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POLITICS.

CAMPAIGN

1904.

D.S. 33082

and that the first effort to meet this new competition would be made by cutting down wages, and would therefore be primarily at the cost of labor. In the case of some of our greatest trusts such a change might confer upon them a positive benefit. Speaking broadly, it is evident that the changes in the tariff will affect the trusts for good or for worse simply as they affect the whole country. The tariff affects trusts only as it affects all other interests. It makes all these interests large or small, profitable and its benefits can be taken from the large only under penalty of taking them from the small also.

To sum up, then, we must as a people approach a matter of such prime economic importance as the tariff from the standpoint of our business needs. We cannot afford to become fastidious or to fail to recognize the fact that on the needs of the country changes it may be necessary to meet these new needs by changing certain features of our tariff laws. Still less can we afford to fail to recognize the further fact that these changes must not be made until the need for them outweighs the disadvantages which may result, and when it becomes necessary to make them they should be made with full recognition of the need of stability in our economic system and of keeping unchanged the principle of that system which has now become a settled policy in our National life. We have prospered marvellously at home. As a Nation we stand in the very forefront in the giant international industrial competition of the day. We cannot afford by any freak of folly to forfeit the position to which we have thus triumphantly attained.

ERRORS OF THE UNIONS

SENATOR HEYBURN POINTS THEM OUT FRANKLY.

He Believes in Labor Organizations, but Condemns Two of Its Evil Practices.

United States Senator W. B. Heyburn, of Wallace, Idaho, is in no wise chary about expressing his opinions on labor unions. Moreover, his opinions are not altogether favorable, and in some respects he takes a position of avowed and vigorous opposition to their methods.

This procedure and freedom of expression, somewhat remarkable in a politician, has apparently cost Senator Heyburn no votes, but on the contrary has, if anything added strength to his following.

Coming from a mining district where the labor unions are exceptionally strong and active and where at times the non-union man has been terrorized, Mr. Heyburn's attitude of open antagonism to some of their principles and acts shows a moral courage which might, as results have proved, be well termed political acumen. "Before the last election," said Senator Heyburn, at the Hotel Portland last evening, "I plainly stated my attitude toward labor unions and their policy. In a speech at Wallace I said: 'I don't want any union man or miner who has worn or will wear a mask to vote for me. I don't want a man of this class to vote the Republican ticket or any part of it, and I certainly do not desire that he shall support me if ever I am a candidate for office. I do not represent that section of the party, and will not truckle to such voters.'

"But," said the Senator, "I am not wholly opposed to unionism. Two policies of labor organizations there are which I will fight uncompromisingly to the end.

"First—interference with or discrimination against the nonunion man, and
"Second—the restriction of the number of apprentices or beginners who shall be allowed to learn an industry.

"These two tenets represent all that can be legitimately exempted to be unionism, and against them I am openly arrayed. If my political salvation should ever depend on my ceasing a violent opposition to them, I fear that I will go down to defeat." And Senator Heyburn, who is somewhat ponderous in build, stamped weightily upon the floor to emphasize his position.

The man whom the last Legislature of Idaho elected to represent the state in the National capital does not deny that men who work at any craft have a perfect right to organize for the express purpose of obtaining a raise in their wage, a shortening of their hours of work or any other betterment of their condition. Indeed, he says such movements show vitality and are commendable.

"I would do it myself," he said, "in a minute. We should all try, and whether we should or not, we would, to better our condition. That is natural and admirable. It is the interference with the man who prefers to depend on his individual effort for his betterment that I object to. The man may be wise or unwise, but at least he has a right to do as he pleases, and must be protected in that right. Moreover, the people will protect him.

The labor movement has become of such volume that its merits must now be carefully considered. They are most important. Unionism's growth may not be checked, it may continue with unabated speed, but if it does, the policy of interference by physical violence, threats or boycott with the nonunion man will be abandoned. Should any attempt be made to continue this un-American and short-sighted policy, trades unionism will never become a greater force than it is today, but on the contrary will wane in influence, and I can see no indication of any change of heart."

On his second objection to the policy of labor unions—the restriction of the number of apprentices who are allowed to learn some crafts—Senator Heyburn is no less outspoken.

"There is no reason except an indefensible one of petty and short-sighted selfishness," said he, "for the tenet of many labor unions which says that only a certain number of men or boys shall be allowed to learn a certain trade. It is preposterous, unheard of. If followed to a conclusion it would give us a country full of young lads and girls who were unable to learn a means of livelihood. If a boy would be a printer, why should he not be allowed to learn? Because there might be too many printers in years to come? That will regulate itself. If there are many printers and few farmers, the printers will take to agriculture, but in the name of all that is just and fair, let us place no restriction in the way of a young man or woman who desires to learn to be a mason, a carpenter, a miner, lawyer, doctor, priest, artist or anything else. Against this doctrine of exclusion I am unalterably set." Once more the Senator, who is not afraid of labor unions, stamped upon the floor.

"Never," he said, "will I cease to inveigh against it. If the rising generation may not learn what they please, our poverty will rapidly sink to a lower plane. Shall we put fetters on knowledge in this century and in this country? Would the world not laugh at any idiotic professor of chemistry who said that he would teach no more pupils for fear that in later life there would be too many professors? The world will never have more of anything than it wants. A field will not grow one grain of wheat more than it can support. Let the unions organize for better wages and shorter hours, but in the name of all that is reasonable, let them keep their hands off the paths of knowledge. It is a foolish policy in many ways."

Senator Heyburn, with other men of foresight, sees that the labor movement must come to an end, good or bad, at some time, and soon.

"Either," he said, "the unions will uplift the toiler by the adoption of wise and considerate measures or they will die the death that every other movement in whose constitution there was anything false has died.

"And, moreover, if the unions attempt much longer to coerce the nonunion man, the American people will force them, compel them to leave the nonunion man alone. He must be left alone," repeated the Senator, and once more the heavy footfall lent emphasis to the words.

"And as far as the restriction of apprentices is concerned," he continued, "if public opinion does not soon force the unions to open the doors of industry to all who would enter, the result will be that all those who learn skilled trades will be imbued with such a radical spirit of unionism that under their prejudiced leadership the movement will be wrecked."

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Speech of President Roosevelt delivered at a banquet given last night in Milwaukee, in honor of the chief executive, by the Merchants' Manufacturers Association. ○ ○ ○

Milwaukee, Wis., April 2.—President Roosevelt was the guest of honor at a grand banquet given tonight at the Plankinton by the Merchants & Manufacturers' association. The president spoke on "Trusts," saying:

Mr. Toastmaster, Gentlemen: Tonight I wish to speak to you on the question of the control and regulation of those great corporations which are popularly, although rather vaguely, known as trusts; dealing mostly with what has actually been accomplished in the way of legislation and in the way of enforcement of legislation during the past 18 months, the period covering the two sessions of the Fifty-seventh congress. At the outset I shall ask you to remember that I do not approach the subject either from the standpoint of those who speak of themselves as anti-trust or anti-corporation people, nor yet from the standpoint of those who are fond of denying the existence of evils in the trusts, or who apparently proceed upon the assumption that if a corporation is large enough it can do no wrong.

I think I speak for the great majority of the American people when I say that we are not in the least against wealth as such, whether individual or corporate; that we merely desire to see any abuse of corporate or combined wealth corrected and remedied; that we do not desire the abolition or destruction of big corporations, but, on the contrary, recognize them as being in many cases efficient economic instruments, the results of an inevitable process of economic evolution, and only desire to see them regulated and controlled as far as may be necessary to subserve the public good.

We should be false to the historic principles of our government if we discriminated, either by legislation or administration for or against a man because of either his wealth or his poverty.

There is no proper place in our society either for the rich man who uses the power conferred by his riches to enable him to oppress and wrong his neighbors, nor yet for the demagogic agitator who, instead of attacking abuses as all abuses should be attacked wherever found, attacks property, attacks prosperity, attacks men of wealth, as such, whether they be good or bad, attacks corporations whether they do well or ill, and seeks, in a spirit of ignorant rancor, to overthrow the very foundations upon which rest our national well-being.

NEW PROBLEMS.

In consequence of the extraordinary industrial changes of the last half century, and notably of the last two or three decades, changes due mainly to

the rapidity and complexity of our industrial growth, we are confronted with problems which in their present shape were unknown to our forefathers.

Our great prosperity with its accompanying concentration of population and of wealth, its extreme specialization of faculties, and its development of giant industrial leaders, has brought much good and some evil, and it is as foolish to ignore the good as willfully to blind ourselves to the evil.

The evil has been partly the inevitable accompaniment of the social changes, and where this is the case it can be cured neither by law nor by the administration of the law, the only remedy lying in the slow change of character and of economic environment. But for a portion of the evil, at least, we think that remedies can be found.

We know well the danger of false remedies, and we are against all violent, radical, and unwise change. But we believe that by proceeding slowly, yet resolutely, with good sense and moderation, and also with a firm determination not to be swayed from our course either by foolish clamor or by any base or sinister influence, we can accomplish much for the betterment of conditions.

GLANCE BACKWARD.

Nearly two years ago, speaking at the state fair in Minnesota, I said:

"It is probably true that the large majority of the fortunes that now exist in this country have been amassed, not by injuring our people, but as an incident to the conferring of great benefits upon the community, and this, no matter what may have been the conscious purpose of those amassing them.

"There is but the scantiest justification for most of the outcry against the men of wealth as such; and it ought to be unnecessary to state that any appeal which directly or indirectly leads to suspicion and hatred among ourselves, which tends to limit opportunity, and therefore to shut the door of success against poor men of talent, and, finally, which entails the possibility of lawlessness and violence, is an attack upon the fundamental properties of American citizenship.

"Our interests are at bottom common; in the long run we go up or go down together. Yet more and more it is evident that the state, and if necessary the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations which are its creatures, particularly as regards the great business combinations which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency. The right should be exercised with caution and self-restraint; but it should exist, so

that it may be invoked if the need arises."

Last fall in speaking at Cincinnati I said:

KNOWLEDGE AND POWER.

"The necessary supervision and control, in which I firmly believe is the only method of eliminating the real evils of the trusts, must come through wisely and cautiously framed legisla-

tion, which shall aim in the first place to give definite control to some sovereign over the great corporations, and which shall be followed, when once this power has been conferred, by a system giving to the government the full knowledge which is the essential for satisfactory action. Then, when this knowledge—one of the essential features of which is proper publicity—has been gained, what further steps of any kind are necessary can be taken with the confidence born of the possession of power to deal with the subject, and of a thorough knowledge of what should and can be done in the matter."

"We need additional power, and we need knowledge. * * * Such legislation—whether obtainable now or obtainable only after a constitutional amendment—should provide for a reasonable supervision, the most prominent feature of which at first should be publicity; that is, the making public, both to the government authorities and to the people at large, the essential facts in which the public is concerned. This would give us exact knowledge of many points which are now not only in doubt but the subject of fierce controversy. Moreover, the mere fact of the publication would cure some very grave evils, for the light of day is a deterrent to wrongdoing. It would doubtless disclose other evils with which, for the time being we could devise no way to grapple. Finally, it would disclose others which could be grappled with and cured by further legislative action."

In my message to congress for 1901 I said:

"In the interest of the whole people the nation should, without interfering with the power of the states in the matter, itself also assume power of supervision and regulation over all corporations doing an interstate business."

CRYSTALIZED INTO LAWS.

The views thus expressed have now received effect by the wise, conservative, and yet far-reaching legislation enacted by congress at its last session.

In its wisdom congress enacted the very important law providing a department of commerce and labor, and further providing therein under the secretary of commerce and labor for a commissioner of corporations, charged with the duty of supervision of and of making intelligent investigation into the organization and conduct of corporations engaged in interstate commerce. His powers to expose illegal or hurtful practices and to obtain all information needful for the purposes of further intelligent legislation seem ad-

equity; and the publicity justifiable and proper for public purposes is satisfactorily guaranteed.

The law was passed at the very end of the session of congress. Owing to the lateness of its passage congress was not able to provide proper equipment for the new department; and the first few months must necessarily be spent in the work of organization, and the first investigations must necessarily be of a tentative character. The satisfactory development of such a system requires time and great labor.

Those who are intrusted with the administration of the new law will assuredly administer it in a spirit of absolute fairness and justice and of entire fearlessness, with the firm purpose not to hurt any corporation doing a legitimate business—on the contrary to help it—and, on the other hand, not to spare any corporation which may be guilty of illegal practices, or the methods of which may make it a menace to the public welfare.

Some substantial good will be done in the immediate future; and as the department gets fairly to work under the law an ever larger vista for good work will be opened along the lines indicated.

The enactment of this law is one of the most significant contributions which have been made in our time toward the proper solution of the problem of the relations to the people of the great corporations and corporate combinations.

REBATES AND MERGERS.

But much though this is, it is only a part of what has been done in the effort to ascertain and correct improper trust or monopolistic practices. Some 18 months ago the industrial commission, an able and nonpartisan body, reported to congress the result of their investigation of trusts and industrial combinations.

One of the most important of their conclusions was that discriminations in freight rates and facilities were granted provided shippers by the railroads and that these discriminations clearly tended toward the control of production and prices in many fields of business by large combinations.

That this conclusion was justifiable was shown by the disclosures in the investigation of railroad methods pursued in the fall and winter of 1901-1902.

It was then shown that certain trunk lines had entered into unlawful agreements as to the transportation of food products from the west to the Atlantic seaboard, giving a few favored shippers rates much below the tariff charges imposed upon the smaller dealers and the general public.

SMALL SHIPPERS DRIVEN OUT.

These unjust practices had prevailed to such an extent and for so long a time that many of the smaller shippers had been driven out of business, until practically one buyer of grain on each railway system had been able by his illegal advantages to secure a monopoly on the line with which his secret compact was made; this monopoly enabling him to fix the price to both producer and consumer.

Many of the great packing house concerns were shown to be in combination with each other and with most

of the great railway lines, whereby they enjoyed large secret concessions in rates and thus obtained a practical monopoly of the fresh and cured meat industry of the country.

These abuses, though violative of the statute, had prevailed unchecked for so many years that they had become entrenched in and interwoven with the commercial life of certain large distributing localities; although this was of course at the expense of the vast body of law-abiding merchants, the general public, and particularly of unfavored localities.

SOLVING THE PROBLEM.

Under these circumstances it was a serious problem to determine the wise course to follow in vitalizing a law which had in part become obsolete or proved incapable of enforcement. Of what the attorney general did in enforcing it I shall speak later. The decisions of the courts upon the law had betrayed weaknesses and imperfections, some of them so serious as to render abortive efforts to apply any effective remedy for the existing evils.

It is clear that corporations created for quasi public purposes, clothed for that reason with the ultimate power of the state to take private property against the will of the owner, hold their corporate powers as carriers in trust for the fairly impartial service of all the public. Favoritism in the use of such powers, unjustly enriching some and unjustly impoverishing others, discriminating in favor of some places and against others, is palpably violative of plain principles of justice. Such a practice unchecked is harmful in many ways.

Congress, having had its attention drawn to the matter, enacted a most important anti-rebate law, which greatly strengthens the interstate commerce law. This new law prohibits under adequate penalties the giving and as well the demanding or receiving of such preferences, and provides the preventive remedy of injunction. The vigorous administration of this law, and it will be enforced, will, it is hoped, afford a substantial remedy for certain trust evils which have attracted public attention and have created public unrest.

This law represents a noteworthy and important advance toward just and effective regulation of transportation. Moreover, its passage has been supplemented by the enactment of a law to expedite the hearing of actions of public moment under the anti-trust act, known as the Sherman law, and under the act to regulate commerce, at the request of the attorney general; and, furthermore, additional funds have been appropriated to be expended under the direction of the attorney general in the enforcement of these laws.

PRAISE FOR KNOX.

All of this represents a great and substantial advance in legislation. But more important even than legislation is the administration of the law, and I ask your attention for a moment to the way in which the law has been administered by the profound jurist and fearless public servant who now occupies the position of attorney general,

Mr. Knox. The constitution enjoins upon the president that he shall take care that the laws be faithfully executed, and under this provision the attorney general formulated a policy which was in effect nothing but the rigid enforcement, by suits managed with consummate skill and ability, both of the anti-trust law and of the imperfect provisions of the act to regulate commerce. The first step taken was the prosecution of fourteen suits against the principal railroads of the middle west, restraining them by injunction from further violations of either of the laws in question.

About the same time the case against the Northern Securities company was initiated. This was a corporation organized under the laws of the state of New Jersey with a capital of \$4,000,000, the alleged purpose being to control the Great Northern and the Northern Pacific railroad companies, two parallel and competing lines extending across the northern tier of states from the Mississippi river to the Pacific ocean.

Whatever the purpose its consummation would have resulted in the control of the two great railway systems upon which the people of the northwestern states were so largely dependent for their supplies and to get their products to market, being practically merged into the New Jersey corporation.

The proposition that these independent systems of railroads should be merged under a single control alarmed the people of the states concerned, lest they be subjected to what they deemed a monopoly of interstate transportation and the suppression of competition.

The governors of the states most deeply affected held a meeting to consider how to prevent the merger becoming effective and passed resolutions calling upon the national government to enforce the anti-trust laws against the alleged combination.

When these resolutions were referred to the attorney general for consideration and advice, he reported that in his opinion the Northern Securities company and its control of the railroads mentioned was a combination in restraint of trade and was attempting a monopoly in violation of the national anti-trust law. Thereupon a suit in equity, which is now pending, was begun by the government to test the validity of this transaction under the Sherman law.

At nearly the same time the disclosures respecting the secret rebates enjoyed by the great packing house companies, coupled with the very high price of meats, led the attorney general to direct an investigation into the methods of the so-called beef trust. The result was that he filed bills for injunction against six of the principal

packing house companies, and restrained them from combining and agreeing upon prices at which they would sell their products in states other than those in which their meats were prepared for market. Writs of injunction were issued accordingly and since then, after full argument, the United States court has made the injunction perpetual.

The cotton interests of the south, including growers, buyers and shippers, made complaint that they were suffering great injury in their business from the methods of the southern railroads in the handling and transportation of cotton. They alleged that these railroads, by combined action under a pooling arrangement to support their rate schedules, had denied to the shippers the right to elect over what roads their commodities should be shipped, and that by dividing upon a fixed basis the cotton crop of the south all inducement to compete in rates for transportation was eliminated. Proceedings were instituted by the attorney general under the anti-trust law, which resulted in the destruction of the pool and in restoring to the growers and shippers of the south the right to ship their products over any road they elected, thus removing the restraint upon the freedom of commerce.

SALT COMBINE.

In November, 1902, the attorney general directed that a bill for an injunction be filed in the United States circuit court at San Francisco against the Federal Salt company—a corporation which had been organized under the laws of an eastern state, but had its main office and principal place of business in California—and against a number of other companies and persons constituting what was known as the salt trust. These injunctions were to restrain the execution of certain contracts between the Federal Salt company and the other defendants, by which the latter agreed, neither to import, buy or sell salt, except from and to the Federal Salt company, and not to engage or assist in the production of salt west of the Mississippi river during the continuance of such contracts.

As the result of these agreements the price of salt had been advanced about 60 per cent. A temporary injunction order was obtained, which the defendants asked the court to modify on the ground that the anti-trust law had no application to contract for purchases and sales within a state. The circuit court overruled this contention and sustained the government's position. This practically concluded the case, and it is understood that in consequence the Federal Salt company is about to be dissolved and that no further contest will be made.

What I have said is a brief outline of the most important steps, legislative and administrative, taken during the past 18 months in the direction of solving, so far as at present it seems practicable by national legislation or administration to solve, what we call the trust problem. They represent a sum of very substantial achievement. They represent a successful effort to devise and apply real remedies, an effort which so far succeeded because it was made not only with resolute purpose and determination, but also in a spirit of common sense and justice, as far removed as possible from rancor, hysteria and unworthy demagogic appeal.

ENFORCEMENT OF LAWS.

In the same spirit, the laws will continue to be enforced. Not only is the legislation recently enacted effective,

but in my judgment it was impracticable to attempt more.

Nothing of value is to be expected from ceaseless agitation for radical and extreme legislation. The people may wisely, and with confidence, await the results which are reasonably to be expected from the impartial enforcement of the laws which have recently been placed upon the statute books.

Legislation of a general and indiscriminate character would be sure to fail, either because it would involve all interests in a common ruin, or because it would not really reach any evil. We have endeavored to provide a discriminating adaptation of the remedy to the real mischief.

TARIFF AND TRUSTS.

Many of the alleged remedies advocated are of the unpleasantly drastic type which seeks to destroy the disease by killing the patient. Others are so obviously futile that it is somewhat difficult to treat them seriously, or as being advanced in good faith. High among the latter I place the effort to reach the trust question by means of the tariff. You can, of course, put an end to the prosperity of the trusts by putting an end to the prosperity of the nation; but the price for such action seems high.

The alternative is to do exactly what has been done during the life of the congress which has just closed—that is, to endeavor not to destroy corporations, but to regulate them, with a view of doing away with whatever is of evil in them and of making them subserve the public use. The law is not to be administered in the interest of the poor man as such, nor yet in the interest of the rich man as such, but in the interest of the law-abiding man, rich or poor. We are no more against organizations of capital than against organizations of labor. We welcome both, demanding only that each shall do right and shall remember its duty to the republic.

Such a course we consider not merely a benefit to the poor man, but a benefit to the rich man. We do no man an injustice when we require him to obey the law. On the contrary, if he is a man whose safety and well-being depend in a peculiar degree upon the existence of the spirit of law and order, we are rendering him the greatest service when we require him to be himself an exemplar of that spirit.

PLATFORM AND INTERPRETATION.

We do not regard the Iowa tariff utterance as a retreat from the advanced position taken by the convention of that state a year ago. The revisionists have apparently suffered a tactical defeat at the hands of the standpatners; but so far as the Allison plank is concerned, it will stand analysis as every whit as reformative in tenor as the utterance of a year ago. For convenience we here append the two deliverances:

1902.

We favor such changes in the tariff from time to time as become advisable, through the progress of our industries and their changing relations to the commerce of the world.

We favor any modification of the tariff schedules that may be required to prevent their affording a shelter to monopoly.

1903.

Tariff rates enacted to carry this policy into effect should be just, fair and impartial, equally opposed to foreign control and domestic monopoly, to sectional discrimination and individual favoritism and must from time to time be changed to meet the varying conditions incident to the progress of our industries and their changing relations to our foreign and domestic commerce. Duties that are too low should be increased and duties that are too high should be reduced.

The sting has been taken out of the 1903 platform to appease the standpatners. This is done by modifying the implication that the present schedules may afford "a shelter to monopoly." Yet the implication is not in terms withdrawn. It is only coupled with the additional implication that their repeal might bring about "foreign control." The platform really says that favoritism and discrimination and monopoly must not occur in tariff laws, and must be struck down whenever and wherever found. This is said simultaneously with co-ordinate expressions calculated to please the blind worshippers at the protection shrine. It is pitiful, perhaps, or at least would be, if platforms are to be judged by what they say.

As it is, they are not. The most we can say for political platforms is that they afford one piece of testimony, among others, as to the purposes of the men who subscribe to it. It took a fearful battle at St. Louis in 1896 to get the words "gold standard" into the platform. Some other expression could have been used to mean the same thing, but when the gold men went out on that issue it meant a great deal, because the country saw that the gold men were in the ascendant in the party. The Republicans showed they had the will and the strength to down their silver maniacs, while the Democrats surrendered to theirs at Chicago, and McKinley was elected.

The wording of the Iowa deliverance, therefore, is only of speculative interest. Of greater importance, as we have said, is the fact that the standpatners have won out over the revisionists. There need be little doubt that Allison, for example, from the vantage-ground of his position on the Senate finance committee, will resist tariff changes as steadily as ever. The question recurs as to the other evidences from which Republican tariff purposes must be judged, and as to these the Iowa plank must be judged in the light of its interpretation. How and when will the present tariff schedules be made "just, fair and impartial," abolished when they "shelter monopoly," and when "too high" be "reduced"?

RICH MEN PROMOTING ANARCHY

The Outlook.

It may well be doubted whether the evident socialist is doing so much to undermine respect for property rights as the Napoleon of finance who lay society under contribution to great fortunes that lack the solid basis of proportionate services rendered to the community, advancing the price of oil 20 per cent in a time of fuel famine, after dividing profits to the amount of 4 per cent for the year.

Yet the fundamental principle of social justice so flagrantly repudiated continues to be appealed to in a small way by people who dispute what they deem exorbitant bills for services rendered. It is constantly affirmed in the courts where such disputes are adjudicated. Money is held to be the measure of actual services, and the legal claim for it is limited to the amount of the service it requires. In this, as in other points, the ethical standard of the law is in advance of the ethics of the business world, which is prone to look at "what the market will bear" in the line of extortion, rather than at the cost of the service rendered, as the measure of demand. This is precisely what the New Testament brands as "covetousness," along with vices which modern society publishes as crimes. And, indeed, the enormous infractions of ethical principles committed by the operators of the market in exacting a tribute from the community exceeding any imposed by ancient conquerors on subject provinces are, in their way, as demoralizing to the public conscience of right and wrong as the most lascivious theatrical shows could be. These the law suppresses, but in the absence of any legal check upon these it is time that the churches and their teachers were awake to the moral crisis that threatens the stability of the commonwealth, while it tests the moral quality of current religion.

The ethical significance of money, as the intended medium and measure of that fair exchange of service with service which makes society a mutual-benefit association, is one of the most important and most neglected subjects in the religious teaching of today. Neglect of it tends to make society an arena of mutual spoliation, in which democracy and Christianity perish together. The only hope that our democracy will not take the down-grade track, in which all earlier attempts at popular government have ended ignominiously, is in the conservative influence of Christianity. This, however, is but salt that has lost its savor, powerless to avert corruption, if it fail to insist on social righteousness, and to couple with its zeal for creeds and rites an equal zeal for what is just and equal between man and man.

DEMOCRATIC VIEWS OF BRYAN.

Hopeless!

Macon Telegraph.

Mr. Bryan's case is hopeless. This would be a matter of little moment, but the trouble is, alas! that as long as he retains any considerable number of followers the Democracy's case is hopeless also.

Send Him and Cleveland Away.

New Orleans States.

It would prove a godsend for the Democracy were it possible to have Mr. Bryan chosen as a high joint commissioner to settle something in Dahomey, and Mr. Cleveland to perform a similar service in far-away Tibet.

Democracy's Walking Delegate.

Chattanooga Times.

The best thing Mr. Bryan can do is to "go way back and sit down." The conservative elements of the two factions of the party have agreed to the arbitration plan and that eliminates the walking delegate—Mr. Bryan—from the equation.

Maine for Cleveland.

Mobile Register.

Some idea of how widespread is the belief in Grover Cleveland may be found in these sentences in a letter from a gentleman living in Bucksport, Me.: "What do you think of Cleveland for a third term? I like it. He would receive the hearty support of all Maine Democrats."

Why He Fights Cleveland.

Cincinnati Enquirer.

Colonel Bryan says Grover Cleveland wrecked the affairs of the Democratic party. Grover hasn't yet given his judgment as to what would have become of the affairs of the party had Colonel Bryan "landed for one term only in the Presidency." Mr. Cleveland is manifestly regarded by Colonel Bryan as a formidable candidate for the Democratic nomination next year, notwithstanding his restraint.

Interloper Compared With Cleveland

Atlanta Journal.

Let Bryan eliminate Bryan, and then inharmonious will be eliminated. As long as he keeps bringing forward Bryan, just so long will inharmonious be brought forward. To speak in a homely fashion, Clevelanders got here first, and it certainly looks like it intends to stay awhile. If we are to judge by the popular reception it got only recently when it came out for a bit of airing, as it were.

Would Defeat His Party.

Providence Telegram.

At present the Democracy is in no condition for the conflict on account of the attitude of Mr. Bryan, who seems determined to accomplish the defeat of the party, if he cannot have his own way in the selection of a candidate and the framing of a platform. The waning influence of Mr. Bryan, however, gives encouragement to the Democracy that before the Presidential campaign opens his power to do injury will have been practically eliminated.

An Important Kicker.

Brooklyn Eagle.

The Nashville American, like the Eagle, a Democratic paper, was lately the recipient of a scratch by Mr. Bryan. It replied by saying that "he is a dead politician and the conductor of a barking newspaper which cannot bite; he is degenerating into an impotent kicker and a cheap common scold to whom nobody who is anybody pays any attention." It is satisfactory to the Eagle to know that it has no opinions about Mr. Bryan to retract or to reverse.

Worse Than Childish.

Philadelphia Record.

Mr. Bryan is growing more and more tiresome. His pretense that the Democratic party was beaten in 1896 and 1898 on account of President Cleveland's unpopularity is a little more foolish than most of the things he is saying. After a man has been defeated twice for the Presidency good taste demands that he should retire from politics and keep still; his explanations of his failure are likely to be absurd, and in the case of Mr. Bryan they are worse than childish.

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Nominee From Cleveland Wing.

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RICH MEN PROMOTING ANARCHY

The Outlook.

It may well be doubted whether the reddest socialist is doing so much to undermine respect for property rights as the Napoleons of finance who lay society under contribution to great fortunes that lack the solid basis of proportionate services rendered to the community, advancing the price of oil 20 per cent in a time of fuel famine, after dividing profits to the amount of 40 per cent for the year.

Yet the fundamental principle of social justice so flagrantly repudiated continues to be appealed to in a small way by people who dispute what they deem exorbitant bills for services rendered. It is constantly affirmed in the courts where such disputes are adjudicated. Money is held to be the measure of actual service, and the legal claim for it is limited to the amount of the service it secures. In this, as in other points, the ethical standard of the law is in advance of the ethics of the business world, which is prone to look at "what the market will bear" in the line of extortion, rather than at the cost of the service rendered, as the measure of demand. This is precisely what the New Testament brands as "covetousness," along with vices which modern society punishes as crimes. And indeed, the enormous infractions of ethical principles committed by the autocrats of the market in exacting a tribute from the community exceeding any imposed by ancient conquerors on subject provinces are, in their way, as demoralizing to the public conscience of right and wrong as the most lascivious theatrical shows could be. These the law suppresses, but in the absence of any legal check upon those it is true that the churches and their teachers were awake to the moral crisis that threatens the stability of the commonwealth, while it tests the moral quality of current religion.

The ethical significance of money, as the intended medium and measure of that fair exchange of service with service which makes society a mutual-benefit association, is one of the most important and most neglected subjects in the religious teaching of today. Neglect of it tends to make society an arena of mutual spoliation, in which democracy and Christianity perish together. The only hope that our democracy will not take the down-grade track, in which all earlier attempts at popular government have ended ignominiously, is in the conservative influence of Christianity. This, however, is but salt that has lost its savor, powerless to avert corruption, if it fail to insist on social righteousness, and to couple with its zeal for creeds and rites an equal zeal for what is just and equal between man and man.

DEMOCRATIC VIEWS OF BRYAN.

Hopeless!

Masson Telegraph.

Mr. Bryan's case is hopeless. This would be a matter of little moment, but the trouble is, alas! that as long as he retains any considerable number of followers the Democracy's case is hopeless also.

Send Him and Cleveland Away.

New Orleans States.

It would prove a grotesque for the Democracy were it possible to have Mr. Bryan chosen as a high joint commissioner to settle something in Dahomey, and Mr. Cleveland to perform a similar service in far-away Tibet.

Democracy's Walking Delegate.

Chattanooga Times.

The best thing Mr. Bryan can do is to "go way back and sit down." The conservative elements of the two factions of the party have agreed to the arbitration plan and that eliminates the walking delegate—Mr. Bryan—from the equation.

Maine for Cleveland.

Mobile Register.

Some idea of how widespread is the belief in Grover Cleveland may be found in these sentences in a letter from a gentleman living in Bangsport, Me.: "What do you think of Cleveland for a third term? I like it. He would receive the hearty support of all Maine Democrats."

Why He Fights Cleveland.

Cincinnati Enquirer.

Colonel Bryan says Grover Cleveland wrecked the affairs of the Democratic party. Grover hasn't yet given his judgment as to what would have become of the affairs of the party had Colonel Bryan "landed for one term only in the Presidency." Mr. Cleveland is manifestly regarded by Colonel Bryan as a formidable candidate for the Democratic nomination next year, notwithstanding his restraint.

Interloper Compared With Cleveland

Atlanta Journal.

Let Bryan eliminate Bryan, and then inharmonious will be eliminated. As long as he keeps bringing forward Bryan, just so long will inharmonious be brought forward. To speak in a homely fashion, Clevelandism got here first, and it certainly looks like it intends to stay awhile. If we are to judge by the popular reception it got only recently when it came out for a bit of airing, as it were.

Would Defeat His Party.

Providence Telegram.

At present the Democracy is in no condition for the conflict on account of the attitude of Mr. Bryan, who seems determined to accomplish the defeat of the party, if he cannot have his own way in the selection of a candidate and the framing of a platform. The waning influence of Mr. Bryan, however, gives encouragement to the Democracy that before the Presidential campaign opens his power to do injury will have been practically eliminated.

An Important Kicker.

Brooklyn Eagle.

The Nashville American, like the Eagle, a Democratic paper, was lately the recipient of a scratch by Mr. Bryan. It replies by saying that "he is a dead politician and the conductor of a barking newspaper which cannot bite; he is degenerating into an impotent kicker and a cheap common scold to whom nobody who is anybody pays any attention." It is satisfactory to the Eagle to know that it has no opinions about Mr. Bryan to retract or to reverse.

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THEODORE ROOSEVELT

From the New York Independent.

THE figure of Theodore Roosevelt is at present one of the two or three most conspicuous in the world. The Emperor of Germany and Joseph Chamberlain in England are the two contemporaries with whom it seems most natural to compare him. Of all Americans, he is the man whom his countrymen hear about and think about the most.

For the reason that we have him so often in our thought, the influence which he has on our individual lives is probably stronger for the time being than that of any other personality among us. It is doubtful if any power he has ever us through his office or through his leadership of a party is so great as this which he exercises directly through his example and his character. Many years must pass before any public act or policy of his will touch so many lives as he now daily reaches by reason of the knowledge which we all have of him. For most of us, when we consider a course of conduct or try to judge ourselves, are in the habit of bringing up for comparison some other man well known to us for strength or virtue or success, and asking ourselves how he would demean himself if he were in our case. Nowadays, I fancy, more of us think of the young President at such times than of any one else.

Our opinion of him is, therefore, a very practical matter. To us, his contemporaries, it is scarcely less important to decide what sort of man he is than to judge his official course aright. We are of many minds concerning him, but that is not to be wondered at. It is seldom that even in a group of intimate friends any two will agree completely about a third. When we try to agree about a public man countless prejudices and partialities are aroused which make it still more difficult to reconcile our differing ideals and standards. Another difficulty is that we do not all have in mind the same facts when we discuss his career. To go over the main facts simply and briefly, so that they make a single impression, is a good way to be just.

Began Life Handicapped.

Roosevelt was well born. From a mixed ancestry he inherited the strong characteristics of several racial strains, and a tradition of honorable and successful living. He also inherited a sufficient patrimony to make him the master of his own time. The disadvantages with which he began were feebleness of body and poor eyesight. While he was a boy his intellectual power was thought to be good, but not brilliant. He was carefully reared in a home where the life was cheerful and wholesome. Both at school and at college he had the training which is commonly supposed to be the best anywhere offered to American youth; to this there was added foreign travel and special training for the war. On the whole, he was fortunate far beyond the common lot in respect of what came to him at his birth and the way he entered upon life.

What may properly be called his own work began with the strengthening of his body. Before he came of age he had by exercise and self-restraint made himself a good athlete; but it can scarcely be believed that his extraordinary capacity for hard work both of the mind and of the body is entirely acquired. He has remained short-sighted, but with glasses his eyes have been proved to be good enough for much reading and writing and for ex-

BY WILLIAM GARROTT BROWN.

cellent marksmanship. He was not less resolute in making his mind ready for its uses than he was with his body. A good student of books, he employed many other means to acquire knowledge, and had won before he left his university a valuable reputation for energy and self-reliance.

Politics and Letters.

Before his law studies were finished he had turned to the two pursuits which he has followed ever since—politics and letters. His first book was written when he was 21, and by his thirtieth year he had written enough to give him a place among American historians and biographers. Of his literary work, as a whole, perhaps a fair judgment is that in quantity it surpasses, while in quality it at least equals, the work of other men who for a longer time have made the same subjects their principal occupation.

But he himself has had many other occupations. At 24 he entered the New York Legislature, a Republican, but an avowed reformer. He had begun politics by associating himself with a group of young men in New York City bent on various reforms, among them the reform of the tariff laws. To one of these friends he wrote later that he was a Republican first, a free trader afterward. It is generally agreed that in the Legislature he was an energetic and in the main successful champion of good causes, sometimes against his fellow Republicans. Nevertheless, by the time he was 25 he was strong enough in his party to lead in the state convention of 1884 a successful opposition to Blaine, whom he defeated. But when Blaine was

nominated Roosevelt refused to join in the independent movement of that year, and he has never since shown a disposition to leave his party.

Soldier and Governor.

During these early years he was also winning in the far West the reputation of a good frontiersman and huntsman. At 28 he was the candidate of the Republicans for Mayor of New York City. Since his thirtieth year he has been in office practically all the time. As Civil Service Commissioner for six years and in other offices, and as a citizen, he has given exceptionally good service to the cause of civil service reform. The testimony of such a man as Jacob A. Rice does not permit us to doubt that at the head of the police commission of New York he in two years accomplished an extraordinary amount of work. For a year before the outbreak of the Spanish War he was Assistant Secretary of the Navy, and he is generally accredited with the lion's share of the work of making the Navy ready for the conflict; but when the war came he left his post at once to raise a regiment of volunteer cavalry. His valor in action is not doubted; but his discretion as an officer has been questioned. Prominent in what there was of fighting, he made himself equally prominent by heading a pro-

test against leaving the army to suffer from disease in a tropical climate when the fighting was over. Being now widely celebrated, he was at once nominated and elected Governor of New York. It seems to be agreed that as Governor he promoted many administrative reforms, made good appointments, and showed considerable independence; but by some he was blamed because he did not break altogether with the extraordinarily absolute leader of his party in the state. However,

it has not been shown that he surrendered any principle he had ever plainly declared.

In 1906, being pressed to become the Republican candidate for Vice-President, he said he would not; but he yielded to the clamor of the National Convention. When, through the death of McKinley, he was elevated to the first place, he announced that he would adhere to his predecessor's policies. This he has done, and behaved as a consistent Republican on all questions involving that view of the Government which the party has generally maintained. But his administration is distinguished by the extension of the merit system of appointments and by two departures that seem to be new. By interfering actively to make an end of a great strike and by securing the enforcement of a law, hitherto ineffective, in restraint of trusts, the President has indicated his feeling that

the Government ought to deal more aggressively with the new conditions which industrial changes have brought about. By his appointments to public offices in the South, and particularly by opposing the movement there to keep the negro out of office and even out of the Republican party, he has brought the Southern question into a new and difficult phase. His initiative and control in legislation are not thought too great.

His Actual Achievements.

When it is remembered that along with these performances in politics and literature and war, Roosevelt has found time for countless other activities not without interest to the public, and that his domestic life has been filled with all the responsibilities that come to the husband and the father, his actual achievement is impressive. It seems to make good the claim which he himself advanced for the age we live in—that life was never before "so full of interest and of possibilities of excitement and enjoyment." Of life considered thus as an opportunity he has made better use perhaps than any other American of his generation. He has done more than any other, and of what he has done, most is approved by those standards which the ordinary morality of the race accepts. So far, therefore, as our opinion of the man

is determined by his work in life, the question is not of his success; it is, rather, whether he has not been too uniformly successful. For experience has brought many of us to feel that constant success implies constant compromise, and that sometimes it is more admirable to fail than to make any compromise whatsoever.

On this point, however, it must be said that Roosevelt's course squares with his avowed morality. His writings and speeches are full of the doctrine that to strive for the best possible, and never to rest in failure, is the right way to live. Apart from the bent of his nature toward action, he has taken that view of life which tends the most strongly to achievement. It is his nature to do things as in this world they must be done; and that is also his creed.

Not Always Consistent.

We must give him, therefore, without stint, the praise of strength. To those of us whose fault is mere weakness the thought of him is like a scourge. Nor can many of us honestly believe of him that he has done more than we have because he has cited less to be right. Here and there are things known to us in his life which a nice casuistry might permit us to condemn—such things as his abandon-

ment of free trade at the outset and his leaving his post in the Navy Department, where he knew that he was doing good service, to go into the field, where he could not well be sure that he could do better than another. In general, it is hard to believe that it was every time the rightest course to accept the opportunity or the performance which came to him. But who of us that have done nothing can say honestly that of the opportunities he has missed a title were missed from any fear of doing wrong? Granted that this young American's ideals of conduct have not been so unfortunately high as some of ours, how many of us can say that we have stuck to ours half so steadfastly as he has stuck to his? However bitterly some of us may oppose his course, say in the matter of holding the Philippines by force, we cannot, on the facts of his career as we know them, deny that it has been as consistent as public careers usually are. On the contrary, if we compare him in this respect with his fellows in public life, we shall probably be driven to decide that he has been controlled, often than the great mass of them, by his sense of right. Fortune has favored him, but we must go beyond the accepted law of the struggle if we would object to his having the highest place.

We should probably find better reason to be discontented with our foremost American if we should consider those elements of his character which have the least to do with the struggle. Many of us feel, I think, that for all this strength in the figure which we are so often called to gaze upon there is too little compensating grace. We find in Roosevelt's youth more of business than of sweetness, in his manhood more of power than of stateliness. The entire spectacle of his life is not at all like that which the Greeks had in the life of Alcibiades, but neither is it like that which the English had in Sir Philip Sidney's. It is a spectacle which draws our spirits forth to work and adventure, but does not inspire us with any finer sympathies.

This, perhaps, is all we should expect of a man of action. But we cannot help remembering—and has not he himself taught us to demand for our own age all that the best of former ages have known?—that there have been great men of action, conquerors and deliverers and builders of states, who wrote their strength above a woman's tenderness, an artist's sensibility, whose career stirred their contemporaries to other things besides achievement. We call to mind the Charlemagnes and Alfreds. But we need not go so far back in time, or out of our own history, to find in the careers of men of action a quality which Roosevelt lacks. We shall find such a quality in Lincoln, and in more than one other of our earlier American public men. We shall find it in men of the old-fashioned broadcloth coats and the high-down eloquence and the provincial dignity, which seem to be disappearing along with the white houses with green blinds. It is not merely in his dress and bearing and his mode of speech that Roosevelt is unlike those men whom his immediate predecessors in many respects resembled. He has brought into the higher walks of public life characteristics which city breeding and wealth and universities and foreign travel have in recent years made none uncommon in America, particularly in our Eastern states, but which to a great part of our population are still novel and not altogether acceptable. The effect of it all is a little like that which the coming of city folk in summer time has upon a rural community. Hitherto, whatever form and grace have come into our public life have come from the New England village, the country town, the Southern plantation. In this new manner there is more of the great city and of the college football field. As yet it is not easy for us to find the

new so good as the old. In Roosevelt himself there is less of the poetical, the dreamy, the reverent than there has been in others, even of our American men of action.

Power Made Effective.

Taken thus as an example, an influence on character, his career might also probably be contrasted with others which have not been in the ordinary sense active careers at all. No better opposite could be found than the life which so many thoughtful Americans have recently been reviewing. Roosevelt, at the head of his extraordinary regiment, storming the last stronghold of that civilization which for centuries has been offering a lessening competition to our mastery of the Western world, and Emerson at his desk in quiet Concord, with "the three domestic women," who were all he commanded, in the background, writing down but a "fragmentary result" of his meditation, show us two very unlike ways to eminence. Few will believe that in the middle of the century Roosevelt will still be a personal force such as Emerson is today, a century from his birth. Cuba and the Philippines and the Isthmian canal and laws and precedents will perhaps speak for him. But no words of his are likely to live as Emerson's "repellent particles" of sentences have lived. Power spiritualized outlasts power incarnate.

Power made definitely effective, immediate performance, practical results—these, I think, are the main things in Roosevelt's example. The effect on American character of his elevation to so high a place before our eyes can scarcely fail to be a still stronger emphasis on achievement. It is, on the whole, a good lesson which Americans of this time are most in need of. Idleness and incompetence are not the most prevalent of our faults, nor are we particularly lacking in regard for force. It will probably seem to posterity that Roosevelt was in this respect representative of his time rather than a creator of new National ideals. American ideals will probably seem to have changed simultaneously with his rise; and many think that American character also is rapidly changing. An elderly Cuban remarked, after an interview with a philanthropic educator whose work on the island did not commend itself to the military authority then in control: "That time I felt as if I were dealing with an American of 30 years ago." But Roosevelt has probably not contributed so much to these changes as they have contributed to his good fortune. It is hard to believe that energy and persistence and courage like his could have been kept down in any former period; but he is right in his contention that the present time offers to such a man as he better opportunities than he would ever have found before.

STRIKES LYNCH LAW.

President Roosevelt Sends a Letter to Governor Durbin of Indiana.

MOB MANIA MENACES NATION.

Speedy Justice for Criminals Is Suggested as Eliminating Excuse for Violence.

Oyster Bay, N. Y., Aug. 10.—In a letter to Gov. Durbin of Indiana President Roosevelt vigorously denounces the lynching spirit now spreading over the United States. The President commends the governor for the attitude he has taken toward mob violence in Indiana and congratulates the state on having such a chief executive.

Text of President's Letter.

President Roosevelt's letter in full to Gov. Durbin follows:

Oyster Bay, N. Y., Aug. 6, 1906.—My Dear Gov. Durbin: Permit me to thank you as an American citizen for the admirable way in which you have vindicated the majesty of the law by your recent action in reference to lynching. I feel, my dear sir, that you have made all new your duties, and believe, as all far-seeing men must, that the well-being—indeed, the very existence of the republic depends upon that spirit of orderly liberty under the law which is so incompatible with mob violence as with any form of despotism. Of course mob violence is simply one form of anarchy, and anarchy is now, as it always has been, the hand-maiden and forerunner of tyranny.

I feel that you have not only reflected honor upon the state which for its good fortune has you as its chief executive, but upon the whole nation. It is incumbent upon every man throughout this country not only to hold up your hands in the course you have been following, but to show his realization that the matter is one of vital concern to us all.

Alarm Over Growth of Lynching.

All thoughtful men must feel the greatest alarm over the growth of lynching in this country, and especially over the peculiarly hideous forms so often taken by mob violence when colored men are the victims—on which occasions the mob seems to lay most weight not on the crime, but on the color of the criminal. In a certain proportion of these cases the man lynched has been guilty of a crime horrible beyond description—a crime so horrible that as far as he himself is concerned he has forfeited the right to any kind of sympathy whatsoever.

The feeling of all good citizens that such a hideous crime shall not be hideously punished by mob violence is due not in the least to sympathy for the criminal, but to a very lively sense of the train of dreadful consequences which follow the course taken by the mob in exacting inhuman vengeance for an inhuman wrong. In such cases, moreover, it is well to remember that the criminal not merely sins against humanity in inexplicable and unpardonable fashion, but sins particularly against his own race and does them a wrong far greater than any white man was possibly do them. Therefore in such cases the colored people throughout the land should in every possible way show their belief that they more than all others in the community are horrified at the commission of such a crime and are particularly concerned in taking every possible measure to prevent its recurrence and to bring the criminal to immediate justice. The slightest lack of vigor either

10
The criminal to justice is itself unpardonable.

Should Insure Swift Punishment.

Moreover, every effort should be made under the law to expedite the proceedings

of justice in the case of such an awful crime. But it cannot be necessary in order to accomplish this to deprive any citizen of those fundamental rights to be held in his own defense which are so dear to us all and which lie at the root of our liberty. It certainly ought to be possible by the proper administration of the laws to secure swift vengeance upon the criminal, and the best and immediate efforts of all legislators, judges and citizens should be addressed to securing such reforms in our legal procedure as to leave no vestige of excuse for those misguided men who undertake to reap vengeance through violent methods.

Men who have been guilty of a crime like rape or murder should be visited with swift and certain punishment and the just effort made by the courts to protect them in their rights should, under no circumstances be perverted into permitting any mere technicality to arrest or delay their punishment. The substantial rights of the prisoner to a fair trial must, of course, be guaranteed, as you have so justly insisted that they should be, but, subject to this guarantee, the law must work swiftly and surely and all the agents of the law should realize the wrong they do when they permit justice to be delayed or thwarted for technical or insufficient reasons. We must show that the law is adequate to deal with crime by freeing it from every vestige of technicality and delay.

Injustice of Mob Vengeance.

But the fullest recognition of the horror of the crime and the most complete lack of sympathy with the criminal cannot in the least diminish our honor at the way in which it has become customary to avenge these crimes and of the consequences that are already proceeding therefrom. It is, of course, inevitable that where vengeance is taken by a mob it should frequently light on innocent people, and the wrong done in such a case to the individual is one for which there is no remedy. But even where the real criminal is reached the wrong done by the mob to the community itself is well-nigh as great. Especially is this true where the lynching is accompanied with torture.

There are certain hideous sights which when once seen can never be wholly erased from the mental retina. The mere fact of having seen them implies degradation. This is a thousandfold stronger when instead of merely seeing the deed the man has participated in it. Whoever in any part of our country has ever taken part in lawless putting to death a criminal by the dreadful torture of fire must forever after have the awful spectacle of his own handiwork scored into his brain and soul. He can never again be the same man.

Spirit of Lawlessness Grows.

This matter of lynching would be a terrible thing even if it stopped with the lynching of men guilty of the heinous and heinous crime of rape, but as a matter of fact lawlessness of this type never does stop and never has stop in such fashion. Every violent man in the community is encouraged by every case of lynching in which the lynchers go unpunished to himself take the law into his own hands whenever it suits his own convenience. In the same way the use of torture by the mob in certain cases is sure to spread until it is applied more or less indiscriminately in other cases. The spirit of lawlessness grows with what it feeds on and when mobs with impunity lynch criminals for one cause they are certain to begin to lynch real or alleged criminals for other causes.

In the recent cases of lynching over three-fourths were not for rape at all, but for murder, attempted murder and even less heinous offenses. Moreover, the history of these recent cases shows the awful fact that when the mobs of men are habituated to the use of torture by lawless bodies to avenge crimes of a peculiarly revolting description other lawless bodies will use torture in order to punish crimes of an ordinary type.

Danger of Anarchy and Tyranny.

Surely no patriot can fail to see the fearful irratation and detestation which the indulgence of such a spirit and such practices inevitably portend. Surely all public men, all writers for the daily press, all citizens, all teachers, all who in any way have a right to address the public, should with every energy unite to denounce such crimes and to support those engaged in putting them down. As a people we claim the right to speak with peculiar emphasis for freedom and for fair treatment of all men without regard to differences of race, fortune, creed or color. We forfeit the right so to speak when we commit or condone such crimes as those of which I speak.

The nation, like the individual, cannot commit a crime with impunity. If we are guilty of lawlessness and brutal violence, whether our guilt consists in active participation therein or in mere countenance and encouragement, we shall assuredly suffer later on because of what we have done. The corner stone of this republic, as of all free governments, is respect for and obedience to the law. Where we permit the law to be defied or evaded, whether by rich man or poor man, by black man or white, we are by just as much weakening the bonds of our civilization and increasing the chances of its overthrow and of the substitution thereof of a system in which there shall be violent alienations of anarchy and tyranny. **THEODORE ROOSEVELT**

THE DEMOCRACY'S HELPLESSNESS.

If Mr. Gorman has any sincere desire to serve himself or his party, he should keep his mouth shut, for the only end subserved by an expression on politics from him is to uncover all the unlovely things that lie at the basis of the Democratic party of today. They are things that the country would fain forget, as it would gladly banish some hideous nightmare from memory, but they are recalled at every mention of Gorman's name, and they form a chasm broad and deep between the Democratic party and any reasonable hope of success in National elections for years.

It's a hard thing to say of any man, but it is simple truth that Senator Gorman is the personification of the bad side of American politics. He is the evil genius of our public life. Cold and calculating, denied at once the generous impulse of honest enthusiasm and the deep-rooted convictions of more intellectual natures, he typifies that school of politics in which principles are mere conveniences to get votes, and public office is nothing more than an instrument of personal profit and aggrandizement. And, as if to cloak this satiable view and aim of public life in the livery of heaven, Mr. Gorman covers all his malignance and depravity with the fair garment of amug respectability and outward deference to morality and even religion. Compared with the ordinary blackleg of politics, like Croker or Clarkson, a man like Gorman is nearest like the wretches and Pharisees, hypocrites, denounced by Jesus as whitened sepulchers in terms as withering as language affords.

Gorman had no voice to denounce the mischievous and dangerous fallacies of Bryanism. He was keen enough to understand their error and their helplessness, but it was more to him to maintain his party regularity than to help to save his country's honor, and in his betrayal of the cause of tariff reform in 1884 he not only stabbed his party in the back, but richly deserved the stigma cast upon him by President

Cleveland in his "perfidy and unscrupulous letter to Wilson, and the somewhat tardy further declaration made in the letter to Catchings that the "deadly blight of treason has blasted the counsels of the brave in their hour of might." There is no cause dear to the Democratic party which Gorman would not sell out for a temporary personal advantage, and it is small wonder our Oregon Democrats feel free to denounce him in unequivocal terms.

The Republican party has its Hanna, Platt, Quay and others of that stamp, just as the Democratic party has its Hill, Gorman and Stone; but it is in the eternal glory of the Nation that no man of that stamp has ever been elected President. Providence has so ordered it, or the chance has happily fallen, that our Presidents have been men of character and honorable purpose. Much as there is to say against Bryan, no one who has followed his career with attention considers him capable of deliberately betraying a cause in which he sincerely believes; no one thinks he would, with eyes open to the consequences of his act, deliberately sacrifice the trust reposed in him to base ends of personal profit or power. In him, indeed, as in Gorman, such an act would be worse than in the avowed servants of protected trusts in the Republican party. It is bad enough to find Republicans talking in cold blood about caring for the trusts and monopolies, but infinitely lower in the moral scale would be the Democrat who should serve the same masters, all the while pretending loyalty to the common people and death to the trusts.

It is the heavy cross of the Democratic party that the country knows Gorman and Hill, and knows their power in its councils. One can almost read as much between the lines of the Democratic protests against Gorman's candidacy. One can almost read there the searching inquiry whether, after all, right-minded men everywhere would find in their hearts any warmer welcome for the Gorman-Hill element of the party than they had for the crazy but honest leadership of Bryan. There is a depth of political misery, unfortunately, below the level of Bryanism, and that depth is Gormanism. We might even take the abysmal plunge to the silver basis, with all its misery and dishonor, and yet continue to feel that virtue lived in us still, because the reins and insignia of power had not been formally delivered over to the alienation of all principle and honor. But with men like Hill and Gorman in absolute power, there would be no such consolation. Perhaps this is why Democrats view so hopelessly their party's prospects. Perhaps they see that it is rushing from the frying pan to the fire. Some of them seem to welcome another defeat in next year's campaign, and are praying that it may be as decisive as possible. To this and nothing can so powerfully contribute as the ascendancy of Gorman and his type. The situation is almost tragic in its pathos. When one considers the fine quality of men who stood high in Democratic councils in the old days, and the great volume of honest purposes that informs its rank and file, it is pitiable that there is not force enough in its honesty and sagacity to keep it from yielding either to the lunacy of Populism or the satanic clutches of unprincipled wretches.

THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST CANDIDATE

The Boston special correspondent of the Springfield Republican announces that General Miles "is mentioned for the Presidency by one of the closest students of politics in the city." This "close student of politics" predicts that the nomination of Miles for the Presidency by the Democrats would command the enthusiasm of the G. A. R. and of all men who appreciate his services in the Civil War. In our judgment this prediction is utterly baseless. There is not a Southern delegation that would dare vote for Miles in the Democratic National Convention, for it was Miles who executed the order of the War Department to place Jefferson Davis in irons at Fortress Monroe in 1865. It is not pretended that Miles could do otherwise than obey an unwelcome order, but nevertheless the South retains a very bitter memory of this incident, for they are a very sensitive, emotional people compared with the people of the North, and no man who was the executive of the order of the War Department to iron Jefferson Davis can ever expect to obtain the votes of the Southern Democracy for the Presidential nomination.

It is easy to say that this disability is a purely sentimental objection; that General Miles cannot justly be held responsible today for executing the order of Secretary Stanton; that he is no more responsible for the execution of such an order than General Hancock was responsible for executing the orders of the President to hang Mrs. Surratt, a very disagreeable duty when the convicted woman was probably innocent of the crime for which she suffered. Sentiment however, is stronger than reason in such matters, and it is safe to predict that no Southern delegation to the Democratic National Convention would approve the nomination of General Miles. They would not denounce him for military obedience to the orders of the War Department, but would insist that it would be an insult to popular sentiment at the South to ask the Southern Democracy to vote for the man that handcuffed Jefferson Davis.

The Populist wing of the Democracy would repudiate the nomination of Miles because at the command of President Cleveland he marched the Federal troops against the Chicago railroad rioters in 1894. The same defense for his action, obedience to his orders, pleaded in defense of his ironing of Jeff Davis, would, of course, be set up for his sending his soldiers against the Chicago rioters, but here, too, sentiment rather than reason would prevail, and the Populists would surely turn down Miles for the Presidential nomination in 1904. There is not the slightest chance of General Miles obtaining the Democratic nomination under the present circumstances, for he is odious to the Southern Democracy, who cherish the memory of Jefferson Davis, and he is odious to the Western Populists as a "military intruder" who executed the will of President Cleveland. But, even if General Miles was not handicapped by his association with the handcuffing of Jeff Davis and his suppression of the Chicago railway strike, he would not be

a strong candidate, for, except on the heels of an important war, soldiers are not strong Presidential candidates.

Washington was the hero of the Revolution; Jackson was the hero of New Orleans; Taylor the hero of Buena Vista and Grant the hero of Vicksburg. A grateful people in the first flush of a victorious soldier's fame will throw up their hats for him for President, but the moment such transient popularity is exhausted the American people are hostile to a soldier candidate. This hostility is unreasonable, for our soldier Presidents have all been men of peace who have carefully avoided war because they had experienced it; nevertheless, the weakness of a soldier candidate of excellent quality was shown by the defeat of General Hancock in 1880. General Hancock had a splendid and a solid war record; he was a war Democrat who was absolutely loyal to Lincoln's war policy until the war was over, and then he returned to the Democratic party and was openly hostile to the Republican party's scheme of reconstruction. He was not only a very able soldier, but he was an able thinker, as was shown by his correspondence with General Sherman at the time when the Hayes-Tilden contest threatened serious civil insurrection. He was very strong with the soldier vote of the country; he obtained the vote of the solid South, and yet he was beaten by Garfield, a man utterly inferior to him in military services and resolute force of character.

