm that the modern industrial system has opened between capital and labor.

New Orleans seems to have won the first round in the contest that is being waged over the site of the Panama-Pacific Exposition, The favorable report of the House committee is not, lowever, of sufficient importance to cause any undue hilarity in the Southern city. San Francisco and the State of California, exclusive of local, county and city appropriations outside of San Francisco, has in sight a total of \$17. 500,000, the largest sum ever sub scribed in this country as a preliminary for a big exposition. New Orleans, despite most strenuous efforts, has not yet succeeded in securing onethird as much money and under no circumstances will it be possible for as will be expended by San Francisco. For this reason the largest Panama-Pacific Exposition in the country will be held in San Francisco, regardless of Government sanction. The Pacific Coast is the logical place for holding the exposition, and if Congress should become stubborn, there will be two expositions with that on the Pacific Coast leading the other so far that comparisons will be impossible.

Mr. H. B. Miller ex-Consul at Belfast, stated the case succinctly and truly in the matter of flax culture in Oregon before a meeting of the Ore gori Flax Association in this city Thursday evening when he said:

Intelligence, a high grade of training, pecial adaptation for the work and a com-lete mastery of detail by workers will bring to Oregon the linen manufacturing industry. Of the truth of this estimate there can be no doubt. Flax culture has has been so highly remunerative in been successfully demonstrated; the fineness and excellence of the fiber has been proven by comparison and vouched for by experts, and the growth and yield per acre of the flax plant has been shown to be satisfactory. With these fundamentals of production established it remains for Oregon to go forward in the lipen and hempen industry in accordance with the above requirements.

> Prudence is a valuable asset in a janitor who has charge of a building which is heated by a stove. quality appears to have been lacking in the janitor who lighted a fire in the stove in the room occupied by the East Portland branch of the Public Library, stuffed it with fuel and left it to attain a flerce heat, unchecked.

> America is not satisfied to shower gold coin pn musical and dramatic favorites. We must also melt more precious metal into plates and give it to Terrys and Tetrazzinis.

> Portland newsboys will not be gagged by ordinance. The newsy of today is the business man some years later, and should be heard from at all ages. If the Pacific Coast championship

had hung on those three games, what a piece of news the supreme baseball court's decision would have been! Can't believe that American citi-

zens living in those Ohio districts sold their votes. The people are always to be trusted. Paul Morton was getting too much

ficiently washed

pay, and, being a Morton, tried to and
It seems to get chummy with you;
You can take it wherever you wander
And throw it around as you chose,
It's a friend that grows fonder and fonder,
A friend you can count on and use. work up to it. That killed him. But if Portland had not won in spite of it, the decision might have been

harder to reach. Aerial travel will overcome flood troubles, but not yet. Oregon may consider her face suf-

Senator Would Have No Chance

Against One Candidate, LA GRANDE, Or., Jan. 18 .- (To the Editor.)-To one who has taken an interest in Oregon politics for many years, present conditions are interesting. More than two-thirds of the voters of the state register as Republicans, and the Legislative Assembly is almost wholly Republican. There is not a county in the state that can be truly Democratic, and I am not sure that there is a really Democratic pre-cinct in the state. Democracy of the Jefferson school say that this state of things is due largely to personal poli-tics. What is left of the Democratic party in Oregon has been used for the last 8 years to further the inter-ests of one man. Many Democrats are resolved that this state of things shall cease, or their support will no longer be given to aid this one-man idea. Whether the defeat of the late chairman of the Democratic committee for re-election is to be regarded as a blow at the one-man idea or not, I do not

what is the condition of things on the Republican side? With its great apparent majority, what is its condi-tion? It is in a worse state than its Democratic opponent. About 29 per cent of the Republican element joined with the Democrats at the recent elec-tion and aided in electing a Democratic Governor. Senator Bourne openly sup ported the Democratic candidate for Jovernor, and issued a circular opposing all Republican candidates were nominated by the Republican Assembly. I believe that as many as one-half of the state ticket that was elected were nominated by the assem-bly. This would indicate that it was not the assembly nomination that defeated Bowerman. Frank W. Benson, who was nominated by the assembly, was elected Secretary of State by more than 36,000 majority, and he every county in the state. H carried Hence, 1 y or the conclude that the assembly or anti-assembly sentiment is not the only thing that is dividing the Repub licans in Oregon. There is something

back of that.
The old Mitchell and anti-Mitchell sentiment is still a cause of division and disaster. I take it that ex-Senator Fulton is the leader of what has survived of the old Mitchell element and that he is to be a candidate for United States Senator to succeed Senator Bourne, unless it should be obviously useless for him to run. His ac-tivity concerning matters about the Legislature indicates that he is trying to get things shaped to favor candidacy. Everything about the Leg-islature indicates that the aspirants for the United States Senatorship are striving to pave the way for their respective elections. Bourne has his workers there to defeat any effort to do anything that might be detrimental to his interests.

