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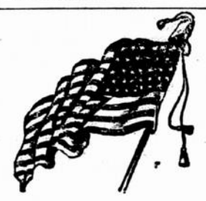

For President,
WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN,
OF NEBRASKA.

For Vice President,
CHARLES A. TOWNE,
OF MINNESOTA.

DIRECT LEGISLATION.

Something About the Great Political Issue Which When Adopted will Relieve the People from Corrupt Ring Rule—Read About It—Post Up in Regard to It, and then Talk About It—It Is Something Every Person Who Desires to See Any Political Reform Agrees Must Come.

(From the St. Paul Record.)

Direct Legislation is a legislative system, used in Switzerland and now beginning to be used elsewhere, whereby laws and other enactments, instead of being finally decided by legislative bodies, must, under certain circumstance, or when a certain portion of the people so petition, be referred for adoption or rejection to the vote of the whole body of citizens of the country, state, city, or political division concerned; also whereby, if a certain proportion of the citizens desire any measure passed, they can so petition, and the legislative body must then either pass it or refer it for rejection or adoption to the whole body of citizens. The system is thus the people directly legislating for themselves, in absolute democracy.

Its two parts are called the Referendum, or the referring of measures to the people, and the initiative, or the people's petitioning to have measures either passed by the legislative body or referred to the people.

Under some constitutions certain classes of measures must be referred to the people, whether this be petitioned for or not. A similar system can be applied and often is applied to the law making of any society as well as to political bodies.

II.—AN IMPORTANT POINT.

To obtain the end desired by Direct Legislation, it is not necessary that the people actually vote on every measure; it is sufficient if they have the opportunity of doing so whenever they wish. This can be accomplished by a constitutional provision, requiring that, except for a carefully defined class of emergency bills, pertaining to health or the public safety, which must go into effect at once and which must be passed by a three-fourths vote, all measures passed by legislative bodies must wait 30 days, or in the case of a state 60 days, before going into effect, and that if meanwhile the required percentage of voters petition to have the measure referred to a Referendum vote, it must be so referred, and cannot then become a law unless ratified by the popular vote. Thus, without compelling the people to actually vote on every measure, which would be cumbersome or impossible, it allows them to do so whenever they wish on any measure, annd thus puts all legislation under their control and absolutely protects them from unwise or dishonest legislators. It also largely removes the temptation of interested parties to purchase a legislature, the people can reverse the legislature's acts and so make it of no use to buy the legislators. Direct legislation may thus be called a system for pure legislation.

III.—WHERE IT IS USED AND FAVORED.

Direct Legislation is now actually at work in Switzerland, in cities, cantons and the Federal Government. It was first adopted by the Federal Government in 1874. In the cantons it is much older and really comes down from the old Swiss Landsgemeinde, when the people of a canton met in a central field and voted upon their laws.

In the United States it was adopted by the state of South Dakota in 1898; it is in the new charter of San Francisco; and in imperfect form has been adopted by cities in Nebraska, Washington and elsewhere. It is in the platforms of all the new parties and has been in the state platforms of the old parties (particularly the Democratic) in 38 states, among others North Dakota, Illinois, Ohio, Minnesota, Michigan, Massachusetts and California. It came within one vote in the committee of being put into the National platform of the Democratic party in 1896. Mr. Bryan said of it in the Omaha Herald (April 28, 1896): "It will not be opposed by any Democrat who indorses the declaration of Jefferson that the people are capable of self-government." It carries out Lincoln's "government of the people, for the people and by the people." It is favored today by over 3000 newspapers and magazines. It is the one thing which all reformers agree in putting first, because through it they believe they can get all other reforms which the people demand and without it they feel that the people are helpless in the hands of corrupted legislatures. It has grown into general popularity probably quicker than any other reform ever proposed. It is in actual use today by almost all labor organizations, farmers' organizations and in very many municipal leagues and other societies.

