

ners in the family, and have to put up the expenses if the man don't, and help shave the expenses if he does. They have more interest in the laws than anybody else, and no control. They are chased around corners by drunken men, and have no voice to say that rum shall be sold with safety to the community, if at all. They are imprisoned and executed under laws they have never framed, voted for, nor in any way passed upon, which is agin Magna Charta and the Declaration of Independence. They are treated by the law like men and carters, when it is beginning to be suspected that they are not men, nor carters, nor tending that way. They are subjected to like punishment with men, though subject to totally unlike emotions and incentives; and punished by male juries, presided over by male judges, none of whom, in 500 years, have been able to see that the difference between male and female emotions queers the logic by which both are punished alike.

Oh, I grant you, men are well enough in their way—some of 'em; but it is a mighty old-fashioned way, so far as the law is concerned, dating back nearly to Boadicea, and it didn't absorb any of her feminine ability to straighten men out.

It is considered good democracy over here, to "trust the people;" at any rate it's a safe yell for votes. What is the matter with trusting the women? Isn't that good democracy? Isn't it fair? Isn't it due? Ask Mrs. Bull.

Oh, yes; I know the man who objects the most strenuously of all. I've heard him object before. He said: "What if a cow should get upon your railroad track, Mr. Stevenson?" And Stevenson, the first railway man, replied: "It would be bad for the coo, me lard." And again he rose in his place in Parliament and said: "A steam ship can never cross the Atlantic ocean." And darned, if a steam ship didn't carry the speech across!

Yes, I have heard him before. He says also that women know nothing about politics; that they'd blunder and mix things up. Well, are men so almighty safe from themselves? Did you ever hear of my Republican party, John, all men, pretty much? They had everything they wanted—all there was. They had the offices and the spoils, a conscience and a reputation. They had the President and Congress—both branches, and the Supreme Court. They had the earth and fine weather; and, look around! Blamed, if they hain't tied up the whole country in a tight panic in wheat harvest! Not a woman in sight! Money gone, conscience departed, and reputation used by the puppies to play with. Not enough of it left to make anybody believe that they will, or can, do a thing promised in their platform. It's a comin', John! It's a comin',—female suffrage. Will you lead the ladies like a chevalier; or, will you be dragged, a little unceremoniously, at the tail of a suffragette procession?

I got something new yesterday. I'm in danger

of a "National Cataclasm." Henry Clews says so. Bryan's plan to guarantee me that I can get out of bank the money I put in, will fetch a cataclasm. I don't know what that is; but I'm afraid of it all the same. I'm not afraid of Bryan. If Bryan's wrong I can beat him at election; but what scares me is the Republicans are also bringing their cataclasm. Clews didn't mention that. It don't scare him—the postal savings banks of the Republicans; but if one brings a cataclasm, so will the other. The postal banks would also be safe, wouldn't they? I guess so. Then what is to become of me? No escape, even to tall timber.

One thing I can do—I can take my choice of cataclams—Bryan's or Taft's.

Bryan's banks would be safe, and run by bankers. The "bankers would do the banking." If bankers were right smart they'd catch that idea.

Taft's banks would be just one postoffice with branches—a United States bank run by postal clerks, and the clerks by the administration; and I never did take to a United States bank.

Altogether I feel like risking it. I never have been safe in a panic; never have had my deposits guaranteed. I think I can stand it with fortitude. Billy Bryan, you are called!

UNCLE SAM.

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## IS THERE A TWILIGHT ZONE BETWEEN THE NATION AND THE STATE?

William J. Bryan in the Central Law Journal of St. Louis for October 9.

It would be almost as difficult to maintain a free, self-governing Republic over a large area and with a large population without State governments as it would be to maintain such a Republic without a general government. The interests of the different parts of the country are so varied, and the matters requiring legislative attention so numerous, that it would be impossible to have all of the work done at the national capital. One has only to examine the bills introduced in each Congress, and then add to the number of bills introduced at the legislative sessions of each of the forty-six States, to realize that it would be beyond the power of any body of men to legislate intelligently on the multitude of questions that require consideration. . . .

