

THE CAPITAL JOURNAL.
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HOFFER BROTHERS, Editors.

TWO KINDS OF PATERNALISM.
This journal is opposed to any resort to force or violence in the affairs of our country. It does not believe in Cooney's method of marching men across our country by thousands to force substance out of the people and force substance on the part of the state and federal governments. It is all a mistake. On the other hand we do not believe in suppressing such movements which will solve the problem or remove the causes that produce them.

These same journals advocate all financial laws which are for the benefit of the bankers and money sharks. They praise the "paternal" act of the government in permitting the National banks. These journals also eulogize the still more "paternal" act of the financial rescue of the Wall-street gamblers whenever they are in trouble, permitting these money-changers to swindle the people right and left by gambling in the currency of the nation, and then grant them the use of the people's money to assist them in every financial catastrophe—to build them up again in order that they may once more go forth upon their career of swindling and wrecking. But let business, household, and business wanderers ask that that government shall provide

them with work, and these same journals shriek out "Paternalism."
It is a very erroneous idea any theory that the government owes a living to the people. No one has ever claimed that it does. To advocate such a principle would be to place the citizens in the light of beggars, who must be fed and housed, whether deserving or not. What the government does owe to its people, however, is to see that they are provided with work if they are willing to work; that deserving and honest citizens shall not tramp, and beg, and starve in the midst of plenty. There are a hundred and one things in the way of public works that this government ought to do that it is not doing. There are millions upon millions in the nation's vaults with which to do it. Its work, too, that would be a good opportunity for the government, not such as Caesar employed his army at, in order to keep them from rioting—making clothes and canals and then filling them up again. The water-ways of this nation should be dredged out and opened up for navigation; the great levees might be made available for homes for the homeless hundreds of thousands; creditable public buildings should be erected in place of the ramshackle shanties which now disgrace Uncle Sam; the army is a burden upon the people, plenty big enough to eat up large sums in the way of taxes, and too small to be of any practical service in a time of need; the navy is equally a liability. If these and other avenues are not sufficient through which to divert the people upon the broad highway of honest work, there still remains the Nicaragua canal project. The government of the United States owes it to itself and to its future to construct that connecting link between the two great oceans, to own and to operate it.

Surely, this government should be "paternal" in assuring its starving citizens of work as it is in guaranteeing manufacturers a profit upon their investment. We believe that to be poor, too, for it benefits all the people, rich and poor. But when the poor ask for a little of that "paternalism," so generously showered upon the rich, let it not be denied them. If the aim of this government is simply to collect taxes, however, let it take its protecting arm from the rich, and let it be a free-for-all race to the devil, without any handicaps.

How's This.
We offer One Hundred Dollars Reward for any case of Catarrh that cannot be cured by Hall's Catarrh Cure. P. J. CHENEY & Co., Props. Toledo, O. We the undersigned have known F. J. Cheney for the last 15 years, and believe him perfectly honorable in all business transactions and financially able to carry out any obligation made by him.

Dangerous Preparations.
Alcock's porous plaster is composed of purely vegetable ingredients and is absolutely harmless. It assists nature in her own efforts to heal and invigorate, and imparts strength to the whole system.
Many preparations contain strong chemical and mineral substances which produce an injurious effect, not only upon the skin, but upon the whole system, although at first they seem very beneficial, on account of their powerful action and temporary effect upon the surface.
When purchasing a plaster do not only ask for Alcock's, but make sure that you get it.
Brandreth's pills are purely vegetable.

"G. A. R." Attention.
Decorative day is coming. The Wawawake "G. A. R." suits are \$10.00, \$12.00, \$13.50 and \$15.00 suits, cut to beat. It requires three weeks to fill orders. Order now. MINKLER & BEACH, 4-24-5 d Sales Agents, Salem, Or.

The Home Boat.
The home boat Elwood arrives up Sunday and Wednesday, leaves for Corvallis down Tuesday, and Saturday for Portland; built for Salem route; patrons: Salem merchants; raises always reasonable. E. J. Smith, agent. Wharf foot of State street.

