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THURSDAY, MAY 22, 1902.

If young men would start out with the intention of earning their bread instead of to seek their fortunes they would be better prepared for what follows.

Forty thousand Porto Ricans showed their love for the late President McKinley by contributing to his monument fund in sums from 5 cents up to \$1 each, the total amounting to \$1700.

Andrew Carnegie says wealth does not bring happiness nor satisfaction. There's nothing left for Andrew to try but heaven or the other place, where some people are mean enough to think he is destined to go.

Miss Stone attributes her release from the brigands to the efficacy of prayer. The brigands, however, probably take a more materialistic view of it, having gotten about \$75,000 of good American money for releasing the old chromo.

Peter Sells, the circus man, is coming in for extensive praise because he changed the route of his parade a half dozen blocks to give a poor bedridden girl a chance to see it. Barnum is dead, but the art of circus advertising goes marching on.

The British governor of Bermuda has ordered that no more pamphlets of psalms, published by the American Tract Society, be circulated among the Boer prisoners on the islands, because, as he says, the psalms of David would give hope to the Boers and keep alive their fighting spirit. The English go out of their way sometimes to make an exhibition of themselves.

Emperor William of Germany is actively promoting a movement to transfer the control of the drink traffic from private individuals to companies or corporations, which will derive no pecuniary benefit from the sale of intoxicating liquors. The emperor says that all efforts having for their object the diminution of the use of alcohol and the education of the public in the moral and economic evils attendant on its use will have his entire approval. If the information is correct, the emperor has undertaken about the biggest task of his life.

The Portland Oregonian is not improving in the reliability of its political news reports. According to that paper the republican spellbinders continue to "play to crowded houses" and the democratic speakers only to empty benches. It is a great pity that a great paper like the Oregonian cannot report political news fairly and rise above narrow

partisanship in printing the news for its family of readers of every political belief. There appears to be no paper in Oregon so unreliable in this respect as the Portland Oregonian. In politics its influence is greatly lessened because of its one-sided political news.

THE FEDERAL CONSTITUTION.

The following is taken from an address on "Direct Legislation" delivered by James C. Hogan, before the "Peoples' Club" in New York city:

There are three forms of government known to mankind today: Despotism, republicanism and democracy.

Webster's dictionary definitions are as follows: Republic—A state in which the sovereign power resides in the whole body of the people; and is exercised by representatives elected by them.

Democracy—Government by the people; a form of government in which the supreme power is retained and directly exercised by the people.

From these definitions it is evident that the term democracy as used in the partisan sense of today is nonsense, and that we have neither a republic nor a democracy in this country. And yet we are solemnly told that this is a government of the people, for the people and by the people.

We have heard this fiction so long and so many times that most of us have come to believe it. But nothing is further from the truth. My own eyes were opened to this fact by reading a masterly address by Frederic Upham Adams on the origin, formation and history of the United States.

We have been taught to reverence the constitution as the embodiment of all human wisdom, past, present and future. What are the facts? The convention which framed the constitution of the United States in 1787, and under which we are now living was composed of business men, money monopolists and monarchists. The sessions, which covered a period of five months time, were held behind closed or locked doors. The meetings were conducted in secret, and not one word of the debates in that convention was permitted to reach the people; and after the convention adjourned the very record of their proceedings was suppressed for nearly two generations. The record was opened by act of congress in 1839 for the first time. I will let Mr. Adams tell the story. He says:

"I have a proper respect for the forefathers who drafted the constitution. I do not underestimate the magnitude of the task which confronted them, nor belittle the difficulties which they had to overcome. But they had no more idea of governing the people of this generation than we have of writing resolutions to govern the people of a thousand years hence. What is more, they said so, and it forms part of the record.

They never dreamed of founding a democracy, or a government of, by and for the people. They did not think the people were capable of self-government, and they spent five months in designing a document which would make the rule of the people nothing short of a miracle. The constitution is the written expression and embodiment of a convention which was anti-democratic

almost to the verge of actual monarchism. And yet the people have been educated to believe the exact opposite. They think that in this country the people rule. They also think that it is the only country in which the people rule.

In the very nature of things it was impossible that the statesmen of 1787 should have designed a democracy or witnessed the birth of a republic. They had no conception of democracy. They had been schooled under monarchy. The thirteen colonies were part of a kingdom and the war of the Revolution was not a revolt in favor of democracy. It was a war of independence. It was true that the spirit of democracy was abroad, but it had not yet taken deep root in America. It was born in France and its thrilling song was heard in the Declaration of Independence, but the notes died away in the wrangling of the business men and the monarchists who fought for commercial supremacy in the secret session of that constitutional convention.

In those days national democracy was impossible. There were no railroads. There were but imperfect means of communication. It was a three months' journey from one end of the country to another. There were few newspapers and fewer books. There were no telegraph lines. It was impossible to educate the people to an intelligent understanding of public questions. The great mass of the people were woefully ignorant. They had a vague idea of democracy but could not give it expression. They were used to being governed, and though the scepter of the king had been withdrawn, its imprint remained. And yet it is to these people that we are told to look for our ideals and our wisdom.

The people imagine that the sessions of that constitutional convention consisted of a series of fervid orations on the rights of the people, and that the delegates labored earnestly to secure an instrument which for all time should guarantee to the nation "a government of, by and for the people."

But among all the delegates to that convention there were but two who expressed any love for democracy. One was Benjamin Franklin. The plutocratic historians of this country have done his memory but scant justice, and have passed him by, preferring to deify those whose leanings were on the side of aristocracy. The other delegate was Wilson—James Wilson, also of Pennsylvania. Yet neither his name nor his speeches have been emblazoned on the scroll of popular fame. Modern Tories and monarchists formed clubs in honor of Alexander Hamilton the American patron saint of legislative corruption, bond steals and worship of royalty, but the time will come when the name of James Wilson will occupy its proper place in the temple of fame.

In order to demonstrate the kind of "democracy" which actuated the founders of the constitution and to show how far we have progressed since then, I will repeat a few of the expressions made by the leading delegates during the convention, which expressions are selected at random from thousands of similar tenor.

Roger Sherman, of Connecticut—"I oppose the election of members

of the National Legislature by the people. The people, immediately, should have as little to do as may be about the government."

Mr. Dickinson, of Delaware—"I consider a limited monarchy as one of the best governments in the world."

On June 6 Mr. Gerry "admitted that it was necessary that the people should appoint one branch of the government in order to inspire them with the necessary confidence." Mark that utterance. It is the keynote to the proceedings and outcome of the convention. They gave the people the shadow of legislative authority and then stabbed to death with the senate, Executive veto powers, Supreme Court and other checks the actual substance of popular rule. It was a month before the convention consented to a popular election for the dummy house of representatives.

Mr. Wilson, of Pennsylvania, answered Mr. Gerry. He said "he wished for the vigor of government, but he wished that vigorous authority to flow immediately from the legitimate source of all authority. The government ought to possess not only, first, the force, but second, the mind or sense of the people at large."

Alexander Hamilton advocated life terms for senators. He exclaimed: "Let the executive also be for life." He was strongly in favor of a king. He then submitted a plan incorporating his ideas. Much of it was practically adopted.

Mr. Madison was afraid the majority would oppress the wealthy minority. "In a republican government," he said, "the majority, if united, have always an opportunity. The only remedy is to enlarge the sphere, and thereby divide the community into so great a number of interests and parties, that in the first place the majority will not be likely, at the same moment, to have a common interest separate from that of the whole."

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