

can be partially, if not entirely, destroyed by that Government, through the necessary remedial legislation, but there are other trusts which can alone be controlled by the sovereign states, the Federal Government not having been delegated with the power to enact the necessary legislation. The state governments, through the exercise of this sovereign power, reserved to themselves, can alone effect the annihilation of all commercial monopolistic combinations.

For several years past and in several notable instances, state Legislatures have passed laws for the control of monopolies, as they had the most undoubted right to do, but in no important instance have they been of any avail, as the monopolies sought to be controlled have brought suits in the Federal courts, and such legislation has been nullified by the opinions of the judges of the Federal Government, which Government, in neither the legislative nor judicial department, was ever entrusted with the power to nullify state laws.

The framers of the Constitution, by direct vote, refused to give to the National Legislature a negation on the laws of a state, and yet the National Judiciary has exercised that power, without authority of the Constitution, and which, if exercised at all by the Federal Government, should, as a matter of right and reason, be exercised by the legislative instead of the judicial department of the Government, as it most clearly requires the exercise of legislative power to undo what legislative power has done.

Here, then, is the great stumbling-block in the way of the necessary control of monopolies. The state Legislatures have the power to control them, but have been balked in the exercise of such power by the Federal courts, which have no right to balk them. The remedy, then, is a very plain one. The Federal Judiciary must be restrained from the exercise of the unconstitutional power they have exercised over state Legislatures and then the several state Legislatures can most effectively control all monopolies not dependent upon Federal legislation.

Congress Can Clear the Road.

Congress has the undoubted right, under Sec. 2, Art. 3, of the Constitution, to "except" from the jurisdiction of the Federal courts all questions regarding the Constitutionality of both the laws of Congress and of the state Legislatures, and by the simple exercise of this power, not only can Congress pass whatever income tax it may desire, without any constitutional amendment, but it can also clear the road for the exercise by the state Legislatures of necessary legislation in control of monopolies.

The clear and undoubted possession by Congress of the right to restrain the Federal courts from inquiry into and passing upon the constitutionality of either the laws of Congress or of the state Legislatures, most conclusively indicates that the framers of the Constitution never intended the courts to exercise such power, for to presume that they intended for the courts such power not expressly granted, while, at the same time, they gave to Congress power to prevent its exercise, would be to charge the framers of that instrument with a duplicity of action of which they were not guilty.

Congress not only possesses the power referred to, but it has already exercised it. In "an act to declare valid and conclusive certain proclamations of the President, and his orders in pursuance thereof, or of his orders in the suppression of the late rebellion," approved March 2, 1897, it was enacted that "no civil court of the United States, or of any state, or of the District of Columbia, or of any district or territory of the United States, shall have or take jurisdiction of, or in any manner reverse any of the proceedings had or acts done as aforesaid, nor shall any person be held to answer in any of said courts for any act done or omitted to be done in pursuance of or in aid of said proclamation or orders, or by authority, or with the approval of the President within the period aforesaid." During the last Presidential campaign the condemnation by Republican orators, of the just criticism of the income tax decision, in the Democratic platform, was a clear case of the pot calling the kettle black, as a Republican Congress had already prevented by law, as it had an undoubted right to do, the unwarranted interference of the Federal Judiciary with the action of a co-ordinate branch of the Government.

Thus it will be seen that the only mode by which the trusts can be controlled is through the exercise of legislation both by Congress and the state Legislatures. Congress must destroy the monopolies dependent upon its acts of omission and commission, and it must restrain the Federal courts from unlawfully interfering with state Legislatures in the exercise of their undoubted powers of sovereignty, and then the death warrant of all monopolistic trusts will be duly issued and executed.

The question before the voters in the coming election is as to which party will most likely perform the necessary duties. Will it be the party dominated by Mark Hanna, who introduced in the last session of Congress a subsidy bill calling for \$9,000,000 annually to bring into existence a trust of most gigantic magnitude, and, who, although it failed to pass at the last session, confidently predicts that it will be passed at the next session? That is the question that every voter should most carefully consider before he casts his ballot at the forthcoming election.

Democratic Government Control

Just one century ago Thomas Jefferson was elected President of the United States. For 12 years the Government had been under the control of the Federal party. The tendency of the legislation of that party had been to centralize power in the Federal Government. A large bonded debt had been created, which caused even the elder Adams to express the grave doubt as to whether "the tyranny of national debts, taxes, funds and stocks" was not worse than "feudal tyranny."

A National bank had been created; the Federal courts, by law, had been given power not given by the Constitution; the alien and sedition laws had been passed, and, in the last hours of the last session of Congress before Jefferson was inaugurated, a large number of Federal Circuit Courts were brought into existence, which, under Jefferson, were very soon let out of existence. Officers were multiplied and taxes were increased.

All Was Changed.