If Hancock could not win on his record in 1880, what hope is there for Miles on his record today? The only persons who seriously think of Miles as a candidate are a few New England anti-imperialists who were delighted with his antagonism to our military policy in the Philippines and his injurious denunciation of the methods of warfare employed by our Army against the Philippines. The support of these anti-imperialists has cost Miles, however, the support of the G. A. R. Republicans and of a good many G. A. R. war Democrats, who resent his sweeping depreciation of the Army in the Philippines and his indictment of it for the practice of usage of war which he himself always enforced against a barbarous foe in shape of untamable and incurably hostile Indians from 1875 to 1890. General Miles has not the faintest chance of nomination by the Democracy, but even if nominated he would be the worst-beaten soldier candidate since 1852, when General Scott was defeated by Pierce, getting but 42 out of a total electoral vote of 294.

Societies of the Holy Name Stand in Rain and List to Stirring Address by the President on Practical Christianity.

PRESIDENT'S ADDRESS.

Very Reverend Deans and Clergy, and You, of the Holy Name Society: I count myself fortunate in having the chance to say a word to you to-day, and at the outset, let me, Father Power, on behalf of my

neighbors, your congregation, welcome you here to Greater Bay. I have a partial right to join in that welcome myself, for it was my good fortune in the days of Father Power's predecessor, Father Heifard, to be the first man to put down a small contribution for the erection of the church here. I am particularly glad to see such a society as this flourishing, as your society has

flourished, because the future welfare of our nation depends upon the way in which we can combine in our men—in our young men—decency and strength. Just this morning, when attending service on the great battleship Kearsarge, I listened to a sermon addressed to the officers and enlisted men of the navy, in which the central thought was that each American must be a good man or he could not be a good citizen. And one of the things I dwell upon in that sermon was the fact that a man must be clean of mouth as well as clean of life—must show by his words as well as by his actions his fealty to the Deity and to the Savior, if he was to be what we have a right to expect from men wearing the national uniform.

"We have good scriptural authority for the statement that it is not what comes in a man's mouth but goes out of it that counts. I am not addressing weaklings, or I should not take the trouble to come here. I am addressing strong, vigorous men, who are engaged in the active hard work of life, and life to be worth living must be a life of active and hard work. I am speaking to men engaged in the hard, active work of life, and therefore men who will count for good or evil, and it is particularly incumbent upon you who have strength to set a right example to others. I ask you to remember that you can not retain your self-respect if you are loose and foul of tongue, that a man who is to lead a clean and honorable life must inevitably suffer if his speech likewise is not clean and honorable. Every man here knows the temptations that beset all of us in this world. At times any man may slip. I do not expect perfection, but I do expect genuine and sincere effort toward being decent and cleanly in thought, in word and in deed.

As I said at the outset, I hail the work of this society as typifying one of those forces which tend to the betterment and uplifting of the social system. Our whole effort should be toward securing a combination of the strong qualities with those qualities which we term virtues in the breast of every good citizen. I expect you to be strong. I would not respect you if you were not. I do not want to see Christianity professed only by weaklings; I want to see it a moving spirit among men of strength. I do not expect you to lose one particle of your strength or courage by being decent. One the contrary I would hope to see each man who is a member of this society, from his membership in it become all the fitter to do the rough, work of the world, all the fitter to work in time of peace, and if, which may heaven forbid, war should come, all the fitter to fight in time of war.

I desire to see in this country the decent men strong and the strong men decent, and until we get that combination in pretty good shape we are not going to be by any means as successful as we should be. There is always a tendency among very strong men and among boys who are not quite young men as yet, to think that to be wicked is rather smart; it shows that they are men. Oh, often you see some young fellow who boasts that he is going to see

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His meaning by that that he is going to see that part of his which it is a thousand-fold better if it remains unseen. I ask that every man here constitute himself his brother's keeper by setting an example to that younger brother, which will prevent him from getting such a false estimate.

Value of Example.

Example is the most potent of all things. If any one of you in the presence of younger boys, and especially to younger people of your own family, misbehave yourself, if you use coarse and blasphemous language before them, you can be sure that these younger people will follow your example and not your precept. It is no use to preach to them if you do not act decently yourself. You have got to feel that the most effective way in which you can preach is by your practice. Just as I was driving up here a friend who was with us said that in his experience the boy who went out into life with a foul tongue was apt to go so, because his kinfolk, at least his intimate friends, themselves had foul tongues.

But while the life in the family can not do everything, while the associations of friendship can not do everything, still the friends, the father, the elder brothers, can do most toward seeing that the boys as they become men become clean and honorable men. I have told you that I wanted you not only to be decent, but to be strong. The boys are not going to admire virtue that is of a purely anemic type. They believe in courage, in manliness. They admire those who have the quality of being brave, the quality of facing life as life should be faced, the quality that must stand at the root of good citizenship in peace or in war. If you are to be effective as good Christians you have got to possess strength and courage, or your example will count for little with the young, who admire strength and courage."

SILENCE OF TARIFF DEFENDERS.

What so irrefragably damns the "standpat" Republican leaders and the corporations they serve, in their professions of willingness to amend the tariff wherever and whenever it needs it, is their studied silence concerning the details of tariff inequalities. For every specific abuse they have only a glittering generality about the principle of protection, the wisdom of the Republican party, and the danger of Democratic ascendancy. As to the protection, no longer necessary, awarded the steel trust, or the paper trust, or any of the gigantic combinations that still pose as infant industries, they say nothing, and in every presentation of the facts they take refuge in silence, which is confession.

Here, for example, are the steel schedules. In the New York Journal of Commerce we find the familiar facts as to the cost of steel recalled by a quotation from a "History of the Carnegie-Steel Company," by James Deigan; an interesting letter written in 1893 by Mr. C. M. Schwab to Henry C. Frick. The letter was written when there was a plan of uniting the Carnegie and Frick properties, and the object was to show what a dead sure thing the business was. Mr. Schwab said he had it down fine that England "cannot produce pig iron at the actual cost for less than \$11.50 per ton, even allowing no profit on raw materials, and cannot put pig iron into a rail with their most efficient works for less than \$7.30 a ton." This would make the cost of steel rails in England \$4.20 a ton. "You know," Mr.

Schwab adds, "we can make rails for less than \$12 a ton, leaving a nice margin on foreign business." Rails could be shipped to "net us \$14 at works for foreign business," or a profit of \$4 a ton, as laid down at the door of the consumer in England. "What is true of rails," he adds, "is equally true of other steel products." "Foreign costs are going to increase from year to year because they have not the raw material, while ours is going to decrease." As there was at that time, and still is, a duty of \$4 a ton on pig and \$5 a ton on rails, and the price of rails in this country was thereby kept at \$23 a ton, Mr. Schwab evidently knew what he was talking about and could honestly assure Mr. Frick that they had a good thing. In the wide margin between cost and the price obtainable for pig and rails is found the germ of the vast steel trust with its oceans of watered stock.

No thick-and-thin protectionist, so far as we have observed, in Congress or in the newspapers, has ever made answer to this most plain demonstration in the unnecessary and pernicious nature of one clause in the Dingley tariff. They all say that to remove duties indiscriminately will enable trusts to freeze out their small competitors, but none of them has the hardihood to say that abolition of the duty on steel rails would enable the steel trust to crush independent rail production. The reason is they hate to pose as the open champions of the trusts. That they are the real defenders and advocates of these trusts is none the less true because of their care in avoiding the appearance of it. The policy of evasion and huffer-muffer falls very far short of satisfying fair-minded men.

AN ORIGINAL AND WISE STATESMAN.

Now we begin to get a line on the qualities of Mr. John S. Clarke, nominated for United States Senator by the Democrats of Ohio and endorsed by W. J. Bryan. From his maiden speech at Akron on Wednesday we extract the following gem:

The lesson in the Northern Securities case is proof positive that through all the seven years in which the trusts have been taking possession of the business of the country there was ample law, if it had been enforced, to have prevented the formation of or to have restrained the actions at least of every trust engaged in interstate commerce and most of the great ones so engaged.

Observe that it is only seven years that the trusts have been taking possession of the country? Why seven? Possibly we wrong Mr. Clarke, but we shall undertake to say he picks on 1897 as the first year of trust domination because of the coincidence, at that time of Democratic exit from and Republican entrance into National power. What he means is that there has been law enough for Republicans to destroy the trusts, but not enough for the Democrats. The Republicans had the opportunity to destroy them, but the Democratic party couldn't destroy them because there weren't any. Mr. Clarke seems to have overlooked some of the evidence. We submit a few trusts that were in existence under Democratic administration:

	Organized Capital
American Paper Products Co.	1897 175,000,000
Consolidated Ice Co.	1895 100,000,000
National Salt Co.	1899 12,000,000
National Starch Mfg. Co.	1899 8,525,000
Sperry Flour Co.	1892 10,000,000
American Spirits Mfg. Co.	1881 24,850,000
California Wine-makers' Corporation	1894 10,000,000
American Tobacco Co.	1895 47,500,000
National Wall Paper Co.	1879 25,457,500
Standard Rope & Twine Co.	1896 12,000,000
U. S. Leather Co.	1893 125,100,000
U. S. Rubber Co.	1892 47,191,000
American School Furniture Co.	1892 10,000,000
Central Lumber Co. (Cal.)	1896 70,000,000
American Window Glass Co.	1890 50,000,000
American Cotton Oil Co.	1882 30,123,700
American Lard Oil Co.	1887 25,500,000
Chemical Co.	1890 20,000,000
Standard Oil Co.	1872 97,250,000
Lake Superior Coal, Iron Mines	1893 24,722,000
American Machine Co. (Cincinnati)	1891 10,000,000
Union Type-setter Co.	1883 13,015,000
American Electric Heating Corporation	1892 10,000,000
General Electric Co.	1892 20,510,000
Western Elevator Ass'n.	1887 15,000,000
Diamond Match Co.	1887 11,000,000

The second Administration of Grover Cleveland selected 1892 received as its inheritance the Sherman anti-trust law of 1890. There were four years in which to smash the trusts we have named into smithereens and prevent the formation of others. But it is Mr. Clarke's understanding that the trusts have been at work only since McKinley went in. Possibly when his little oversight has been brought to his attention he will acknowledge his error and correct it; and possibly he won't.

Mr. Clarke, moreover, enunciates a Philippine policy. He goes on record as in favor of granting the Philippines immediate independence, reserving coaling stations, which they have always been ready to grant to the United States, and of saying to all the rest of the world "Hands off." As Mr. Clarke is programmed as a business man, let us present his theory in the terms of business. Let us say that, in due course of trade, he has acquired a coal mine, which proceeds to mutiny. He will thereupon proclaim its independence, and say to all the rest of the world "Hands off." As to how the mine is run, murderously, ruinously, riotously, or otherwise, he will wash his hands, merely maintaining an army and navy about it to protect it from the aggressions of others and from the consequences of its own acts. It can readily be imagined how long Mr. Clarke, if he has any business sense, would continue such an arrangement. He would speedily find, if business experience has not already taught him as much, that responsibility cannot be assumed without authority. He cannot stand as sponsor for the coal mine before civilization unless he has the power to regulate the acts of the coal mine. It will be cheaper for him to put his own superintendents, bookkeepers and weighers in the mine than to buy or conquer it again afterward, as the British had to do in South Africa.

It seems to us that the Senate contains men enough like Clarke already—enough incorruptible patriots like Tillman and learned men like Dubois.

JUSTICE BREWER FOR NO APPEAL.

New Point Made in Discussing the Subject of Lynching—Certainty of Punishment Would Lessen the Temptation to Mob Vengeance.

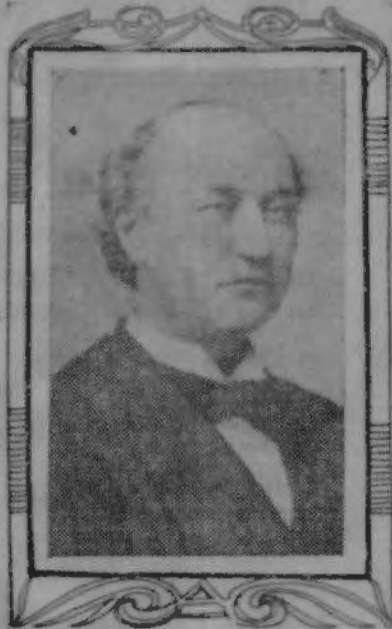
ENGLISH PRACTICE CITED.

NEW YORK, August 16.—Associate Justice David J. Brewer of the Supreme Court of the United States has contributed to *Leslie's Weekly* an article on the crime of lynching, in the course of which he says:

"Our government recently forwarded to Russia a petition in respect to alleged atrocities committed on the Jews. That government, as might have been expected, unwilling to have its internal affairs a matter of consideration by other governments, declined to receive the petition. If, instead of so doing, it had replied that it would put a stop to all such atrocities when this government put a stop to lynchings, what could we have said?"

"We will to look the matter fairly in the face. Many good men join in these uprisings, justified at the atrocity of the crime and eager for swift and summary punishment. Of course, they violate the law themselves, and rely on the public sentiment behind them for escape from punishment. Many of these lynchings are accompanied by the horrible barbarities of savage torture, and all that can be said in palliation is the atrocity of the offenses which led up to them. For a time they were confined largely to the South, but that section of the country no longer has a monopoly. The chief offense which causes those lynchings has been the rape of white women by colored men. No words can be found too strong to describe the atrocity of such a crime. It is no wonder that the community is excited. Men would disgrace their manhood if they were not. And if a few lynchings had put a stop to the offense, society might have condoned such breaches of its law; but the fact is, if we may credit the reports, the crime, instead of diminishing, is on the increase. The black beast (for only a beast would be guilty of such an offense) seems to be not deterred thereby. More than that, as might be expected, lynching for such atrocious crimes is no longer confined to them, but is being resorted to for other offenses.

"What can be done to stay this epidemic of lynching? One thing is the establishment of a greater confidence in the summary and certain punishment of the criminal. Men are afraid of the law's delay and the uncertainty of its results. Not that they doubt the integrity of the judges, but they know that the law abounds with technical rules and that appellate courts will often reverse a judgment of conviction for a disregard of such rules, notwithstanding a full belief in the guilt of the accused. If all were certain that the guilty ones would be promptly tried and punished, the inducement to lynch would be largely taken away. In an address which I delivered before the American bar association at Detroit some years since I advocated doing away with appeals in criminal cases. It did not meet its favor of the association,



DAVID J. BREWER.

but I still believe in its wisdom. For nearly a hundred years there was no appeal from the judgment of conviction of criminal cases in our federal courts, and no review except in a few cases in which two judges sitting a difference of opinion on a question of law was certified to the Supreme Court. In England the rule has been that there was no appeal in criminal cases, although a question of doubt might be reserved by the presiding judge for the consideration of his brethren. Hon. E. J. Phelps, who was minister to England during Mr. Cleveland's first administration, once told me that while he was there only two cases were so reserved. Does any one doubt that justice was fully administered by the English courts?"

"It is in extension of lynching in case of rape that it is an additional cruelty to the unfortunate victim to compel her to go upon the witness stand, and, in the presence of a mixed audience, tell the story of her wrongs, especially when she may be subject to cross-examination by overzealous counsel. I do not belittle this matter, but it must be remembered that often the unfortunate victim never lives to tell the story of her wrongs, and if she does survive she must tell it to some, and the whole community knows the fact. Even in the courtroom any high-minded judge will stay counsel from any unnecessary cross-examination, and finally, if any lawyer should attempt it, the community may treat him as an outcast. I can not but think that if the community felt that the criminal would certainly receive the punishment he deserves and receive it soon, the eagerness for lynching would disappear, and mobs, whose gatherings too often mean not merely the destruction of jails and other property, but also the loss of innocent lives, would greatly diminish in number.

"One thing is certain, the tendency of lynching is to undermine respect for the law, and unless it be checked we need not be astonished if it be resorted to for all kinds of offenses and oftentimes innocent men suffer for wrongs committed by others."

SOUTHERN VIEW OF LYNCHING

Baltimore, Md.

It is not difficult for a man whose family is safe from the lawlessness of the brutes that outrage and murder women to argue deliberately and dispassionately against the lawlessness which is involved in lynching. In the quiet seclusion of his study the man who believes that "mob law" under any circumstances and on any provocation constitutes "anarchy" can make an apparently conclusive case for his contention. Theoretically his argument may be absolutely sound and may be accepted as conclusive by most of his fellow-citizens. For, taken as a whole, the American people are law-abiding. But when some crime is committed like that which recently stirred the people of Delaware—a crime so monstrously heinous, that the details could not be published—people who approve the theory advanced by Justice Lore are prone to throw aside all restraints and to inflict punishment upon the criminal whose offense against civilization has put him beyond the pale of consideration. Perhaps this is "anarchy," but if it is, who can deny that it is of a very human character and has its origin in motives that are neither base nor vicious?

There is no analogy between that form of anarchy which is at war against all laws, authority and government and the "mob law" which punishes without the aid or consent of the courts those heinous assaults upon women that have become of startlingly frequent occurrence in all parts of the country. The political anarchist would do away with all restraints upon his freedom of action. He would, if he could, bring about conditions in which he would be licensed to do as he pleased in all the relations of life. As far as the lynching of the brutes who attack women is concerned, it is a protest against anarchy in social and racial relations. It is a strenuous attempt to preserve inviolable the sanctity of womanhood, to protect the weak and helpless from the most vicious of all marauders, the human brute who imagines that woman, even in the primitive stages of the world, is to be regarded as the prey of the stronger animal. In the light of the law's supremacy this irregular method of punishing the most heinous of crimes may be indefensible. But it should not be confounded with anarchy as the latter is generally understood. It is a revolt against the vilest form of anarchy. It is not a deliberate attempt to bring about a condition of lawlessness, but an effort to suppress lawlessness in its most hideous form.

The reasons why lynchings happen most frequently in the South are very plain. In the first place, outrages upon women occur more often in the Southern States than elsewhere, because of the presence of a large criminal negro element in that section. In the second place, the reverence for pure womanhood in the South is very great. Southern men have always been taught that the weaker sex should be treated with unvarying courtesy and respect, and that they should be protected at any cost from those who have no regard for the sanctity of womanhood. This was the spirit of the Old South—and it has not ceased to be the spirit of the new. Disrespect to a woman in the old days meant the speedy chastisement of the offender, whatever his social position. Many a duel had been fought in Dixie to avenge insults to women. Even to this day the man in the South who wrongs a woman does so at the peril of his life. It is not to be supposed that people who hold the weaker sex in such chivalrous regard will leave them to the worst of all fates, to the merries of the black anarchists who have had a very cruel record in the South since the days of reconstruction. It may be wrong, in view of the majesty of the law, for Southern men to anticipate the judgment of their courts, but their motives can be readily understood. They were defending those who were unable to defend themselves and preserving their civilization. If that be anarchy, then anarchy may sometimes be regarded as a necessity, if not a virtue.

NOTHING in ancient or modern history can surpass, or even approach, the power—now almost Caesar-like—that in the last few years has gathered and grown of itself around the throne of the world's great financier, J. P. Morgan.

His power is felt not alone in the busy world of the bulls and bears, but is an far-reaching thing by a turn of his finger he can bring untold misery into the homes of the humblest of our citizens, and can make his name felt in the farthest corners of the globe.

Apart from his landed enterprises, he is now practically in command of the Atlantic Ocean and the ships that sail thereon.

While the United States says "Congress shall pass no law restricting the freedom of the press, Mr. J. P. Morgan declares, for instance, that newspapers shall not photograph news events or persons on incoming steamers; and in this case, as exemplifying the extent of the power of this great magnate, Mr. Morgan scores one as against the constitution. Whether he will choose eventually to issue an edict that no news shall be gathered on the steamships crossing the Atlantic is a question still open; it is certain that the situation is in his hands, and it may be that he will be interested in the suppression of certain news paragraphs, just as he is interested in the suppression of certain news photographs.

Printed Morgan's Picture.

This latest announcement forbidding newspaper photographers to board incoming steamers was made through what is generally known as the Morgan Organ, which records that Mr. Stranahan, the Collector of the Port of New York, will issue no more passes to the men of the camera brigade. According to the published report, the manager of the White Star Line, which is in the Morgan combine, asked Mr. Stranahan if he had any objection to keeping newspaper photographers off the ships. The Collector had no objection; hence the order. Some persons who had patronized the line had been annoyed by photographers, it was said. It is a fact that Mr. Morgan had been annoyed by them. The last time he arrived in New York from the other side, two or three months ago, several very good pictures of the financier were taken as he leaned over the ship's rail. The newspaper editors were warned at the time that if Mr. Morgan's photograph appeared in the newspapers, photographers would be barred from incoming ships. Most of the papers did not print the Morgan photograph, but one of them did. Now the wrath of the financier has fallen.

More Power Than a Caesar.

Even as early as 1890 railroad enterprises in the United States representing a capitalization of more than \$50,000,000 were largely under the control of Morgan, and since then his control has grown in proportion. As an instance, he has added to the enterprises whose destinies he practically sways the great steel trust, with its capital of nearly \$1,000,000,000. All outlets to the sea from the Northwest and West are practically under the direction of Morgan, who thus holds in the palm of his hand this entire section of country and its populace by being able to regulate the price of coal. No Caesar, Emperor or King ever was so powerful. No autocratic ruler could by an edict cause such widespread misery as this man could if he wished. His power over the land is bewildering to contemplate, and now he has extended it over the sea. By and by Morgan air may be selling at a premium.

An Early View of Morgan.

In connection with the Morgan personality it is interesting to note what was said of him twenty years ago by a well-known physiognomist, who wrote his "conclusions as to the character of an unknown man, reached from a study of his photograph." Especially is this interesting in the light of what is known of Mr. Morgan today. Following are some extracts from this statement, which is now in the hands of a prominent if rather superstitious millionaire, living near New York.

"This man is an egotist. He is vain; loves to pose; has great strength of character along certain lines; is forceful to the extent of objectionable aggressiveness at times. * * * He has some love of the arts, though very little expert knowledge of them. He is particular, imperious, precise. He has the potentiality of a powerful, crabbed, stern, decided man who will cut down any trees that keep

him out of the sunshine. He will always strive to be the central attraction. He is a man of his word, though he will promise as little as possible. He will yield only when forced to the last extremity, and will be revengeful afterward. He is charitable by reason of the inner conscientious pleasure it gives him. If he is not rich, he will make riches. He would never be charitable as a poor man. He loves to inspire awe, but dislikes adulation. He is sufficiently well balanced to be a good executive; he is too great an egotist to work long for any other than himself. His mouth is arid, but animal; he loves the beautiful in art; the pictures he likes are those of persons—Decca. He loves luxury, but likes work. He likes work because he likes to command. He is a relentless foe and a fairly firm friend. He can turn from friendship quicker than he can turn from enmity. He is strong in that he knows his own weakness. He is a man who would give much to be handsome, tall, of commanding and fascinating appearance. He has a clear insight into human nature, and knows the average man gives way before aggressive attack; he will cultivate aggressiveness because of this."

Many of these characteristics Mr. Morgan developed since he was born in 1838. Particularly have some of them developed in the few years last passed. There are many anecdotes told of Morgan that show him to have a streak of vanity despite his great strength of character. The later character of the man perhaps has been seen abroad more than at home. He has appeared as a kind of Monte Cristo before several smaller foreign tradesmen, paying fabulous prices for some trivial thing he took a fancy to. Personally he lives a life of luxury. His yacht, the Cornish, is one of the fleet in the N. Y. Y. C. fleet, and is a veritable floating palace. His home is palatial. There have been many speculations made as to what disposition he will make of his wealth, but no indication of the Morgan will has ever reached the public ear.

PERCY LINDON HOWARD.

ROOSEVELT ON LABOR.

THE LABORER—No man needs sympathy because he has to work, because he has a burden to carry. Far and away the best prize that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing. There can be no work better worth doing than that done to keep in health and comfort those immediately dependent, upon the husband, the father or the son.

THE CAPITALIST—The capitalist who is really a conservative, the man who has forethought as well as patriotism, should heartily welcome every effort, legislative or otherwise, which has for its object to secure fair dealing by capital, corporate or individual, toward the public and toward the employe.

THE AGITATOR—The reason why our future is assured lies in the fact that our people are generally skilled in and fitted for self-government, and therefore will spurn the leadership of those who seek to excite treacherous and foolish class antagonism.

THE IDLER—There is no room in our healthy American life for the mere idler, for the man or the woman whose object it is throughout life to shirk the duties which life ought to bring.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Sept. 1.—President ADDRESS OF THE PRESIDENT.

Relations of Employer and Employe and Their Duties to Nation.

SYRACUSE, N. Y., Sept. 1.—The Labor day address of President Roosevelt, delivered here today on the opening of the New York State Fair, was as follows:

"In speaking on Labor day at the annual Fair of the New York State Agricultural Association, it is natural to keep especially in mind the two bodies who compose the majority of our people and upon whose welfare depends the welfare of the entire state. If circumstances are such that thrift, energy, industry and forethought enable the farmer, the tiller of the soil, on the one hand, and the wage-worker on the other, to keep themselves, their wives and their children in reasonable comfort, then the state is well off, and we can be assured that the other classes in the community will likewise prosper. On the other hand, if there is in the long run a lack of prosperity among the two classes named, then all other prosperity is sure to be more seeming than real. It has been our profound good fortune as a nation that hitherto, disregarding exceptional periods of depression and the normal and inevitable fluctuations, there has been on the whole from the beginning of our government to the present day a progressive betterment alike in the condition of the tiller of the soil and the condition of the man who, by his manual skill and labor, supports himself and his family, and endeavors to bring up his children so that they may be at least as well off as, and if possible better off than, he himself has been. There are, of course, exceptions, but as a whole the standard of living among the farmers of our country has risen from generation to generation, and the wealth represented on the farms has steadily increased, while the wages of labor have likewise risen, both as regards the actual money paid and as regards the purchasing power which that money represents.

Hard and Good Times Slight No Class.

side by side with this increase in the prosperity of the wage-worker and the farmer of the soil has gone on a great increase in the prosperity among the business men and among certain classes of professional men; and the prosperity of these men has been partly the cause and partly the consequence of the prosperity of farmer and wage-worker. It can not be too often repeated that in this country, in the long run, we all of us tend to go up or go down together. If the average of well-being is high, it means that the

average wage-worker, the average farmer, and the average business man are all alike well off. If the average sinks, there is not one of these classes which will not feel the shrinkage. Of course there are always some men who are not affected by good times, just as there are some men who are not affected by bad times. But speaking broadly, it is true that if prosperity comes all of us tend to share more or less therein, and that if adversity comes each of us, to a greater or less extent, feels the tension. Unfortunately, in this world the innocent frequently find themselves obliged to pay some of the penalty for the misdeeds of the guilty, and so if hard times come, whether they be due to our own fault or to our misfortune, whether they be due to some burst of speculative frenzy that has caused a portion of the business world to lose its head—a loss which no legislation can possibly supply—or whether they be due to any lack of staidness in a portion of the world of labor—in each case the trouble once started is felt more or less in every walk of life.

It is all-essential to the continuance of our healthy national life that we should recognize this community of interest among our people. The welfare of each of us is dependent fundamentally upon the welfare of all of us, and therefore in public life that man is the best representative of each of us who seeks to do good to each by doing good to all; in other words, whose endeavor it is, not to represent any special class and promote merely that class' selfish interests, but to represent all true and honest men of all sections and all classes and to work for their interests by working for our common country.

We can keep our government on a sane and healthy basis, we can make and keep our social system what it should be only on condition of judging each man, not as a member of a class, but on his worth as a man. It is an infamous thing in our American life, and fundamentally treacherous to our institutions, to apply to any man any test save that of his personal worth, or to draw between two sets of men any distinction save the distinction of conduct, the distinction that marks off those who do well and wisely from those who do ill and foolishly. There are good citizens and bad citizens in every class as in every locality, and the attitude of decent people toward great public and social questions should be determined, not by the accidental questions of employment or locality, but by those deep-set principles which represent the innermost souls of men.

Would Prove Fatal to the Republic.

The failure in public and in private life thus to treat each man on his own merits, the recognition of this government as being either for the poor as such or for the rich as such, would prove fatal to our Republic, as such failure and such recognition have always proved fatal in the past to other republics. A healthy republican government must rest upon individuals, not upon classes or sections. As soon as it becomes government by a class or by a section it departs from the old American ideal.

It is, of course, the merest truism to say that free institutions are of avail only to people who possess the high and peculiar characteristics needed to take advantage of such institutions. The century that has just closed, has witnessed

many and lamentable instances in which people have seized a government free in form, or have had it bestowed upon them, and yet have permitted it under the forms of liberty to become some species of despotism or anarchy, because they did not have in them the power to make this seeming liberty one of deed instead of one merely of word. Under such circumstances the seeming liberty may be supplanted by a tyranny or despotism in the first place, or it may reach the road of despotism by the path of license and anarchy. It matters not little which road is taken. In either case the same goal is reached. People show themselves just as unfit for liberty whether they submit to anarchy or to tyranny; and class government, whether it be the government of a plutocracy or the government of a mob, is equally incompatible with the principles established in the days of Washington and perpetuated in the days of Lincoln.

Many qualities are needed by a people which would preserve the power of self-government in fact as well as in name. Among these qualities are forethought, shrewdness, self-reliance, the courage which refuses to abandon one's own rights, and the disinterested and kindly good sense which enables one to do justice to the rights of others. Lack of strength and lack of courage unfit men for self-government on the one hand; and on the other, brutal arrogance, envy, in short, any manifestation of the spirit of selfish disregard, whether of one's own duties or of the rights of others, are equally fatal.

Class Rule Means Disaster.

In the history of mankind many republics have risen, have flourished for a less or greater time, and then have fallen because their citizens lost the power of governing themselves and thereby of governing their state; and in no way has this loss of power been so often and so clearly shown as in the tendency to turn the government into a government primarily for the benefit of one class instead of a government for the benefit of the people as a whole.

Again and again in the republics of ancient Greece, in those of medieval Italy and medieval Flanders, this tendency was shown, and wherever the tendency became a habit it invariably and inevitably proved fatal to the state. In the final result it mattered not one whit whether the movement was in favor of one class or of another. The outcome was equally fatal, whether the country fell into the hands of a wealthy oligarchy which exploited the poor or whether it fell under the domination of a turbulent mob which plundered the rich. In both cases there resulted violent alternations between tyranny and disorder, and a final complete loss of liberty to all citizens—destruction in the end overtaking the class which had for the moment been victorious as well as that which had momentarily been defeated. The death knell of the republic had rung as soon as the active power became lodged in the hands of those who sought, not to do justice to all citizens rich and poor alike, but to stand for one special class and for its interests as opposed to the interests of others.

The reason why our future is assured lies in the fact that our people are genuinely skilled in and fitted for self-government and therefore will spurn the leadership of those who seek to excite this ferocious and foolish class antagonism. The average American knows not only that he himself intends to do about what is right, but that his average fellow-countryman has the same intention and the same power to make his intention effective. He knows, whether he be business man, professional man, farmer, mechanic, employer, or wage-worker, that the welfare of each of these men is bound up with the welfare of all the others; that each is neighbor to the other, is actuated by the same hopes and fears, has fundamentally the same ideals, and that

all alike have much the same virtues and the same faults. Our average fellow-citizen is a sane and healthy man, who believes in decency and has a wholesome mind. He therefore feels an equal scorn alike for the man of wealth guilty of the mean and base spirit of arrogance toward those who are less well off, and for the man of small means who in his turn either feels, or seeks to excite in others the feeling of mean and base envy for those who are better off. The two feelings, envy and arrogance, are but opposite sides of the same shield, but different developments of the same spirit. Fundamentally, the unscrupulous rich man who seeks to exploit and oppress those who are less well off is in spirit not opposed to, but identical with, the unscrupulous poor man who desires to plunder and oppress those who are better off. The courtier and the demagogue are but developments of the same type under different conditions, each manifesting the same servile spirit, the same desire to

rise by pandering to base passions, though one panders to power in the shape of a single man and the other to power in the shape of a multitude. So likewise the man who wishes to rise by wronging others must by right be contrasted, not with the man who likewise wishes to do wrong, though to a different set of people, but with the man who wishes to do justice to all people and to wrong none.

The Good and the Bad Citizen.

The line of cleavage between good and bad citizenship lies, not between the man of wealth who acts squarely by his fellows and the man who seeks each day's wage by that day's work, wronging no one and doing his duty by his neighbor; nor yet does this line of cleavage divide the unscrupulous wealthy man who exploits others in his own interests, from the demagogue, or from the sullen and envious being who wishes to attack all men of property, whether they do well or ill. On the contrary, the line of cleavage between good citizenship and bad citizenship separates the rich man who does well from the rich man who does ill, the poor man of good conduct from the poor man of bad conduct. This line of cleavage lies at right angles to any such arbitrary line of division as that separating one class from another, one locality from another, or men with a certain degree of property from those of a less degree of property.

The good citizen is the man who, whatever his wealth or his poverty, strives manfully to do his duty to himself, to his family, to his neighbor, to the state; who is incapable of the baseness which manifests itself either in arrogance or in envy, but who while demanding justice for himself is no less scrupulous to do justice to others. It is because the average American citizen, rich or poor, is of just this type that we have cause for our profound faith in the future of the republic.

Ours is a government of liberty, by, through and under the law. Lawlessness and nonobservance at lawbreaking—whether the lawbreaking take the form of a crime of greed and cunning or of a crime of violence—are destructive not only of order, but of the true liberties which can only come through order. If alive to their true interests rich and poor alike will set their faces like flint against the spirit which seeks personal advantage by overriding the laws, without regard to whether this spirit shows itself in the form of bodily violence by one set of men or in the form of vulpine cunning by another set of men.

Watchwords for All.

Let the watchwords of all our people be the old familiar watchwords of honesty, decency, fair dealing and common sense. The qualities denoted by these words are essential to all of us, as we deal with the complex industrial problems of today, the problems affecting not merely the accumulation but even more the wise distribution of wealth. We ask no man's permission

When we require him to obey the law neither the permission of the poor man nor yet of the rich man. Least of all can the man of great wealth afford to break the law, even for his own financial advantage, for the law is his prop and support, and it is both foolish and profoundly unpatriotic for him to fail in giving hearty support to those who show that there is in fact one law, and one law only, alike for the rich and the poor, for the great and the small.

Men sincerely interested in the due protection of property, and men sincerely interested in seeing that the just rights of labor are guaranteed, should alike remember not only that in the long run neither the capitalist nor the wageworker can be helped in healthy fashion save by helping the other, but also that to require either side to obey the law and do its full duty toward the community is emphatically to that side's real interest.

There is no worse enemy of the wageworker than the man who condones mob violence in any shape or who preaches class hatred; and surely the slightest acquaintance with our industrial history should teach even the most shortsighted that the times of most suffering for our people as a whole, the times when business is stagnant, and capital suffers from shrinkage and gets no return from its investments, are exactly the times of hardship and want and grim disaster among the poor. If all the existing instrumentalities of wealth could be abolished, the first and severest suffering would come among those of us who are least well off at present. The wageworker is well off only when the rest of the country is well off, and he can best contribute to this general well being by showing sanity and a firm purpose to do justice to others.

Sound Capitalists Should Take.

In his turn the capitalist who is really a conservative, the man who has forethought as well as patriotism, should heartily welcome every effort, legislative or otherwise, which has for its object to secure fair dealing by capital, corporate or individual, toward the public and toward the employee. Such laws as the franchise tax law in this state, which the Court of Appeals recently unanimously decided constitutional—such a law as that passed in Congress last year for the purpose of establishing a Department of Commerce and Labor, under which there should be a bureau to oversee and secure publicity from the great corporations which do an interstate business—such a law as that passed at the same time for the regulation of the great highways of commerce so as to keep these roads clear on fair terms to all producers in getting their goods to market—these laws are in the interest not merely of the people as a whole, but of the propertied classes. For in no way is the stability of property better assured than by making it patent to our people that property bears its proper share of the burdens of the state; that property is handled not only in the interest of the owner, but in the interest of the whole community.

In other words, legislation to be permanently good for any class must also be good for the Nation as a whole, and legislation which does injustice to any class is certain to work harm to the Nation. Take our currency system for example. This Nation is on a gold basis. The treasury of the public is in excellent condition. Never before has the per capita circulation been as large as it is this day, and this circulation, moreover, is of money every dollar of which is at par with gold. Now, our having this sound currency system is of benefit to banks, of course, but it is of infinitely more benefit to the people as a whole, because of the healthy effect on business conditions.

In the same way, whatever is advisable in the way of remedial or corrective currency legislation—and nothing revolutionary is advisable under present conditions—must be undertaken only from the standpoint of the business community as a whole, that is, of the American body as a whole. Whatever is done, we must afford to take any step backward to cast any doubt upon the certain redemption in standard coin of every circu-

"Among ourselves we differ in many qualities, of body, head and heart; we are unequally developed, mentally as well as physically. But each of us has the right to ask that he shall be protected from wrongdoing as he does his work and carries his burden through life. No man needs sympathy because he has to work, because he has a burden to carry. Far and away the best prize that life offers is the chance to work hard at work worth doing; and this is a prize open to every man, for there can be no work better worth doing than that done to keep in health and comfort and with reasonable advantages those immediately dependent upon the husband, the father or the son.

America Has No Place for the Idler.

There is no room in our healthy American life for the mere idler, for the man or the woman whose object it is throughout life to shirk the duties which life ought to bring. Life can mean nothing worth meaning, unless its prime aim is the doing of duty, the achievement of results worth achieving. A recent writer has finely said: 'After all, the saddest thing that can happen to a man is to carry no burdens. To be bent under too great a load is bad; to be crushed by it is lamentable; but even in that there are possibilities that are glorious. But to carry no load at all—there is nothing in

that. No one seems to arrive at any goal really worth reaching in this world who does not come to it heavy laden.'

Surely from our own experience each one of us knows that this is true. From the greatest to the smallest, happiness and usefulness are largely found in the same soul, and the joy of life is won in its deepest and truest sense only by those who have not shirked life's burdens. The men whom we most delight to honor in all this land are those who, in the iron years from '61 to '65 bore on their shoulders the burden of saving the Union. They did not choose the easy task. They did not shirk the difficult duty. Deliberately and of their own free will they strove for an ideal, upward and onward across the stony slopes of greatness. They did the hardest work that was then to be done; they bore the heaviest burden that any generation of Americans ever had to bear; and because they did this they have won such proud joy as if has fallen to the lot of no other men to win, and have written their names forevermore on the golden honor roll of the Nation.

As it is with the soldier, so it is with the civilian. To win success in the business world, to become a first-class mechanic, a successful farmer, an able lawyer or doctor, means that the man has devoted his best energy and power through long years to the achievement of his ends. So it is in the life of the family, upon which in the last analysis the whole welfare of the Nation rests. The man or woman, who as breadwinner and homemaker, or as wife and mother, has done all that he or she can do, patiently and uncomplainingly, is to be honored; and is to be envied by all those who have never had the good fortune to feel the need and duty of doing such work. The woman who has borne, and who has reared as they should be reared, a family of children, has in the most emphatic manner deserved well of the republic. Her burden has been heavy, and she has been able to bear it worthily only by the possession of resolution, of good sense, of conscience and of unselfishness. But if she has borne it well, then to her shall come the supreme blessing, for in the words of the wisest and greatest of books, 'Her children shall rise up and call her blessed'; and among the benefactors of the land her place must be with those who have done the best and the hardest work, whether as lawgivers or as soldiers, whether in public or in private life.

Virtues That Count for the Future.

This is not a soft and easy creed to preach. It is a creed willingly learned only by men and women who, together with the softer virtues possess also the

stronger, who can do, and dare, and die at need, but who while life lasts will never flinch from their allotted task. You farmers, and wageworkers, and business men of this great state, of this mighty and wonderful Nation, are gathered together today, proud of your state and still prouder of your Nation, because your forefathers and predecessors have lived up to just this creed. You have received from their hands a great inheritance, and you will leave an even greater inheritance to your children and your children's children, provided only that you practice alike in your private and your public lives the strong virtues that have given us as a people greatness in the past.

It is not enough to be well-meaning and kindly, but weak; neither is it enough to be strong, unless morality and decency go hand in hand with strength. We must possess the qualities which make us do our duty in our homes and among our neighbors, and in addition we must possess the qualities which are indispensable to the make-up of every great and masterful nation—the qualities of courage and hardihood, of individual initiative and yet of power to combine for a common end, and above all, the resolute determination to permit no man and no set of men to sunder us one from the other by lines of caste or creed or sect.

We must act upon the motto of all for each and each for all. There must be ever present in our minds the fundamental truth that in a republic such as ours the only safety is to stand neither for nor against any man because he is rich or because he is poor, because he is engaged in one occupation or another.

because he works with his brains or because he works with his hands. We must treat each man on his worth and merit as a man. We must see that each is given a square deal, because he is entitled to no more and should receive no less. Finally we must keep ever in mind that a republic such as ours can exist only in virtue of the orderly liberty which comes through the equal domination of the law over all men alike, and through its administration in such resolute and fearless fashion as shall teach all that no man is above it and no man below.

SENSIBLE APPEAL TO LABOR.

OHIO is a great state in wealth and population. While nominally only the fourth state in the Union, she is, measured by the intelligence of her people and the average ability of her public men, second only to Massachusetts. She is the only great Republican state that will hold a general election before the assembling of the National Republican Convention in 1904. The Ohio election is important, therefore, in the influence it will have upon the next Presidential campaign, and it is evident that Senator Foraker, in the powerful speech with which he opened the Ohio campaign, intended sharply to set forth the position of the Republican party upon some questions that are likely to be vigorously discussed next year. The Democratic platform of Ohio follows the Chicago platform of 1896, and the Kansas City platform of 1900, in denouncing "government by injunction." This formula is one of Bryan's threadbare demagogic appeals to catch the so-called labor vote.

Senator Foraker, who is an ex-Union soldier, and as much a self-made man from the ground up as McKinley, is not lacking in sympathy for labor when it is right, but from the point of view of a very able lawyer he denounces this Democratic plank, "We repudiate government by injunction," as "not only revolutionary, but anarchistic." In 1894 a Democratic President and a Democratic Attorney-General enforced with all the military power of the United States the injunction orders of a Federal Court against Debs and his fellow-rioters. The counsel of Debs denounced this act as "government by injunction," and from that day to this every riotous opposition to the laws of the land when brought to justice by the Federal Courts has protested against "government by injunction." This protest was nothing but a fresh proof of the truth of the saying that "no rogue who feels the halter draw has good opinion of the law."

Senator Foraker points out that the power by summary order to prevent a breach of the law, a breach of contract or an injury to property exists in the system of courts established by the Federal Constitution. Among other things Senator Foraker says that for Congress to fail or refuse to invest some court somewhere with the equitable power of injunction would be to violate the Constitution and commit an act of revolution. For Congress to invest certain courts with that power and then divest them of it, as is now proposed in the Ohio Democratic platform, would be equally a violation of the Constitution and an act of revolution. Senator Foraker concedes that there may have been instances of an erroneous use or even abuse of the writ of injunction, but says that "the American people will not strip their courts of their wholesome and beneficent powers to restrain injunctive violations of personal and property rights, to prevent the recurrence of such occasional wrongs."

The argument of Senator Foraker is that the exercise of this power interferes with no man who keeps the peace, keeps his contracts, breaks no law, who interferes with no right of any of his

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fellow-citizens. The exercise of this power demands regulation, but the regulation must not be of the sort that would destroy the power. There is no danger in its exercise, for if any single Judge works injustice under it the courts are open and appeals always possible in protection of any right infringed. The last Congress was the scene of an attempt to emasculate this power, but the Senate refused to pass the legislation framed for this purpose. Senator Foraker's speech has attracted a great deal of attention because of his frank and courageous denunciation of this demagogic warcy of "Down with government by injunction," which is equivalent to saying "Down with the courts when they enforce law and order."

Senator Foraker knows that Ohio, which cast 20,000 plurality for the Republican ticket last year, and nearly 62,000 plurality for Governor in 1901, is in no danger of electing a Democratic Governor and Legislature this year, but he is thinking of the National campaign of next year, and for this reason he denounces with great force and ability the Democratic plank, "We repudiate government by injunction." Senator Foraker knows that the Democracy means to make this plea of "government by injunction" one of the issues of the campaign next year. Senator Foraker was evidently convinced that the time had come when not only in Ohio but everywhere the right of free labor to be protected by the courts should be vindicated by an appeal to the ballot-box. The protection of free labor is involved in the defense of protective action by the courts through injunction to which Senator Foraker gave so important a part of his Chillicothe address. Among other things Senator Foraker said:

The true friend of labor unions is the man who will tell them the truth, and not the demagogue who, prating of friendship, holds out false promises and sinister hopes of something that is unsustainable. Every laboring man should know that naturally all men are his friends. In some form or other all must labor in this world, and humanity sympathizes with humanity the world over. But there are certain limitations in all human affairs, fixed in the very nature of things, beyond which sympathies will not go, no matter in whose behalf they may be invoked. This is especially true as to all Governmental affairs, and accordingly we find in the nature of our institutions natural limitations upon legislative remedies.

The position of the President, who has insisted that there could be no discrimination on the part of the Government for or against any who were free laborers or workmen, or who were members of any union, may perhaps have determined Senator Foraker to place this issue frankly and courageously before the voters of Ohio. He reasoned doubtless that as part of the probable Democratic platform for 1904 it was wise thoroughly to discredit it in advance by searching discussion.

QUALITIES AND FATE OF GREATNESS.

General Miles, the foremost American soldier living today, dear to the hearts of our people, honored by his old comrades, has been disciplined, snubbed, belittled and insulted by a crowd of fustian soldiers and sycophants surrounding the technical head of the Army, who was a chance participant in one small fight—speech of Chairman Bartlett, at the Massachusetts Democratic convention.

It is easy to see that Theodore Roosevelt is splendidly contrasted with the

properties that qualify a man for ultimate and colossal failure. That is to say, he has the making of towering, belligerent and enemy-producing greatness. His personal characteristics are pronounced. They offer an easy mark for the touch-and-go critic. The enthusiasm with which Mr. Bartlett's references were received at Boston indicate that these personal characteristics are likely to be exploited by the Democrats this year and next. It is not that the Massachusetts convention loves Miles. He is a man to be admired for his undeniable services, but because of his vanity and petulance he is unlovable. They cheered at Boston, not because they love Miles, but because they welcomed the thrust at Roosevelt. It is a suggestive hint of the Democratic temper, and possibly of the Democratic tactics.

If the disposition of President Roosevelt, faithfully recorded in his Tacoma saying that he would rather be a whole President for three years than half a President for seven, is to be utilized against him to his undoing, it will not be in 1904. His day of conquest will come before his day of doom. The stubborn fighters, the men of inflexible will, indomitable purpose and steadfast ambition may fall with a crash—usually do. But it is not until they have demonstrated their powers, and in that demonstration of superiority have earned the resentment of the mediocre and the hatred of the masses, Caesar was assassinated in the Capitol; but not till he conquered the world, in arms, in oratory and in authority; Napoleon died a prisoner at St. Helena; but not till he had led his conquering armies over Europe and established a new standard in military history. And so in lesser degree the careers of masterful men like Blaine and Cookling illustrate the heights to which they attain before their enemies can combine to compass their downfall.

The Democratic party may as well take warning that the fight it has in view on the characteristic words and deeds of President Roosevelt has no present elements of success. The lesson is being learned, also, by his detractors and opponents in his own party. Such a man, as he rises toward the zenith of his fame, becomes the inevitable beneficiary of every old grudge and hatred which practical politics has built up around his enemies. There are enough who dislike and distrust Hanna, Platt and Quay, the corporations, the traditions of Army and Navy cliques, the entrenched privileges of the Senate and the party machines to rally to Roosevelt's side in his issue with those cordially detested institutions. They are enough to turn the scale now, and every move the opposition makes against him will only intensify the popular feeling in his favor. It takes a long time for the man who raises himself by sheer force of character head and shoulders above his fellows, to earn their disapproval in their own consciousness of inferiority. This may yet happen to Theodore Roosevelt, but the contingency is too remote for practical consideration.

PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT AND SENATOR GORMAN.

The following statement has had wide publication, as a reply by President Roosevelt to Senator Gorman's speech, delivered in deliberate attempt to raise the race issue in Maryland, just before the recent election:

If I could be absolutely assured of my election as President by turning my back on the principles of human liberty as enshrined by Abraham Lincoln, I would be incapable of doing it, and would be no President if I could be elected in this way. I do not expect to be elected President by the trust promoters who are now striving for special privileges, nor by the radical labor union men who would shut out all other men from an opportunity to work, nor by those who would close the door of hope against the negro as a citizen. They are all demanding special privileges which cannot be recognized by the President, whose oath of office binds him to execute the laws for all allies and recognize none as above the law. If I am elected in this high office it must be on my record as the executor of the law without favor or discrimination.

This statement was not put forth by the President directly as his own, but it manifestly is genuine. Apparently, it is a report of remarks made by him in conversation with Senator Gorman's speech. It contains so many of his characteristic expressions that it cannot be mistaken.

Senator Gorman alleged that President Roosevelt was engaged in the mad scheme or policy of attempting to promote equality of the negro race with the white race, in society and government; that he was thereby filling the head of the negro with vain conceits and making him insufferable; that the negro must be kept in his place, etc., etc., and that Maryland ought therefore to declare for the Democratic party. Whether the speech had much effect upon the election, or any at all, may be doubted; for Maryland is really a Democratic State, which turned against the party for a time only because of the Bryan folly. The great city of Baltimore couldn't stand the silver craze. That over, Maryland returns to its old allegiance. But the sentiment of Senator Gorman's speech was deplorable; and the vigorous answer to it, attributed to the President, shows a conception of principles and of duty which the country cannot but approve.

All citizens of the United States, all foreign residents in the country, have legal rights, and the law must deal alike with all. An executive of the country like is President Roosevelt's attitude toward all citizens and descriptions of the people. Social status among them is merely a conventional or artificial thing. It operates by its own rules, outside the law, and adjusts itself. On the President's utterance the Kansas City Star, an independent journal, with inclinations strongly Democratic on most of the important questions of the time, has these fine remarks:

It is a fine and thoroughly characteristic affirmative of the essential idea of popular government by a man whose patriotism has been as clearly revealed in his facts as in his words. Nobody who knows Theodore Roosevelt will doubt for a moment that the office of President would be worth nothing to him if it were secured by the slightest compromise of any principle which, in his judgment, ought to enter into the system of government for which the purest and the best men of the Nation have contended.

Under all governments there have been classes who have held out the special privileges. The nobility of Europe is founded on that idea. It is not an arbitrary law as in the days when the famous aristocracy of France declared that the people could not cross, but it still claims particular prerogatives. But there is no such distinction provided for in the American scheme. This is supposed to be a Government of, by and for the people. It is not for the whites as against the blacks; it is not for the Protestants as against the Catholics; it is not for capital as against labor any more than it is for labor as against capital; it is not in its essence for any class of producers as against the consumers. In its original intent and purpose it is as free from any idea of discrimination as that benevolent philosophy which recognizes neither Jew nor Greek, barbarian or Scythian, bond or free.

If there is to be any recognition under the law and in the privileges vouchsafed to all under the Constitution, of the color line, of religious faith, of the peculiar economic views of organizations formed for the object of self-protection or aggrandizement, then the basic principle of popular government is vitiated and the rights of the people as a whole are placed in jeopardy.

President Roosevelt has done nothing more than to place himself strictly in line with the

doctrines of the founders of the Republic, and one of the most hopeful tokens of the time is the popularity which has been developed among the people by a ruler who possesses not only the mental grasp to comprehend fully the idea and the intent of a government for all, but who adds to that understanding the courage of his broad and weighty convictions.

In general the Democratic journals of the country that stand above the prejudices of a narrow partisanship censure Senator Gorman. One of the greatest of these journals, and among the most notable of the newspapers of the country for breadth and poise of judgment, is the Chicago Chronicle. It says:

It is to be hoped that Democrats generally will not adopt the theory recently held by Senator Gorman that there is a Presidency in the race issue.

So far as social equality is concerned, there is not now and there never has been any important sentiment at the North in favor of it. Political equality, while recognized and asserted in the law, is almost as generally ignored at the North as it is at the South.

In the states having a colored population sufficiently large to make the question a serious one the ballot has been restricted in such a way as to disfranchise colored ignorance and worthlessness most effectively, and there is not much disposition anywhere to protest. Indeed, there is considerable sentiment at the North favorable to ballot reform which may lead to important results in places at no distant day. Excepting only the criticism passed upon a few Southern States for dealing more leniently with white than with black ignorance it is not likely that a good-sized mass meeting could be held anywhere in the United States to consider the race question in any of its phases.

This being the case, the wisdom of Mr. Gorman in attempting to make a National issue of the alleged purposes of anybody to assert the social and political equality of the negro may be questioned most seriously, particularly from the standpoint of the Democratic party and of the South.

In the States where the negro population is very large—in some it exceeds the white—there can be no wonder that "negro domination" became an issue. In such States, by one device or another, the larger part of the negro vote has been eliminated. In the circumstances this is accepted by the country as a settlement, in the interest of peace and safety. But in Maryland the negro population relatively is not large. There is no danger of "negro domination" in that State, and no danger of "negro equality" anywhere. But the negro is in this country and will remain. One-eighth of the population is

of that race. There will be no "government by the negro" and no "social equality" between negroes and whites. But in the matter of justice and legal rights there can be no discrimination between whites and negroes, either by the President of the United States or by the Governor of Oregon—the one a Northern Republican, the other a Southern Democrat.

(Special Dispatch to The Statesman.)

SPOKANE, Wash., Nov. 22.—Senator W. B. Heyburn of Idaho arrived in Spokane this morning on his return from Alaska and left for Washington on the Oregon Railroad & Navigation train, accompanied by Mrs. Heyburn. In an interview Senator Heyburn declared that in his judgment there is no reason why Senator Reed Smoot of Utah should be denied his seat.

"The polygamy charge," said Senator Heyburn, "was never entertained

seriously even by Mr. Smoot's most pronounced opponents. With it disposed of there remains no reason why he should be deprived of his seat. It would be a monstrous proposition to deny a senator, duly chosen by his state, the right to sit in the United States senate merely because he entertains any certain religious views. I think the opposition to Mr. Smoot is based on entirely untenable grounds, and I have no idea that the senate will unseat him. There is no reason why it should do so."

Oct-14-1903.

SENATOR REED SMOOT

THE EVENING STAR,
WASHINGTON, D. C.

When Congress assembles in special session next month the contest against Senator Reed Smoot, the Mormon apostle, will be urged by the various Gentile bodies which are opposing his remaining in the Senate. The committee on privileges and elections will investigate and report upon the contest, and the decision in his case will rest solely upon grounds other than sentimental or religious. The fight against Senator Smoot will be made, it is declared, not on account of his being a member of the Mormon religious faith, but on the ground that his oath as an official of the church upholding that faith render him unfit to act as a senator of the United States.

Senator Smoot, it must be remembered, already is in the Senate, having taken his seat at the extra session of that body last March. The case will be brought on the question of ousting him. There has reached Washington what might be called the brief of the contestants, being a printed pamphlet of some ninety-three pages entitled "The Inside of Mormonism," published by "The Utah Americans."

The contents of the pamphlet are for the most part certified abstracts of testimony taken before the United States District Court for the third district of Utah, in the naturalization cases of some Mormons, and the opinion of the court in those cases. Analogy is attempted to be drawn between the business of these Mormons for citizenship, as declared by the court, and the alleged unfitness of Senator Smoot upon the same grounds.

The Real Issue.

The introduction to the pamphlet says: "The issue of vital importance referred to above is the question whether Mr. Reed Smoot, an apostle of the Mormon Church and senator-elect from Utah, is a proper person to be admitted to a seat in the Senate of the United States."

"The purpose in publishing this evidence at this time is to show that a man who is a member of any one of the three quorums which constitute the government of the Mormon Church and are the fountain authority in that church, is not a loyal citizen of the United States, and cannot, by the most liberal construction of his covenants and obligations, consistently qualify as a member of either house of Congress."

"If the decision of Judge Anderson, which is herewith presented, is valid, and if the denial of citizenship to foreigners who are under endorsement house oaths is warranted by the evidence, surely an inspired and a pre-eminently authoritative official in the Mormon Kingdom, whose first obligation is to aid in maintaining and administering that alien and hostile government, ought not to be allowed to participate as a legislator in the affairs of the nation which he is sworn, if so considered by the oligarchy in which he belongs, to help destroy."

"This is purely a civil question with which religion has nothing to do, and into which, by no possible legislative, should it be allowed to be thrust. In this business we are called to deal not with the Mormon people, nor with the Mormon Church as a religious body, but with an oath-bound, disloyal and despotic organization, which exists for other purposes than worship or charity, and which obscures its political nature and character behind the exterior of religion."

"It is in essence a government separate and distinct from the United States of America, and not subordinate to it nor consistent with it. It has its own legislative,

executive and judicial systems complete. Its form is stable, its faith is variable. Throughout its history its one dominant purpose to rule or ruin has been maintained, while its religious element has been subordinate and subservient, and has been made to conform, by frequent adjustments, to that dominant purpose."

Civic Features of Mormon Church.

"With the religious faith and worship of this organization we need have nothing to do, but with its civic features it is our business and responsibility to have a great deal to do. Wherever in this pamphlet the word 'church' occurs reference is made to the framework, the organization, the president and his cabinet of fourteen prophets, seers and revelators, of whom Apostle Smoot is one, and not to the company of worshippers or their system of faith. This despotic oligarchy interferes with rights which are guaranteed to every citizen by our Constitution, it vitiates society, it offends the ethical sense of our people and it menaces the government itself."

"The accompanying decision of Judge Anderson and the abstract we have given of the evidence before him show conclusively that the Mormon people are under control of a power which denies them a republican form of government. . . . Every member of this organized power owes his supreme allegiance to the organization to which he belongs. He can obey the laws of the country and support the Constitution only when they do not conflict with the will of his quorum."

"As one of the quorums of Mormon apostles Senator-elect Smoot must place the will of his quorum above the Constitution of the United States or the laws of the land as interpreted by its supreme court. He cannot by reason of this higher allegiance participate in any attempt of the Senate to enforce certain of its laws in territories under its exclusive jurisdiction. In his personal influence and official acts at home he must of necessity not only defend our courts, defeat their attempts to mete out justice, advocate practices which are in violation of existing laws and restrain the people of his community from respecting the authority of the United States. Moreover, by the obligation resting upon him, he is bound, under death penalties, to conceal such evidence of polygamy or plural marriage as would enable the law-abiding people of the state or the United States to see and deal with polygamy and polygamous practices as they ought to be seen and deserve to be dealt with."

Judge Anderson's Opinion.

The opinion of Judge Anderson, in the naturalization cases, covers the question whether certain oaths required of Mormons vitiate the subscribers to the oath for American citizenship. In his opinion, Judge Anderson said, in part:

"The claim is made by those who object to the admission to citizenship of these persons that the Mormon Church is and always has been a treasonable organization in its teachings and in its practices, hostile to the government of the United States, disobedient to its laws, and seeking its overthrow, and that the oath administered to its members in the endorsement house binds them under the penalty of death to support obedience in all things, temporal as well as spiritual, to the priesthood, and to avenge the death of the Prophet Joseph and Hyrum Smith upon the government and people of the United States."

