The Sun.

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The Moderation of Cummins.

The Hon. ALBERT BAIRD CUMMINS, a Senator in Congress from Iowa, has prophetic nostrils. Only the other day he smelled a "revolution." Bold about the future, except as to tariff legislation affecting "the interests" of the Iowa farmers, why, out of some superstitious reverence for the unhallowed past, does he omit to speak the truth about those miserable reactionaries, parasites of property and foes of the Plain People, often called "the fathers"? See how tame and moderate he, so immoderate and untamed against contemporary unprogressives, chose to be in the Senate last Monday:

"Our forefathers—I do not criticise them—put into the Constitution obstacles against amendments which seemed wise to them and with which we must comply, but obstacles which are exceedingly difficult to surmount. Two thirds of each of these bodies must agree to the resolution, and then when two-thirds have agreed to the same resolution, in the same words, three-fourths of the Commonwealths must ratify it in order that it may become a part of the organic law."

In the full radiance of modern wisdom how dark, how feudal look the prejudices, the instinct for delay of the makers of the Constitution, that charter of privilege. Surely a great and "free" people should be able to change a Constitution as easily as a shirt. All these obstacles, these dikes to the infallible people's will should be torn down.

Meanwhile, why shouldn't a Progressive give an honest opinion about these "fathers" and "forefathers," praised so long and so wrong? The "fathers," considered most charitably, were no better than doddering, ignorant grandmothers. Considered impartially, their whole system of checks and balances and representative government was a monster of reaction. Why should a "free" and infallible people tie a Constitution around its neck? Better to have, like RUFUS CHOATE, no constitution, and live under the bylaws, which can be changed without trouble.

Always In It.

The tariff was not a paramount issue in any of the platforms on which Mr. BRYAN made his campaigns for the Presidency, and he has never cared a rap about the subject since his second term in Congress, sixteen years ago, when as a Boy Orator he made a speech upon it which is still pasted in his scrapbook as a masterpiece of the eloquence of that period.

Sixteen to one, immediate independence of the Philippines, which Mr. BRYAN helped his country to acquire, and trusts, were the paramount issues of his campaigns. The tariff was always in the background, more so even in Mr. BRYAN'S speeches than in his platforms. It was not until the Democrats at the last election captured Congress on the tariff issue that the Peerless Leader saw a new opportunity. If he could procure a fourth nomination for President the tariff would be made the paramount issue, unless Mr. BRYAN, with the nomination in his grasp, elected to substitute for it the election and recall of Judges of the Supreme Court. Mr. BRYAN is now quoted thus:

"I am not a candidate and will not be a candidate for President. Leave me out of it."

Leave him out! How preposterous, how unthinkable, unless he leaves himself out, which is inconceivable. Next to religion, politics is Mr. BRYAN'S favorite recreation. He has said so from a thousand lecture platforms. He would rather preach than spellbind. Such a man cannot be left out—not with his own consent. He can often be rejected, and sometimes bounced from Democratic councils. But he has more political lives than the traditional cat. Mr. BRYAN is back again as a director of the Democrats of the House on the tariff question. He retained himself. Mr. BRYAN'S method is to go into a caucus of one and then announce to the Democratic party what it should do to be saved from itself. Just now Mr. BRYAN is interested in the wool schedule. He was on the point of allowing the House Democrats to cut the rate 50 per cent., but on second thought it occurred to him that the Democrats might get together on that proposition. Mr. BRYAN is unalterably opposed to Democratic union on any issue or on any man but himself. So he promulgates a ukase for free wool and addresses this admonition to the party in Congress:

"The Democratic Congress has made a splendid record; let us hope it will not blot that record and impair the party's chances in 1912 by a cowardly surrender to the relatively insignificant number of Democratic protectionists who labor for a tariff on wool in order to win the support of these wool growers who go into politics as a business."

Mr. BRYAN appears to be working toward free trade, but it would be a mistake to suppose that that is his object. He has only one purpose: to take the radical end of every question as it comes up, and to be in a position when the national convention meets next year to lead the extremists and to obtain or dictate the nomination. After the election which gave the Democrats control of the House by a large majority, Mr. BRYAN, who had been snubbed in Nebraska and rebuffed in Ohio, would have passed into obscurity if he had renounced unequivocally the ambition of his life, if he had said: "I am not a candidate and will not be a candidate for President. Leave me out of it." He would not have been called from the plough or from the editorial sanctum. The Democratic party would have got on much better without him than with him. But again he thrust himself upon it, and gradually but with his old presumption assumed the air and authority of the great leader and the indispensable counsellor. "Leave me out of it." Fudge!

An Ancient Landmark in Peril.

