

FAIR SHOW FOR ALL.

PROPORTIONAL REPRESENTATION TRUE GOVERNMENT.

Those Who Have No Voice in Legislation, Whose Opinions Are Neither Heard Nor Heeded, Must Feel Discontent—The Majority Suffers Also.

If proportional representation is not made an issue in our state and national campaign next year, it certainly ought to be. Our present method of election is the politicians' stronghold. Adopt proportional representation and he is routed; his power is gone and the curse of party spirit is destroyed. If ours is a representative government, the people who constitute it must be represented; but they are not. If an expression of choice could be given irrespective of party, more than four-fifths of the voters would declare for the free coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1, and yet silver has been denied free coinage, although both the old parties profess to be friends of the white metal. It is the determined purpose of the government to maintain a gold standard.

The great body of the people desire many reforms, but there is no way to reach them by the present method of nominating and electing candidates. We call ours a popular representative government. Every symbol of authority is professedly "from the people, by the people." But every election results in the interests of the politicians and the people's interests are ignored and disregarded. It is party control and not people's control. This is so obvious that all but the purblind can see it. Such a government is not a people's government; it is a government of the people by the politicians, for the plutocrats. Any man who favors it is a partisan slave, and any one who tolerates, or is indifferent to it, is unworthy of being an American citizen.

David Dudley Field, an able jurist on whose opinion most people rely in judicial matters, presents the subject under consideration as follows:

"Suppose a firm of twenty-five partners. In a conflict of opinion thirteen may rightfully control the twelve. But at the beginning of the year, suppose it were arranged that the parties should be divided into five sections, five of the partners in each. These sections would correspond to five districts in our political partnership. Each section is now to select one to compose a managing committee of five. This committee would correspond to our legislature.

"Now who does not see that each one of this managing committee might be chosen by three of the five partners in the section, and thus the whole five of the committee would represent only fifteen members of the firm, ten, or two in each section, having voted against them. But this is not the end. This committee of five representing only three-fifths of the firm are now to legislate for the company. In this legislative body of five, three would be a majority, and they could dictate the whole business.

"Finally, as the whole committee of five represented only fifteen members, a majority of said committee, or three, would represent but three-fifths of fifteen, or nine of the whole twenty-five members. Would anything but discontent and dissension, before the end of the year, come of such an arrangement? What would happen in a private partnership upon so faulty a system, does happen, and must inevitably happen, in a state where a like faulty system of government is maintained.

"The government of a republican country must represent the people or the people will be dissatisfied. (Not if they are strictly partisans, and accept the motto, 'To the victors belong the spoils.') Those who have no voice in legislation, whose opinions are not heard or heeded, will be restive under authority; and it is not the minority only who suffer; the majority suffer also from having no proper check, and when at last the scale turns revolution is violent and dangerous.

"If the anti-slavery minority could have been heard by their representatives, from the beginning, increasing their representatives as their strength increased, not only they, but the pro-slavery majority would have been benefited, and who knows but the emancipation of the slaves might have been procured through peaceful legislation at a cost in treasure, to say nothing of the cost in blood, of less than half the expenditure of the war." Paper read before the American Social Science Association at Lowell Institute, April 5, 1876.

"One of the most serious consequences of existing methods of election is the fear of throwing away your vote. Many voters would be glad to support reform, but seeing, or thinking, the reform party has no chance to win, although it may contain several quotas, they, having a prejudice against one or other of the old parties, will cast their votes in order to defeat it, whereas, with proportional representation they could throw their whole strength in the support of their own choice.

"Could the principle of proportional representation have been recognized in the composition of the house of representatives twenty years ago, it would have introduced into congress a large number of northern democrats and southern whigs, men out of favor at home, but strong enough, both in numbers and position, to check the violence that led to the last civil war."—American Law Review for January, 1872; volume 6, page 240.

Mr. Garfield said: "In my judgment, the existing electoral system is the weak point in the theory of representative government, so now standing and administered, and that a large proportion of the people are permanently dissatisfied. There are about ten thousand democrats in my district, and they have been voting there for the last

forty years without any more hope of having a representative on this floor than of having one in the commons of Great Britain."—Debate in Congress.