"It is claimed by counsel for applicants, and some evidence was introduced to show that in the doctrine and covenants and other church publications obedience to the law of the land is taught, and also that the Constitution of the United States is an inspired instrument; but the evidence discloses that the reason the Constitution of the United States is considered an inspired instrument is that it is construed by the Mormons to prohibit the passing of any laws against polygamy, and all such laws are considered by them as in violation of the Constitution. As to their teaching obedience to the laws of the land, it is only taught in general terms. During the ten days this investigation lasted not a word of evidence was introduced or offered showing that any practice or teaching of the church was

a single instance advised obedience to laws against polygamy.

On the contrary, the evidence in this case and the whole history of the Mormon Church in Utah, shows that it has persistently refused obedience to at least a part of the laws of the government, has insulted and driven United States officers from its territory, has denied the authority of a United States to pass laws prohibiting polygamy as an unwarrantable interference with their religion, and generally has antagonized and denounced the government in almost every possible way. Undoubtedly there are many members of this church who feel friendly to the government, and would gladly break the shackles that bind them; the Mormon priesthood if they felt the they dared do so; but with an organization the most thorough that can be imagined which can be welded against them, that remains in the church rather than take the risk of financial ruin and social ostracism.

What the Mormon Church Teaches.

"First. That it is the actual and veritable kingdom of God on earth, not in its fulness, because Christ has not yet come to rule in person, but for the present it rules through the priesthood of the church who are His vice regents on earth."

"Second. That this kingdom is both a temporal and spiritual kingdom, and should rightfully control, and is entitled to the highest allegiance of men in all their affairs."

"Third. That this kingdom will overthrow the United States and all other governments, after which Christ will reign in person."

"Fourth. That the Doctrine of 'blood atonement' is of God, and that under it certain sins which the blood of Christ cannot atone for may be remedied by shedding the blood of the transgressor."

"Fifth. That polygamy is a command of God, which if a member obeys he will be exalted in the future life above those who do not."

"Sixth. That the Congress of the United States has no right under the Constitution to pass any law in any manner interfering with the practices of the Mormon religion, and that the acts of Congress against polygamy and disfranchising those who practice it are unwarrantable interferences with their religion."

"Can men be made true and loyal citizens by such teachings or are they likely to remain so surrounded by such influences. Will men become attached to the principles of the Constitution of the United States when they hear the government constantly denounced as tyrannical and oppressive? It would be unreasonable to expect such a result as it would be to gather grapes from thorns or figs from thistles."

"It has always been and still is the policy of the government to encourage aliens, who in good faith come to reside in this country to become citizens. But when a rush of foreign birth comes here and joins an organization, although professedly religious, which requires of him an allegiance paramount to his allegiance to the government; an organization that impudently and blasphemously claims to be the kingdom of God, to control its members under His immediate direction and yet preaches to Christian people everywhere, and under which the marriage of a man to two or more sisters or to a mother and daughter is sanctioned; an organization that sanctions blood atonement as a means of grace and murder as a penalty for revealing the secrets of its ceremonies, and which for nearly half a century has refused to acknowledge the supremacy of the United States or render obedience to its laws—it is time for the courts to pause and inquire whether such an applicant should be permitted to citizenship."

"The evidence in this case establishes undoubtedly that the teachings, practices and aims of the Mormon Church are antagonistic to the government of the United States, utterly subversive of good morals and the well being of society, and that its members are animated by a feeling of hostility toward the government and its laws, and therefore an alien who is a member of such church is not a fit person to be a citizen of the United States."

a man is labor on them and entirely outside the timber belt; yet, when the withdrawal came, those lands were within the limits of the proposed reserve. How did it happen known to the "locators" that those lands would be withdrawn? The information could have come but from one source, the Department of the Interior. I do not wish to be understood as intimating that the Secretary of the Interior gave out the information. I am satisfied that he did not, though I am not in accord with his forestry policy. I consider him an honest man. I am equally satisfied that the Commissioner of the General Land Office did not do it.

Oregon Officials Not to Blame.

Nevertheless the information came from that department, and because of the frauds perpetrated by reason thereof the land officials in Oregon have been criticized, abused and condemned, when they were in no wise responsible. What could they have done to prevent the frauds? The lands were subject to entry under the law. They were not even advised that the withdrawals were in contemplation. That was known only to a narrow circle in the Interior Department. Yet that department has been willing to saddle the entire blame on Oregon officials, and these alleged delinquencies have been advertised industriously throughout the country. The tips that were given, and several many were given, came from Washington, and could not have come from anywhere. Not only was the rick made on Government lands, but on state lands as well. Consult any plot of any proposed or permanent reserve and you will be astonished to see how widely the school children were lied on just prior to withdrawal.

State May Be Defrauded.

It was immaterial what the character of the land was, whether beetling cliff or towering summit, it went just the same, for it was worth just as much as the most fertile soil and finest timber land when converted into forestry scrip. It may be said "good for the state; it thereby will land it never would otherwise have sold." But the speculators paid only 2 per cent, and if the reserves shall not be established they will forfeit that. If the reserves shall be made permanent, the state is defrauded of its right to select and get the benefit of New lands. Let me say, however, that the state land officials were not to blame; they knew nothing of the proposed withdrawal, and the lands were for sale under the law. Let us have no more forest reserves until we have wise legislation under which to create them and then let them be so created that they will not injure the industries or retard the development of our state.

I have just returned from a trip across the Cascade reserve. It includes a vast amount of land well suited for settlement and cultivation after the timber has been removed. It is largely on such lands we must locate our future immigrants. The proposed reserve in Southwestern Oregon, if made permanent, will be very distressing to Coos, Curry and Josephine counties and the Willows reserve would seriously cripple Willows County. In-

deed, I do not know of a proposed reserve that would not work a particular hardship on the people of one or more counties.

Position of State is Critical.

Care will have to be exercised also in restoring withdrawn lands to entry. Like the man who had the bear by the tail, the position is exceedingly critical; it is bad policy to hold on and it is dangerous to let go. I am confident, from information that I have, that syndicates are now forming to secure and have ready scrip to place on lands now held in reserve the moment they are restored. Doubtless the same leak that gave the tip touching the withdrawal will be equally accommodating in giving early notice of any proposed restoration. Like the old darker's con trap, it will "kock 'em a-cummin' an' a-goin'."

In brief, there is no occasion whatever for forest reserves in Western Oregon, and while in Eastern Oregon reserves may prove beneficial, they should not cover anything like the territory now proposed. But no further reserves should be created until the law has been amended so that for lands released within the reserve, lands of corresponding character and value only can be selected.

I have employed the term "Forestry scrip." I am aware that there is, strictly speaking, no such scrip, but it is a convenient term by which to designate the process of exchanging lands within reserves for other lands.

C. W. FULTON.

This is the first of a series of five articles by J. D. Whelpley, a well-known correspondent who has made public lands his life study. Probably no other newspaper writer is so well informed on the subject. There will be a strong movement in Congress during the present session to repeal or modify the present land laws of the country. Mr. Whelpley is an expert on the question and says that Senator Hitchcock and members of the Committee on Public Lands in both houses are heartily in sympathy with the movement.

SINCE the United States went into the public land business this Government has acquired for sale and disposal nearly 200,000,000 acres of land on this continent, exclusive of Alaska. This vast public domain reached from the eastern boundary of Ohio to Puget Sound, and from Florida to California.

Beginning with a southeast of undefined limit, the United States has appropriated, bought and won by treaty this vast contiguous territory. The 18 older states and Texas were allowed to retain jurisdiction over the 50,000,000 acres within their boundaries, and more than 100,000,000 acres are now set aside in forest, Indian and other reservations. About 50,000,000 acres have, up to the present time, been sold or given away.

As a land broker the Government has played the part with easy generosity. It has been careless as to who its customers were and sold to any who might apply at prices and on terms which have attracted to this country millions of persons from all parts of the world. There are now less than 50,000,000 acres belonging to the Government. From this area must be deducted great ranges of mountains, deserts and rough land which is not available for settlement. The estimates of experts as to how much of the remaining

public domain is still available for some builders vary greatly, but it is conservative to say that there are now less than 15,000,000 acres upon which, even with Government aid and vast improvements, citizens can live permanently.

Will Check Liberality.

If Congress agrees with the men who have been studying the question from a disinterested point of view, the easy liberality of the years gone by is soon to be checked. The real purpose of the public domain has ever been to provide homes for the people. This has been defeated at various times by schemers and ignorant lawmakers, aided by the vastness of the estate involved, but as the population increases by millions each year the public domain shrinks relatively in size, and the point has now been reached when stock is to be taken, laws are to be carefully scrutinized and stricter administration is to be enforced.

For the last two years the amount of land alienated from public ownership has been unprecedented, even exceeding the years of the great rush of homeseekers in the 80s, when the agricultural emigration of the world was all coming to the United States. At the rate of 20,000,000 acres each year, the choicest land is being taken from the Government under one plea or another, and it is not difficult to set a time when the thousands of homeseekers will be forced back upon the area now included within private ownership and the public domain will no longer extend its marvellous welcome of the past to the cabin builders of the American people.

The United States acquired the public lands by occupation, cession and purchase. About 200,000,000 acres were acquired by cession and about 1,500,000,000 by purchase. The 1,900,000,000 acres which have been at the disposal of the Government have cost directly, in actual cash, about \$60,000,000.

A large part of this money is the cost of surveying and administration, and the total does not express by many hundreds of millions the real cost of this territory, as included in the expenses of the War and other departments of the Government necessitated by this growing jurisdiction. In recent numbers the Government has received about \$50,000,000 in cash for the land sold. Thus it is that the present vacant public lands, now amounting to about 15,000,000 acres, represent a net actual cost of only about \$5,000,000.

Cost of the Land.

The Government has paid about 20 cents an acre for all the land it owns, including the original cost, the cost of surveying and the cost of administration. The average price received for land sold has been about 40 cents an acre, or double what was paid for it. If the Government receives the same price in the future as it has in the past the receipts from public land sales will balance the account, so far as the books of the Land Office are concerned.

There are greater questions involved in this matter, however, than those of dollars and cents, for the administration of the public lands in the past has been one of reckless prodigality and blindness to the future needs of a great nation.

More than 100,000,000 acres have been given away in the form of bounties and for military service. More than 10,000,000 acres have been donated to the States. Nearly 100,000,000 acres have passed to individuals under the notorious swamp law, under which, by means of perjury and misrepresentation, valuable agricultural land has been stolen in enormous tracts.

More than 100,000,000 acres have been given away for educational purposes. Some of this land has fulfilled its purpose, but from very little of it have the schools to which it was granted received the full benefit. The States receiving this land have issued scrip, sold it to individ-

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DRAG ON STATE

Large Forest Reserves
Hamper Progress.

SYSTEM MUCH AT FAULT

Fraud Follows Present Lieu
Land Legislation.

BLAME SADDLED ON WRONG MAN

Senator Fulton Thinks Advance In-
formation Leaks From Washing-
ton, Leaving Oregon Officials
Powerless to Stop Swindling.

Senator Fulton believes the present forest reserve system leads to extensive frauds. Information of proposed withdrawals leaks out from Washington, and speculators hasten to take advantage of the new land system. The officials in Oregon, Senator Fulton thinks, have been unjustly saddled with the blame for these frauds. The same opinion is held by Senator Fulton regarding state lands, and he points for proof to the extensive sittings on school lands just prior to withdrawal.

ASTORIA, Sept. 13.—(To the Editor.)—You request an expression of my views on forest reserves. It is, I believe, quite generally understood that I am opposed to the present forest-reserve policy of the Interior Department. Kasilnie of the arid lands, practically all the remaining public lands within this state subject to private entry are in the timbered regions. If we may judge from the withdrawals the department is making, it would seem to be its policy to incorporate all, or practically all, such lands into reserves. Should that be done, it would be to the great injury and disadvantage of this state. It would, indeed, be a calamity. The fact that such a step is contemplated should arouse our people to every exertion to prevent its consummation. That it is contemplated is certain, for the lands are now withdrawn from entry and held in reserve, awaiting further investigation, with a view to their ultimate conversion into permanent reserves.

The Cascade Reserve, composed of approximately 430,000 acres, has already been permanently established, while 18,000,000 additional acres have been withdrawn preliminary to being converted into permanent reserves. They are being investigated, we are told, but the investigations are being conducted by persons who are avowedly very strongly predisposed in favor of the reserves. One-fourth of the total area of this state to be permanently withheld from contributing in any manner to the industries of the state, its growth or development is an alarming proposition, but that is exactly the proposition with which we are now confronted. It means serious retardation of immigration and growth in population. It will largely arrest the development of our mineral resources, to the sheep industry in this state, and will place an unnecessary and very injurious limitation on the development of our lumber industry. Mining will not be widely prosecuted under the vexatious rules and regulations to which it will be subjected within the limits of a reserve, and within the limits of the proposed reserves are most of our mineral lands. Sheep, we are told by the forestry experts, should not be allowed to graze within the proposed reserves, or, if so, in very limited numbers and in a few localities only, and yet the principal grazing lands for our present flocks are within the limits of the permanent and proposed reserves.

What Benefit Will Follow?

The question then is, What benefit will we derive through the creation of these reserves that will compensate for the great loss and disadvantages they will entail? It is contended that our timber and water supply will be conserved thereby. It is argued by some advocates of these reserves that in proportion as our forests are depleted the rainfall is decreased. There doubtless was a time when there were no forests in Western Oregon, but I am confident the rain was here just the same. The rain is the cause, not the result, of the forests. Indeed, the rapid growth of forest trees in Western Oregon is remarkable. I know a place on the line of the railroad between Portland and Globe that was seeded to grass and used as pasture 22 years ago, there not being a tree on it. It was then abandoned as a pasture and the young trees took possession of it to such an extent that last year the owner was offered and refused \$250 per acre for the timber thereon suitable for spiling. In this connection I wish to quote from a letter I have received from Hon. John Minto, who knows as much as any man, and more than most men, about our forests. I quote by permission. He says:

I have, since my arrival in Oregon, 20 years ago, been an interested observer of its forest growth. Since grass fires ceased to run in the lower half of the Willamette Valley, in 1840, as a result of the Summary grazing of domestic stock, I have known men who were pioneer farmers near Egan, to sell their farms because they were worn out fighting against the encroachment of oak and fir growth upon their pasture lands. I did so for 20 years on my donation claim, and notwithstanding the fact that it has been stocked with sheep, cattle, horses and swine since 1840, there is today top dress the area in thrifty young fir and oak that there was when I located on the land in 1840.

Small vs. Large Timber.

Nor do I believe it is true that tall tim-

ber retains the snow longer on the ground than do the brush and young growth that follow the removal of the matured trees. I have not only taken some pains to investigate this matter myself by actual observation, but have inquired of others who have had a wider opportunity than I to investigate it, and the almost universal testimony is that the small shrubbery and young forest growth that springs up after, and only after, the large trees have been removed retain the snow much longer, and hence conserve the water supply far better than do the large trees.

I do not wish to be understood as being unqualifiedly opposed to the creation of forest reserves. I believe that the sources of rivers may very properly and profitably be reserved, and where timber lands after removal of the timber will be valuable for cultivation, the Government should retain title to the lands, sell the matured timber, and make suitable provision for encouraging and protecting the young growth.

The present law authorizing the creation of reserves should be repealed at once. No device better calculated to invite and protect the perpetration of frauds has ever been conceived and perfected. The provision allowing owners of land, or of any interest in lands within the boundaries of reserves to release the same and select in lieu thereof equal acreage elsewhere without reference to the relative character of the lands released and the lands selected, is indefensible. Under that provision some of the land grant railroads have received greater subsidies than those originally granted them directly by the Government. I saw in the Oregonian, a short time ago, an account of sale by one of them of a block of its forestry strip for \$1,000,000 and it had millions left. They have surrendered alternate sections within reserves, largely rocks, crags and peaks, and selected in lieu solid townships of the finest timber lands, yet unsurveyed and hence not subject to entry or purchase otherwise, and of course beyond the reach of individual citizens. I do not blame the railroads for exercising such right, but I condemn the legislation and policy that authorizes it. But the half cannot be told within the limits of this article.

Combination With Speculators.

Since the initiation of the forest reserve policy there has been in active operation a secret combination between some official or officials in the Department of the Interior and land speculators here in Oregon, and no doubt in other states as well, whereby the speculators were apprised months in advance of the actual withdrawal of lands for reserves, that the withdrawal was to be made. Whereupon the thrifty speculators caused to be located on, entered or contracted to be purchased, thousands of acres within the limits of the proposed reserves, without any reference to the character or value of the land. It was acres they were after, as a base for the selection of new lands.

I have been told by residents in the vicinity of the proposed Willamette Reserve that for some months prior to the withdrawal of those lands, people, under direction of certain "operators," were flocking there to locate, taking lands that were utterly useless for any purpose excepting for sheep-grazing lands, without

the benefit of the cattle companies. In Montana miles upon miles of fertile farming land which should be tributary to growing towns have been absorbed under the desert land act for the same purpose. In Oregon, Washington and Northern California Eastern lumber companies have secured thousands of acres of valuable timber under a law which was intended to give homesteaders upon timberless lands the right to secure for their own use and benefit 160 acres of wood land.

Those who were interested in securing title to large areas of Government land were until recently practically represented in Congress by 20 Senators and nearly as many members of the House. Some of these Representatives, however, have found that the industrial, commercial and agricultural population of their states was far more valuable in a material and political way than the men who owned the cattle ranches, and these Western men have become strenuous advocates of a restriction in the settlement laws as they are now interpreted by the Land Office.

The range interests, however, are still all powerful in Washington. Several Senators and Representatives from states where the range interests still dominate are prominent in the councils of the Republican party, and by their very prominence, as well as numbers, are able to prevent any radical legislation such as is recommended by the Interior Department and even by the President of the United States.

Selfish Western Men.

Senator Teller was once Secretary of the Interior. This was 20 years ago, and he likes, in one of his annual reports, give utterance to a truth which is as forcible today as it was then. It was to the effect that it is a common fallacy to suppose that the men who lived upon the public lands knew best how they should be handled from a legislative point of view. The then Secretary went on to explain that the Eastern members of Congress had allowed the Western men to frame the laws for the disposal of the public land, and in so doing had afforded an opportunity for selfish and venal interests to accomplish their ends.

Even 20 years ago Mr. Teller earnestly recommended the repeal of all the laws for the disposal of land except the homestead law, and it is most significant that every succeeding Secretary of the Interior, Republican or Democratic, has practically urged the same course, and in nearly every Administration has been supported by the President.

The main springs of legislation is self-interest, generally political, and where the votes are few and far between and the members of State Legislatures nearly all come from the big ranches the public domain has found few champions from the homesteader's point of view. Congress has at various times attempted in a half-hearted way to remedy existing evils, but through some qualifying clause, some twist in the interpretation of a statute or some door purposely left open the land-grabbers have found continued opportunity for their operations.

At the rate that the public lands are now being disposed of, there will not be an available location for a homesteader within less than three years, unless it might be some nook or cranny between the foothills which the adventurous livestock man has overlooked, or has hoped to hold without plastering a Government claim upon it. This condition was recognized by Congress in the National Reclamation bill, which was enacted into law two years ago, for that measure is practically an amended homestead law, and so far as is possible the mind to be irrigated is safeguarded from speculative raids.

Canada Rejects Our Laws.

Canada only enacted her public land laws within the last four years. She

sent a commission to the United States to study the operation of our laws. That commission rejected absolutely everything upon our statute books except the homestead law, and when it is recorded that 25,000 Americans entered the Canadian Northwest last year to settle upon government land, it means that these 25,000 persons went there to live permanently upon 160-acre farms in which they could not get title with less than three years' actual residence.

In Montana alone, during the last year, more than 1,000,000 acres of government land have been taken up by alleged settlers. Notwithstanding this fact the agricultural population of that State has actually decreased in many sections where the bulk of these filings were made. Only one inference can be drawn from such a condition, and that is that those who are already upon the ground are rapidly absorbing the area which has been counted upon as an outlet for future population and as a source of food supply for a rapidly increasing people. The lands which have gone to railroads in such enormous quantities have not been entirely thrown away, for it was through this agency that the railroads were built in advance of settlement, it being to the interest of transportation companies to increase the population and production of their territory. Their efforts have been largely toward the disposal of their granted lands to those who would live upon and cultivate them.

The Government has not been so fortunate in the land granted to States, for the same "graft" which has been successful in the past in Congress has been far easier of accomplishment in lesser political bodies, where a large majority of the members had direct personal interests to serve.

Built Up States.

The manner in which the public domain has been disposed of by Congress has, on the one hand, built up States after States, until the great productive and enormous-wealthy nation of the present time has been created. The evils were not apparent in the early days, when the frontier line advanced with the plow and the ax, but when the farming limit was reached and great areas became necessary for the conduct of peculiar industries the same methods which brought solid prosperity and population to Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and similar States debauched entire commonwealths, built up great lobbies in Washington and created rotten boroughs for the election of representatives to the United States Senate.

The land scandals which have attracted public attention during the last 12 months are but the bubbles upon the surface, indicative of evils far deeper seated and more widespread in their effects than can be corrected in a single generation. The member of Congress who now raises his voice in protest at the present use to which the settlement laws are put is accused of attempting to stop the development of the West. Such a member need but secure the statistics which show the acreage disposed of and compare it with the estimates of population at various periods to prove conclusively that the alienation of land now proceeding at such a tremendous rate bears no relation to the development of the West, and in fact these figures will show that it is being retarded thereby.

These public lands belong to the people as a whole. They are the sons of the people of the East who have in the past found homes upon them. That avenue of escape from the crowded condition of older settled communities is now about to be closed forever, unless immediate and radical steps are taken to check the land-hungry minority which is rapidly acquiring title to this once vast estate.

At the present rate it is not a question of years but of months, and to inquire into the matter at all is to reach the same conclusion expressed by the Secretary of the Interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, when he said, a year ago, that "this is now the greatest question before the American people."



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Those who were interested in securing title to large areas of Government land were until recently practically represented in Congress by 26 Senators and nearly as many members of the House. Some of these Representatives, however, have found that the industrial, commercial and agricultural population of their states was far more valuable in a material and political way than the men who owned the cattle ranches, and these Western men have become strenuous advocates of a restriction in the settlement laws as they are now interpreted by the Land Office.

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At the rate that the public lands are now being disposed of, there will not be an available location for a homesteader within less than three years, unless it might be some hook or cranny between the foothills which the adventurous livestock man has overlooked, or has hoped to hold without vitiating a government claim upon it. This condition was recognized by Congress in the National Irrigation bill, which was enacted into law 100 years ago, for that measure is practically an amended homestead law, and so far as is possible the land to be irrigated is safeguarded from speculative raids.

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In Montana alone, during the last year, more than 1,000,000 acres of government land have been taken up by alleged settlers. Notwithstanding this fact the agricultural population of that State has actually decreased in many sections where the bulk of these things were made. Only one inference can be drawn from such a condition, and that is that those who are already upon the ground are rapidly absorbing the area which has been counted upon as an outlet for future population and as a source of food supply for a rapidly increasing people.

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At the present rate it is not a question of years but of months, and to inquire into the matter at all is to reach the same conclusion expressed by the Secretary of the Interior, Ethan Allen Hitchcock, when he said, a year ago, that "this is now the greatest question before the American people."

J. D. WHELPLEY.

Washington, D. C.

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Cuban Reciprocity.

SPEECH

HON. JOHN F. SHAFROTH,
OF COLORADO,

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Wednesday, November 13, 1903.

The House being in Committee of the Whole on the state of the Union, and having under consideration the bill (H. R. 102) to carry into effect a convention between the United States and the Republic of Cuba, signed on the 11th day of December, in the year 1902—

Mr. SHAFROTH said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I am well aware, as is everyone in this Chamber, that this measure is to be passed almost unanimously, and yet I do not feel that I can properly represent my State without rising to protest against the passage of the same. This legislation, in my judgment, is fraught with great mischief to an industry full of promise to the American farmer, which is infant in character, and yet which has been progressing by leaps and bounds in my section of the country.

This measure is both un-Republican and un-Democratic. It is un-Republican because it encourages a foreign industry, and to that extent it discourages a home industry. Gentlemen may say that with this 20 per cent reduction the factories will not close. They may not. But I want to tell you that it discourages them notwithstanding. It has already discouraged that industry. In the Congressional district which I represent we have now six sugar-beet factories, representing a capital of \$6,000,000; and if this legislation had not been proposed last Congress we would by this time have had ten factories in that district. The plans of construction were drawn and contracts with the farmers to raise the beets were entered into for four more factories, but because of the uncertainty of foreign competition arising from the introduction of a similar bill to this two years ago it has been impossible to get capital to make the venture. Capital was willing, ready, and anxious to undertake these four factories as well as the three that have been constructed in the last year. Has not the measure already been discouraging to the home industry?

Is it possible that it is to the interest of this nation that we should encourage capital which is ready to go into the sugar business in our own country to seek investments in sugar lands in Cuba? Can anyone say that such effect is not discouraging to our home industry? Already more than \$25,000,000 of American capital has been invested in sugar lands in Cuba—enough to erect twenty-five large sugar-beet factories in our own land. If this bill passes it is likely that \$100,000,000 of American capital will leave our shores and find investment in Cuban sugar enterprises. Is not such legislation which drives capital from a home to a foreign industry detrimental to the home enterprise?

Is it possible that anybody, I care not what he may believe on the tariff question, can sanction the picking out for sacrifice or impairment from all the protected industries the one which is of so much promise to the farmer, especially when we know that the farmer receives very little direct benefit from the Dingley Act? Is it right to sacrifice or discourage the infant nonmonopolistic beet-sugar industry and leave highly protected so many old monopolistic enterprises? Can it be that such a measure is Republican?

Stump Oratory.

Congressman Sleep of Virginia told a story the other day which he says is an illustration of the retort courteous in a Virginia campaign.

According to Mr. Sleep, there were two smallholders in a backwoods district named Patrick Cauley and "Old Man" Adams. They were engaged in joint debate, and Cauley, a hot-headed Irishman, had spoken pretty plainly his opinion of his opponent and the Democratic party, to which Adams belonged.

When Adams rose to reply, he said slowly:

"The honorable gentleman's speech reminds me of a story about a farmer friend of mine back in the woods. It was in the days when there was a brand of bacon known as 'Cincinnati bacon' because it was made in that city. The makers used to press all the grease out of this bacon and then soak it in water, so that its appearance was not changed.

"This friend of mine bought a wagon load of it, and a few days later a neighbor asked him how he liked it.

"Well," said the old man, "it looks all right and it weighs all right, but when you come right down and try it out by frying, there is more fuss and sputter and sizzle and less grease than any doggone bacon I ever seen."—
New York Times.

WASHINGTON, Nov. 22.—During the last 12 months there have been alienated from Government ownership nearly 2,000,000 acres of the public land of the United States, or at least one-fifth of what was estimated a year ago as available for future settlement. Of these 2,000,000 acres nearly 11,000,000 were taken from public ownership under the laws known as the homestead and desert land acts, which are the only ones applying to agricultural land, and which are primarily assumed to be for the encouragement of settlement.

More than 1,000,000 acres were taken under the desert land act, and more than 11,000,000 acres under the homestead act. The amount taken under the homestead act during the last year is three times as much as has been patented by the Government to its citizens in any year since the enactment of the homestead law in 1862.

It is a notorious fact that for several years past the legitimate homestead area of the public domain has practically ceased to exist, and that there are few acres now available for settlement where a man and his family can maintain continued residence and obtain a living from the soil.

The only possible inference, therefore, is that the law, once beneficial in its operations, is now used to appropriate lands for other purposes than home building, and the investigations made by the Interior Department in recent months show that this inference is entirely justified in 80 cases out of 100.

How Rest of the Land Went.

The other 10,000,000 acres taken from the public domain during the last year have disappeared in the form of state or railroad landings, provided for by previous Congressional grants, mineral land entries and other forms of land appropriation which are allowed to citizens.

After accomplishing a magnificent work in bringing about the settlement of the country from Ohio to the Pacific Ocean and building up an empire of powerful states, the homestead law has not only outlived its usefulness in its present form, but has actually become a source of evil. The public land area to which the homestead law applied in spirit as well as in letter, was exhausted several years ago.

In the attempt to meet changing conditions and render less onerous the provisions requiring five years' residence upon a homestead claim before title passed from the Government, Congress nullified the original intention of the law and made it subservient to the purposes of land grabbers and speculators.

This was done by the so-called commutation provision, which at first allowed a homesteader to obtain title to his claim after six months' residence, and by the payment of \$1.25 or \$1.50 an acre, as the case might be. Later on this commutation privilege was changed so as to require at least 14 months' residence before the land could be bought from the Government, but even this still allows the homestead right to be used in a manner not contemplated by the law or in the interest of good government, and the commuted form is now used to secure patent in a majority of cases.

Increase in Commuted Acreage.

This is shown by the enormous increase in the commuted acreage in the last year. In 1902 the Government gave patent to about 1,000,000 acres of commuted homesteads, while in the fiscal year of 1903 the commutations covered an area considerably in excess of 2,000,000 acres, or nearly as much as the average acreage which has been patented under the entire operation of the homestead act for 25 years past.

The law as it now stands gives the settler two options. He can settle upon, enter and acquire title to 160 acres of land practically free of cost, by establishing and maintaining residence thereon and improving and cultivating the land for a continuous period of five years.

He may, on the other hand, at the end of 14 months of such continuous residence, improvement and cultivation, get a patent from the Government by paying \$1.25 an acre for his land if it lies without the limits of railroad grants, or \$1.50 an acre if within such limits. In either case actual residence, improvement and cultivation are theoretically required.

He must, according to the law, make application for this land in "honesty and good faith," not as an agent for others, but in the honest intention to make a home, and all agreements to sell prior to the issuing of the patent are forbidden.

In paying for this land he can use cash, military bounty, land warrants, agricultural college scrip or private land scrip. The homestead law is used today almost entirely in the arid region, while honest and continuous residence and cultivation from the beginning are practically impossible.

One exception may be made to this sweeping generalization, and that is where a homestead is filed in the arid region under some canal or waterworks construction for the purpose of furnishing irrigation water to the incoming settlers. There are few cases of this kind, however, for the reason that before such canals are built the companies take good care to obtain title to all irrigable land, as such land is worth far more with a water right than the price charged by the Government.

Original Homestead Entries.

The commissioner of the General Land Office, in his annual report, now in the hands of the Secretary of the Interior, shows that during the fiscal year ended June 30, 1903, original homestead entries were made covering more than 11,000,000 acres. The entries for the year preceding covered nearly 12,000,000 acres and in 1901 nearly 10,000,000 acres, thus in the three years past more than 30,000,000 acres of Government land have been taken from the public domain under the homestead act.

If the intention of the law had been served in the filing of these claims this would represent the creation of 187,500 separate farms, each one occupied by at least one person, and in a majority of cases by a family; or an addition to the population of the states in which these filings were made of approximately 800,000 persons. That this has not come to pass is manifest. There has been no such increase of population or no such spread of the inhabited and cultivated area of the West.

For the homesteads commuted the Government received less than \$2,000,000 in cash. However, from a narrow point of view, purely as a real estate transaction, this might be considered satisfactory, but when the manner in which these commuted homesteads were obtained and the purpose for which they are used are considered, the Government has been deprived of the intended beneficial operations of its settlement laws.

Purpose of Law Violated.

The purpose of the law is violated, a premium has been laid upon perjury, the morality of the communities in which these homesteads are obtained has been lowered and the welfare and growth of the states and territories in which they are taken are seriously retarded from the showing which might be made were these homesteads occupied by legitimate settlers.

The original homestead entries, the final proofs and commuted homesteads of the last three years amount to more in acre-

age than the total alienated from the Government domain in any ten preceding years since the foundation of this Government.

Those who are familiar with the present condition of the public domain and its practical restriction to the arid region may well inquire whence comes this boom in homestead location upon land which is practically uninhabitable, without the expenditure of an average of at least \$20 an acre for obtaining the necessary water. What is more, it is also known that thousands of these filings are made upon lands where irrigation is an impossibility at the present stage of the development of this industry.

Since the passage of the homestead act, in 1862, there have been about 1,500,000 original homestead filings, covering more than 200,000,000 acres. From the number of patents issued it is evident that about 50 per cent of those who make the original homestead filings carry the process through to completion either by complying with the five years' settlement term or commutting the same.

Fraud Becoming More Common.

The truth of the matter is that this remarkable increase in the number of homestead filings means that fraud is becoming more common and apparently easier to accomplish. The men who control the big cattle and sheep ranges realize more keenly each year the encroachments of settlers upon their land. To check this settlement and prevent their ranges from being curtailed they find it necessary to get some shadow of title to land controlling the water and fertile meadows.

The pre-emption, timber culture and private sale of lands by the Government having been done away with, there are only two or three ways in which monopoly can be upheld, but it may be said in all conservatism that the homestead law, with its commutation clause, is now doing more damage to the prospects of the Western states than it is doing good.

This commutation clause should be promptly repealed and residence upon and cultivation of the land should be the requirements for obtaining title to the land. The amount of money the Government may derive from the rapid sale of the public domain is of small consequence as compared with the conservation of its landed resources.

Every man, woman and child, millionaire or day laborer, is equally concerned in the administration of this property. It is a social, commercial and industrial question rather than one within the domain of Government finance.

The principal use of the homestead act as it stands today is for the fraudulent acquisition of cattle and sheep ranges and the building up of great land holdings by corporations or individuals who are protecting themselves against the gradual contraction of the range and the absorption of the land. Some of these enterprises are not entirely bad, especially those where great canals are built and the land is needed for sale to settlers who will use the water, but the purpose is accomplished through fraud, and the parties in the same should be vigorously dealt with by the Government.

Hired to Commit Perjury.

It seems incredible that men can be hired so easily to commit perjury. Each and every homesteader who takes up a claim with the idea of selling it to a company, or takes it up to accommodate his employer, who wants to range his sheep or cattle to the exclusion of others, perjures himself from the time he makes the first application to the moment he accomplishes his final proof and receives his patent.

In all the land laws of the United States a definition of perjury is given and the penalty is explained. But it has become the custom to regard perjury before the

land officials as a legitimate means for acquiring land or for making money by helping others to acquire the same. Such an attitude has a demoralizing effect upon any community and the results, both ethical and practical, are thoroughly bad.

The statement is often made by those interested in the range livestock industry that the business of cattle and sheep-raising in the arid states has more invested capital than any other business in the country, and the vague ideas which are held by Eastern people, as a rule, as to the production of cattle in the West leads to a general acceptance of this statement as the truth. The United States census figures show that the more homesteads and the closer and denser the settlement of the country is made, the more meat is produced for market purposes.

According to the last returns Montana, Wyoming, Washington, Idaho, Utah, Nevada, Arizona and New Mexico, covering 89,600 square miles of territory, had only 4,875,000 head of cattle, while the farming State of Iowa, which has an area of only 55,000 square miles, had 4,367,000 head of cattle, or 58,000 more than the eight states and territories referred to.

If the cattle of California, Colorado and Oregon are added to those of the eight states and territories above mentioned we shall then have in the 11 states and territories 4,647,704 cattle roaming over 1,200,000 square miles of public and private land, an area embracing more than one-third of the United States and its territories, not including Alaska.

The value of these cattle is \$91,000,000, while the 4,252,000 sheep within these states are valued at \$96,000,000, making the total value of sheep and cattle \$187,000,000.

If to this sum we add \$25,000,000 as a further investment the total is \$212,000,000 permanently invested in the cattle and sheep business of 11 states and territories, covering an area of 74,000,000 acres. This is a fixed investment which is no larger than the farm products of the one State of Illinois for a whole year, and \$40,000,000 less than the annual farming products of Iowa.

Depends Upon Agriculture.

Again, the combined cattle herds of these 11 states and territories are 1,000,000 less in number than in the State of Texas. The reason for this is found in the fact that in the State of Texas there are 32,000 individual homes upon the land, while in the 11 range states and territories enumerated there are only 147,000. It therefore stands to reason that any extensive development of the meat-producing power of the far Western States depends entirely upon the development of agriculture.

It is estimated that in Montana alone, where there are now less than 1,000,000 cattle, the state could be made to support from 2,000,000 to 3,000,000 cattle if the valleys and fertile bench lands were occupied by homesteaders instead of by the range interests.

The packing-house combination of Chicago, better known as the beef trust, has in the past become closely associated with the range cattle industry of the West. Money has been loaned to the range men and the banks through which they do their business are largely owned or controlled by the packing-house people.

Carrying these loans upon the range herds, their sympathies have been with the settlement, and it is from these persons, directly or indirectly, that money has been obtained to appropriate large areas of Government land by direct or indirect methods such as have been described.

The development of the West has been checked rather than assisted by the ease with which the Government land could be got by the large interests. This is shown by the fact that in the highly cultivated agricultural valleys of the West there are more people, more livestock and more aggregate wealth than in entire states and territories given over to the range industry.

Colorado owes her prosperity to her small farms, these farms being limited in area owing to the fact that irrigation was necessary, and her agricultural output now exceeds her mineral output, although the latter is greater, with one exception, than that of any other state.

Desert Land Act.

The desert land law, under which 1,000,000 acres of public land were taken in the last year, originated in 1873 when a big cattle company in California, desiring to get title to a large tract of land, lobbied an act through Congress whereby it was able to accomplish its purpose by a pretense of reclamation of Government domain. This process of obtaining title was apparently so easy that the demand for a similar law became general, and in 1877 the desert land act, practically as it now stands, was placed upon the statute books.

Since 1877 there have been nearly 50,000 original desert filings under this law in the arid states, covering perhaps 12,000,000 acres of public land. Of all these filings, only about one-fifth have been proved upon and title conveyed by the Government, these final proofs covering less than 1,000,000 acres. During each year there are from a thousand to twenty-five hundred desert filings made, but only a few hundred final proofs accomplished. It is considered conservative to estimate that fully 25 per cent of the final proofs made on desert land are entirely fraudulent.

As the law now stands, any citizen of the United States can take up 120 acres of arid land by making a deposit at the time of filing of 25 cents an acre and paying \$1 an acre more when the title passes from the Government. Each settler can get two of these claims, as his wife is also allowed to make a filing.

The law requires that before obtaining title the settler must prove the ownership of sufficient water to irrigate the entire tract of land; must prove that he has expended at least \$1 an acre in improving the land, and that he has actually irrigated within three years from the time of filing every legal subdivision of his claim.

The proof of irrigation is the actual ownership of water, the construction of the necessary canals and ditches and the presence of water upon the land in sufficient quantities to produce a crop, as shown by the testimony of presumably competent witnesses.

Question of Water.

To carry out honestly the requirements imposed by the law, a man must have an unquestioned water right of sufficient volume, and, as experience has proved, make an expenditure of at least \$5 an acre to put this water upon the land in sufficient quantities to raise a crop of some kind which would not otherwise have been grown upon his claim.

It is a notorious fact that thousands of desert claims are filed upon land where it is impossible to get the necessary water. It is an equally notorious fact that the law is used in almost every case to prevent others from settling upon the land so as to obtain a monopoly of the livestock ranges or monopolize water-holes and trails in such a way as to prevent others from using the public range in that vicinity.

In any one of the arid states valleys can be found where the Government has passed title to land under the desert-land act, where by merely fencing the land a marketable crop of hay has been raised—that is to say, the land was valuable for agricultural purposes without artificial irrigation, and the law does not contemplate that this character of land shall be taken up.

A recent report of a special agent who was sent to investigate conditions in Northern Montana shows that more than half a million acres of what is known as upland hay land had been checked out

land act, and the settlement of the country by homesteaders effectually prevented, to the great detriment of the communities to which this land was tributary.

The manner in which many of the final proofs are made upon these desert claims is almost incredible. In numerous instances no attempt is made to water the land at all, the principal effort being expended in the getting of witnesses who will swear to a statement of alleged facts required by the land office before patent issues.

To ease the conscience of some of these witnesses, men have been known to take a gail of water and in their presence pour it upon the land, so the statement can be made that they have seen water running down the claim. The building of ditches sworn to in the final proof generally means the ploughing of single furrows across each 40 acres, so as to comply with the law in regard to each legal subdivision, a 40 being the smallest tract recognized in the surveys of the public land.

Numerous instances are on record where the witnesses have been taken to the land while the snow was melting and the ditches and hollows in the land were full of water so originating. The majority of the desert claims are made, however, with the sole intention of keeping settlers from the land, for after the Government has once accepted a filing it becomes a long and tedious process to oust a claimant and restore the same to the map of the Government domain.

Few individuals care to initiate a contest against a powerful neighbor or to go into a strange community and acquire the reputation of being a land-jumper. Even if successful, which is hardly possible, there are few chances of his pursuing a subsequent comfortable and prosperous life.

In other well-known and now populous valleys of Colorado, Wyoming, Montana, New Mexico, Arizona and, in fact, in all the arid states, enough water to irrigate 40 acres has been used to obtain title to thousands of acres. Each claim has been proved upon by the use of this tiny stream, the stream being diverted from one claim to another in succession, as demanded by the witnesses who were to swear to the reclamation of the land.

Built Up by Fraud.

It may be stated without exaggeration that nearly all of the large land holdings of ranches in the arid West have been built up by fraudulent use of the land laws, and notably by the fraudulent use of the desert land act.

In the first few years of its operation 60 acres were allowed to each claimant, and under this law great valleys and plains were absorbed in block by individuals and corporations, who employed people to use their desert land rights all for the benefit of the single establishment. The amount of land which can be taken under the desert land law has since been reduced to 120 acres, but the same method is still being pursued in monopolizing the

ranges and fraudulently acquiring title to the public domain.

The agricultural population of the arid states is not increasing in nearly the ratio with which the Government is disposing of its estate, thus showing that the big livestock companies are extending their operations in the land business, a process which will result in time in the entire absorption of land which is now looked upon as available for settlement by an increasing population.

Many of the men who have availed themselves of these possibilities are of high standing and would indignantly resent the idea that they were dishonest in any particular. It has become the custom for a man who desires to get a lot of land to let it be understood that such land was worth so much per acre to him as soon as title could be conveyed.

The result of such an announcement is to bring in a lot of irresponsible persons, who file upon the tract which the rancher desires to obtain, borrow from him the money to prove up, and after title is completed convey the land for a small consideration above the indebtedness to the man desiring the large land holding.

The existence of land laws which can be evaded by a form of perjury apparently regarded as legitimate has a generally demoralizing effect upon the public morals. It has come to such a pass that few men seem to hesitate to strain their consciences to cover a Government land transaction. This perjury is open, avowed and notorious.

When the Land Office attempts to investigate a claim to title before title is allowed to pass the investigation does not seem to produce any real results. For apparently any number of witnesses can be obtained who will swear to an unlimited number of falsehoods when a Government land transaction is to be made.

If the desert land act was resulting in the building up of homes upon the arid domain of the United States a certain element of fraud might be overlooked in view of greater benefits derived. But the law as it stands today is simply an agency for the monopoly of the country by powerful industrial and political combinations, and should be removed from the statute book without delay.

Not only should this be done, but if necessary, special legislation should be enacted, whereby all land now held under the desert act should be inspected as to the possibilities of making final proof and the good intentions of those who are holding it, with the view of restoring the same to the public domain in case these are found defective.

Strenuous efforts are now being made in Washington to prevent the repeal of the desert land act as it is the easiest way in which shadow of title can be obtained on large tracts of Government land. Tremendous pressure has been brought to bear upon the President to prevent his taking a decided stand in favor of its repeal, and, as nearly all of the officials of the Land Office are Western men, their sympathies are naturally with the local industries of their states.

Several Senators whose political future depends largely upon range stock interests are extremely active in resisting any curtailment of land privileges, and, while giving them credit for possible sincerity in their opinions, their self-interest is so apparent that their judgment may not be depended upon and might be excluded on the ground set forth by Senator Teller, when he declared it to be a common fallacy to believe that the men who live upon the public lands were best able to judge of the correct manner in which they should be disposed of.

WASHINGTON, D. C., Dec. 1.—(Special Correspondence.)—A tremendous and exciting contest is now on between the speculators and the United States Government for the possession and control of millions of acres of valuable timber now standing on the public land. The stake at issue represents many millions of dollars. The Government is hampered by red tape and defective laws. The speculators are alarmed at the aroused public indignation and the investigations now being made of their operations. So far the latter have the better of it, and will continue their "graft" until Congress puts a stop to it. The timber and stone act became a law in 1878. In the 25 years this law has been on the statute books the United States Government has sold about 4,000,000 acres of good timber for \$2.50 an acre, thus receiving about \$10,000,000 for what is worth, at a conservative estimate, at least \$100,000,000 and possibly considerably more.

The timber and stone act provides that 100 acres of land declared to be unfit for cultivation if the timber were removed, and valuable chiefly for the timber upon it, can be obtained by a citizen of the United States upon the payment of \$2.50 an acre for the same. The person appropriating this land makes affidavit to all the requirements of the law, including the statement that it is for his or her exclusive use and benefit, and that no prior agreement or contract has been made by which the benefit of the appropriation may be obtained by any other person.

The first few years this law was in effect the land disposed of by the Government averaged very little more than 10,000 acres a year, and, indeed, up to 1898, the appropriation barely amounted to 50,000 acres a year. In 1900 big lumber companies and other speculative interests realized the imminent repeal of this law in response to popular agitation, and the judgment of the executive department of the Government, and began to utilize it to the utmost.

In 1900 about 30,000 acres of timber were obtained; in 1901 about 40,000 acres, in 1902 nearly 50,000 acres, and during the last fiscal year the remarkable activity of the timber speculators resulted in the appropriation in 12 months of 1,700,000 acres of forest.

Even the notorious lethargy of the Land Office at Washington was disturbed by this phenomenal record. An unusual number of special agents were put into the field, and the prosecuting officers of the law department of the Government were instructed to keep a sharp watch for possible cases of violation and perjury.

National Scandal Caused.

The result of this activity has been to cause a National scandal and give tremendous force to the recommendations for the repeal of the law. It has disclosed a condition of affairs in the administration of Government timber land which should be productive of many indictments and prosecutions.

Reports of the special agents have been coming in to the Secretary of the Interior from the Northwestern States by the score, and he recently remarked to a friend that if the records which he already had in his possession were made public the people of the country would be horrified. This record will, of course, make its appearance in due time, but, owing to the fact that it consists largely of testimony to be used in future prosecutions, the good of the service demands that it shall be withheld for a time at least.

Traffic in timber locations has been a recognized business in the Northwestern and Pacific Coast States for some years past. Timber cruisers, in the employ of big lumber companies, have searched the public domain for valuable forests. Once found, they are put upon the Government maps, and steps are immediately taken to get title thereto.

Employees of the companies are induced to take up claims of 100 acres each, and some corporations have even gone so far as to advertise for persons with timber rights to make filings for them. The companies furnish all the necessary data, have the papers made out and signed, and the plaintiff claimant need not leave his or her office to become the locator and finally the ostensible owner of 100 acres of saw timber.

The company furnishes the money to perfect title and pays the enterprising citizen who has farmed out his right for an average of \$50 as a bonus for exercising the same. In this manner tracts of timber land amounting in some instances to more than 100,000 acres, have been obtained by a single corporation. This is notably true in Northern California, Washington, Oregon and Idaho.

Bribery of Land Officials.

Recent disclosures have shown that notwithstanding the ease with which individuals can be obtained to utilize their rights, timber speculators have even gone so far as to bribe officers of the local Land Offices to insert the names of dummies in the necessary blanks and affidavits and transmit these papers to Washington as bona fide applications for timber lands.

One peculiar feature of this absorption of Government timber is the frank publicity with which these transactions have been conducted. They have been notorious for years past, and each annual report from the Interior Department has called earnest attention to their outrageous character.

Members of Congress from the States most interested have viewed the matter with indifference, or even gone so far as to state their belief that it was a good way for their constituents to make a few dollars on the side by exercising their citizenship rights and perjurying themselves for the benefit of some individual or corporation engaged in getting a reserve supply of timber for their mills for sale at great profit within a few years.

Mr. Richards, the Commissioner of the General Land Office, in his report just made to the Secretary of the Interior, says: "The increase in the total number of alleged fraudulent entries pending from that reported during the previous year is due largely to departmental instructions of November 18, 1902, directing the investigation of all entries made under the timber and stone act in the states of Oregon, California and Washington, with a view to determining their bona fides. Under this order alone nearly 25,000 such entries have been suspended, and 12 special agents are now engaged in the investigation to the exclusion of other work."

The timber obtained under the timber and stone act is not the only loss to the Government in this direction, for here again the value to the speculator of the commutation clause of the Homestead act is apparent.

Seizing of Timber Land.

Thousands of homesteads have been filed upon valuable timber land for the purpose of getting title to the same, and it is comparatively easy, with pliant witnesses and still more pliant officers of local land offices for the homesteader to maintain an alleged residence upon his claim for 14 months and then pay the Government price of \$2.50 an acre within the limit of railroad grants, or \$4.35 an acre without such limits, and get a title deed to his 100 acres of timber.

Employees of lumber companies working in the region where it is desired to obtain this timber land can assure themselves of a long term of employment at good wages by taking up homestead claims for the purpose of turning them over to their employers as soon as title has been passed. There is no way of estimating how much timber the Government has lost through the operations of the homestead law as it stands, but the recent disclosures of land frauds in Northern California, the principals in which are now being prosecuted by the Government show that scores of per-

sons have been hired to use their honest rights for the benefit of lumber merchants.

Many of these persons signed their applications and final affidavits without ever visiting the land involved, and perjury in connection with land matters has become of so little importance in the sections of the country where these operations are conducted that no one seems to give it a second thought, and as for taking it seriously, a man is looked upon as a brute or a crack who would object to complying with the forms necessary to carry out such a purpose.

As a result of the unswerving activity of the law department of the Government during the last few months, three men have just been convicted of perjury in connection with land matters in the northern part of California. In a telegram sent by the Prosecuting Attorney of that district to the Attorney-General at Washington, the Department is congratulated for its victory in the case on the ground that these are the first convictions ever obtained upon like charges in the history of that part of the state.

When it is considered that a large part of Northern California is a vast and valuable forest in which lumber men have conducted extensive enterprises for many years, and that every acre appropriated, with the exception of a small percentage belonging to the state, was originally land belonging to the United States Government, and only to be obtained under the existing land laws, a true appreciation of the past neglect and indifference of the Land Office at Washington to these matters can be secured.

Secretary Hitchcock's Report.

In his report of a year ago Secretary Hitchcock, of the Interior Department, said that "The act of June 2, 1893, known as the timber and stone act, will, if not repealed or radically amended, result ultimately in the complete destruction of the timber on the unappropriated and unreserved public lands.

The rapidity with which the unappropriated and unreserved public timbered lands are being denuded of their timber under the act mentioned, and the opportunity offered under the timber and stone act for the fraudulent acquisition of title to public timbered lands at the uniform price of \$2.50 an acre, when they are in many instances worth 40 times that, has been heretofore set forth in the pages of my annual reports and those of my predecessors."

The Secretary then proceeded to recommend a certain change in the law, which repealed the timber and stone act and gave the department jurisdiction over the disposal of timber upon the public lands. In speaking of this proposed measure he said: "The need of the passage of such an act is so imperative that I earnestly recommend that the proposed bill be enacted into a law at the earliest possible date. The Secretary continues:

"The reports of the special agents of this department in the field show that at some of the local land offices caravans of entrymen arrive at a time, every one of whom makes entry under the timber and stone act. The cost of 160 acres of land under that act and the accompanying commissions is \$400.

"As many as five members of a family who, it can be readily shown, never had \$100 in their lives, walk up cheerfully and pay the price of the land, and the commissions. Under such circumstances there is only one conclusion to be drawn, and that is that where whole caravans of such people make entry under that act the unanimity of sentiment and the cash to exploit it must have originated in some source other than themselves."

Mr. Hitchcock's Prediction.

The Secretary predicted a year ago that if the then noticeable activity in the absorption of the public timber was to continue all of the valuable timber on the public lands would be absorbed within two years. During the year which has passed since his last report was made,

activity of speculators in this direction has increased by nearly 50 per cent.

It may now be stated with truth that with the exception of a few isolated tracts nearly all of the vast forest in the Rocky Mountain region once owned by the United States Government—that is, by the people of the country as a whole—and held as one of the great assets of the Nation, has been segregated from public ownership, excepting the area included within the forest reservations.

Without fully realizing the power thus put in the hands of the President of the United States to protect the timber on the public lands thereby, Congress, in 1891, passed a law authorizing the setting aside of forest reserves. Through the operation of this law an enormous acreage of timber, valuable not only in itself, but as protection for the watershed, has been kept from the clutches of timber and land speculators.

Up to the present time 3,021,542 acres, nearly all of which is timbered, has been set aside in the forest reserves of the United States, and fully 20,000,000 acres more are now under consideration, and will probably be rapidly absorbed into the forest reserve area, thus bringing the total up to at least 23,000,000 acres.

As this is about the estimate of the timbered lands remaining on the public domain, it is possible that whether Congress acts or not the President, assisted by the Interior Department, will be able to prevent many further depletions.

Great Fraud Indicated.

There are now many prosecutions pending against men accused of juggling with forest reserve matters, and many sensational stories have been recently published which would indicate an enormous amount of fraud in connection therewith.

The alleged fraud consists of obtaining

advance information from the Land Office at Washington as to the purpose of the Interior Department to withdraw a certain area as a forest reserve, and then to crowd in as many land filings and claims of various descriptions within the boundary of the area to be selected, this to be followed by political pressure to secure the setting aside of the reserve.

After this is accomplished then the Government is forced under the law to give what is known as the lieu land privilege to those who have claims within the newly created reserve.

There is very little actual illegality to be found in the methods employed to take advantage of the forest reserve law. The abuse of this law arises from defects in the legislation itself, for it is provided that if a man shall have filed a homestead claim or shall, through any other means, have obtained title to land within the tract set aside, the Government shall give him the right to select an equal acreage of land from any part of the public domain as yet unoccupied.

It follows, therefore, if a man should take up a claim of 160 acres under any pretext upon a tract of land which was later on included within a forest reserve,

that no matter how worthless this claim might be, so far as the character of the land was concerned, he would be entitled to 160 acres of his good land, farming or timber, as he could find elsewhere.

In Northern California and some of the other Northwestern States, where the states own school land, this school land has been bought by speculators and political pressure brought to bear to have that particular section of country set aside in forest reservations. The school land itself may have been of most worthless character and bought at the minimum price. The right of filing upon the land is assignable, and it has been sold upon the open market at a rate generally ranging from \$5 to \$10 an acre.

It has also been used to take up great blocks of timber land in the Northwestern and Pacific Coast States, there being a handsome profit represented in the transfer of worthless land in the reserve to the

Government and the relocation of a similar acreage upon valuable timber. This is all permitted under the law, however, and to say that there are vast areas in the obtaining of which men are fraudulently involved is misleading.

In the early days of the forest reserve

law the effect of absorbing private lands was not fully realized, and in Southern and Central California and in Washington and Oregon large areas were so appropriated by the Government, and nearly all of the conspiracies charged arise out of this early action of the Department of the Interior. Warned by the difficulties which arose in the early '90s, subsequent forest reserves have been chosen with much care, and wherever possible land in private ownership has been excluded.

It is estimated that about 1,000,000 acres of railroad lands and private claims have been included in the 3,000,000 acres of forest reserves set aside. Of this 1,000,000 acres about two-thirds have been relocated elsewhere. About 500 acres of lieu land privilege is still outstanding, which is available for immediate use when those who hold it shall so decide. There are 200,000 acres more which cannot be used until the land within the forest reserves is surveyed and the boundaries of the private claims on this unsurveyed land fully defined so as to ascertain the acreage involved.

The Northern Pacific Railroad has been the greatest beneficiary of this lieu land privilege, for that road has had 1,500,000

acres of its land grant included within forest reserves, this being in Montana, Idaho and Washington. The Southern Pacific has had about 500,000 acres, the Atlantic & Pacific about 75,000 acres, the Oregon Central about 100,000 acres, and a few smaller amounts are divided among other Pacific Coast transportation lines.

That these forest reserves have been established in such a manner that less than five per cent of their area has been found to be in private ownership makes it evident that land speculators have not been notably successful in grafting in this direction, and it is also true that a very large part of the private lands taken in by these forest reserves has been of legitimate value to the owners, hence the difference between the actual value of the private land absorbed by the reserves and what could be realized for the selections taken in lieu elsewhere does not represent a very considerable amount.

It shrinks into insignificance when compared with the profits and acreage involved in the operations of the timber and stone act, the commutation clause of the homestead act or the desert land act.

Abuse of the Clause.

The abuse of the lieu land selection clause in the forest reserve law has been used as an argument against the extension of the reserves themselves, and, as is often the case, members of Congress from the states most benefited by the forest reservations are keener to prevent their extension and are the most captious critics of the administration of the forestry regulations.

These states as a rule are sparsely settled, are heavily interested in the lumber business and the temporary advantage of destroying the forests to keep up the lumber industry has proved more attractive to politicians and speculators than a wise conservation of the resources of their states.

The motives behind this opposition to an extension of the forest reserves are not creditable, for the value of these reservations to the people of the entire West, all of whom live in the drainage basin fed from these Western forests, are so evident and the policy is so unanimously indorsed by the forestry experts of the world that only local and selfish reasons can be urged against them.

TAFT'S ELEMENTS OF GREATNESS

Great Executive Capacity.

St. Paul Pioneer-Press.

That Governor Taft will make an exceptionally efficient Secretary of War cannot be doubted. Like Secretary Root, he is a man of great executive capacity, as he has abundantly demonstrated in the Philippines; of deep insight, of broad views and of high character. That he will quickly make himself master of the details of the War Department, and that his influence and tact will carry through the plans of reorganization and readjustment which Secretary Root initiated, and has all but accomplished, there is no reason to doubt. The Philippines, however, loses the right man in the right place, though it may get another in Governor Wright. For it has been largely owing to Governor Taft's thorough understanding of the possibilities of his position and to his sympathy with the high aims of President McKinley, President Roosevelt and Secretary Root that the United States has been able to initiate civil government in the islands with so little friction. He deserved and he won the confidence of the natives as he has deserved and won the confidence of the people of the mainland. His character and devotion to the country, so clearly shown in his unselfish sacrifice of a life position thoroughly to his tastes to undertake in an unwholesome climate an uncertain and doubtful task which was likely to expose him to the severest and most unpleasant criticism, has been a guarantee that the purpose of the United States to give the islands a clean, just and wise government would be carried out. That he gives up the work with some regret is probable, though it will without doubt be carried on in the same spirit and with efficiency by his successor. It is probably true that Governor Taft's health has suffered under the trying conditions in the islands, but it is probable that if he could consult his own inclinations he would rather withdraw to private life and be restored to the circuit or raised to the supreme bench than undertake the arduous and not particularly thankful duties of a cabinet position. His sense of duty has evidently again conquered his personal desires. The appointment is one that reflects honor on the President as well as on the appointee, and that will go far to maintain popular confidence in the administration.

Rare Devotion to Duty.

Chicago Record-Herald.

