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THE TOLLER

OFFICIAL ORGAN OF THE TORONTO TRADES AND LABOR COUNCIL. PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE
INTERESTS OF THE WORKING MASSES.

TORONTO, MAY 30, 1902

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LABOR WORLD

News and Views of the Ever Advancing Army of Workers.

Rev. Mr. Gilroy made one of the best addresses it was ever my pleasure to listen to. It was at a meeting in the interests of Mr. Jas. Simpson in the East Toronto campaign. Oh, that there were a few more divines built of like material. He has a thorough conception of the present condition of the human family. He has also the happy faculty of putting them in such a shape that his hearers can very readily understand. If I were to hear a few more such as he it would be a pleasure once again to stand up to the church that is supposed to stand up for truth and righteousness in all things. This world badly needs an increase in the number of such men as the Rev. Mr. Gilroy and Duncan Clark. If the pulpits were filled with such it would not be long before the bad influence of the monied few in the church would be destroyed and the workers would be only too willing to return again to what should be the house of refuge from the tyranny and greed of those who have crowned money as king in this world. These reveries were inspired by the pleasurable influence of nature over the mind of the writer while sitting under the influence of a beautiful Sabbath evening in the month of May, when, if things were not such as they are in the church he might have been one more in swelling the congregation of some earnest and conscientious divine. Does it not seem to you that there is a monstrous condition in the world when the arrangements are such that fully one-half of the people upon this earth of abundance for all are made to live such as no orator no matter how endowed he might be with eloquence, could find language to depict. Possibly one-quarter of the people live in comparative plenty, while the other quarter live in perpetual affluence by a systematic robbery of fifty per cent. of the people.

If the great packing concerns at the Union Stock Yards do not accede to the demands of the striking teamsters within a short time, it may result in a general stoppage of 40,000 employes at the yards. Already, several hundred persons have quit. The situation is becoming so involved that it is apparently, will be impossible for the union men to remain at work much longer, without violating the rules of the Chicago Federation of Labor, under which they hold a charter. A strike among the beef butchers or hog butchers or any other set of men, upon whom hundreds of others are dependent, would cause a complete tie-up in every branch. This is said to be not unlikely, because, in many instances, union men have been asked to do the work of the strikers, and have been discharged for refusing. Furthermore, union men are forbidden to handle goods that have been prepared by non-union men, and it is said to be nearly impracticable for the men to continue work without doing this.

The Journeymen Bakers and Confectioners' International Union of America is a body of bakery workmen which has been in existence since 1886, and has at present over 260 branches throughout the United States and Canada with a membership of over 12,000, constantly growing in numbers, strength and power. The objects, to quote from its constitution, are: The promotion of the material and intellectual welfare of all working people in the baking trade by organization and education; by reduction of the hours of labor, by gradually abolishing such evils as may prevail in the baking trade; by establishing labor bureaus wherever possible; by assisting members in legal cases in matters concerning the union and by the abolition of night work. A sick and death benefit fund has been created in connection with the international union, and in case of sickness a member is entitled to a benefit of \$3 per week; the death benefit is \$100.

The machine has taken an active part in almost every craft. It was even attempted in shaving. Realizing that a world of time is lost in shaving, a Parisian barber recently invented a patent electric quick-shaving machine, consisting of a number of safety revolving brushes and a small lathering brush, whereby shaves were effected that were really quick. All went well till a customer who had been operated on discovered that the whole of the lower part of his face had turned a bright blue. Some twenty other customers then appeared who stated that they had experienced the same phenomenon, which was due to electric burns. As a result the unfortunate barber has now been served with seventeen summonses for damages. It is now his turn to look blue.

The Central Labor Union, of Holyoke, Mass., at the request of the postal clerks' union of that city has passed the following resolution regarding trading stamps: "The Retail Clerks' Union after due consideration has taken a decided stand against the system of trading stamps, and calls upon all union men and adherents of home trade principles not to patronize any merchant giving trading stamps."

The T. Eaton Company Refused to pay Union Wages to the Printers employed in its Composing Room. It is a Union Crusher.

The Gurney Foundry Company is in the same class with the T. Eaton Company.

Workingmen, patronize your friends and never forget your enemies.