If the congressional lines in his state had been erased, and proportional representation adopted there, 10,000 democrats would have been represented in congress. They certainly had as much right to representation as those voters who elected Mr. Garfield.

If we view the facts as they exist, we shall see that a fundamental principle of popular government, that is, the government shall derive its powers from the consent of the governed, has been nullified, defeated and set aside, and the government virtually overthrown. In consequence, this has been brought about by a wrong use of the ballot, by which the people's will has been thwarted, and the weapon for the defense of their liberties has been turned upon them to enslave them.

Is it not time to wake up to this matter? We have been lured away by our zeal for party, by the false promises of ambitious and designing politicians, by false issues when their real purposes have been concealed.

The sacred trust which has been bequeathed to us has not been guarded. The liberty for which our fathers sacrificed so much of blood and treasure and pledged their lives and fortunes to gain, and transmitted to their children in all confidence has not been preserved. With the ballot in our hands we have every means necessary to regain the lost treasure and vindicate our honor as American citizens. There is no alternative but defeat or victory.—Industry, Oakland, Calif.

WENDELL PHILLIPS' VOICE.

Labor, the Creator of Wealth, Entitled to All It Creates.

The man who, with his hands, digs clams out of the seashore or, climbing a tree, gathers apples, or one who fashions a hoe out of hard wood, is a pure, simple laborer, and is entitled to what he gets or makes. The man who makes such a hoe one day, and working with it the next day, digs twice as many clams as when he used his hands alone, is capitalist and laborer united. He works a tool, which is capital, the result of past labor. He too is an honest laborer, and entitled to all he gets. A man who works a week and makes ten such hoes, then joins nine less skilled men with himself, and they, the ten, share fairly the product of his hoes and their toil, introduces co-operation and a just civilization; a system which seems to hold within itself every possible safeguard against misuse and to be full of the seeds of all good results. The man who, having made such a hoe, lets it to another less skilled man to dig clams, receiving an equivalent for its use, is a capitalist. Such a system has no inherent, essential injustice in it, and, if it can be properly arranged and guarded, serves civilization. The difficulty is to guard it from degenerating into despotism and fraud. The man who, getting possession of a thousand such hoes, sits with idle hands, and no mental effort but selfish cunning, and arranges a cunning network of laws and corporations, banks and currency, interest and "corners" to get seven out of every ten clams that are dug, is a drone. We mean by an honest system to starve him out and compel him to work. The man who sits in Wall street, and by means of bank credit, buys up all last year's claims to raise the price—who, taking fifty thousand honestly earned dollars, makes a "Clam Digging Company"—bribes newspapers to lie about it—creates ten banks and locks up gold, or arranges a corner to depress its stocks—then buys up every share, makes ten more banks and floods the land with paper and sells out, retiring after a week of such labor with a fortune, is a thief. Such thieves of the past we propose to leave undisturbed. Our plan is to make such thieves impossible in the future.

TWO HUNDRED MILLIONS.

Not Enough Gold Produced Annually to Pay Our Interest to England.

"In his estimate of a \$250,000,000 gold output five years hence the director of the mint is not visionary. This year's yield will probably reach nearly \$200,000,000, and the recent gains have not been far from \$20,000,000 a year. It will be hard after this to get up a scare about 'contraction' in the gold supply. The 'scramble' for gold among the nations will not be desperate enough to cause panic hereafter."—Globe-Democrat.

O, yes, the scramble for gold among the nations will stop when the millennium comes. The hoarded millions of gold produced last year will not be sufficient to pay the regular annual interest on our debt to English bond holders and stock holders.

What does \$200,000,000 of gold amount to in this country, where the people have to pay interest on \$45,000,000,000 indebtedness? Two hundred million dollars would only pay a little over half the interest for one year at one per cent—and everybody who borrows or loans money knows that the rate will average five times one per cent on all the public and private indebtedness of the country.

The paltry \$200,000,000 of gold would not pay one-eighth part of the interest on our debts for a single year.