Taft was a marked man when he was in college, where he took a very high stand in his class and enjoyed great popularity. After his graduation his progress in the profession of the law was unusually rapid. He was a United States Circuit Judge at 35, and was highly respected wherever he was known for his ability and sterling character. When he was asked to serve upon the Philippines commission the service involved his resignation from the bench, whose duties were most agreeable to him, and his identification with a policy about which he had serious doubts. He was not an original imperialist or expansionist. But at the time of his appointment he was convinced that the relinquishment of the Philippines was then impossible, and it is certain that he accepted the presidency of the commission and the Governorship from a sense of duty. It is certain, too, that the appointment was a most fortunate one for the Administration, for this country and for the islands. The Philippines could not do otherwise than respect and admire the Governor, and whenever the report has gone abroad that he was to leave there they have protested. That we have not had more serious trouble with them is due to the fact that we have been represented in the islands by such a fine type of the American citizen. Of course Governor Taft's Philippines experience

Covert opposition to the policy of preserving the public timber has taken advantage of the indignation aroused by the frauds committed under the timber and stone act to confuse the popular mind and include the forest reserve policy in its denunciation.

Laws Diametrically Opposed.

The laws are diametrically opposed to each other in the results achieved. The forest reservation protects; the timber and stone act destroys. Western members of Congress who have resisted the repeal of the latter are now recognizing the danger of their position from a political point of view, and are either remaining quiet or are attempting by introducing or advocating measures for substitution to put themselves right with the Administration and with the public.

The loss of the timber resources of the United States is susceptible of more or less sensational presentation. The public mind is aroused by the figures presented and conditions are easily brought home to consumers. In view of this relation of the question to public policy it is probable that the timber area will be conserved more quickly than the agricultural area, for the latter has not yet appealed so strongly to popular indignation.

It is frequently stated in the House and Senate that there are still more than 300,000,000 acres of the public land open for settlement. This is not true. There are only 380,000,000 acres of surveyed land left in the public domain outside of the reservations. Practically all of the land susceptible of settlement has been surveyed; therefore the 380,000,000 acres of unsurveyed land estimated is all mountainous or otherwise uninhabitable area.

Of the 380,000,000 acres of surveyed land, much of this is of rough character, woodland or desert, and when all the deductions are made, it will be found that within the area of land possible of irrigation and that now is used for pasturage and firmly held by large livestock interests is included, all that is left of the 2,000,000,000 acres with which Uncle Sam started in the land business 100 years ago.

of the recommendations of the Secretary of the Interior and the Bureau of Forestry prevail with Congress, the law can be so changed, without injuring its usefulness, as to prevent all but a minimum of land upon the Government. The change proposed is to provide a different method of recompense for individuals whose private ownership is embraced within the area of a forest reservation.

Instead of giving the privilege of an other selection of land, based upon the acreage involved, the man whose land is taken could be paid what his property was worth, this to be determined by arbitration, or he could be allowed to take land equal in value to that which he relinquished. The most satisfactory way would be to close the transaction at once by paying the determined valuation of the property in question.

Grazing Livestock.

One of the problems which the Government has had to meet in the setting aside of forest reservations has been that of grazing livestock. Nearly every reserve created includes a large amount of range up to that time occupied at will by herds of cattle and horses and flocks of sheep. Naturally the livestock men have been bitter opponents of the extension of these reservations, and it is from this opposition that a large number of existing controversies have arisen.

This was carried to such an extreme point that the late Governor Richards, of Wyoming, issued a statement severely criticizing the President of the United States for his forest reserve policy and attempting to make it a political issue. His sympathy was entirely with the grazing interests in control of the areas involved, and he spoke in their behalf.

Grazing is not forbidden within forest reserves, but the Department of the Interior has the power to regulate the manner in which the range shall be used. An estimate is made by forestry experts as to how many head of livestock can be sustained upon a given area without damage to forage or timber, and permits are issued for that number only, the range being apportioned among those who seem to have the best prior rights to its use.

Thus through its forest reserve policy the Government has been able to put in force a system of range control which has been advocated, but in vain, for the entire public domain for many years. In its operations it has substantiated the claim that the public lands of the United States can be scientifically handled while under Government ownership to the benefit of the lands themselves, to the private owners of livestock, and incidentally, should the law so permit, sufficient revenue could be obtained materially to decrease the National expense connected with the administration of land ownership.

The mining and ranching interests of the West are favorable to the forest reserve policy. A mining claim can be created within the boundaries of a reserve, and timber can be got for mining purposes. Timber is sold from the reserves under the supervision of trained foresters, so that the ranchers in the neighborhood can obtain all they want, hence the opposition to the policy of setting aside all the timber on the public lands and allowing it to be administered in a scientific and proper manner comes from the big lumber companies who have been for years committing depredations upon the public timber and from the livestock interests which have depleted the reserves of their forage and been responsible for fires representing losses amounting to millions of dollars.

The frauds alleged to have been committed under cover of this law represent an insignificant percentage of its total operations. The good it has accomplished and the protection it has given to the drainage slopes of all the great rivers that flow into the Pacific Ocean and into the Gulf of Mexico is incalculable.

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will be of special value to him in the War Department, but aside from that there can be no doubt as to his fitness for his new post. He has the necessary administrative ability as well as a comprehensive knowledge of affairs, and he is distinguished by a devotion to duty which is very rare. He will undoubtedly rank high as a Cabinet officer.

Varied Experience and Judicial Mind Chicago Inter Ocean.

If Secretary Root must leave the Cabinet he cannot have a better successor than Governor Taft. Secretary Root became Chief of the War Department in the reconstruction period in Cuba and the formative period in Porto Rico and the Philippines. The administration of all these islands was in his hands. The field was new; the situation outside the application of our usual legislative processes. Mr. Root mastered the problem and carried out the purposes of the Government. In this great constructive work he had no more sympathetic, no more efficient ally, than Governor Taft. In 1899 the Army was to be reorganized, and under the persistent urging of Secretary Root it has been reorganized. Here again Governor Taft was in sympathy with the Secretary, and he will come to the War Department to carry out the policy of his predecessor. Governor Taft is of judicial mind. He has had a varied experience in public life. His successful administrative work in the Philippines has been so much schooling for duties in the War Department. He will come to the department well prepared and successful. He will find a clear field where Mr. Root found friction and obstruction, and if it is a promotion to go from the head of the Philippine government to the head of the War Department he is entitled to the promotion.

His Knowledge of the Philippines. Chicago Tribune.

It is stated authoritatively that Governor Taft will succeed Mr. Root as Secretary of War next January. If it were possible, Governor Taft should stay where he is, but the climate of the Philippines is a wearing one, and he may feel it really necessary to return home lest his health be permanently impaired. Happily, the position he is to fill is one where his intimate knowledge of the Philippines and their inhabitants will be of value to him and the country. As Secretary of War he will have to deal with the Philippine questions. Whoever succeeds him as Governor will know that there is one man at Washington who understands the situation, so that it will not be necessary to explain everything at wearisome length. It will aid Congress greatly, when attempting to legislate about the islands, to have at hand a man who can enlighten members as to matters concerning which they are ignorant and to explain to them how it is that some things which are not expeditious in the United States may be quite expedient in the Philippines. Sometimes Congress has legislated as if unaware of that. The choice which the President has made of a successor to Mr. Root is a wise one.

DANGER IN RESERVE POLICY.

Citizens of Oregon who feel an interest in the industrial development of this state will find profitable reading in the review of forest reserve affairs as presented in The Oregonian's Washington correspondence yesterday. For a number of years The Oregonian has been exposing the abuses that have been carried on under the name of forest preservation. Public interest has been slow to awaken, and many have paid so little heed to the disclosures that they know but little of the manner in which monumental land grafts have been perpetrated with the aid of law. Subservient newspapers which reap large profits from the publication of land notices have refused to admit the existence of the multitude of wrongs in land administration, and have accused The Oregonian of "besmirching the fair name of Oregon" by its disclosures. Now, however, public attention has at last been aroused, and the people are demanding that landgrabbing under the favor of law shall cease. Responsive to the popular will, newspapers in all parts of the state are now joining in the denunciation of unwise creation of forest reserves. Statesmen who for years silently viewed the work of spoliation are now raising their voices in accord with the popular demand for an end of the vicious forest reserve policy.

The resume of forestry proceedings does not show anything reprehensible in the theory of forest preservation. Against a judicious creation of forest reserves, under proper laws and regulations, there is nothing to be said. Every timber expert who has ever come to this state from the East will testify that the waste of timber in the Northwest is enormous, and that lumbermen give no thought to the needs of those who will cut timber in Oregon in years to come. Beyond a doubt there is a need of Government control and preservation of the forests on the public domain. No one will question, either, that there is good justification for the creation of forest reserves in certain portions of the state for the purpose of conserving the water supply. It is a matter of common knowledge that where the timber has been removed from the land in which rivers have their source the water derived from winter snows passes off rapidly in the spring and the dry season is lengthened. The conservation of the water supply in streams running largely through the public domain is manifestly a proper matter for Governmental control.

But a review of the history of forestry proceedings in the Northwest does not lead to the conclusion that the preservation of forests or the conservation of water supply has been the real end to be accomplished. When it is seen that in the creation of each reserve some corporation has a selfish interest to be subserved; when it is seen

that some few individuals get a "tip" concerning the future acts of the Land Department, so that they can "supply themselves with 'base' in the forthcoming withdrawal of land from entry, and when it is known that reserves are proposed for the conservation of water where such a purpose is absurd, the presumption is unavoidable that the forest reserve policy is being manipulated, if not actuated, by selfish private interests.

One of the remarkable features of forest reserve proceedings is the almost entire lack of responsibility for the action that is taken. Attempts to learn upon whose recommendation the withdrawals of land from entry have been made have proved fruitless; and the public is left with no information as to the standing of the men who exercise so despotic a control of the public domain. The creation of reserves which include nearly one-fourth of the entire area of the state may seem a small matter to self-important officials at Washington, but the people, who always insist upon believing that these officials are their servants, and not their masters, would be interested to know the names of the men who have recommended the wholesale creation of reserves and the extent of their knowledge of conditions in this state. This is something the people have a right to know, and which they will know if The Oregonian can secure the information. There is evidence of an intention to cover up information which the people are entitled to and which they would have if the newspaper correspondents at Washington were given access to records which may be published without injuring public business. Withholding information concerning intended withdrawals is entirely proper; but after withdrawals have been made the public should be given complete information as to the facts in the case before a reserve is permanently created. Governor Chamberlain and other members of the State Land Board are not assuming too much when they assert that they should be consulted and be given a chance to be heard before reserves are created in this state. The fault with Federal officials is that while they withhold information from the general public they permit some individual to learn of their intentions and this favored one secures a large share of the advantages to be gained by the creation of the reserve.

The Oregonian does not say that none of the proposed reserves should be created, or that any one of them should not be created, but it does say that no final action should be taken until the people of this state have been fully informed upon all the material facts, and have been heard in opposition to the proposed action, if they have any protest to make; that no reserve should be created until after all lands have been excluded which are not valuable for the

NOT WITH BRYAN

under they contain; that no reserve should be created until the New land and old laws and regulations have been amended or repealed, so that the creation of a reserve will not be in effect a gift of large tracts of valuable land to corporations. The Federal Land Department has been asserting its intention to create future reserves in such a manner as to leave out lands in private ownership. The Oregonian has several times declared this to be impossible, and in yesterday's correspondence it is observed that the department admits this to be true. Since it is impossible to create reserves without including lands in private ownership, the reserves should not be created at all until the basis for exchange of lands has been modified. There is now no need of haste. The land has been withdrawn and no new claims can be made. Any final action without first arranging an equitable basis of exchange will lay the Administration open to the suspicion of having acceded to the wishes of those whose private interests are promoted by the creation of forest reserves.

The Approaching Deficit

One thing stands out so prominently in Secretary Shaw's report that it overshadows everything else. The Secretary states that in the absence of new taxes or severe retrenchments we must expect a National deficit during the next fiscal year. During the present fiscal year, which ends next June, the income of the National Government is estimated at \$674,000,000 and the expenditures at \$660,000,000, leaving a surplus of only \$14,000,000. During the year that follows, if business remains active and revenues increase with population, the income will rise to \$704,000,000, but the expenditures, if present plans remain unchanged, are likely to reach \$727,000,000, producing a deficit of \$23,000,000. It is evident that during the era of prosperity which the country has enjoyed for the past few years the Government has allowed its expenditures to increase with alarming rapidity. These expenditures are now forty per cent. greater than they were six years ago. The private revenues of our people, out of which public taxes must be collected, have not increased in like ratio. But this is not the most serious feature of the situation. Private revenues have increased largely, so that the present public burdens are not felt as much as they

would have been six years ago. But the threatening feature remains that a scale of public expenditure has been established which cannot easily be reduced if hard times set in. Indeed, one of the hardest features of hard times is commonly the maintenance of taxation at old rates. In the Secretary's table of expenditures for next year the item of public works (river and harbor improvements, fortifications, ships, etc.) figures at \$67,000,000, and most of these expenditures are under contracts authorized by former Congresses, and little criticised because they did not enter into the appropriations of the year in which Congress sanctioned them. These expenditures cannot be reduced, no matter what may be the anxiety of a future Congress to retrench. The interest on the public debt (\$24,000,000) is also a fixed charge, no matter what the financial conditions. The pension appropriations, which aggregate nearly \$140,000,000, are equally irreducible, for a pension once given becomes practically a contract with the pensioner. The army and navy expenditures, which foot up to \$168,000,000 (as against one-third that sum six years ago), may, indeed, be reduced but nothing short of financial panic and moral revolution could suddenly reduce them to the old level. All along the line the reasonable prospect of making an incur-

over the mountainous regions more or less hostile Indians, with any

KANSAS CITY PLATFORM OF 1890

We reaffirm and endorse the principles of the National Democratic platform adopted at Chicago in 1890, and we reiterate the demand of the platform for an American financial system made by the American people for themselves, which shall restore and maintain a bimetallic price level, and as part of such system the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver and gold at the present legal ratio of 16 to 1, without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation.

OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, Washington, Jan. 26.—The New York Herald interviewed 101 Democratic Congressmen on Bryan's contention that the Kansas City platform must be reaffirmed, and of these 64 were opposed to the Bryan plan, 22 were noncommittal, and four supported Bryan. The quoted interviews of the majority are significant in declaring that Bryan cannot control and that free silver is a dead issue.

Democrats from all parts of the Union join in saying that the party would not follow Bryan's leadership. From the South and the West, as well as the East, there is a determination that Bryan shall not wreck the party. Some of these quoted opinions are pointed. Here are some of them:

Senator Morgan, Alabama—I have ceased to consider what Mr. Bryan says or does. He belongs to the past. He has a perfect right to his views, but he must not expect the Democrats who were Democrats long before he was thought of to be influenced by his individual notions.

Bryan Has Little Influence.

Senator Clay, Georgia—I do not care to go into a discussion of Mr. Bryan's views on the Democratic Convention. I believe, however, he is all wrong and will have very little, if any, effect on the convention.

Senator Culberson, Texas—Mr. Bryan is entitled to his opinions as to the best policy of the Democratic party, but there are a great many men in the party who supported him loyally who cannot accept his recent utterances as practicable under existing conditions.

Senator Simmons, North Carolina—The sentiment of the Democrats of North Carolina is clearly against any attempt to revive the silver issue, because they consider it belongs to the past. We are interested in the issues of the present, and in harmony rather than in factional division.

Not the Democratic Candidate.

Senator Newlands, Nevada—Mr. Bryan will not be our candidate and he is not going to dictate our platform. Conditions have changed and opinions of men on great national questions have changed, therefore Mr. Bryan's individual opinions will not have the same value now.

Senator Dubois, Idaho—I am opposed to Mr. Bryan's attitude as set forth in his Nebraska speech and his published interviews. The free silver issue is a thing of the past.



Mr. CANDLER.

I read from the last annual report of the Secretary of Agriculture:

The immense exports from the farms of the country lead to an examination of the so-called "balance of trade." This examination reveals what seems to have escaped the attention of the public, and that is that the favorable balance of trade, everything included, is due to the still more favorable balance of trade in the products of the farm.

During the thirteen years 1880-1892 the average annual excess of domestic exports over imports amounted to \$273,000,000, and during the same time the average in favor of farm products was \$387,000,000, from which it is apparent that there was an average annual adverse balance of trade in products other than those of the farm amounting to \$114,000,000, which the farmers offset and had left \$273,000,000 to the credit of themselves and the country.

Taking the business of 1903, the comparison is much more favorable to the farmers than during the preceding thirteen-year period, since the value of domestic exports over imports was \$387,000,000, the entire trade being included, while the excess for farm products was \$422,000,000, which was sufficient not only to offset the unfavorable balance of trade of \$34,000,000 in products other than those of the farm, but to leave, as above stated, the enormous favorable balance of \$457,000,000.

During the last fourteen years there was a balance of trade in favor of farm products, without excepting any year, that amounted to \$4,900,000,000. Against this was an adverse balance of trade in products other than those of the farm of \$302,000,000, and the farmers not only canceled this immense obligation, but had enough left to place \$4,598,000,000 to the credit of the nation when the books of international exchange were balanced.

These figures tersely express the immense national reserve-sustaining power of the farmers of the country under present quantities of production. It is the farmers who have paid the foreign bondholders.

To recapitulate, but for the farmers last year there would have been a balance of trade against us of \$56,000,000, but the farmers canceled that and left \$267,000,000 to our credit. But for the farmers in the past fourteen years there would have been the enormous sum of \$863,000,000 against us, but the farmers met that, settled it, and left the marvelous and almost incomprehensible sum of \$1,940,000,000 to the credit of America. The crowning glory of this country are her wonderful agriculture and the amazing results it has accomplished. [Applause.]

It is the farmers who have paid our foreign bondholders and saved this country from peddling out its securities in the markets of the world and changed it from a debtor nation to a creditor nation, and if that be true, and it is a statement that can not be doubted or questioned, am I not correct when I say we owe more to the farmers of America than to any other class of people in all this country, and that instead of abolishing or curtailing the few things that they do receive at the hands of the National Government we ought to enlarge them and give them better opportunities and better benefits and greater favors, if possible, that we have ever given them in the past? [Applause.] Let us give them more seed, aid them in building "good roads," extend rural delivery of the mails as rapidly as possible, build the canal, do everything in our power to build up the agricultural interests of the country and to make the life of the farmer comfortable, profitable, and happy, and thereby render the greatest service possible to all of our constituents, because when you build up the farming interests of the country you build up every other interest in the country. The gentleman from Texas [Mr. SHEPPARD] says if we continue this system we will be known as "seedsman" rather than "statesmen;" and I may be called a "seedsman" rather than a "statesman" because I stand here and advocate the distribution of seed to the people, and especially to the farmers; but you may call me what you please, and name me what you may, as long as I stay here, so help me God, I will raise my voice in the farmer's interest and contend for those things which I believe to be for his good, and thereby help him if I can, and by helping him benefit all the people, because to him we owe more in the past, and we are going to owe more in the future, than we owe to any other class of our citizenship. [Great applause.]

It is the farmer who in time of peace brings the balance of trade to our shores, and it is the farmer who in time of war stands ready to go to the front and bare his breast to defend the country that he loves. It is the farmer's wife who kisses her bright-faced boy good-bye and faces the loneliness, difficulties, and dangers of his isolated country life and tells him to go and remain so long as his services are necessary in the defense of his country and for the good of his people. It is she who under like circumstances gives her husband to the same cause, and whether it be in success or in difficulties, whether it be in time of peace or in war, whether it be in prosperity or in great financial crises, it is the farmer to whom we must turn at last for relief, and, thank God, we have never turned to him unless he came to our rescue and furnished the relief which was required. [Applause.]

I applaud the sentiment and the truth expressed by John Trotwood Moore in his work entitled "A Summer's Hymnal," wherein, in substance, he says: The farmer's life is a loyal and patriotic life, sustained by a faithful hand, that has grasped so often the burden of duty and carried it so unselfishly. It is a hard hand, it is true, but it is faithful and honest, and in its rough grip more gentleness dwells, more truth and honor lay, than in many another of softer parts and finer turn. It may be rough, like the roots of the oak, twisted and hardened, gnarled and knotted, in the primal

fight for life with the elements of nature. But unbeautiful as it is, it has borne its full burden in the fight of civilization and the battle of the world. It may be misshapen and its joints large from strain and toil, and the veins may run through it like channels of a stream deep cut, and it may be curved in like the turn of a plow handle and deep set like the grip of an ax helve, and deep set and scarred.

But if to-day there comes an upheaval of the earth in the fusion of rock and matter, and this hand, of all earth's civilization, alone leaves its imprint there to be read sons of ages hence by beings of enlightenment and light in the museums of a higher civilization, well may it stand embedded in some kindred block of stone, not to point to the name and lineage of some prehistoric race, but through all the ages of time it would stand as the "Track of duty," the "Emblem of patriotism" in "the Man ago of earth." [Prolonged applause.]

Will this secret sympathy of Bryan and Hearst for Mr. Watson send 450,000 votes from the Democratic party into the Populist camp? It is not at all impossible. And furthermore, in contesting for Democratic votes, Mr. Watson has all the good arguments on his side. No more unanswerable argument has been made in the campaign than that which is contained in Mr. Watson's speech when he said:

Our political history has never seen a situation so ludicrous as that which the national Democracy now holds. I can understand how the citizen can work for the Republican party and vote its ticket with enthusiastic zeal. If the Republican party represents his ideals of government, then he is justly proud of it, can justly confide in it, for it has stood by its principles through storm as well as sunshine, and no matter how bad you and I may think its creed is, we are bound to admit that the Republican party has a creed, is willing to fight for it, is willing to cling to it in defeat, and con-

tinues to struggle for it until victory comes again. But why any human being should in the year 1904 vote the national Democratic ticket is something that passes my untutored comprehension. I can understand why the citizen could vote a local Democratic ticket; I can understand how in some cities and in some States that party may be struggling to do some distinct thing which he believes ought to be done; but, in the name of common sense, tell me why any sane and sober citizen should in this campaign vote the national Democratic ticket. What principle of Democracy does it stand for? What does it propose to do for the people, different from what the Republicans are doing? To what point is it directing its line of march, except to the Republican camp? The mass of the Democratic party feel outraged at the way in which their leaders have sold them to Wall Street. I do not believe that the six and a half million men who followed Bryan, with cheers on their lips and warm convictions in their hearts, can now be delivered like cattle to the Clevelandites who knifed the ticket or bolted it in 1896. I believe that the great majority of the men who voted for Bryan are men of conviction; I can not but hope they will realize that I am fighting their battle now.

IT HAS COME TO GRIEF.

It is clear that the bottom has been knocked out of Democratic opposition to the Panama policy of the President. Shortly after the opening of the regular session of Congress an effort was made by Senator Gorman to unite the Democrats of the Senate in opposition. Gorman made a bitter speech, in which he asserted that there were to be no "White House Democratic Senators" from that time forward. He was supported by Bailey of Texas, and the assault was continuous till the holiday adjournment. But the effort failed completely. Gorman has not renewed it. During the recess he learned, unmistakably, that the Democratic party could not be united against the President on this issue. The Legislatures of Louisiana and Mississippi requested the Senators from those states to support the Panama treaty. The Senators from Florida were known to be friendly to it. Recently Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, and Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, have delivered elaborate speeches in support of it. So it seems that there are "White House Senators on the Democratic side"—Gorman and Bailey notwithstanding. There remains no question that Panama will stand as an independent state, that the treaty will be ratified, and that construction of the canal will begin this year.

For cover of retreat Mr. Gorman and his associates, who have asserted that an outrage has been committed on Columbia, by recognition of the independence of Panama and by negotiation with Panama of a new canal treaty, now say that we ought to indemnify Columbia for her loss; and it is suggested that the proper figure will be six to ten million dollars, to be paid to Columbia by the United States. It is not at all through any sense of justice, or anything due to Columbia, that this proposal is made. The object is to cover the retreat of the opponents of the Administration from an untenable position. To these robbers there is nothing due from us. We owe them nothing whatever, and should pay them nothing. Besides, whatever we may pay will not reach the public treasury of Columbia—not one dollar of it. The whole sum will be appropriated by these robbers, individually, for themselves. They have no sense of obligation to their country, no spark of patriotism.

But, since we want the canal and must have it, perhaps it may be thought best to buy off the opposition of Mr. Gorman and others in the Senate by appropriating a sum of money for the Colombian robbers and charging the additional sum to construction of the canal. It would be regrettable, however, to see this done. But these Senators may talk in opposition down to the close of Summer, unless some arrangement to shut them off shall be made. One thing, however, is certain. These assailants of the Administration on its Panama policy have gained no advantages for their party by these attacks; and the hope of such advantage was the inspiration of their effort. Schemes to "make capital for the party" in this country lay many heavy burdens on the public treasury. In one way and another. The tender conscience of Mr. Gorman and his political confederates is a very thin and gauzy cover for this one.

Democratic Views of Bryan.

No Democrat who allows Bryan to affix the stamp of his approval on him will stand any show of an election to the Presidency with the people of the United States in the break and breezy year 1904.—Civic Observer.

Bryan's friends want to know how Judge Parker stood in 1892. If he voted against Bryan then, he will occupy practically the same position Bryan held in 1892, when he led the Democratic candidate and voted for the Greenbacker, Weaver.—Troy Press.

One thing which estranged Republican contemporaries tall to note is that Mr. Bryan is saying it all. Nobody second the motions. So far from unanimous consent, it comes nearer to unanimous dissent. Men who have stood by him through thick and thin are expressing their regret that he should exhibit such narrow horizons, and destroy his chance for future usefulness.—Albany Argus.

It did not need any poll of Democratic Representatives in Congress and State Legislatures, or of leading Democratic newspapers and citizens to demonstrate the unwillingness of the party to have anything further to do with Bryanism as set forth in the Kansas City platform. Mr. Bryan's own action show that he understands the situation. He is "going it" accordingly in an audacious but impotent effort to keep himself in the public eye.—Philadelphia Record.

His European trip has had such an exhilarating effect on William J. Bryan that one is forced to suspect that either Boss Croker or Minister Choate must have conferred on him the accolade of knighthood, and sent him forth on a mission to kill the free Democracy. Without some such elevating mission, one cannot understand how a political adventurer who has twice been rejected by the people could even assume to control those whom he had so nearly destroyed.—Trenton True American.

In plain English, this means that Mr. Bryan intends to take personal command of his wing of the Democratic party, and, if possible, control that convention. He has the undoubted legal right to try this and to accomplish it—if he can. His leadership of the party dates from his nomination in 1896—as only one of the results of that leadership we may recall that when the 56th Congress assembled in the Senate were 29 Democrats, 2 Populists and 41 Republicans, there being one vacancy.—Lexington Herald.

The present business is to find out how to win. For that purpose votes must be attracted, not repelled. Harmony is indispensable, free discussion is in order, but wrangling over past differences is the one thing which is emphatically not desired. However favorable may seem the prospects, we are certain not to have a walkover. We have a hard fight before us, against a party strongly entrenched and desperate. We have no time and no strength to spare for factional fights. To indulge in such nonsense in the face of the enemy is the way not to do it.—Louisville Courier-Journal.

The Democratic party is six and three of Mr. Bryan's demagogic tactics. It is not alone the gold Democrats and the moneyed interests of the country that are weary of him, but hundreds of thousands of the men who zealously followed his banner in 1896 and 1900 demand that he should take his grip off the party's neck. None but a simpleton or one who expects to profit by clinging to his mast-tails has any further patience with him or his dictatorial policy. He has fewer supporters in Tennessee than he ever had. He will not be allowed to dictate the platform or the nominee, however loudly he may talk. If he does, the Presidency is already lost.—Nashville American.

HISTORY WILL RECORD.

History will record that the era of greatest prosperity the United States had ever known set in with the inauguration of McKinley in 1897 and the Nation's abandonment of financial heresies for a monetary standard which assured a quality and quantity of currency giving confidence to capital, stability to values, steady employment to labor; that within the ensuing seven years the Nation advanced with marvelous strides in every phase of material progress.

History will record that between 1897 and 1904 the population of the United States grew from 71,000,000 to 80,000,000; that the public debt, raised under Cleveland in peace from \$38,000,000 to \$27,000,000, and by the Spanish War to \$148,000,000, was reduced under McKinley and Roosevelt to \$914,000,000, the annual interest charge falling from \$40,000,000 to \$25,000,000 and from 54 cents to 22 cents per capita; that within those seven years the gold money of the country increased from \$695,000,000 to \$1,548,000,000, the silver from \$441,000,000 to \$554,000,000, the bank notes from \$206,000,000 to \$430,000,000, and the total circulation from \$1,545,000,000 to \$2,533,000,000, an increase per capita from \$22.87 to \$29.42.

History will record that within those seven years the bank clearings of the country rose from \$14,400,000,000 a year to \$114,000,000,000 a year; the savings bank deposits from \$2,200,000,000 to \$2,000,000,000; the foreign trade from \$1,800,000,000 a year to \$2,400,000,000 a year; the life insurance policies in force from \$4,000,000,000 to \$12,000,000,000; the merchant marine from 4,700,000 tons to 6,000,000 tons, and the annual output of our shipyards from 221,000 tons to 426,000 tons.

History will record that under the administration of Theodore Roosevelt the Isthmian Canal, talked about and dreamed about and negotiated over for 200 years, was at length actually undertaken, partly owing to the financial ability of the United States to carry it forward and also owing to the indefatigable vigor and bold initiative of the President himself, whom no unworthy influence could restrain and no obstacle deter.

History will record that with the elevation to power of a President who preached as he practiced righteousness and encouraged as he professed religion, an era of moral awakening set in, throughout the United States, beginning in the departments at Washington, extending to the public lands, Indian affairs and industrial difficulties, and even influencing remotely the local governments of states and municipalities, bringing offenders to justice, stimulating almost universal campaigns against vice and immorality, and putting in the Republican National chairmanship a man of such devout character that when installed as Secretary of the new Department of Commerce and Labor he called the entire force about him and opened the office with prayer.

Thus much at least is secure. What history will also record, however, is the sequel to this remarkable chapter in world annals—how the enlightened suffrage of the country demanded itself in passing judgment upon the material and moral exhibit before it, and what impulse was given to the verdict of November by the significant and influential

THE DEMOCRATIC OPPORTUNITY.

The course of events is every day emphasizing the great opportunity before the Democratic party. Never was the longing for an eligible Opposition more pronounced or widespread. Thousands of Republicans are coming reluctantly to believe that what their own party most needs is a sound drubbing at the polls, and are asking with unconcealed anxiety whether the Democrats are likely to offer a platform and a candidate such as the country can hear of without alarm. Under our system of party government, the natural remedy for such arrogance, such corruption, such fierce factionalism as the Republicans are now displaying in office, is to turn them out; and it is mainly a question of the Democrats showing themselves fit to be used as the means of punishment.

So much for the general situation, and for things external to the Democratic organization. Within it, moreover, the occasion is most auspicious for ridding the party of two pests at one shot. Rightly considered, the joined forces of Bryan and Hearst are a great stroke of luck for a sane Democracy. It is not often that a party has so good a chance to renounce publicly the devil and all his works. To repudiate either man mentioned would count for much; to show that it is able to ride over them both, in their unholy alliance, would of itself go far to prove that we have again a Democratic party, clothed and in its right mind.

It is a sure affinity which brings Bryan and Hearst together. Both are essentially self-advertisers. To both, notoriety is the breath of their nostrils. Both exploit their Democracy purely for personal aggrandisement. If Bryan is a firebrand, Hearst is a whole conflagration. He preaches the war of classes. He regards the Treasury precisely as he does his own millions—just so much money more with which to buy political support. Having caught the trick of anarchistic utterance from Bryan, he far outbellows his teacher. Yet Mr. Bryan, in his desperate attempts to sustain his falling fortunes, does not hesitate to strike hands with this vulgar compound of ignorance and recklessness, who thinks that money can gild his infamous career. We had hoped that Mr. Bryan, whose private life has been, we believe, beyond reproach, would shrink from the repulsive contact of a man whose life has been passed in unmentionable licentiousness; but seemingly he will stop not even at that to wreak his vengeance, if possible, and prevent his own threatened submergence.

By seizing the opportunity to defeat this noble pair of brothers, the Democrats would do more than they possibly could in any other way to reassure the country. That would be bringing forth fruits meet for repentance. On the other hand, if they were to be to

sink the party almost beyond recovery. Senator Clay of Georgia has truly said that the nomination of Hearst would mean not only immediate disaster, but a stain upon the party's good name which it could not live down in twenty years. Some political sins are unpardonable; and one such would be for the Democratic party to take up with a man who, to say nothing of the foul-smelling trail he has left behind him, would make of a Presidential nomination a huge advertisement of himself and of the disgusting wares he has to sell.

The signs are, on the whole, gratifying. It is obvious that Southern Democrats are not going to touch the Bryan-Hearst pitch. Delegates from New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Massachusetts will surely be against that combination of dirt and desperation, and will be in a position, first of all, to write the Democratic platform. Let that be made sound and clear, and both Bryan and Hearst will be ruled out *ipso facto*. If they bolt, so much the better. That would furnish the last needed guarantee that the Democratic party had left off the feeding of swine and had set out for its father's house. The hour has, in short, struck for a resolute, energetic, and honest Democratic leadership. The saner men in the party are plainly more awake than they were a month ago to both their peril and their way of escape. Hard work is before them, but it is certain that they can, if they will, go to St. Louis in such force that the fusion of the worst elements will be routed.

ization and to prevent the evils which are feared by capital. Some of his sentences rank very high as straightforward eloquence. "Men say he is not safe. He is not safe for the men who wish to prosecute selfish schemes to the public detriment. He is not safe for the men who wish government to be conducted with greater reference to campaign contributions than to the public good—for the men who wish to draw the President of the United States off into a corner and make whispered arrangements which they dare not have known by their constituents. . . . There is a better way to protect capital and great enterprises than by buying legislatures. There is a better way to deal with labor and to keep it from rising into the tumult of the resistless mob than by buying or corrupting its leaders." Mr. Root is an advocate, but he is an advocate of the high class in whom power of statement is inseparable from a large amount of truth. Perhaps he did not speak the whole truth. He did not discuss the President as a force in foreign relations. He met one issue, the financial objections of Wall Street, he met it at a gathering of moneyed men; and he proved that he is too powerful a thinker to lose his national influence merely because he is no longer a member of the Government.

A POWERFUL CHAMPION

COMMERCE TARIFF RELIEF

The giant steel trust, the greatest corporation the world ever saw, has, in spite of its vast wealth and seemingly invulnerable armor of protective tariff, been forced to "play fair" with at least one American railroad corporation. The tariff, which levies a duty of \$7.84 per ton on steel rails imported from foreign countries, has for many years enabled the great monopoly to exact that much of a differential from the American consumers, although foreign consumers were at the same time quoted lower rates than could be made by the foreign mills. Mention was made a few weeks ago of the placing of an order with the steel trust by the Canadian Pacific for 40,000 tons of rails at \$17.50 per ton at a time when the lowest price quoted American buyers was \$28 per ton and the best price obtainable from the foreigners was \$20.50 per ton.

With the foreign rails costing \$20.50 at New York and a duty of \$7.84 to be added to that amount, railroads needing metals for the East and Middle West were practically forced to pay the trust \$28 per ton or else take the foreign rails at a few cents per ton more. The Harriman system, however, needed 35,000 tons of rails for the Far West out where the freight from the East was high and the freight from Europe low. Mr. Harriman also knew that one of his competitors just over the line had been supplied with rails at \$17.80 per ton, so he rebelled against paying \$28, and invited competition from abroad. According to reports, the foreign mills agreed to load the rails at Pacific Coast ports, duty paid, at \$24.50 per ton. As the rail freight rate from Chicago to the Pacific Coast is \$10 per ton, this was the equivalent in price of \$24.50 per ton, a cut of \$3.50 per ton under the trust price. These were the figures which the railroad magnate offered the trust, with the alternative of having the order go abroad. The order was accepted by the Illinois Steel Company, the Chicago branch of the steel trust, and now other roads which are in need of rails are making wry faces over paying the net price demanded of them.

So much dissatisfaction has been occasioned over the alleged favoritism shown Mr. Harriman, as well as that shown the Canadian Pacific, that many of the roads are engaged in cutting down the early estimates and placing orders for the smallest possible amount which can be got along with. One Eastern road where the operating department had estimated the requirements at 10,000 tons cut that amount down to 1,000 tons, and another made a similar reduction in its estimates and then placed the order with a foreign mill.

All of this dissatisfaction will be highly gratifying to the American citizen who is desirous of having the tariff revised in such a manner that American products are available for Americans at prices no higher than are charged foreigners for the same products. There are a thousand and one articles the price of which is controlled by the steel trust, and whose consumers individually are not seriously affected by the unjust tax levied thereon. These small consumers would be less powerful in putting up a fight against this legalized extortion, but when big corporations like our American railroads begin setting the steel trust right on flat prices, there is hope for general improvement all along the line.

WINSTON THE WIT.

The death of Colonel Patrick Henry Winston at Spokane Sunday removes one of the most interesting and brilliant wits that ever scintillated in the West. While the eloquent Southerner will long be remembered by all classes of people with whom he came in contact, he will especially be missed by the politicians and newspaper men who have been regular attendants at the state conventions and legislative sessions since Washington became a state. The Washington politicians are a strenuous lot and find pretty steady employment in putting up jobs on each other, but seldom have they ever been too busy to stop and listen to one of Colonel Winston's famous epigrammatic monologues or stories. He was possessed of an unending fund of wit and humor and his presence at any kind of gathering was positive assurance that there would be some life in the proceedings. "Winston's stories" would fill many volumes and they were all good and always fitted the occasion. He was in attendance at nearly all of the big Senatorial fights in the state of Washington, and he always found plenty of targets for his rapid thrusts of wit.

At one of these contests a number of years ago, the colonel was pulling hard for one of the "under dogs" in the fight, and day after day assured the newspaper men that his candidate would surely win out, although one of the opposing candidates was charged with making heavy drafts on a "barrel." When the end came and the forces of Colonel Winston's candidate went over to the enemy he was playfully chided by a newspaper man for losing his fight. The reproach was not very gracefully received, and with a string of profanity modulated with the Colonel's habitable Southern accent, he said: "Beat? Of course we got beat. How in the blanket blank nation do you expect to beat six millions of money with a pitcher of ice water? You might do it if the contest was pulled off in Hades, but you'll never do it in Olympus."

The Colonel was still feeling sore over his defeat a day later, when he departed for Seattle. He was approached on the Jeopet platform at Olympia and asked where he was going. "Temporarily," responded the Colonel with dignity mixed with bitterness. "I am going to Seattle. From there I will return to South Carolina. I can stand it to live awhile with these political scoundrels, but when I die, I want to be in a land where I am assured that on resurrection day I will go up with gentlemen." As a stump speaker, Colonel Winston was a decided success, and his work in the Populist campaign of 1896 contributed in a large degree to the success of the ticket. He was not sparing in his criticism of the new party with which he was temporarily affiliated and told many humorous stories at the expense of the middle-of-the-roads. On one occasion, while making a speech at a Palouse town he drew a vivid word picture of the woes that had resulted from Republican rule in the country and followed it with one which showed up the Democrats in an equally unfavorable light. He spoke in eloquent terms of the doom that awaited the country under the administration of either of the old parties, and after a glittering climax, said:

"Ladies and gentlemen, there is no relief, absolutely no relief." This peroration was so unexpected that the audience sat dumfounded. They had fully expected the Colonel to suggest as a means of escape, the voting of the Populist ticket. After giving the crowd silence which followed time to soak in the Colonel arose and told a story running about as follows:

A number of years ago I visited an insane asylum in the South, and through the courtesy of an attendant was shown through the different wards. In the first we found a class of inmates so violent that most of them were strapped in padded cells and were attended by numerous guards. In the next ward the inmates were less violent and attendants were fewer. Thus it continued until finally we visited a large, well-lighted apartment, opening out on a lawn. Here were numerous well-dressed individuals strolling about, apparently with no restraint whatever. I cautiously asked one of them if his mind was affected, and he promptly answered that it was not, but that people thought it was and kept him shut up. "But," said I, "there seems to be no restraint on you, the doors are open at that end, there is a low window over in the corner, and there is even a ladder standing against the wall."

"Oh, yes, I understand," said the lunatic, "but you see that little fellow over under the tree. He is watching us."

I suggested that it would be an insignificant task for such a large number of men to overpower that one lone man and escape that way, if they did not wish to take advantage of the other openings to freedom. "Now there is where all the trouble lies," said the lunatic. "We have talked this matter over a thousand times, and we never can agree. Some of us want to go out through the open window, others want to make a break through the end doors, still another faction will listen to nothing else but taking the ladder, and still others insist that we overpower the guard and escape in that way. It is simply no use, we can never agree and our case is hopeless."

Again the Colonel paused for a moment and then very impressively said: "Ladies and gentlemen, these darn lunatics are down there yet."

About a year ago Colonel Winston started a weekly paper in Spokane, and like all of the Colonel's utterances it was distinctly Winstonian. He took the part of a free lance in politics and has been especially severe in his criticism of the railroads. The last issue of his paper, which appeared Saturday, contained a very severe criticism of the ineffectuality of Governor McBride. When the Governor was in Spokane a few days before, he was interviewed by a Review reporter and made a very lame attempt to explain his attitude on the commission bill which he attempted to defeat during the Rogers administration in order that a bill placing the appointing power in the hands of the Lieutenant-Governor and two others could be passed. Governor McBride's excuse was so "fishy" that he was handled as follows by Colonel Winston:

Senator Tolman introduced a bill in the Senate providing for a railroad commission, to be appointed by the Governor. What did McBride, the presiding officer of the Senate, do? Did he pull off his coat and go to work for the bill, like an honest advocate of it would do? Not at all. On the contrary, he came to the conclusion that the Senate, being Republican, would not pass a commission bill giving a Democratic Governor power to appoint a commission.

Why didn't he try the Senate, and see what it would do before coming to this conclusion? Instead of saying to his Republican friends: "Tolman's bill is all right. Let's get in and do all we can for it," he proceeded to get up another commission bill, exactly like Tolman's except that it vested the power to appoint the Commissioners in a board to be composed of the Lieutenant-Governor—that is McBride—the Auditor and the Governor.

This narrow and partisan attempt to constitute a McBride railroad oligarchy was not only an insult to the Governor of the state, but to every Democrat in the Legislature, and its effect was to instantly divide the friends of a railroad Commission into two opposing factions, while the railroad forces were presenting a solid front. At a time when unity among the friends of a commission was an absolute essential to success, McBride threw a firebrand into the camp in the shape of a bill to give him the right to appoint the Commission. Of course his bill was rejected, as it ought to have been. It

BEGINNINGS OF A CANDIDATE.

New York Sun.

Judge Parker, as everybody may not remember, earned his appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court of this state by his political services to David Bennett Hill in Hill's campaign of 1885 for Governor.

Mr. Parker at that time was Surrogate of Ulster County. In Hill's interest he became chairman of the executive committee of the Democratic State Committee and acted as such throughout the campaign, while retaining the office of Surrogate.

On the eve of the election Judge Parker issued over his own name a proclamation or appeal to the voters. Among other remarkable passages in the document was this denunciation of his Republican opponents as fools and knaves:

Fatuity and senselessness equally mark their policy for partisan success.

The next day the character of this utterance was correctly described by the New York Evening Post. We quote part of the Post's rebuke to Surrogate-Chairman Parker on October 26, 1885:

The address of the Democratic State Committee is a trifle ridiculous. "Fatuity and senselessness," it says, "equally mark their (the Republican) policy of partisan success." . . . We have seldom met with anything in this department of literature so uncolored as the address signed by Mr. Allen B. Parker on behalf of the Democratic State Committee.

The death of Judge Westbrook caused a vacancy in the Supreme Court, and Governor Hill promptly appointed Surrogate-Chairman Parker. Under the head, "Rewarding the Workers," the appointment was thus chronicled in the New York Times:

Albany, Nov. 11.—The work of rewarding the faithful Democrats and carrying out the deals made in the late campaign has begun. Today Governor Hill appointed Surrogate Allen B. Parker, of Kingston, Justice of the Supreme Court, to fill the vacancy caused by the death of Judge Westbrook.

Mr. Parker is chairman of the present Democratic State Committee, and it is generally understood that his promotion is a reward for successfully managing the Democratic machine this Fall.

On November 13, 1885, the New York Herald commented in this way upon the appointment of Surrogate-Chairman Parker to the Supreme bench by Governor David B. Hill:

It is noteworthy that the first important official act of Governor Hill since his election is a conspicuous application of the principle "to the victors belong the spoils." Judge Westbrook died more than a month ago. As the vacancy on the Supreme bench caused by his death occurred at the beginning of the legal year and at a time when the courts were pressed with business, the public interests required that it should be promptly filled. Governor Hill, however, deferred the appointment until after the election, and then gave it to the man who had been foremost among his political workers, and who, while holding the position of Surrogate, whose duties are essentially judicial, devoted himself throughout the campaign to partisan work.

The Sun has lately shown that it is not at all squeamish about bestowing public office as a reward for party services. But even the Sun broadly hinted the other day that the appointment of Mr. Allen B. Parker, who managed the Hill campaign, to one of the most important Judgeships in the state would be going a little too far in this direction. "It is hardly to be supposed," said our contemporary, "that he will desire to have service as distinctly political recognized by appointment to the bench of the Supreme Court."

The appointment does not, however, surprise us. It is thoroughly characteristic of Mr. Hill.

Is it unreasonable to suppose that if Surrogate-Chairman Parker becomes President of the United States his first official act will be to appoint the Hon. David B. Hill to the most important post he has to fill, that of Secretary of State, to succeed John Hay?



—New York Evening Mail.
MISS DEMOCRACY—April Fool, Willie.



—Harper's Weekly.
THE PERFORMANCE HAS BEGUN.

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—Harper's Weekly.
THE PERFORMANCE HAS BEGUN.

DEMOCRACY AND THE TRUSTS

New York Press.

Judge Parker's post-dated telegram to the Democratic convention has occupied the attention of the country and the newspaper editorial pages so constantly as to reb the "anti-trust" plank of the St. Louis platform of the consideration it deserves. This is a matter with which we shall concern ourselves more when the public shall have settled the question of Judge Parker's cowardice on the money question to its full satisfaction.

Meanwhile we can do no better than to republish from the New York World, one of the principal Parker organs, the semi-official Parker view, in the absence of any declaration on the subject by Judge Parker himself about the question of trust control:

FACTS

1. The anti-trust law was framed by a Republican, was passed by a Republican House and a Republican Senate, was signed by a Republican President.

2. The law remained a dead letter on the statute books during the entire second term of Grover Cleveland, a Democratic President. Through three four years of Democratic administration all signs and all efforts of the "trusts" to have the law enforced were met with sneers, jeers and open contempt from a Democratic Attorney-General, Richard Olney, who pretended that the law was unconstitutional, and who would do nothing toward prosecuting violators of it.

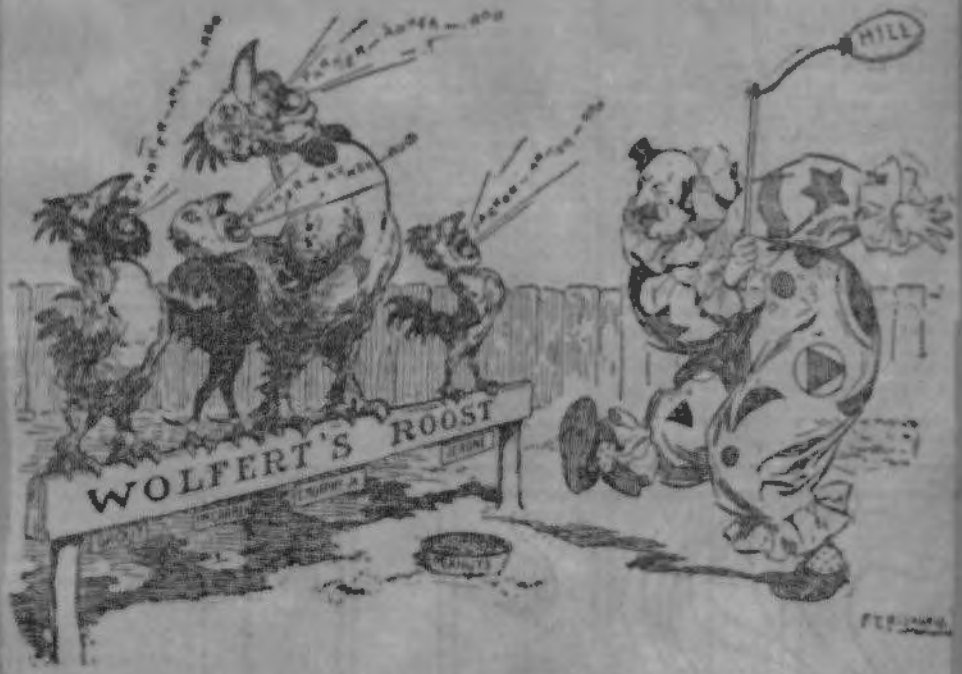
3. The first effort to enforce the law was made by Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican President. The first Attorney-General to prosecute vigorously offenders and to test the law was a Republican Attorney-General, Philander C. Knox.

4. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, given as a finality from which there is no appeal, upholding the law as perfectly constitutional and absolutely impregnable in every respect, as the World for 12 years pompously insisted, was due to five Judges, every one of whom is a Republican.

5. The dissenting minority of the court included every Democratic Judge of that tribunal, so was Chief Justice Fuller, of Illinois, Mr. Justice White, of Louisiana, and Mr. Justice Peckham, of New York. All these distinguished Democrats not only voted against the constitutionality of the law, but denounced it as a danger to the Republic.

6. Under these circumstances it does not seem probable that the Democrats can make great capital in seeking to monopolize the anti-trust issue and charging the Republican party with the crime of being owned body and soul by the trusts.

It is just as well to record some plain truths, however unpleasant or surprising.



—New York Evening Mail
THE MARVELOUS DAVE AND HIS TRAINED ROOSTERS.





"HE NEEDED THE MONEY." —St. Paul Globe.

What does he mean by using the expression, "This involves the taxation of food?" Is it not his purpose to place a tax upon American meat, corn, and wheat in order to provide a protective market for like products from Canada, Australia, and other colonies? In the event that he does succeed and does place a duty of something like 50 per cent on all the food products of this character not produced in the colonies, what would be its effect upon our western farmers, who in the year 1903 sold in that market alone \$180,000,000 worth of these products? Where would he find another market in which to sell such a large share of his annual surplus? Is it not reasonable to conclude that a large per cent of it would decay in the bins and packing houses of the West? But we are confronted by those who say that if they live they must eat, and that as they have depended on us for their food supply for the past half century they must continue to do so.

But, Mr. Chairman, we should not forget the fact that the wheat-growing area of middle and western Canada, as yet practically undeveloped, is quite as large as our western grain belt, and is so fertile that many of our western farmers are flocking there in search of homes.

The Duke of Argyll, in a recent article on the resources of Canada, says:

Both by soil and climate Canada is specially adapted to agriculture. Within the last few years its agricultural importance has greatly increased, and when the great prairies are brought into cultivation Canada will be one of the chief agricultural countries in the world. . . . Within a period of thirty years Canada has stretched from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and the territory now under her control is very little inferior in extent to that of the great Republic to the south, and contains within itself all the elements of a prosperous future. . . . The great Northwest, still in the very infancy of its development, is destined to give the confederation several provinces outside of Manitoba, as large and productive as Minnesota, and to be the principal wheat-growing district of Canada.

Hon. John Charlton, a member of the Canadian Parliament, in a recent article in the North American Review, says:

In the Canadian northwest, as yet practically untouched, is a wheat-growing area as large as eight States like Illinois. Where now there are a few hundred thousand inhabitants, there will be tens of millions, and the 60,000,000-bushel wheat crop of the present year will be swollen to a figure that will make this great region the granary of food-purchasing nations.

This being true, and with a preferential right in the English market, it is altogether probable that the wheat-growing area of that country and the annual shipments therefrom will equal ours within the next few decades.



IT IS REPORTED THAT POLITICUS DONK HAS BEEN DISCHARGED AS CURED.

BY WALTER WELLMAN.

Out of the tangle of differences of opinion in regard to tariff and reciprocity came a platform which indicates that the Republican party has pulled up short in its downward or reactionary economic policy and is now ready to start climbing the incline which will gradually lead to a higher and broader national attitude. In short, the door is open for tariff revision which public opinion will command shall mean tariff reform—an average of lower duties and not of higher—readjustment downward and not upward—accompanied by a declaration in

favor of expansion of our over-sea trade by means of fair trade.

It would be wrong to say that this turning point is revolution. It is only the beginning of a tendency the other way. Yesterday's platform, unanimously adopted in committee and in convention, signifies that there is to be a revival of the policy announced by McKinley in his last message to the American people at Buffalo, and that the dead set of reaction is checked. The phraseology, which men discussed through weary hours, is not very important. The vital fact is the spirit that lies behind it. And the spirit is that of the statesman whose clear mind saw in his closing days that the greatest producing nation in the world cannot go on exporting indefinitely to sell in the markets of the world without also appearing in those markets as a buyer.

Quite natural it is that many persons should have difficulty in understanding the true significance of this event. The surroundings are confusing. Many adhere to the theory that what is known as "stand-patism" has triumphed. It is because they misapprehend what the phrase, original with the lamented Hanna, really means.

The men who framed the tariff platform, first at Washington and afterward here, had these salient facts in mind:

It was necessary to steer clear of two extremes, one the Tariff League people, who would have the door closed against all change, the other a mixture of Cummins' "shelter to monopoly" and other western advocates of an open promise of immediate revision. The stand-patners who have lost were the former; the radical reformers who have not won, are the latter.

Between these two extremes President Roosevelt and his advisers took their stand that there should be a declaration which would open the door to action without making a definite promise which might prove embarrassing. A plank to do just this much they agreed upon, and it was adopted by the convention yesterday. As that keen observer and clear thinker, President Butler of Columbia University, said last night, "We have a conservative declaration of a progressive policy."

So far as the actual text goes, the plank printed in these columns Tuesday morning was the plank agreed upon at the White House, without a word. It is the plank

which appears in the platform, with minor changes—changes which do not alter its purpose or significance.

And the writer is able to say, upon authority, that if President Roosevelt be re-elected upon this platform, his leadership, his influence, his messages to Congress, will all be for an interpretation which spells early revision, and that a revision not upward—not away from the McKinleyism of 1901, but toward it.

In the foregoing we find the great fact of the day. It means that we have come to a new era under Roosevelt. It is not a triumph for radicalism, nor for free trade, nor for any reckless disturbance of existing conditions. The great body of Republican leaders and laymen are fully satisfied with it. Those who are dissatisfied are the extremists of the two widely separated factions—Cummins, the reformer, who says, "Wait four years and we shall have our war," and the amiable Moore of the Tariff League, who says, "Well, it is not as bad as it might have been."

Every Republican of thought and information knows changed conditions have brought the necessity for tariff readjustment near at hand, and the party in national convention assembled has wisely opened the door and referred the practical question of just when and just how to the President and the Congress.

GOVERNOR CUMMINS ON THE TARIFF PLANK.

"A S A whole the platform is admirable. It is as strong and persuasive a statement of the will of the Republican party to the confidence of the people as I have ever heard," said Governor A. E. Cummins of Iowa, father of the "Iowa Men" and champion of tariff revision.

"With respect to the tariff and reciprocity," continued the governor last night, "it leaves the subjects of recent discussion absolutely open. That is to say, it leaves those who believe in a modification of the tariff schedules at perfect liberty to urge their views, and with respect to reciprocity it leaves those who favor reciprocal arrangements for the extension of our foreign trade in either competitive or noncompetitive products free to advocate their solutions.

"I assume that no Republican nor any other state and loyal American has ever favored a reciprocal arrangement that would injure agriculture, labor or industry. It is, therefore, fair to say that as regards the general struggle between the 'stand-patners' and the followers of the so-called 'Iowa Men,' the platform is not a defeat for either.

"When, however, the platform just adopted is compared with the one announced a few weeks ago in my own state, it is obvious that we have won a distinct victory. The fight in Iowa covered two points: First, the stand-patners refused to recognize the desirability of revision at any time or under any circumstances. The national platform does recognize it. The Iowa platform expressly modified reciprocity to noncompetitive lines; the national platform contains no such restriction."



"WHAT ARE YOU DOING HERE?"

—Harper's Weekly.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 14.—The Republican campaign textbook of 1904 is just about to be issued. A synopsis of the book prepared by the Republican campaign committee, says the four great facts which justified the Republican party in asking the support of the public in 1896 were:

- "First—That its pledges of 1896 had been redeemed.
- "Second—That prosperity had come as a result.
- "Third—That developments since 1896 had shown the fallacy of the principles upon which the Democracy then appealed for public support.
- "Fourth—The condition which had come to other parts of the world and their people as a result of promises fulfilled by the Republican party in the United States."

The book then goes on to say that these assertions made in the textbook of 1896 have been fully justified by the added experiences of another four years. The pledges of 1896 and those made in 1900 have been redeemed. The protective tariff has been restored, the gold standard made permanent; Cuba freed and given independence; the Panama Canal assured under the sole ownership and control of the United States; a Department of Commerce and Labor established; rural free delivery given to millions of the agricultural community; the laws for the proper regulation of trusts and great corporations strengthened and enforced; prosperity established, commerce developed; labor paid and given ample employment and reward; intelligence, prosperity and good government established in distant islands and the flag of the United States made the "emblem of honor in every part of the world.

All of these great accomplishments, it is pointed out, have been the work of the Republican party. In each of them it has met the discouragement, the opposition and the hostilities of the Democracy. It is upon this additional evidence of the past four years, evidence that the Republican party is the party of progress and the Democracy the party of inaction, retardment, fault-finding, that the party again confidently appeals for public support in the Presidential elections of 1904.

Every feature of the prospective campaign is considered with fairness, and all available information bearing upon the subjects is presented. The claim that the protective tariff increases prices is met with facts and figures from the economic history of the United States and other countries which fully show the inaccuracy of the charge, while the relative prosperity of countries having low and protective tariffs, respectively, is also shown from official figures.

The chapter on labor wages shows beyond a question, as a result of thorough official investigation, that the advance in wages during the past decade has been greater than the advance in the cost of living, the figures being based upon retail prices, the prices which the public must pay for the articles consumed, while it is also shown that the rate of wages now being paid in the United States is higher than have ever been paid in this or in any other country.

The book also contains a sketch of the life and work of President Roosevelt and of Senator Fairbanks.

PLATFORM REPUBLICAN

FIFTY years ago the Republican party came into existence. Dedicated among other purposes to the great task of arresting the extension of human slavery. In 1860 it elected its first President. During twenty-four of the forty-four years which have elapsed since the election of Lincoln the Republican party has held complete control of the government. For sixteen

Record of Party more of the forty-four years it has held partial control through the possession of one or two branches of the government, while the Democratic party during the same period has had complete control for only two years. This long tenure of power by the Republican party is not due to chance. It is a demonstration that the Republican party has commanded the confidence of the American people for nearly two generations to a degree never equaled in our history, and has displayed a high capacity for rule and government which has been made even more conspicuous by the incapacity and infirmity of purpose shown by its opponents.