REPUBLICAN TICKET.
STATE TICKET.
For Governor—W. F. Lamb, of Marion county.
For Secretary of State—E. H. Kincaid, of Lane county.
For State Treasurer—P. H. Kincaid, of Grant county.
For Supreme Judge—C. E. Wolcott, of Lane county.
For Attorney General—C. E. Kincaid, of Marion county.
For Superintendent of Public Instruction—S. H. Brown, of Union.
For State Printer—W. H. Lamb, of Jackson.

FIRST CONGRESSIONAL DISTRICT.
For Representative in Congress.
RINGER BERRMAN.

THIRD JUDICIAL DISTRICT.
For Circuit Judge,
H. H. HEWITT, of Lane county.
For District Attorney,
JAS. MCMAIN, of Yamhill county.
Member Board of Equalization,
R. E. GIBSON, of Polk county.

MARION COUNTY.
FORWARD SENATORS—L. L. Johnson, of Salem, and W. H. Hooten, of Stayton.
JUST SENATORS—For Marion and Clatsop, ALBERT GOSWELL, of Salem.
FOR REPRESENTATIVES—C. E. Moore and H. E. Hooten, of Salem, Craig of Madras, H. G. Barkley, of Woodburn, and J. L. Carter, of Harbortown.
SHERIFF—John Knight, of Salem.
CLERK—L. V. Kline, of Butteville.
TREASURER—R. O. Brown, of Turner.
RECORDERS—F. W. Waters, of Salem.
ASSESSOR—D. B. Oddy, of Mill City.
SHERIFF SUPPLIES—J. A. G. Smith, of Woodburn.
SHERIFFS—R. E. Herrick, of Salem.
COMMISSIONER—A. H. O'Connell, of Salem.
JUSTICE OF PEACE—For Salem District—H. A. Johnson, Jr.
CONSTABLE—For Salem District—A. T. Cain.

Judge Saunders
Says that For Rheumatism.
Hood's Sarsaparilla is the Best.

Hood's Sarsaparilla is the Best medicine I have ever taken. It has done me the most good. It was recommended to me for rheumatism, and I am satisfied and know that it will do all that you claim. L. H. SAUNDERS, OREGON, NEBRASKA.

Hood's Pills are the best after-dinner pills, assist digestion, cure headache, etc.

GEO. C. WILL
DEALER IN
Hainway, Knabe, Webber, Emerson and other pianos.
Morley & Clark and Earhart organs.
All first class makes of sewing machines.
Smaller makes of musical instruments and supplies.
Genuine needles, oil and new parts for all makes of machines.
Sewing machines and organs repaired and cleaned.
Two doors north of postoffice, Salem, Oregon.

NOTICE TO TAXPAYERS.
NOTICE IS HEREBY GIVEN TO THE taxpayers of Marion county that the taxes for the year 1894 are now due. No costs for delinquency will be added before said date, unless the same are paid. JOHN K. RIGLEY, Sheriff, and tax collector of Marion county, Oregon. 4-21-94

To Milk Consumers.
Oregon School for Deaf Mutes, Salem, Oregon, March 28, 1894.
To Whom It May Concern:
I have much pleasure in testifying that Mr. W. N. Savage has supplied this institution with milk for the past two years. The milk has been fresh, sweet, clean, and invariably of first-class quality. I heartily recommend Mr. Savage to the patronage of any private family or public institution in need of a reliable milk supply. W. H. RYAN, Sup't. 4-3-94

PENNOYER'S CAMPAIGN.
Speech Delivered at Ashland April 28th, 1894.

As the coming election will decide the character of the next state administration and the legislature it is proper that at this time facts and figures should be furnished by which the voters of Oregon may become acquainted with the abuses, if any, which exist, in order that they may be rectified. The growth of the state expenditures for the last 18 years has been in some particulars most extravagant. For the five last biennial terms, the expenditures for the state have been as follows:

BIENNIAL TERM	REVENUES	EXPENDITURES
1885-86	\$1,500,000	\$1,500,000
1887-88	1,600,000	1,600,000
1889-90	1,700,000	1,700,000
1891-92	1,800,000	1,800,000
1893-94	1,900,000	1,900,000

This enormous increase of expenditures is in some respects entirely without justification. A greater solicitude has apparently been manifested for the officeholder than for the taxpayer. During the last eight years 150 officers have been created independent of the officers of the new counties. A general desire has been manifested, during the growing years of the past few years, to procure official positions with fixed salaries, and the legislature has yielded to that desire, and by the creation of various commissions and boards, has given quite a goodly number of amiable gentlemen very nice positions with fat salaries and little work; and the emoluments of offices already existing have been increased in some instances without justification. In fact, in my last message to the legislature, I requested, among other retrenchments, the abolition of the domestic animal commission, which, if it had been done, would have decreased the governor's salary \$250 per annum, although the compensation of that officer is now less than that of any other of the principal state officers, except the attorney-general.

