

right of the individual we are no longer fond of regarding as his opportunity to serve his own selfish purposes. We are now thinking rather of the obligations involved to conform his purposes to the general interest. We now think of the right of the individual as an obligation to be just rather than as an opportunity to be selfish. Similarly, thinking of the rights of the states not as their prerogative to serve their own interests without regard to the interests of the country as a whole but rather as their opportunity to play their part in the general development and in the readjustment of those relations which have threatened to become radically unsatisfactory and dangerous both in the field of industry and in the field of politics, both in the matter of the use of capital and in the field of legislation, we assert them again for the service of the people.

"Almost of a sudden, it would seem, the states have stepped forward and reasserted themselves as full partners with the federal government in the inspiring program of progressive reform.

**THE TRYING-OUT GROUNDS**

"They are the trying-out grounds of our political system. Each state is at liberty to develop its own opinion to suit its reforms to its own life, to try this experiment and the other with its laws and institutions in order that no hopeful program may be neglected or fail of being neglected. It is very noteworthy that some of the most alert and progressive of state communities, like those of several of our western states, have set the pace for the country, have fortunately exercised their rights of independent choice in such a way as to blaze a trail for the more conservative states. In many instances they have made mistakes, no doubt, but the mistakes have been instructive and profitable to themselves and to the rest of the country hardly less than their successes have been. At any rate, whatever betide, they do not hold back dull and acquiescent and hopeless. They are no longer beating about in a nameless routine of legislation without large plan or program, and they are diligently setting themselves to face the circumstances of a new age, adjusting the conditions of their life to the new forces, checking those things which are sinister and menacing and permitting those things which are honest and hopeful and full of legitimate force.

"Our states therefore are again proving themselves the source of our variety and individuality. They are proving themselves again the fountains of our legal strength, the sources of our legal growth. The federal government can in the nature of the case go no further than the broad outlines of regulation, the establishment of those conditions of law which will fit the country as a whole, which will prevent the collision, the undesirable rivalry and opposition of its several parts. It can only sketch in broad outline the economic and political regulation which is necessary for the life of the country. The states must fill in the detail, must undertake the regulation which adjusts enterprise to the daily life of the community, must see to it that there is no essential antagonism between the use of wealth and the development of a wholesome life, that the gates of opportunity are kept open, that men are everywhere free to work, that communities are protected against disease, particular classes against the crushing burdens of certain kinds of labor, that the streams are utilized as the sources of power and refreshment, that the forests are conserved within their borders, that the resources which ought to be common

are not monopolized and used exclusively for private benefit and profit.

**WHERE SERVICE IS NEEDED**

"More and more, therefore, it would seem, will the energetic men of this country find their profitable field of service in the politics of our states. It is becoming evident that they are to be the battle ground of political reform. It has never been possible so far to maintain anything that could be fairly called a national political machine. It has only been to speak figuratively when we have spoken of any man as a national boss. The machine which we fear, which we mean to control, which constitutes the main problem of political reform for us, is a local affair. We find it in cities and in states. The states are the units of organization in our politics, and being the units of organization are also the units of reform, the units of purification, of simplification and of correction with regard to everything that threatens to go wrong in our national life. Moreover they are of necessity the chief battle ground of economic reform. It is the states which incorporate the great undertakings which threaten to bulk larger than the states themselves in power which they exercise. The whole problem of the regulation of public service corporations, for example, is a state problem except in so far as the great railway systems of the country are concerned, which are the arteries of interstate commerce. For the daily convenience and freedom of our people the control of trolley lines, of gas companies, of electric light and power companies, is even more important than the control of great railways. The way in which these local public service corporations are managed has a vast deal to do not only with the convenience and comfort of our several communities but with their development, with their actual existence, with the whole question of the congestion of population and the maintenance of wholesome and sanitary and convenient conditions. Their control is necessarily a question for the states and as the states act wisely or unwisely, courageously or hesitatingly in their control, or will the life of the people be clogged or cleared, assisted or impeded, so will political and economic conditions be improved or rendered worse.

**THE CONSERVATION PROBLEM**

"Even the large matter of conservation is more a question for the states than for the federal government. The federal government can act in that matter only insofar as it still controls lands and forests and mines and water courses. The great muck of the land of the continent and of its resources has passed out of federal control long ago. It is the states which must determine by their policy whether the natural resources of the country are to be exhausted, or renewed, wasted or conserved, and the matter will require all the more careful statesmanship and planning because it will touch life very intimately at many points.

"In short, politics is not a matter of broadly outlined plans. It is a very intensive matter and nowhere will legislative regulation have to be more carefully and judiciously planned than within the several states. Their welfare and development are in their own hands. It is well for the stimulation of their people that it should be so. They can depend upon no one but themselves to effect their emancipation from conditions which are onerous to them. Necessity will force upon them an active role of reform and readjustment, and we may look forward with confidence to a time of general stimulation when state will follow state to serve the life of the

people in its detail as advantageously and as promptly as possible.

**LOSING PARTY LINES**

"It is probable that the partial obliteration of party lines so commonly remarked upon today is in part due to this increased and increasing activity of the state. The questions which affect their internal interests do not often square with the questions which divide national parties from one another. It is difficult to translate the particular interests of an individual state and its people into terms which will sound like a democratic platform as distinguished from a republican platform. Men are beginning to realize that patriotic endeavor in these fields is not a matter of partizanship but a matter of intelligent information, and that it requires a kind of action from which it is possible to shut out party feeling altogether. Civic activity is hard sometimes to translate into party terms, and what is interesting men in America nowadays more than ever before is the detail of civic duty. They are more and more displaying their anxiety to comprehend the needs of the communities in which they live and to meet those needs in as candid and unselfish a way as possible. I say 'unselfish,' and yet it is not altogether a matter of unselfishness, either. The best indication of enlightenment of any community is that its business men should begin to realize that nothing benefits them individually so much as the uniform and equitable development of the communities in which they live and of the whole country. What will bring us out into a new day, if anything will, is the growing perception that the common interest is synonymous with individual interest; that a free, comfortable, happy, energetic people are the best capital that a country can possess, and that only those things which

stimulate the general body of the people and do them justice will make business in the narrow sense truly prosperous and profitable.

**CAUSE FOR CONGRATULATION**

"Let us congratulate ourselves that now in each state in turn men are addressing themselves to a new quest; they are seeking to find the common term of their life, that is to say, the general interest, in the consciousness that when they have discovered it and have by common counsel got together in common endeavor they have at last discovered the best way to serve themselves as well as the best way to serve the country. Modern business is upon a great and public scale. Modern business men are engaged in nothing less than the statesmanship of economic development, and only as they address themselves to the matter in the spirit of statesmen will they really achieve the large ends at which they are aiming."

**PRETTY QUICK**

He—"But couldn't you learn to love me, Anna?"  
 She—"I don't think I could, Harry."  
 He (reaching for his hat)—"It is as I feared—you are too old to learn."—Harper's Bazar.

**GREAT EXPECTATIONS**

"Where are you going with that goat, little boy?"  
 "Down to the lake. Come along if you want to see some fun. This here goat has jest et a crate of sponges, an I'm goin' down an' let him drink."—Toledo Blade.

**THE IMPORTANT THING**

We can understand the ease with which a fool and his money are parted, but what puzzles us is how the fool got the money to part with.—Cleveland Plain Dealer.

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