On May 1 the Clothing Cutters' Union, 26, of St. Louis, declared a general strike to enforce the demand for the 8-hour work day. The Schwab Clothing Company, Schmitz & Schroeder Clothing Company, A. Siefert & Company, and the St. Louis Pants Company signed the 8-hour petition. Seventy-one members employed in the other shops are involved in the strike. President Largent was on the ground, and conducted negotiations. The Marx & Hass Jeans Clothing Company settled its differences with the Cutters' Union, after failing to secure the injunction applied for.

The union of junior machinists recently formed in Chicago is proving a success more than 100 boys having already joined. Similar unions have been organized in New York, Pittsburg, Milwaukee, St. Louis, Kansas City, Omaha, San Francisco, Cleveland and Philadelphia. Boys of any age who have worked six months at the trade are eligible, and the older men say that the boys who join and take an active interest in organizing work are certain to become good unionists when they become journeymen.

An attempt is being made through the medium of the press despatches to alienate public sympathy from the striking miners by sending out false statements of the situation and the doings of the leaders of the men. This is the old tactics over again, and we hope the people will treat them as they deserve. Give no credence to them.

North American Life Assurance Company

To be out of work is generally considered a misfortune, as it frequently causes more or less discomfort in the home, but many a man can look back on his life with genuine gratitude for the chance or accident, resulting in his loss of employment. An active or energetic man who is thrown out of work will generally, if he is in earnest, be able to find something to which he can turn his hand, which will make up in part at least for the loss of his regular employment, and not infrequently it is found that the chance employment thus picked up has resulted in securing better and more permanent and profitable work than that which he thought himself unfortunate enough to lose. It is surprising how many fields of occupation are open to a man who is in earnest about getting work.

Perhaps no business has in its employment a larger number of well-paid and satisfied men, who have originally been mechanics or workmen, than the business of life insurance. The management of every company in this country can point with admiration to some of their best and most successful men, who joined the ranks of life insurance workers merely to fill in time while temporarily out of work, but finding the business pleasant and highly profitable, have entered into it with a determination to succeed and make it their life work in the Provident Branch of the North American Life Assurance Company, managed by The National Agency Company, such men are found in large numbers throughout Ontario and Quebec, and are counted among the most successful of the Company's Managers, Superintendents and Collectors. Any earnest intelligent man, who is out of employment, is urged to call at the Head Office of the National Agency Company and obtain particulars and information as to how he may profitably employ his time in the business of life insurance, on the easiest and most attractive plans, that have ever been introduced into this country, for insuring men, women and children for large or small sums. Men are paid right from the start in this branch of the company's business and several important positions can now be filled by suitable men. The Head Office of the Company is on the second floor of the North American Life Building, 112-113 King Street West, and any man wishing employment, may be sure of receiving substantial assistance from the company, that will enable him to get established in the business. If you are out of work or wish to permanently better your position, you are cordially invited to apply at the company's offices at the above address.

The National Agency Co., Limited
MANAGING AGENT
North American Life Building
112 to 113 King St. W.
TORONTO, CANADA

The Carriage and Wagon Workers are still fighting for their rights. They are making a grand fight of it, and should receive the support of all the workers in this city. Such conditions as they have been working under should not be tolerated by any class of men. Their wages were away down below the living rates and in this attempt to better them they are bound to succeed.

One of the old timers of old 91, Mr. J. B. Anderson, now of Toledo, was elected a delegate to the next I. T. U. Convention. His many old friends in Toronto will be pleased to learn that for the first time in the history of Toledo Union the delegate for I. T. U. honors was given the plumb without opposition and he was an old-time Toronto boy, at that.

The latest circular issued by P. M. Draper, secretary of the Dominion Trades Congress, has the following as the motto of the Congress: The Canadian laborer's hope—a central head seeking legislation, arbitration, conciliation and the enforcement of labor laws.

Trades and Labor Council

Interesting Meeting that was Fairly Well Attended—Pointers for All Workers to Remember.