Several years ago THE SUN pointed out that in the delicate and difficult art of self-appraisal the autobiographical sketch of the Hon. WILLIAM RUSSELL WILLCOX generously contributed to the "Red Book" had established a new high water mark in self-appreciation. After the lapse of years one sentence remains in solitary and hitherto unchallenged grandeur beyond the iconoclastic rage of mere seekers for subways:

"His decisive and democratic way of disposing of intricate propositions appeals to those most interested and displays his good business sense."

But in the "Red Book" of 1911, now fresh from the printer, it is painful to relate that Mr. WILLCOX'S primacy in just self-praise is challenged.

Not once but several times will the readers of the new volume perceive a direct and deliberate rivalry, an unmistakable effort to surpass what has hitherto been held not merely "surpassing" but even unattainable heights. Amid many competitors it is still possible to discern a few whose gallant efforts place them above the common herd. Thus, as he turns from the well read pages of his own literary accomplishment, Mr. WILLCOX may wisely pause with real apprehension over those devoted to the Hon. WINFIELD A. HUPPUCH, the Hon. THOMAS F. CONWAY, and longer still over the page which contains the final public estimate of the Hon. GEORGE WASHBURN, written very properly by the Hon. GEORGE WASHBURN.

From the autobiography of the Hon. WINFIELD A. HUPPUCH we take this:

"In 1910 Mr. HUPPUCH was a prominent candidate for the nomination of State Comptroller, and after the nomination of Mr. DIX for Governor was elected chairman of the Democratic State committee. He conducted the campaign with such ability that for the first time in sixteen years the Democratic party elected all its candidates for State offices."

This is not merely interesting from a personal side, its public value is unmistakable. Hitherto there has been much doubt as to the real responsibility for the outcome of the last election. Not a few have held THEODORE ROOSEVELT responsible. Individual Republicans of large political fame have been charged with joint responsibility. The so-called "insurgent" wing of the Democratic party as well as certain independent newspapers have practically confessed to complicity. But aside from Governor DIX himself, no one has hitherto been held more guiltless than the Hon. WINFIELD A. HUPPUCH, whose own confession now settles the question.

From the more or less gloomy contemplation of the past, with its mistakes, now accounted for, it is pleasant to turn toward the future. Here is what the Hon. THOMAS F. CONWAY, now Lieutenant-Governor of the State, beholds in looking into the future of a statesman whose past affords him only less complete satisfaction:

"Mr. CONWAY has never married. He enjoys a great popularity among his many friends and those with whom he comes in contact on a professional and political footing. As he is still a comparatively young man, it can be predicted with safety that the coming years will add to an already enviable reputation."

Mild after all, marked with a deplorable self-restraint, the foregoing words seem when contrasted with those of the Hon. GEORGE WASHBURN, who represents the fortunate first district of Ulster in the Assembly:

"Mr. WASHBURN'S district is to be congratulated on having such in (an?) able, conscientious and upright representative. At all times he has at heart the interests not only of his party (Democratic), but of all the people in his district and in the State. Recognizing the superior business ability of Mr. WASHBURN, Speaker FRISBIE appointed him on the following important committees * * * Mr. WASHBURN'S advice on all important legislation is eagerly sought."

It would be cruel to multiply the tortures of the Hon. WILLIAM RUSSELL WILLCOX, but the great should not be jealous: all the world should know the truth about the Hon. JOSEPH T. GEATONS, "the" Brooklyn Assemblyman:

"Mr. GEATONS is a great favorite with the women and children of the Twenty-sixth ward owing to the fact that he is the standard bearer of an association that gives an annual beach party to which they are all invited."

The question as to whether the Hon. WILLIAM RUSSELL WILLCOX has been outdistanced is not for us to decide. It belongs to humanity, to that great metropolitan public which for four years has been watching his every move, or rather his every preparation to move, with awe, admiration and boundless expectation. But no one who reads the "Red Book" of 1911 can question the fact that the time has come for Mr. WILLCOX to revise his autobiography. Doubtless he can do his chosen subject fuller justice, and in the present state of the competition he owes it to himself to try at once.

The Crowning of Acushnet's Canorous Son.

For fear of setting aflame the ashes of envy and hate in Long Island, North Carolina, Indiana and other regions planted to poetry, far longer than duty prompted we have refrained from bestowing finally and immutably the Order of the Bardic Crown upon the Hon. ANACREON CLIFFORD HAWES of Acushnet. Since ill disposed persons keep sending us copies of the New Bedford *Mercury* containing his elegy on JULIA WARD HOWE, since some of them even go so far as to accuse us of being "bought by JAMES BYRON ELMORE or HAROLD DOBBLER," and since the more this elegy is pondered the more impeccable and supreme its supreme impeccability looks, we yield, and publish it, in part only on account of the copyright:

"Her soul was caught of particles
Of stars, the blue heaven,
The sun, moon with human articles;
Her gifts were freely given
With homage to the Right, the Just and the Upstanding Cause,
For she kept tryst, and broached and taught that were very Heaven's Laws.