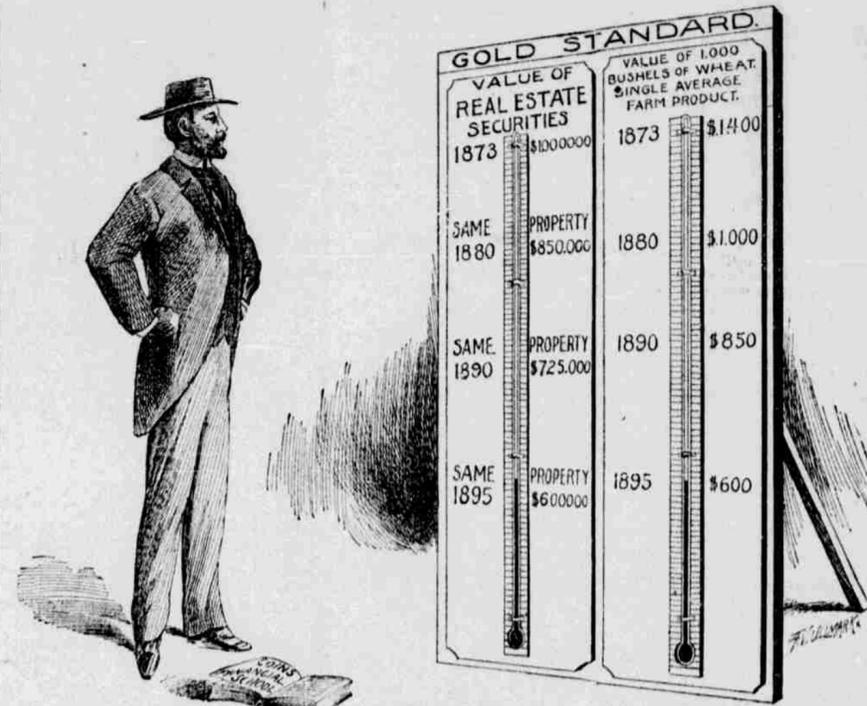
Two hundred million dollars looks big on paper—but when it is spread over the surface of the entire United States of America it becomes just an attenuated, invisible vapor.

It would require all the gold money on earth and that of eleven more worlds of equal circulation per capita to pay the total debts of the American people alone.

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A NEW ACQUISITION.
(From National Bimetallist.)



Western Banker.—The decline in the price of silver, wheat and other products since 1873 has gradually declined with silver until it is now worth only \$600,000. The only way to restore the value of property and prices of products

is to again open the mints to free coinage of gold and silver as it existed prior to 1873. Western bankers can no longer afford to bolster up this pro-British policy in this country.

COMES FROM THE FARM.

MORE INTEGRITY AMONG TILLERS OF THE SOIL.

Agriculture is the Basis of Everything—and to Legislate Against the Farmer is to Weaken the Foundation of Government and Society.

Rev. Dr. Hawthorne, of Atlanta, preached a sermon to the National Farmers' Congress during its session in that city.

"Text, Philippians ii-vi 5: 'Look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others. Let this mind be in you which was also in Christ Jesus.'

"Agriculture is an ever will be, the basis of all other material interests. To foster this industry is to benefit every other industry, and to cripple it is to impair every activity which contributes to the welfare of the people. The race could possibly live without manufacturers, merchants, or dentists, or physicians, or lawyers, or even without politicians, but without the farmer it would soon become extinct. The absolute essential thing for every human being is bread, and the production of that is the vocation of the farmer. To legislate against him is TO WEAKEN THE VERY FOUNDATION

of every lawful and useful industry. "Nine-tenths of the men who have risen to enviable distinction were born and reared outside of the cities. The majority of them were born in farm houses and had some actual experience in cultivating the soil. Look into the catalogues of our American colleges and you will find nine-tenths of the medalists and first honor graduates were from the country and country villages. Without the new blood that is constantly coming in from the country in less than fifty years the cities would be INTELLECTUALLY IMPOVERISHED.

Without a constant infusion of men and women from country churches religion would degenerate into the deadest formalism. Let agriculture flourish, country school houses multiply and country churches continue to be true to the faith and worship of our country fathers and mothers and our NATION WILL BE SAFE, PROSPEROUS AND HAPPY.

"In selecting a subject for this occasion I could think of none that would be more helpful to us than the one presented in the text—An unselfish and self-denying concern for the welfare of our fellow-man, the only solvent of our social problems."