With the advent of the Democratic party, under Jefferson, into power, the whole system of government was changed. The Federal Government was kept entirely within the scope of its delegated powers, and economy in the administration of government was strictly enforced. From 1800 to 1860 the Democratic party was virtually in the control of the government, and in no period of the Nation's history has there been such another of general peace and prosperity.

It was indeed the golden era of the Republic. The National debt was extinguished, and Federal taxation was so light as to be unfeared. In 1860, when the government was turned over to the Republican, or old Federal party, the average rate of tariff taxation was only 14 per cent, while the entire expense of the Federal Government did not exceed \$60,000,000 annually.

Never was a people so prosperous or happy, never a government more frugally administered. There were, however, during this period, two severe money panics, in 1837 and 1857, for which the Government was not responsible through any act of commission, and the causes of which should be ascertained, in order to avoid their repetition.

The panic of 1837 was caused by the Government requiring payments for public lands, to be made in specie, as it was compelled to do in self-protection. This precipitated the panic. It was precipitated also by a redundancy of non-legal tender, bank paper money, and by the lack of sufficient specie. Has not the late financial law of Congress prepared the country for a similar condition of affairs?

The panic of 1857 was precipitated from a like cause. Congress, by the act of February 21, 1857, demonetized foreign coins, amounting to several millions of dollars, which had theretofore been full legal tender money by law, and to make a bad matter worse, it is stated, in Harper's Magazine of May, 1857, that "from California the shipments of gold have thus far fallen considerably below those of last year, the difference by five arrivals being about \$1,500,000."

The panic of 1857 was caused by a contraction of legal-tender money, while the business prosperity of the country most urgently required an expansion of such money. This is a lesson that should be heeded. But, notwithstanding these two great drawbacks, the country under Democratic rule was so prosperous, that when Government securities had to be sold just prior to 1860, to secure funds with which to pay the expenses of the Utah war, the Government was compelled to pay from 10 to 12 per cent interest, as investments in private enterprises were so remunerative as to prevent the sale of Government securities at any lower rate.

Republican Government Control

From 1860 to 1890 the Republican party has virtually controlled the Government. No exception should be made, as President Cleveland, although elected a Democrat, was really a Republican on the main issues of the day. Like the Federal party of old, it has been centralizing power in the Federal Government, until the President has, through his immense patronage and power, really become an Emperor. The tariff duties, which averaged 14 per cent in 1860, now are about 50 per cent. The first Republican tariff placed such duties on shipbuilding materials as to destroy that industry and give the carrying trade on American products to foreign ships, and the protective tariff policy then inaugurated and since followed has tended to secure the impoverishment of the unprotected many for the enrichment of the protected few.

The National debt, which was completely wiped out, now rests like a huge incubus upon the industries of the land, and official positions have been multiplied without number. Over \$3,000,000 have been paid to various commissions appointed by President McKinley. Even our own Blinger Hermann, Commissioner of the Land Office, employed last year 44 timber rangers and three supervisors, at an expense of \$110,000, to prevent the giant fire of the Cascade Mountains from toppling over, and in his last report he stated that the force of agents should be largely increased, if not doubled.

Money Squandered.

Money wrung from the people through all modes of taxation conceivable, except the just mode of an income tax, is squandered on favorites without stint or limit. Even Charles Foster, Secretary of the Treasury under Harrison, who, through his arbitrary ruling in October, 1891, brought the country practically to the gold basis, involving the whole Nation in distress and disaster, and bankrupting himself as well as President McKinley, has been permitted by the President to recuperate his fallen fortunes by drawing a salary of \$10,000 a year, at the expense of the taxpayers, on one of the commissions appointed by the President.

There has been a very great deal said about the McKinley prosperity. To be a recipient, however, of this prosperity, it is absolutely necessary to be either an office-holder, a bondholder, a national banker, an army supply contractor, or a member of some of the various trusts hatched out through Republican legislation. The ordinary citizen, the farmer, the mechanic, and the day laborer, have neither of them grown wealthy and proud by reason of that delusive prosperity. The great masses of the people which, in 1860, found constant employment at fair remuneration, find only fitful employment now at even scantier wages, while compelled to pay higher prices for necessities which they are compelled to buy.

All the comic pictorials in every issue have laughable illustrations of the "tramp," a new species of American citizen brought into existence by the Republican incubator. The Federal taxes which, in 1860, amounted to less than \$60,000,000, was an average of less than \$2 per capita. The appropriation of the last Congress was \$700,729,476, or an average of over \$9 per capita, assuming the population of the United States to be now 75,000,000. And if appropriations had been made which were purposefully withheld, and which must hereafter be made, it would have made the total over \$870,000,000, an average of over \$11 per capita. Under Republican rule, the bankers have control of the money of the country, and the trusts have control of the business of the country, while the Administration itself is marking out for the Nation an imperial policy, burden-

some to the people and fatal to their liberties.