Bourne is a man that has to be reckoned with. He is an excellent demagogue, and that is a quality now in demand in Oregon. There was never another time when the demagogue had such an opportunity for success in Ore-gon as now. Now, what will probably be the result of this condition of anarchy? Ex-Judge Lowell, of Pendle-ton, State Senator Malarkey, of Port-land, and Senator Bourne, of Portland, have already declared their intentions to be candidates for United States Senator two years hence to succeed Senator Bourne, and it is evident that Ful-ton or some other representative of the old Mitchell interests will enter the field, and, hence, we may expect that there will be about three candidates besides Bourne for the Republican nomination, and this is just what Mr. Bourne wants. If he can have three or four candidates on the Republican side running for the nomination, he will have a good chance to obtain the

If Statement No. 1 is to be signed by most of the Republican candidates for the Legislature, and there is to be no assembly to nominate a candidate. seems to me probable, judging from present conditions, that the United present conditions, that the United States Senator is likely to be Mr. Bourne, or a Democrat. If there should be only one candidate against Bourne for the nomination, or if State-ment No. 1 should be set aside, then day acceptance of this fact is Bourne would have little chance of would be doubtful which would be nominated, because, it seems to me, Fulton is not at all a strong candidate before the people. Cake was not a strong man, and yet he defeated Ful-strong man, and yet he defeated Ful-toh. But supposing that Bourne should it their special business; and if scores of hills are habitually presented for efore the people. Cake was not United States Senator, what would JEFFERSONIAN.

WHAT'S DOING IN OREGON COUNTRY

Business Opportunities. Grass Valley Journal. If the fire limit is done away with it is intimated that we wil lhave a clothing store and also a grocery store.

Ptomaines for Tubby. Redmond Spokesman.

A number of pet cats in the city have recently died from eating rotten fish

Job Lot of Measles. Newberg Enterprise. Seven children of Frank S. Morris, of Morris Bros. Realty Co., and three children of Paul Meyers, a son-in-law of Morris, and a recent arrival from Montana, are rapidly recovering from an attack of measles. The children were all sick at once and housed together, but by careful nursing and at-

tention no serious results have oc-No Fresh Accounts Opened.

Heppner Times.
Police Judge Joe Williams has go tired of imposing fines and then allow-ing the culprits their own time before pungling up. This week he sent Mar-shal McGraw after two of the delin. quents, and they warmed their feet by the City Jail stove at \$2 per until their fines were garned. Judge Williams is to be commended in his determination to see that all missdoers come through, and when the city gets that new stone hammer and leg ornament the Times can see the finish of evil doers.

No Extensive Silver Mines in Oregon WARRENTON, Or., Jan. 17 .- (To the Editor.)-Kindly inform a numb silver is mined to any great extent in Oregon, and if so, where?

Berton Braley, in the Popular Magazine, inserties and cigars in the city. But out in the open—a pipe! to merschaum—a merschaum is pretty, o meerschaum a meerschaum is pretty.
But not of the durable type;
t won't stand the work and the racket,
It's bound to be chipped here and there,
be chances are great that you'll crack i
And then it's gone "phui" for fair.

But take an old brier that's sessoned, With half of the siem bitten through. It'll stand all the knocks that you please, and

It is caked by continuous smoking, It is caked by continuous smoking,
It is dingy and blackened and strong,
It is hullt not for looks, but for smoking,
If you're whee you will take it along.
You'll forget all cigars with their stamping
Or trade-marks and things of that stripa,
For when you quit town and go camping.
The smoke that you want is a pipe.
of the Rose City. Under direction of

SAFEGUARDS FOR THE REFERENDUM

Roosevelt, in Editorial, Declares People's Power, if Too Easily Applied, Can Only Be Mischievous—Initiative Indorsed if Protected From Wanton Use. Progressive Legislation Is Means, Not Guaranty, of Securing Good Government.

Theodore Roosevelt, in the Outlook. NUMBER of progressive conven tions have recently enunciated the following, among other principles, as necessary to popular govern

Drastic laws to prevent the corrupt us of money in politics.

Election of United States Senators by lirect vote. Direct primaries for the nomination of lective officials. elective officials.

Direct election of delegates to National conventions, the voter to express his choice for President on the ballot for delegate.

The Introduction of the initiative, referendum, and recall.

ment:

In Oregon most of these principles are already law. The recent Republi-can state platform of Wisconsin has declared for all of these principles, and this declared for this declaration is entitled to very rious consideration, for Wisconsin has taken a leading position in Progres-sive legislation, and has to her credia noteworthy record of laws for social political and industrial betterment, which laws have been proved in actual practice and have worked well.

