

The Colonist.

FRIDAY, JULY 13, 1894.

THE GOVERNMENT'S MAJORITY.

The majority of eight gained by the Government Saturday was honorably won. The election campaign from the very first on the side of the Government was fairly and moderately conducted. The people were asked to judge the Government by its works and to reward it according to its merits. No improper inducements were held out to any constituency. No article at all resembling that of the Vancouver News-Advertiser in commending General Kinchank to the electors of Cariboo appeared in any Government newspaper. In that article, as our readers may remember, the electors are asked to vote for the Major-General because his influence with British capitalists is such that if he were their representative they might be able to command any amount of British capital, and that the intention of the Opposition is, if they are placed in power, to give Cariboo the railway it so greatly needs. When we afterwards heard that General Kinchank had retired from the contest we at once attributed his giving up the fight to the Advertiser's seductive article. He has the name of being an honorable man, and we hastily concluded that he indignantly refused to continue the contest after such a barefaced attempt had been made in his behalf to corrupt the constituency. But we were mistaken. The General did not retire. He either did not read the News-Advertiser's article, or he was not so highly minded as not to take advantage of the corrupt offers that had been made by his newspaper advocate. The Government party on looking back have nothing to reproach themselves with. Their opponents used all sorts of weapons and were just as ready to strike below the belt as above it. Government men defended themselves as best they could and when they were the assailants they did not use an unlawful weapon or strike an unfair blow. In fact they were both in the newspapers and on the platform remarkably moderate. In their treatment of opponents they were Quakers when compared with the howlers, the heelers and the spouters of the other side.

WHO WERE THE SECTIONALISTS?

The Times says that we have nothing to "crow" about. We rather think that if it were in our place it would crow frequently—and justly. If it had gained a majority of eight and had beaten its opponents in the city so badly that every one of their candidates had lost his deposit it would not soon cease exulting on its glorious victory.

Our contemporary says that we "saw a victory achieved as the result of a debasing sectionalism." We saw no such thing. The "sectionalism" was all on the other side, and the Times saw it, and was silent. It knew that the "conveyances with a great part of the Opposition was from the very first sectional, and it did not utter a single word, even of remonstrance. It did not attempt to check the intensely sectional utterances of the clerical demagogue Maxwell and other Opposition orators. The electors of Victoria were not aware of the true nature of the Opposition campaign in several parts of the Province until a few days before the election. But now after the election is over, the Times, which was in collusion with the Maxwell tribe all along, reproaches the Government and its supporters with "sectionalism." As long as sectionalism promised to benefit the Opposition their Victoria organ said nothing about it, but after the rampant sectionalists are badly beaten, it turns round and accuses the victors of "debasing sectionalism." Let it look at home. The sectionalists are all in its own camp as it well knows.

AN IRRESPONSIBLE MINORITY.

The disorders in Chicago and other parts of the United States are the effects of an attempt to rule by a minority. The Pullman employees and the members of the American Railway Union and other labor organizations carrying on the boycott are but a very small minority of the inhabitants of the ten States so affected by the strike. Yet this minority takes upon itself to do what no government, however arbitrary or tyrannical, would venture to attempt. What would be thought of a government which by an arbitrary decree would put a stop to traffic and travel over a large extent of country? The Government that would put obstacles in the way of the transmission of the mails, and thereby subject millions of citizens to great loss and inconvenience, would be condemned by the great mass of the people. Such an agitation would be raised against it that it would have to show that its action was caused by a regard for the public safety, or it would be driven from power as soon as the forms of the constitution would permit, or very likely much sooner. Nine men out of ten would consider themselves justified in taking up arms against a Government that acted in this tyrannical manner.

There is no Government in the world, we venture to say, that does attempt to enforce its decrees and carry out its policy by the means resorted to by this insignificant minority of the people of the United States. What would be thought of a government that would destroy the property of non-feeling people by wholesale, that in order to compel men to obey its boasts would burn immense stores of the necessities of life and other commodities. A Government that committed such outrages, even if it were placed in power by the majority of the people, would be attacked from a thousand quarters and would be forced to resign the trust it had so shamefully and so wickedly abused.

But President Debs and Master Work-

man Sovereign say that they do not approve of those outrages, that they have been committed contrary to their express orders. Why then, it may very properly be asked, do they not punish the offenders and regulate matters in such a way that they will be impossible in the future? The answer is that they have no such power! Precisely. It is from this point we see the fearful responsibility which these men have incurred. They have wilfully and with their eyes wide open to the consequences set in motion a force which, when once it begins to move, they have no control whatever. They are in the position of the man who applies the torch to a pile of highly combustible material in the midst of a great city. When in the natural course of things the fire which they have so thoughtlessly and wickedly kindled goes beyond their control it is worse than foolish for them to disclaim responsibility. They knew or should have known from the very first what would have been the consequences of lighting a fire in such a place at such a time. If they did not foresee the consequences they were fools and if they did foresee the consequences they were miscreants. There can be no doubt that men who set about disturbing society to accomplish their own private ends are responsible for all the consequences which those disturbances produce. If President Debs had the members of the organization of which he is the head so well in hand, so perfectly disciplined that he had what prudent men will admit good reason to expect that when the boycott was declared they would behave in a quiet and orderly manner and permit the railway companies to run their trains as best they could, and if he had the power to punish severely any of them who disobeyed his orders, he might have been justified in declaring a boycott.