Thus, in brief, the policies of the two parties have been contrasted, and the independent voter between the two must make his choice.

Financial Legislation.

The financial policy of the Republican party is outlined in the act of March 14, 1900. The good feature of that policy was the practical recognition of silver as standard money, at the ratio of 16 to 1. The immaterial feature was the recognition of the gold instead of the silver dollar as the unit or standard of value, for, so long as both metals are coined at a given ratio, it makes no difference whatever whether the gold or silver dollar is the standard.

Very much has been said about that bill having established the gold standard. This is a mistake. The first coinage act of Congress made the silver dollar the unit of value, but since the coinage act of 1873, the gold dollar has been the unit of value. The bad features of the law are the placing of the bonds authorized by it upon the gold basis, and the giving to the banks the issuance of the required paper currency of the country. Every other creditor of the country under the law can be paid in silver except the bondholder, who is the especial favorite of all Republican legislation.

But even this placing of the bonded debt alone on the gold basis has actually compelled the Administration to proceed beyond the requirements of the law in the coinage of the silver bullion in the treasury, in order to avoid being caught in a corner.

The revenue act of 1898 required the coinage of at least one and a half million dollars monthly. A Washington dispatch to the New York Herald, of March 3, stated it to be the purpose of the Treasury Department, upon the passage of the financial bill then before Congress, to coin monthly 4,000,000 silver dollars, effecting retirement of all treasury notes within a year and a half.

Effects of the Measure.

The effects of that vicious financial measure of the Republican party have already been most seriously felt. On the very day the bill passed the house there was a slump in the stock market of New York of over \$100,000,000. And in the financial report of R. G. Dun & Co., of July 6 last, it is stated that the failures in the first half of 1900 were 5362; liabilities \$109,579,134. These failures included 30 banks and financial associations, representing \$23,822,852.

The report further stated that iron and steel had declined about 25 per cent since January 10; that the Fall River committee had decided to close the cotton mills for a time; that some of the largest woolen mills have closed or reduced forces, and that a large share of the boot and shoe industry is inactive.

Is this McKinley prosperity? If this is the result of bringing the favored bondholder to a gold basis, what would be the result of bringing the whole country to the gold basis? The Treasury Department, according to the Herald dispatch, is doing all it can to prevent the stagnation of business by coining legal tender silver dollars far beyond the requirements of the law. It is coining them so fast that, in a year and a half, all the silver bullion will be coined.

What then? What will be the result of the stoppage of the coinage of legal tender money, if times are so dull now with the present rapid coinage? Let the experience of '37, '57, '73 and '93 give answer. Is it this impending catastrophe that already throws its baleful shadow athwart the business interests of the land?

An Un-American Alliance.

That there is a secret alliance between the McKinley Administration and the British Government is a generally conceded fact. In the July McClure's Magazine, the American correspondent of the London Chronicle has an article, giving several additional confirmatory particulars.

As the coalition of the lion and the lamb resulted in the lamb's getting inside the lion, so that between the present Republican Administration and Great Britain results in our own humiliation. And the people of this country have been humiliated by Republican toadyism to the English Government.

In the first speech made by Ambassador Choate in London, at a Chamber of Commerce dinner, he said that "when the British lion was about to roar, even the American eagle should hold its peace," and at the following Fourth of July dinner of the American Society in London, at which the Ambassador was present, the Queen was first toasted, and then the President. The Paris La Patrie, in March, 1899, stated that from January to August, 1898, Colonel Hay, then Ambassador, spent more than \$15,000,000 on the British press.

Why should we toady to the English Government? It is the whitest sepulchre of our planet, beautiful outward, but within full of dead men's bones and all uncleanness. It is the Shylock of nations.

The imperial edict of the Emperor of China against opium was followed, in 1846, by a war with the English, who, for greed, desired a Chinese market for the drug, regardless of its malign consequences. A professedly Christian nation made war upon a heathen nation, not for the spread of civilization, but for the sake of opium. The drug was forced on the heathen; Hong Kong was seized, and an indemnity of \$21,000,000 was collected. The more than 60,000,000 people now starving in India are the hapless victims of the English greed and gold standard.

In Blackwood's Magazine, October, 1896, the statement is made that "Lord Cranborne, a night or two ago, informed the House of Commons and the country that a revenue of \$5,300,000 per annum was paid by the poor people of India as a tax upon the sea salt, almost the only condition which they use with their wretched dinner of boiled rice." And a New Haven dispatch of August 21, 1899, states that "250 tons of copper coins have just been unloaded from a ship which made a trip to Bombay, India, to purchase these for manufacturing purposes in this country, as they were cheaper than native copper. In all 999 bags of coin were brought. They were struck about 50 years ago."

Brutal Financial Greed.