It is being used more and more in the United States in the form of compelling legislatures to refer certain questions to the people whether they petition for it or not. In 15 states the location of the capital cannot be changed except by popular vote. In 7 states banking institutions can only be organized after a similar vote. In 11 states, no debts, unless specifically provided for by the constitution, can be incurred without such a vote. In many states a similar restriction applies to assessments above a fixed rate. In 19 states, counties must choose their county seats in this way. In a very large number of states the prohibition of the liquor traffic is allowed to cities or counties by popular vote.

In an increasing number of states, cities may adopt their own charters in the same way. In almost all states some classes of measures and an increasing number of classes can only be passed in this way. Direct Legislation is thus a system with which the American people are familiar. It has been called the New England town meeting idea applied to large communities. The citizens of large cities and political divisions can not all meet together in one place and choose their own laws. Direct legislation enables them to do this without all meeting together.

IV.—WHAT IT HAS ACCOMPLISHED IN SWITZERLAND.

Mr. A. A. Brown in the Arena, July, '99, to which article we are indebted for much information; says that through Direct Legislation

"The people have destroyed the power of the legislator to legislate for personal ends. They have made it easy at any time to alter or change their Federal Constitution, and have simplified their form of government. They hold their public officers responsible direct to their constituencies as servants, and do not permit them to be tools of corruptionists, who maintain an expensive lobby about the halls of the legislatures to buy men's souls and enslave the people through vicious legislation. They have defeated monopolies, improved the method of taxation, reduced the rate, avoided national scandals growing out of extravagances; they have husbanded the public domain for the benefit of their own citizenship; they have established home rule in every community; they have destroyed partisanship and established a government of the people; they have quieted disturbing political elements, disarmed the politician, enthroned the people; by the vote of the people they have assumed authority over railroads, express companies, telegraphs and telephones, reducing freight rates, express charges and tolls more than 78 per cent below the cost for like service under private control."

V.—ARGUMENTS FOR DIRECT LEGISLATION.

1. It is democratic, and will develop self-government, instead of what we have today, government of corporations, for corporations and by corporations.

2. It tends to interest people in their own laws and their own government. Today people are growing indifferent to politics, because they find themselves helpless.

3. It tends to purify politics, because if important bills cannot be decided by legislatures, it will not pay corporations or interested parties to buy legislators. Hence it will not so easily pay evil men to get themselves elected and it will better pay honest men to enter political life and frame measures for the people's good which the people will ratify.

4. It will thus tend to take money interests out of legislation and also out of elections.

5. It will thus largely break the power of the party boss and machine.

6. It will interest people more in measures than parties.

7. It will be permanent. Driving out bad legislators does little permanent good, because the present system that enables legislators to make so much dishonest money is a perpetual inducement to bad men to get back into office, if once defeated. But Direct Legislation, by permanently removing the main causes of corruption, will permanently purify legislation.

8. It provides an easy way for the people to obtain needed constitutional changes, which is a very important point in the United States.

VI.—OBJECTIONS CONSIDERED.

Objection 1—It will not work because the people are too indifferent to vote, and therefore while the ordinary voter would stay at home, private interests could directly or indirectly hire bodies of men to vote as they please and so carry and sway elections.

Answer—The people today do not vote because it seems to do no good. After they have elected their representatives, they have no control over them and these representatives continually sell the people out. The fact that as many people vote today as do, with almost every chance against them, proves what they would do if given a chance to really effect results.

Objection 2—It would be impracticable for the people to vote on so many measures or be impossible to vote intelligently.

Answer.—The people would not have to vote on many measures. Ninety-five per cent of legislation concerns routine or personal matters, on which the people would not care to vote. Moreover, if the people could defeat any measure, the legislature would not so often pass measures the people would have to defeat. This opportunity to vote on any measure would prevent the necessity for voting except on a few.

Objection 3—It would entail great expense.

Answer—No; because few polls need be taken, and most of these could be taken at ordinary elections, entailing scarcely any extra expense. The cost would be nothing compared with the millions lost through legislative jobs.

Objection 4—The people are not sufficiently informed to vote intelligible and it would be better to choose wise representatives.

Answer—We have tried this for one hundred years, and it usually means in practice representatives who serve themselves, their parties, or their corporations. If the people made a mistake it could easily be rectified by another referendum. A people mistaken is better off than a people bought and sold.

