

on the first street, a good bowshot away, is a collection of Japanese art ware and things, brought up from the Jamestown Exposition and exposed for sale. They are such things as you almost never saw—artistic and lovely beyond description. Quaint and unique they are, yet always with a strange blending of artistic delicacy and mechanical daintiness that makes them an increasing delight. There must be something inwardly nice about the little people who make these dainty things, and I wish we recognized it more, and praised them for the really worthy and good things they do. I wish I had a President who could see beautiful things at his front gate as quickly as warships an ocean away. I don't believe he ever saw 'em. Leastways, I never noticed he sent in any message.

I guess Congress was in session; anyway there was nothing doing. So I came out upon the terrace. Above me was the great dome. I stood at the seat of empire. Slowly I paced the ramparts of my capitolian palace, looking westward down the avenues of trees. The sun had set in golden glory and the rose was yet in the evening sky. A purplish haze was rising in the direction of the President's House and it touched the bone of the white shaft to the Father, and I said: "What is this thing that comes creeping, creeping upon the land?" And as I looked toward the Pacific, with the clouds still pink in the upper sky, I saw America before me, its past and present. I saw the Republican Party, a youthful Ivanhoe, un-honored and unknown, with no support but virtue and the power of Almighty God, ride up the lists and touch the Templar on the shield; and I saw it again when the once great knight had become a hoary and disreputable sinner, aged and without shame, wealth in his practice and corruption in his principles, and without the power of knowing good from ill. And I said: This thing that comes creeping on the land is night. May the morning come!

May it come soon; and when it comes, sweet and fresh and holy, may the black rule of the big stick and the warship have passed away, and the golden rule of a Greater Leader have greater vogue.

Yet I take these things easy, John; and, as I shouldered my umbrella, I did a vaudeville stunt, a campaign song, as I passed down under the sycamore trees. The Republicans can sing it if they like, this Fall.

Oh, bury us under a sycamore tree,  
And coax the birds to sing to we;  
For we'll be there a long time, Honey,  
For we'll be there a long, long time.

UNCLE SAM.

\* \* \*

It is more difficult and more meritorious to turn men from their prejudices than to civilize barbarians.  
—Voltaire.

## BOOKS

### PHASES OF AMERICAN IMPERIALISM.

**Federal Usurpation.** By Franklin Pierce (of the New York Bar) author of "The Tariff and the Trusts." Published by D. Appleton & Co., New York. Price \$1.50 net.

This excellent Constitutional discussion by a New York lawyer of distinction, a publicist who won his spurs in his assault upon the protective tariff as the fortress of the trusts (vol. ix, p. 1076), aims not at preserving the Federal Constitution in perpetuity as its makers left it, but at protecting it from amendment by judicial construction and administrative and legislative usurpation.

The beginning of well-defined usurpations of power is traced by Mr. Pierce to the period of the Civil War. He finds that they gathered force during the period of reconstruction, were slightly checked by the administrations of Presidents Hayes and Arthur and President Cleveland's first, and are now under full headway. He frankly acknowledges the natural tendencies of our time toward centralization, but against these he makes no contest. On the contrary he wisely urges that "centralization which results from natural causes should be sharply distinguished from concentration of power through usurpation."

Beginning with the birth of the Constitution, the book briefly summarizes the usurpations incident to civil war and reconstruction, and follows this with an explanation of the conditions following the war with Spain. It truly describes the latter conditions as having been "exactly the conditions which have preceded a change from democracy to empire and despotism ever since the world began." The chapter on Congressional usurpation is especially valuable and significant of despotic tendencies, as is that on the Supreme Court. The tendency of this tribunal toward holding that the Federal government's powers are not derived merely, but are inherent, is ably presented. "That doctrine once established," comments the author, "the Constitution at one blow is reduced to blank paper, and then our judges may commence to examine the exercise of power by absolute governments in the history of the world as a basis for ascertaining what power is vested in Congress." Mr. Pierce has not overdrawn the possibilities at this point. Executive and legislative usurpation may be held in check or reversed by popular mandate; but usurpation through the judiciary presents a different and much more dangerous problem.

Among the other subjects in connection with which the author traces tendencies to Federal

usurpation is the construction of the treaty power, which would enable the President and the Senate to bind every citizen by treaty in almost every important respect. The interstate commerce clause, and usurpation through administrative bureaus also come in for a full share of consideration.

In connection with the latter phase of his subject, Mr. Pierce makes a startling quotation from the head of a national bureau—not Russian but American. "It has been my province," he quotes from Secretary Root, "during the last four years and a half, to deal with arbitrary government. It has been necessary for me not only to make laws and pronounce judgment without any occasion for discussion—except in so far as I would choose to weigh the questions involved in my own mind—affecting ten millions of people. And not only to make laws and pronounce judgment, but to execute judgment with overwhelming force and swiftness." This allusion is to our bureaucratic government of the Filipinos, thousands of miles away. Bureaucratic government as arbitrary and absolute over all Americans, through postal regulations and decrees, and over native born Americans through decrees of the immigration bureau, are shown in the same chapter.

To suggestions for restoring democracy to the

Republic the author devotes an entire chapter. His chief suggestion is a Constitutional convention to make changes suitable to the times and our experience as a Republic; the principal one of which, he argues, should be the referendum, because that strengthens public opinion by making the people themselves participants in legislation.

This book stands out in strong relief as a highly necessary and ably conceived and constructed work on governmental evolution and Constitutional adjustments. That it were better if we had no written Constitution at all, than to have one which enables court and Congress and administrative bureaus to usurp power while preventing the people from checking this march of despotism, is the impression with which one rises from reading Mr. Pierce's book.

## PERIODICALS

The Red Book (Chicago) lives by telling short stories that impose no intellectual strain upon its readers and yet are entertaining to scores of thousands. In the May number it makes one of its occasional departures into the realm of stories that not only interest but stimulate. This story is by Brand

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