"All Hell writhes to-day that another
Starting soul, upreaching
To open Arms of Heaven hath gone; pother
Unknowing, like a beaching
Comber effervescent, sends its clear spray to souse the shore.
She made the homes of men—their lives the better with her lore.

"She dwelt above empty aspersion;
And rid the earth th' aspick's
Venom, and the soul's fell corrosion.
While on the hearth has bricks
Construct on bricks for perpetual glow she heaped up the brands,
That all The Earth might dare to say Freedom forever stands.

"She would have men walk in meadows
Fair, from out the dusty
Tread and trend to the cool shadows,
And spring's sweet mead, lusty
And allaying, to free the soul of strife and all misgiving.
Where e'er Beauty walks her paths she led to fair believing."

And so we leave the master work without comment, for that would seem an insult in the high presence of this perfection; leave it reverently, gratefully, though sad that Hell must writhe in Long Island, Indiana and all the other feet of song.

Egyptian Cotton.

The raw cotton exports of the United States for the first ten months of the current fiscal year were worth $550,000,000 at prices averaging about 14½ cents a pound. In the same time a little more than $21,000,000 worth of the staple was imported, much the larger part of it being Egyptian. Purchases of Egyptian cotton for the full year will probably be about three times what they were ten years ago. The large and increasing importation of a commodity in the production of which this country leads the world by a very long margin is accounted for by the peculiar qualities of the Egyptian fibre.

The cotton industry of Egypt began about ninety years ago. For hundreds of years an inferior quality had been obtained from a native plant and used in a small way in domestic industries. The seed of the better article then introduced came from Ethiopia and was found to be admirably adapted to local conditions. In quality the present product ranks next to the Sea Island in value and in length and strength. Four principal reasons are given for its use in this country: It is well adapted to mercerizing and other processes that give a high finish to cloth and cause it to resemble silk; its exceptional clearness and lustre and its capacity for taking dyes fit it for mixing with silk and for filling sateens, India linens and similar goods having a brilliant surface; the brown color of the Mit Afifi grade allows it to be used without dyeing in manufacturing such goods as balbriggan underwear and lace curtains in which the écru shade is desired, and it can be used in the manufacture of sewing thread and other articles which need to be very strong and for which no other type of cotton except Sea Island has yet proved suitable. Our imports of the commodity do not interfere in any way with the domestic product, with the possible exception that in so far as it competes with the Sea Island fibre it may serve to hold down somewhat the price of that article.

Consul BIRCH, stationed at Alexandria, reports that the crop of last year was the largest ever grown in Egypt, but the notion held by some that Egypt and the Sudan will at no distant time become serious rivals of this country in cotton production seems entirely without foundation. Theoretically, in the matter of available area and of soil and climatic conditions, the valley of the Nile might supply an almost unlimited quantity, and the increase in crop from 300,000,000 pounds in 1879 to 730,000,000 last year might seem to indicate a vastly greater development hereafter. Yet the present output represents only about 6 per cent. of the world's supply, and Consul BIRCH reports:

"Practically every acre of delta land that can be utilized for cotton growing is now under cultivation, and future extensions of the cotton planting area must come from the Nile Valley south of Cairo or adjacent lands to which it is possible to extend irrigation from the waters of the Nile."

Any considerable extension of the industry in southern Egypt will depend largely upon the social development of the people, and that in all probability will be a slow process. Various experiments have been tried and are being made in that region, but the results have not been notably successful or particularly encouraging.

It is practically certain that for many years to come the world must look to the United States for its supply of cotton of the grades most used and most needed, and that the price of the finished cloth will be regulated by the cost of producing raw cotton in the Southern States.

I disagree with the Senator [Mr. BAILEY] who says that the people who criticise our votes on this [the Lorimer] case know nothing about it simply because the books of testimony have not been asked for by them. I tell you Old Man People gets his information direct, without either books or papers.—*The Hon. JEFFERSON DAVIS.*

In Arkansas Old Man People back in the Ozarks, lacking either books or papers, has often got his information direct from JEFF DAVIS.

London has again shown its musical loyalty in the matinée performance at Covent Garden in which CHARLES SANTLEY, at the age of 77, bade farewell to the public. Actors, operatic singers, dancers and music hall favorites took part in the programme, and the beneficiary appeared once more as a young man in DIBDIN'S "The Waterman." He sang his old songs, "The Jolly Young Waterman," "Fare Thee Well, My Trim Built Wherry," "Sons of the Ocean Wave" and "Rule Britannia," with his old time art and vigor, as the critics kindly intimate, and wound up with "God Save the King." Tenors have been listened to till every semblance of their voice was gone, but it is only in England, we imagine, that a great barytone can hold his public to the end of his life.

The aeroplane ceases to inspire awe when a grazing cow checks it and a haystack stops it, as was the case in a field near Los Angeles on Monday. The mule is yet to be heard from. It will probably figure in the next story of the mishaps of an aviator.