Objection 5—The voters would be bought by buying up the papers which influence the people, and in other ways.

Answer—Papers are bought today. It is not claimed that Direct Legislation will bring in the milennium, but it would be much more difficult to buy up half the people than to buy up half a legislature.

Objection 6—Is not 5 per cent too small a percentage to be allowed to obtain a referendum?

Answer—No. In the United States it would mean 700,000 votes; in states like Ohio, 50,000 votes; in cities like New York, 1,200 votes; in any city, many hundreds. It would not be so easy to obtain signatures to such a petition. Petitions today mean little. Petitions calling for an election, men will not rashly sign. If thousand are interested in a measuse they should have a chance to have it voted on. In small communities the proportion should be higher.

THE BOER ENVOYS.

Dr. Abraham Fischer and C. H. Wessels, two of the Boer envoys who were sent to this country by their governments in order to secure if possible some aid or encouragement in their desperate struggle with England, arrived at St. Paul last Thursday and were accorded a most cordial greeting by the citizens who had gathered to do them honor and to hear from their own lips their story of the causes of the war and the objects of their visit. They were formally welcomed by the Acting Mayor of St. Paul and Gov. Lind. The Governor's remarks, while brief, were to the point and thoughtful, as witness these sentences taken from his speech:

My friends, the integrity of two republics of South Africa is not all that is involved in this struggle, but there are other questions of significance and import. The right of those aliens who occupy the soil to exploit its treasures for the benefit of a favored class is not the least of these. Would that every nation of the world could only take the true significance of this conflict to heart. Would that all might learn the true facts as we shall hear them, without distortion and without exaggeration.

Dr. Fischer then proceeded to make a speech, in which he showed the absurdity of the British excuses for refusing to arbitrate the differences. He showed the folly of the claims of the pro-British that the Boers practice slavery and are intolerant in religious matters. He reviewed the suffrage question and the mining laws, showing that the republics had demanded nothing which was unjust or excessive. Speaking of the future, Dr. Fischer said:

If conquered for the moment, our burghers killed by the hundreds and thousands, the spirit of liberty which prompted them to rise in defense of the country which they love will never die. In South Africa, even though we lose the struggle, the fight will be carried forward even to the end, be it a hundred years. It can never die so long as there is a single Afrikander who remembers the bloody fields at Spion Kop, Magersfontein, along the Tugela and in a thousand other localities, and the carnage of the war which has extended through so wide a stretch of country. To continue the fight will be a duty no true Boer would dare forswear. America will again see freedom breaking over those little republics, and will be proud of her little sister nations in the south of Africa.

Mr. Wessels spoke, going through the history of the Free State and Transvaal. In regard to the invitation to the Boers to come to the United States to find homes, Mr. Wessels said:

We have received the assurance that should the Boers come to this country they will be gladly received and will be provided with liberty, their homes and everything which comes to you in the nature of a benefit or privilege. Yet none will ever come to the United States. We shall remain in the Transvaal and the Free State. There every foot of ground where Afrikander blood has been shed in the defense of our rights is sacred. As long as there is a Boer in South Africa there will be continued opposition to the English, and the flag pulled down to-day will be again raised to-morrow.

J. Adam Bede and C. D. O'Brien also made telling speeches. The meeting was attended by a large crowd of citizens, estimated to number 7,000. At the close of the meeting the following resolutions of sympathy were adopted:

WHEREAS, The State of Minnesota and its capital city, St. Paul, have been honored by the presence among us of those eminent Boer citizens and envoys, Messrs. Fischer and Wessels,

Resolved, That we, the citizens of St. Paul, in assembling to extend to our South African friends a hearty welcome, assure them of the strong and continued sympathies of our people for them, their people and the sacred cause of liberty that they represent;

Resolved, That we exhort them to stand steadfast in their glorious defense of their liberties, to meet with fortitude such temporary reverses as may occur, and, like the fathers of the American Revolution, continue in the prairies and forests the struggle for that liberty which is their due and birthright;