The last legislature was most extravagant in its appropriations, \$44,596.70 having been expended for legislative clerk hire, \$20,000 appropriated for a worse than useless railroad commission, \$2,500 for the food commission, \$5,000 for the board of horticulture, \$5,000 for the state board of non-agricultural, \$12,000 for the domestic animal commission (the expenditure of nearly one-half of which sum might have been saved), \$8,000 for the fish commission, \$6,349 for the pilot commission and maintenance of schooner, \$21,415 for the state and district fairs and improvement of grounds, \$77,924 on account of state printing, \$65,000 for the state university at Eugene, which is in addition to the about \$9,000 annually received as interest on the proceeds of the sale of university lands, \$20,228 for the agricultural college at Corvallis, which college is receiving over \$30,000 a year from the federal government in addition to over \$10,000 annual interest from the agricultural college fund, \$100,000 for the support and maintenance of the Oregon National Guard, and \$60,000 for the World's Fair. The World's Fair appropriation and \$40,000 of the appropriation for the state militia were made over the governor's veto. Of the militia appropriation \$55,000 for the appropriation for printing \$48,000 were expended during the year 1893, out of which the state printer expended for the type setting not to exceed \$15,000, everything else being furnished by the state.

The recommendations made to the last legislature for the passage of a maximum rate law for freight and passenger railroads, putting the passenger rate at two and one-half cents per mile, and prohibiting passes except to employes of the road, and for the abolition of various useless commissions, were unheeded except by the abolishment of the board of charities and corrections. On account of the excessive emoluments of some of the state officials, I drafted a maximum salary bill providing that the compensation of no state officer should exceed \$4,000 per annum, and requiring them to make a quarterly sworn statement to the state auditor of their receipts and expenditures and to pay into the treasury all in excess of their quarterly salary. This bill (senate bill 184) was introduced by Senator Weatherford of Linn county and referred to the judiciary committee. After resting there two weeks it was amended by making the salary \$5,000, in which shape it passed the senate and went to the house, where it slept the sleep of the just. In the change in the assessment law made by the last legislature my recommendation that unless the assessor's stamp be placed on a note one-half of the amount should be forfeited to the school fund when judgment was rendered for its collection was not regarded, and as a consequence the money and credits taxed in 1893 fell to \$13,300,329 from \$35,351,384 in 1892.

The plank in the Populist's platform regarding taxation which requires that no indebtedness be allowed unless when we consider the amount of fictitious indebtedness heretofore allowed. The following figures show the amount of indebtedness claimed for the several years over and above the money and credits taxed:

YEAR	AMOUNT
1893	\$4,000,000
1892	3,000,000
1891	2,000,000
1890	1,000,000
1889	1,000,000
1888	1,000,000

MISS O. BALLOU, Principal.
TRAINING CLASSES
for teachers' daily practice work from 9 a. m. to 12 m. in Kindergarten. On Monday, Wednesday and Friday from 2 to 4 p. m. Classes meet for study of Froebel system. Mrs. P. S. Knight, Principal.
MOTHER'S CLASS.
Meets Friday from 2 to 4 p. m. with training class, conducted by Mrs. Knight and Miss Ballou. For terms of instruction apply at Kindergarten rooms, corner Court and Liberty streets.

future development by the construction of a portage railway at an estimated cost of \$454,000, and recommended that further development of commerce should thereby be afforded by providing for what is required by the construction of a canal.