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The Republican party entered upon its present period of complete supremacy in 1897. We have every right to congratulate ourselves upon the work since then accomplished, for it has added luster even to the traditions of the party which carried the government through the storms of civil war. We then found the country after four years of Democratic rule in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, the revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, the standard of values was threatened and uncertain, labor was unemployed, business was sunk in the depression which had succeeded the panic of 1893, hope was faint and confidence was gone.

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Congratulations on Achievements in Ending Alarming Conditions.

We met these unhappy conditions vigorously, effectively and at once. We replaced a Democratic tariff law, based on free trade principles and garnished with sectional protection, by a consistent protective tariff, and industry, freed from oppression and stimulated by the encouragement of wise laws, has expanded to a degree never before known, has conquered new markets and has created a volume of exports which has surpassed imagination. Under the Dingley tariff labor has been fully employed. Wages have risen and all industries have revived and prospered.

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Growth of Industry Attributed to Consistent Protective Policy.

We firmly established the gold standard, which was then menaced with destruction. Confidence returned to business, and with confidence an unexampled prosperity.

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For deficient revenues supplemented by improvident issues of bonds we gave the country an income which produced a large surplus and which enabled us only four years after the Spanish war had closed to remove one hundred millions of annual war taxes, reduce the public debt and lower the interest charges of the government. The public credit, which had been so lowered that in time of peace a Democratic administration made large loans at extravagant rates of interest in order to pay current expenditures, rose under Republican administration to its highest point and enabled us to borrow at 2 per cent even in time of war.

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Revenue Provided; Public Credit Brought to Highest Point.

We refused to paltter longer with the miseries of Cuba. We fought a quick and victorious war with Spain. We set Cuba free, governed the island for three years and then gave it to the Cuban people with order restored, with ample revenues, with education and public health established, free from debt and connected with the United States by wise provisions for our mutual interests. We have organized the government of Porto Rico, and its people now enjoy peace, freedom, order and prosperity. In the Philip-

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Cuba, Porto Rico and Philippines Given Good Government.

pine we have suppressed insurrection, established order and given to life and property a security never known there before. We have organized civil government, made it effective and strong in administration and have conferred upon the people of those islands the largest civil liberty they have ever enjoyed. By our possession of the Philippines we were enabled to take prompt and effective action in the relief of the legations at Peking and a decisive part in preventing the partition and in the preserving of the integrity of China.

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The possession of a route for an isthmian canal, so long the dream of American statesmanship, is now an accomplished fact. The great work of connecting the Pacific and Atlantic oceans by a canal is at last begun, and it is due to the Republican party.

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We have passed laws which will bring the arid lands of the United States within the area of cultivation.

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We have reorganized the army and put it in the highest state of efficiency.

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We have passed laws for the improvement and support of the militia.

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We have pushed forward the building of the navy, the defense and the protection of our honor and our interests.

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Our administration of the great departments of the government has been honest and efficient, and wherever wrongdoing has been discovered the Republican administration has not hesitated to probe the evil and bring offenders to justice without regard to party or political ties.

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Laws enacted by the Republican party which the Democratic party failed to enforce, and which were intended for the protection of the public against the unjust discrimination or the illegal encroachment of vast aggregations of capital, have been fearlessly enforced by a Republican President, and new laws insuring reasonable publicity as to the operation of great corporations and providing additional remedies for the prevention of discrimination in freight rates have been passed by a Republican Congress.

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In this record of achievement during the past eight years may be read the pledges which the Republican party has fulfilled. We propose to continue these policies, and we declare our constant adherence to the following principles: Protection of Tariff When Necessary, but by its Friends.

The measure of protection should always at least equal the difference in the cost of production at home and abroad. We insist upon the maintenance of the principles of protection, and therefore the rates of duty should be readjusted only when conditions have so changed that the public interest demands their alteration, but this work cannot safely be committed to any other hands than those of the Republican party. To intrust it to the Democratic party is to invite disaster. Whether, as in 1892, the Democratic party declared the protective tariff unconstitutional, or whether it demands tariff reform or tariff revision, its real object is always the destruction of the protective system. However specious the name, the purpose is ever the same. A Democratic tariff has always been followed by business adversity; a Republican tariff by business prosperity. To a Republican Congress and a Republican President this great question can be safely trusted. When the only free trade country among the great nations agitates a return to protection the chief protective country should not falter in maintenance.

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We have extended widely our foreign markets, and we believe in the adoption of all practicable methods for their further extension.

ments can be effected consistent with the principles of protection and without injury to American agriculture, American labor or any American industry.

We believe it to be the duty of the Republican party to uphold the gold standard and the integrity and value of our national currency. The maintenance of the gold standard, established by the Republican party, cannot safely be committed to the Democratic party, which resisted its adoption and has never given any proof since that time of belief in it or fidelity to it.

While every other industry has prospered under the fostering aid of Republican legislation, American shipping engaged in foreign trade in competition with the low cost of construction, low wages and heavy subsidies of foreign governments has not for many years received from the government of the United States adequate encouragement of any kind. We therefore favor legislation which will encourage and build up the American merchant marine, and we cordially approve the legislation of the last Congress which created the merchant marine commission to investigate and report upon this subject.

A navy powerful enough to defend the United States against any attack, to uphold the Monroe doctrine and watch over our commerce is essential to the safety and the welfare of the American people. To maintain such a navy is the fixed policy of the Republican party.

We cordially approve the attitude of President Roosevelt and Congress in regard to the exclusion of Chinese labor, and promise a continuance of the Republican policy in that direction.

The civil service law was placed on the statute books by the Republican party, which has always sustained it, and we renew our former declarations that it shall be thoroughly and honestly enforced.

We are always mindful of the country's debt to the soldiers and sailors of the United States, and we believe in making ample provision for them and in the liberal administration of the pension laws.

We favor the peaceful settlement of international differences by arbitration.

We commend the vigorous efforts made by the administration to protect American citizens in foreign lands and pledge ourselves to insist upon the just and equal protection of all our citizens abroad. It is the unquestioned duty of the government to procure for all our citizens, without distinction, the rights of travel and sojourn in friendly countries, and we declare ourselves in favor of all proper efforts to that end.

Our great interests and our growing commerce in the Orient render the condition of China of high importance to the United States. We cordially commend the policy pursued in that direction by the administration of President McKinley and President Roosevelt.

We favor such congressional action as shall determine whether by special discriminations the elective franchise in any state has been unconstitutionally limited, and, if such be the case, we demand that representation in Congress and in the electoral college shall be proportionately reduced as directed by the Constitution of the United States.

Combinations of capital and of labor are the results of the economic movement of the age, but neither must be permitted to infringe upon the rights and interests of the people. Such combinations when lawfully formed for lawful purposes are alike

entitled to the protection of the laws, but both are subject to the laws and neither can be permitted to break them.

The great statesman and patriotic American, William McKinley, who was re-elected by the Republican party to the Presidency four years ago, was assassinated just at the threshold of his second term. The entire nation mourned his untimely death and did that justice to his great qualities of mind and character which history will confirm and repeat.

The American people were fortunate in his successor, to whom they turned with a trust and confidence which have been fully justified. President Roosevelt brought to the great responsibilities thus sadly forced upon him a clear head, a brave heart, an earnest patriotism and high ideals of public duty and public service. True to the principles of the Republican party and to the policies which that party had declared, he has also shown himself ready for every emergency and has met new and vital questions with ability and with success. The confidence of the people in his justice, inspired by his public career, enabled him to render personally an inestimable service to the country by bringing about a settlement of the coal strike, which threatened such disastrous results at the opening of winter in 1902.

Our foreign policy under his administration has not only been able, vigorous and dignified, but in the highest degree successful. The complicated questions which arose in Venezuela were settled in such a way by President Roosevelt that the Monroe doctrine was signally vindicated and the cause of peace and arbitration greatly advanced.

His prompt and vigorous action in Panama, which we commend in the highest terms, not only secured to us the canal route, but avoided foreign complications which might have been of a very serious character.

He has continued the policy of President McKinley in the Orient, and our position in China, signalized by our recent commercial treaty with that empire, has never been so high.

He secured the tribunal by which the vexed and perilous question of the Alaskan boundary was finally settled.

Whenever crimes against humanity have been perpetrated which have shocked our people, his protest has been made, and our good offices have been tendered, but always with due regard to international obligations.

Under his guidance we find ourselves at peace with all the world, and never were we more respected or our wishes more regarded by foreign nations.

Pre-eminently successful in regard to our foreign relations, he has been equally fortunate in dealing with domestic questions. The country has known that the public credit and the national currency were absolutely safe in the hands of his administration. In the enforcement of the laws he has shown not only courage, but the wisdom which understands that to permit laws to be violated or disregarded opens the door to anarchy, while the just enforcement of the law is the soundest conservatism. He has held firmly to the fundamental American doctrine that all men must obey the law, that there must be no distinction between rich and poor, between strong and weak, but that justice and equal protection under the law must be secured to every citizen without regard to race, creed or condition.

His administration has been throughout vigorous and honorable, high-minded and patriotic. We commend it without reservation to the considerate judgment of the American people.

Administration Praised for Vigorous Foreign Policy.

Courage and Wisdom Shown in Enforcement of Laws of the Land.

Root Addresses the Convention.

Gov. Odell of New York moved that the action of the national committee in the selection of the temporary chairman be approved. The motion was unanimously carried and Temporary Chairman Root was introduced. He addressed the convention as follows:

The responsibility of government rests upon the republican party. The complicated machinery through which the 90,000,000 people of the United States govern themselves answers to no single will. The composite government devised by the framers of the constitution to meet the conditions of national life more than a century ago requires the willing cooperation of many minds, the combination of many independent factors, in every forward step for the general welfare.

The president at Washington with his cabinet, the sixty senators representing forty-five sovereign states, the 435 representatives in congress—are required to reach concurrent action upon a multitude of questions involving varied and conflicting interests and requiring investigation, information, discussion, and reconciliation of views. From all our vast territory with its varieties of climate and industry, from all our great population active in production and commerce and social progress and intellectual and moral life to a degree never before attained by any people—difficult problems press upon the national government.

Will of People Must Govern.

Within the last five years more than 90,000 bills have been introduced in congress. Some method of selection must be followed. There must be some preliminary process to ascertain the general tenor of public judgment upon the principles to be applied in government, and some organization and recognition of leadership which shall bring a legislative majority and the executive into accord in the practical application of those principles; or effective government becomes impossible.

The practical governing method of our people has adapted the machinery devised in the eighteenth to the conditions of the twentieth century by the organization of national political parties. In them men join for the promotion of a few cardinal principles upon which they agree. For the sake of those principles they lay aside their differences upon less important questions. To represent those principles and to carry on the government in accordance with them, they present to the people candidates whose competency and loyalty they approve. The people by their choice of candidates indicate the principles and methods which they wish followed in the conduct of their government. They do not merely choose between men; they choose between parties—between the principles they profess, the methods they follow, the trustworthiness of their professions, the inferences to be drawn from the records of their past, the general weight of character of the body of men who will be brought into participation in government by their ascendancy.

Epoch in Life of Party.

When the course of the next administration is but half done the republican party will have completed the first half century of its national life. Of the eleven administrations since the first election of Abraham Lincoln, nine—covering a period of thirty-six years—have been under republican presidents. For the greater part of that time, the majority in each house of congress has been republican. History affords no parallel in any age or country for the growth in national greatness and power and honor, the wide diffusion of the comforts of life, the uplifting of the great mass of the people above the hard conditions of poverty, the common opportunity for education and individual advancement, the universal possession of civil and religious liberty, the protection of property and security of the rewards of industry and enterprise, the cultivation of national morality, respect for religion, sympathy with humanity, and love of liberty and justice, which have marked the life of the American people during this long period of republican control.

Asks Continuance of Confidence.

With the platform and the candidates of this convention we are about to ask a renewed expression of popular confidence in the republican party.

We shall ask it because the principles to which we declare our adherence are right, and the best interests of our country require that they should be followed in its government.

We shall ask it because the unbroken record of the republican party in the past is an assurance of the sincerity of our declarations and the fidelity with which we shall give them effect. Because we have been constant in principle, loyal to our beliefs, and faithful

to our promises we are entitled to be believed and trusted now.

Party Character Is Assurance.

We shall ask it because the character of the party gives assurance of good government. A great political organization, competent to govern, is not a chance collection of individuals brought together for the moment as the shifting sands are piled up by wind and sea, to be swept away, to be formed and reformed again. It is a growth. Traditions and sentiments reaching down through struggles of years gone, and the stress and heat of old conflicts, and the influence of leaders passed away, and the ingrained habit of applying fixed rules of interpretation and of thought—all give to a political party known and inalienable qualities from which must follow in its deliberate judgment and ultimate action like results for good or bad government.

We do not deny that other parties have in their membership men of morality and patriotism; but we assert with confidence that above all others, by the influence which gave it birth and have maintained its life, by the causes for which it has striven, the ideals which it has followed, the republican party as a party has acquired a character which makes its ascendancy the best guarantee of a government loyal to principle and effective in execution. Through it more than any other political organization the moral sentiment of America finds expression. It cannot depart from the direction of its tendencies. From what it has been may be known certainly what it must be. Not all of us rise to its standard; not all of us are worthy of its glorious history; but as a whole this great political organization—the party of Lincoln and McKinley—cannot fail to work in the spirit of its past and in loyalty to great ideals.

Candidates of Proved Competency.

We shall ask the continued confidence of the people because the candidates whom we present are of proved competency and patriotism, fitted to fill the offices for which they are nominated to the credit and honor of our country.

We shall ask it because the present policies of our government are beneficial and ought not to be set aside, and the people's business is being well done and ought not to be interfered with.

Have not the American people reason for satisfaction and pride in the conduct of their government since the election of 1900, when they rendered their judgment of approval upon the first administration of President McKinley? Have we not had an honest government? Have not the men selected for office been men of good reputation, who by their past lives had given evidence that they were honest and competent? Can any private business be pointed out in which lapses from honesty have been so few and so trifling proportionately as in the public service of the United States? And when they have occurred have not the offenders been relentlessly prosecuted and sternly punished without regard to political or personal relations?

Points to Past Achievements.

Have we not had an effective government? Have not the laws been enforced? Has not the slow process of legislative discussion

upon many serious questions been brought to practical conclusions, embodied in beneficial statutes? And has not the executive proceeded without vacillation or weakness to give these effect? Are not the laws of the United States obeyed at home, and does not our government command respect and honor throughout the world?

Have we not had a safe and conservative government? Has not property been protected? Are not the fruits of enterprise and industry secure? What safeguard of the constitution for vested rights or individual freedom has not been scrupulously observed? When has any American administration ever dealt more considerately and wisely with questions which might have been the cause of conflict with foreign powers? When have more just settlements been reached by peaceful means? When has any administration wielded a more powerful influence for peace? And when have we rested more secure in friendship with all mankind?

Burdensome Taxes Removed.

Four years ago the business of the country was loaded with burdensome internal taxes imposed during the war with Spain. By the acts of March 2, 1901, and April 12, 1901, the country has been wholly relieved of that annual burden of over \$100,000,000; and the further accumulation of a surplus which was constantly withdrawing the money of the country from circulation has been prevented by the reduction of taxation.

Between June 30, 1900, and June 1, 1901, our treasury department collected in revenues the enormous sum of \$2,328,000,000 and expended \$2,028,000,000, leaving us with a surplus of over \$300,000,000, after paying the \$5,000,000 for the Panama canal and loaning \$4,000,000 to the St. Louis exposition. Including those two extraordinary payments, which are investments from past surplus and not expenditures of current income, the surplus for this year will be the reasonable amount of about \$32,000,000.

Currency on a Stable Basis.

The vast and complicated transactions of the treasury, which for the last fiscal year show actual cash receipts of \$4,250,230,000 and disbursements of \$4,112,159,624, have been conducted with perfect accuracy and fidelity, and without the loss of a dollar. Under wise management, the financial act of March 18, 1900, which embodied the sound financial principles of the republican party and provided for the maintenance of our currency on the stable basis of the gold standard, has wrought out beneficial results.

On the 1st of November, 1900, the interest-bearing debt of the United States was \$1,048,049,920. On the 1st of May last the amount of that debt was \$865,157,490, a reduction of \$182,892,430. By refunding, the annual interest has been still more rapidly reduced from \$49,247,884 on the 1st of November, 1900, to \$24,176,745 on the 1st of June, 1901, an annual saving of over \$25,000,000.

Banking Facilities Increased.

When the financial act was passed the thinly settled portions of our country were suffering for lack of banking facilities, because the banks were in the large towns, and none could be organized with a capital of less than \$50,000. Under the provisions of that act there were organized down to the 1st of May last 1200 small banks of \$25,000 capital, furnishing, under all the safeguards of the national banking system, facilities to the small communities of the west and south.

The facilities made possible by that act have increased the circulation of national banks from \$294,402,730 on the 1st of March, 1900, to \$445,368,360 on the 1st of June, 1901.

The money of the country in circulation has not only increased in amount with our growth in business, but it has steadily gained in the stability of the basis on which it rests. On the 1st of March, 1901, when the first administration of McKinley began, we had in the country, including bullion in the treasury, \$1,908,572,076. This was \$22.14 per capita for our population, and of this 28.90 per cent was gold. On the 1st of March, 1901, when the second administration of McKinley began, the money in the country was \$2,407,000,000. This was \$23.31 per capita, and of

and \$2.21 per cent was gold. On the 1st of May last the money in the country was \$2,000,000,000, which was \$10.00 per capita, and of it \$1,000,000,000 was gold.

Finances Are Wisely Ordered.

This great increase of currency has been arranged in such a way that the large government notes in circulation are gold certificates, while the silver certificates and greenbacks are of small denominations. As the large gold certificates represent gold actually on deposit, their presentation at the treasury in exchange for gold can never involve upon the gold reserve. As the small silver certificates and greenbacks are always in active circulation, no large amount of them can be accumulated for the purpose of drawing on the gold reserve; and thus, while every man can get a gold dollar for every dollar of the government's currency, the endless chain which we were once taught to fear so much, has been effectively put out of business.

The secretary of the treasury has shown himself successful of the needs of business and has so managed our finances as himself to expand and contract our currency as occasion has required. When in the fall of 1902 the demand for funds to move the crops caused extraordinary money stringency, the secretary exercised his lawful right to accept state and municipal bonds as security for public deposits, thus liberating United States funds which were used for additional circulation. When the crops were moved and the stringency was over he called for a withdrawal of the state and municipal securities, and thus contracted the currency. Again, in 1903, under similar conditions, he produced similar results. The payment of the \$50,000,000 for the Panama canal made last month without causing the slightest disturbance in finance showed good judgment and a careful consideration of the interests of business upon which our people may confidently rely.

Tells of Trust Regulation.

Four years ago the regulation by law of the great corporate combinations called "trusts" stood substantially where it was when the Sherman anti-trust act of 1890 was passed. President Cleveland, in his last message of December, 1896, had said:

Though congress has attempted to deal with this matter by legislation, the laws passed for that purpose thus far have proved ineffective, not because of any lack of disposition or attempt to enforce them, but simply because the laws themselves as interpreted by the courts do not reach the difficulty. If the insufficiency of existing laws can be remedied by further legislation, it should be done. The fact must be recognized, however, that all federal legislation on this subject may fall short of its purpose because of inherent obstacles and also because of the complex character of our governmental system, which, while making federal authority supreme within its sphere, has carefully limited that sphere by metes and bounds that cannot be transgressed.

At every election the regulation of trusts had been the football of campaign oratory and the subject of many insincere declarations.

Quotes Message of Roosevelt.

Our republican administration has taken up the subject in a practical, sensible way as a business rather than a political question, asking what it really meant, and doing what lay at its hand to be done, to accomplish effective regulation. The principles upon which the government proceeded were stated by the president in his message of December, 1897. He said:

A fundamental base of civilization is the inviolability of property, but this is in no wise inconsistent with the right of society to regulate the exercise of the artificial powers which it confers upon the owners of property, under the name of corporate franchises, in such a way as to prevent the abuse of these powers.

We can do nothing of good in the way of regulating and supervising these corporations until we clearly in our minds that we are not attacking the corporations, but endeavoring to do away with any evil in them. We are not hostile to them; we are merely determined that they shall be so managed as to subserve the public good. We can

In curbing and regulating the combinations of capital which are or may become injurious to the public we must be careful not to stop the great enterprises which have legitimately reduced the cost of production, not to abandon the place which our country has won in the leadership of the international industrial world, not to strike down wealth with the result of closing factories and mines, of lowering the wage-earner's life in the streets, and leaving the farmer without a market for what he grows.

I believe that monopolies, unjust discriminations, which prevent or cripple competition, fraudulent overcapitalization, and other evils in trust organizations and practices which injuriously affect interstate trade, can be prevented under the power of the congress to "regulate commerce with foreign nations and among the several states" through regulations and requirements operating directly upon such commerce, the instrumentalities thereof, and those engaged therein.

Practical Laws Are Applied.

After long consideration, congress passed three practical statutes; on the 11th of February, 1903, an act to expedite hearings in suits in enforcement of the anti-trust act; on the 14th of February, 1903, the act creating a new department of commerce and labor with a bureau of corporations having authority to secure systematic information regarding the organization and operation of corporations engaged in interstate commerce; and on the 19th of February, 1903, an act enlarging the powers of the interstate commerce commission and of the courts, to deal with secret rebates in transportation charges, which are the chief means by which the trusts crush out their smaller competitors.

The attorney general has gone on in the same practical way, not to talk about the trusts, but to proceed against the trusts by law for their regulation. In separate suits fourteen of the great railroads of the country have been restrained by injunction from giving illegal rebates to the favored shippers, who by means of them were driving out the smaller shippers and monopolizing the grain and meat business of the country. The beef trust was put under injunction. The officers of the railroads engaged in the cotton carrying-pool, affecting all that great industry of the south, were indicted and have abandoned their combination. The Northern Securities company, which undertook by combining in one ownership the capital stocks of the Northern Pacific and Great Northern railroads to end traffic competition in the northwest, has been destroyed by a vigorous prosecution expedited and brought in a speedy and effective conclusion in the Supreme court under the act of Feb. 11, 1903.

Quotes from Attorney General.

The attorney general says: Here, then, are four phases of the attack on the combinations in restraint of trade and commerce—the railroad injunction suits, the cotton pool cases, the beef trust case, and the Northern Securities case. The first relates to the monopoly produced by secret and preferential rates for railroad transportation; the second, to railroad traffic pooling; the third, to a combination of independent corporations to fix and maintain extortionate prices for meats; and the fourth, to a corporation organized to merge into itself the control of parallel and competing lines of railroad and to eliminate competition in their rates of transportation.

The right of the interstate commerce commission to compel the production of books and papers has been established by the judgment of the Supreme court in a suit against the coal carrying roads. Other suits have been brought and other indictments have been found, and other trusts have been driven back within legal bounds. No investment in lawful business has been jeopardized, no fair and honest enterprise has been injured; but it is certain that wherever the constitutional power of the national government reaches, trusts are being practically regulated and curbed within lawful bounds as they never have been before, and the men of small capital are finding in the efficiency and

skill of the national department of justice a protection they never had before against the crushing effect of unlawful combinations.

Public Land Presents Problem.

We have at last reached a point where the public wealth of farm land which has seemed so inexhaustible is nearly gone, and the problem of utilizing the remainder for the building of new homes has become of vital importance.

The present administration has dealt with this problem vigorously and effectively. Great areas had been unlawfully fenced by men of large means, and the home builder had been excluded. Many of these unlawful aggressors have been compelled to relinquish their booty, and more than 2,000,000 acres of land have been restored to the public. Extensive frauds in procuring grants of land, not for homesteads but for speculation, have been investigated and stopped, and the perpetrators have been indicted and are being actively prosecuted.

Reclamation Work Systematized.

A competent commission has been constituted to examine into the defective working of the existing laws and to suggest practical legislation to prevent further abuse. That commission has reported, and bills adequate to accomplish the purpose have been framed and are before congress. The farther denudation of forest areas, producing alternate floods and dryness in our river valleys, has been checked by the extension of forest reserves, which have been brought in aggregate more than 61,000,000 acres of land. The reclamation by irrigation of the vast arid regions forming the chief part of our remaining public domain, has been provided for by the national reclamation law of June 17, 1902.

The execution of this law, without taxation and by the application of the proceeds of public land sales alone, through the construction of storage reservoirs for water, will make many millions of acres of fertile lands available for settlement. Over \$20,000,000 from these sources have been already received to the credit of the reclamation fund. Over 22,000,000 acres of public lands in fourteen states and territories have been embraced in the sixty-seven projects which have been devised and are under examination, and on eight of these the work of actual construction has begun.

Postal Service Is Improved.

The postal service has been extended and improved. Its revenues have increased from \$70,000,000 in 1895 to \$100,000,000 in 1900, and \$144,000,000 in 1904. In dealing with these vast sums a few cases of peculation, trifling in amount and by subordinate officers, have occurred there as they occur in every business. Neither fear nor favor nor political or personal influence has availed to protect the wrongdoers. Their acts have been detected, investigated, laid bare; they have been dismissed from their places, prosecuted criminally, indicted, many of them tried, and many of them convicted. The abuses in the carriage of second class mail matter have been remedied.

The rural free delivery has been widely extended. It is wholly the creation of republican administration. The last democratic postmaster general declared it impracticable. The first administration of McKinley proved the contrary. At the beginning of the fiscal year 1903 there were about 230 routes in operation. There are now more than 25,000 routes, bringing a daily mail service to more than 12,000,000 of our people in the rural communities, enlarging the circulation of the newspaper and the magazine, increasing communication, and relieving the isolation of life on the farm.

Gives Help to the Farmers.

The department of agriculture has been brought to a point of efficiency and practical benefit never before known. The leomargarine act of May 9, 1902, now sustained in the Supreme court, and the act of July 1, 1902, to prevent the false branding of beef and dairy products—protect farmers against fraudulent imitations. The act of Feb. 2, 1903, enables the secretary of agriculture to prevent the spread of contagious and infectious diseases of live stock. 1904 inspection has protected our cattle against infection

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tion from abroad, and has established the highest credit for our meat products in the markets of the world. The earth has been searched for weapons with which to fight the enemies that destroy the growing crops.

An insect brought from near the Great Wall of China has checked the San José scale, which was destroying our orchards; a parasitic fly brought from south Africa is exterminating the black scale in the lemon and orange groves of California; and an ant from Guatemala is about offering battle to the boll weevil. Broad science has been brought to the aid of limited experience. Study of the relations between plant life and climate and soil has been followed by the introduction of special crops suited to our varied conditions.

Science Adds to Crop Yield.

The introduction of just the right kind of seed has enabled the gulf states to increase our rice crop from 115,000,000 pounds in 1905 to 400,000,000 pounds in 1908, and to supply the entire American demand, with a surplus for export. The right kind of sugar beet has increased our annual production of beet sugar by over 200,000 tons. Seed brought from countries of little rainfall is producing millions of bushels of grain on lands which a few years ago were deemed a hopeless part of the arid belt.

The systematic collection and publication of information regarding the magnitude and conditions of our crops is mitigating the injury done by speculation to the farmer's market.

To increase the profit of the farmer's toil, to protect the farmer's product and extend his market, and to improve the conditions of the farmer's life; to advance the time when America shall raise within her own limits every product of the soil consumed by her own people, as she makes within her own limits every necessary product of manufacture—these have been cardinal objects of republican administration; and we show a record of practical things done toward the accomplishment of these objects never before approached.

Pledge Given to Cuba Kept.

Four years ago we held the island of Cuba by military occupation. The opposition charged, and the people of Cuba believed, that we did not intend to keep the pledge of April 20, 1898, that when the pacification of Cuba was accomplished we should leave the government and control of the island to its people. The new policy towards Cuba which should follow the fulfillment of that pledge was unfurled. During the four years it has been worked out in detail and has received effect. It was communicated by executive order to the military governor. It was embodied in the act of congress known as the Platt amendment. It was known to the Cuban constitutional convention on the 12th of October, 1901. It secured to Cuba her liberty and her independence, but it required her to maintain them. It forbade her ever to use the freedom we had earned for her by so great a sacrifice of blood and treasure to give the island to any other power; it required her to maintain a government adequate for the protection of life and property and liberty, and should she fail, it gave us the right to intervene for the maintenance of such a government. And it gave us the right to naval stations upon her coast for the protection and defense alike of Cuba and the United States.

New Republic Fostered.

On the 20th of May, 1902, under a constitution which embodied these stipulations, the government and control of Cuba were surrendered to the president and congress elected by her people, and the American army called away. The new republic began its existence with an administration of Cubans completely organized in all its branches and trained to effective service by American officers. The administration of President Palma has been wise and efficient. Peace and order have prevailed. The people of Cuba are prosperous and happy. Her finances have been honestly administered and her credit is high.

The naval stations have been located and founded at Guantanamo and Bahía Honda, and are in possession of our navy. The Platt amendment is the sheet anchor of Cuban

independence and of Cuban credit. No such revolutions as have afflicted Central and South America are possible there, because it is known to all men that an attempt to overturn the foundations of that government will be confronted by the overwhelming power of the United States.

Hold Confidence of Cubans.

The treaty of reciprocity and the act of congress of Dec. 2, 1903, which confirmed it, completed the expression of our policy towards Cuba; which with a far view to the future aims to bind to us by ties of benefit and protection, of mutual interest and genuine friendship, that island which guards the Caribbean and the highway to the isthmus, and must always be, if hostile, an outpost of defense for the United States. Rich as we are, the American people have no more valuable possession than the sentiment expressed in the dispatch which I will now read:

HAVANA, May 20, 1902.—Theodore Roosevelt, President, Washington: The government of the island having been just transferred, I, as chief magistrate of the republic, faithfully interpreting the sentiment of the whole people of Cuba, have the honor to send you and the American people testimony of our profound gratitude and the assurance of an enduring friendship, with wishes and prayers to the Almighty for the welfare and prosperity of the United States. T. ESTRADA PALMA.

Peace Achieved in Philippines.

When the last national convention met the Philippines also were under military rule. The insurgents from the mountains spread terror among the peaceful people by midnight foray and secret assassination. Aguinaldo bided his time in a secret retreat. Over seventy thousand American soldiers from more than five hundred stations held a still vigorous watch in check. The Philippine commission had not yet begun its work.

The last vestige of insurrection has been swept away. With their work accomplished, over 55,000 American troops have been brought back across the Pacific. Civil government has been established throughout the archipelago. Peace and order and justice prevail. The Philippine commission, guided at first by executive order, and then by the wise legislation of congress in the

Philippine government act of July 1, 1902, have established and conducted a government which has been a credit to their country and a blessing to the people of the islands. The body of laws which they have enacted upon careful and intelligent study of the needs of the country challenges comparison with the statutes of any country.

Good Government in Islands.

The personnel of civil government has been brought together under an advanced and comprehensive civil service law, which has been rigidly enforced. A complete census has been taken, designed to be there, as it will be in Cuba, the basis for representative government; and the people of the islands will soon proceed under provisions already made by congress to the election of a representative assembly, in which, for the first time in their history, they may have a voice in the making of their own laws. In the meantime, the local and provincial governments are in the hands of officers elected by the Filipinos; and in the great central offices, in the commission, on the bench in the executive departments, the most distinguished men of the Filipino race are taking their part in the government of their people.

A free school system has been established and hundreds of thousands of children are learning lessons which will help fit them for self-government. The seeds of religious strife existing in the bitter controversy between the people and the religious orders have been deprived of potency for harm by the purchase of the friars' lands, and their practical withdrawal. By the act of congress of March 2, 1902, a gold standard has been established to take the place of the fluctuating silver currency. The unit of value is made exactly one-half the value of the American gold dollar, so that American money is practically part of their currency system. To enable the Philippine government to issue this new currency \$5,000,000

was borrowed by them in 1903 in the city of New York, and it was borrowed at a net interest charge of 1 1/2 per cent per annum. The trade of the islands has increased, notwithstanding adverse conditions.

Trade Almost Is Doubled.

During the last five years of peace under Spanish rule, the average total trade of the islands was less than \$20,000,000. During the fiscal year ending June 30, 1902, the trade of the islands was over \$60,000,000. There is but one point of disturbance, and that is in the country of the Mohammedan Moros, where there is an occasional fitful savage outbreak against the enforcement of the law recently made to provide for adequate supervision and control to put an end to the practice of human slavery.

When Gov. Taft sailed from Manila in December last to fill the higher office where he will still guard the destinies of the people for whom he has done such great and noble service, he was followed to the shore by a mighty throng, not of repressed and silent subjects, but of free and peaceful people, whose tears and prayers of affectionate farewell showed that they had already begun to learn that "our flag has not lost its gift of beneficence in its worldwide journey to their shores."

None can foretell the future; but there seems no reasonable cause to doubt that under the policy already effectively inaugurated, the institutions already implanted, and the processes already begun, in the Philippine islands, if these be not repressed and interrupted, the Philippine people will follow in the footsteps of the people of Cuba; that more slowly indeed, because they are not so advanced, yet as surely, they will grow in capacity for self-government and resulting power as they grow in capacity, will come to bear substantially such relations to the people of the United States as do now the people of Cuba, differing in details as conditions and needs differ, but the same in principle and the same in beneficent results.

Canal Problem Is Solved.

In 1800 the project of an isthmian canal stood where it was left by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. For half a century it had halted, with Great Britain resting upon a

joint right of control, and the great undertaking of De Lesseps struggling against the doom of failure imposed by extravagance and corruption. On the 15th of November, 1901, the Hay-Pauncefote treaty with Great Britain relieved the enterprise of the right of British control and left that right exclusively in the United States.

Then followed swiftly the negotiations and protocols with Nicaragua; the isthmian canal act of June 29, 1902; the just agreement with the French canal company to pay them the value of the work they had done; the negotiation and ratification of the treaty with Colombia; the rejection of that treaty by Colombia in violation of our rights and the world's right to the passage of the isthmus; the seizure by Panama of the opportunity to renew her oft-repeated effort to throw off the hateful and oppressive yoke of Colombia and resume the independence which once had been hers, and of which she had been deprived by fraud and force; the success of the revolution; our recognition of the new republic, followed by recognition from substantially all the civilized powers of the world; the treaty with Panama recognizing and confirming our right to construct the canal; the ratification of the treaty by the senate; confirmatory legislation by congress; the payment of the \$50,000,000 to the French company and to Panama; the appointment of the canal commission in accordance with law; and the organization to begin the work.

Honor of Nation Maintained.

The action of the United States at every step has been in accordance with the law of nations, consistent with the principles of justice and honor, in discharge of the trust to build the canal we long since assumed by denying the right of every other power to build it, dictated by a high and useful purpose, for the common benefit of all mankind. That action was wise, considerate, prompt, right

and executive, and how the greatest of constructive nations stands ready and consent to begin and to accomplish the great enterprise which shall realize the dreams of past ages, bind together our Atlantic and Pacific coasts, and open a new highway for the commerce of the orient whose course has controlled the rise and fall of civilizations. Success in that enterprise greatly concerns the credit and honor of the American people, and it is for them to say whether the building of the canal shall be in charge of men who made its building possible or of the weaklings whose incredulous objections would have postponed it for another generation.

Throughout the world the diplomacy of the present administration has made for peace and justice among nations. Clear sighted in purpose and prompt to maintain American interests, it has been sagacious and simple and direct in its methods, and considerate of the rights and of the feelings of others.

Canada Dispute Arbitrated.

Upon our own continent a dispute with Canada over the boundary of Alaska had been growing more acute for thirty years. A multitude of miners swift to defend their own rights by force were locating mining claims under the laws of both countries in the disputed territory. At any moment a fatal strife between Canadian and American miners was liable to begin a conflict in which all British Columbia would be arrayed on one side and all our northwest upon the other. Agreement was impossible. But the Alaskan boundary treaty of Jan. 24, 1903, provided a tribunal for the decision of the controversy; and upon legal proofs and reasoned argument, an appeal has been had from prejudice and passion to judicial judgment; and under the lead of a great chief justice of England, who held the sacred obligations of his judicial office above all other considerations, the dispute has been settled forever and substantially in accordance with the American contention.

Upheld The Hague Tribunal.

In 1900 the first administration of McKinley had played a great part in establishing the Hague tribunal for international arbitration. The prevailing opinion of Europe was incredulous as to the practical utility of the provision, and anticipated a paper tribunal unsought by litigants. It was the example of the United States which set at naught this opinion. The first international treaty taken to The Hague tribunal was under our protocol with Mexico of May 22, 1903, our protest against the rights of the Roman Catholic church in California to a share of the church monies held by the Mexican government before the cession, and known as the pious fund, and the first decision of the tribunal was an award in our favor upon that question.

Venezuela Saved from War.

When in 1893 the failure of Venezuela to pay her just debts led England, Germany, and Italy to warlike measures for the collection of their claims, an appeal by Venezuela to our government resulted in agreement to our arbitration in place of the war, and in a request that our president should act as arbitrator. Again he promoted the authority and prestige of The Hague tribunal and was able to lead all the powers to submit the crucial questions in controversy to the determination of that court. It is due greatly to support by the American government that this agency for peace has disappointed the expectations of its detractors, and by demonstration of practical usefulness has begun a career fraught with possibilities of incalculable benefit to mankind.

On the 11th of April, 1905, was proclaimed another convention between all the great powers agreeing upon more humane rules for the conduct of war; and these in substance incorporated and gave the sanction of the civilized world to the rules drafted by Francis Lieber and approved by Abraham Lincoln for the conduct of the armies of the United States in the field.

Leadership of Nations Gained.

All Americans who desire safe and conservative administration which shall avoid cause of quarrel, all who abhor war, all who long for the perfect sway of the principles of that religion which we all profess, should rejoice that under this republican administration their country has attained a potent leadership among the nations in the cause of peace and international justice.

The respect and moral power thus gained has been exercised in the interests of humanity, where the rules of diplomatic intercourse have made formal intervention impossible. When the Roumanian outrages and when the appalling massacre at Kishineff shocked civilization and filled thousands of our own people with mourning the protest of America was heard through the voice of its government, with full observance of diplomatic rules, but with moral power and effect.

Monroe Doctrine Is Upheld.

We have advanced the authority of the Monroe doctrine. Our adherence to the convention which established The Hague tribunal was accepted by the other powers, with a formal declaration that nothing therein contained should be construed to imply the relinquishment by the United States of its traditional attitude toward purely American questions. The armed demonstration by the European powers against Venezuela was made the occasion for disclaimers to the United States of any intention to seize the territory of Venezuela, recognizing in the most unmistakable way the rights of the United States expressed in the declaration of that traditional policy.

In the meantime, mindful that moral power unsupported by physical strength do not always avail against selfishness and aggression, we have been augmenting the forces which command respect.

Army and Navy Strengthened.

We have brought our navy to a high state of efficiency and have exercised both army and navy in the methods of assault defense. The joint army and navy board has been bringing the two services together in good understanding and the common study of the strategy, the preparation, and the co-operation which will make them effective in time of need. Our ships have been exercised in fleet and squadron movements, have been improved in marksmanship and mobility, and have been constantly tested by use. Since the last national convention met we have completed and added to our navy five battleships, four cruisers, four monitors, thirty-four torpedo destroyers, and torpedo boats, while we have put under construction thirteen battleships and thirteen cruisers.

Four years ago our army numbered over 100,000 men—regulars and volunteers—75 per cent of them in the Philippines and China. Under the operation of statutes limiting the period of service, it was about to lapse back into its old and insufficient number of 47,000, and its old and insufficient organization under the practical control of permanent staff departments at Washington, with the same divisions of counsel and lack of coordinating and directing power at the head, that led to confusion and scandal in the war with Spain. During the last four years the lessons taught by that war have received practical effect.

Sherman's Teachings Respected.

The teachings of Sherman and of Upton have been recalled and respected. Congress has fixed a maximum of the army at 100,000 and a minimum at 60,000, so that maintaining only the minimum in peace, as we now do, when war threatens the president may begin preparations by filling the ranks to the maximum without waiting until after war has begun, as he had to wait in 1898. Permanent staff appointments have been changed to details from the line, with compulsory returns at fixed intervals to service with troops, so that the requirements of the field and the camp rather than the requirements of the office desk shall control the departments of administration and supply.

A corps organization has been provided for our artillery, with a chief of artillery at the head, so that there may be intelligent use of our costly assault defenses. Under the act of Feb. 14, 1905, a general staff has been established, organized to suit American conditions and requirements and adequate for the performance of the long neglected but all important duties of directing military education and training, and applying the most advanced principles of military science to that necessary preparation for war, which is the surest safeguard of peace.

The command of the army now rests where it is placed by the constitution—in the president. His power is exercised through a military chief of staff pledged by the conditions and tenure of his office to confidence and loyalty to his commander. Thus civilian control of the military arm, upon which we must always insist, is reconciled with that military efficiency which can be obtained only under the direction of the trained military expert.

Militia System Is Improved.

Four years ago we were living under an obsolete militia law more than a century old, which Washington, and Jefferson, and Madison, and almost every president since their time, had declared to be worthless. We presented the curious spectacle of a people depending upon a citizen soldiery for protection against aggression, and making practically no provision whatever for training its citizens in the use of warlike weapons or in the elementary duties of the soldier. The mandate of the constitution which required congress to provide for organizing, arming, and disciplining the militia had been left unexecuted.

In default of national provisions, bodies of state troops, created for local purposes and supported at local expense, had grown up throughout the union. Their feelings toward the regular army were rather of distrust and dislike than of comradeship. Their arms, equipment, discipline, organization, and methods of obtaining and accounting for supplies were varied and inconsistent. They were untrained to become a part of any homogeneous force, and their relations to the army of the United States were undefined and conjectural. By the militia act of Jan.

20, 1903, congress performed its duty under the constitution.

Citizens Trained for War.

Leaving these bodies still to perform their duties to the states, it made them the organized militia of the United States. It provided for their conformity in armament, organization, and discipline to the army of the United States; it provided the ways in which, either strictly as militia or as volunteers, they should become an active part of the army when called upon; it provided for their training, instruction, and exercise conjointly with the regular army; it imposed upon the regular army the duty of promoting their efficiency in many ways.

In recognition of the service to the nation which these citizen soldiers would be competent to render, the nation assumed its share of the burden of their armament, their supply, and their training. The workings of this system have already demonstrated, not only that we can have citizens outside of the regular army trained for duty in war but that we can have a body of volunteer officers ready for service, between whom and the officers of the regular army have been created by intimate association and mutual helpfulness those relations of confidence and esteem without which no army can be effective.

Challenge Judgment on Record.

The first administration of McKinley fought and won the war with Spain, put down the insurrection in the Philippines, annexed Hawaii, rescued the legations in Peking, brought Porto Rico into our commercial system, enacted a protective tariff, and established our national currency on the firm foundation of the gold standard by the financial legislation of the Fifty-sixth congress.

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The present administration has reduced taxation, reduced the public debt, reduced the annual interest charge, made effective progress in the regulation of trusts, fostered business, promoted agriculture, built up the navy, reorganized the army, resurrected the militia system, inaugurated a new policy for the preservation and reclamation of public lands given civil government to the Philippines, established the republic of Cuba, bound it to us by ties of gratitude, of commercial interest, and of common defense; swung open the closed gateway of the isthmus, strengthened the Monroe doctrine, ended the Alaskan boundary dispute, protected the integrity of China, opened wider its doors of trade, advanced the principle of arbitration, and promoted peace among the nations.

We challenge judgment upon this record of effective performance in legislation, in execution, and in administration.

More Work Still to Do.

The work is not fully done; policies are not completely wrought out; domestic questions still press continually for solution; other trusts must be regulated; the tariff may presently require revision, and if so should receive it at the hands of the friends and not the enemies of the protective system; the new Philippine government has only begun to develop its plans for the benefit of that long neglected country; our flag floats on the isthmus, but the canal is yet to be built; peace does not yet reign on earth, and considerate firmness, backed by strength, is still needful in diplomacy.

The American people have now to say whether policies shall be reversed, or committed to unfriendly guardians; whether performance, which now proves itself for the benefit and honor of our country, shall be transferred to unknown and perchance to feeble hands.

Eulogizes Murdered President.

No dividing line can be drawn between the epochs of this successful administration. The fatal 16th of September 1901, marked no change of policy, no lower level of achievement. The bullet of the assassin robbed us of the friend we loved; it took away from the people the president of their choice; it deprived civilization of a potent force making always for righteousness and for humanity. But the fabric of free institutions remained unshaken. The government of the people went on. The great party that William McKinley led wrought still in the spirit of his example. His true and loyal successor has been equal to the burden cast upon him. Widely different in temperament and method, he has approved himself of the same elemental virtues—the same fundamental beliefs. With faithful and reverent memory he has executed the purposes and continued unbroken the policy of President McKinley for peace, prosperity, and honor of our

beloved country. And he has met all new occasions with strength and resolution, and far-sighted wisdom.

As we gather in this convention our hearts go back to the friend—the never to be forgotten friend—whom when last we met we acclaimed with one accord as our universal choice to bear a second time the highest honor in the nation's gift; and back still memory goes through many a year of leadership and loyalty.

How wise and how skillful he was! how modest and self-effacing; how deep his insight into the human heart! how swift the intuitions of his sympathy! how compelling the charm of his gracious presence! He was so unselfish, so thoughtful of the happiness of others, so genuine a lover of his country and his kind. And he was the kindest and tenderest friend who ever grasped another's hand. Alas, that his virtues did plead in vain against cruel fate!

Yet we may rejoice that while he lived he was crowned with honor; that the rancor of party strife had ceased; that success in his great tasks, the restoration of peace, the approval of his countrymen, the affection of his friends, gave the last quiet months in his home at Canton repose and content-

Honors Memory of Hanna.

And with McKinley we remember Hanna with affection and sorrow—his great lieutenant. They are together again.

But we turn, as they would have us turn, to the duties of the hour, the hopes of the future; we turn, as they would have us turn, to prepare ourselves for struggle under the same standard borne in other hands by right of true inheritance. Honor, truth, courage, purity of life, domestic virtue, love of country, loyalty to high ideals—all these, combined with active intelligence, with learning, with experience in affairs, with the conclusive proof of competency afforded by wise and conservative administration, by great things already done and great results already achieved—all these we bring to the people with another candidate. Shall not these have honor in our land? Truth, sincerity, courage; these underlie the fabric of our institutions. Upon hypocrisy and sham, upon cunning and false pretense, upon weakness and cowardice, upon arts of the demagogue and the devices of the mere politician, no government can stand. No system of popular government can endure in which the people do not believe and trust.

People in President's Confidence.

Our president has taken the whole people into his confidence. Incapable of deception, he has put aside concealment. Frankly and without reserve he has told them what their government was doing, and the reasons. It is no campaign of appearances upon which we enter, for the people know the good and the bad, the success and failure, to be credited and charged to our account. It is no campaign of sounding words and apocryphal pretenses, for our president has told the people with frankness what he believed and what he intended. He has meant every word he said, and the people have believed every word he said, and with him this convention agrees because every word has been sound republican doctrine.

No people can maintain free government who do not in their hearts value the qualities which have made the present president of the United States conspicuous among the men of his time as a type of noble manhood. Come what may here—come what may in November—God grant that those qualities of brave, true manhood shall have honor throughout America, shall be held for an example in every home, and that the youth of generations to come may grow up to feel that it is better than wealth, or office, or power to have the honesty, the purity, and the courage of Theodore Roosevelt.

PARKER IS MORGAN'S CANDIDATE

John Brisbane Walker and William J. Bryan Deliver Their Opinions.

In his latest "Commoner" Mr. Bryan discusses "The Influences Behind Parker." He introduces the subject with an extract from an address delivered at New York by John Brisbane Walker, editor of the *Cosmopolitan Magazine*. Walker said:

I have it on good authority that seven months ago, in London, the friends of J. Pierpont Morgan were assembling accidentally that a man had been found who would beat Theodore Roosevelt—a man by the name of Parker, a protégé and friend of David B. Hill; and that sufficient money would be spent to overthrow the Democratic Convention, and control the Democratic Convention. I heard of this almost at the time, but like many another at sea, looking at the sky and beholding this tiny cloud, no greater than a man's hand in the political sky, I could not believe that it meant more than an idle boast given forth by the discredited money organizer. If I had reflected on the power of money, if I had reflected upon the vast organization which Wall street has throughout the United States, if I had reflected upon the unscrupulous determination which these men showed in the campaigns of 1896 and 1900, if I had reflected upon the end-

less ramifications through which money can be used as influence, if I had reflected upon the unshaken liberality manifested to those who gobble their tons of millions through government privilege, I could have predicted with certainty just what has come to pass.

But I could not believe that the effrontery of these men would be so great; that they could regard the American people as we are, and that they could hope to stand up and simply by asserting through their powerful press connection that white is black and black is white, and white is black and black is white, repeated ad infinitum, they could hope to make the American people color-blind. But it is one of the peculiarities of the sharp politician, the greedy politician, the unscrupulous politician, the astute politician—to sum up in English as it is spoken in New York, the "peanut politician"—that his views can never in the nature of things extend very far beyond his nose. He has no idea of the breadth of the American continent, he has no utter contempt for the intelligence of the American people, and he thinks that cunning and manipulation can do it all.

And as we have come to have the newspapers discussing as a matter, almost of certainty that the man will be nominated on the Democratic ticket who was announced six months ago in London as Mr. Morgan's candidate to beat Roosevelt, that Republican, who, though pretty certain, is not always to be relied upon by Mr. Morgan when it comes to transactions with the Government, as was Mr. Cleveland in his famous bond deals.

So far as the public has been able to tell, the gentleman is absolutely the equal of four men—Mr. David B. Hill, Mr. August Belmont, Mr. Patrick McCarren and Mr. Francis Lynde Stetson, the well-known lawyer of Mr. Pierpont Morgan who was the intermediary between Mr. Cleveland and Mr. Morgan in those same bond deals.

After publishing this extract, Mr. Bryan proceeds to say:

The editor of *The Commoner* learned something about Judge Parker was Mr. Morgan's candidate. Before the papers began to boom that it was known that he was being discussed in financial circles, and in circles and Mr. Morgan was reported to have declared that a safe and suitable man before the papers began to discuss the possibility of his candidacy. We have had one J. Pierpont Morgan president, and he did the Democratic party more harm than all the Republican Presidents since the war. When the Republicans elect a Wall-street man, the Democrats can denounce him and gain recruits by so doing. When the Democrats are unfortunate enough to have a Wall-street President, they have to either denounce him or apologize for him, and no matter which they do, they have to bear the odium of his administration. No wonder Mr. Cleveland speaks highly of Judge Parker. He is on the inside, and knows that Mr. Parker is satisfactory to Morgan and Belmont and the other financial magnates who ran the Cleveland administration, and yet while it is as plain as day that the Parker boys find its source in Wall street, they see many Democrats who are trying to argue themselves into believing that Judge Parker would be a good man to harmonize on. He has the same environment that Mr. Cleveland had, and it can be set down as a certainty that Wall street always finds out a man's views before it supports him, however much those views may be concealed from the public generally.

BLACK NAMES ROOSEVELT.

Acknowledging with a smile, and just a suggestion of a bow, the cheers which greeted his introduction, ex-Governor Black said:

GENTLEMEN OF THE CONVENTION.—We are here to inaugurate a campaign which seems already to be nearly closed. So wisely have the people voted and watched and tended, there seems little now to do but to measure up the grain. In our ranks reaching from the Maine woods to the Puget Sound are those people and those states which have stood as long together that when great emergencies arise the nation turns instinctively to them. In that column, vast and solid, is a majority so overwhelming that the scattered squads in opposition can hardly raise another army.

"The enemy has neither guns nor ammunition—and if they had, they would use them on each other. Destitute of all the effective weapons of warfare, the only evidence of approaching battle is in the face of a number of their bulletins. There is discord among the generals. There is discord among the privates. Each would fight in his own way, but before assaulting his Republican adversary he would first destroy his own comrades in the adjoining tent. Each believes the weapons chosen by the other are not only wicked but dangerous to the man who carries them. That is true. This is the only war of modern times where one side the boomerang has been substituted for the gun."

SALLIES WIN APPLAUSE.

Each of these trenchant sallies at the discussion in the ranks of the opposition was greeted by a storm of applause. The enthusiasm of the delegates, pent up until the moment when the nomination of Roosevelt stirred a climax to the convention, when ex-Governor Black, had unleashed a cumulative intensity from its regard, and as the speaker gashed with his scalpel again and dissected the Democratic party with a series of remarkable epigrams, wild tumult raged in the hall. The "no" was still off as he continued:

"But whatever fatalities may occur among the discordant hosts now moving on to St. Louis, no harm will come this fall to the American people. There will be no opposition sufficient to raise a conflict. There will be hardly enough for practice."

"There are no Democratic plans for the conduct of the fall campaign. Their zeal is chiefly centered in discussion as to what Thomas Jefferson would do if he were alive. But he is not alive, and but few of his descendants are among the Democratic remnants of to-day. Whatever of wisdom and patriotism emanated from that distinguished man is now represented here in the convention."

TRY ONLY TO BLUNDER.

"It is a sad day for any party when its only means of solving living issues is by guessing at the possible attitude of a statesman who is dead. This condition leaves that party always a beginner and makes every question new. The Democratic party has seldom tried a problem on its own account, and when it has its blunders have been its only monuments, its courage remembered in regret."

"As long as these things are recalled, that party may serve as ballast, but it will never steer the ship. When all the people have forgotten will dawn a golden era in this new Democracy, but the country is not ready yet to place a party in control whose most expressive motto is the cheerless and forgetful. That motto may express contrition, but it does not inspire hope. Neither confidence nor enthusiasm will ever be aroused by any party which enters every campaign uttering the language of the mourner."

"But there is one fundamental plank on which the two great parties are in full agreement. Both believe in the equality of man. The only difference is that the Democratic party would make every man as low as the mouse, while the Republican party

would make every man as high as the best.

"Whatever the Democratic course may be, it will provoke an outside interference now, for the Republican motto is that of the famous general, 'Never interrupt the enemy while he is making a mistake.'"

"In politics, as in other fields, the most impressive argument springs from contrast. Never was there a more striking example of unity than is offered by this assemblage. You are gathered here not as factions torn by discordant views, but moved by one desire and aim, you are here as the chosen representatives of the most enlightened party in the world."

EMPOUSE COMMON CAUSE.

"You meet not as strangers, for no men are strangers who hold the same beliefs and espouse the same cause. The same traditions inspire and the same prophecies exalt you all. Never in our lives did these purposes stand deeper rooted than now. At least two generations have passed away since the origin of that great movement from which sprung the spirit which has been the leading impulse in American politics for half a century. In that movement which was both a creation and an example were those great characters which endowed the Republican party at its birth with the attributes of progress, equality and justice, which have held it to this hour in line with the most enlightened sentiment of mankind."

"From these men we have inherited the desire, and to their memory we owe the revelation that those great themes of governmental and humanity inspired by their patriotism and established by their blood shall remain as the fixed and permanent emblems of their labors, and the abiding signal of the liberty and progress of the race."

"There are many new names in these days, but the Republican party needs no new title. It stands now where it stood at the beginning. Only a memory is needed to tell the sources from which the inspiration of the title flowed. A dreamy memory would be as guilty now as a sleeping sentinel when the enemy is near."

SPONSOR FOR THE RIGHT.

"The name of the Republican party is over every door where a righteous cause was born. Its members have gathered around every movement, however weak, if inspired by high resolves. Its flag for fifty years has been the sign of hope on every spot where liberty was the word. That party needs no new name or new platform to designate its purposes. It is as it has been, equipped, militant and in motion. The problems of every age that age must solve, but never in any enterprise have the American people failed, and never in any crisis has the Republican party failed to capture the confidence and intelligence of the people."

With a yell of delight a venerable war veteran in the gallery opposite the speaker sprung to his feet and waved an American flag over the heads below as Mr. Black launched into a terse exposition of the trust imposed by the people in "the party and the man." The yell caused another uproarious stampede, and Senator Platt, at the head of the New York delegation, feebly fluttered a flag that he snatched from Governor Odell. The demonstration lasted several minutes, Speaker Cannon expanding into an ear-to-ear smile as he surveyed the excited delegates. The orator proceeded:

"The public mind is awake both to its opportunities and its dangers. Never in any era did citizenship mean more than it means to-day in America. Men of sterling character are arraying themselves together with a unanimity seldom seen before. There is no need for groping in the dark, for the light is plain to anyone who will but raise his

CONFIDENCE IN LEADERS.

"The American people believe in a man or party who has convictions, and knows why. They believe that whatever experience has proved it is idle to resist. A wise man is any fool about to die. But there is a wisdom which, with good fortune, may guide the living and the strong. That wisdom springs from wisdom, observation and experience, and, guided by these, this thing is plain to you and to me, and young men may rely upon it that the history and purposes I have described, rising even to the essence and aspirations of patriotism, find their best concrete example in the career and doctrines of the Republican party. But, gentlemen, not alone upon the principles of that party are its members in accord. With the same devotion which has marked their adherence to those principles, magnificent and enduring as they are, they have already singled out the man to bear their standard and to lead the way. No higher badge was ever yet offered, but high as the honor is, the circumstances which surround it make that honor even more profound."

The orator so far was the prelude to one of the most remarkable characterizations of a public man ever uttered from a public platform. Each sentence was epigrammatic, and each contained tribute enough to make any man proud. It stamped the speech as a classic, and stirred the delegates into a frenzy. Cut like a rammer, without a superfluous word, it was the most powerful picture of "Teddy" the fighter, Theodore the statesman and scholar, Roosevelt the leader and patriot, that has ever been painted.

TRIBUTE TO ROOSEVELT.

The cheering was intensified as Mr. Black in well-considered words continued:

"You have come from every state and territory in this vast domain. The country and the towns have vied with each other in sending here their contributions to this splendid throng. Every highway in the land is leading here and crowded by the members of that great party which sees in this splendid city the symbol of its rise and power. Within this unexampled multitude is every rank and condition of freemen, every creed and occupation. But today a single purpose and desire have engaged us all, and from every nook and corner of the country rises a single voice to fill the most exalted office in the world."

"He is no stranger waiting in the shade to be called suddenly into public light. The American people have seen him for many years, and always where the fight was greatest and thickest he was seen. He has been alike conspicuous in the pursuits of peace and in the arduous stress of war. No man now living will forget the spring of 1898, when among all the eager citizens surging to the front as soldiers the man whom this convention has already in its heart was among the first to hear the call and answer his name. Preferring peace but not afraid of war, faithful to every private obligation and yet first to volunteer at the time of national peril, a leader in civil life and yet so quick to comprehend the arts of war that he grew almost in a day to meet the high exactions of command."

YESTER IN DANGER.