EQUAL SUFFRAGE APOSTATES.

Herbert Spencer as Well as Professor Dicey Among the Number.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* I see it noted as "rather interesting" that Professor Dicey of Oxford University is an opponent of the effort for woman suffrage, although formerly he advocated that cause. The fact does not seem to me very remarkable. There is a superficial plausibility in the suffragist arguments that is well calculated to catch the admiration and acquiescence of enthusiastic youngsters, but the arguments have not the quality of withstanding the close and impartial consideration of later years.

Herbert Spencer was especially slow in changing his views on the subject. In his "Social Statics," published in 1850, he wrote that the rights of women must stand or fall with those of men," and that "the objections commonly raised against giving political power to women are founded on notions and prejudices that will not bear examination." In his preface to the 1864 edition of the same work he remarked incidentally that in the chapters from which the above extracts are taken he "would make qualifications which while they left the arguments much as they are would alter somewhat their logical aspects." So it would appear that he had not made any essential change in his views on the subject during a period of about fourteen years.

After waiting twenty-seven years longer, however, he published in 1891 the fourth part of his "Principles of Ethics," in which occurs what seems to me a really remarkable passage in view of the philosopher's earlier attitude in relation to the suffrage movement and the long time during which he held it, or appeared to hold it. I quote at length from Section 91:

Are the political rights of women the same as those of men? The assumption that they are the same is now widely made. Along with that identity of rights above set forth as arising from the human nature common to the sexes, there is supposed to go an identity of rights in respect to the direction of public affairs. At first sight it seems that the two properly go together; but consideration shows that this is not so. Citizenship does not include only the giving of votes, joined now and again with the fulfilment of representative functions. It also includes certain serious responsibilities. But if so there cannot be equality of citizenship unless along with the share of good there goes the share of evil. To call that equality of citizenship under which some have their power gratis while others pay for their powers by undertaking risks is absurd. Now men, whatever political powers they may in any case possess, are at the same time severally liable to the loss of liberty, to the privation and occasionally to the death consequent on having to defend the country; and if women along with the same political powers have not the same liabilities their position is not one of equality but one of supremacy.

I have not given in the above citations any considerable part of Mr. Spencer's arguments, intending only to show how the philosopher esteemed by many to have been the greatest of the nineteenth century was ready to abandon a position held by him for forty years on finding that all the facts in the case did not warrant the conclusions at which he had arrived as a young man. THERON W. HAIGHT.

WAUKESHA, Wis., May 29.

Proposal for a Real Boardwalk at Coney Island.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* While the Dreamland fire is a loss to the few it may be a gain to the many if the city will acquire the burned out area and construct what New Yorkers have badly needed for years, a boardwalk that is worth being called such. A visit to Asbury Park or Atlantic City with their magnificent promenades makes a New Yorker wonder that he cannot have something of the same kind a little nearer home. New York ought to wake up. Coney Island could easily be made a second Atlantic City. We have the money to do it. A substantial boardwalk could be built along the whole water front that would make a splendid promenade. It would attract thousands who have always avoided the horrible din of steam organs, merry-go-rounds and the pushing and struggling crowds at the old Coney Island. The show places, restaurants and stores could be relegated to one side of the street as at Atlantic City, and the whole waterfront should be left unobstructed so that visitors could enjoy the ocean view.

The devastated district could be bought by the city at a very low price, and now is the best time to do it, before the space is cleared up and new showhouses erected.

BROOKLYN, May 31. WILLIAM L. DOOLEY.

Good Old Jersey City.

From the Archer.

I announce that I will be a candidate for the Democratic Nomination for Mayor of Jersey City.

I am an open and active enemy to the Commission Form of Government and to any other policy that is or may be a generator of evil and an attempt to destroy government by the people and establish a despotism in Jersey City.

I know that under existing conditions the administration of municipal government is not perfect. I also know that there are many patriotic, wise and able men of Jersey City who are eminently qualified to plan and who will plan and succeed in putting in operation in Jersey City a New Charter under which the executive, legislative and judicial functions will be allotted to separate departments corelated to each other and cooperating prudently, wisely and efficiently.

That Charter will be strengthened by legislative sanction of the Great Principle of Home Rule; that Charter will provide legal powers that will enable a chief executive officer of the City to put in operation and successfully execute wise and beneficent policies that will make Jersey City a Great Maritime Port, a Great Centre of Manufacture, a Great Commercial Mart, a Grand Temple of Education, Literature, Science and Art, a City of Beauty and a Citadel of Enlightened Liberty, guarding the safety and providing for the proper comfort and convenience of every man, woman and child of Good Old Jersey City, the City of my birthplace and my home. Respectfully yours,

ROBERT I. AMBRY,
91 Warner Avenue, Jersey City.

A Use for the Denman Thompson Homestead.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* Please permit me to offer a suggestion that may appeal to the theatrical profession. I am not connected with the stage in any respect, nor am I interested in real estate of any kind.