The English Government not only taxes without mercy, but, in its worship

of gold, it dishonors and depreciates the bulk of India's circulating medium. Is it any wonder that millions are starving there as the result of that most brutal and fatal policy? And yet it, the proudest and richest government of earth, stands idly by and permits the charity of other nations to relieve the starving millions of its subjects, while it is spending exhaustless treasure and sacrificing countless human lives to drive from their home in South Africa a God-fearing yeomanry to get possession of some rich gold mines.

Such is the character of the government to which the McKinley Administration is playing toady today. It has borrowed from its ruinous financial policy, and it now proposes to borrow from its colonial policy. A Hong Kong dispatch of May 30 last states that "the British colonial officials are extending every courtesy to the McKinley Commissioners, endeavoring to familiarize them with the colonial methods of the English."

Has our Government already become an imperial government? The President, without declaration of war and without authority from Congress, has dispatched troops to China, ostensibly to protect the lives of American citizens there. Can it be possible that by virtue of the undoubted disgraceful secret alliance between the McKinley Administration and the Government of Great Britain, which does not desire to weaken its forces in South Africa, the American troops have been sent over to China, really as a British contingent and catspaw?

On the Other Foot.

Fifteen years ago next month more than 50 citizens of China were massacred at Rock Springs, in Wyoming. Would China have been justified in sending troops thereafter to San Francisco, in order to punish those guilty of the crime and to avenge the death of its citizens? Would our Government ever have sanctioned such procedure? We forbid the Chinese to enter this country unarmed, and is it fair to enter their country by force of arms?

The McKinley Administration ignores the divine precept that "whatsoever ye would that men should do to you do ye even so to them," and follow the English maxim to do to others what you would not allow them to do to you. It ignores the sound policy of America for Americans, and China for the Chinese. It ignores the warning of the Father of his Country to "avoid sympathy for a favorite nation," to "not quit our own to stand on foreign ground," "to not interweave our destiny with any portion of Europe, and to steer clear of alliances with any portion of the foreign world."

In the face of these solemn warnings the Administration is the very foremost factor in the existing Chinese imbroglio. A Washington dispatch of July 7 states that Japan is put forward by other powers to do the chief work in China; that "Japan is to be compensated for the work," and that our own State Department "is disposed to feel pride in the fact that it was through the initiative of the United States that this happy accord has been brought about."

The McKinley Administration, through the assumption of regal power, has fully embarked the country upon a most dangerous and fatal imperial policy, and unless sternly rebuked by the American people, it will end in the establishment of an empire upon the ruins of our republic. Should not that rebuke be given?

Earnest Words.

This may be the last time when I shall speak upon political topics, as such duties will devolve upon younger men. In what I have said, my only purpose has been to do what I may to secure for ourselves and for those who follow after us the blessings of a free and just government. My years have now quite nearly filled man's allotted span of life, and when, before long, in the ordinary course of nature, my name shall be reached on the roll-call of the death angel, whatever else my wrongdoings and short comings, I can respond to the summons with a conscience clear of the offense of having done injustice to my fellow men, by giving countenance or support to any tariff or subsidy taxation that robs one class for the benefit of another class, or to any financial policy that surrenders the governmental function of furnishing currency for the people, to an oligarchy of private citizens for their own enrichment, gives to the wealthy and fortunate owners of governmental securities grants and immunities not vouchsafed to others, and that seek to strike down one of the money metals of the Constitution to the loss of the debtor and the benefit of the creditor. I could implore of a kind Providence no greater earthly boon than that my life might be spared to see the day when, through the enlightenment of the people and the justice of the government, its revenues, by an income tax, will be gathered from its citizens according to their ability to pay, and its currency be furnished by itself alone, every dollar of which will be an honest, debt-paying dollar.

One more word to men who have rounded out their full three score years. You reached manhood while yet the country was under Democratic rule. Do you not remember that there was opportunity, without wealth, in the various avenues of industry, to secure a comfortable independence for your declining years and a wherewithal to start your children in life? Then no unjust tariff subsidy or financial legislation had piled up fortunes for the few, and put up bars against the prosperity of the many. When you contrast the abundance of privileges then possessed by those just starting in life, with the inequality and disadvantages now surrounding our children and grandchildren, after 40 years of Republican rule, is it not impossible to stifle your sympathies for the youth of our land, and must you not realize that there is resting upon you a most solemn and imperative duty?

For the benefit of coming generations, the obligation is imposed upon you by the experience of your years to resolve for yourselves, and to give counsel to younger men, to oppose that policy which is fast consigning us and our posterity to the relentless enthrallment of trusts and monopolies, and to labor for the restoration of that better policy, which, for 60 years, gave to our people an equality of laws and privileges, and placed our government, without either unprovoked wars of conquest or dishonorable secret alliances with monarchies, to the very forefront among the foremost nations of the earth.

SYLVESTER PENNOYER.