For six long years Senator Dolph has persisted in an impracticable scheme of a portage railway, only at last to be defeated by the board of engineers, which does not recognize the scheme at all, and for six long years the opening of the Columbia river free to commerce has been retarded by the obstinate adherence of our senator to his most visionary scheme. It is really not easy to comprehend why he should so persistently insist on an obstructionist to the improvement of the Columbia unless it be for the purpose of maintaining a consistency with his well-known views upon the tariff. He favors a tariff policy which obstructs free trade with other countries, and obstructing the navigation of the Columbia would be in line with such policy. It is, however, much more important to the people of Eastern Oregon that the Columbia river should be opened to free commerce than that Senator Dolph should maintain a consistency upon the tariff. There is no question of much greater importance to the people of Eastern Oregon and the lower Columbia than that of securing the improvement of the Columbia at The Dalles.

Senator Dolph in a letter dated Oct. 22, 1893, referring to the first report of the engineers on The Dalles improvement said: "The engineers have recommended a portage railway as a temporary expedient to overcome the canal and locks at this point, while a canal and a boat railway is being constructed. Congress has never yet entered upon the work of constructing railroads, and I do not believe it possible to secure an appropriation for the purpose of building a portage road." Of course it is not possible if my delegation in congress opposes it. At my request two years ago Chairman Blanchard of the river and harbor committee moved that \$454,000 be placed in the river and harbor bill for such a purpose. Our whole delegation opposed it and it was defeated. There is nothing wrong or wicked in the government building and operating a railroad. During the last two years 111 railroads with 95,883 miles and a capitalization of \$1,022,400,000 have passed into the hands of receivers and are now run by the federal courts. If federal judges, who are generally a lot of impracticables, can run that number of roads, there is no doubt whatever that Uncle Sam could safely run a small portage road five or six miles long.

Initiative and Referendum.
The demand of the Populist-state platform for a constitutional convention to revise our state constitution and include therein the initiative and referendum is one of the most important and necessary measures ever presented to a free people. The initiative gives a certain percentage of the voters the power to initiate any law, which must then be submitted to a vote of the people. The referendum makes it imperative that all legislative enactments be referred to the people for ratification. In practice it has been found that the referendum is the principal feature of this law-making system. The wisdom and justice of this plan is self-evident and must win the approval of every man who is in favor of free governments. Our governments now are supposed to represent the people's will, but the present machinery is quite imperfect for that purpose. We now have in both state and federal governments a referendum existing entirely without constitutional warrant, and in nearly all cases subversive of, instead of obedient to, the wishes of the people.

The courts have arrogated to themselves the right to pass upon all laws, and if such laws are not, in their individual judgment, what they ought to be, they claim and exercise the legislative power of annulling them. Such a procedure, sanctioned by usage and acquiescence in by all, has virtually changed our form of representative government into a judicial oligarchy. The judges of the court, instead of the representatives of the people, now declare what our laws are and shall be. It is their province to interpret and not make or unmake laws. In order, therefore, to restore again to the people that which belongs to them in every free government, the referendum is an absolute necessity. The people and not the judges should say what the laws shall be, and both the judges and the people, when laws are duly enacted, should be compelled to obey them.

The Australian ballot, which secures to the voter a fair expression of his will, and the Swiss referendum, which secures a sure enforcement of such will, are the two strong pillars upon which alone free governments can endure. Let the referendum system of law-making be incorporated in our constitutions, and then we will have a sure guarantee that the laws of the land will be what they always should be, the just expression of the popular will.

On the paramount question of finance all Populists are substantially agreed; on the lesser question of tariff adjustment they may differ, and therefore what I shall say on the tariff will be, as St. Paul expresses it, "by permission and not of commandment."

The prevailing hard times are attributable, so say our Republican friends, to tariff agitation and to the interference with the McKinley law. They have very treacherous memories. The hard times were upon us while the McKinley law was in full force, and while there was no prospect of its repeal. To prove this assertion one has only to refer to facts and statistics. The Railway Age of January, 1893, said: "During the year 1892 there were sold under foreclosure 23 railroads, having an aggregate mileage of 922 and an apparent capitalization, bonds and stocks of \$85,850,000. Much more alarming than the

record of foreclosures is that of railway insolvencies in the past year, for it would seem that in 1893 a new era of bankruptcy more disastrous than that recorded for several years previous had been inaugurated. In the 13 months to date 38 companies, having 1,570 miles of road, and representing the production capitalization of nearly \$75,000,000, have defaulted and been placed in the hands of receivers." The hard times had struck the country right under the sway of the McKinley law and affected all classes, the poor as well as the rich, the laborers as well as the railroad companies.