Resolved, That we ask our honored guests to carry back to their fellow citizens and to Oom Paul, the Lion of the Transvaal; to President Steyn, of the Orange Free State, and to his younger conferees, the best sympathies and wishes of our people and the prophetic hope that soon their efforts will be successful, and that human freedom in South Africa will be placed safely on the deep and enduring foundations on which our Revolutionary fathers placed it in this republic;

Resolved, That we give to our friends the solemn and sacred assurance that at no time, at no place and under no circumstances will the people of the United States ally or associate themselves with any monarchy or aristocracy, or directly or indirectly aid in any attack upon the liberties of the people, and particularly upon the republics of South Africa; but, on the contrary, will, on all and every occasion that may offer itself, protest against such attack as they do hereby protest against the unwarranted attack that has been made upon the republics of South Africa;

Resolved, That a copy of these resolutions be presented to our guests and forwarded to the President of the United States and our senators and congressmen.

The gentlemen from South Africa were deeply moved by the enthusiastic and hearty welcome given them, and stated that they would remember the cordial reception they received in Minnesota as long as they live.

CAUSE AND EFFECT.

There is no friendship in politics. Your deadliest enemy will lie down on his belly and crawl up and lick your hand if he has to.—Argus, June 7.

There are no fractional quarrels in the ranks of the Republicans in Kandiyohi county this year. All is harmony, and victory is assured.—Argus, June 7.

A politician may "lie down on his belly" and lick the hand of someone who is his "deadliest enemy," but the average voter will not. The good voters of Kandiyohi county have been whip-sawed by political bosses about as often as they ever will allow themselves to be so handled. They broke away in considerable numbers in 1898, so now look out for some pretty independent thinking and voting in 1900. The old gang of manipulators and tricksters may have succeeded in getting together by "crawling on their bellies," as the Argus picturesquely states it; they may have agreed that the "crawlers" are to retain their county offices and the appeased parties are to have the votes for dickering in state and national politics; they may have agreed on a slate, and now only need the formality of a convention to ratify the same, but can they lead the people up to the polls and make them vote as they have bargained to do? Just think of the implied insult to the intelligent voters of Kandiyohi county. Does Editor Wharton really believe that the votes of the rank and file of the people depend upon whether certain Willmar bosses scowl or smile at each other?

CATCH THE BURGLARS.

Last Tuesday morning the post office at Hancock, sixteen miles northwest of Benson, was burglarized, the safe blown open and the articles of value stolen. Scarcely a week passes in which we do not read of similar depredations at some point in this portion of the state. Within the last few months the burglars have visited Kandiyohi county three times—at New London, Raymond and Willmar. No clue to the perpetrators has been found in any case that we know of. It is certain that no systematic effort has been made by anyone skilled in the ferreting out of criminals to catch this daring crew of rascals. From knowledge obtained from exchanges we know of several sister counties which have been victims of this gang. That it is one gang that has done the mischief at the various places is very apparent. They invariably secure their tools from some neighboring blacksmith shop, and in several cases (while very successful in demolishing the safes) have made it appear that the work was done by amateurs. The TRIBUNE believes that it is time that the authorities took steps for the apprehension of these criminals, who are seemingly enjoying prosperity and ease, protected by their skillful method of leaving no apparent clues. If the county commissioners of each county where the safe-blowers have worked would offer a reward of $100, or even less, for their apprehension, probably it would be an inducement to some professional criminal hunter to get on their tracks. If such action did not result in the capture of the outlaws, it would no doubt have the effect of making them leave this section of the country for pastures new and green and less dangerous. In the latter case, the cost to the counties would be nothing, and the people who own safes would have reason to feel more secure.

Again, the "only and original" Filipino chief has been captured. It is only after they are safely captured, evidently, that the Filipinos amount to anything.

Frank Day pertinently asks, "Who will haul down our flag in China, now that it has been floating in Peking to protect American interests?"

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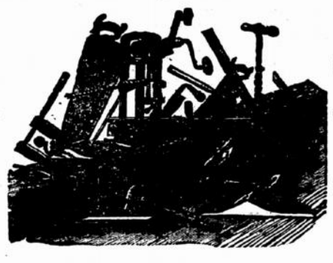

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