"Society will never get rid of its discord and strifes and enter upon a career of abiding peace and prosperity until it is permeated by the spirit and controlled by the principle expressed in this passage. As communities and nations drift away from the great law of beneficence which Christ taught and illustrated in all He said and did and suffered, their depravity increases and their social conflicts and calamities multiply. Any legislation that contravenes the law of Christ contained in His great Sermon on the Mount will be prolific of

NOTHING BUT SOCIAL EVIL.

"We speak the words of truth and soberness when we say that the power which propels the wheels of our present civilization is not love, but greed. In politics and commerce there is a premium on dishonesty and deception. Unscrupulous honesty and true Christiania generally are scorned as virtues too unphilanthropic and ethereal to be practiced by creatures who wear earth about them, and who have to grapple with such positive questions as 'What shall I eat, what shall I drink, and where will I sleep?'

"A civilization that is based solely upon self-interest and that recognizes and rewards men who

SUCCEED BY THEIR OWN WITTING CUNNING.
has no power without itself to secure

justice. There is nothing that needs saving so much as a civilization that is guided by no great ethical principle, and that marches on without any regard for God and his righteousness. The country that boasts of such a civilization is on the high road to anarchy, nihilism and barbarism.

"Civilization is not a cause, but an effect. It is the product of human character. It expresses the good and evil in the hearts of the people who support it. Any government is just what the people make it. If a state or municipal government legalizes or tolerates such an iniquity as a bull fight or a gambling house, or a bar room, or an indecent theatrical exhibition, it is because the PEOPLE ARE DEPRAVED ENOUGH to desire it.

"The fountain of any civilization is in the character of the people. If the civilization is corrupt, it is because corruption reigns in the hearts of the people. This being true, civilization can be cleansed only by cleansing the people.

"As long as the people have but little moral sensibility and a feeble appreciation of the distinctions which God makes between right and wrong, there will be

CLASS LEGISLATION, DESPOTIC MONOPOLIES,

political rings, bribery and ballot-box stuffing. A righteous civilization can be secured and maintained only by a people who love and practice righteousness. We are like those foolish Galatians, whom Paul describes as 'bewitched' by false teachers.

"What, then, is our hope? How can society be redeemed? How can our civilization be transformed? How can the state be so reconstructed as to furnish adequate protection to its subjects and to all of their legitimate interests? Our answer to each of these questions is: 'By substituting for the law of self-interest which now dominates our social life the law of love—the law of self-sacrifice—the law which Christ illustrated when he became poor that we, through His poverty, might be rich—the law which makes each man

HIS BROTHER'S KEEPER

and requires us to bear one another's burdens. "Is it your purpose to be useful to your fellow men? If that is not your purpose, and your supreme purpose, you have no claim upon the respect of mankind. If you intend to be a disciple of Cain and repudiate all obligation to care for your brother man, you deserve to be treated as Cain was—

BRANDED AS AN OUTLAW.

If you will not be your brother's keeper and burden-bearer, you are his enemy. You will seize every opportunity to defraud, oppress and degrade him. The spirit that controls you will make you a MONOPOLIST OR A GAMBLER, or a bank robber, or an anarchist, or a nihilist.

"But if your purpose is to be useful—not only to yourself and your family, but to the whole world—your life must be a sacrificial life. You must look out over the wide world and recognize every man in it as your neighbor, and feel your obligation to help him so far as God gives you the ability and opportunity. To serve your day and generation according to the will of God and make an enduring contribution to

THE WELFARE OF THE RACE.

You must make an obligation of your possessions and of yourself.

When men in all languages who claim to be Christians heartily accept this doctrine and conform their lives to it, we shall see Christianity grow as it has never grown. We shall see society quickly cleansed of its present pollution. We shall see the state purged of all iniquity and favoritism. We shall see

STRIFES BETWEEN LABOR AND CAPITAL CEASE.

and throughout all our bodies a reign of righteousness, righteousness and justice.

To widen society is to remove it from its present base of selfishness

A VOICE OF WARNING.

AN ENGLISH WRITER MAKES SOME OBSERVATIONS.

And Chief Justice Brown Says that Bribery and Corruption Are So General as to Threaten the Very Structure of Society.