"There is nothing which so tests a man as great and unexpected danger. He may pass his life amid ordinary scenes, and what he is or does but few will ever know, but when the crash comes or the flames break out a moment's time will single out a hero in the crowd. A flash of lightning in the night will reveal what years of day-

light have not discovered to the eye. And so the flash of the Spanish war revealed that lofty courage and devotion which the American heart so loves, and which you have met again to decorate and recognize. His qualities do not need to be retailed, for no man in that exalted place since Lincoln

has been better known in every household in the land. He is not conservative, if conservatism means waiting until it is too late.

At this juncture the delegates became almost maddened in their excitement. Moved with one impulse, men leaped to their seats and shouted madly, flouting flags and slapping each other on the shoulder in exuberant delight. The air palpitated with enthusiasm, the yellers shook with the uproar, the spectators joined the delegates in the applause, and back on the platform, "Uncle Joe" cracked his grizzled face again and remarked, with a touch of sarcasm:

"I suppose our friends, the enemy, will call this as quiet as a prayer meeting—perhaps."

DIGNITY THROWN TO WINDS.

Dignity was thrown to the winds. Senator Depew was on one chair, and across the aisle was Senator Culbom, both trying to shatter their lungs. The roof echoed the extravagances. It was enthusiasm unpremeditated and spontaneous.

Several minutes elapsed before the hall quieted enough for for the speaker to continue:

"He is not wise if wisdom is to count a thing a hundred times when once will do. There is no regret so keen in man or country as that which follows an opportunity unembraced. Fortune soars on high on rapid wings, and whoever brings it down must shoot with accuracy and speed. Only a man with steady eye and nerve and courage to pull the trigger brings the largest opportunities to ground.

"He does not always listen well to all the so-called sages speak, but every day at nightfall beholds some record which, if not complete, has at least been pursued with conscious and intrepid courage. He is not a slender flower swaying in the wind, but that heroic flower which is nurtured only by mountains and forest breezes. He spends little time in review, for that he knows can be done by schools. A statesman grappling with the living problems of the hour, he gropes but little in the past. He believes in going ahead. He believes that in shaping the destinies of this great republic hope is a higher impulse than record. He believes that preparation for future triumphs is a more important duty than the inventory of past attainments.

"A profound student of history, he is the greatest history-maker in the world. With the instincts of the scholar, he has yet forced from the scholar's pursuits all those superb qualities which fit him to the last degree for those great world currents now rushing past with larger volume and more portentous aspect than for many years before.

"The fate of nations is still decided by their wars. You may talk of orderly tribunals and learned referees. You may dine

in your schools the gentle praises of the quiet life. You may strike from your books the last note of every martial anthem. And yet in the smoke and thunder will always be the tramp of horses and the signs of approaching hosts. Men may prophesy and women pray, but peace will come here to abide forever on this earth only when the dreams of childhood are the accepted charts to guide the destinies of men.

"Events are numberless and mighty, and no man can tell which wire runs around the world. The nation looking to-day in the quiet of contentment and repose may still be in a deadly circuit and to-morrow writhe in the coils of war. This is the time when great figures must be kept in front. If the pressure is great, the material to resist it must be granite and iron. Whether you wish it or not, America is abroad in the world. Her interests are in every street; her name is on every tongue. Those interests, as great and stupendous, should be trusted only to the care of those whose power and skill and courage have been tested and proved.

TWENTIETH CENTURY TYPE.

"And to the man whom you will choose the highest sense of every nation in the world beholds a man who typifies as no other living American does the spirit and the purposes of the twentieth century. He does not claim to be the Solomon of his time. There may be many things he may not know, but this is sure, that above all things else he stands for progress, courage and fair play, which are the synonyms of the American name.

"There are times when great things are hardly less than destiny; when the elements so come together that they select the agent they will use. Events sometimes select the strongest man, as the lightning goes down the highest rod. And so it is with those events which for many months with unerring strict have led you to a single name which I am chosen only to pronounce.

"Gentlemen, I nominate for President of the United States the highest living type of the youth, the vigor and the promise of a great country and a great age, Theodore Roosevelt of New York."

AN ARTFUL ENEMY.

By far the most dangerous because the most artful enemy of the election of President Roosevelt is the New York Sun. The New York Evening Post is an able but it is an open, ingenuous critic of the administration of President Roosevelt; and so are the New York Times, the Brooklyn Eagle, the Springfield Republican and the Boston Herald; but the Sun always attacks Roosevelt with the weapons used by Gibbon against the claim of miraculous origin for Christianity. Byron describes Gibbon as—

Scarcely a solemn deed with solemn aspect,
The deed or issue; that master spelt.

This is the Sun's method of insidious attack upon President Roosevelt. Under the cover of pretending to be an "independent" paper, the Sun is today by far the ablest because the most artful enemy of Roosevelt's election as President in 1904. Its artfulness is illustrated by a recent article entitled "Democrats Defining Their Objections to Mr. Roosevelt." In this article the Sun carefully sums up the reasons given by the leading Democratic members of Congress why "Roosevelt must be defeated." Representative Williams, of Illinois, charges the President with retaining in office Cabinet Ministers "who are responsible for the malfeasance known to exist in the Postoffice Department, the General Land Office and the Indian Bureau." Mr. Williams further added that Attorney-General Knox recently issued a statement which signified that the trusts had nothing to fear so long as they "stood pat" for the election of the present President to a second term. United States Senator Gorman is quoted as denouncing President Roosevelt as having usurped functions as an executive never intrusted to him by the Constitution.

Senator Gorman has denounced the President as a Caesar who, if a law of Congress does not suit him, changes it by executive order. Gorman says that "the President by executive order is ready to give the old soldiers more money; by executive order he is ready to amend the interstate commerce act; that, while he does not dispute the President's honesty, something more than honesty is needed to qualify for the office of Chief Magistrate." Sena-

tor Carmack, of Tennessee; Senator Mallory, of Florida, and Senator Simmons, of North Carolina, have united in an effort to impeach Mr. Roosevelt's fitness for the post he aims to hold for four years more. These Senators described the President as "a man of spectacular propensities; rash, botheaded and impulsive; disqualified by temperament and character for the exercise of the vast and elastic powers that may be asserted by a President." These Democratic Senators in derogation of President Roosevelt lay particular stress on the following executive acts:

First, his unconstitutional interposition between employers and employed in the anthracite coal strike, an interposition not requested by the Legislature nor by the Governor of Pennsylvania. Secondly, his indefensible determination to promote Dr. Wood to be a Major-General in the Regular Army, with the knowledge that such promotion would cause Wood at so distant day to become practically the head of the military system of the United States. Thirdly, his virtual exercise of the war-making power by the "fifty million order," which, say the Democratic Senators, was an application of force by the United States against Colombia. Fourthly, the promulgation by Executive fiat of the rule that hereafter the age of 42 years shall be adopted as proof, prima facie, that veterans of the Civil War are "disabled" in the meaning of the pension law.

The Sun carefully recites this Democratic bill of particulars in the general indictment of President Roosevelt as a man who suffers from a congenital inability to distinguish the constitutional limitations of a President's powers, and concludes this artful article by saying: "Such are some of the grounds on which leading Democrats are preparing to convince the country that the White House ought to have a new tenant after March 4, 1904." No doubt the Sun has given the Democracy shrewd advice in urging them to make the peculiar, eccentric temperament of President Roosevelt their principal "card" in the next campaign. It is at best a weak card, but it is about the strongest that is contained in their dogeared pack. The eccentric temper of President Roosevelt; his occasional extravagance of impetuous speech, may be worked against him to a trifling extent, but in any large, broad sense President Roosevelt has nothing to fear on this score. The general spirit of his administration, its solid political results up to date, will be the test of measurement applied by the plain people. The mass of the American people are not concerned with the eccentric temper, speech and manners of their President. They will measure President Roosevelt just as they did President Andrew Jackson, by the integrity of his spirit and the substantial fruits of his government, and not at all by his personal temper, manners or speech.

Outside of the rank and file of the Democratic regular Army and the intensely anti-imperialist faction of the New York "Independents," there is no opposition to the election of Roosevelt save that which is recruited from "the wealthy criminal classes of both parties," whose organ, in season and out of season, is sure to be the New York Sun, which wars the Southern Democracy through an able correspondent that they "may retire to their tents if a platform shall be adopted and candidates nominated at St. Louis not 60-

versely representing sound constitutional opinions regarding the right of Congress and the President to interfere with property in the states." The "constitutional opinions" refer to the general views very recently expressed by Justice White in the Northern Securities case, and by Chief Justice Marshall in his Supreme Court opinions, which

ISSUE OF THE COMING CAMPAIGN

Chicago Tribune.

From present indications the Democratic party will make a campaign of opposition and will seek success by endeavoring to point out the defects in the present Administration.

Suppose the Democrats do as they threaten and make Roosevelt the issue. Are the Republicans apt to dodge that issue and seek another one, or will they meet it? Yesterday's keynote speech of Secretary Root indicates that the Republicans will meet the Democrats on the issue of Roosevelt and the Roosevelt Administration.

In the campaign the Roosevelt issue will probably be subdivided in the following manner:

1. Roosevelt's personality.
 - (a) His honesty.
 - (b) His fearlessness.
 - (c) His vitality.
2. The Roosevelt Administration at home.
 - (a) The settlement of the coal strike.
 - (b) Reciprocity with Cuba.
 - (c) The Northern Securities case.
 - (d) The postoffice prosecutions.
 - (e) The increase in the Navy.
 - (f) The extension of self-government in the Philippines.
3. The Roosevelt Administration abroad.
 - (a) The astute management of the Venezuela case, which caused the withdrawal of Great Britain, Germany and Italy from Venezuela and the strengthening of the Monroe Doctrine.
 - (b) The opening of three ports in China and Korea to American trade in the face of the most skillful and adroit diplomacy of Russia, Germany and France.
 - (c) The peaceful settlement of the Alaskan boundary question, the American claim being sustained.
 - (d) The ratification of the Panama Canal treaty and the practical beginning of work on the great ditch.

Since it is probable that the foregoing record will appeal strongly to the gratitude and pride of the average American, the Democrats do not seem to display the greatest political wisdom in choosing it as the issue of the campaign. Perhaps, however, they are making a virtue of necessity, realizing that if they do not voluntarily make the Roosevelt Administration their issue the Republicans will force that issue upon them.

COL. WATTERSON ON HEARST.

Louisville Courier-Journal.

It was safe to assume that the nomination could not be bought, like a bill of goods, directly out of hand—but, in case it could be, as the result of moribund party conditions—an election was out of the question. In the end, Mr. Hearst would have both the outlay and the discredit for his pains. Under the circumstances surrounding him, therefore, what would a sane man, having a fortune and a seat in Congress, but no record in public life that might be clearly called his own, proceed to do to give his unusual opportunities their best fruition? Assuredly, he would not announce himself a candidate for President of the United States and, instead of taking the field himself, sent out a body of fiscal agents to buy up the various state delegations to the National Convention. He would not make public proclamation of his purpose. He would not put his harp on exhibition. Such things indicate the workings of an unsound mind, if not a depraved nature, and those who knew the father and mother of this young man, refuse to believe the son of George and Phoebe Hearst is pervert. Yet in pursuing these phantoms of a disordered fancy, he deliberately invokes the rays of a searchlight into matters, which, however defensible may be the facts, cannot be explained without that which a sensitive and sane man would regard in many ways humiliating. There is bound to be a screw loose somewhere.

The Hearst newspapers, in spite of their grotesque features, have been conducted with a certain logic, if reprehensible force. They preach a certain consistent gospel, and sometimes they preach it with eloquence and power. Unfortunately for Mr. Hearst's pretensions, this gospel is not Democracy. It is Socialism. How much Mr. Hearst has to do with the actual editing, the thinking and the writing, nobody can tell because nobody is permitted to know Mr. Hearst. He is personally a stranger on the floor of the House of which he is a member. He is personally a stranger in the social life and in the busy marts of the city which he calls his home. He has no official training in public affairs; no visible aptitude for political intercourse; no distinct individuality outside his check-book. That such a man should propose himself for President of the United States and spend great sums of money in the work of organizing a campaign resting solely upon money, can be—if not the shrewd advertising scheme of a barnum or a Munyon—the emanation of a disordered mind. Such a bubble was bound to burst. Every one must see that it has burst.

The Courier-Journal, which has only good will, certainly no ill will, for Mr. Hearst, was not at the outset impressed by a movement, of whose impendency it had been long advised, and, as it has progressed, we have seen no reason to change our opinion with regard to it. It never had any real vitality. At one time it looked as though by the aid of Mr. Hearst's money, Mr. Bryan might be able to secure a third of the convention. The most sanguine friends of the Nebraska began to realize that this hope is now quite dissipated. If Mr. Hearst's name goes before the convention and he gets more than a hundred votes we shall be greatly surprised. A vote for Mr. Hearst implies too much and will prove no retroactive to tempt many even of the more insensible and mercenary of those who are in politics for what they expect of its emoluments; because no one can give an intelligent reason why he favors such an applicant for such a place except that he has his money in his

HEREDITARY POLITICAL TRICKERY.

The action of the Democratic National Convention in refusing to include any declaration on the subject of finance in its platform is in line with the historic policy of that party since 1844, when the Democracy elected James K. Polk President with the war-cry of the tariff of 1842, a Whig protective tariff that was very popular. The Democracy was really for free trade, and, as soon as Polk was in the saddle, the free-trade tariff of 1846 was enacted. The Democracy in 1844 threw up its cap before election for the protective tariff of 1842 in order to capture the great State of Pennsylvania. Mr. Buchanan, Polk's Secretary of State, had voted for the tariff of 1842 in the Senate, and Mr. Dallas, Vice-President, had ably upheld the doctrine of protection when a member of the Senate. It was the position of Buchanan and Dallas on the tariff that assured the election of Mr. Polk as President in 1844. But the moment Polk was in the saddle he declared for the Walker free-trade tariff of 1846, and Vice-President Dallas gave his casting vote as Vice-President in favor of a tariff which was utterly odious to Pennsylvania, whose resentment was shown by the fact that, although a Democratic state, she gave her electoral vote to Taylor in 1848.

The history of the Democratic campaign for 1844 shows how the policy of political trickery, expressed in shouting before election for the protective tariff of 1842 and after election for the free-trade "Walker" tariff of 1846, cost the Democracy a severe defeat in 1848.

So in August, 1864, the Democratic party, when it met at Chicago and nominated McClellan, a Union soldier, on a peace-at-any-price platform, most effectually "shot its granny." This National Democratic Convention of 1864, which met August 22, was not unlike the St. Louis Convention in that it included two distinct political factions. It had some genuine War Democrats, like Judge Abbott, of Massachusetts, whose son had fallen in the Wilderness fighting for the flag. It was dominated, however, by the "Copperhead" Democracy, led by Eaton, of Connecticut; Pendleton, Thurman and Vallandigham, of Ohio, and Voorhees and McDonald, of Indiana. Then there was a faction of New York Democrats which included Governor Horatio Seymour, Samuel J. Tilden, August Belmont, Dean Richmond and Sanford E. Church. All of these men were united in opposing war and demanding peace, but they were divided in this respect; they concurred in the demand for an armistice, but made a reservation in favor of continuing the war in the case the insurgents refused to accept it. But the "Copperhead" Vallandigham faction sought to make the declaration against the war so broad and emphatic that neither General McClellan nor any other man who had been identified with the struggle for the Union could become the candidate. The result of the deliberations of this convention was that the extreme peace party carried the platform and the less radical section of the convention secured the nomination of General George B. McClellan as President. This nomination of a Union soldier upon a peace-at-any-price platform obtained such an outburst of indignant

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rebuke from thousands of patriotic Democrats that General McClellan saw the necessity of making his letter of acceptance neutralize the baneful effect of the Democratic platform. General McClellan practically disavowed the platform. He ignored the demand for a cessation of hostilities and the declaration that the war was a failure. But his repudiation of the dangerous and obnoxious propositions of the platform had no effect, because the people felt that its deliberate declarations, and not the individual expressions of the candidate, defined the policy of the party.

The same Democratic tendency to political trickery was evident in 1863, when Horatio Seymour, a Gold Democrat, was nominated on a greenback platform. In 1874 the Democracy nominated Greeley on the plea of "anything to beat Grant." In 1876 Samuel J. Tilden was too able a man to permit of any political trickery. In 1890 Hancock made an adroit and well-nigh successful appeal to the soldier vote of the country. In 1894 the Democracy successfully angled for the civil service reform Republican vote, and by turning George William Curtis, Carl Schurz and Henry Ward Beecher against Blaine elected Cleveland. In 1899 the Democracy won under the battle-cry of "a tariff for revenue only," but the moment Congress was assembled this platform was turned down as promptly by Gorman and the other Democratic protectionists as the tariff of 1842 was by Polk and his Congress in 1846. The Democratic historic methods are not changed. General McClellan in 1864 was obliged to repudiate the Democratic platform in his letter of acceptance, even as Judge Parker is obliged to repudiate the Democratic platform today, even as Polk yelled for the tariff of 1842 and then approved the tariff of 1846. The Democratic party is a party of traditional political trickery, a party of hereditary political craft.

THE NEAT CONFIDENCE GAME.

How the Parker People Put Up the Job and Worked It.

New York Tribune.

The sequence of things is sometimes very instructive when you come deliberately to trace it out afterward. Take these, for instance:

Judge Parker was practically without political record, save that he had twice voted for William J. Bryan.

When he began to be talked of for the Presidency, he persistently and uniformly refused to express himself on any political subject.

The man intrusted with the duty of presenting his name to the convention, in a carefully-prepared speech, said: "If you ask me what his policy will be, if elected, I tell you that it will be that policy which finds expression in the platform of his party. He does not believe that policies should be dictated, but that the sovereignty of the party is in the untrammelled judgment of its members."

In the debate in the platform committee Mr. Bryan exclaimed: "You ought to have a gold platform to go with the gold candidate you are forcing on the country." The man who first appointed Parker Judge, and who organized his forces and led them at St. Louis, David B. Hill, repelled Bryan's charge, saying specifically that he knew nothing as to Judge Parker's financial views and had never asked him. He knew the Judge was a Democrat, and believed the convention could trust him implicitly.

When the gold plank was kicked out of the platform with Hill's assent, and Parker was nominated, nothing was heard from Keopse, but dispatches of congratulation began to pour in upon the nominee of a convention which refused to repudiate its silver pledges of its latest previous platform.

But next, the important papers of the party in New York, The Times, The World, The Sun, etc., indignantly denounced the course of the convention, and said unless Parker repudiated it he was defeated in advance. Simultaneously John B. McDonald, the personal representative of August Belmont, made a hurried visit to Judge Parker.

Then, after some hours of further delay, till the convention was probably on the verge of final adjournment, Judge Parker, safe in possession of the nomination and with the convention powerless to undo its act without ruin, sent his gold dispatch.

Mr. Bryan, rising from his sick bed to meet this new situation, made a dignified comment, the biting truth of which will penetrate the vitals of the Democratic candidacy before the campaign is over. "It is a manly thing for a man to express his opinion before the convention adjourns. It would have been a manlier thing to have expressed it before the convention met."

There was no politer way of admitting that the buccolic statesmen of the South and West were the helpless victims of a neat confidence game as New York ever put up—even under the accomplished leadership of such a guide, philosopher and friend as David B. Hill.

THE PARKER TELEGRAM.

An Account of its Genesis and its Purpose.

New York Press.

The excuse offered by the leading Democratic paper for the spectacle of Judge Parker posing as a gold standard candidate while he stands on the Bryanized Belmont platform, with one leg thrust through the great hole where the money plank ought to be, is that "Parker wrote Hill urging a gold plank, but Hill suppressed the telegram."

Well, the bucco platform was public property for 48 hours before Judge Parker "rose to the occasion." It was formerly reported to the convention BEFORE he was nominated. But he waited to send his telegram till AFTER he was nominated. Why did he wait till AFTER the nomination was safely lodged in the Belmont safe? Why did he send a telegram to Hill to be suppressed? Why did he not send it to the chairman of the Democratic Convention? Why did he not send it to the whole National Democratic Convention, where it could not be suppressed?

Because the whole put-up job of the Belmont syndicate was to get Parker nominated by hook or crook. It could not have held the Bryan forces from rising without a surrender to the silverites on the question of the platform and the money issue. The Belmont-Parker syndicate yielded to the Bryanites everything that could be called a principle. Then, AFTER the platform was made and AFTER the nomination was secured, Judge Parker informed the convention that he was willing to run on such a platform, with such a hole in it, but that personally he "regarded" the gold standard as unalterably established.

Why was there all this hocus-pocus about the thing? Because it was the put-up job of the Belmont syndicate to catch the votes of Silver Democrats with a Bryanized platform and the votes of Gold Democrats with a Belmont candidate!

How easily for Judge Parker to have avoided this compromising of honesty for expediency, this compounding of a moral and political felony, if he had acted BEFORE he was nominated! There was ample time before the reporting of the Bryanized platform and the ballot for the candidate—from Thursday, when the gold standard was abandoned, till Saturday morning, when the nomination was made. But Judge Parker waited virtually till two days AFTER the gold standard was abandoned; he waited till AFTER he had been nominated.

Then he did not say: "Put in an honest money plank or I will get off." He said, in effect: "I am willing to stand on an anti-gold platform, if you are willing to let me, with the understanding that I regard the gold standard as established."

If the whole proceeding had not been a bucco game conceived by the Belmont syndicate and put into execution by the underground tunneler, David B. Hill, who never works in the daylight and never looks a man in the eye, Judge Parker never would have allowed the convention to go into session without full information as to his money views. He would have told the delegates beforehand that he was contracted to his Belmont syndicate for a gold standard; that he wanted a sound money plank to stand on; that he would not stand on any other; that they need not nominate him if they would not give him a square, downright gold standard declaration, because otherwise he would not accept!

Mr. Grover Cleveland made many mistakes when he represented his party, both as a candidate and as the President of the United States. But he was never guilty of anything like the Belmont-Parker performance, and he would

not have been this time. Mr. Cleveland, beyond doubt, would have said: "Give me a gold platform or don't nominate me!" If the convention had nominated him in spite of that warning and given him a Bryanized platform he would have said: "Put a gold plank in there or I will get off the platform." And he would have made them put it in.

But not Parker! Not the candidate who is under contract to the Belmont syndicate and whose moral estate is entrusted to the political management of the head of the midnight, stocking-foot, dark-lantern, velvet-mask gentry. Mr. David Bennett Hill! Judge Parker had voted twice for William J. Bryan and the Free Coinage of Silver, though he professes himself a gold man. For him, for one of such elastic principles on the great questions of the day, it was a very easy step toward further tergiversation to stand on a Bryanized platform for the Silver voters of the Democracy and to stick a gold button on his own coat for the Gold voters of the country, believing today in Gold perhaps as sincerely as when he voted for William J. Bryan and the free coinage of silver at St. Louis Convention, after he was nominated on an anti-gold platform: "I regard the gold standard as firmly established."

WHO PROMPTED PARKER?

The Question of Responsibility for the Sending of Famous Telegram.

From special Kingston (N. Y.) Dispatch to the New York World, Dem.

The chronology of events leading up to the sending of the now famous telegram shows how Judge Parker's decision was reached.

The work of drafting a platform at St. Louis was delegated to a small subcommittee of the committee on resolutions. This subcommittee, of which Hill was a member, decided in the absence of Mr. Bryan, by more than a two-thirds majority, to insert the Williams financial plank, which declared that the great increase in the world's supply of gold had outwitted the money question. This was reported by Hill and Sheehan to Judge Parker, and was declared by him to be acceptable.

At the meeting of the full committee Thursday evening Mr. Bryan began his attack on the money plank and continued speaking and arguing far into the night. It was decided to refer the platform to another special subcommittee, composed of Williams, Hill and Bryan.

The Parker leaders expected Hill to stand with Williams and outvote Bryan, but instead he trimmed and hedged into a compromise with the silver champion and omitted entirely any mention of the money question. This decision was reported by Bryan and Hill to the full committee Friday, where it was eventually approved by a vote of 11 to 11. The convention received the platform Friday night, and rushed it through without debate.

It was during the session of the full committee that Hill, in answer to a taunting question from Bryan, denied knowing anything about Judge Parker's views on the money question. This denial was made after Judge Parker had been communicated with on the subject of the Williams plank, and Mr. Hill knew the result of the communication.

Judge Parker went to bed about 10 o'clock Friday night in ignorance of Mr. Hill's devious statement to Mr. Bryan, and ignorant also of the compromise to which he had entirely sold the financial plank.

Not until Saturday morning, after he had been informed by the reporters of his nomination, did Judge Parker receive the news of the platform adopted.

A bulletin of the action of the convention and the main points of the World's editorial headed "Shall Roosevelt Have a Walkover?" and calling on Judge Parker to send ten words to the chairman of the New York delegation to insure the adoption of a resolution that would make the platform safe and sure, had been telegraphed Friday night to the World's correspondent at Esopus.

At the time the telegram was received, Judge Parker was in bed. The reporter sat on Judge Parker's porch until the Judge appeared, after his swim in the morning, and was first informed by the reporter of his nomination.

Judge Parker then went in the house to dress. He reappeared in riding clothes. In the meantime his saddle horse had been brought around to the door.

The reporters for the Associated Press, Publishers' Press, Evening Journal, Evening Sun and Press were present, and saw the representative of the World hand the telegram, covering several sheets, to Judge Parker.

Judge Parker read it and reread it without comment, except to ask about one indistinct word. Then he put it into the right-hand inside pocket of his coat, and, mounting his horse, rode away alone. This was three hours before the Sheehan telegram was filed at Esopus.

This telegram was the first knowledge Judge Parker had of the dropping of the Williams plank and Mr. Hill's statement to Mr. Bryan.

The Judge thought the matter over on his ride, which lasted an hour, and on his return wrote the Sheehan telegram, which was filed at Esopus at 11:30 A. M.

Final paragraphs of the World's editorial which was telegraphed to Judge Parker:

It is never too late to mend.

At its session today the convention, on a majority vote, adopted the monetary plank reported by the subcommittee and direct that it be made part of the platform.

Ten words from Judge Parker to the chairman of the New York delegation will insure the adoption of a resolution that will make the platform safe and sure.

Will the majority rule? Will the leader lead? Shall the Democratic party have a hopeful fighting chance? Or shall Roosevelt have a walkover? It is for the convention in its last hours to say.

From the Boston Journal, Rep. Having read the World's article, the Judge went on a horseback ride to think it over, and on his return sent the telegram to Mr. Sheehan. Here is the truth of history—on Democratic authority.

Instead of a man of high moral courage and instant action, it exhibits a man who could not form a conception of his duty for the space of 26 hours, and then was goaded to it by the warning that he would lose the election if he did not act.

From the New York Press.

When the gold standard was knocked in the head a plain man would have declared, without waiting for the signing, sealing and delivering of his own nomination: "You must give me an honest platform or I will not stand on it." If by any chance he had been kept in ignorance of facts known to every other citizen in the country, if he had been kept in complete ignorance of them for hours and days after they were public property, a plain man would have telegraphed: "You have nominated me on a dishonest platform. Put an honest plank where you have left the hole in that platform or take me off the ticket!"

It remained for an Esopus hero, a Belmont syndicate demigog, to manifest superhuman qualities by bagging all the game, in disguise and under false colors, and then, after he had got it all, to announce that, though he was on a Bryanized platform, he regarded himself as a gold standard man now (though having voted twice for free silver). If that was satisfactory to his own Belmont syndicate managers! Naturally it was likely to be satisfactory to them when they had put up the job!

"HIS PERSONAL REPRESENTATIVE"

New York Tribune.

In the meeting of the platform committee of the Democratic National Convention on the night of July 7, Mr. Bryan addressed David R. Hill, the manager of the Parker movement, and the following colloquy took place:

"You ought to have a gold platform to go with the gold candidate you are forcing upon the country."

Mr. Hill replied that he knew nothing as to Mr. Parker's monetary views.

"Do you mean to say," demanded the Nebraskan, "that you don't know Judge Parker's financial views?"

"I mean just that," responded Mr. Hill. "You have no knowledge on that subject?"

"None."

"Have never asked him?"

"I have not. I have never sought to secure an expression of his views, and he has never sought to convey them to me. I only know that he is a Democrat and a high-minded and patriotic man, and I believe that he can be trusted implicitly on this, as upon other matters of public policy."

Within 48 hours, on the receipt of Judge Parker's telegram, at a meeting of the Democratic leaders, this same David R. Hill said:

"I am not here to say that the telegram from Judge Parker is a fortunate thing, but I do say that no intelligent delegate or no state delegation voted for Judge Parker without knowing exactly where Judge Parker stood. There is nothing new in Judge Parker's telegram. The fact is that I, as his own state representative, and in a sense his personal representative, fought all night for a financial plank for Judge Parker to stand on, and when granted by the subcommittee I fought another day to keep it."

"It was defeated, and I voted with all the others to make a unanimous report. So every man knows that Judge Parker would stand on a plank of that kind. His nomination is on a platform without it, and there is nothing in the telegram but the expression of that which you all knew he believed."

One of these statements was false and intruded to deceive. Which was it?

After the platform had been adopted, Mr. Hill, in an interview, declared:

"I am perfectly satisfied. Of course there are things I wanted in, and thought should go in, but in politics it is give and take, and I am taking. I should have liked to have seen an expression on the finances in the platform, but the majority thought otherwise, and neither Mr. Bryan's plank nor mine was adopted. You will remember that the New York State Convention made no mention of the financial situation, and so this platform is similar."

Later he said: "Judge Parker will, I believe, make an ideal candidate, and will fit the platform, which is also ideal." These quotations are made from the files of reputable Democratic newspapers of this city.

We are entirely willing to believe that Judge Parker was grossly misrepresented by this, his chosen agent, as also by Mr. Littleton, his chosen orator, and by the New York platform, his chosen declaration of principles, of which, in spite of its studied silence on the money question while Southern and Western delegates were still being hunted, the Evening Post said: "That this sound and vigorous political deliverance had Judge Parker's approval without saying." But if this is true—If Judge Parker was by some mysterious providence struck dumb like Zacharias and was unable to speak about the wrong done him by the New York platform until his nomination should have been performed; if he had no power to communicate his views to Mr. Littleton, who undoubtedly thought he was telling the truth; if he did not say some ten days

before the convention, as Mr. Hill declared to the platform committee in answer to a question about the kind of platform the Democrats should adopt: "I am perfectly willing to leave that to the wisdom of the Democratic party"—certainly now that his mouth is opened and his tongue is loosed he can express his opinion of one who has deceived in his name and can dissociate himself from such a dishonest advocate. Hill has told so many conflicting stories that nobody can tell which was the truth and which was the falsehood. Certain it is that there were some untruths told by Hill in the exploiting of the Parker candidacy. Whatever disabilities the Judge may have labored under hitherto, it is now incumbent upon him to repudiate this trickster and drive him from his presence as a wicked and unfaithful servant, or else take upon himself the burden of the deception. Hill, as his agent, proclaiming himself "his personal representative," has done the dirty work whose dishonorable character is clear on his face. He must either ratify the agent's acts or repudiate the agent. He cannot pose before the public as the innocent victim of Hill's falsehoods and go on in close friendship with Hill.

THE PARKER JUGGLE.

New York Press.

Judge Parker assuredly would have commanded the respect of all honest men had he informed the St. Louis delegates before his nomination that he "regards" the gold standard as permanently established. Conceivably it might have been due him to hail his act as great political courage—for a Democrat of that type. By an imaginative flight some enthusiasts might have pictured him the "conqueror" here, though his manly act left him a scamp on the Convention Hall floor.

But Judge Parker did not act before he was nominated on a Bryanized platform. He waited until after the Bryanized platform was dickered for by his managers, agreed upon, passed and put among the unchangeable archives of the Democratic party; until after, in accordance with that agreement, his nomination was delivered over to his managers; until after the delegates had completed all their work, "clinched" the Belmont-Parker programme. Then, when it was too late to make a change, he sent his telegram, saying he "regards" the gold standard as firmly established.

That is the simple chronological record of the Parker heroism, which was two days behind even manliness and candor and square dealing.

With equal clearness and conviction Mr. William J. Bryan explains the method of the bunco heroism in his formal statement made public yesterday. He says:

I have nothing to withdraw of the things that I have said against the methods pursued to advance my candidacy.

It was a plain and deliberate attempt to deceive the party.

He and his managers adroitly and purposely concealed his position until the delegates had been corralled and the nomination secured.

After he had secured the nomination, he injected his views upon the subject at a time when he could not be taken from the thicket without great demoralization.

The nomination was secured, therefore, by crooked and indefensible methods.

Nevertheless, on top of that statement, Mr. Bryan says he will vote for Judge Parker, because Mr. Bryan believes in following his party, even against conviction. Judge Parker, for gold, voted for Mr. Bryan, for silver; Mr. Bryan, for silver, will vote for Judge Parker, for gold. That is where crooked methods have landed that combination.

But Mr. Bryan has wandered far from an appreciation of the character of the American people if he thinks they will or can compromise with their consciences now when they did not and could not in

1896 and 1898. Democrats who voted for Mr. Bryan in his two campaigns may not, many of them, have believed his judgment was sound. They believed he was sincere and honest. Had they thought, to quote Mr. Bryan's own words, that he was deliberately practicing "crooked and indefensible methods," that he was "adroitly and purposely concealing his position," he would have received hundreds of thousands, perhaps millions, fewer votes even than he did receive. Silver Democrats and Gold Democrats, who hold to honest principles—and, thank God, that is what the majority of either party does!—will not take the Belmont-Parker bunco as something to be followed and worshiped above every question, every principle of rectitude and honor.

The Belmont-Parker organs and managers will never be able to fool the American people into believing that the "crooked and indefensible" methods were not concealed in darkness and executed in fraud. The American people do not slobber over mock heroism and have hysterics over sleight-of-hand performances when the real questions involved are the good name of a party and the honor of the Nation. They will adjudge this miserable trick to be literally what Mr. Bryan says and precisely what it was—"a nomination secured by crooked and indefensible methods," and then sought to be palmed off on the public as a work of heroism by Judge Parker, a phenomenon quite divine.

And knowing as well as Mr. Bryan knows exactly what was done and why it was done, they will give Judge Parker and his managers shorter shrift than they gave Mr. Bryan himself in two successive campaigns, for at least they believe the silver leader, right or wrong in his views, to be frank, manly and honest. But as it is unthinkable that the American people will permit the Presidency of the United States to be made an object of green goods swindling or a promotion jobbery, like a "market rigging" stock fraud, they will deliver a verdict at the polls on election day against this deception, chicanery and dishonesty which will retire the Belmont-Parker methods, "crooked and indefensible," from the great political function of President making for many, many generations!

A number of the Dubois delegates visited Spokane on their return home from the Lewis convention, and here is what the Spokesman Review had to say after its interview with them:

"Triumphantly at their head was ex-State Chairman S. P. Donnelly of Kootenai county, right hand man and sworn friend of Senator Fred T. Dubois and the most uncompromising enemy of the Mormon church in Idaho.

"The action of the state convention in declaring against polygamy and church interference in politics," said Mr. Donnelly, "is the entering wedge of a fight that will rid Idaho of ecclesiastical rule and Mormon dictation. It means that the democratic party has thrown fear and timidity to the winds and has taken a stand for an untrammelled ballot. On the issue which we have made—or rather, which the church made for us—we will carry the state."

"While the Dubois people handled the matter rather gingerly at Lewiston, there is no doubt that, should they carry the legislature, they will make a desperate fight to re-enact the old test oath under which, in territorial and early statehood days, Mormons were disfranchised by the thousands. They did not make a direct statement to that effect

either in the convention or the caucuses that preceded it, but among themselves they made no secret of their intention.

Jackson, Like Bismarck and Napoleon, Believed strongly in the Physical

An American president is no bloodless, tame affair. He selects his own cabinet members, and of his motion may disband them, as did General Jackson. He rules; he is not ruled; he listens, but he decides. His veto is equal to two thirds of congress. He arbitrarily controls two hundred thousand underlings of government who draw an aggregate annual salary of two hundred millions. An English king may hardly name his cook or select his coachman. The president is in absolute command of the army and the navy, and may order them to attack anybody or anything, at home or abroad, and they will obey that order. Legally, he has no power to declare war; but since, in fact, he may provoke it, begin it, and end it, one sees that the constitution, while providing a distinction, has forgotten to provide a difference. Every department of government is under the presidential thumb. He is, if not above, then beyond the law; for the highest court will not issue its writs of summons, subpoena, attachment, mandamus, *quo warranto*, injunction, *certiorari*, or contempt against him. There are but two checks to your president,—public opinion and the congressional power of impeachment. The latter has been resorted to but once, and then it failed. A recital of the things mentioned above can be called valuable only as displaying the freedom of thought and deed wherewith a president is invested, and which permits him, in what is great as well as in what is little, to be ever his true, real self. It should also show that what is called the strength or the weakness of the government, in our own instance, will depend vastly on the inherent strength or weakness of what man happens to be the White House tenant at the time.

Recurring to that comparison of Mr. Roosevelt with General Jackson upon which we originally embarked, we shall find few traits in which they do not correspond. General Jackson, as one may learn from the pages of James Parton, not only stood for the moral and the mental, but he also believed in the physical as implicitly as he believed in the foundations of a house. He realized the world he lived in, and made a cult of force. Not Bismarck, when he spoke of cannon balls as the iron dice of destiny, or when he said that a battle ship is the best ambassador; not Napoleon, when he declared that Providence fights invariably on the side that owns the heaviest artillery, was, more than was General Jackson, the disciple of the physical. And who of to-day does the foregoing more nearly describe than Mr. Roosevelt?

General Jackson was ardent, generous, open, sincere, bold, aggressive, and human; he held that in the drama of government the presidency is not a thinking part; he was virile, not flabby; his blood was hot and red; he loved, he hated, and his friendships were as relentless as his feuds; he refused fear and declined failure; he was nobly ambitious, and wished no one to write his name in snow. Such was General Jackson, and such, in hairline detail, is Mr. Roosevelt; to etch the one is to etch the other.

If Mr. Roosevelt is imitating General Jackson, he has been at the task from his cradle-days. No American man during the last quarter of a century has changed less than Mr. Roosevelt. With him, as it did with General Jackson, abides a genius for displacement. He comes to the fore, he enlists the notice of the audience at an early age, and one reads of him as far rearward as the convention that selected Mr. Garfield. Since that time, he has been known as a member of the New York assembly, chief of the civil service commission, police commissioner, assistant secretary of the Navy, soldier in the field, governor of New York, vice president, and president. No one before was so whisked up the steeps of honor, yet no one else was ever so slightly changed. The Roosevelt of the White House is, word for word and line for line and thought for thought and deed for deed, the same with that Roosevelt who was vice president, governor, soldier, assistant naval secretary, police commissioner, chief of civil service, and state legislator. This same changelessness was the mark primal of General Jackson. The boy Jackson, who, at the age of thirteen, goes poking about to bush-whack a Briton in the Revolutionary War, is identical with the man Jackson who beat the Creeks at the Horseshoe, the English at New Orleans, the Spanish at Pensacola, and John Quincy Adams in their struggle for the presidency.

It might be said, in passing, that this quality of changelessness, as it were, of induration, can not be imitated. One might as well talk of imitating iron or making oneself granite as the mere expression of a wish. Also, this trick of the immutable is the earmark of the congenitally great. Grant had it, who went from low to high; Burr had it, who went from high to low. It is such as Washington and Jefferson and Jackson and Lincoln and Grant and Roosevelt, the rooted and the changeless ones, who perform as snubbing posts of history; it is to them a face ties up, to keep itself from going adrift.

Mr. Roosevelt is on a par with General Jackson in the enemies he invites, and in what those enemies say of him. General Jackson

HE REPILKS TO CHAMP CLARK.

Denies Claim That Democratic Party Is Not for Free Trade.

I do not say that democratic voters are all free traders, but I speak of the party as a party. And I say this in view of the fact that Champ Clark, in his speech as permanent chairman of the last democratic national convention, in charging the republican party with attempting to get votes under false pretenses, used this language:

"One of their false pretenses—the one on which they harp the most this year—is that the democratic party is in favor of free trade. The charge is utterly false. There are individual democrats who are free traders, just as there are individual republicans who are atheists; but it would be precisely as true and fair to denounce the republican party as a party of atheists as to denigrate the democratic party as a party of free trade. It never was a free trade party, and is not now. The man who charges that it is does so because of ignorance or mendacity."

I make the charge, and I am neither ignorant on that subject, nor mendacious, and I have no unkind feeling toward my personal friend, Champ Clark. I assume that Mr. Clark had himself forgotten, and supposed the American people had forgotten, the democratic tariff plank of 1892, which said:

"We denounce republican protection as a fraud and a robbery of the great majority of the American people for the benefit of the few. We declare it to be a fundamental principle of the democratic party that the federal government has no constitutional power to impose and collect tariff duties except for the purpose of revenue only."

Here is a declaration that it is a fundamental principle of the democratic party

that the government has no constitutional right to levy a protective tariff, for a protective tariff, though it may produce a revenue, is not "for the purpose of revenue only." A tariff for revenue only is not a tariff for protection. And I also assume that Mr. Clark did not expect the convention over which he presided to again justify the charge which he pronounces mendacious; but it did. It said:

"We denounce protection as robbery of the many to enrich the few."

I think Mr. Clark would be justified in calling a republican speaker mendacious who would charge that the democratic party is in favor of "robbery of the many to enrich the few." The democratic party ought to stand some place within the ring during a campaign. I am willing that they shall choose their corner, but I do insist that they shall not crawl under the rope without throwing up the sponge. They must either stand for protection or against it. They declared against it in 1892, and they have never recanted or apologized. The American people remember. But if they were forgetful, they still read, and they have read the resuscitation that protection is "robbery of the many to enrich the few." Mr. Clark further said:

"Democrats divide all imports into three classes—necessaries, comforts and luxuries, and contend that the tariff duties should be highest on luxuries, lower on comforts and lowest on none at all on necessaries. They furthermore say that taxes should be uniform on all articles belonging to one class."

MISTAKES OF SENATOR BAILEY.

Answers Texan's Speech at Brooklyn Thursday Night.

Senator Bailey of Texas, another good friend of mine and a splendid fellow, opened the democratic campaign last night in Brooklyn, and said:

was peculiarly offensive to the organized hypocrisy and wealth-made cowardice of his day. There was rife, in the Jacksonian hour,—as plenty, they were, as poets in a country town,—a sort of American of hollow head and hollow chest and hollow heart, whose great concern was for the rights of property rather than for the rights of man. This American, by nature, was a Tory, and would never have signed a Declaration of Independence nor fought at a Bunker Hill. King-fearing, and king-adoring, he would have lived out his snug existence; there would have been no Concord and no Yorktown if their construction had depended upon him. His private walk was emphatic of an inhuman goodness that aimed at respectability rather than at right; he was of utmost use to himself, but of no use to anyone else; his fancy was drab and tearful, while his courage was white. As a rule he had the red-squirrel talent of accumulation, and was rich, albeit he cared as little how he gathered his dollars as does the red squirrel how he gathers his nuts. The big purpose of his life was riches, and so the method of their heaping was respectable, that is, legal, neither the blood of men nor the tears of women nor the wan faces of want-wring children would stay him in their accumulation.

It was people of this description who feared and hated General Jackson, as in this day their descendants fear and hate the name of Roosevelt. The devouring dragon of the Jacksonian age was the iniquitous Biddle Bank. General Jackson destroyed it, as Mr. Roosevelt destroyed the Northern Merger and curbed the villainy of Coal. And, for so coming to the public rescue, those Tories loathed General Jackson as the Tories of to-day loathe Mr. Roosevelt.

Those Tories were, doubtless, honest, and their grandchildren also are, doubtless, honest; the ones but acted and the others but act their natures,—a statement, by the way, which would be as evenly true of rattlesnakes. It was reasonable that they should bewail a Jackson, precisely as it is reasonable that their kind of to-day should bewail a Roosevelt. Weakness shrinks from strength, timidity trembles before courage, and folk who could not shake footstools turn nervous at the nearness of those who might shake thrones. In engaging the enmity of such people, however,—and it is the resemblance we are trailing,—the story of General Jackson is the story of Mr. Roosevelt. Also, it might be stated that while, as says the proverb, you may know a man by the company he keeps, a still more accurate estimate of his character can be arrived at by studying the enemies he has made.

Theodore Roosevelt, Like Jackson, Has the Instinct of Combat and Force

General Jackson was a natural soldier, and the same is true of Mr. Roosevelt. The one is as weapon-wise with sword or knife or gun as was the other. General Jackson had the instinct of combat and was capable of anger. He liked a horse, and his foot felt at home in the stirrup. All these things are descriptive of Mr. Roosevelt. The latter has a leaning toward the gladiator in man. But, if he likes boxers and wrestlers, General Jackson owned to a weakness for cockfights and horse races. Of purest morals, both, it is such as these who pedestal woman and bow before her as before a goddess. And, just as was General Jackson, so is Mr. Roosevelt the symbol of a stark Americanism.

Among Mr. Roosevelt's attributes, and it is one that stood prominently forth in General Jackson, is a native skill for intimacy, and the new acquaintance of yesterday is to-day the old friend. That comes of an inborn fairness,—a generous, confident lucidity of motive which, compounded of courage and truth in even parts, conceals nothing and wipes away suspicion. Friendship commonly is acquaintance plus trust, and the latter is as readily inspired by Mr. Roosevelt as it was by General Jackson.

Men of this sort have no furtivities; they never skulk. They are firm in friendship, fair in war. To come within eyeshot is to know the worst and the best of them; and to know it once is to know it always, since they never vary. It was Drusus, when his architect asked how he would have him build his house, who said, "Build it so that every citizen may behold every action I perform," and the tribune would have found his modern prototypes in Mr. Roosevelt and General Jackson.

There is no accounting for tastes, and there are those who prefer Narcissus to Achilles. Even Byron declared he would sooner be a Brummel than a Bonaparte. So, as we have seen, there lived men, honest though dull, who regarded General Jackson as a menace. When he overthrew the Biddle Bank, they wrung their hands and talked of the disappearance of all that was safe and sane. One may read it in the diary of that American Horace Walpole, Philip Hone. Chinked in between records of dinners and masks and receptions and routs and balls, he sets forth the untamableness of General Jackson.

Philip Hone and the other Tories said that General Jackson was dangerous, as now a certain similar tribe call Mr. Roosevelt dangerous. If one, discarding a spoon, had sipped his soup from

"I do not hesitate a single moment to declare it as my belief that any law that levies a tax not for the purpose of raising a revenue to support the government, but for the purpose of compelling an American citizen to pay more for goods he must buy, is a perversion of governmental power and a downright robbery."

Here I must deny Mr. Bailey's intended inference. The republican party does not levy tariff duties for the purpose of compelling American citizens to pay more for goods. It levies a protective tariff for the purpose of inducing the production, within the United States, of the articles on which the duty is levied. In some instances it may have resulted in increased prices, but the purpose has never been to increase the price. The purpose is to build an industry and furnish employment for labor. The purpose is to make a home market for the product of American labor.

The Dingley tariff, for instance, levies 10 per cent on cut diamonds, and admits uncut diamonds free. Of course, the duty of 10 per cent on cut diamonds increases their price. What is the result? We have 200 men in the United States today cutting diamonds and making from \$20 to \$30 per day. These diamond cutters spend their ten or fifteen million dollars' annual wages in one way or another. I assume that they, like everyone else, spend, in one way or another, most of their income. They may spend it in the purchase of houses, of furniture, of a horse and buggy, and they certainly spend some of it for food and clothes. In so doing they furnish employment for other taxers.

Tariff on Cut Diamonds.

I insist that the protective tariff on cut diamonds has contributed to the American market to the extent of ten or fifteen millions per annum. But it has done violence to Mr. Clark's theory that there should be a uniform duty on luxuries, and if the democratic party be right, it has done violence to the constitution of the United States; for this 10 per cent duty on cut diamonds was not for the purpose of revenue only. It was in part for the purpose of revenue, and in part for the purpose of building an industry, and it has been successful in both.

The republican party believes in a home market. It believes in wages sufficiently high to enable our people to eat three meals per day, sleep between sheets and place a roof, owned or rented, over the babies. In this it has ever been successful. In proof of this I cite the fact, well established by the records, that the American people consume one quarter of the cotton fiber of the world. One twentieth of the people of the world could not consume one quarter of the rayon fiber of the world if they were compelled to patch and darn and mend, and if they did not some times burn to save laundry bills.

Senator Proctor told me not 30 days ago that the Vermont marble works employed several times as much machinery in the marble industry as all the balance



the dish, or if he had slaked his ignorant thirst at a nager bowl, he would have been less tolerable in the polite eyes of Philip Hone than he who had embezzled the deposits of a savings bank. To such as Philip Hone the masculinity and the forceful, shagbark integrity of General Jackson made him dangerous. Perhaps General Jackson's failure to invite the old tufhunter to dinner had somewhat to do with it, as in our day Mr. Roosevelt offends the vanity of sundry railway magnates by compelling them to enter the White House during the same hours and through the same doors as do Messrs. Smith and Jones and Brown and Robinson and others of the common herd. In this hour, as in the time of General Jackson, that president who really practices democracy makes himself to certain eyes a peril and a threat. To the minds of some,—and it sounds like a paradox,—the most dangerous man in a democracy is a democrat.

The race, for ages, has suffered from adjectives. We should have been centuries ahead if, in the beginning, the use of adjectives had been made a capital offense. To say that a man is dangerous is to give only your conclusion. Men don't need guardians; they need historians. Instead of warning a man, you

should point out the lion in the path and let him warn himself. Instead of telling him that a president is dangerous, tell him what there is in that president's record or kind that should teach the fair intelligence to fear from him a public harm. The phrase, the adjective, is the weapon of the second rate, and epithet without evidence is oftener the expression of envy than of any emotion more patriotic.

Vilification is ever found limping in the wake of such as General Jackson and Mr. Roosevelt. Their democracy, their sympathy, the wide-sung humanity of their interest, their lack of an arctic heartlessness and their pride without disdain are one and all disturbing to narrowists with whom heads are but hat blocks, and who, living on the fortunes for which their fathers worked or swindled, sport a monocle, ape the ineffable, peruse Burke's "Peage," and play at caste. Since they know nothing and may think of less, they fall back on an adjective, and declare every man dangerous who has offended by alarming them.

Should you call a president dangerous, as General Jackson was called, and Mr. Roosevelt is called dangerous, and then come to a verbal halt, you infallibly drive one, not in any heat of partisanship, but in a spirit of cold inquiry, to put questions. Why is he dangerous? Is it because he lacks the support of gold-vampires laying their black plans to suck money from the veins of the government? Is it because he will not be managed and man-handled by broken-down hacks of politics? Is it because he prefers truth to intrigue, honor to safe disgrace? Is it because, anywhere and every time, he resents foreign outrage upon an American citizen, even though that citizen be utterly humble and obscure? Is it because he stands among the people, of and for and by them, despising and defying cheapsters who strike at public office in the thought of private gain? Is it because, between Capital and Labor, he aims at even-handed justice for both, and refuses to be bullied by either? If you can answer one of these in the affirmative, the case is made and General Jackson was, as Mr. Roosevelt is, a dangerous man.

When General Jackson went to the defense of New Orleans, he found the town's wealth and aristocracy against him. They liked kings and despised republics. A visiting Frenchman of title murmured against General Jackson, and the soldier marched him into exile with two bayonets at his back. An American aristocrat said that this was an outrage, and the soldier locked him up. An aristocratic judge issued a writ of *habeas corpus*, and the soldier locked up the judge. *Inter arma silent leges*. Then the soldier proceeded to beat Pakenham, and to furnish England with the worst drabbing of her career. General Jackson, when the lawful, conventional road no longer ran in a right direction, pushed down a panel of fence and went cross lots. Thus he invaded Florida, took Pensacola, and hanged Ambrister and Arbuthnot, while Europe shrieked over violated Spanish boundaries and the insult to Red Tape.

"He Was My Kind of a Democrat," said Mr. Roosevelt, with Fervor

Of similar feather is Mr. Roosevelt's policy concerning the Panama Canal. He discovers that Germany, France, Russia, England, and the American transcontinental railways are against him. The temperate zone in every age has bribed the torrid zone, and he finds himself opposed by the sly gold of his foes. When Alexander drew his sword and cut the Gordian knot, it was n't temper, but diplomacy. So it was with Mr. Roosevelt. Through double lines of lies, in the face of bribes, in defiance of Red Tape, he forced the Panama Canal to victory, as on another day General Jackson saved New Orleans, and on still another ended Creek outrages along the Georgia border.

ARE HUNTING FOR AN ISSUE.

Democrats Have No Real Reason for Victory in November.

I never indulge but one criticism of the democratic party. I concede that some of the highest minded, some of the best educated, some of the most patriotic and some of the best men in the world disagree with me politically.

My criticism is this: It seems to me that the leaders of the democratic party are exercising more anxiety to discover an issue on which to win a campaign than in formulating a wise policy for the management of the government after they have won their campaign.

The year 1892 was the most prosperous this country had ever seen. Measured by the amount of business done, measured by the money on deposit in the banks, measured by anything and measured by everything, 1892 was the best year this country had ever seen. Looking for an issue to win a campaign upon, our democratic friends declared protection both unwarranted by the constitution, and vicious.

A generation had grown up under the protective principle and knew nothing of the evils that always have and always will and always must result from a tariff for revenue only. As a matter of political expediency, "Down with high priced living expenses" was not a bad slogan in 1892.

The democratic party was successful at the polls, and they proceeded immediately to make good their promise of giving the people cheaper living expenses. They were successful beyond their most sanguine expectations. Living expenses became so cheap that in all the larger cities the good people organized institutions for the sole purpose of giving away the necessities of life, and a million suffering women and children were daily fed by charity, while a million men walked the streets in vain for a day's work. I need not paint the picture. It is still fresh in the minds of all sane men.

And now we come to the campaign of 1896. During the preceding four years there were many who felt the need of more money, and they thought, perhaps, the free coinage of silver would supply that need. There were many who felt the need of a cheaper dollar, and they thought, perchance, a provision by which the government should coin 50 cents worth of silver bullion into a legal tender dollar, without expense to the owner, might relieve, or, at least, mitigate, their sufferings.

Not Original Doctrine.

This, mark you, was not an original democratic doctrine. It was the doctrine of the populist party. General James R. Weaver of my state had the honor of being a presidential candidate with free coinage of silver as the paramount issue four years prior to the nomination of William Jennings Bryan at Chicago.

But looking for an issue on which a campaign might be won, our democratic friends thought there was nothing more promising than this populist issue, and they held their convention first and took it, put it in their platform and called it Jeffersonian democracy. It was not, for Jefferson is on record in favor of the single gold standard. They said it was Jacksonian democracy. It was not. General Jackson is on record in favor of the single gold standard. But the campaign was fought, and won fortunately for the American people having little else to do, they studied statecraft for 90 days and saved themselves. But I need not detain you. You are all familiar with the picture.

General Jackson sent his fleet into the Mediterranean, and at the muzzle of its guns collected from France seven and a half millions that had been dawdled over and deferred by every president since the days of Jefferson. Mr. Roosevelt sends his fleet into the Mediterranean and rescues from Moorish robbers an American who else might have perished at their hands. Was General Jackson dangerous because he compelled justice at the tardy, shifty fingers of France? Is Mr. Roosevelt dangerous when he forces the release of an American, unlawfully in alien clutches a prisoner? Such things shock a stock market, but do they shock humanity? They excite the hatred of Wall Street, but should they invoke the anger of a reputable Americanism?

Last winter, while in talk with Mr. Roosevelt, I asked who, in his estimation, among the presidents, was the greatest American.

"Lincoln," said he; then, with a sort of fervor, he added:

"Jackson was next.

"He was my kind of democrat," continued Mr. Roosevelt.

"What would have been Jackson's course in this Panama business? Would he force the issue and cut the canal?"

"He would have it cut and corded up before this day next year," said I.

"Precisely!" and Mr. Roosevelt's hand smote the table with such affirmative vigor that it spread visible alarm among the paperweights.

Of late, American ears have been treated, from certain home-made snobs of the sort who think a nod from Europe golden and marry their daughters to counts and dukes and wish they had n't, with the information that we have now become a world power. The phrase is parcel of the cunt of diplomacy which, *par excellence*, is itself the science of flubdub and flapdoodle. The ordinary American, misled by his vain ignorance, would have supposed that we were a world power when we wrested our independence from the strongest nation on the list, or when, one hundred years ago, we beat out piracy in the Mediterranean, or when, in 1812, we compelled England to cease meddling with Yankee ships, or when, in 1822, we faced the so-called Holy Alliance with the Monroe Doctrine and nailed our glove to the gates of Europe, or, eight years later, when we forced France to pay those millions alluded to; wherefore, it is the more kind for those snobs to bring in their correction of these errors, and show us how the thing happened as it were but yesterday. What these weak good people mean is this: It is only of late that European governments, and particularly France and Germany, have

been cleared of a deal of ignorance concerning this country. The thing was put to me by a Scotch gentleman of education and mental depth, whose wisdom had been fed by travel.

"Two things," said he, "have happened to your country in the last handful of years that made and still make a grave impression in Europe."

"What were they?" I asked.

"One was the Spanish-American War," he returned, "and the other is your President Roosevelt." Then he continued, in explanation: "When the trouble with Spain broke out, Europe was either ignorant of or had forgotten the lessons of your Civil War. The wise ones, and especially in Germany and France, argued that your clash with Spain would be a naval war, and were confident that Spain would hold her own. They counted ships and guns; these, after the 'Maine' was sunk, were about equally divided between your country and Spain. As usual with experts of that sort, they made no account of the men behind the guns.

The President Showed Himself Jealous of American Rights and Honor

"It was the night at Santiago that enlightened them. The Americans burned Cervera's Spaniards off the face of the sea in forty minutes. The fight at San Juan Hill was another eye-opener. Europe's 'experts,' looking on, said that the hill could not be won without siege guns. The Americans swarmed up its sides and captured it handily by mob violence. Then it was that Europe took on an expression of gravity and discovered that Americans, as fighting men, are, beyond imagination, cold and fierce and tameless and bold and wise, and not to be lightly defied.

"Then enters upon the scene your President Roosevelt. In divers ways he shows himself very fair, but still very jealous of American honor and American rights abroad. He is known, too, as a man of decision and personal courage,—precisely the stubborn sort that long ago said, 'Millions for defense; not one cent for tribute!' In brief, to a country that was not to be trifled with was added a chief that was not to be trifled with, and the combination that has never failed to invoke European respect was made complete.

NEW YORK, Aug. 23.—(Special.)—The New York Times, Dem., recalling a recent speech of Senator Bailey in which he gave assurances that the Democrats, if in control of the Government, would reduce the tariff but slightly, has this to say editorially:

"The Democrats may as well drop the tariff issue, if they cannot discuss it like men with robust convictions. They will win no votes by paltering with the subject. This is a year for plain speech. Voters of this country are without exception adults. Tariff discussion thus far heard in the campaign seems to have been addressed to nursery audiences.

"Senator Bailey began well, in that part of his Brooklyn speech which he devoted to tariffs. He approved the platform declaration that Dingleyism is 'robbery of many to enrich the few.' For a moment his speech gave promise of having real stuff in it, but the old 'tariff-scare' ghost rose before him, flapping its tattered cerements, and he instantly turned, as all half-hearted tariff talkers have got into the way of turning, and put himself on the defensive.