A New York correspondent of the Portland Telegram of April 22, 1894, said: "Degrading and poverty on every hand. I have never seen so many beggars on the streets as are to be encountered in New York at this time. Unhappily the vast majority of these are cases of such real need that it seems impossible to prevent, being in the main composed of amiable young and middle-aged men who have come to the great metropolis in the belief that a man willing to work need not remain idle. This is not the way of the other, this market like every other to-day is glutted with unskilled labor." These two extracts are sufficient to refute the claim that of any interference with the protective McKinley law. The mobilization of the great army of the unemployed began under the reign of that law and from other causes than tariff legislation.

Although the Wilson tariff bill is a protective tariff measure, yet it is claimed that it is unjust because it only protects the manufacturer, while the McKinley law protected both the manufacturer and producer. I have always agreed with my Republican friends in this contention. They are right. If one class is protected all classes should be protected. Every tariff law that protects the producer, and the same rule of right and justice should be applied for the benefit of the consumer.

How, then, can the consumer be protected? Will he be protected by compelling him to pay increased prices for what he consumes by virtue of protection afforded to the manufacturer and the producer? That is the kind of protection that vultures accord to doves and that wolves extend to lambs. That will not do. The only possible way to protect the consumer is to allow him to buy where he can buy cheapest, and to do that the whole protective system must be destroyed. Our Republican friends will therefore see that the argument they use against the Wilson bill, that it does not protect the producer, if carried to its logical conclusion will overturn the whole protective system. It will never do to invoke justice either in the adjustment or defense of a protective tariff, for if it be done, the whole system will fall beneath the very first stroke of its invincible sword. It is indeed strange that in this the latter part of the 19th century there should be found intelligent men who openly advocate the adjustment of tariff laws so as to benefit one class at the expense of another class. The American Revolution was a revolt against the protective tariff measures of Great Britain, which denied to the people of the colonies the right to buy their manufactured articles in foreign countries. And after the lapse of a century shall we fasten upon ourselves a system against which our patriotic fathers rebelled?

It is urged, however, that the very first congress enacted a protective tariff, and this is a sanction that the system ought to be revered. The tariff tax imposed by the first congress averaged 11 per cent, which, if satisfactory to our protective tariff advocates, now might be generally satisfactory to all. But why were these tariff restrictions placed on trade by the first congress? Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to M. Le Veillard, dated Feb. 17, 1788, gives the reason. He said: "We shall, as you suppose, have impacts on trade and custom-house, not because other nations have them, but because at present we cannot do without them. We want to discharge our public debt occasioned by the late war. Direct taxes are not so easily levied on the scantily settled inhabitants of our wide-extended country; and what is paid in the price of merchandise is less felt by the consumer and less the cause of complaint. When we are out of debt we may leave our trade free, for our ordinary charges of government will not be great."

It is further urged in defence of a protective tariff that it affords higher wages for labor. There never was a more transparent fraud practiced, as a fact incontrovertibly prove. As a general rule those industries that receive the highest protection are those which reduce the price of labor most, and if American labor will not stand the reduction its place is quickly supplied with cheap foreign labor. At the time of the strike at the Homestead works, an industry highly protected, in 1892, out of the 2,400 men employed there, only 800 were voters, one-half of whom were naturalized, thus leaving only 400 native-born citizens.

In the Oregonian of Feb. 10, 1894, is the statement that in the Gogebic (Mich.) iron mines, another highly protected industry, 3,447 idle miners were living on charity, all of whom except 63 were foreigners. And in the San Francisco Examiner of Feb. 13, 1894, is a New York correspondent says: "At a meeting of ribbon silk weavers Chairman Mott said: 'Since the McKinley law passed wages in the silk-weaving trade have been reduced from 50 to 70 per cent. We formerly got \$30 per week; we are now lucky if we get \$7. The McKinley law did this as it destroyed the silk-weaving trade of Europe. Foreign workmen swarmed here and manufacturers reduced wages of those who struck. Then came the financial crisis which threw the men on half time.' These facts are sufficient to show that the special made to the laboring men of the country to support protective tariff

legislature of 1891, by the appointment of a court reporter at a salary of \$600, and in 1892 by providing a stenographer at a salary of \$1,500 per annum, has relieved them of all the duties imposed, and therefore those judges are now receiving \$1,500 per annum in excess of their constitutional salary for performing only their constitutional duties—a most palpable transgression of the fundamental law of the state.