There are probably a great many children of stage parents who are left orphans or for whom others must care during the theatrical season. There may be in existence a home for such children, supported in whole or in part by the profession, but I have never heard of one. Therefore I make the following suggestion:

The old Denman Thompson homestead is located within a few miles of Girard, Erie county, Pa. It is a beautiful spot and is easy of access. I do not suppose the farm, which contains a hundred and some acres, would cost very much, and a fund could be raised for the erection of larger buildings than those on the place, thus making it suitable for the healthy development of the children. If there is any merit in the suggestion it may be welcomed by the theatrical profession.

ERIE, Pa., May 31. FRED L. WEEDE.

The Charleston Hymn.

By Isaac P. Cummins, the Poet Walter of the Commercial Club.

Just where two rivers meet
There's a city very neat;
All the people on the street
With smiles each other greet;
But you need not ask them why
For the slogan is the cry.
The Gardens on the Ashley will surely make you happy;
The Boulevard, the Navy Yard, and the view seen from East Batt'ry.
So while you live on earth
There's lots of fun and mirth;
You can get it if "You see Charleston First."

REFRAIN.

"See Charleston First"
The garden spot on earth.
"See Charleston First."
There you can quench your thirst;
"See Charleston First"
And your pocketbooks will burst;
"See Charleston First."
The city of commerce.

REPRESENTATIVE CONSTITUTIONAL GOVERNMENT.

From a speech by Mr. Crumpacker of Indiana in the House of Representatives.

THE DIVINE RIGHT OF THE MAJORITY.

The doctrine of the infallibility of the majority is a dangerous political heresy. It inevitably leads to the overthrow of all limitations on the powers of government. If majorities can make no mistakes, there can be no need for constitutions when laws are made directly by the people. The laws will be right simply because they will have the sanction of the majority behind them. The Declaration of Independence proclaims that all men are created equal and are endowed with certain inalienable rights, and that it is the paramount duty of government to safeguard the citizens in the enjoyment of those rights.

There is a latitude of liberty that belongs to every citizen in virtue of his manhood that no power on earth can justly take from him. This liberty is essential to his growth and development and to the fulfilment of that destiny which is appointed to him by the God who created him. Government and laws and institutions are ordained for the protection of the citizen in those fundamental rights. It is as great a wrong for the Government itself to invade those natural rights as it is for the assassin or the highwayman or a band of conspirators to do so. Those rights do not emanate from government, but it is the vital purpose of government to protect the citizen in their proper enjoyment. It is as great an offence against manhood and civilization for those rights to be invaded or destroyed by a majority vote in a democracy as it is to invade or destroy them by the edict of an absolute monarch.

The essential liberties of the people are secured by absolute limitations upon the power of government. It is the office of the Constitution to embody those limitations, and the duty of the executive officers and of the courts to enforce them. They are of especial importance to the weak and the poor, for the strong and the rich are better able to take care of themselves. There can be no liberty in the real sense unless the government is effectively denied the power to invade the inalienable rights of the citizen.

It was the boast of Lord Chatham that English liberties were so secure that the humblest subject of the King was supreme in his own dwelling place; that his house might be so poor that the winds could shake it and the rains drive through the roof, yet the King himself dare not enter it unbidden. It is more than a matter of mere sentiment that the humblest citizen of this great republic can stand in God's sunlight in the consciousness that he is the possessor of certain rights and liberties that the Government, with all its wealth and power, cannot take from him.

Liberty is not a matter of grace, it is an inherent right; and history abounds in illustrations of the truth that real liberty is secure only where the Government is powerless to invade it. There is as much if not greater need of limitations on the power of Government in pure democracies as in monarchies.

There is no despotism in history more cruel and merciless than the despotism of an unbridled majority. It carries no individual responsibility. A monarch who has unlimited power carries the responsibility for its exercise. Irresponsible power is always liable to abuse. While under normal conditions the people are conservative and their purposes and impulses are good, there are times when public feeling becomes greatly excited and a frenzy of passion will sweep over the country with the fury of a cyclone. It is under such conditions that representative constitutional government is necessary to protect free institutions.

These seem to be plain observations to make in public by one who represents the people and who if he comes back here will have to go to the people for approval. But I would be willing to make this speech in every county in my Congressional district, and I am confident it would have the indorsement and approval of four out of five of the people without regard to party. Level headed men know what they can do and what they cannot do wisely in connection with public affairs. They know that general lawmaking by the people through the agency of the ballot is impracticable and must break down with its own weight. I believe in primary election laws, properly safeguarded with efficient corrupt practices acts, and I believe in extending the civil service method in selecting public servants to State, county and municipal governments wherever it is practicable. I believe in taking patronage and jobs and contracts for public work altogether out of politics. That will destroy the cohesive force that cements and holds corrupt political machines together. If that be done the power of the corrupt boss will be gone. Let the people be more vigilant and active at primaries and elections.