The regular meeting of the Trades and Labor Council was opened on May 22nd with Vice-President Cox in the chair. The minutes of previous meeting were read and approved. Delegates Morton, Douglas and Gavagan were appointed a Credentials Committee and reported the following credentials, seating the delegates named: Metal Polishers and Buffers—Eugene Oakley, in place of John Fiddis; Trunk and Bag Workers—A. Stewart, J. Dunlop and J. Murphy; Press Feeders—Thos. Morton, James Shaw, J. Hinchcliffe. The following statements were made by the delegates: Delegate Wilson gave a statement of the T. Eaton strike. Everything was reported in favor of the Printers, and they won the fight for a recognition of the fair wage question. The Moulders delegate kept the Gurney fight before the delegates. The Shirt Waist and Laundry Workers expect to have the label in use in a week or so. Delegate Kennedy for the Cigarmakers reported on the Montreal strike. The Carnegie Cigar, made by J. Hirsch's shop is one of the strike shops and the name of the cigar should be enough to disgust any workman. They not only give us an unfair cigar, but they are also offering premiums with it. The retailers get something for selling it and the consumer is offered an inducement to smoke it. Delegate Gardner for the Bakers reported the granting of their demands by the bosses and asked the delegates to still remember the label. The Structural Iron Workers reported the winning of their demands for an increase in wages. The Carriage and Wagon Workers reported their strike still unsettled. Two large firms had granted their demands and signed the agreement. The Carpenters reported getting their demands and that there were now 1,000 union carpenters in the city. Letter Carriers' hours were brought to the notice of the Council and after much discussion it was referred to the Legislative Committee. The Civic Employes were not yet getting the 20 cent an hour rate, the Board of Control being the stumbling

block. This was referred to the Municipal Committee. The Brass Moulders reported Dean Bros. on the unfair list. Communications were received and dealt with as follows: From Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, Queen City Lodge, stating that they would have delegates at the meeting on June 12th. From Wainmore Bros. & Co., re trouble over unfair bottles was referred to the Label Committee. From St. Thomas Trades Council, returning thanks for donation. From Texada Miners' Union giving details of proposed importation of alien workmen and stating that arrangements were made at the hotels on Texada Island for their accommodation. From Iron Moulders Union, No. 331, Moncton, N. B., appeal for assistance in their fight with the Record Foundry & Machine Co., Moncton, N. B. Referred to Label Committee. From the Oakville Navigation Co., re unfair man reporting that he had joined the union. The management of the boats believes in unionism. Niagara Navigation Co., to the effect that he had no objection to union men, but did not wish to coerce any man. From the Marine Engineers stating that the White Star boat is fair and the Niagara Navigation Company is also on the fair list. From Allied Trades and Labor Association of Ottawa, asking a copy of the Labor Day Association agreement with Exhibition. Referred to the delegates. From Trades and Labor Council of Calgary as to the Tudhope Carriage Works being unfair. The answer sent was that they were unfair and had disrupted the union. From the Trades Council of Peterboro, re Gurney Co. strike; was published in last week's issue. From the Board of Trade submitting resolution sent to the City Council, re cutting down estimates of Technical School Board. Filed. The Municipal Committee had no report. The Label Committee's report was read by Secretary Kennedy and adopted as read. The Educational Committee's report was read by Secretary Ward and adopted as read, after a motion to refer it back was defeated. The Organization Committee's chairman gave a verbal report of their doings for the past two weeks. The Secretary by resolution was instructed to ask Controller McMurchie to move to reinstate in the estimates the original sum asked on behalf of the Technical School. The Council adjourned at 11 o'clock.

If not misinformed, we understand that the city of Toronto pays Magistrate Denison \$333 1-3 per month as police magistrate, not as Lieut.-Col. George Taylor Denison, the self-appointed apostle of imperial federation, who is now tuff-hunting previous to the distribution of coronation honors. If some alderman who chances to wake up before the magistrate returns does not stop the payment of his salary you may expect some private individual to apply for an injunction to prevent its payment.

The city has the right to inspect meat and milk and report the results of the inspection. Why not inspect in a scientific way and have analyzed other foods—and drinks also? What alderman has enough nerve to take the initiative now? If none do all will have lost an opportunity. Speak now or don't seek re-election.

YOU OUGHT TO GET

Your Clothing with the Custom Tailors Union Labels on from

D. G. DOUGLAS & CO.,
CUSTOM TAILORS,
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PRICE STYLE AND FIT RIGHT

SMITH & CO.

286 QUEEN ST. WEST



The man who takes another's life in the heat of passion is a prince from a moral standpoint compared to the low-lived, cold-blooded sneak that sells you ADULTERATED GOODS, which (represented as being pure and life-giving) will kill you as sure as the highwayman's bludgeon.

Why should a member of Parliament not be a member of Parliament? The real answer, so far as most are concerned, is that he is one now and has never done any good as such.

Why should "Canada's greatest store" that was, become Canada's greatest wreck? Because it ignores the rights of LABOR which PRODUCES ALL WEALTH.

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3 lb. pails, white clover 9 40
5 lb. pails, white clover 65
10 lb. pails, white clover 1 10
2 lbs. for 25

Give your children good bread, good butter and a little honey and they will grow fat.