An extraordinary effort was made at the last session of the legislature to do away by amendment the Australian ballot law, as it now exists, and to re-establish the easy and effective means of vote buying which existed prior to the passage of that law. This effort was defeated so far as the last legislature was concerned by a gubernatorial veto. This amendment was made subsequent to the adjournment of the legislature at its close up before the legislature at its next session, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that if the Republican party, which was almost a unit for such an amendment, secures a majority of the next legislature the veto will be overridden and such an amendment will become a law. In order to pass the bill through the senate, it was taken out of its place near the bottom of a large number of meritorious bills and placed at the top, contrary to the rules of the senate, and upon the vote being taken, in order to secure its passage the president of the senate caused to be counted as voting "no" a number of senators that did not vote, six of which number were out of the senate chamber at the time the vote was taken. The amendment proposed, by placing the Republican ticket at the left hand of the ballot and by permitting a person to vote for the whole straight ticket, by placing a cross in a square at the head of the ticket, would enable the voter to vote for the whole ticket without the necessity of making the cross, so as to enable the voter to see the place where the mark is made. It is a most cunning and deliberate effort to destroy the sanctity of the ballot, and it is the duty of every freeman of Oregon by refusing to vote for the Republican candidate for the legislature, to see that this dangerous attack upon the secrecy of the ballot shall not be consummated. Especially should the hostility of every friend of the initiative and referendum system of voting in all parties be exerted to thwart the scheme of the bribers and vote buyers. The passage of the bill over the governor's veto at the next session will secure indefinitely the complete supremacy of the Portland ring in the politics of the state.

The Dalles Improvement.
If the navigation of the Columbia river and its tributaries had not been interrupted by the obstacles of nature at the Cascades and at The Dalles, the statistics of the two North Pacific states—Oregon and Washington—would have been quite differently written. The nearly 2,000 miles of steamboat navigation afforded by these majestic streams would have stimulated a river commerce that would have very materially advanced and enriched the great inland empire, the ever-developing resources of which would have sought a market at Portland and Astoria, thus increasing the growth and wealth of both those cities. But for those obstacles to the navigation of the Columbia Eastern Oregon and Washington would have been very far beyond what they are now in material advancement and prosperity, and both the cities of the lower Columbia river valley would have been incomparably greater in wealth and population than those of the Sound country, which would have been literally slide-tracked. The river and its tributaries would have reached the sea by river grades in order to reach the ocean. But such is not the case. The obstructions at The Dalles and Cascades have dwarfed its navigation to the minimum, the farmers of the inland empire have been compelled to send their produce to market by the more expensive mode of railway carriage, the heavy freight rates of which have impoverished the producer, while competing lines of railway have sought different termini, thus building up other cities which would have enriched the cities of the lower Columbia.

It is the duty of the general government and not the state to remove those obstructions and open up our great interstate river to free commerce. The canal at the Cascades will soon be completed, but no appropriation has been secured for overcoming the obstructions at The Dalles. Six years ago the United States engineers reported in favor of the improvement of the Columbia at The Dalles by building a portage road temporarily for immediate relief to be supplemented by a canal. Our senators in congress, wiser than engineers, were determined to have a boat railway. The cost of a canal was estimated at about four millions, while the estimated cost of a completed boat railway was \$2,860,350. The annual cost of operating the canal would be merely nominal, while the cost of operating the boat railway at its full capacity was estimated at \$275,000. Notwithstanding these figures and the opinions of the engineers, our senators have persisted in adhering to their impracticable scheme, and when two years ago Senator Dolph failed to get the consent of the practical men of the house river and harbor committee to accede to his proposition to navigate steamboats on dry land, another board of engineers at a cost of \$30,000 was ordered to again report on a proper plan. In the report of the secretary of war under date of Sept. 19, 1893, speaking of that board, the chief of engineers said: "The board estimates that the obstructions to navigation in the Columbia river from the navigable waters below Three-mile rapids to navigable waters above Celilo falls can be overcome in the most feasible, speedy, convenient manner and in that adapted to the present necessities of commerce and to its

record of foreclosures is that of railway insolvencies in the past year, for it would seem that in 1893 a new era of bankruptcy more disastrous than that recorded for several years previous had been inaugurated. In the 13 months to date 38 companies, having 1,570 miles of road, and representing the production capitalization of nearly \$75,000,000, have defaulted and been placed in the hands of receivers." The hard times had struck the country right under the sway of the McKinley law and affected all classes, the poor as well as the rich, the laborers as well as the railroad companies.