They must exercise care in selecting honest, capable men to represent them in the government service. If they do that there will be little reason to complain of the laws or their administration. There will be no calling for the self-selected champion of the cause of the "dear people," to advocate political nostrums and faker remedies that tend to undermine social and political institutions that have the sanction of centuries of wisdom and experience.

I have faith in the sturdy common sense of the people, and therefore I do not believe the institution of the initiative and referendum will ever come into general use in this country. If under the influence of political reforms it should be generally established by law its impracticability and unwisdom would become apparent to the average man and it would become innocuous by disuse. Every law providing for the referendum requires a majority of the votes cast, not at the election, but upon the particular measure submitted to carry it.

There is a general disposition on the part of the voter to refrain from voting upon proposed laws. The vote is significantly small on legislative matters. It is exceedingly rare that a proposition receives the support of a majority of the voters of a State, and in some instances laws have been enacted by the referendum by less than 10 per cent. of the whole number of voters. Those who are specially interested in the proposed measure vote, while the great body of the voters are indifferent.

This is a perfectly natural result, because most of the voters do not have the time nor opportunity to inform themselves respecting legislative measures submitted to them for consideration, and rather than vote unintelligently they will not vote at all. The referendum from the practical viewpoint is not legislation by the voters, but legislation by a small minority of the voters, who are interested specially in the measures submitted for action.

THE RECALL.

I do not believe in the recall for public officers, because it is fundamentally wrong. It is not based on justice or merit. I believe in a good, efficient law for the removal of corrupt or inefficient public officers by a proceeding in a court of justice or before a civil service board, where charges can be investigated and decided upon their merits. Last week in one of the cities in my district a court removed the chief of police on the charge of dishonesty and inefficiency. It only required a few days to make the investigation. The law in Indiana provides for a summary proceeding in charges against public officers, and they are conducted under established rules and decided according to law and justice, rather than upon considerations of politics or by whim and caprice, which are sure to influence results under the recall plan.

The chief of police of the city mentioned would in all probability have won in a recall proceeding, without regard to his fitness, for he would have had the support of all of the so-called liberal element of the city.

Under the recall there would be as many good, efficient officers retired because they enforced the law as there would be dishonest and incompetent officers retired because they did not enforce the law. Suppose a petition were filed for the recall of Judge Blair in Adams county, Ohio. He would doubtless be opposed by every voter in that county who has been indicted in his court for selling his vote, and the records show that a majority of all the voters were so indicted. The Judge would stand a poor show of vindication. In a great many cities throughout the country it would be much easier to recall an officer who fearlessly performs his duty than one who acquiesces in lawbreaking. That is not the case in all the cities, and perhaps it is not in a majority of them. I was told a few days ago that the voters of the city of Tacoma, in the State of Washington, recalled their Mayor because he refused to allow a prize fight to take place in the city.

Mr. Lafferty—Seattle.

Mr. Crumpacker—Is there a proposition pending for the recall of the Mayor of Tacoma?

Mr. Lafferty—Yes.

Mr. Crumpacker—Because he would not allow a prize fight?

Mr. Lafferty—No; I do not understand that to be the ground.

Mr. Crumpacker—The law of the State of Washington does not permit prize fights, and an organization of the sporting element of Tacoma arranged to supply the people with that luxury regardless of the law. The Mayor thought the law was made to be obeyed and he refused to allow the prize fight to take place. Indignant citizens of Tacoma at once filed a petition for the recall of the Mayor for his interference with their liberties, and the vote was had a few days ago and the Mayor was removed from his office by a large majority. I suppose prize fights will be a common entertainment in Tacoma in the future. No law officer will dare interfere with them.

Elections for the recall of officers are not decided on their merits. It often happens that very efficient executive officers possess very few popular qualities, and such officers are always at a great disadvantage in a contest against a man of the "hail fellow well met" type, who promises every voter everything he wants. Considerations of politics, personality, affability and many others of an unsubstantial character often control in local elections.

The application of the recall to the judiciary is a grave menace to the integrity and independence of the courts. I have great respect for the courts and high regard for most of the Judges. Occasionally a weak Judge may be selected, and occasionally a strong Judge may make a mistake in the decision of a question of law or fact. But in the main Judges of our courts are able, honest, fearless men. The courts are the bulwark of free institutions; they are the citadel of liberty and justice; and they must always be free to administer law and justice without fear or favor. Under the elective system they should be especially protected against the baleful influence of party politics. The tendency of the recall applied to the judiciary would be to make cowards and sycophants of Judges. The equation of public sentiment would enter more or less into the decision of every question of general importance. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. Hardy] in his speech the other day said he believed the courts ought to consider the public in the administration of the law. I agree that courts ought to discharge their duties in an honest and fearless manner; but they do not make the law; they only decide what it is and apply it to concrete cases. If the law is imperfect it should be amended by the lawmaking branch of the Government. Courts are often criticised for the faults of the Legislatures. They are condemned for adhering to well established precedents and long settled principles, and yet there can be no uniformity or stability of law if they pursued any other policy. The tendency of the recall will be to overthrow uniformity and stability in the laws. There will doubtless be honest and fearless men on the bench in Arizona under the recall, but the tendency will be to keep men of independence and self-respect out of the judiciary. With a weak man on the bench the wealthy, influential litigant will have a distinct advantage over his poor and less influential adversary.