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167 1/2 KING ST. EAST.

Note: This store received the first prize of \$200.00 in gold for having sold the largest quantity of union made tobacco of any store in Toronto.

100 Pings McDonally Smoking or Chewing Tobacco returned to 2 for 10c.

10c Pings Myrtle Navy (Union Made) 2 for 10c
10c Pings Bob's reduced to 3 for 10c
10c Pings U & I Chewing (Union Made) 3 for 10c
10c Pings British Navy (Union Made) 3 for 10c
10c Pings Queen's Navy 3 for 10c

Noted for the best 2c Irish Pipes in Canada. A coupon given for every 2c purchase.

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Suits French Cleaned
Suits Dryed

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FOR NEURALGIA, MIGRAINES, ALL HEADACHES, COLIC IN TUBERCLES

SOLD BY ALL DRUGGISTS & BAZARISTS
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Will be Pleased to Hear That
NEW UNION
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SAVE MONEY
Either in pure drugs or the best photographic material should take the first opportunity of calling on the well known and old established firm of
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Let me see a sample bottle of your Jersey milk as my doctor has prescribed it.

Besides being pure, wholesome bread and having the nutty flavor so pleasing to the palate REGAN'S BREAD has the

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and all members of labor unions should ask for it
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Men's Suits for Spring



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THE TOILER

Official Organ of the Toronto Trades and Labor Council.

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6: Victoria Street, Room 1, First Floor.

All correspondence relating to the business of the paper should be addressed to the Business Manager.

Copy or notices for the reading column of the paper should be addressed to the Editor.

Copy for advertisements to ensure insertion should be in the office not later than Wednesday evening.

The Business Committee meets first Monday in each month. R. Glocking, chairman; Jas. Wilson, secretary; J. H. Huddleston, treasurer; B. R. Eaton, W. R. Ward.

TORONTO, MAY 30, 1902.

Memorial from Toronto Trades and Labor Council to the Conference of Boards of Trade.

As matters which you propose to discuss are of the greatest importance to the welfare of this country, and to all classes of the community, this Council takes advantage of your courtesy in affording them an opportunity to place their views before you.

TRADE RELATIONS WITH THE EMPIRE.

This question has two relationships; first, the unity or severance between nation and nation, and second, the relations between the parts of the Empire.

As to the first relation between nation and nation, shall we pursue the policy of equal justice to all or shall we discriminate, favoring some more than others? In answer to that question we would like to see this country aim at the highest ideals.

Humanity is by nature a brotherhood, and in the ideal brotherhood, for which we should most strenuously strive, that ideal must be recognized. Justice demands that at the basis of all law there should be equality, that all should be treated alike, without regard to station, creed, nativity or color.

It has been the glorious boast of the British people that in freedom and in all that pertains to an advanced civilization, they have maintained the equality of the law, one and the same for the rich and the poor, for the native born and the stranger in the gate.

That whatever your conference may advise, it will never be marked with the pettiness of spirit which led the Jew to have no dealings with the Samaritan. As all preferences are a violation of the spirit of brotherhood this Council would be glad to see them avoided and to see the ideal recognition of the fact that "humanity" is always first and predominant to nationality.

Those who have the faith to build on this basis of equal justice to all, need have no fear for the stability of the superstructure.

AS TO THE MATTER OF DEFENSE.

This Council regrets exceedingly the unfortunate disposition far too manifest at the present time to increase the armaments of the nations. How unnecessary since a course is being learned from the condition of affairs on this continent. During a hundred years, with a population much smaller than at present, when the nation was weaker, the United States had no standing army or a mere nucleus of an army.

There is no parallel in the history of the world, a union of thirty or more nations, living in the utmost harmony without the first trace of military defenses between them. From the earliest settlement of this continent till the taking of Quebec in 1759, the relations between the British and French settlers was one of repeated and bloody warfare.

One of the greatest blessings in the history of the world was the union of these two races, and since then, in spite of national and religious differences, men can live in the utmost peace and concord.

Why is it that we can pass from state to state or from province to province without seeing the gathering of soldiers and the massive fortifications, which meet the traveller as he passes from country to country in Europe? Is not the answer obvious to be seen and read by all men? Wherever nations unite in the formation of a common country to which all matters can be referred according to the principles of peace and reason, there the British methods of warfare pass away.