Our Constitution expressly reserves to the States and to the people respectively all powers not delegated to the Federal government, and only by respecting this division of powers can we hope to keep the government within the reach of the people and responsive to the will of the people. Because in all disputes as to the relative spheres of the Nation and the States the final decision rests with the Federal courts, the tendency

is naturally toward centralization, and greater care is required to preserve the reserved rights of the States than to maintain the authority of the general government.

In recent years another force has been exerting an increasing influence in extending the authority of the central government. I refer to the great corporations. They prefer the Federal courts to the State courts, and employ every possible device to drag litigants before United States judges. They also prefer Congressional regulation to State regulation, and those interested in large corporations have for years been seeking Federal incorporation.

It has been suggested that the rights of the States can lapse through non-use, and that Congress is justified in usurping the authority of the State if the State fails to make proper use of it. While this doctrine has been advanced in the pretended interest of the people, it is as insidious and as dangerous an assault as has ever been made on our constitutional form of government. The people of the State can act with more promptness than the people of the Nation, and if they fail to act, it must be assumed that the people of the State prefer inaction.

The predatory corporations have taken advantage of the dual character of our government and have tried to hide behind State rights when prosecuted in the Federal courts and behind the inter-State commerce clause of the Constitution when prosecuted in the State courts.

There is no Twilight Zone between the Nation and the State in which the exploiting interests can take refuge from both. There is no neutral ground where, beyond the jurisdiction of either sovereignty, the plunderers of the public can find a safe retreat. As long as a corporation confines its activities to the State in which it was created, it is subject to State regulation only; but as soon as it invades inter-State commerce it becomes amenable to Federal laws as well as to the laws of the State which created it and the laws of the States in which it does business.

A distinction is drawn between the railroads and other corporations. The railroad being a quasi-public corporation and, as such, being permitted to exercise a part of the sovereignty of the State, is subject to regulation at the hands of both the Nation and the State, but this regulation is intended, not to cripple the railroads but to increase their efficiency. The people at large are as much interested as the stockholders are in the successful operation of the railroads. Their own pecuniary interests as well as their sense of justice would restrain them from doing anything that would impair the road or reduce its efficiency. The traveling public is vitally interested in the payment of wages sufficient to command the most intelligent service, for life as well as property is in the hands of those who operate the trains,

guard the switches, and keep the track in repair. But we should distinguish between those railroad owners, directors and managers who, recognizing their obligation to the public, earn their salaries by conscientious devotion to the work entrusted to them, and those unscrupulous "Napoleons of Finance" who use railroads as mere pawns in a great gambling game without regard to the rights of employes or to the interests of the patrons....

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## BOOKS

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### "EACH EAR THAT HEARD HER WAS MADE GLAD."

**The Life of Alice Freeman Palmer.** By George Herbert Palmer. Published by Houghton-Mifflin Co., Boston. 1908. Price, \$1.50 net.

"Three reasons impel me to write this book," says Professor Palmer, "affection first of all. Mrs. Palmer was my wife, deeply beloved and honored. Whatever perpetuates that honor brings me peace. To leave the dead wholly dead is rude. Vivid creature that she was, she must not lie forgotten. Something of her may surely be saved if only I have the skill. Perhaps my grateful pen may bring to others a portion of the bounty I myself received. A second and more obvious summons comes from the fact that in herself and apart from me Mrs. Palmer was a notable person. Somebody therefore may be tempted to write her life if I do not; for her friends were numbered by the ten thousand. . . . Those who approached her even casually gained power and peace. If my portrait of her, then, is correct, invigoration will go forth from it and disheartened souls be cheered." And, third, "retaining my belief in the public causes for which she stood, I should like briefly to record their history and thus encourage the next generation in its own way to push them on." "We follow here a harmoniously developed and stimulating drama, into which little that is accidental intrudes. To say that Mrs. Palmer was born in an obscure border village and became the renowned president of an eastern college at twenty-six may at first startle, but only until acquaintance with her shows how naturally this eminence and obscurity went together. In some degree to bring about that acquaintance and to set forth the orderly development of a noble nature is my inviting task."

One is tempted to dwell on that drama. It is told marvelously well; and the reader forgetful of all the discouragements and annoyances of a commonplace existence, lives a few hours a life of clever helpfulness and joyous accomplishment. "She chiefly distinguished herself by wise ways of confronting the usual world." There lives in every page the inspiration of moral energy and