The proposition that will excite most misgiving and antagonism is that re-lating to the initiative, referendum and As regards the recall, it sometimes very useful, but it contains undoubted possibilities of mischief, and of course it is least necessary in th case of short-term elective officers. There is, however, unquestionably a very real argument to be made for to as regards officers elected or appointed for life. In the United States Government practically the only body to whom this applies is the judiciary, and I shall accordingly treat the matter when I come to treat of Nationalism and the judiciary. There remain the initiative and referendum. As regards both of these think that the anticipations of their

adherents and the fears of their op-ponents are equally exaggerated. The value of each depends mainly upon the way it is applied and upon the extent and complexity of the governmental unit to which it is applied. Every one is agreed that there must be a popular referendum on such a fundamental matter as a Constitutional change, and n New York State we already have hat is really a referendum on various other propositions by which the state or one of its local subdivisions passes upon the propriety of action which im plies the spending of money, permis sion to establish a trolley line system or something of the kind. Moreover, where popular interest is sufficiently keen, as it has been in the case of cer tain amendments to the National Conwe see what is practically the initiative under another name. I believe that ft would be a good thing to have the principle of the initiative and the referendum applied in most of our states, always provided that it be so safe-guarded as to prevent its being used either wantonly or in a spirit of levity. In other words, if the Legislature falls to act one way or the other on some bill as to which there is a genuine popular demand, then there should un-questionably be power in the people through the initiative to compel such action. Similarly, on any bill important enough to arouse genuine public interest there should be power for the people to insist upon the bill being re-ferred to popular vote, so that the constituents may authoritatively determine whether or not their repre-have misrepresented them. B rendered too easy to invoke either process, the result can be only mis-chlevous. The same considerations which are more and more tending to make thoughtful people believe that genuine popular control is best exer-cised through the Short Ballot have weight here also. There are plenty of cases in which, on a given issue of sufficient importance it is better that the people should decide for themselves rather than trust the decision to a body of representatives—and our present-Bourne would have little chance of by our insistence upon a direct vote election. But if the race should be of the state when the state adopts a between Bourne and Fulton, with no new constitution. But ordinary citizens other candidate for the nomination, it in private life—such as the present would be doubtful which would be writer, and most of his renders-neither can nor ought to spend their time in following all the minutiae of legisla-

of hills are habitually presented for popular approval or disapproval at every election, it is not probable that every election, it is not probable that good will come, and it is certain that the percentage of wise decisions by the people will be less than if only a few propositions of really great importance are presented. It is necessary to guard not only against the cranks and well-not only against the cranks and men are accustomed to sign petitions.

ple of the initiative and the referendum. and it seems to have produced good re-sulfs—certainly in the case of the referendum, and probably in the case of the initiative. This, of course, does not necessarily mean that the principle would work well in all other communities, and under our system it is difficult to see at present how it could normally have more than a state-wide applica In Switzerland it has been applied ooth in the cantons, or states, and in the federal or national government, and t seems on the whole to have worked airly well. Those who anticipate too much from the new system, however, would do well to study its workings in

IMPULSIVENESS HARRIMAN TRAIT. Late Rallroad Wizard Often Relied on Sudden Intuition. "Tip." in New York Press

Eddie Harriman is some time dead on his long career of being dead forever; after the king of them all, the great after the king of them all, the great Morgan, no living man is more talked about still among bankers and brokers than the dead Harriman. With all his cold-blooded power of analysis and his deliberate perception, in action he was impulsive to a degree. One day out at a rate he wave instructions that a Arden he gave instructions that a chauffeur should speak with him from the distant garage on the telephone. the distant garage on the telephone. Two or three minutes later he asked why the chauffeur had not talked with him. An inquiry over the wire to the garage showed that the chauffeur had jumped into his car at the first message and started hot pace for the house. "Well," said Harriman, "when that fellow arrives here he will be out of a job." One of his secretaries ventured the suggestion that if this haptured the suggestion that if this hap-pended there would be a car there with no one to drive it. "Now there is something in that," assented Harriman. "Telephone to the car people to send me out another chauffeur right away;

then let the other fellow go."
Without a moment's notice Harriman would give an assistant instructions to get upon a train and go thousands of miles, with perhaps only a few minutes to board it. To one of his big lieutenants he said one forenoon:
"Catch the 2 o'clock for Los Augeles" or wherever it was. "And, oh," he "take So and So along." "But I don't think," was the reply, "he wants to go." "Harlman's answer was unequivocal: "Take him, anyhow."