The plain citizen who seeks nothing but what is his just and legal right is more vitally interested in the honesty and independence of the courts than is the wealthy and influential citizen who employs the courts to obtain some advantage that is not rightly and justly his. The courts, above all things, should be kept free from the influence of politicians and political bosses. They should also be deaf to popular clamor. What would be thought of a proposition authorizing an appeal from important decisions of courts to the people to be decided at popular elections? It is said that the people are fully competent to enact laws of all kinds by referendum. Why are they not competent to decide what the law is by referendum? No citizen would favor such a radical and destructive policy as that, and yet it is proposed to give the voters the power to recall Judges if they do not decide the law as the voters think it ought to be decided.

Pumice.

The Geological Survey says that the pumice produced in the United States in 1909 was of the value of $33,489, and the value of the pumice imported was nearly three times as great. The native supply comes principally from deposits in Hardin and Lincoln counties, Nebraska.

Pumice is an acid volcanic rock, which may be in either massive or finely comminuted form. It owes its peculiar porous, vesicular or pumiceous condition to the rapid expansion of included moisture or gases due to sudden release of pressure at the time of its ejection from the volcano. This expansion may be carried to such an extent that the rock is completely shattered, and the resultant finely powdered material may be carried to unknown distances by wind and air currents and then deposited in beds several feet thick. The Nebraska deposits are considered to have originated in this way.

Norsemen in France.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* The interesting editorial article "A Northern Millenary" in THE SUN of May 28 contains a phrase foreign to the premises: "Remarkable that the conquered should celebrate their national defeat."

The Norseman entered France a fighting, plundering savage; there he acquired a refinement which polished the rough exterior without lowering his capacity as a soldier. The strong infusion of Norse blood throughout northern France doubtless changed the characteristics of the conquered inhabitants.

May not the present generation assume that they are as much the descendants of the conquerors as the conquered? A. W. LE PATOUREL.

TITUSVILLE, Pa., May 30.

Diversions of Earlier Georgia.

From the Macon Telegraph.

Micajah Williamson kept a licensed tavern in the town of Washington. In front of this tavern was a large picture of George Washington hanging as a swinging sign. John Clarke (Governor 1819-23) used to come to town, and, like most men of his day, get drunk. They all did not "cut up," however, as he did on such occasions. He went into stores and smashed things generally, as tradition says, but he always came back and paid for them like a gentleman. Once he came into town intoxicated and galloped down Court street, and fired through the picture of General Washington before the tavern door. This was brought up against him later when he was a candidate for Governor, but his friends denied it.

"Constancy."

TO THE EDITOR OF THE SUN—*Sir:* The quatrain "Constancy" quoted in THE SUN of May 28 and credited to the *Smart Set* was written by John Boyle O'Reilly, and may be found on page 503 of that author's "Life, Poems and Speeches" by James Jeffrey Roche. The book contains other poems well worth quoting, but there appears to be no good reason for quoting them anonymously. A. B.

SOUTH BEND, Ind., May 29.

Kruger's Farm.

Johannesburg correspondence London Standard.

A company recently formed in Scotland has acquired a large portion of President Kruger's farm, Waterkloof, and intends to cultivate tobacco plantations and citrus fruit orchards.

Relief of an Amateur Soldier.

Damocles saw the sword suspended by a hair.

"The only comfortable way," he declared. "When I wear a blade it gets between my legs and throws me."

THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE.

WASHINGTON, May 29.—By direction of Secretary Knox there has been prepared and published a pamphlet describing the organization and work of the Department of State since an act of July 27, 1789:

Created an executive department to be known as the Department of Foreign Affairs, the successor of an organization established by a resolution adopted by the Congress in 1782.

Two months later the title was changed to its present form. From that point the development of the Department is briefly traced to the present organization, with its secretary and its assistant secretaries, solicitor and assistants, bureaus, divisions, sub-divisions, clerks, laborers and all else, including the diplomatic, consular and commercial branches. It notes the influence on the work of the Department of the great increase in the volume of our foreign commerce and the change in the nature of that commerce, notably within the last fifteen years. Regarding another influence it states that:

The war with Spain had marked a new epoch in the history of American foreign relations. The American people, after having been regarded for many years as a stay at home nation, absorbed in the development of their own resources, had suddenly been recognized to have assumed a new position among nations, so that it would be thenceforth impossible for this Government to escape the responsibilities of being one of the great forces in international affairs and of taking a more prominent part in discussions and deliberations concerning matters of international importance.