For everyone admits the right of men to work when they please and for whom they please. But he had no such assurance, and his power over the members of the organization is infinitesimally small. He must have seen that disorder would ensue and that outrages would be committed, and he knew perfectly well that he had no means at his command to enforce obedience to his orders.

Besides, there is this important matter to be considered: What right had he or the members of his organization to attempt to impose their will on the great body of the people, to punish millions of innocent persons for the alleged offences of a very few? Those who have already suffered in consequence of the Pullman boycott count up now to millions, the vast majority of whom had no more connection with the policy of the Pullmans than if they lived in another planet. By what right do Debs and his associates subject all these innocent persons to loss and inconvenience? Are they not acting the part of irresponsible tyrants? They have the power to inflict loss on the community. Are they not responsible for the way in which they use that power? Should not the nation to which they belong hold them responsible? Is it not contrary to reason and to justice that millions of American citizens should be at the mercy, so to speak, of an organization composed of a few thousands?

There is another point of view from which this gigantic boycott can be surveyed. It has been proclaimed in the interests of Labor, yet there are hundreds of thousands of laborers in different industries who are injured by it, many of them innocent creatures who have no idea of the cause of their suffering, and who have had no voice, direct or indirect, in the councils of those who organized and who are keeping up the movement. Is this fair to Labor? We venture to say that the workers are to-day both in numbers and intensity, the greatest sufferers from the Pullman boycott. Here again the ugly features of the rule of the minority obtrude themselves on the attention. The sufferings of these poor people may be only beginning.

AN AMERICAN VIEW.

The Portland Oregonian has often a forcible way of stating a case and its reasoning is generally sound. It has, too, the courage of its convictions. When it feels strongly on a subject it does not wait to consider whether its views are popular or the reverse. It speaks out clearly and independently and it is generally on the right side. In an article on the position occupied by the American Railway Union in the Pullman boycott, it says:

The essence of this position is that, whenever any body of workmen in any part of the country are dissatisfied with the conditions under which they work, and their employers refuse to satisfy their demands, an irresponsible central power, assuming to control all the labor of the country, may order that to be abandoned wherever such an industry all over the country is directly or indirectly affected by the injury wrought to innocent persons or interests; may, indeed, decree general suspension of business, trade and industry all over the country, as well as the opinion into the war upon the offending employer by threatening to involve all in complete and common ruin.

This is precisely what has been done in place where the boycott strike has succeeded. Through large parts of Illinois and California, industry has been paralyzed, trade is destroyed, mails have been stopped, government is suspended, and anarchy reigns. If this result were brought about by the voluntary conspiracy of all workmen to be idle, it would be pardonable, but it is not. There is no such voluntary agreement. Part of the workmen are intimidated and compelled to do so. Many are willing to work, but are not permitted to do so. Their lives are threatened. When they try to move trains, track is torn up ahead of all of them, cars are overturned and burned. The boycott strike is maintained by force and terror. Labor of the country, as well as trade and industry, lies under a most despotism.

This is not to be endured. All the instincts of order, all the sentiments of civilization, all the impulses of organized social life, rebel against it. The issue no longer is between Pullman and his men. The con-

try has nearly forgotten the existence of Pullman. It is no longer between the railroad companies and the strikers. It is between the American Railway Union and all the rest of the country; between industrial society and mob despotism; between government and anarchy.

THE PRESIDENT'S PROCLAMATION.

The proclamation of the President of the United States, issued on the 9th inst., shows that he is fully alive to the necessities of the situation. He is determined to maintain order and to assert the supremacy of the law. Protests against his first proclamation were made by Governor Altgeld, of Illinois, and President Debs and Master Workman Sovereign. The effect of these protests, it is apparent, has been to strengthen his determination to put down lawlessness of all kinds and to enforce the laws of the Republic against all who violate them.

That it was time that he should interpose his authority to put down disorder and to prevent outrage is evident to all who know what has been going on in several States of the Union for the last week and more. Had the rioters and incendiaries been allowed to go on unchecked, or had they been left to deal with by the timid and in many cases sympathetic State authorities, there is no telling to what lengths they would go. They were beginning to feel that they were a power in the land and it would not be long before they would be possessed of the idea that they were irresistible. The condition of things had become alarming. Harper's Weekly, which is generally extremely moderate in its comments on public questions and events, spoke of the boycott more than a week ago in this strain:

It is not necessary to discuss such a position. The power to do harm belongs to every man. The more complicated our social organization becomes, the greater the opportunity for a small number of people to throw it into disorder. In the simplest of our communities every man may become a law unto himself. But it is only in a complex system of society in which the interchange of services is constant and essential that a very few men, engaged in some minor but disquieting of their part, bring such a sense of disaster to multitudes. But the common sense of mankind recognizes the use of this power to do harm, as a means of extorting by threats advantages or profits of any kind, as the basis of a conspiracy, as the means of demanding ransom for the liberation of a man, or as a means of extorting money from the dealers in vice and crime; the news-monger who gathers scandal that he may be paid for suppressing it, these are types of blackmailers whom all the world loathes. The boycott ordered by the railway union is morally no better than any of these acts. It is an attempt to blackmail on the largest scale. It undertakes by duress to compel the community to interfere in a business of which it has no knowledge, and in which it has no rights; to interfere, not to enforce its convictions of right, but to retaliate on the basis of a conspiracy, as the consideration of justice and duty. If the consideration could succeed, all hope for such an adjustment of the relations of labor and capital as will be consistent with social order, must be abandoned. A community which is so terrorized by a conspiracy as to be intimidated into inflicting its decrees against the owners of industries, is already far on the road to anarchy.

The New York Times of the 3rd discussing "the real issue of the strike," says: "The question now is simply whether the rights of the people shall be maintained, the law enforced and public authority vindicated, or whether popular government will be imposed in the face of insurrection that is without excuse. There are certain plain truths before the people of this country and they have been very justly attracted by them with the enforcement of the law. It is the duty of the national government to see that the transportation of the mails is not interfered with and that the operation of the railroads in the custody of the United States courts is not interrupted."

It may fairly be inferred from the utterances of these two able and independent organs of public opinion in the United States that the President has behind him in the measure he takes to maintain the supremacy of the law the great body of intelligent and well disposed citizens of all classes and conditions.

A SINGULAR REFUSAL.

Mr. Cecil Rhodes, the South African statesman, lately made a proposition to the British Government which that Government, on what grounds it is difficult to understand, has seen fit to reject. In a speech which he made not long ago in the Legislative Assembly of Cape Colony, he said that if the House agreed that some return was due to the English people for all their support and help for the protection that the English navy furnished, he himself was of opinion that the best return a colony could make would be to allow British manufactured goods to pass in at a fair rate. "Yes," he went on to say, "the most extraordinary thing is that when the English people are offered the privilege that south of the Zambesi their goods should be admitted forever on a fair basis their rulers absolutely refused."

We know full well that the States south of the Zambesi will join in one system, and their charter possessing a clause that British goods shall never have a tariff higher than the C.P.R. does not use the Pullman palaces. It owns its own sleepers of all grades and consequently the boycotters have no pretext to injure property or to interfere with its operation. Mr. E. H. Huntington, who is an interviewer in San Francisco, has informed an interviewer in San Francisco that "the Canadian Pacific never used Pullman cars. It has always owned and operated the sleepers of its own line. They are made at Dayton, Ohio, and Pullman has had nothing to do with them."

condition of trade be what it may." The attitude of the Africans in such a case is easily understood. They know that the Mother Country has been so liberal to them in matters of trade that she has exhausted her favors and left herself with nothing to give; they are, therefore, willing to make some acknowledgment of the benefits they have received, and do not ask for any additional favor in return. The proposed discrimination in favor of the Mother Country takes the shape of the payment of a debt. It is not a treaty of reciprocity. Yet the British Government declines to accept this apparently slight acknowledgment for benefits conferred!

The Times says: "The Imperial Government has refused to assent to this arrangement, on the ground that foreign imports must not, according to the doctrine of free trade, be subjected to any heavier burdens than home products, and that on the same principle differential duties in favor of British trade, home or colonial, cannot be sanctioned." How the Times can insist upon Imperial interference with the absolute independence accorded to colonies in this matter it is very difficult to understand. South Africa is free to impose unreasonably heavy duties on British commodities. The Times might complain if such duties were imposed but it would not think of suggesting interference. On what principle then does it interfere with the colony's commercial independence when it proposes to keep duties on British commodities low and stationary? The Times, it appears to us, carries its devotion to the doctrine of free trade to the verge of fanaticism. If Great Britain were asked, in return for discrimination in her favor at the Cape, to discriminate in favor of the South African colony, we would see some force in her objection. But she is asked to do nothing but simply accept what is cheerfully and gratefully extended to her. What earthly reason can she have for refusing the graceful offer?

The Pall Mall Gazette takes a common sense view of this South African matter. It says:

There are many who have looked to the establishment of a Zollverein as the only practical method of reaching that Imperial Federation to which we all aspire, but to which we never seem to get any nearer. The difficulty in the way of such a scheme is not so much the theoretical objections of the economists, as the always been, and still is, that we have nothing material to offer to the colonies which they do not already enjoy. We admit their products without fee or duty, and we furnish them with the protection of the Imperial forces of a Zollverein apart from theoretical objections of the economists, as the always been, and still is, that we have nothing material to offer to the colonies which they do not already enjoy. 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