We would urge, therefore, for the sake of the highest interest of humanity, that your conference recommend that no increase be made in the way of armament, but that every endeavor be made to substitute the establishment of international courts of arbitration.

AS TO POSTAL AND TELEGRAPHIC COMMUNICATION.

In no case that we know of has any government trusted the postal service to the care of a private corporation. It is conducted universally in the interest of the public and not for the sake of the dividends of some joint stock institution. Should not the telegraphic service be conducted in the same way? No one ever proposes in Britain or in other countries where public ownership of this service has been tried, to return to the old method. This Council would

THE TOILER

therefore like to see a resolution favoring the nationalizing of this service.

THE BRITISH CORN LAWS.

It is impossible to approach this subject properly without recognizing one fact of overwhelming importance—the wide difference between the conditions of the rich and the poor in that country. The burden of supplying the taxes of that nation already falls excessively on the laboring classes. The people have neither time nor money to spare. Any increase of taxation on this part cuts to the quick every time. It means a deprivation of some necessity. On the other hand if the taxes are taken from the ground rents of the large cities or the rentals of the immense estates, the owners thereof would never feel the "loss" of the first luxury. When we appeal to the question of right or wrong to which of the two funds has the nation a right to go for its common expenses? The value of the land caused by the people as a whole, or the value of the products of the individual? Can there be the least doubt to the correct answer? This Council hopes, therefore, that on this point you will feel no hesitation that these corn laws should be condemned without the slightest reservation.

SOUTH AUSTRALIA.

In earlier numbers of The Toiler we have referred to the great advance that Proportional Representation has made in the State of South Australia. It was hoped that the recent adoption of a new Constitution for the State would include the adoption of the Hare system of P. R., which is the system advocated in this hope.

South Australia. This hope has not been realized, but a step towards it has been taken by the rejection of single-member electorates.

The Legislature in future will consist of sixty members—18 in the upper chamber and 42 in the lower. For the purposes of election, the State has been divided into four Councils and twelve Assembly districts, while the Northern Territory will still have the privilege of returning two members. Section 11 provides that the term of service of Legislative Councilors shall be at least six years, and to establish the retiring order it has been decided that the nine members who are lowest at the end of three years shall vacate their seats at the expiration of the House of Assembly.

Therefore half the Council members will go to the country at each general election. The new electoral districts may be summarized as follows: Legislative Council (the upper chamber), one six-member district, and three districts electing four members each.

House of Assembly (the lower chamber), one five-member district, two districts returning four members each; nine three-member districts, and one district with two members.

The "block vote" to be used in the elections; that is, each elector will have as many votes as there are members to be elected from his district. This, of course, will lead to a gross monopoly of representation. A mere section of the voters, who may be either a majority or a minority, can sweep the polls, elect all the members, and leave the remainder of the voters without representation. A minority of those voting can do this when three tickets are in the field.

Proportionalists hope therefore, that the evils of the block voting system will be too much for education in South Australia to put up with, and that the people will demand the adoption of the Hare system, which so many of them now understand.

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If more than one sends in the correct answer we will divide money equally between them. We are doing this to get GRANO COFFEE well before the public and to get GRANO into everybody's mouth.

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THE REFERENDUM IN THE U.S.

(John Bates Clark, L.L.D., in The New York Independent.)

Are we to have referendum in America? If what we mean by that word is the power to control legislation, the question is equivalent to asking whether we are to have democracy in America. The self-government that we have consists more in the power to control the measures at least one action which the government does in the mere selecting of the men who shall do the governing.

In the selection of men we have comparatively little power. The bosses do the nominating and we ratify the nominations, though in the ratification we have a choice between nominees. We usually elect them on some issue, and the election determines at least one action which the government will take; but it leaves undecided a vast number of other issues over which the actual power of the people is small. We manage to control general policies, but over everything of a detailed character we allow our rulers to have their way.

Their way is mainly the bosses way, and that, too frequently, is the way of the men who make campaign contributions.

The real issue, then, is whether we shall do our self-governing in an awkward and imperfect manner, which invites corruption, or in a direct and efficient way which tends to suppress corruption. Contributions that figure so largely, and in a moral way so badly, in American political life come because the legislator is able to actually "deliver the goods" that are contracted for. If he could not do it, or if there were even much uncertainty as to his ability to do it,

contributions would either be not forthcoming on a much smaller scale. Quite long ago an Englishman spoke of Switzerland as the "accursed country of the referendum."