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It is urged, however, that the very first congress enacted a protective tariff, and this is a sanction that the system ought to be revered. The tariff tax imposed by the first congress averaged 11 per cent, which, if satisfactory to our protective tariff advocates, now might be generally satisfactory to all. But why were these tariff restrictions placed on trade by the first congress? Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to M. Le Veillard, dated Feb. 17, 1788, gives the reason. He said: "We shall, as you suppose, have impacts on trade and custom-house, not because other nations have them, but because at present we cannot do without them. We want to discharge our public debt occasioned by the late war. Direct taxes are not so easily levied on the scantily settled inhabitants of our wide-extended country; and what is paid in the price of merchandise is less felt by the consumer and less the cause of complaint. When we are out of debt we may leave our trade free, for our ordinary charges of government will not be great."

It is further urged in defence of a protective tariff that it affords higher wages for labor. There never was a more transparent fraud practiced, as a fact incontrovertibly prove. As a general rule those industries that receive the highest protection are those which reduce the price of labor most, and if American labor will not stand the reduction its place is quickly supplied with cheap foreign labor. At the time of the strike at the Homestead works, an industry highly protected, in 1892, out of the 2,400 men employed there, only 800 were voters, one-half of whom were naturalized, thus leaving only 400 native-born citizens.

In the Oregonian of Feb. 10, 1894, is the statement that in the Gogebic (Mich.) iron mines, another highly protected industry, 3,447 idle miners were living on charity, all of whom except 63 were foreigners. And in the San Francisco Examiner of Feb. 13, 1894, is a New York correspondent says: "At a meeting of ribbon silk weavers Chairman Mott said: 'Since the McKinley law passed wages in the silk-weaving trade have been reduced from 50 to 70 per cent. We formerly got \$30 per week; we are now lucky if we get \$7. The McKinley law did this as it destroyed the silk-weaving trade of Europe. Foreign workmen swarmed here and manufacturers reduced wages of those who struck. Then came the financial crisis which threw the men on half time.' These facts are sufficient to show that the special made to the laboring men of the country to support protective tariff

legislature of 1891, by the appointment of a court reporter at a salary of \$600, and in 1892 by providing a stenographer at a salary of \$1,500 per annum, has relieved them of all the duties imposed, and therefore those judges are now receiving \$1,500 per annum in excess of their constitutional salary for performing only their constitutional duties—a most palpable transgression of the fundamental law of the state.

An extraordinary effort was made at the last session of the legislature to do away by amendment the Australian ballot law, as it now exists, and to re-establish the easy and effective means of vote buying which existed prior to the passage of that law. This effort was defeated so far as the last legislature was concerned by a gubernatorial veto. This amendment was made subsequent to the adjournment of the legislature at its close up before the legislature at its next session, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that if the Republican party, which was almost a unit for such an amendment, secures a majority of the next legislature the veto will be overridden and such an amendment will become a law. In order to pass the bill through the senate, it was taken out of its place near the bottom of a large number of meritorious bills and placed at the top, contrary to the rules of the senate, and upon the vote being taken, in order to secure its passage the president of the senate caused to be counted as voting "no" a number of senators that did not vote, six of which number were out of the senate chamber at the time the vote was taken. The amendment proposed, by placing the Republican ticket at the left hand of the ballot and by permitting a person to vote for the whole straight ticket, by placing a cross in a square at the head of the ticket, would enable the voter to vote for the whole ticket without the necessity of making the cross, so as to enable the voter to see the place where the mark is made. It is a most cunning and deliberate effort to destroy the sanctity of the ballot, and it is the duty of every freeman of Oregon by refusing to vote for the Republican candidate for the legislature, to see that this dangerous attack upon the secrecy of the ballot shall not be consummated. Especially should the hostility of every friend of the initiative and referendum system of voting in all parties be exerted to thwart the scheme of the bribers and vote buyers. The passage of the bill over the governor's veto at the next session will secure indefinitely the complete supremacy of the Portland ring in the politics of the state.

future development by the construction of a portage railway at an estimated cost of \$454,000, and recommended that further development of commerce should thereby be afforded by providing for what is required by the construction of a canal.