Wealth Makers: "I have watched the rapid evolution of social democracy in England; I have studied autocracy in Russia and theocracy in Rome; and I must say that nowhere, not even in Russia, in the first year of the reaction occasioned by the murder of the czar, have I struck more abject submission to a more soulless despotism than that which prevails among the so-called free American citizens when they are face to face with the omnipotent power of the corporations."

These are the words of an English writer who has recently made a study of our municipal institutions. And Associate Justice Brown of the United States Supreme Court, commenting on the above, says:

"Granting this to be overdrawn—for I am unwilling to believe that corporations are solely responsible for municipal misgovernment—the fact remains that bribery and corruption are so general as to threaten the very structure of society."

Justice Brown in his article in the August Forum, from which the above extracts are taken, says, by way of explanation of municipal corruption, that:

"The activities of urban life are so intense, the pursuit of wealth or pleasure so absorbing, as upon the one hand to breed an indifference to public affairs; while upon the other, the expenditures are so large, the value of the franchises at the disposal of the cities so great, and the opportunities for illicit gain so manifold, that the municipal legislators, whose standard of honesty is rarely higher than the average of those who elect them, fall an easy prey to the designing and unscrupulous. Franchises which ought to net the treasury a large sum are bartered away for a song; privileges which ought to be freely granted in the interest of the public are withheld till those who are supposed to be most immediately benefited will consent to pay for them; gross favoritism is shown in the assessment of property for taxation; great corporations are permitted to encumber the streets and endanger the lives of citizens, while every form of vice which can be made is secretly tolerated."

Speaking of corporations in general, Justice Brown referred to the fact that "they have a practical monopoly of land transportation, of mining, manufacturing, banking, and insurance." "The ease with which charters are secured has produced great abuses." The advantage they offer of limited liability leads men to incorporate in order to avoid paying their obligations, to crush out rivals; charters are secured in one state to do business in another or others, so as to bring litigation into Federal courts. The eminent writer describes the gross frauds of railroad construction companies and the "cracking" process, and the vast profit, or rather plunder, thus got under cover of law.

Speaking of the trusts he said: "Worse than this, however, is the combination of corporations in so-called trusts to limit production, stifle competition, and monopolize the necessities of life. The extent to which this has already been carried is alarming, the extent to which it may hereafter be carried is revolutionary. Indeed, the evils of aggregated wealth are nowhere seen in more odious form. If no student can light his lamp without paying tribute to one company, if no house-keeper can buy a pound of meat or sugar without swelling the receipts of two or three trusts, what is to prevent the entire productive industry of the country becoming ultimately absorbed by a hundred gigantic corporations? If a railway company originally organized to build 100 miles of road has by fifty years of consolidations and leases become the undisputed master of 10,000 miles of transportation, what is to prevent it in another fifty years from monopolizing half the traffic of a continent?"

When a man sitting on the supreme bench of the United States thus writes the people should be aroused to act. Delays are dangerous. But what can be done with the great corporations, monopolies and trusts? The process of consolidation and the development of the trust is a forward movement in the line of labor saving, of economic service. It cannot be checked, but monopolies should be forced to pay tribute to the government, and they should be bought up by the government as fast as by complete consolidation and single organization they destroy competition. So rapidly are monopolies absorbing the wealth and resources of the people and grasping all power that prompt and radical measures are our only salvation. The danger at present is that monopolistic control of political parties and the press will keep the people ignorant of the danger and partially prejudiced until violence and anarchy will follow.

"The trusts, the banks and every corporation that has grown rich under the shadow of special legislation passed by the representatives of the two old parties, are fighting the People's Party. This is the best evidence that the People's Party is the only one that is an inveterate enemy to monopoly."

No doubt Secretary Carlisle tells the truth when he says that "the silver men will fail to control the coming national convention of either the Democratic or Republican party." The truth

The Democrats are to be congratulated on losing Bruce and Sherman—but the country gains nothing.

The old parties are getting together. Reformers need not

Another President Check.

The most peculiar check in the world is that in a tower in the court yard of the palace of Versailles. Upon the death of a king in any portion of Europe the hand is set at the moment of his demise, and remains in that position until another king passes away. This curious custom is said to have originated in the time of Louis XIII.

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