Where the Speech Slumped.

"From that point on his speech was all apology and appeasement. Don't be alarmed, we shall touch the tariff; but gently. We are not free-traders. There must be thumping big revenue raised, and its chief source must be import duties. It is perfectly well understood that those import duties will protect American manufacturers against their foreign competitors, and even through the old, tiresome, servile, spineless rignarole—Lodge or Aldrich might as well have made the speech.

There is no virtue in the proclamation of a policy invariably accompanied by a neutralizing declaration that you don't mean a word you say. With the perfect frankness of a friend, we must say that was what was the matter with the tariff paragraphs of Judge Parker's speech of acceptance. There was no pledge, no promise, no affirmative declaration of Democratic opposition to the extortion, private favors and public outrages of the Dingley tariff.

Quit Talking or Do Something.

"If the Democrats really intend to do nothing with the tariff, they should quit talking about it. Democratic orators ought to rid themselves of the paralyzing fear that the tariff reform campaign will disturb business.

"Nothing on earth would so help the business of this country as the cutting down of duties that stand in its way."

"Your fleet, lately in the Mediterranean, demanding the release of Perdicaris from those African brigands, was a master stroke. Europe was impressed," she said, "if they will send the most powerful fleet that ever passed Gibraltar to the rescue of one poor obscure citizen, what would they do, or rather what would not they do, if the bone of dispute were really great?"

"And yet," said T, thinking to try my Scotchman's wisdom to a last expression, "and yet is n't that promptitude of resentment likely to precipitate a war, some day?"

"It takes two to make a war," he returned. "Since Santiago I think that very promptness the thing most likely to insure you peace. No one invades or insults a trained fighter, at the top of his strength, when it is known that to do so will mean war to the death. No; I should say that your record plus Roosevelt renders you, of all the nations on the map, the one least likely to become involved in war. If your President were timid, or slow, or wanting in decision, or under the domination of big money interests that would prefer peace with dishonor to war, there are countries over the ocean, notably Germany, that would make you trouble sooner than you think."

So much for an alien view of a "dangerous man." Somewhat in support of my Scotchman's theories is the story of General Jackson's two terms. He was another of gunpowder sort whom a spark of insult would explode. And yet those eight Jacksonian years have never had their match for serene indomitable peace.

There was a secession plot, the vice president at its head, and General Jackson crushed it with a toast.

"THE FEDERAL UNION: IT MUST BE PRESERVED!" said he, and rebellion filtered, secession fell to pieces; for John C. Calhoun and his fellow conspirators knew that General Jackson would fight.

James Buchanan was one of your peaceful presidents; he came from the Quaker State, and there was nothing "dangerous" about him. Therefore his *régime* gave us four of the bloodiest years upon which the sun has ever shone.

It is a pet theory with Mr. Roosevelt that the public ought to keep books on every man. Each citizen, he thinks, should have his account in the communal ledger. He should be credited with what is good and charged with what is bad in his conduct, and the balance, either way, should be his standing. Once it was told in his hearing how a certain gambler, who was locked up in prison, had fought through the Civil War from Bull Run to Appomattox, and made a gallant record.

"Well," said he, thoughtfully, "if I were governor, that fact would tell vastly in his favor."

General Jackson was of a like opinion. A delegation of good people called upon him to urge that General Blank be driven from the army for drunkenness. General Jackson listened in silence, and then, drawing down his shaggy brows, observed:—

"Gentlemen, General Blank shall remain where he is. The gallant services rendered by General Blank in the War of 1812 entitle him, should he see fit, to be drunk for the balance of his life."

WANTS A LARGE AUDIENCE.

"I have come to Chicago because from this point I can reach a large number of voters in the Mississippi Valley and I have expressed a desire to have the ministers attend, because they can and should exert an influence in behalf of honesty and fairness in politics. When, some two years ago, I became satisfied that ex-Senator David B. Hall was planning to be a candidate I pointed out the objections to his candidacy. When the Cleveland boom was launched I pointed out the objections to his candidacy, and now that Mr. Parker seems to be the leading candidate (though not the only candidate) among the reorganizers, I desire to present some reasons why he can not be considered as an available candidate for a Democratic nomination, and I find these reasons not in his personality, but in his position upon public questions. For a year he has been urged to speak out and declare himself upon the important issues of the coming campaign, but he has remained silent.

"If this silence meant that nobody knew his views, those who have been loyal to the party in recent years would stand upon an equal footing with those who deserted, but it is evident now that while to the public generally his views are unknown they are well known to those who are urging his nomination. Whatever doubt may have existed on this subject heretofore has been dispelled by the platform adopted by the New York State convention, and taking this platform as a text I am sanguine enough to believe that I can prove to every unbiased mind that Judge Parker is not a fit man to be nominated either by the Democratic party or by any other party that stands for honesty and fair dealing in politics. I can not hope to convince those who favor deception and fraud in politics, but I am satisfied that we now have evidence sufficient to convict Judge Parker of absolute unfitness for the nomination. If he did not know of the platform in advance, if he did not himself dictate it or agree to it, he has allowed it to go out as his utterance, for the convention was dominated by his friends and adopted a resolution presenting him as the candidate of the State.

"A Spokane paper makes the rather amusing assertion that it has been chosen by Senator Dubois as the medium for promulgating his singular views on Idaho politics, and thereupon requests Senator Heyburn, Congressman French and Mr. Gooding to also adopt its columns for conducting an argument with Dubois. It is hardly likely those gentlemen will see fit to do so, as there are questions of good taste as well as of good policy that will doubtless lead them to conduct their Idaho affairs in Idaho and not in an outside country. It is not even likely they will see fit to conduct such discussion at all, as they have merely to refer to Dubois' own public and official expressions concerning the subject matter upon which he seeks to embroil the people of Idaho.

"In the recent debate in congress concerning the admission of New Mexico and Arizona as states, the question of polygamy was raised and in applying the condition to Idaho Dubois then said, in Congressional Record, senate, page 1729: 'I live among those people; and so far as I know, in Idaho there has not been a polygamous marriage celebrated since that manifesto was issued, and I have yet to find a man in Idaho or anywhere else who will say that a polygamous marriage has been celebrated anywhere since the issuance of that manifesto.' Senator Hale—'Then it must follow that as the years go by and as the older people disappear, polygamy as a practice will be practically removed.' Dubois—'There is no question about it.'

"Are the people of Idaho to blame then if they decline to change as often as Dubois changes or if they refuse to be interested in his private gradages in which they have no interest? The Democratic party, especially, has suffered enough in following his devious trails. The Democratic plurality in this state is normally 5000 and it was at that mark after the silver Republicans had receded and the populists disbanded. In 1888 when it was suspected Mr. Dubois and Governor Hunt had made fellowship with the Coeur d'Alenans, the plurality dropped to 2216. In 1892 when it was known they had made such fellowship even this plurality was wiped out and converted into a Republican plurality of 1822.

"This year Mr. Dubois will lead us into a Republican plurality of 13,000. In Utah he is already assisting the opposition to the Democratic party, delivering the main address at their meeting and doing all he can do to defeat the Democratic ticket; but with his efforts so directed in Utah there is considerable hope for the party there and unless some very encouraging signs fail, with Dubois on the other side Utah will go Democratic and cast its vote in the electoral college for Parker and Davis. Under these circumstances the Republican candidates do not need to hold any argument with him but by just giving him play enough if he does not succeed in wiping out every effective opposition in the state to their policies it will be because his hand has lost its present genius for disintegration and failure."

In a debate in the United States senate, recorded in the Congressional Record, beginning on page 1723 of February 3, 1901, only a little more than a year ago, there appears the following bearing on the polygamy question in Idaho:

Mr. Hale—Then it must follow from that, as the years go by and as the older people disappear, polygamy as a practice will be practically removed.

Mr. Dubois—There is no question about it; and I will say to the senator owing to the active part which we took in the fierce contest in Idaho, I, with others who had made the fight, thought we were justified in making this promise to the Mormon people. We had no authority of law, but we took it upon ourselves to assure them that those older men who were living in the polygamous relation, who had growing families, which they had reared and were rearing before the manifesto was issued, and at a time when they thought they had a right under the constitution to enter the polygamous relation—that those older men and women and their children should not be disturbed; that the polygamous man should be allowed to support his numerous wives and their children. The polygamous relations, of course, should not continue, but we would not compel a man to turn his families adrift. We promised that the older ones, who had contracted those relations before the manifesto was issued, would not be persecuted by the Gentiles; that time would be given for them to pass away, but that the law would be stringently enforced against any polygamous marriages which might be contracted in the future.

Mr. Hale—I can see the force of that generous policy, which was based upon the larger proposition that of getting rid of an undoubted evil, having provided for its disappearance in the near future, for the time you bear with the present condition of those older parties. Under this generous treatment I suppose those older persons in Idaho did not cease the polygamous relations; they supported their wives and their family relations were maintained, but there was no new taking on, and therefore in time polygamy would disappear.

In another place reported in an appendix to the Congressional Record, appears the following from Mr. Dubois:

I say there is no polygamy, and no one contended more vigorously against this tenet and practice of the Mormon church than myself. It was a fierce fight for years, and in my feeble way I did all I could to suppress it, and this helped us to do it.

It is follow and waste of time for Senators to undertake to demonstrate here now that polygamy is a live issue. It is dead, as the senator from Utah, (Mr Rawlins) so well said, and he has spent his life among these people, fighting them hand to hand. If any have suffered on account of their activity in politics, the senator from

Utah is one of them; but, as he says, polygamy is not a living issue. It is dead because of the public sentiment in that country, which has destroyed it.

Now these Mormon people believe what no other people do, and they are as sincere in that as they are in their other beliefs. They believe that the constitution of the United States is a divine instrument. They honestly and thoroughly believe that it comes direct from God. In the early days they believed that under the constitution the United States could not interfere with polygamy, holding to the idea that polygamy was a part of their religion. They contended that the constitution, being a divine instrument, and polygamy being part of their religion it could not be interfered with under our constitution.

I may say that they fought against anti-polygamy laws in all the courts, but when the Supreme Court of the United States declared that an anti-polygamy law was constitutional, then came their manifesto abandoning polygamy.

As one of the representatives of a state where the Mormons are one-fourth of the people, I join with the senator from Utah, who is in part a representative of a state where three-fourths are Mormons, in saying that there is no polygamy, that is new polygamy, in these parts of the country. I doubt if the gentlemen on the other side are sincere in quibbling over this proposition. If they are sincere, let them put the test oath, or provide for it being put into the constitution. No one wants to take it out, but there is no occasion for its enforcement. Should the occasion arise its power would be invoked.

Mr. Beveridge—Will the senator from New York permit me.

Mr. Depew—Certainly.

Mr. Beveridge—Concerning the proposition of the senator from Idaho, it is perhaps proper that I should speak.

I have never questioned the sincerity of a senator upon this floor, and I never expect to do so. If the senator is anxious to have this anti-polygamy clause put on this bill or any bill that may be passed, why does he ask a condition? Why does he say, "I am willing to purchase the attachment of the statehood bill by conceding an anti-polygamy amendment?"

Mr. Dubois—Does the senator wish me to answer him?

Mr. Beveridge—Yes.

Mr. Dubois—For the reason that it is perfectly apparent to everyone that so far as the senator from Indiana is concerned he will never have a vote on the statehood proposition; and I simply took this method of informing him that, in my judgment, we will have a vote on it upon an appropriation bill, and I anticipate it in advance, and say that I am ready for this amendment. I AM NOT ANXIOUS FOR THE AMENDMENT AND DO NOT WANT IT, BECAUSE IT IS NOT NECESSARY. POLYGAMY IS DEAD AND CANNOT BE MADE MORE DEAD.

HORRORS OF POLYGAMY

WILLIAM STALKER TELLS OF PERSECUTION BY MORMONS.

Says His Father Has Been Wrecked —Whipping Post for Children.

LEWISTON, Idaho, Oct. 1.—"Because my father did business with the Gentiles, he has undergone 24 years of the worst persecution ever sustained by a man," declared William Hyde Stalker, son of a polygamous marriage, as he addressed a gathering of voters to-night that filled the district courtroom.

"Talk about church not interfering in private affairs; you should go through what I have. Today my father is completely broken down and walks with two canes. He hates the world, and has nothing to live for. The Mormon church has made him miserable.

"Go through with what I have. He pointed out as the son of a polygamist, as an illegitimate child, I can not aspire to anything. I have followed the plow all day, cursing the time I first saw the light of day. I have experienced the whipping post, where children were beat to insensibility.

"Yet they tell us that the Mormon question is not a live issue in this state. It is the work of the humane society to prevent any more children being brought into the world under such conditions. There are 100 men living in polygamy in Idaho today."

Mr. Stalker read the names of 11 men of Franklin, Idaho, whom he claimed were living in polygamy. They included James G. Leeb, S. B. Parkinson, W. B. Woodward, Bishop Hatch and James Taylor.

Senator Dubois was frequently applauded in his remarks, as was Mr. Stalker. Senator Dubois read from a recent speech by Congressman French praising the republican legislature for being the means of getting two beet sugar factories near Idaho Falls. "Joseph F. Smith, president of the Mormon church, is president of both of those institutions," said Mr. Dubois.

"The republican legislature granted a bounty amounting to \$300,000 a year for sugar beets. It was a truckling sell out to the Mormon church. You people have as much right to a bounty on wheat."

TIt is difficult to describe conditions in Utah and the surrounding country where the Mormons are in great numbers, so that one not familiar could form an adequate idea of the situation. Negro domination in the south would not be tolerated by the white man, and finally the entire north has come to sympathize with the white people of the south in their determination that the black race shall not be supreme in political affairs.

The same principle is involved in the contest which the non-Mormons are making against the political control of the Mormon hierarchy. It is almost impossible for one who has not spent some time among the Mormon people, and who has not studied conditions existing in the Mormon country to appreciate the tremendous power and influence which the leaders of the Mormon church have over their followers in all things.

The Mormon church is a commercial and political organization essentially. The followers, for the most part, are simple minded and industrious people, who are content to live on farms and make out an existence for themselves and families. Their material condition is better than it was before they joined the Mormon church in Sweden, Denmark, Wales, England, southern states or the backwoods of Indiana and Illinois.

The leaders (and by the leaders I mean especially those who control all of the people in spiritual, temporal and political affairs, who are the first presidency and the 12 apostles) are, with rare exceptions, bright and active men of the world, and Americans. They are business men, and manage the church on business principles. Generally, they are well to do, and some of them are rich. They live nicely and mingle with men of the world in high positions on perfectly easy and equal footing.

Church Collects Tithes.

The church collects a tithe from all its members. It teaches constantly that the paying of tithing is a high duty, and that one can not be in good standing in the church unless tithing is paid freely and fully. I think that when a Mormon does not pay his tithing cheerfully he is regarded by the heads of the church as not a very good Mormon.

They pay this tithe, or 10 per cent of all their earnings, either in money or in kind. For instance, if a follower has 10 calves, but no money, he gives to the tithe collector one calf. If he has 10 tons of hay he gives one ton of hay. In a great many instances a poor Mormon has no money, and so gives in kind, no matter whether it is eggs, or butter, or cheese, or chickens, or what not. The tithe collector turns this property over to the proper officers of the church, and the produce is disposed of and goes to the benefit of the church.

If you take into consideration that in addition to this 10 per cent, which every good Mormon must pay to the church, that he is also called upon to pay his ordinary taxes, as a citizen, amounting to 1 or 2 per cent, you can easily see that the rank and file of the Mormon people do not make much progress towards material prosperity.

Tithing at the present time is being freely given, and must amount to something in the neighborhood of \$2,000,000 a year. This tithing is paid to the high officers of the church, and there is never any accounting to anybody for its disposition.

The Mormons are urged to contribute to the building of temples, and apparently enough money for the building of these temples has been collected to have built a great many more than there are.

Zion City Mercantile Institution.

The leaders of the Mormon church are engaged in business enterprises of all descriptions. The Zion City Mercantile Institution is a great business establishment, dealing in all kinds of articles which department stores would carry, and has branches wherever there are Mormons. The Mormons trade with the Z. C. M. I. and it is impossible almost for a non-Mormon to compete with the Z. C. M. I. in a community where the Mormons are in the great majority.

The leaders of the church and those high in its

They are not made presidents of the church and apostles in the church because they are successful business men and because they are presidents and directors of these various business organizations, but they become directors and controllers in these organizations by virtue of being president of the church and apostles after they have been selected as president of the church and apostles.

The constant tendency is to make the church and state one, with the church in control. This has been so completely and ingeniously carried out that it is impossible in any affair, temporal, spiritual or political, to tell where the authority of the church begins or ends. It is impossible to separate the ecclesiastical power of control from the political power of control.

All authority in temporal, spiritual and political affairs unites, and is centered, absolute and binding in the hierarchy.

Organization is Thorough.

The organization of the church is very complete in its arrangement. The power begins with and ends with the hierarchy. Nearly all members of the church are given some office and some responsibility, and there is an opportunity for advancement in all directions, ecclesiastical, temporal and political, if the Mormon is obedient to his leaders and accepts without question their counsel. There are but comparatively few lay members of this church. The smallest officers, such as teachers, are selected by the bishops of the various wards. Commencing with the bishops and going up in ecclesiastical authority, all the officers of the church are appointed with the approval of the president of the church. In other words, the president selects all the responsible officers of the church. Commencing at the lowest of the officers of the church and going up in order to the president himself, you begin with the bishops, bishops of wards—they have jurisdiction over a geographical subdivision, and locally are the recognized heads of the Mormons in that particular locality. They collect the tithing, settle disputes among the Mormons, look after church and secular affairs of the Mormons in their ward. Each bishop has two counselors, selected by himself.

Next above the bishop comes the president of stakes. A stake is a much larger geographical subdivision of territory inhabited by Mormons. The president of the stake has two counselors, also appointed by himself. The president of the stake is the highest authority, locally, in the Mormon church, outside of Utah.

Above the president of stakes are about a dozen other officers, with different designations and different powers, until you come to the 12 apostles, who stand next in authority to the president of the church himself. All of these officers, including the apostles, are appointed directly by the president of the church, without consultation or restraint by any one, or else, as in the case of bishops, they are approved by the president of the church before their selection can be made valid. In the case of a selection of an apostle to fill a vacancy in the apostolic quorum, the theory is that the apostles themselves fill this vacancy, but it is a fact that the president of the church claims that he receives a revelation from God that some certain man shall be selected for this vacant apostleship, and the apostles unhesitatingly accept this revelation, and select the man named by the president of the church.

Ecclesiastical preferment in the church means opportunities for temporal advancement. The business, social and political future of every Mormon depends upon his standing with the church. Every avenue is open to him so long as he implicitly obeys the counsel and does the bidding of the church, while every avenue is closed to him whenever he loses his fellowship in the church. There is nothing left for a Mormon who refuses to obey implicitly whatever policy the church may determine upon except to leave the church entirely and take his chances with the world the same as non-Mormons do. To a Mormon, brought up in the church, to sever the ties which bind him to all his kindred and the associations, teachings and trainings of a lifetime, is well nigh appalling. It means social ostracism. The pretty fiction is given to the Mormon people and the world that all these officers of the Mormon church, including the president himself, must be selected by the people at their various conferences. This they attempt to prove from the fact that at these conferences the names of the first president and the apostles, the seven presidents of seventies, the presidents of stakes and the bishops are submitted to the people, and they are asked to "sustain" them, by holding up their hands. The list includes a great many, of course, and I doubt if a case has ever been known where any one of the 10,000 people gathered in their semiannual conference has risen in his place and objected to "sustaining" any officer submitted to the conference by the subscribers of the church. I doubt if any provision is made in case such a dissent or protest should come. It never was pointed out that any member of the church would question

the direct right of the authorities to select these officers. I imagine that if any one should have the temerity to object to sustaining an officer in the conference for their approval that such a member would have to withdraw his objection or else be disfellow-shipped.

Domination Is Complete.

You can imagine what complete domination the church has over followers, through this power of the president to appoint all the officers of the church, by reflecting on the effect on the appointees their selection by the president of the United States has on them. As a rule, the president selects men to fill the federal offices who have demonstrated their acceptance of the principles of the party, of which the president is the head, and have been zealous in the advocacy of those principles. Whenever a policy for the party is announced by the president of the United States and his close party associates, high in authority, these office-holders immediately become advocates of that policy. When you contemplate that these appointees of the president of the Mormon church are not (as is the case with the president of the United States) confined to one party, but embrace members of all parties, you can have some faint idea of their subserviency.

When you take into account, in addition, that not only political preferment is involved in their acquiescence, but that every opportunity for advancement in all walks of life are dependent on their accepting the decrees of their leaders, you can begin to comprehend the tremendous power, politically, which this hierarchy wields.

The president of the Mormon church, Joseph F. Smith, and the president of the 12 apostles, who is next in line for the presidency of the church, both testified before the senate committee that they were living in open polygamy, in defiance of law, and of the compact which they made with the government when they secured statehood for Utah. More than half of the 12 apostles are admittedly defying the law and the government, in that they are openly living in polygamous relations.

Not One Hand Was Lifted.

On the 6th day of April, 1904, there was a semi-annual conference of the Mormon church at Salt Lake City. There was present in their great tabernacle from 10,000 to 15,000 Mormons, gathered from Colorado, Arizona, New Mexico, Wyoming, Oregon, Nevada, Idaho and other places. Every one of these from 10,000 to 15,000 people know, as well as the people of the United States do, that the leaders of the church are living openly, defiantly and in violation of the laws of the land.

The names of the president of the church and six apostles and hundreds of others, who are living in open violation of the law, were presented to this conference of Mormons, and they were asked to "sustain" them in their high offices, which gives them complete control over the Mormon people. Not one out of that vast body of Mormons refused to hold up his hand or objected in any way to sustaining these leaders of their organization in these high positions.

New polygamous marriages are continually being celebrated in the Mormon church. It has been shown that apostles of the church have entered into or performed these new ceremonies since the manifesto of the church was issued, in which the church agreed solemnly to suspend polygamy.

New Polygamous Marriages.

New polygamous marriages are not entered into so openly as in the days before the manifesto, and a different character of men are now entering into the polygamous relations. Formerly the poor and the ignorant took plural wives the same as those better off and of a higher order of intelligence. Now young men of ability are selected to enter into these relations. The brainy young men of the church are tied irrevocably to the church, and made subservient to it through the polygamous relation. Whenever they contract polygamous marriages they are without the pale of the law, and their only hope of protection is through this powerful church organization. It is a wonderful fact, and has stood forth plainly throughout all the history of the church, that the polygamists occupy the high ecclesiastical and political positions, and are the wealthiest and most powerful members of the organization in all respects. Under the present system polygamous marriages are celebrated secretly, and for the most part in foreign countries or beyond the jurisdiction of the United States. For instance, a young man is to take a plural wife, he gets the consent of the authorities through his bishop, goes with his prospective wife to British Columbia, New Mexico or to some place on the ocean three or four miles beyond the United States coast, where the marriage is celebrated by some authorized officer of the

church. Instead, as in the old days, when polygamy was entered into indiscriminately, now the polygamists are selected, and in this way the practice is more insidious and dangerous than formerly, because a cult and aristocracy of polygamists is being built up within the church. Those in polygamy are in complete control of the organization now, and have ever been, and it is evident that under the system, which they are building up now, they intend always to remain in complete control.

It is much more difficult in these days to prove polygamy or polygamous cohabitation than formerly, because now every means is resorted to to keep the fact concealed that any one has gone into polygamy. There is no record kept anywhere of the plural marriages which any one not a member of the governing body of the church has access to. It is impossible to prove a polygamous marriage, because of the lack of power to prove by the records that a polygamous marriage has been celebrated. When children come as a result of the plural marriages the neighbors readily understand that the polygamous relation is being maintained, and if the power was in the state to punish, convictions could be had for unlawful cohabitation. It would be impossible, however, to prove polygamy. In fact, when the Edmunds law was rigidly enforced, while quite a number of convictions in Utah and Idaho were secured under the provisions of that act for unlawful cohabitation, no convictions for polygamy could be prosecuted successfully, because of the inability on the part of the officers to prove the plural marriage.

A national law, passed by congress and approved by the president, giving to the United States authorities power to prosecute for polygamy, would be ineffective, because there would be no possible way by which a plural marriage could be proved to the satisfaction of any judge or jury. One polygamous marriage entered into now under the system adopted of selecting those who should go into polygamy, with great care, is more dangerous and more inimical, more subversive of law and more degrading to womanhood than 49 such marriages entered into indiscriminately in the past.

Church Wedded to Polygamy.

It is apparent to all close observers that the church does not intend to give up polygamy. It is plain, on the contrary, that they intend to establish it more firmly, and that they will openly proclaim it again as a divine institution, so soon as they think they are in a position to do so.

Their every endeavor is to strengthen their position by extending their political control. They are all powerful in Utah now, and can select all the political officers, including senators and members of congress. They are so strong in Idaho that no one can be elected to the senate or house without their consent. This is almost equally true in Wyoming, and will be absolutely the case within the next year or two. They are becoming a large balance of power in Colorado and Oregon, and when the government irrigation enterprises are developed in Nevada and large tracts of land are opened there for a settlement they can and will easily colonize and control politics in Nevada.

It is the present condition and the future menace, politically, that the non-Mormons of this section especially protest against. The non-Mormons in all this region have the same detestation of polygamy that the balance of the country has, and join with the rest of the United States in their desire to protect and exalt womanhood, and to enforce obedience and respect for the laws of the land. Those who have not come in contact with the organization, however, do not and can not understand the effect on our free institutions and our system of government that this tremendous political power of the Mormon hierarchy means. It is the chief desire of the non-Mormons in this section to make plain this close union of church and state, and to arouse the country, so that through congressional action it will come to our rescue and help us to break it down.

The Case of Roberts.

The lower branch of congress refused a seat to Brigham H. Roberts because he was a self confessed polygamist. Roberts claimed to be a democrat. He was a high official, and is now a high official of the Mormon church, and stands higher in the estimation of that organization than he did before he was deprived of his seat in congress. His highest allegiance then, and his highest allegiance now, is to the Mormon church. Whether he calls himself a democrat or a republican is a mere bagatelle and counts for nothing.

Reed Smoot is not a polygamist, or rather an attempt is made to prove that he is a polygamist. He may be or he may not be. In his case this question does not particularly interest the non-Mormons who live in that section of the country. Reed Smoot is an apostle of the Mormon church. He is one of a body of 11, who, next to the first presidency, and in conjunction with the first presidency, are the controlling authorities of the church in everything, spiritual, temporal and political. He would not have been selected as an apostle unless he was in full accord with the authorities of the church.

As I have indicated, obedience to the leaders, obedience to counsel, subserviency to the ruling authorities of the church is the only sure road to promotion in the church.

Smoot is in Full Accord.

The fact that Reed Smoot was steadily promoted until he was finally selected to be an apostle is proof conclusive that he is in full accord with Joseph F. Smith, Mr. Lyman and his other brother apostles, who, by their own statements and admissions, are openly living in polygamous relations in defiance of the law. In addition to that it is not denied, but on the other

hand it has been sworn to by the president of the church himself, that Reed Smoot had to secure the consent of the president of the church before he could become a candidate for the United States senate. The president of the church gave his consent that Reed Smoot should be a candidate for the United States senate. He did not give his consent that any other person should be a candidate for this high office. This consent was given openly and proclaimed to the people of Utah. There was no other candidate for the United States senate at that election in either party, because it was understood by every man, woman and child in Utah that the president of the church and the authorities of the church having given their consent that Reed Smoot should be a candidate that it was the desire and counsel of the church to the Mormons that Reed Smoot should be elected to the United States senate. No other Mormon dared to announce his candidacy for the United States senate after the church had selected Reed Smoot. It is useless for any non-Mormon to become a candidate against the candidate of the church. Reed Smoot, therefore, is clearly the senator of the Mormon hierarchy, and is unmistakably the representative of all that the Mormon hierarchy stands for, and would do the bidding of the church as a senator. If the directions of the church came in conflict with the duties which he has sworn to perform as a senator of the United States. If Joseph Smith should receive a revelation from God on any subject, this revelation would be binding on Reed Smoot, no matter what relation it might bear to the duties which he has sworn to perform under his oath as United States senator.

Separation of Church and State.

Non-Mormons in this section, where Mormon influence is predominant, believe that the separation of the church from the state, the denial of the right of the church to dictate and control the state politically, and the breaking down of the church hierarchy in political affairs will have more to do with stopping polygamy than any laws which possibly can be framed or enforced against the practice of polygamy. So long as the political power of the church authorities is maintained and exercised, just so long will every avenue for advancement in all lines to the Mormon people be absolutely under the control of the Mormon authorities. Every incentive compels them, therefore, to accept the conclusions and the counsel of their authorities in everything spiritual, temporal and political.

The masses of the Mormon people do not approve of the continuance of polygamy and polygamous relations, nor do they approve of the union of church and state, and the dictation of the church authorities in political matters. These conditions are no more pleasing to them than to the non-Mormons. Their own individual ambition is stifled, and their independence of action in political and temporal affairs is taken away. None would hail with more delight the complete abandonment of polygamy and political control by the leaders than would the great number of followers of these leaders. Their lives are so interwoven with the teachings and doctrines of the church, and they are so dependent in every relation on the church organization, however, that they dread breaking away from it entirely, and rather than do that, with all its attendant consequences, accept present conditions.

If the church authorities would give them absolute freedom of action, and would not, by their example and counsel, teach them obedience to their leaders in political affairs and defiance of the law in respect to polygamy and polygamous cohabitation, the great masses of the Mormon people would quickly put a stop to polygamy and would, with vigor and energy, exercise complete independence in all political matters.

Masses of Mormons Are Sincere.

It is my judgment that the masses of the Mormon people intended to live up to the promises made by their leaders to the government, when statehood for Utah was secured. They believed their leaders were sincere in entering into a compact with the government; that polygamy and polygamous relations should cease, and that the church would not interfere in politics.

It is the constituted authorities of this organization that the government and the states have to contend with, and not the masses of the people.

So long as polygamy and polygamous relations are openly maintained by the leaders of this organization, and so long as the ruling authorities of the church claim and exercise the right to dominate the state politically, just so long will polygamous relations continue, and just so long will the political power of the church authorities be maintained and strengthened. The followers and the great masses of the people will take the example of their leaders, and will be guided by their counsel in all things.

The hopes of the masses of the people are in the power of the general and state government, and in so far as their hopes and wishes will aid, the national and state government will have an ally in the masses of the Mormon people in their endeavor to compel the constituted leaders of the church to obey the laws of the land and to keep the church and state separate.

FRED T. DUBOIS.

Senator Dubois said:

"Mr. Gooding used a subterfuge common among Mormon people. It is an impossibility to obtain a conviction for polygamy in this state. The Mormons have induced politicians to have the word 'unlawful' removed from the statute and have 'lewd' inserted, causing the statute to read 'lewd cohabitation,' instead of 'unlawful cohabitation.'

"The second or third marriages of Mormons are solemnized in the temple, and the only records kept are among officials of the church, others not having access to them. To obtain a conviction evidence must be obtained and this, under the circumstances, cannot be done. If a man lives with a woman not his wife, this is a lewd cohabitation, but if a man lives with three or four women as his wives this is unlawful cohabitation, for which the statute makes no provision.

"My political career ended when I took up this issue. The Mormons will take care of me politically. But the people of Idaho will take care of the cowardly Republican leaders politically."

"I will venture the assertion," said Senator Fred T. Dubois of Idaho at the Hotel Portland yesterday, "that Oregon will have the Mormon question to deal with very soon," says the Portland Oregonian. "It'll go further—she has it today. If you will go through the eastern part of the state, if you will visit Baker City and LaGrande, you will find the Mormons, you will find polygamy. Within a little while you will be fighting this heinous creed in Oregon, as the democrats of Idaho are fighting it today. The Mormons have not abandoned polygamy. Their church is in politics. It has outgrown Utah and is eating its way into every state where it can find a foothold."

"So far," says Senator Dubois, "is Mormonism from being a dead issue in Idaho, that it is the principle issue of the present campaign in that state, which elects a governor and other officials next November."

"In fact, there is no other issue," said the senator. "The republicans deny it spasmodically, but they are fighting the anti-Mormon plank in the democratic platform with all their might and main. In the Oregonian of today, W. H. Borah, who has been and is a republican candidate for the United States senate, says in an interview that Mormonism is not an issue. But, mark you, he talks of nothing else but Mormonism in all his interviews. 'Methinks,' said Shakespeare, 'that the lady doth protest too much.' Mormonism is an issue. The Mormons are in politics. They are stealthy and insidious. They never sleep. They poll 15,000 votes in Idaho and the republican party is truckling to that vote. The democrats are fighting against it and I say again, and every man in Idaho knows it, there is no other issue in Idaho today."

The history of Mormonism in Idaho, as chronicled by Senator Dubois, is about as follows: In 1890 the Mormon church issued a manifesto declaring against plural marriages. Up to that time the question had been a burning one in Idaho, but the manifesto settled it for some years. The Mormons ostensibly abandoned the doctrine of polygamy and all was peace. The church, however, always remained a political unit. The Mormons elected their own people to office and to the legislature. As their strength grew in the legislature, they gradually repealed the statutes prohibiting polygamy and illegal cohabitation.

"Today," said Senator Dubois, "the state of Idaho has no law providing a punishment for polygamy, no law by which adultery may be penalized. It stands alone among all the states of the union. Does this look as though Mormonism were a dead issue or as though polygamy had been abandoned?"

At the state convention held in August the democrats of Idaho inserted the following plank in their platform:

We demand the extermination of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation in the state of Idaho, and the separation of church and state in political affairs. We pledge the democratic party to enact such legislation as will effectively suppress such evils.

This is what is known as the anti-Mormon plank, the necessity for which is denied by the republicans and is sold by them to be merely a gratuitous slap at the Mormons, a class which, they say, is law-abiding and industrious.

"Is there anything wrong about that declaration?" asked Senator Dubois. "If there is no polygamy, will it do any harm? Isn't it what the republican national convention declared for in 1865, when it protested against those twin relics of barbarism, 'polygamy and slavery'? But in Idaho the republicans didn't dare to put any such plank in their platform. The democratic plank may cost the party 15,000 Mormon votes, but it's right and the plank is there to stay. And, I think we'll win on it."

Governor Morrison, the present chief executive of the state, was not renominated by the republicans, and Frank Gooding, a sheepman, is running for the office against the democratic candidate, Henry Heitfeld, a farmer and an ex-United States senator. The result, Senator Dubois says, is in doubt. He makes no extravagant claims, but says merely that the democrats deserve to win and he hopes for success.

"We have at least called the attention of the people to the absence of laws for the punishment of polygamy, unlawful cohabitation and adultery," said the senator. "It seems to me that anyone could draw his own conclusions."

"The special reason for this fight is the activity of the Mormons politically, a thing which has always been the secret of their strength. They vote for candidates on the sole issue of whether they are Mormons or not, that is their chief interest. Two years ago the church sent two apostles, Smith and Casley, from Utah to tell the Mormons of Idaho how to vote. The Mormon church will not stay out of politics because without favorable legislation it can not live. The democrats of Idaho say it must stay out. It is up to Idaho now."

As far as the presidential election is

concerned, Senator Dubois says, Idaho is apathetic.

"There are no live national issues in Idaho. Gooding, a sheepman himself, is making his campaign on the enforcement of the law which says that no sheep shall be permitted to graze within two miles of any ranch. The farmers are demanding this and Gooding is promising to enforce the law. But the democrats of Idaho stand for something. They offer the people something to vote for. They have an issue, a burning issue and they have not dodged it. Everybody knows where the party stands on Mormonism."

THE DUBOIS CLACKERS

To the Editor: Just to show the political character of the gentlemen who are now directing the destinies of the democratic party in Idaho, the following categorical statement of past party affiliations may prove of interest:

Senator Fred T. Dubois—Republican; anti-Mormon; silver republican; fusionist; democrat; "American."

Charles E. Arney—Secretary to Senator Dubois and secretary of the democratic state central committee; republican; anti-mormon; silver republican; fusionist, democrat, "American."

St. P. Donnelly, ex-chairman democratic central committee, republican, silver republican, fusionist; democrat; "American."

C. J. Bassett, ex-secretary of state—Ex-Secretary republican state central committee; Mormon; Jack Mormon; republican; anti-Mormon; silver republican; fusionist; democrat; "American."

P. M. Davis, ex-state insurance commissioner—Populist; "American."

C. Harvey Jackson, chairman democratic state central committee—Tammany democrat from New York City, and the only one in high democratic circles who is not a political renegade from some other party.

Fine showing, isn't it? One calculated to arouse unbounded enthusiasm among real democrats who still believe the fundamental doctrines of their party as enunciated by great men like Jefferson, Jackson and Calhoun.

Let the truth be understood. This is a fight being made under the guise of democracy by Dubois and his committee without a thought or reference to any tenet of the doctrines of the party, national or local. This fight is being waged feebly to be sure, solely in the interests of one man who desires re-election to the United States Senate and the scheme is so patent that a blind man might read it. It is simply the attempted revival of a religious question finally settled fourteen years ago and dead ever since then.

MORMONISM THE ISSUE

SENATOR FRED T. DUBOIS SAYS THE CHURCH IS IN POLITICS.

He Says Platform of Idaho Democrats Asks Only What is Right, and That Polygamy Still Lives.

"I will venture the assertion," said Senator Fred T. Dubois of Idaho at the Hotel Portland yesterday, "that Oregon will have the Mormon question to deal with very soon. I'll go further—she has it today. If you will go through the Eastern part of the state, if you will visit Baker City and LaGrande, you will find the Mormons, you will find polygamy. Within a little while you will be fighting the invidious crowd in Oregon—as the Democrats of Idaho are fighting it today. The Mormons have not abandoned polygamy. Their church is in politics. It has outgrown Utah and is sailing its way into every State where it can find a foothold."

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"In fact, there is no other issue," said the Senator. "The Republicans deny it spasmodically, but they are fighting the anti-Mormon plank in the Democratic platform with all their might and main. In The Oregonian of today, W. E. Barish, who has been and is a Republican candidate for the United States Senate, says in an interview that Mormonism is not an issue. But, mark you, he talks of nothing else but Mormonism in all his interviews. 'Methinks,' said Shakespeare, 'that the lady doth protest too much.' Mormonism is an issue. The Mormons are in politics. They are stealthy and insidious. They never sleep. They poll 15,000 votes in Idaho and the Republican party is trucking to that vote. The Democrats are fighting against it and I say again, and every man in Idaho knows it, there is no other issue in Idaho today."

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DEMOCRATS AND THE TRUSTS.

New York Press.

In these days the New York World is greatly alarmed over the "uneasiness" of President Roosevelt. He is not to be trusted at the head of the administrative affairs of the Nation, the Democratic organ daily asserts with much vigor, so the voters of the United States should turn the Government over to Judge Parker and the Democratic party.

At the same time that it declares against the "uneasiness" of President Roosevelt this Democratic organ warns its party that the great issue of the day is the control of combinations acting in restraint of trade. So important is this consideration, in the judgment of the World, that as often as it demands the defeat of Mr. Roosevelt it demands the withdrawal from the management of Judge Parker's candidacy of August Belmont, of the famous secret gold bond syndicate, and Pat McCarron, legislative agent of the sugar trust and the Standard Oil.

Yet as recently as immediately after the decision of the United States Supreme Court against the Northern Pa-

acific merger this same organ, which now urges the defeat of President Roosevelt and the Republican party as "unsafe"—this same New York World, in a burst of honest enthusiasm over Mr. Roosevelt's great service to the American people in checking the illegal and oppressive acts of the trust power, printed the following editorial as a conspicuous "double-headed leader":

FACTS.

1. The Anti-Trust law was framed by a Republican, was passed by a Republican House and a Republican Senate, was signed by a Republican President.

2. The law remained a dead letter on the statute books during the entire second term of Grover Cleveland, a Democratic President. Through those four years of Democratic Administration all appeals and all efforts of the World to have the law enforced were met with sneers, jeers and open contempt from a Democratic Attorney-General, Richard Olney, who protested that the law was unconstitutional, and who would do nothing toward prosecuting violators of it.

3. The first effort to enforce the law was made by Theodore Roosevelt, a Republican President. The first Attorney-General to vigorously prosecute offenders and to test the law was a Republican Attorney-General, Philander C. Knox.

4. The decision of the Supreme Court of the United States, given as a finality from which there is no appeal, upholding the law as perfectly constitutional and absolutely inapplicable in every respect, was due to five judges, every one of whom is a Republican.

5. The dissenting minority of the Court included every Democratic Judge of that tribunal to wit: Chief Justice Fuller of Illinois, Mr. Justice White, of Louisiana, and Mr. Justice Peckham, of New York. All these distinguished Democrats not only voted against the constitutionality of the law, but denounced it as a danger to the Republic.

6. Coffer these circumstances, it here will seem probable that the Democrats can make great capital in seeking to monopolize the anti-trust issue, and charging the Republicans with the crime of being owned body and soul by the trusts.

It is just as well to record some plain truths, however unpleasant or surprising.

It appears, then, that retelling facts and speaking the truth the New York World finds both President Roosevelt and the Republican party not only safe, but of indispensable value to the people of the United States, the grave neglect, the great danger, the ominous threat lying in the Democratic party.

But in campaigning, forgetting truths and suppressing facts, the chief peril must be taken to exist in the Republican party and the Republican President that alone have done anything toward making anti-trust laws, prosecuting violators of them and upholding those laws. Possibly Democratic organs, swayed by different motives in such opposite directions, may manage to squash their consciences. We suspect they will discover that the moral fiber of many of their readers is of sounder quality. We are dead sure that the whole American people, who are to determine this election, will decide that what is right TO BE GOVERNED BY AND TO LIVE BY is right to campaign and to vote by!

Senator Dubois was followed by W. H. Stalker. Mr. Stalker reviewed his life as a boy in southern Utah where he was born, the eldest son of a polygamist Mormon's second wife.

He said the Mormon church attempted to ruin his father commercially because he was forced to seek credit with Jewish business men of his native town after being refused credit by the Mormon store; that he hated his half-brothers, and he consumed most of the time by reading from the Book of Mormon showing that the Mormons would desert their creed if they deserted polygamy, which was its corner stone. Stalker made the statement that Mormon women feared being murdered if they did not live in polygamy and that

cutting their throats was a favorite method of getting rid of those women who made any objection to being a plural wife.

OUR "DANGEROUS MAN."

It is silly—the assertion that Theodore Roosevelt is a "dangerous" man; that he is hotterous, headstrong, lawless; may compromise the country and plunge it into war; that he usurps the powers and functions of Congress, is impatient of constitutional restraints, and disposed to substitute his own will for rules of order, law and government. This sort of description might characterize a man like President Jackson, whom all Democrats worship or revere. It is wholly foreign to President Roosevelt—a man of strong character, indeed, but a man of large and varied and general culture, a man of energetic nature, in full harmony with the best thought and feeling and action of his time. He is a man, but no manikin. He knows his country; he is a student of its history and has written admirable books upon it; he is a representative of its best energies and aspirations. None better. He comes of stock which ever has stood for order and law and constitutional government, and which has had the courage and vigor to impress its purposes and its character upon the history of the world.

But he is no puppet of politicians. Nobody uses him. He doesn't send delegations to conventions to play for him in secrecy and higger-mugger, awaiting the "psychological moment" of "the game" when it may be "safe" to speak. Nobody is left in doubt as to how he stands on any important question. He has a mind strong and bold, independent and decisive. Do you admire a mind of that description, or do you like one of studied concealment and creeping subtlety, bound in party slavery heretofore to wrong policies, but now afraid to speak out, lest its real principles be known?

What are the charges against Theodore Roosevelt? In what has he shown himself "violent and headstrong"? Is he coarse, cantankerous and quarrelsome,

as Jackson was; a duelist as Jackson was; defying courts, law and authority, as Jackson did; hanging men brutally, as Jackson did, and threatening openly to hang eminent men of the country who oppose him, as Jackson did? Has he strained the Constitution of the country and the law of National and international commerce to the uttermost, as Jefferson did by the embargo act? Has he forced the country into foreign war, as Madison did, with Jefferson's advice and support? No; he has done none of these things, nor others like them. What, then, has he done, on which the charge is based that he is a headstrong and dangerous man, and a usurper of authority?

The specific allegations are these: His intervention in the coal strike, the course pursued toward Colombia in the Panama matter, and his order as to pensions. This comprises the list—for the real grievance of all grievances against him, on which all this opposition arises, cannot be avowed. That was his intervention in the Northern Securities case. In that he simply executed the law; but the act has inspired the chief part of this opposition; and the ruling jugglers, hurt by the act and seeking revenge, supply the influence and money to support the attack.

In the anthracite coal strike he simply requested the coal masters to come to an agreement with their workmen. He usurped no authority in asking the coal operators and the coal miners to submit their controversy to arbitration. His interposition was in behalf of the public—the consumers of coal—as well as of the parties belligerent. What was wrong about it? He acted in the matter wholly as an individual, and he rendered the country and all parties concerned a real service, which was universally recognized at the time as highly commendable. The objection came later, for political fashion. In the Panama matter he acted entirely within law and treaty, and for the highest interests of the United States. Our Government had nothing whatever to do with the secession of Panama. Critical and hostile inquiry, through the Senate of the United States, could discover no breach of international obligation. For under treaty with Colombia we had a right and it was our duty to preserve the peace on the Isthmus, for commerce in transit. We had long kept a force there for that purpose. When Panama seceded, President Roosevelt merely preserved the peace, and let things take their course. The independence of Panama was soon recognized, not only by the United States, but by all the important nations of the earth; and President Roosevelt made a treaty with Panama, negotiating for the right to build the ship canal, with stipulation for payment to Panama of the full sum for the right that was to have been paid to Colombia. Nothing wrong about it whatever; and the whole negotiation and transaction was ratified, with the help of Democratic votes in the Senate, and couldn't have been ratified without them. As to the pension order, it was just as far from being an act of usurpation. It merely gave further application to previous rules of the Pension Office—following exactly an order made by President Cleveland; so if there was usurpation there was Democratic precedent for it. But will the critics say the order ought to be

reversed? Would they have Congress reverse it? They haven't dared and wouldn't dare to touch it. The objection is for a party purpose only.

This list includes all the acts of "usurpation" alleged against President Roosevelt. It is the record on which he is proclaimed "a dangerous man, seeking to subvert the Constitution, acting in defiance of law, and threatening the peace and liberties of the country." This matter of constitutional liberty is a point on which the Democratic party, when out of power—as it usually is and ever ought to be—always "comes out strong." Its most violent accusa-

tions were against Abraham Lincoln. It roars so gently, now, by comparison, that Theodore Roosevelt ought to be able to abide it.

BORAH EXPLAINS HIS POSITION

STATEMENT CALLED FORTH BY
THE COMMUNICATION FROM
DETECTIVE OWEN.

Insists That the Complaint Must Be
Made by Dubois to Come Within the
Scope of the Challenge—Would Con-
struct Marriages Since the Manifesto
as Proof of Insincerity.

In the Spokane Review W. E. Borah
makes rejoinder to the communication
sent him by C. M. Owen on the ques-
tion of the practice of polygamy in
this state. The paper says:

W. E. Borah of Boise, Idaho, rival
of Fred Dubois for election to the
United States senate, gave out a spe-
cially prepared statement yesterday,
in which he tells why he declines to
prosecute polygamists in Idaho on
complaint of Charles Mostyn Owen.

His statement was the result of an
open letter addressed to him by Mr.
Owen, a detective working in the
Smoot case, who furnishes sworn com-
plaints against 38 Idahoans whom he
charges with polygamy. Mr. Owen
says: "I recently learned of your own
challenge that if any sworn charges
should be filed you would prosecute
the same to conviction."

The speech when Mr. Borah prom-
ised to prosecute was made at Wal-
lace, Idaho, October 18, when he said,
according to the report printed in the
Spokesman-Review: "If Senator Du-
bois will file a complaint against one
single man out of the several hundred
he claims are practicing polygamy in
the state I will prosecute the man to
conviction."

Mr. Borah was in Spokane yesterday
en route to Lewiston, Idaho. His pre-
pared statement follows:

What Mr. Borah Says.

"The paper has not gotten exactly the
nature of my statements in public in
regard to these matters, although they
have been practically correct.

"Senator Dubois has stated at differ-
ent times that he realized that the rais-
ing of this Mormon question would re-
flect him from politics. In other words
that the Mormons would defeat him,
leaving the inference that he is actu-
ated by the spirit of martyrdom in this
fight and not from any selfish purpose.
Upon the other hand he charged pub-
licly, so I am told, and it was practical-
ly so printed, that I was a moral cow-
ard and was bartering with the Mor-
mon people for political support in my
campaign for the United States sen-

ate. Hence to test his sincerity and
possibly to throw some light upon my
motives, I said, first, if Senator Dubois
will enter into a solemn agreement not
to be a candidate for or to accept the
office of United States senator, or any
other political office, appointive or oth-
erwise, for the next five years, I would
join with him in that agreement and
we would then be prepared to go before
the people and present this matter and
discuss these questions relieved of any
charge of selfish motives. I never sup-
posed for a moment but what the sen-
ator would accept the challenge and I
was fully prepared, as I am now, to
fulfill my part."

Thinks It Is False.

"Senator Dubois has declared, as I
understand, that there are parties liv-
ing in polygamy in the state of Idaho
by virtue of plural marriages contract-
ed since October 6, 1890, the date of the
manifesto upon the part of the Mor-
mon church renouncing polygamy. It
is my deliberate and candid opinion,
after a most thorough investigation,
that this is not true; that the only
cases of plural marriages are those
which took place prior to the manifes-
to. These cases are aside from this
controversy and can throw no light
upon the situation. They have been
known to exist, and by no one better
than the senator himself. Not only
this, but they were forgiven by com-
mon consent by all who had to do
with the matter, from President Har-
rison to Senator Dubois himself, who,
speaking in regard to this particular
matter said in the senate, February
5, 1893:

What Dubois Said.

"I with others, who had made the
fight, thought we were justified in
making this promise to the Mormon
people. We had no authority of law,
but we took it upon ourselves to as-
sure them that those older men who
were living in a polygamous relation,
who had growing families which they
had reared and were rearing before the
manifesto was issued and at a time
when they thought they had a right
under the constitution to enter the
polygamous relation—that those older
men and women and their children
should not be disturbed."

Why Borah Challenged.

"He has also stated in this campaign
that there are no laws by which these
offenses which he charges to exist can
be punished, hence I said: 'If Senator
Dubois will file a complaint against
any one or more living in polygamy in
the state of Idaho by reason of mar-
riages contracted since the manifesto,
in a court of competent jurisdiction
and furnish me the evidence, that I
would agree to find the court in which
to try the case, the law under which
punishment could be had and assist in
the prosecution without charge or cost
to any one.'"

"Now, I mean precisely what I say.
These were not impulsive challenges
in the heat of the campaign. I told
my friends many weeks ago what I
was willing to do and am ready. I
assume that Senator Dubois will ac-
cept.

Puts It Up to Dubois.

"As to the Owen telegram, the first
I saw or heard of it was in your val-
uable paper this morning. I do not
know Mr. Owen. I never heard of
him before, but it is clear from his
own statement that, like Stalker, he
is an importation. He may be re-
sponsible, or he may not be, but I
know that Senator Dubois is, and my
challenge was to him and not to
Stalker or any one else. Like our
illustrious leader, Mr. Roosevelt, I am
after big game or none, and when the
senator himself files the complaint and
takes upon himself the responsibility
and furnishes the evidence, then my
work begins. Besides, Mr. Owen could
not comply with the first challenge,
which must be accepted in connection
with the second. These importations
and dodging behind other people are a
little bit significant.

"Now, in 1892 I offered a resolution
in the Republican convention at Bos-
ton, pledging the Republican party to
the enfranchisement of the Mormon
people. I did so on the ground, as
I then stated, that I believed that they
were sincere in the matter of the
cessance of the manifesto, and I still
believe they were and are. I believe,
as Senator Dubois said in the United
States senate a little over a year ago,
that 'polygamy is dead and can not be
made more dead,' but when I have the
evidence that they are not sincere and
are living in polygamous relations con-
tracted since that manifesto, then I am
willing to assist in upholding the laws

of the state, regardless of whom it
touches. But so long as I believe that
the manifesto is being complied with
in the spirit in which it was interpreted
by all, I propose to stand firmly by the
position which I then took and have
ever since held, regardless of what the
political results may be to me. These
people are part of our citizens, they
help to make up the wealth of the
state, and while they must obey the
law they shall also be protected under
the law.

Same Old List.

"As to the names of the parties
mentioned in Owen's telegram, it is
the old list which they have been
hawking about for months. There is
not a single new name in it. I pre-
sume every leading Republican has
seen that list many times and knows
where it came from. All of the parties
therein named, so far as I have been
able to investigate, are instances of
marriage prior to the manifesto. If
there are any exceptions to the rule,
then if Senator Dubois has any con-
fidence whatever in the statement of
this detective, he is certainly prepared
to proceed. As to some of the names
the statement of Owen is false, in my
judgment, but I say again the courts
are open, the laws are upon the statute
books and punishment can be had. The
Republican party, too, has furnished
these laws. From the first act which
bore the name of Lincoln, down to the
Edmonds act, the party has been quick
to legislate against polygamy, and will
today be quick to punish if the offense
exists, which I do not believe."

BORAH SENDS FORTH ANOTHER CHALLENGE

Asks Clay and Helffeld to take Dubois' Place as Complaining Witness — Former's Experience with Anarchist Burson.

A dispatch to the Lewiston Tribune from Nez Perce says: Hon. W. K. Borah of Boise addressed a large audience here tonight. The meeting was one of the most successful held here this campaign. The speaker spoke at length on state issues, and referring to his challenge to Dubois to make a complaint against some polygamist and he (Borah) would prosecute the case, the speaker also tonight issued a similar challenge to ex-Senator Helffeld, Democratic candidate for governor, and B. F. Clay, candidate for congress. The challenge tonight to the two latter was the result of the criticisms made by Helffeld and Clay regarding Borah's challenge to Dubois. In the latter challenge Borah had also asked Dubois to withdraw with him from the senatorial race two years hence, to show that neither was inspired by selfish motives in the position assumed in the present campaign as regards the Mormon issue. Borah tonight also severely criticized Clay. He said in part:

"Where is Dubois and his complaint in court? He wants to try his lawsuits by telegram. Does he believe his detective; does he credit his sleuth? If so, why does he not file his complaint? The moment the challenge went forth he pulled out for the south and began telegraphing through a man by the name of Owen, but Dubois himself is unwilling to act; but Clay and Helffeld say I had not ought to insist that Dubois himself should file the complaint. Perhaps this is too much for this 'great martyr' of social purity. I thought I was entitled to have him bear the burdens with myself. It seemed to me that was fair, but it could talk of self sacrifice, but to humble himself to file a complaint? No, not even for the home. Then in order to relieve the situation, I will include Helffeld and Clay. Then let them go to the bat. Surely they will not all want to shirk. Now let them get into court. I don't want any telegraphy rot, found by a sleuth. I want a complaint in court. Let the cowardly shanderers of the state put up or shut up. Clay is talking to you about obedience to the law. 'Angels and ministers of grace defend us.' Let me tell you this man's idea of government. When President McKinley was shot down at Buffalo, and the very head of the government was challenged by anarchy, an anarchist by the name of Burson said upon the streets of Boise City that he was glad of it. The people, regardless of party, felt outraged and shunned the wretch as a loathsome reptile. His sole supporter and defender in town was Clay, the present candidate for congress. He vol-

untarily took up his cause; took Burson to his home, and if you had witnessed Clay's actions and heard his words you would not doubt that he thoroughly sympathized with the infamous doctrines of anarchy."

Borah also called attention to Helffeld's failure to favor any legislation against polygamy when he was in the legislature; also that he was elected senator by the Mormon vote, and was, up to the Lewiston convention, ever singing their praises. Borah also spoke of Dubois' efforts to secure the support of the Mormon people in 1896; also the meeting at the Plaza hotel, New York, when Dubois tried to get the Mormons to support him and told them that if they did not, he would revive the old fight.

MISTAKE MADE BY DUBOIS

ADULTERY LAW PROVED MOST
EFFECTIVE IN THE TERRITORIAL DAYS.

Was Under Such a Law That Prosecutions Were Successfully Conducted and the Offenders Brought to Terms — Statement on the Subject by Fremont Wood.

In the course of a talk yesterday, Fremont Wood, who was United States district attorney here during the days of the prosecutions for polygamy, gave some very interesting information on the subject, showing that Senator Dubois was wrong when he declared that it was an unlawful cohabitation act that would be needed to suppress polygamy, not an adultery law as advocated by Mr. Gooding, Republican candidate for governor. Mr. Wood stated it was under an adultery law that United States prosecutions were successfully conducted in territorial days, while an illegal cohabitation act had proved ineffective. He said:

"I cannot give expression to my views upon the polygamy question as now urged by Democratic campaign orators, without giving my reasons therefor. I cannot intelligently in a few words give those reasons without first hastily reviewing the history of legislation, both state and national, affecting the subject, at the same time calling attention to the action of political parties relating thereto.

"During President Lincoln's administration the first act was passed known as the Poland bill, making bigamous marriages in the territories fel-

onious. This statute was ineffective because of the difficulty in proving the second marriage.

"The next legislation was in 1882 when the Edmunds act, so called, was passed making unlawful cohabitation a misdemeanor. Under this act cases were prosecuted in Utah, Idaho, Arizona, New Mexico and Wyoming, but chiefly in the two states first named. Under this statute it was only necessary to establish the first marriage and cohabitation under an assumed second marriage. The same act in effect legitimized all children born within a limited time after the passage of the act, and it also authorized the president to grant amnesty to all offenders, "guilty of bigamy, polygamy or unlawful cohabitation before the passage of the act." The act also disqualified as voters and made ineligible to hold office all polygamists, bigamists or other persons cohabiting with more than one wife.

Commencement of Prosecutions.

"The act proved ineffectual as far as regarding the spread of polygamy, and in 1887 a statute was passed making adultery a felony, punishable with penitentiary imprisonment. This act further provided that no illegitimate child born 12 months after the passage of the act should inherit property. This act also provided for the disincorporation of the Mormon church and the confiscation of its property. Prosecutions were at once instituted in Utah and Idaho and many offenders were given penitentiary sentences. Proceedings were also commenced in the courts of Utah to disincorporate the church and secure control of its property, under the provisions of this act. These prosecutions at once proved effective and were undoubtedly the direct cause leading up to the polygamy manifesto issued by President Woodruff in the fall of 1890.

"The first election in this state was held about the time of the issuance of this manifesto. No Mormons voted at that election. Two years prior thereto, however, nearly 1600 Mormons voted for delegates to congress under the pretense that they had withdrawn from the church and were not members of an organization prescribed by the territorial test oath.