The imposition of these new duties and responsibilities compelled an increase of the service and a very considerable reorganization. The Secretary is, broadly, responsible for the conduct and policies of the Department. Next to him is the Assistant Secretary, in a way an understudy for the Secretary, and supposed to be fully conversant with everything pertaining to the Department and its work and competent to carry on the work in the temporary absence of his chief. The Second Assistant Secretary

Directs the activities of all the bureaus and divisions in respect to the diplomatic questions that are constantly arising all over the world and examines and approves the correspondence in respect to such matters.

The administrative direction of the diplomatic service and the fiscal affairs of the Department, domestic and foreign, come under the charge of the Third Assistant Secretary. The chief clerk manages the internal business of the Department, the clerical force, the printing, supplies, &c. The duties of the Counsellor include:

The study and treatment of such questions as may from time to time be referred to him involving advanced legal or other questions and requiring uninterrupted consideration and investigation.

The resident diplomatic officer studies important diplomatic questions and assists the Secretary in the formulation and execution of policies. The Solicitor handles questions of constitutional law, admiralty law and criminal law, the law of torts, contracts, &c., claims cases, extradition cases, questions of citizenship, passports, neutrality, contraband, arbitrations and awards. The pamphlet includes a list of more than 200 typical, specific cases submitted to this officer between July, 1910, and April, 1911. They range from a question of the power of the President to call out troops to repel invasion to a question of the right of State authorities to impose a license tax upon automobiles of foreign diplomatic officers; from the legislative powers of Ministers to the mining laws of Morocco.

Then come the divisions of Latin American affairs, of far Eastern affairs, of near Eastern affairs and of Western European affairs. These handle the business and other questions arising in their respective regions. They range from "the Hukuang Railway negotiations, resulting in securing the participation of American capital and American materials on a footing of absolute equality with those of Germany, France and Great Britain," to the prevention of a soap monopoly in Hayti; from the protection of American interests in Corea to the raising of the Maine. The diplomatic bureau has charge of matters relating to the diplomatic service at large, to customs courtesies, international congresses, conferences and expositions. It attends to ceremonial matters and the formalities connected with treaty making, and incidentally "breaks in" newly appointed diplomatic officers and talks much with diplomatic officers at home on leave of absence. The consular bureau deals with the consular service and with matters relating to or involving the services of consular officers. The Bureau of Trade Relations gathers useful and material information and statistics for publication by the Department of Commerce and Labor. There is a Bureau of Appointments, a Bureau of Citizenship and a Division of Information, a Bureau of Accounts, of Rolls and Library, of Indexes and Archives, a mailing section and a force of translators.

The Department of State is far less spectacular than the Navy Department or the War Department, and is less well known to the public than the Treasury Department or the Department of Agriculture. It is, however, a good deal less solemn and mysterious than it is generally thought to be, and a useful end may be served by a liberal distribution of its little statement about itself and the work done in it and by it.

Circuit Riding in Kentucky.

From the Greensburg Record.

Last Wednesday the Rev. R. T. McConnell, the Methodist, after finishing quarterly meeting south of the river, wanted to cross at the old Vaughn ford and continue the work on the road to Summerville. The river was up so as to make deep fording, but he was told it could be forded. When his horse began to swim the animal wanted to return to the bank it just left, then turned and the rider fell off. He was incumbered with a small grip and an overcoat around his shoulders, but worked loose and swam to a drift of timber and stayed there until his calls for assistance were answered. His coat was found many yards down stream, but the grip and Bible have not yet been found.

The Cooling Alfalfa.

From the Kansas City Journal.

Throughout central Kansas most of the farmers are planting patches of alfalfa on the south side of their homes. They have found out that a field of growing alfalfa cools the temperature from 10 to 20 degrees on a hot day. Alfalfa is filled with moisture and is death to hot winds, which usually come from the south. In fact, most of the Kansas wind comes from that direction. For the very opposite reason the farmers do not aim now to plant their wheat on the south side of their homes. Wind passing over wheat stubble after harvest time will raise the temperature from 10 to 20 degrees.

A Rare Japanese Image.

From the Japan Times.

A rare and precious specimen of the haniwa, or clay image, was recently discovered during an excavation being made in forest land owned by Mr. Naojiro Oohata of Kuroko-mura, Ibaraki prefecture. It is reported to be nearly intact. The image wears a headgear resembling the kasa. Especially curious is the fact that there is something like a modern shawl around the shoulders, a custom that has seldom been found on similar clay idols in this country. According to expert opinion the image is from fifteen to twenty centuries old.

Approbation from Sir Josephus.

From the Raleigh News and Observer.

La Follette is the best Republican Senator that party has had since the party was organized.