

referendum has been instrumental in giving the people of this state more wise and progressive legislation than they would have secured under the representative system only. I consider the initiative and referendum a safe and practicable method of enacting legislation, and will further add that I think it has come to stay. It is truly a question of time when every state in the union will incorporate it in some form into their fundamental laws." Judge McBride says: "It has certainly proved a check on legislative extravagances and has to a great extent prevented legislation in the interests of large transportation corporations which was unfortunately too prevalent previous to the adoption of our legislative amendment. Voters have usually displayed unexpected discrimination in adopting and rejecting laws proposed, and I am satisfied that this method of legislation is a great educator of the ordinary citizen in the duties and responsibilities of citizenship. While several laws lately passed by the legislature have been found ineffective and contrary to the constitution, more of those passed by direct legislation have failed to stand the test of constitutionality." Mr. Ben Gelling, one of Portland's biggest business men, says: "The principal opponents to these measures are those who desire political offices or business advantages which they could not obtain from the people directly, find it much easier to corrupt the legislators than the electorate. In former years bribery was open and notorious in this city. Since we have reformed legislation, this has been almost entirely dispensed with."

8. As our legal friends have offered all of the above discussed objections to No. 10 without the "joker" clause, they, of course, are opposed to it with the "joker." If they had a better understanding and appreciation of the argument against the "joker" clause it would have had more weight. As it is, I am unqualifiedly for No. 10 without the "joker" clause and am not convinced that men who misconstrue the whole measure are in the mental attitude to explain the results of the "joker" clause. I do not believe that the words "each municipality, each county," were inserted to defeat the purpose of the amendment, but with sincere desire to give the principle of direct legislation effect in municipalities and counties insofar as these subdivisions of the state have a right to act independently of the whole state. The wording may be awkward, but it only illustrates the fact that even legislatures often fail to express itself clearly. The people themselves in drawing up a measure to submit for the referendum would do better. It is a distinct principle that the people of the state constitute the sovereign power. The legislature representing the whole people may permit a municipality or a county to manage some of its own affairs, but the large unit controls. The legislature, for example, permits a municipality to have saloons, if the county will permit, but not otherwise. Likewise, the county may have saloons if there is no state-wide law forbidding. But each unit of government exercises authority subject to the higher units. It was clearly intended under No. 10 that in municipal affairs the people of the municipality would have the right of initiative and referendum when the people of the county or state had not forbidden, but just as the Oregon supreme court has decided that "laws proposed and enacted by the people under the initiative laws of the amendment are subject to the same constitutional limitations as other statutes and may be amended or repealed by the legislature at will," so our supreme court, taking a common sense view and trying to give reasonable effect to the whole of No. 10, would hold that any law passed by the legislature for the whole state, or any law passed by the people of the whole state would supercede any law passed merely by the people of any municipality or county. When the real principle of the amendment is understood, there is no serious difficulty in construing it.

9. These wise lawyers gravely assure us that, if we will defeat amendment No. 10, "in January, 1911, a proper and well-drawn measure, guarded in its own limitations and preserving the limitations of our constitution, can and will be prepared for submission." I object to waiting, because with their ideas of the initiative and referendum their amendment would be so guarded that the real principle of direct legislation would be destroyed. Then corporate and whisky interests would probably defeat the submission of any amendment that embodied the real principle. If a legislature has not been able to frame a satisfactory amendment, let us adopt what is before us so that we may

have the further opportunity to amend it ourselves.

When the constitutional convention presided over by the illustrious patriot, George Washington, submitted the constitution to the people of the several states, it was found to be defective in several important particulars. Its friends urged its adoption and promised that amendments would be submitted to cure these defects. The constitution was ratified and the amendments were duly submitted and adopted. So the friends of this amendment plead for its adoption and promise that the amendment itself shall be used to correct any defects that may actually appear. If the legislature and the democratic convention approved, I am in favor of giving the people a chance to decide. Oregon, Oklahoma, Missouri, Maine and other states have tried the principle. Wherever tried it has proved efficient. Let Arkansas demonstrate that her people believe in and can successfully maintain the true principle of popular government. Our constitution is good, but the people, who adopted it, are just as capable of amending it. Remember that the principle of direct legislation to be of any value must give a small per cent of the people, the power to raise any question and hold up objectionable laws and then let the majority of those who vote on it settle it. This enables the weak, the minority, to settle them. The legislature still has the right to pass any laws, but will be more careful, when its acts may be held up. It will remove the incentive to bribery and graft, because the act passed by bribery or fraud will almost certainly be killed by the people. One of the greatest advantages is that, while voting for a representative the citizen may vote for one who will betray his trust or may on new and unexpected measures oppose the wishes of his constituency, the initiative gives opportunity to settle all of these questions on the merits, and will largely eliminate the personal element in politics. In other words, it gives the voter the opportunity to vote directly on each measure without regard to the merits of men or other measures. This, of course, assumes intelligence and interest among the voters. I am of the common people. I know the people of Arkansas, and I am willing to trust them. They may be deceived. So are legislators. They will discover their mistakes and correct them. For twenty years I have studied the initiative and referendum as it is found in Switzerland, land of liberty and law, and in modified form in our own country, and I hail with joy the growth of the spirit which stands for the initiative and referendum.

