

cumstances to veto any law enacted by their representatives; nor do they have any peaceful and lawful means to control the acts of their representatives. After his election, a representative has full power, protected by law, to betray his constituents, and to these the law gives no protection, nor means of redress. The only limitation on the power of a representative, is the constitution, as this instrument may be interpreted by the courts. This protection, to say the most, is very uncertain, and, as experience has proved, may be used both ways; for instance, the income tax decision. Even if it be notorious that a law was procured by fraud and bribery, the courts are confined to inquiring if it is constitutional. "The motives of the legislature, in passing a particular measure, can not be inquired into, nor can it be shown that it was procured by fraud and bribery." There is nothing to prevent a representative from betraying his constituents and nothing to prevent him from delivering the goods. The mere statement of the case should indicate the remedy. Let a government be purely representative, such as the courts have declared ours to be, and let the population be thin; the amount a corporation could offer as a bribe can never exceed the amount that could be taken from the people by the corporation and this, in a new, thinly settled country, necessarily must be small. And as in a new country all natural opportunities are not privately owned the fear of want can not be a controlling power in directing a man's actions. And where population is thin, and every man knows every other man, a traitor would find it difficult if not impossible to conceal his deed. For these reasons, the early history of our government shows that the great majority of representatives were honest. But let population increase so that the corporation can offer five times as much, ten times, fifty times as much or more, and the fear of want, caused by the private ownership of all natural opportunities, has become a controlling motive of human action, and the complications of industry caused by an increased population, makes it an easy matter for a corrupt representative to conceal his treachery—the representative having full power to deliver the goods—it is unreasonable to expect that, under these conditions, a majority of representatives will remain honest. The disease being radical, a cure that is not radical can be neither permanent nor effective. This is why that the initiative, the referendum and the recall must precede any other reform, in the case of the American republic.

S. T. Pidgeon, Jamestown, Ohio.—Government for the people and by the people looks like a forlorn hope when we take a careful survey of the situation. Two great parties are led by professional politicians, and there is no principle with them as a rule. The capacity of the republican party for yielding gold bricks is unlimited. They used with great solemnity to tell us to vote as we shot. The power of the federal government as it is now dominated by the interests for the deception of the masses is sufficient to deceive the very elect.

N. Cameron, Lawrence, Kan.—Probably the most important answer is because of the vast number of people who are corrupt at heart and are for sale. How could that congressman in Pennsylvania spend \$40,000 to get his nomination unless it was to buy the common voter, and the voter that sells his vote for money gets what he wants, and the man that buys stands a good chance of getting what he wants. It used to be in New York when I lived there that both parties

had lists of every voter in every precinct or voting place in the state that could be bought, and the side that had the most money got that saleable vote. This commercial class of voters should be disfranchised and then money would cut no figure in an election. Righteous and just men are not over plenty and what few there is are not putting themselves forward for office and such are never sought after by the corrupt. It is well known you can not change a man's heart by law, but through fear even a corrupt man can, in a measure, be held right. We would therefore have a law disfranchising every man that buys or sells votes for any consideration whatever; even a ride to the polls, furnished by a candidate, would disfranchise both. Then the initiative and referendum and the recall will hold corrupt men of Adam's fallen race as near right as it is possible in this world of sin and corruption.

F. M. Jones, Cintertom, Ark.—We have a republic in name and an oligarchy in fact. The predatory interests rule. As a first move for improvement I would suggest a change in our federal judiciary. The supreme court nullified the income tax law. Adopt the initiative and referendum and the recall. Elect all judges by popular vote for a term of years and curtail the powers of the judiciary so that it will not be able to nullify the will of the people.

B. F. Caldwell, Pueblo, Colo.—Hide-bound partyism is the cause. When public officials are treated just as hired men are, and required to give the same return, then the day of insolent and tyrannical public officials will be ended. The reason the people do not get what they want is that they continue to vote to keep in office the very ones who are working overtime to prevent them from getting what they want.

Henry Mileur, Rush Springs, Okla.—If people are to have what they want they must adopt the initiative and referendum and recall without restriction, and when they delegate the power they must reserve the right to accept or reject. They must also elect every officer, from president to road overseer.

W. B. Perrin, Koshkonong, Mo.—The question was asked, "Do the people rule?" Well, I guess nit, the money power is in the saddle now, spurring the people front, flank and rear. Why don't the people get what they want? How can they when an old brass, self-action, double shot, smooth bored Cannon sitting on the fortress of congress, defying any legislation that will help the people? When will the people get tired of being bitten by a few old gallinippers?

George H. Higgins, El Paso, Texas.—Because they are enslaved to a fetich called party, and the party, whether democratic or republican, is controlled by interests antagonistic to the rule of the people. Let us have a live insurgent democracy and challenge every candidate for election to declare his principles; challenge every representative who is lukewarm and retire every man whose record does not place him in the front rank of a militant democracy. Let every democrat be an insurgent democrat; then the people will rule and they will get what they want.

P. N. Hanson, San Anselmo, Calif.—The people have the right to rule, but they do not rule, simply because of their lack of interest to use that power. Instead they are ruled by proxies whom they even do not select themselves, and whom they do not compel to give an account of their actions as legislators, even if bound

by accepted platforms and afterwards ignored. No one is to blame except the people themselves. By making examples of delinquent legislators, holding them up to the contempt of the public and refusing them countenance in the future as an example for others seeking political favors, a general change would be sure to appear.

J. B. Brenley, Fort Smith, Ark.—In my answer to Senator Owen in The Commoner of July 1 I am made to say that money rules, and if the power of money can not be broken the people never will rule, also that "The first step to this would be for the government to loan the money direct to the people and stop paying interest. It should read "for the government to issue the money direct to the people and stop paying interest." All the answers yet given can be placed to the same cause—the power of money that rules.

Bernhard Jannusch, Wittenberg, Wis.—How can you expect the people to get what they want when they don't know what they want. They should get together and have it understood what they want, and then vote as one. The graduated income tax should counteract swollen fortunes, and the initiative, referendum and recall is a sure remedy against corrupt legislation. What Senator Owen says is God's truth. I like his speech; God bless him, and also Mr. Hardy—very good men, both of them. May their light shine so before men that they may walk in it.

C. G. Wilcox, DePeer, Wis.—Because the press has been controlled by the system and the press controls the primaries convention to a large extent. When the senate is

composed of men like Owen, LaFollette, Clapp, Cummins, Dolliver, and men of their stamp, we will have a country where all men are equal and have an equal chance.

J. E. Barker, Naples, Maine.—The people are fooled. The people are really with Roosevelt, Bryan and LaFollette, but old party leaders have been robbing them of their real freedom by playing in with the leaders of the opposite parties. Thank God we have some who are true and in whom the people have confidence.

M. Phillipps, Cheney, Wash.—I do not answer it as Roosevelt did in his London speech—"bind the laboring man a little closer." I would say, give him more freedom. Before the people can rule, standpattism or Canonism must be destroyed. The tariff barons must get out of politics. One mistake Roosevelt made was to ask for the election of Mr. Taft.

George C. Giles, Kansas City, Kan.—The answer is very simple. The people do not rule, but the special interests do rule. This condition is brought about by representatives who misrepresent for one reason or another, and by other representatives who become corrupted by the special interests. This can and will be remedied in time, but every intelligent voter must work for reform.

#### LOGICAL

"Mother," asked little Ethel, "now that you're in mourning for Cousin Adelaide, will you wear black night-dresses, too?"

"What an absurd question, child!" "Oh, I only thought you might be as sorry at night as you were during the day," ventured Ethel.—Harper's Bazar.

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