Switzerland. There have now and then of the initiative a certain bill was proosed to the Federal Legislature, There was such a strong demand for its passage, as shown by the vote on the initiative, and by the general popular agi tation, that the Legislature passed i with but one dissenting vote. At the ensuing election the representative who had cast the dissenting vote was, be-cause of having done so, beaten; but on the referendum the people defeated the measure itself! They demanded it on the initiative, all their representatives in the Legislature with one exception voted for it on its passage, the beat the one man who had vote against it, and then on the referendum they defeated the bill itself. Unquestionably an ideal representa-

tive body is the best imaginable legislative body. Such a body, if composed of men of unusual courage, intelligence. sympathy and high-mindedness, anxious to represent the people, and at the same time conscientious in their determination to do nothing that is wrong, would so act that there would never come the slightest demand for any change in the methods of enacting laws. Unfortunately, however, in actual practice, too many of our legislative bodies have not really been representative; and not a few of the ablest and most promen in public life have prided them-selves on their ability to use paritamentary forms to defeat measures for which there was a great popular de mand. Special interests which would be powerless in a general election may be all-powerful in a Legislature if they enlist the services of a few skillful tacticians; and the result is the same whether these tacticians are unscrupu-lous and are hired by the special interests, or whether they are sincere men who honestly believe that the people desire what is wrong and should not be allowed to have it.

Ours is a government of laws, but everyone should keep always before him the fact that no law is worth any-thing unless there is the right kind of man behind it. In tropical America there are many republics whose constitutions and laws are practically identical with ours, yet some of these re-publics have, throughout their governnental career, alternated between despotism and anarchy, and have falled in striking fashion at every point where in equally striking fashion we have succeeded. The difference was not in the laws or the institutions, for they were the same. The difference was in the men who made up the community, in the men who administered the laws, and in the men who put in power the administrators.

If we choose Senators by popular vote instead of through the Legislatures, we shall not thereby have secured good representatives; we shall merely good representatives; we shall merely have given the people a better chance to get good representatives. If they choose bad men, unworthy men, whather their unworthiness take the form of corruption or demagogy, of truckling to special interests or of truckling to the mob, we shall have worked no improvement. There have been in the past plenty of unworthy Governors and Con-gressmen elected, just as there have been plenty of bad Senators elected Similarly, if the direct primary merely means additional expense without compensating advantage in wise and just action, the gain will be nil. At pres-ent there are cities where the direct primary obtains, in which, as far as I can see, the boss system is about as firmly rooted as in those cities where the direct primary has not been introduced. So with the initiative and the referendum. Vermont has neither; Or-egon has both. In whichever state there is the less corruption and greater jus-tice, in whichever state the elected representatives of the people are more u right, clean and able, in whichever state the people are themselves wiser in action, more prompt to recognize and retor or Congressman, why, in that state we shall find the best government. wholly without regard to the particular device by which the government is obtained. If both states show equally well in these matters, why, it means that each has devised the instrument best suited for its own needs. It is folly not to adopt the new instrument if experience shows it to be out to the contract of the contract perience shows it to be an instrument which usually produces better results; and if we are convinced that it is a

be best fitted for the purpose.

I believe in adopting every device for popular government which is in theory good and when the practice bears out the theory. It is, of course, true that each is only a device, and that its worth must be shown in actual practice; and it is also true that where, as with us the people are numbers the with us, the people are masters, the most vital need is that they shall show mesting their servants. But it is often impossible to establish genuine popular nle and get rid of privilege, the use of new devices to meet new needs. I think that this is the strua-tion which new confronts us in the United States, and that the adoption in principle of the programme on which the Progressives, especially in the West are tending to unite offers us chance to achieve the desired result.

on and who was doing it in the mysteries of stock manipulation. Once when Southern Pacific had been going up fast, Harriman and various banking ouses buying in concert, he called up on the telephone one of his private rokers. "Somebody is selling," he brokers. "Somebouy the wald. "Yes, sir," was the "Well, hand the market 25,000 for me." Immediately he called up the head of a banking firm much interested in the market. "Who's selling Southern Pa-eific?" he asked. "I don't know; we haven't been able to find out," was the answer. "I'll tell you," snapped Harriman; "It's your house," and he cut off the connection before any reply to him

Vegetarian Boots and Shoes. Jewish Chronicle.

An enterprising manufacturer has discovered a process whereby a passable imitation of leather may be manufactured from a vegetable product. novelty owes its introduction to London vegetarians, who shuddered at the were killed annually to keep humanity in boots. The imitation leather is being used for the manufacture of boots shoes, Bible covers and a hundred other articles usually found in the art leather

His Mistake.

Baltimore Sun

"Just one, darling!" he pleaded, as fools do. And, oh." he "One moment," she said, restraining astening out. him. "Tell me first, have you ever "But I don't kissed another girl?"

think," was the reply, "he wants to go."

Harriman's answer was unequivocal:

"Take him, anyhow."

Harriman had an almost supernatural instinct for knowing what was going a miracle worker"