These good lawyers have made the strongest argument possible against amendment No. 10, but their logic will not bear the test. They are friends of the principle, therefore, they will support the amendment when they see that it embodies the correct principle, and can not be defeated without jeopardizing the progress of popular government. As a patriotic citizen I owe it as a duty to defend what I believe to be right, and I call upon other patriots to rally to amendment No. 10.

THE WORKER'S PRAYER

A prayer as earnest but ultra modern in tone is this thoughtful paraphrase, written by a clever and high-hearted woman, of that beloved old nursery classic, "Now I lay me down to sleep."

"Now I wake me up to work;
I pray the Lord I may not shirk;
If I should die before the night,
I pray the Lord my work's all right!"

Here are two other rhyming prayers, also ultra modern, which breathe the yearning of an eager soul toward the work that to so many spells also highest pleasure, and in behalf of a cherished friend:

"God of the workers, hear my cry,
Nor leave unanswered long:
Grant me the strength to do or die,
To keep my spirit strong;
Let no false notes of wrong or shame
Debase my ideals high,
But let me earn a stainless name
As working days go by.

"With those who pass me on the road
May I, unfeigned, rejoice;
To those who sink beneath their load
Give help with hand and voice;
From littleness of thought and deed
Keep thou my conscience clear,
And let me alight no smallest need—
God of the workers, hear!

—Ethel Colson in Northwestern Christian Advocate.

"Tell It to Gaynor"

Sidney Reid in The (N. Y.) Independent

The following article was received only a few days before the attempted assassination of Mayor Gaynor. It gives a picturesque view of the personality of the man whose fight for life has the sympathy of the entire country.—Editor The Independent:

If a wrong is found anywhere in the city of New York in these days the finder knows exactly what to do—or else his neighbors inform him: "Tell it to Gaynor!" They have perfect confidence that the mayor will know and do the right thing. And this feeling is not confined to democrats who voted for Gaynor; republicans have it also, so have labor men, socialists, independents.

The city thought so well of Gaynor last November that he was elected by a plurality of 73,074 votes when all his running mates on the Tammany ticket were defeated. And since then he has been steadily turning enemies into friends. These watched his course in office at first with cynicism, then astonishment, then hope, and, lastly, affection and admiration.

The great newspapers and magazines that opposed his candidacy are among his best friends now, and it is very gratifying and amusing to those who have known and loved him for thirty years to find themselves pushed aside by newcomers, who want to monopolize him. An eminent veteran republican of international reputation said enthusiastically the other day:

"Gaynor is the best mayor that New York ever had."

A well-known democrat went further, declaring:

"Gaynor has done more good for the city in six months than all the mayors who preceded him during their entire terms."

He is known to be everybody's mayor now. The humblest and most ignorant feels that he has a friend in the mayor's office who is interested in him and will protect his rights and do him justice. So if there is any wrong anywhere in New York now citizens "tell it to Gaynor!" and then rest easy in the confidence that the remedy will be prompt and adequate.

For the first time in the history of the city the mayor overlooks all complaints. There are about 100 of these each morning, and his honor's first task after reaching his desk is to examine them. They are entered in a book with dates and then sent to department heads for investigation and action. Department heads must promptly report their action to the mayor. If they fail they are poked up more or less gently. The system works easily and automatically, and nothing really wrong is too trivial for attention. If a White Wing spills ashes on a street he knows that the mayor of New York will be fully informed of the circumstance next morning and will lose some part of the good opinion which he has for White Wings generally.

Here are some of the good things that Mayor Gaynor has done for the city since January 1, 1910:

1—Set an example of conscientious diligence in city employment by working strenuously nine or ten hours a day—often till seven o'clock in the evenings—with only fifteen minutes for lunch.

2—Established an eight-hour day for city employes and officials and insisted that these earn their salaries by hard and useful work.

3—Bundled hundreds of incompetents and sinecurists out of the public offices, decreeing that such places must be filled by men of merit and ability.

4—By means of his new bureau of weights and measures disclosed and put an end to what seems to have been a universal system of cheating employed by grocers, butchers, bakers, fishermen, etc., under the title of "Custom of Trade."

5—Broke the influence of politicians over police, stopped police clubbings, illegal arrests, illegal breaking into citizens' houses. Put an end to "mugging" (photographing) of unconvicted prisoners for the Rogues' gallery. Broke up the old vicious "system" and sent wardmen and favored policemen back to patrol duty.

6—Broke connection between police and liquor dealers, ending colossal graft that police collected for allowing violations of the excise law. Enforced the state excise law as it is written.

7—Dismissed old City Record board and appointed a new one, uncovering and ending graft and waste of over \$300,000 a year. Cut num-