For six long years Senator Dolph has persisted in an impracticable scheme of a portage railway, only at last to be defeated by the board of engineers, which does not recognize the scheme at all, and for six long years the opening of the Columbia river free to commerce has been retarded by the obstinate adherence of our senator to his most visionary scheme. It is really not easy to comprehend why he should so persistently insist on an obstructionist to the improvement of the Columbia unless it be for the purpose of maintaining a consistency with his well-known views upon the tariff. He favors a tariff policy which obstructs free trade with other countries, and obstructing the navigation of the Columbia would be in line with such policy. It is, however, much more important to the people of Eastern Oregon that the Columbia river should be opened to free commerce than that Senator Dolph should maintain a consistency upon the tariff. There is no question of much greater importance to the people of Eastern Oregon and the lower Columbia than that of securing the improvement of the Columbia at The Dalles.

Senator Dolph in a letter dated Oct. 22, 1893, referring to the first report of the engineers on The Dalles improvement said: "The engineers have recommended a portage railway as a temporary expedient to overcome the canal and locks at this point, while a canal and a boat railway is being constructed. Congress has never yet entered upon the work of constructing railroads, and I do not believe it possible to secure an appropriation for the purpose of building a portage road." Of course it is not possible if my delegation in congress opposes it. At my request two years ago Chairman Blanchard of the river and harbor committee moved that \$454,000 be placed in the river and harbor bill for such a purpose. Our whole delegation opposed it and it was defeated. There is nothing wrong or wicked in the government building and operating a railroad. During the last two years 111 railroads with 95,883 miles and a capitalization of \$1,022,400,000 have passed into the hands of receivers and are now run by the federal courts. If federal judges, who are generally a lot of impracticables, can run that number of roads, there is no doubt whatever that Uncle Sam could safely run a small portage road five or six miles long.

Initiative and Referendum.
The demand of the Populist-state platform for a constitutional convention to revise our state constitution and include therein the initiative and referendum is one of the most important and necessary measures ever presented to a free people. The initiative gives a certain percentage of the voters the power to initiate any law, which must then be submitted to a vote of the people. The referendum makes it imperative that all legislative enactments be referred to the people for ratification. In practice it has been found that the referendum is the principal feature of this law-making system. The wisdom and justice of this plan is self-evident and must win the approval of every man who is in favor of free governments. Our governments now are supposed to represent the people's will, but the present machinery is quite imperfect for that purpose. We now have in both state and federal governments a referendum existing entirely without constitutional warrant, and in nearly all cases subversive of, instead of obedient to, the wishes of the people.

The courts have arrogated to themselves the right to pass upon all laws, and if such laws are not, in their individual judgment, what they ought to be, they claim and exercise the legislative power of annulling them. Such a procedure, sanctioned by usage and acquiescence in by all, has virtually changed our form of representative government into a judicial oligarchy. The judges of the court, instead of the representatives of the people, now declare what our laws are and shall be. It is their province to interpret and not make or unmake laws. In order, therefore, to restore again to the people that which belongs to them in every free government, the referendum is an absolute necessity. The people and not the judges should say what the laws shall be, and both the judges and the people, when laws are duly enacted, should be compelled to obey them.

The Australian ballot, which secures to the voter a fair expression of his will, and the Swiss referendum, which secures a sure enforcement of such will, are the two strong pillars upon which alone free governments can endure. Let the referendum system of law-making be incorporated in our constitutions, and then we will have a sure guarantee that the laws of the land will be what they always should be, the just expression of the popular will.

On the paramount question of finance all Populists are substantially agreed; on the lesser question of tariff adjustment they may differ, and therefore what I shall say on the tariff will be, as St. Paul expresses it, "by permission and not of commandment."

The prevailing hard times are attributable, so say our Republican friends, to tariff agitation and to the interference with the McKinley law. They have very treacherous memories. The hard times were upon us while the McKinley law was in full force, and while there was no prospect of its repeal. To prove this assertion one has only to refer to facts and statistics. The Railway Age of January,