"After one has with great difficulty secured the passage of a bill in the legislature," said he, "it is still a matter of uncertainty whether the people will not defeat it." The man actually thought that he was arguing AGAINST the referendum. Would it not be well for the people of America to have the option of defeating now and then a measure which some one has "with great difficulty" and expense forced through the legislative body?

The most essential issue in this connection is that the expense in cases where that is incurred, would either become less or vanish altogether if the referendum were impending. The man who gives his check for one hundred thousand dollars in order to get a bill through a lawmaking assembly can obviously not rely upon the popular support for it. The presumption is against a bill of that character, and if the single fact of the costliness of it were to become known or suspected the chances that the referendum would be applied to it and that the bill would be defeated would be very great. Large expenditures are rash and unbusinesslike expenditures where legislation is passed under the scrutiny of the people and is liable to be revised by them.

Of course, all legislation can in one way be revised, and if necessary reversed, by the popular vote, and that, too, without any change in our constitutional forms. If corrupt measures are passed, can we not turn out those particular rascals who enact them and put in others? The troubles connected with that policy are numerous and serious. If the new men whom we put in are adherents of another political machine, henchmen of another boss, the practical gain may be small and transient. The change of parties may do one thing that we are determined to have done, since it may reverse one particular measure, but it will leave the field open for other measures many of which may be as corrupt as the one that we suffered from before.

"Measures, not men," used to be the popular political cry. Some years ago we grew tired of it and were even inclined to substitute the opposite cry, "Men and not measures." We found that accepting unworthy men in order to secure the adoption of our general line of policy was often in the end a losing bargain. It involved accepting a multitude of more detailed enactments which these unworthy men were sure to give us. The worst of it was that, whichever cry we adopted, we adhered to the system which merged in one the choice of men and the dictation of measures. We could not do the two things separately and therefore we could not do either in any satisfactory way. We cannot now dictating measures in and by the act of choosing men is a hopelessly clumsy way of governing ourselves. Ultimately we must have more power than we now have to choose men; but we must certainly have, in the near future, very much more power to control measures.

In two years, if the Legislature of New York takes no action on the executive question, the people of New York City will, in their present clumsy way, apply the referendum to that issue. The election of 1903 will become to a considerable extent an appeal to the people concerning the policy to be adopted in reference to saloons. Can they decide that question on its merits? If they want one result, they will have to accept with the government of everything which that means. If they want the other result, they will accept with it government by those who are called the fusionists. Would it not be well to separate, in this instance, the discussion of the measure from the election of the party that is to rule? Is it well to stand where the adoption of a course of action that the people

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really want would have to mean a return to Tammany? This is only one striking instance of the evil that comes from dictating measures in and by the act of choosing men. With the institution of the referendum in what policy we could first determine to saloons, and then we could select the men to whom we wish to intrust the general interests of the city.

It is discouraging enough to try to purify American politics. It means eternal vigilance, but it also means eternal work against UNNECESSARY difficulties. We could remove many inducements to corruption if we chose to do it. We could put large pay for political "goods" because they could not promise, with any confidence, to deliver them. We could put the people where they could detect the rottenness of such contracts, and in a glaring case would be possible for voters to have their way in controlling measures of government without being forced, whenever they prescribed a measure through the medium of an actual election, to accept with it men and rings that they do not want in general control of the state.

Of course, there are objections to the referendum. It would involve a little labor on the part of the people, and would cost something. That objection counts for so nearly nil that it is scarcely worth stating. The people will never purify political life, and to the extent to which this would do it, at any such trading cost as this would entail.

"You can never get a full vote in applying the referendum." In the majority of cases you cannot. In some important cases you can. The cases in which you do not draw out a full vote are those in which many persons have no decided opinions and wishes. Those who have opinions and wishes that are worth expressing represent, on such an issue, the real popular choice. They are probably men who know more about the measures and about the way in which they would effect the well-being of the public. The vote decided by such men is far from being worthless, since it may register the only decision that can in any sense claim to have the popular will behind it. Very important in this connection are two facts—namely, first, that any conspicuously bad measure would be apt to draw out a full vote, and, secondly, that it would be hazardous for any corporation to pay much to a boss, in order to secure the enactment of a bill, if it were afterward to take its chance on the issue of a vote in which even a minority of intelligent citizens should take part.

There is danger that we may sacrifice something of the essence of democracy in order to save one of the names by which we are accustomed to call it. We have long been proud of the extent to which we have developed the "representative" principle

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