"During all of the prosecutions under the different polygamy laws in this state I was connected with the United States attorney's office, first as assistant and during the administration of President Harrison as United States attorney. Following the election of 1883, the United States grand jury indicted about 150 leading Mormon church members for violating the federal election laws. Owing to the delays involving the transition from the territorial to the United States courts, none of these cases were called for trial until the latter part of 1891 or the early part of 1892. The presidents of the four Idaho stakes were sworn as witnesses upon the first trial of these cases. They each testified under oath that polygamous marriages had been expanded by the church since prior to the election of 1853, and that polygamous relations as well as polygamous marriages had been specifically en-

passed and were no longer permitted by the church since the issuance of the manifesto. This evidence was furnished by Presidents Hodge, Hicks, Haight and Parkinson. Accepting the statements of these church dignitaries as true, I soon afterwards recommended the dismissal of all of these election case prosecutions. The United States attorney general in reply to my communication, advised me that he had conferred with both of the United States senators, Senator Dubois being then a Republican senator from the state, and that they both concurred in my recommendation.

The test oath feature was eliminated from the elector's oath, yet every provision thereof is still contained in the state constitution, by the terms of which every bigamist or polygamist or person living in polygamous relations is prevented from holding office or exercising the suffrage.

"For several years past I have assumed that the Mormon question was effectually settled and eliminated from our politics. I believed in the long sides of the manifesto and accepted the sworn testimony of the

presidents of the church in Idaho as to the abandonment of polygamous practices, and since that time no important declaration seems to have been made upon the subject until Senator Dubois, more than a year ago, from his seat in the United States senate assured his fellow senators under his senatorial oath that there were no further polygamous practices chargeable against the members of the Mormon church. Such was the record when a Republican senate committee commenced the investigation of charges of church interference made against Senator Smoot of Utah. This committee has not yet completed its investigations or made any report, so it was not only unnecessary but practically impossible for the Republican party to make any declaration upon the subject of polygamy at the time of its last convention. The Democratic convention, however, passed a resolution declaring for a statute against unlawful cohabitation, but stigmatizing adultery therefrom.

Senator Dubois Mistaken.

"And, if I understand the situation, they now claim that this plank of their platform raises the paramount issue of the campaign, and Senator Dubois is credited with the statement at a Nampa a few evenings ago that 'we cannot convict polygamous Mormons except for unlawful cohabitation.'

"The record is certainly against the senator. For five or six years we prosecuted members of the Mormon church for unlawful cohabitation without substantial results, but when an adultery statute was enacted, making the same a penitentiary offense, the power of the church was at once broken, and we had no more difficulty in convicting for adultery after the enactment of the statute than we did for unlawful cohabitation before its enactment.

"If the Mormon issue is the paramount issue raised by the Democratic plank calling for an act against un-

lawful cohabitation, the Republican candidate for governor is an entire platform of itself upon the same subject, for he has everywhere declared and repeated that he is in favor of the enactment of a statute against adultery.

"If leading members of the Mormon church cry guilty of the practices alleged against them, they will be much more strongly opposed to the enactment of a law against adultery than one against unlawful cohabitation.

Republican Record.

"I am not one of those Republicans who is unmindful of the brilliant career and splendid achievements of Senator Dubois for 15 years while he was the leader of the Republican party of this state; neither am I unmindful of the fact that the first six years of that leadership was devoted principally to the settlement of the Mormon question, and for these reasons it becomes apparent that the Republican party was true and loyal then upon every question involving the protection and purity of the home; and it may not be improper to call attention to the fact that during all that time the Republican party, under Senator Dubois' leadership, was being resisted by the same Democratic party that is now trying to make itself for the first time in its history the receptacle of a great moral issue. It must be apparent at once that there is no necessity for any Republican to withdraw his loyal support from any portion of his state or legislative ticket. The Republican party is as true and loyal today on questions affecting bigamy and polygamy as it was when those issues were burning issues before the admission of the state into the Union. No man or woman should be deterred from voting his convictions upon all state and national issues by declarations that polygamists have been nominated for legislative positions or that prominent Mormons are violating the laws.

Will Take Evidence in Idaho.

"The Republican senate committee investigating the qualifications of Senator Smoot to hold his seat, through its subcommittee, will hold sessions in Idaho soon after election for the purpose of determining the truth or falsity of these charges. If these charges are sustained they will be sustained and promulgated by a Republican committee, and if bigamists and polygamists are nominated and elected to the legislature, the Republican members thereof will meet them at the threshold of the halls of legislation and say, 'Thus far shalt thou go and no farther.' If the charges now being made against the Mormons are true they are undoubtedly going to be considered by the people of the state, but Senator Dubois is making a mistake in assuming that the Democratic party can ever be united in the prosecution of a moral issue. It is not constituted that way, especially the Democratic party of Idaho. The Republican party, however, has made its record upon that question, it is willing to stand by that record and its candidate already proposes the enactment of a law like the most effective measure that was ever passed by congress for the suppression of poly-

gamous practices. Why then should any Republican man or woman who is still loyal to the great principles of the party vote against those principles at this time when there is so much at stake? Republican policies demand the continuance of the great protective principle, and the development of our internal resources, the benefits of which we are already about to receive. All true Republicans are loyal to the flag and demand that it shall not be lowered wherever it has been unfurled. Democratic doctrines are opposed to all these principles, and for that reason a subterfuge has been created in Idaho to force an issue which does not exist. The only possible benefit I can see from the present agitation is that it will commit Senator Dubois' wing of the Democratic party to what is now and always has been the principles of the Republican party upon the subject of polygamy and polygamous practices."

PRESS COMMENTS ON LETTER.

New York World, Dem.—It reveals Roosevelt as a strong, able, ambitious, resourceful, militant, passionate personality.

New York Tribune—Bastille critics will look in vain for a paragraph it would have been wiser to omit.

Philadelphia Press—Every sentence is a stanza, and every stanza cuts to the quick.

Philadelphia Inquirer—His blows tell every time, and leave the Democrats without a leg to stand upon.

Washington Star—No man of intelligence will rise against its personal or party credit about the author's meaning or intention.

Washington Times—It is a demand for definite arguments, which are just what the Democrats needed, for good and sufficient reasons, have been distinguished to supply.

New York Herald, Ind-Partner—Independent voters will be equalled by the severity of his criticisms.

New York Times, Dem.—There is not lacking certain foundation for his criticism.

NEW YORK, Sept. 11.—(Special)—The World, Democratic, under the heading, "A Masterly Political Document," says editorially of President Roosevelt's letter discussing the issue of the campaign:

"President Roosevelt's letter of acceptance gives further and stronger proof of his ability, astuteness and capacity for party leadership. It reveals Mr. Roosevelt far more than did his colorful speech of acceptance, as a strong, able, ambitious, resourceful, militant, passionate personality.

"The President shows equal acumen and cleverness in emphasizing the strong points in the Republican position and the weak points in the Democratic record. Putting aside the question of sincerity and of strict accuracy, and making allowance for the heat and exigency of partisan combat, the letter is extremely clever and likely to prove effective, unless corrected and exposed. He is entitled to credit for frankly giving the voters due notice that in case of his election 'we intend in the future to carry on the Government in the same way that we have carried it on in the past.'

"We do not suppose that in all the writings of Theodore Roosevelt there is another sentence that will survive it."

THE OLD ROOSEVELT AGAIN.

New York Post Describes Him as Aggressive and Cocksure.

NEW YORK, Sept. 12.—(Special).—The following is the expression of the Evening Post on President Roosevelt's letter of acceptance:

"Mr. Roosevelt seems to have been gazing upon a picture of himself which Secretary Taft and Attorney-General Moody have so laboriously painted. The portrait of a patient thinker, slow to wrath and acting only after painful deliberation—and to have determined to stamp all such presentations as counterfeit. The letter gives us the old Roosevelt again. He is aggressive, scintillating, cocksure. His manner is that of punching heads, rather than arguing. The imaginary Roosevelt of apologetic orators is impudently kicked aside by the real Roosevelt, and the rough rider sent to the head of the Republican column.

"On the tariff, President Roosevelt has made a complete surrender to the most besotted protectionists. He writes like the most abject groveller before tariff fetich. His own words he eats without choking. The President is positively alarming when he comes to talk about finance."

NOT A SHADOW OF EVASION.

New York Globe Refers to Roosevelt as a Man Who Knows His Mind.

NEW YORK, Sept. 12.—(Special).—The Globe refers to President Roosevelt's speech of acceptance as follows:

"He speaks for himself and party, and there is neither uncertainty nor timidity nor shadow of evasion in a single sentence of his letter. Whether men agree with him or not, they cannot fail to grasp his meaning, and cannot accuse him of shuffling or equivocation. The letter is easily summed up in a sentence, 'We stand pat on our record, every item of which we are not only ready and eager to defend, but are proud of as having contributed to the welfare, power and honor of the Nation.'

"It is not in any sense a defensive document, but rather a defiant acceptance of the Democratic challenge to show why a change is not desirable. Every point in the Democratic indictment is met, and

many points not mentioned publicly in that indictment are stated and answered. It is the utterance of a man who knows his mind and is willing to speak it without concealment."

NOTHING UNCERTAIN ABOUT IT

Philadelphia Inquirer Considers the Paper the Strongest in Years.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12.—(Special).—The Inquirer in its editorial columns highly praises President Roosevelt's letter of acceptance, as follows:

"In his letter, President Roosevelt strikes directly from the shoulder. There is nothing uncertain in his language. There is neither equivocating nor halting. He blows tall every time, and they leave the Democratic party without a leg to stand upon.

The document is the strongest of the kind that has been issued in many years.

"It is the sort that will do an American good to read.

"It is an appeal to country to consider the record of the Administration on its merits.

"It is a challenge to the Democrats to assail it, and tell what they would have done had they had the chance.

"It glories in what has been accomplished, and it serves notice that there will be no change in the policies which have made the Nation great.

"It is full of splendid American doctrine.

"There is not a jingo sentiment in it from beginning to end, and there is not a warlike note, but it makes a man proud to feel that he is an American citizen and that he has no longer to apologize when abroad for being one."

REGARDS HIM AS TOO BOLD.

New York Herald Believes Roosevelt Will Offend Independent Voters.

NEW YORK, Sept. 12.—(Special).—The views of the Herald, Independent-Parker, on the acceptance letter of President Roosevelt are expressed as follows:

"Like a tempestuous mountain stream, the current of his utterance moves rapidly, dashing over but not dislodging the obstacles it encounters. The President plants himself squarely upon the record of his Administration and defies all criticism. Democrats, Mr. Roosevelt evidently thinks, are not to be trusted with the Government. In painting his opponents in such dark and forbidding colors, without furnishing adequate proofs of his sweeping criticisms or condemnation, Mr. Roosevelt has committed a grave tactical blunder which the people, who decide the election, cannot applaud, and independent voters will be repelled by the severity of his criminalizations. The commentary will now follow from the authoritative pronouncements of the Republican standard-bearer into what 'Herbstian bog' of Governmental expenditures and taxation it will be plunged if his ambition and aspirations are gratified."

NOT AFRAID OF HIS RECORD.

Washington Times Says None Can Be in Doubt as to Roosevelt's Stand.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.—(Special).—The Times today contains the following comment on President Roosevelt's letter of acceptance:

"After this letter, nobody can have a ghost of an excuse for not knowing what Mr. Roosevelt's attitude is. The main point made in this document is that it is a challenge. It is a demand for definite arguments, which are just what the Democratic leaders, for good and sufficient reasons, have been disinclined to supply. The indefiniteness of the Democratic party this year is its weakness, and it is this weakness which is shrewdly hit in the sentence, 'We do not have to guess at our own convictions, and then correct the guess if it seems unpopular.'

"In short, the President's attitude regarding the record of the Administration is that of a man who has done the best he can and is not afraid to stand by it, and who has confidence in the rectitude, ability and discretion of his colleagues, as well as his own."

PRESIDENT AT HIS BEST.

New York Mail Believes People Will Make His Phrases Their Own.

NEW YORK, Sept. 12.—(Special).—The Mail tonight says:

"President Roosevelt's letter of acceptance is direct, veridical and personally characteristic. Not merely is it signed Theodore Roosevelt, but it is filled with the spirit of the man all the way through. In it the President does not attempt to smooth down his critics. He will probably stir them up more; so much the better. It certainly brings out his gift for using phrases that the people like to take up and make their own. If the Democrats want to make the candidates the issue, they are welcome to the words and spirit of his strong political document. It is Roosevelt at his best. It is the programme of a great political party seen through the loyal and earnest temperament of a man of force and brains.

WILL SERVE AS VOTE-GETTER.

Washington Star, However, See Little Left for Orators to Say.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.—The Star today contains the following:

"The President's letter of acceptance will leave the most accomplished of No Republican spellbinders little to say. No man of intelligence will rise from the personal in any doubt about the author's meaning or intentions. It is calculated for vote-getting, and is likely to serve that end. If a man on the eve of a duel were to offer his antagonist the choice of weapons, waive the question of distance and agree to take both sun and wind in his face, he would be rated as very confident of the result. Mr. Roosevelt in effect has done this."

KEYNOTE FOR THE STUMP.

Washington Post Predicts Fervor Will Be Kindled.

WASHINGTON, Sept. 12.—(Special).—The Post, reviewing the letter of acceptance of President Roosevelt, says:

"The President's letter of acceptance is Rooseveltian. It reveals the vigorous, aggressive man, no longer entranced by the conservatism of the cautious candidate. He challenges opposition fearlessly

(Continued on Page Six.)

and writes as one who feels his calling and election sure.

"There is enough spirit in the document to arouse the partisan masses. It is a veritable keynote for the stump. Many of his utterances will be combatted—some of them, no doubt, successfully—but, on the whole, they will appeal to Republican pride and kindle a new party fervor.

"Roosevelt is strongest when he is himself. His personality has carried him to a high place. In giving full and free expression to his sentiments now he takes no risk."

PENALTY DEMOCRACY MUST PAY

New York Times Admits Party Errors Give Room for Criticism.

NEW YORK, Sept. 12.—(Special).—The New York Times (Democratic), commenting on the acceptance letter of President Roosevelt, says:

"He has carefully and ingeniously traversed every point as to which he thought his Administration could make a favorable showing. The President's tone is not what is usually accepted in his productions as characteristic, but is notably more moderate, and—we say it with all respect—rather more modest than many of his utterances. Mr. Roosevelt shows more adroitness than is usual with him in the treatment of alleged inconsistencies of his opponents, and it is not unreasonable to infer the aid of a more skillful pen than his in this part of his letter.

"There is not lacking a certain foundation for his criticisms. That is the penalty the Democratic party has to pay for the errors which it committed in the past."

CRITICS WILL LOOK IN VAIN

New York Tribune Declares No Paragraph Should Have Been Omitted.

NEW YORK, Sept. 12.—(Special.)—The Tribune comments as follows on the acceptance letter of President Roosevelt:

"Exactly suited to the resolute and aggressive spirit of the party is the boldness with which President Roosevelt presents home his argument from first to last. Hostile critics will look in vain for a paragraph which it would have been wiser to omit, while fair-minded readers will acknowledge the skill with which every Democratic weakness has been exposed and the thoroughness with which every Republican position has been covered. The force of the Republican appeal comes from the fact that the party has nothing to conceal from voters. Its candidate finds pleasure and advantage in throwing upon its record all light at its command and invoking the closest scrutiny of its promises."

EVERY SENTENCE IS A SNAPPER

The Philadelphia Press Further Says Every Snapper Cuts to the Quick.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12.—(Special.)—The Press highly commends President Roosevelt's letter of acceptance, saying:

"President Roosevelt's letter is a powerful and commanding production, which takes high rank among the masterpieces of American political literature. The

whole argument of the Republican campaign, offensive and defensive, is compressed within its searching and comprehensive pages.

"Every sentence is a snapper, and every snapper cuts to the quick. Nothing is evaded, nothing extenuated, nothing left in doubt."

Takes Roosevelt to Task.

PHILADELPHIA, Sept. 12.—(Special.)—The Record, Democratic, has the following to say of President Roosevelt's letter of acceptance:

"There never before has been issued from the White House, on any occasion, a message of public character couched in language of such studied insult to one-half the people of the United States. It reads like a speech from the throne of a God-ruled instead of an address of a public servant giving an account of his stewardship."

"The outlook for Republican success is very good in Idaho," said W. E. Borah, of Boise, at the Portland hotel yesterday, and every line of his round, smooth-shaven, good-natured face bespoke such confidence as his words expressed. He is one of the leading lawyers and leading Republicans of his state, and ran W. H. Heyburn a close race for the party nomination for United States senator last winter. He stands a good chance of winning the toga when Senator Dubois retires two years hence.

"The Republicans feel that we shall carry the state by from 7000 to 10,000 majority at a conservative estimate," he continued. "So far the anti-Mormon agitation has not apparently affected the situation at all. The position of Senator Dubois, who caused the insertion of an anti-Mormon plank in the Democratic platform, is that the church interferes in politics, and he feels that early lines ought to be delineated until that question is settled. The position of the Republicans is that there is no Mormon question in the state; that, whatever the conditions may be in Utah, with which we are not concerned, there is no polygamy and no church interference in Idaho. At the time of the Manifesto in 1890 there were isolated cases of polygamy in Idaho, but these cases are of 14 years' standing, forgiven and forgotten, and so far as any plural marriages since that time are concerned, there are none in the state that we know of, or have been able to find. Republicans admit that the tendency of the Mormons is to vote the Republican ticket, but the change in the Mormon population of Idaho from Populism and Democracy to Republicanism is not even so large as the Gentile counties, and the inference is that the Mormons are simply drifting to the Republican party on the same principles as the Gentiles. It is simply absurd to say that the Mormons have changed because of church interference, because the percentage of change is no greater than among the Gentiles.

"The great majority of the large number of new immigrants is also Republican, for they come largely from Republican states. Any number of the older Democrats have also changed because of their admiration for Roosevelt, and have become his open supporters."

"Has the nomination of Parker caused any division among the Democrats?"

"No, there is no disaffection on account of Parker, but there is very serious disaffection on account of the injection of the Mormon question into the platform, for a very large proportion of the Democrats are very much opposed to pulling that question into the fight. This applies not only to the Mormon Demo-

crats but to the Gentile Democrats. The Boise Capital News, the leading Democratic paper of southern Idaho, and the Lewiston Tribune, one of the most able-edited Democratic papers in the northwest, are both opposing the present program of the Democracy. We do not know just how many votes we shall get, but we feel sure that we shall have enough."

"National irrigation has rejuvenated all the industries of southern Idaho. Several very large irrigation enterprises will undoubtedly be made successful under this law and will result in the investment of a large amount of money in the reclamation of several very large bodies of land. There is no

doubt a matter of doubt, because the success of the enterprises is practically assured. There are a number of private irrigation enterprises which have received their impetus from the confidence inspired by national irrigation. The present national administration gets the credit of starting these enterprises, for we feel that without the personal interest of President Roosevelt we should not have had that law.

"In addition to that, we have a candidate for governor—Frank H. Gooding—who is making an extraordinary campaign. In the first place, he is a man of acknowledged business capacity and has taken up the state issues from a thorough business man's standpoint. He is advocating a north and south railroad through the state, a practical state depository law for the state funds, and has made his position clear upon the two-mile limit law, which forbids the grazing of sheep within two miles of a homestead, and everything indicates that his campaign is very successful."

"What is his plan in regard to the north and south railroad?"

"Northern and southern Idaho are very far apart geographically, for we have large through two or three states to get from one end of our state to the other. Mr. Gooding advocates the building of a north and south line by the shortest practicable route, the state either guaranteeing the bonds or directly raising the funds for the purpose. We are not afraid that northern Idaho will leave us, but we want to be within reach of one another; the material interests of the state demand it."

"When is the next election of United States senator?"

"Not for two years, when Senator Dubois' term expires."

"I suppose your political ambition is not dead?" queried the reporter, alluding to Mr. Borah's former candidacy for that office.

"No, it is not dead, but sleeping," answered Mr. Borah, with a smile.

MR. BORAH AT NEZPERCE

INCLUDES BEFFIELD AND CLAY
IN CHALLENGE

WANTS A COMPLAINT MADE

Severely Criticises Clay, the Candidate
for Congress—Addresses a
Large Meeting.

Nezperce, Oct. 14.—(Special to the Tribune.)—Hon. W. E. Borah, of Boise, addressed a large audience here tonight. The meeting was one of the most successful held here this cam-

paugh. The speaker spoke at length on state issues, and referring to his challenge to Dubois to make a complaint against some polygamist and he (Borah) would prosecute the case, the speaker also tonight issued a similar challenge to Ex-Senator Helfield, democratic candidate for governor, and B. F. Clay, candidate for congress. The challenge tonight to the two latter was the result of the criticisms made by Helfield and Clay regarding Borah's challenge to Dubois. In the latter challenge Borah had also asked Dubois to withdraw with him from the senatorial race two years hence, to show that neither was inspired by selfish motives in the position assumed in the present campaign as regards the Mormon issue. Borah tonight also severely criticised Clay. He said in part:

"Where is Dubois and his complaint in court. He wants to try his lawsuits by telegram. Does he believe his detective; does he credit his sleuth? If so, why does he not file his complaint? The moment the challenge went forth he pulled out for the south, and began telegraphing through a man by the name of Owen, but Dubois himself is unwilling to act; but Clay and Helfield say I had not ought to insist that Dubois himself should file the complaint. Perhaps this is too much for this 'great martyr' of social purity. I thought I was entitled to have him bear the burdens with myself. It seemed to me that was fair, but it seems my demand was too much. He could talk of self sacrifice, but to humble himself to file a complaint? No, not even for the home. Then in order to relieve the situation, I will include Helfield and Clay. Then let them go to the bat. Surely they will not all want to shirk. Now let them get into court. I don't want any telegraphy rot, found by a sleuth. I want a complaint in court. Let the cowardly slanders of the state put up or shut up. Clay is talking to you about 'obedience to the law.' Angels and ministers of grace defend us. Let me tell you this man's idea of government. When President McKinley was shot down at Buffalo, and the very head of the government was challenged by anarchy, an anarchist by the name of Rosson said upon the streets of Boise City that he was glad of it. The people, regardless of party, felt outraged and shunned the wretch as a loathsome reptile. His sole supporter and defender in town was Clay, the present candidate for congress. He voluntarily took up his cause; took Rosson to his home, and if you had

witnessed Clay's actions and heard his words you would not doubt that he thoroughly sympathized with the infamous doctrines of anarchy."

Borah also called attention to Helfield's failure to favor any legislation against polygamy when he was in the legislature, also that he was elected senator by the Mormon vote, and was, up to the Lewiston convention, ever praising their praises. Borah also spoke of Dubois' efforts to secure the support of the Mormon people in 1896; also the meeting at the Plaza hotel, New York, when Dubois tried

to get the Mormons to support him and told them that if they did not, he would revive the old fight.

Borah's meetings at Winchester and Ho were well attended. He left tonight for Kamiah and speaks tomorrow at Genesee. He will then go to south Idaho.

DUBOIS FAILED IN MORMON DEAL

CHARGE BY BORAH THAT SENATOR IS ACTUATED BY REVENGE.

SHAME FOR HYDE STALKER

Scathing Statements Made by Republican Speaker to Genesee Audience.

GENESEE, Idaho, Oct. 28. — W. E. Borah arrived this noon after an exhaustive trip from Nez Perce, where he spoke last night and addressed an enthusiastic audience, which filled Elliott hall to the doors. A large portion of his hearers were women voters. The address was an eloquent exposition of republican principles.

Mr. Borah opened by calling attention to the danger that flows from the hand of American voters to study and interest themselves in governmental issues only during political campaigns, and cited the corruption of civic government in Missouri during the last 20 years as an example of what will result from such action.

Mormons Against Dubois.

Taking up the Mormon question, Mr. Borah excoriated Senator Dubois for his alleged inconsistent attitude. He read his speech with reference to polygamy being too dead for resurrection and challenged Dubois to disprove the statement that in a hotel at New York he met with the high officials of the Mormon church and tried to make a deal with them for the support of the Mormons of Idaho to return him to the senate, saying that when the church leaders refused, Dubois slammed the door behind him after announcing that he would revive the Mormon issue in Idaho because of such refusal.

The speaker said that at the democratic state convention at Lewiston the polygamy plank as first introduced included a provision against adultery, but that Dubois opposed its insertion and during the night eliminated the adultery feature. The speaker spoke of Dubois' long service in legislative councils and challenged any friend of Dubois to name a single instance or a single act of his that had helped the state or promoted its welfare.

Turning to polygamy, he expressed his conviction that no new cases could be pointed out since the manifesto. He said a man named Owen had sent him 13 names of polygamists; that 17 of them he knew personally and every one of them had all their wives previous to the issuance of the manifesto. One of them was 54 years old and married his last plural wife in 1882. Not a single new case had as yet been unearthed by the Dubois coterie.

Shame for Stalker.

For Hyde Stalker, Mr. Borah expressed the utmost contempt. He concluded by

declaring that despite all threats of retaliation, he considered that Stalker, a man who would parade around the country advertising the fact of his mother's shame and his own illegitimacy for the pitiful pay he might receive from the democratic party, is so low that he would shame the lowest savage of the savage's hell.

Addressing the women, Mr. Borah paid his respects to Miss White and other ladies campaigning for the Dubois program, and said that Miss White is certainly a heroine or she could not campaign two weeks at a stretch with Chairman Jackson. If such a state of facts existed in Mormon Idaho as claimed by her and Stalker, Mr. Borah said the thousands of noble, Christian, gentle women of those counties would long ere this have made such a protest that there would be no need for Dubois to parade as a defender of the Idaho home. That the fact that these women, who lived with the facts and knew them, did not raise their voice against the alleged horrors proves that they do not exist outside of a manufactured issue.

No Sugar Bounty.

Taking up the sugar bounty law, Mr. Borah said democratic speakers were insincere. Senator Dubois when here claimed that the Mormon church owned all the sugar factories, and that \$300,000 of bounty would be paid over to them as soon as the republicans were returned to power. Mr. Borah read from the act itself that the limit payable thereunder was only \$50,000 in any event, and that the lawyers for the sugar men had convinced them the act itself was utterly unconstitutional, so that no claim for bounty had ever been filed nor would any such claim be filed.

Unyielding Foe to Polygamy.

Mr. Borah closed his oratorical effort with an appeal to the young voters to consider the real issues. "Would you say," he asked, "that if the democratic party, that is Dubois, had accidentally stumbled on the ten commandments and incorporated them in his state platform, and the republican party not done so, that party would therefore be against the ten commandments? Not. Every law that is now on state or national statute books was placed there by the republican party and it is as unyielding a foe to polygamy today as ever. All parties are united against this crime, and the Mormon question can not be an issue in Idaho for that reason."

Mr. Borah leaves in the morning for Weiser.

DORAH DEFILES WOMEN

"I say that William Hyde Stalker's statements are false when he says there are 700 men living in polygamy in Idaho when he says the Mormon people cross whistling paths in their back yards where their plural children are beaten to insensibility; when he says their women are murdered, or would be if they refused to live in polygamy; and that these things have continued all these years. Here and now I publicly denounce such statements as false, and bid upon our laws, our people and our state not to manly uphold or tolerate any hinder man in denouncing the truth." — Hon. W. E. Borah at Lewiston, Oct. 28.

BORAH AT LEWISTON.

Denies that He Was Asked to Pledge Himself to Smoot.

Lewiston, Oct. 24.—"The man who circulates the statement that members of the Mormon church asked me to pledge myself upon the Smoot matter and when I refused voted for Heyburn for senator, is a wilful, deliberate and industrious liar," was the statement of W. E. Borah before a large and attentive audience here last night. Continuing Mr. Borah said: "While Mormon members of the legislature did speak to me about the Smoot affair they asked no promise nor pledge and these Mormons did not vote for Heyburn but for me at all times."

The distinguished speaker made an exhaustive address upon the national issues arousing much enthusiasm and being constantly cheered. Speaking of state issues, Mr. Borah took up the Mormon question which he characterized as not an issue for reason that all good people of the state, no matter of what party, were opposed to polygamy and said if there were any violations of law it was a simple question of putting the courts in action. Mr. Borah in discussing the question of laws stopped in his speech and said:

"Has Senator Dubois friends in this audience? If so, stand up. I want to ask a question."

As no one answered the speaker said:

"Will some one tell me what law Dubois has had enacted or what step he has taken in 18 years of office holding to remedy any defect in our criminal statutes. Not only this—will you tell me in that time what law he has suggested or what legislative act he has fathered which in the most remote way touches the welfare of the home?"

Mr. Borah then called attention to the platform of the opposition as first reported at which time it called for punishment of the crime of adultery, the only crime not covered by our statutes. But these gentlemen during the night repudiated the commandment and started upon their campaign on the moral question, in effect favoring the crime of adultery, "and still Mrs. White comes all the way from Pennsylvania to plead with the women of Idaho to stand by the seventh commandment."

Referring to the contents of the Jackson and Owens telegram Mr. Borah said:

"I do not propose to waste ammunition on snipes while there is a tiger in the jungle. I want to deal directly with Senator Dubois. I want him to get from behind the hired detectives, his importation from Ogden, and meet these matters himself and take responsibility upon himself."

Borah's speech was pronounced by the republican leaders as the most effective given here throughout the campaign. After the close of the meeting many men and women met Mr. Borah and expressed satisfaction at the completeness of his exposition of Dubois' attempt to divert the public mind from the real questions at issue.

Mr. Borah leaves for the reservation country in the morning. He will make three more addresses in this country, closing Friday at Nes Perce. He states that during the trip throughout the north he found conditions altogether favorable to republican national and

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HARRISON, Idaho, Oct. 24.—The people of Harrison were treated to their first republican campaign speech last evening, delivered by W. E. Borah of Boise, in the opera house, which was packed. Regarding local politics, Mr. Borah said there was really no issue in Idaho, but that the opposition party was trying to make an issue of the Mormon question. Polygamy, he says, is covered by a law of the state.

His speech throughout was free from personal attack and was listened to with interest by the audience.

HON. W. E. BORAH.

Hon. W. E. Borah of Boise, opened the campaign in Harrison Wednesday evening. He spoke to a crowded house, standing room being at a premium. His reference to the personal strength and courage of President Roosevelt were met with prolonged applause. He opened his speech by referring to the national issue and compared the prosperous times of Harrison's administration with the depression and demoralization of the country during the succeeding four years of Cleveland's term. And then again of the prosperity when McKinley was elected. He spoke on the subject of Protection vs. Free Trade for nearly an hour and concluded with a reference to Dubois' campaign on Mormonism. On the stage were: Hon. Wm. Gray, Harry Spalding, Warren Platt, Judge R. T. Morgan and A. Christianson.

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Crowded House Hears Severe Arraignment of Dubois.

RATHDRUM, Idaho, Oct. 24.—W. E. Borah spoke in a crowded house here tonight on political issues from a republican standpoint. The speaker contrasted Harrison's and Cleveland's administrations, noting the decrease in the national debt in the former and increase during the latter. He charged that Parker's campaign is managed by Cleveland politicians. He attributed the Coney army movement to the Wilson tariff bill. He ridiculed Senator Dubois and the Mormon issue in sarcastic terms, and charged Dubois with trying to break down old parties and establish a party called American, which is expected to resist him to the senate.

The speaker was introduced by C. L. Heltnan, chairman, who also introduced several local candidates. Mr. Borah spoke two hours. He received close attention and was frequently applauded. He closed with an eloquent tribute to the republican party and an appeal to young men for good citizenship.

DUBOIS GIVES WARNING

BORAH AND HEYBURN MUST CEASE ATTACKS ON STALKER.

Else the Democratic Senator Will Divulge Something About Personal Lives of Opponents.

BONNERS FERRY, Idaho, Oct. 24.—Senator Dubois closed his campaign in north Idaho here tonight. He has many personal friends here, and he had a large meeting. The sensational part of his speech, which was the most vigorous he ever delivered here, was his threat to compare the personal lives of Senator Heyburn and W. E. Borah, candidate for his seat in the senate, if they did not cease their personal attacks on Mr. Stalker, the Mormon who is campaigning with Senator Dubois. He said:

"W. E. Borah will be here tomorrow night. I trust that all of you will come out to hear him. He and Judge Heyburn were my strongest supporters and advocates in the early days of the territory and state. I claim them both as my personal friends. They are men of exceptional ability; they have been of great service to the people and are equipped to do great good. I do not wish, nor do I intend to say anything which will disturb the delightful relations which exist between them and me, but I insist that Mr. Borah, Senator Heyburn and the representatives of the republican party discuss the Mormon question fairly or else offend strictly to their policy."

"I give Mr. Borah and Mr. Heyburn fair and public warning now that they must not attack the personal character of Mr. Stalker, who is campaigning with me. If they do after this fair warning they must submit to a rigid comparison of their personal lives with that of Mr. Stalker and his estimable wife, who are the companions of Mrs. Dubois and myself. An attack on Mr. Stalker personally will be regarded as an attack personally on myself, and I will not submit to it.

Lauds Mr. Stalker.

"Mr. Stalker is the highest exemplification of American manhood. Do you think it is pleasing for the young man with his splendid attainments to stand before an audience and confess that he is a polygamist's child? He had no childhood; he knew nothing of the pleasures of home; he was reared in all the horrors of a polygamist family. He is but 22 years of age, and Mr. Heyburn and Mr. Borah must not undertake to answer his argument by calling him a vagabond. Under the most adverse and trying circumstances his life has been exemplary, and today he is engaged in a great work.

"I will endure all the humiliation which it will cost me, but I want to plead with the mothers of Idaho to see to it that no children hereafter shall be borne into the awful degradation which surrounds a polygamist child. This story of Mr. Stalker, as he is telling it, is very effective.

"I express again my high personal regard for Mr. Borah and Judge Heyburn, but I warn them once again that if this is to be a personal campaign we will see to it that a comparison is made. Once again, I say they must discuss this Mormon question on the facts as per the policy which they first adopted of ignoring it."

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DUBOIS DENIES THEM

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W. E. BORAH IS INCENSED

THROWS DOWN HIS GLOVE FOR SENATOR DUBOIS TO PICK UP.

Idaho Republican Candidate for Senator Denounces as False Scandals Told About Mormonism.

HONNERS FERRY, Idaho, Oct. 11.—The republicans held a big rally here tonight, addressed by W. E. Borah, recognized as a candidate for the seat held by Senator Dubois. The warning given by Senator Dubois to Mr. Borah and Senator Heyburn in his speech last night served to put Mr. Borah on his mettle, and he devoted a large share of his speech to Senator Dubois and Mormonism. Relative to the warning uttered by Senator Dubois, he said in part:

"Senator Dubois has warned me to cease my handling of Stalker or he will institute a personal comparison between Stalker and myself. I trust the senator will include his own personal life in order that dignity may be added to the contest. Ten days before I had spoken in this campaign the Dubois clackers had commenced a personal campaign on me, and Mr. Dubois himself had said from the platform that I was a coward and battering with the Mormon church for political support. If there are any personalities in this campaign they have commenced them. I shall continue to discuss Senator Dubois' speeches and Stalker's assertions in the same way and after the same method heretofore adopted, until the close of the campaign."

"I have not referred to Senator Dubois' personal or to Stalker's personal life, but their assertions and the reasons, motives and purposes for making these assertions are subjects about which I am going to talk. Let me be so understood. I invite the comparison which he threatens, but it must be understood the comparison will be between Senator Dubois and myself. I ask the senator to open."

"I say now that Stalker's statements are false when he says there are 700 men living in polygamy in Idaho; when he says the Mormon people erect whipping posts in their back yards, where their plural children are beaten to insensibility; when he says their women are murdered, or would be, if they refused to live in polygamy, and that these things have continued all these years, he libels not only a large class of our people, but indirectly the whole state of Idaho. Such miserable falsehoods make the name of Idaho abroad in sister states synonymous with lawlessness, immorality and indecency, for such things could not exist without having been known long ago by all. If one half he says is true, then Idaho is a rendezvous for shameless women and lawless men. Mormons would not alone be responsible for the whole state. Here, and now, I publicly denounce such statements as false, maliciously false, a libel upon our laws, our people and our state, and no man, by threats or otherwise, can hinder me denouncing the Deceiver."

BORAH ON MORMONISM

DECLARES LAWS ARE SUFFICIENT TO PUNISH.

Republican Speaker Addresses a Large Audience at Coeur d'Alene.

COEUR D'ALENE, Idaho, Oct. 11.—W. E. Borah addressed a large meeting here tonight. Among those from out of town were Chairman C. L. Heitman, Judge Morgan and A. A. Crane. The speaker was introduced by Mr. Heitman, and spoke at length on national issues, paying a high tribute to the republican party and President Roosevelt.

On the Mormon question Mr. Borah met the arguments advanced by Senator Dubois and William H. Stalker. His handling of Mr. Stalker was cheered. He said in the first place, there could be no issue on the Mormon question for the reason that there could be no division of sentiment or controversy as to polygamy or illegal cohabitation. All parties, Democratic, republican and prohibitionists, were agreed on this. He said if polygamy existed the statutes were here to punish it. He called attention to the statutes of the state and to the decision of the court concerning the statutes, including the decision of the supreme court of the United States.

Mr. Borah said: "Now, we are opposed to polygamy and the courts are open. The law is sufficient and efficient to bring the violators to justice. If Senator Dubois will find the man to file complaint and furnish the evidence I will find the court and the law and the punishment provided by the law." He read Senator Dubois' speech delivered in the senate of the United States in February, 1903, wherein Senator Dubois declared polygamy was dead and could not be revived.

IDAHO MEN ON MORMON FIGHT

W. E. BORAH AND SENATOR DUBOIS DISCUSS ISSUES IN ADJOINING STATE.

THEY BOTH CLAIM VICTORY

Mr. Borah Says Mormon Issue is "Clap Trap"—Dubois Declares Polygamy is Practiced.

Senator Fred T. Dubois and W. E. Borah, the leading figures on opposite sides of the campaign which is being waged in Idaho over the Mormon question, spent yesterday in Spokane. Each of them gave out an interview claiming the state. Mr. Borah is strong in his belief that the republicans will carry the state for their national and state tickets, while Senator Dubois is equally confident that the democrats will carry the legislature and elect Henry Heitfeld as governor.

Mr. Borah said: "Republican politics in Idaho is in excellent shape. Sentiment and drift are distinctly with us. Roosevelt's majority, at a conservative estimate, will be 1000. Frank Gooding, our candidate for governor, will run even with Roosevelt. Remember what I say, Gooding will run with Roosevelt."

"No side issues," continued Mr. Borah, "or supposed side issues are going to affect the campaign in Idaho. The people are for Roosevelt. His policy in regard to national irrigation has given us \$27,000,000 for the improvement of our lands, and we as a people believe in his great fight for the betterment of civic life. The people therefore will take no chances, but support him."

"Now as to polygamy," said Mr. Borah, "why don't they give us some concrete facts. All these generalities about the menace of the oligarchy of the Mormon church is political claptrap. Every political party in the state is opposed to polygamy, illegal cohabitation and church interference. The laws of the state are perfectly efficient to punish, the courts are open, and if they know of any cases, and Senator Dubois will file a complaint and furnish the evidence, I will find the court, the law and the punishment, and will volunteer personally to prosecute. The fact is, they can not find the cases. As Senator Dubois said in the senate a year ago, 'polygamy is dead.'"

"Church interference in politics is a thing easily asserted, but if any man will examine the returns from the Mormon counties for the last 10 years he will find they divide on party lines. Senator Dubois has stated publicly in the last two days that he will carry the Mormon counties because of the hundreds of Mormons who will vote with him. What then becomes of church rule in politics?"

Mr. Borah will leave this morning for a speaking tour in the Coeur d'Alene.

Senator Dubois Confident.

Senator Dubois, in discussing the political situation, said:

"It is my calm judgment, after a thorough canvass of the north, and from my knowledge of conditions in the south, that Henry Heitfeld will be elected gov-

ever. I think our entire state will be elected, although I am not so confident of that as I am of Mr. Helfield's election. I believe, however, that a legislature will be elected which will support Mr. Helfield in his honest endeavor to wipe out the shame of open polygamy in Idaho.

"At the outset of this campaign," continued Senator Dubois, "I published in The Spokesman-Review over my own signature my views in regard to the menace of Mormonism. The Spokesman-Review sent that statement to the republican leaders of Idaho—Messrs. Heyburn, French, Gooding and Borah—and asked them to answer it. I said then that they would not answer it—that they would dodge and evade the question.

"The campaign has now developed, and they have not answered it. My impression is that the good people of Idaho will defeat these leaders of the republican party; that they will endorse the fundamental principles of our government, which say plainly that there shall be no union of the church and state. I believe the people of Idaho understand this question, and that they will not submit to the dictation of a powerful oligarchy in our midst, an oligarchy founded on the principle that polygamy is right.

"We have proven—and I challenge the republican leaders to dispute it—that polygamous living not only exists in Idaho, but that it is tolerated. I say that there are no adequate laws to punish it. Our laws against illegal cohabitation are inadequate. Under the Edmunds act in territorial days convictions for polygamy were practically impossible. We could only reach offenders through the law forbidding unlawful cohabitation. Under the decision of the supreme court of the United States we did not have to prove actual sexual intercourse in order to establish the crime of unlawful cohabitation. The offense in the mind of the public is that one man says to the public, 'I have two or more wives.' We have no adequate law to reach that offense.

"In leaving northern Idaho I want to say to these republican leaders that there are many days beyond the present. I give them fair warning that they must discuss this issue on the facts so fully presented by us. They must not undertake to evade or confuse the issue by irrelevant and indiscriminate attacks on the personal character of gentlemen engaged in this campaign."

Senator Dubois leaves today for Boise. He will take personal charge of the democratic campaign for awhile in order to give State Chairman C. H. Jackson of Boise a chance to spend some time on the stump.

BIG MEETING AT WARDNER

W. E. Borah Addresses Large Audience in the Northern City.

(Special Dispatch.)

WARDNER, Oct. 29.—The Republicans held the largest meeting here last night ever held in the city. The Woman's Republican club had charge of the meeting. The band and the Woman's Republican Glee club of 29 members furnished music. Over a hundred people were turned away, unable to get standing room. Delegations from Kingston, Kellogg and Wallace were present. Gibson and Borah were the speakers.

Borah was in splendid voice and for two hours reviewed the issues of the campaign. He discussed at length the effort of the American party to avoid the real issues in the campaign and to divert the attention of the people from the real matters in controversy as outlined by the platforms of the two great parties. He said for 13 years the distinguished leader of the American party has been a factor in Idaho affairs, for 15 years he has held office, for 12 years he has been senator wielding the influence of that great office and now at this eleventh hour he declares the name of the state he has so long represented to be synonymous with lawlessness and crime, that there are no laws to protect the home.

"What in the name of justice has he been doing all these years?" the speaker asked. "What law has he proposed in the last 14 years? What legislation has he suggested? What has he done with this great power so often given him? In what nook or corner of the political bed has this Big Van Winkle of Idaho policy been dozing?"

He read at length from the senator's speech in the senate declaring polygamy dead. The speaker then called attention to statutes covering every crime covered by the platform of the American party and the decision of the courts and said: "If the law is being violated let us have a complaint by those who know of it. Let us enforce the laws. Why not let Stalker file a complaint instead of making wild assertions, gaining notoriety by stating as he does, that his mother was a concubine."

BORAH GOES AFTER STALKER

Severe Arraignment of Man Who is Speaking for the Democracy.

A dispatch from Wallace says: In his address here tonight, W. E. Borah mercilessly berated T. H. Stalker, who is campaigning the state with Senator Dubois. "A man who travels about the state advertising the mistakes of his mother is so insufferably low that he disgraces the lowest savage," said Mr. Borah. "He is an ingrate in every sense. Senator Dubois can not by threats prevent me from denouncing such a man before the manhood and womanhood of the state of Idaho. Would you women allow your daughters to associate with a man who is

seeking to make political capital out of the mistakes of his mother? It contains the very air."

Senator Dubois was handled without gloves by Mr. Borah. During his speech he made the assertion that if Senator Dubois would declare that he would not be a candidate to succeed himself, he (Borah) would enter into an agreement with him not to be a candidate for his seat. "Senator Dubois has stated in his speeches," said Mr. Borah, "that he realizes that the introduction of the Mormon question into the campaign would be his political end. He would be a martyr and would sacrifice himself on the altar that Idaho homes might not be polluted. He has twice sacrificed himself upon the public altar, but once Senator Helfield beat him to it. I expect it is true that I may not succeed Senator Dubois, but if I do not go to the senate I will have some visible means of support."

In discussing polygamy, he said: "Senator Dubois and his sideshow, Stalker, are making the assertion that innumerable cases of polygamy exist in the state. There are laws on the statute books for its punishment and the courts are open. If Senator Dubois will file a complaint against one single man of the several hundred he claims are practicing polygamy in the state I will prosecute the man to conviction."

The attendance was large and the speaker was well received.

THINKS SMOOT WILL WIN

March 21-1901
PROMINENT IDAHOAN BELIEVES
MORMONS WILL BE SEATED.

HIS VIEWS ON THE CASE

Judge W. E. Borah Discusses the
Protest Against Utah Senator-
Elect and Gives Some Interesting
Statements Concerning Polygamy.

Judge W. E. Borah of Boise, one of the ablest and best-known attorneys of Idaho and who is of counsel for Reed Smoot, whose seat in the United States senate is being protested, is in Butte on legal business and is registered at the Thornton hotel. Judge Borah arrived yesterday and expects to be here for a few days, when he will go to Helena. He is well known in Montana and particularly in Butte and Helena, where he has many warm personal friends. He is a prominent factor in republican politics in Idaho and was the choice of his party for the United States senate when he was defeated by the present senator, Heyburn.

Whether Judge Borah will go to Washington to assist in the defense of Reed Smoot is a question. He stated last night that he would go if a certain phase of the case, which he would not mention, should arise. That was the understanding he had, he said. When the case was taken up by the senate investigation committee, it was realized that it would drag along for some time and that the presence of Judge Borah would not be necessary in Washington unless the phase referred to should come up. If that phase does come up, Judge Borah, according to his agreement and promise, will go at once to the aid of the man whose right to a seat in the senate is being protested.

Thinks He Will Be Seated.

Judge Borah expressed the opinion last night that Reed Smoot would be seated in the senate. He talked interestingly and logically on the subject and set forth several reasons why he thought the United States senate would not unseat any man simply because he was a Mormon. He says the present fight is not against Smoot, but against the Mormon church, and that fact, he says, is palpable from the fact that while it is made to appear the investigation is for the purpose of attacking polygamy, it has already been conceded by the protestants that Reed Smoot is not living in polygamy. Judge Borah thinks there is no more reason why Reed Smoot should be unseated for being a Mormon than there is that Senator Hear should be unseated for being a Presbyterian or a Methodist. He adds that he, of course, means that provided Smoot does not violate the law.

"If the senate investigation committee cannot prove that Reed Smoot has entered into plural marriages," said Judge Borah, "and cannot show that he considers his allegiance to his church to be paramount to his oath of obligation in the senate, then they cannot unseat him simply because of his religious belief, which, if within the confines of law, is his constitutional right and the right of every citizen under the protection of the stars and stripes. Of course,

there has been polygamy and there is still polygamy, but there have been very few polygamous marriages since the manifesto of 1890. Think of that, too. The Mormons are a people who had been taught for years to believe that polygamy is right, and all of a sudden comes a manifesto prohibiting the practice.

Mormons Have Done Well.

"Stop and consider what it means suddenly to be forced to give up the practice of a part, and a salient part of that, of one's belief, a belief which had existed for so many years. When we stop to consider it, the Mormons have done remarkably well. I do not wish to be understood as being an exponent of polygamy or any other practice that is in violation of law, but I hold that Mormonism, without polygamy as it is practiced to-day, is as deserving of as much recognition as any other religious belief.

"The Roberts case of a few years ago and the case of Reed Smoot are by no means analogous. Roberts, as I understand it, was an acknowledged polygamist, but I believe he contended that his plural marriages all took place before the manifesto of 1890. It is evidenced by the protestants against Smoot that he has no plural wives. Nothing has been introduced in the way of evidence to attempt to show anything to the contrary, because it is known that such a charge cannot be proved. Then the fight is against the Mormon church to show that polygamy exists, not with Reed Smoot, but elsewhere, and that it not denied. The only denial is that polygamous marriages have been countenanced by the church since the manifesto. Surely it would not be expected of a man who had several wives that he give them up all but one when the manifesto went forth. Who would take care of the abandoned wives and their children who had been legally wedded to a man according to their belief?"

Independent Party Movement.

Regarding the current talk that there is a likelihood of an independent party in Idaho because of the Mormon question, Judge Borah had the following to say:

"The Smoot investigation, as you suggest, has given prominence to the Mormon question in our state to some extent and, if you think my views of sufficient moment, I have no objection to your having them.

"In the first place, I think it is perfectly safe to say that the independent party movement starting up in Utah will not find lodgment in Idaho. We have no room for it in our politics. So far as I am individually concerned, I would not accede to it for a moment, and, while there is considerable talk about the matter, I do not think many republicans will ever seriously consider it.

"As to the question of disfranchisement of Mormons, it will, in my judgment, never take place in Idaho. It would be so manifestly unjust to set about disfranchising an entire people because of the alleged acts of individuals that it would not, and could not, succeed. Individually, I think any talk of disfranchisement is founded upon wholly unreasonable and unjust principles. I know there are some prominent republicans who say this is the only solution, and some prominent democrats, too, but I do not believe it will materialize—at least, I am thoroughly opposed to it. I can only speak for myself. As a republican, I say no man should be given office because he is a Mormon and no man should be denied an office or any right of citizenship because he is a Mormon.

Polygamy in Idaho.

"As to polygamy existing in Idaho, I know of no plural marriages since the manifesto. It is claimed there have been some, but I have been among the Mormons in the practice of my profes-

sion for 19 years, and I have never known of an instance. There are those whom the manifesto found with more than one wife, but I do not know of any plural marriages since the manifesto. But if everything is true that is claimed by those most aggressive in opposition, the remedy is not in an independent party movement or in disfranchisement. One is impracticable and unnecessary, the other wholly unjust and un-American.

"You ask about the Smoot investigation. I prefer not to speak further about that. When the committee takes up the question of Smoot's right to retain his seat and when it gets around to the real question, some new light may come or the other may come. So far, that question does not seem to have interested the committee—it is now trying the church."

PARTY THAT HAS SOME CHARACTER

THEME OF ADDRESS DELIVERED
BY W. E. BORAH BEFORE LARGE
AUDIENCE IN SHOSHONE.

He Says the Glory of Victory for Republicans in Idaho Will Be Shared by Many Democrats Who Resent Action That Betrayed Both Hearst and Parker.

(Special Dispatch.)

SHOSHONE, Nov. 3.—The Republicans held an immense rally here tonight. The hall was crowded long before the meeting hour. F. Gooding presided and the speakers were D. S. Steves and W. E. Borah. Mr. Steves made an extended address discussing national issues while Mr. Borah spoke almost entirely upon state issues. The vast audience greeted with cheer after cheer every mention of Mr. Gooding's name. Everything indicates that Mr. Gooding will carry his home town by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Borah said among other things every man must be measured by the manner in which he meets emergency. "Measured by this rule," said Mr. Borah, "the voters will enter the booth next Tuesday feeling that Frank Gooding is eminently fitted for the position of governor. His campaign has been extraordinary, a revelation to his closest friends and a continued consternation to the opposition. He has visited every county in the state, has shown an exceptional knowledge of the matters which interest our people and of the varied questions of local concern, and has with a candor, constancy and courage rarely found in politics, given his views and outlined his policy upon all these questions of public concern. There is no issue before the people about which you can question his position or in reference to which there is a shadow of doubt. He has discussed with a strong grasp all these matters, a grasp born of practical experience. In this day of skepticism it is a healthy relief to find a man who wakes with understanding sleep.

Dubois' Agility.

Senator Dubois is now busy explaining how much worse is polygamy than adultery. What a wonderfully acute and able man is this illustrious gentleman that he can distinguish in morals between these two offenses. He now says, however, that he wanted the latter offense covered by the platform but could not secure such action. This unfortunate statement gives the people a full opportunity to get the full measure of the moral sense of the organization of which he is the head. They

had votes to cover polygamy and illegal exaltation but did not have votes to sustain the commitment. That would be an elegant crowd in whom to entrust morals of the state and the reformation of the criminal code. Their power to distinguish between the different offenses is entirely too subtle for the ordinary mind. But if the platform managers refused to execute his view it seems fitting strange that he did not suggest to his candidate for governor to emulate an illustrious example and add to the platform by some declaration, either by telegram or otherwise.

The fact is that this offense was dropped from the platform, if not by suggestion, at least by consent of the senator and his friends. Some of us have taken the opportunity since his strange explanation to ascertain the facts and I say that is a fact. If they had not consented to it, if it had not been so understood and voted upon, if they had been dead in earnest the floor of the convention would have witnessed their fight and defeat there and they would have hastened to inform the public how they were defeated and quickly announced their position.

"No, it was all fixed up. They dickered and compromised upon the matter about which the moral sense of civilization is a unit. They never in this campaign opened their lips upon the subject until forced to do so by the fashing of the opposition, then they seek to hide behind a few Mormon members who were greatly in the minority. The Mormon members did not have votes enough to defeat any measure, had they stood alone.

Gooding's Fearlessness.

"In this connection you get a full view of the fearlessness of Frank Gooding. When his attention was called to the defects in our criminal code he unhesitatingly decided in favor of its amendment, notwithstanding the senator would have us believe that the Mormons defeated it at Moscow, also at Lewiston and that Mr. Gooding is dependent upon them for his election. Not only this but he went among these people and declared to them what he declared to the public and, strange as it may seem, they unmistakably made known their approval of his course. So the state which was rejected by the builders has become the key to the edifice of the opposition.

"Now why could not Henry have done so much and why did he not do so? Even yet he is silent. But Henry moves deliberately and cannot change his speech but once in two years. He is occupied in discussing with parrot like monotony the unfortunate lack of moral courage as he claims in your humble servant, and if I had dropped dead a month ago the speech would have had to continue through the campaign just the same. The hogger had been filled for a certain period and there was no way to change the crit.

Character of the Republican Party.

Let me say a word to those who will cast their vote in 1894. Political parties have character—reputations built up the same as the reputations of men. The past years with their failures or successes become ingrained in the party's character. Every grand deed, every pledge fulfilled, every promise kept, make up that character. In the past Republicanism has stood for union, free

freedom, for Wharfed honor in war and in peace for the home as evidenced by the homestead law and as evidenced by every law upon the statute books of the United States against polygamy, for protection of American labor and American industries, for liberal reward to the flag's defenders and at this time with the most courageous leader of the hour it seizes hold of the complex problems springing out of our commercialized age with the same zeal, patriotism and enlightened statesmanship as in the past. The party that struck the shackles from the slave, released a people from the clutches of Spanish tyranny and gave a new flag to the sky, the party which carried the Atlantic and Pacific with the transcontinental railway and is now linking the seas with the isthmian canal, the party which found American industries prostrate and in ruins and placed them on their feet in competition with the world and is standing guard over themselves, is the party which appeals to you tonight for your vote and support. It is a party with a creed, with a faith and with the power to do.

"You will notice that the men who have trusted implicitly in the capacity of the people to do whatever was essential for their welfare, who have unhesitatingly adopted the faith which teaches that our institutions grow with the growth and expand with the expanding energy of the people, have naturally drifted to the leadership of our party. Its leaders have been men with faith in the power of the people to govern, men who have believed in our institutions and that they were flexible enough and strong enough to admit of the greatest possible growth in national life.

Statesmanship of Republicanism.

"Look over the years since 1826 and how well they tell the story of far-seeing statesmanship of Republican leadership. If they tell you that the Republican party wants for a remedy when there is a wrong, that it wants for a plan when there is something to be done, your answer is the marvelous years from 1826 to 1894. Never was a party of its leaders more bitterly assailed, more malignantly maligned, but it has gone steadily and grandly on pursuing its plans with invincible purpose and writing the history in which the people now regard as party exult.

"Every pledge made by the party in 1826 and 1890 stands redeemed tonight, every obligation fulfilled. The protective tariff has been restored, the standard of money permanently fixed, the Alaskan boundary established, Cuban reciprocity accomplished, the Panama canal assured under the sole ownership and control of the United States, free delivery given to millions in the agricultural community, the laws for the proper regulation of trusts have been enforced, prosperity established, labor paid and given employment, civilization and good government established in the islands, the Boxer was settled, another achievement in diplomacy chronicled, and today the American flag is an emblem of honor and strength throughout the world.

THINKS SMOOT WILL WIN

March 24-1904

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MORMON WILL BE SEATED.

HIS VIEWS ON THE CASE

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PARTY THAT HAS SOME CHARACTER

THEME OF ADDRESS DELIVERED BY W. E. BORAH BEFORE LARGE AUDIENCE IN SHOSHONE.

He Says the Glory of Victory for Republicans in Idaho Will Be Shared by Many Democrats Who Resent Action of Maverick Dubois' Organization That Betrayed Both Hearst and Parker.

(Special Dispatch.)

SHOSHONE, Nov. 5.—The Republicans held an immense rally here tonight. The hall was crowded long before the meeting hour. F. Gooding presided and the speakers were Dr. Stevens and W. E. Borah. Mr. Stevens made an extended address discussing national issues while Mr. Borah spoke almost entirely upon state issues. The almost entirely upon state issues. The great audience greeted with cheer all great mention of Mr. Gooding's name. Everything indicates that Mr. Gooding will carry his home town by an overwhelming majority.

Mr. Borah said among other things every man must be measured by the manner in which he meets emergencies. "Measured by this rule," said Mr. Borah, "the voters will enter the booth next Tuesday feeling that Frank Gooding is eminently fitted for the position of governor. His campaign has been extraordinary, a revelation to his closest friends and a continued consternation to the opposition. He has visited every county in the state, has shown an exceptional knowledge of the matters which interest our people and of the varied questions of local concern, and has, with a verve, constancy and courage rarely found in politics, given his views and outlined his policy upon all these questions of public concern. There is no issue before the people about which you can question his position or in reference to which there is a shadow of doubt. He has discussed with a strong grasp all these matters, a grasp born of practical experience. In this day of shillings it is a healthy relief to see a man who walks with undeviating steps.

Dubois' Agility.

Senator Dubois is now busy explaining how much worse is polygamy than the choice of the very best part of the very best income tax.

had votes to cover polygamy and illegal cohabitation but did not have votes to sustain the commandment. That would be an elegant crowd to whom to entrust morals of the state and the reformation of the criminal code. Their power to distinguish between the different offenses is entirely too subtle for the ordinary mind. But if the platform managers refused to execute his view it seems passing strange that he did not suggest to his candidate for governor to emulate an illustrious example and add to the platform by some declaration, either by telegram or otherwise.

"The fact is that this offense was dropped from the platform, if not by suggestion, at least by consent of the senator and his friends. Some of us have taken the opportunity since his strange explanation to ascertain the facts and I say that is a fact. If they had not consented to it, if it had not been so understood and relied upon, if they had been dead in earnest the floor of the convention would have witnessed their fight and defeat there and they would have hastened to inform the public how they were defeated and quickly announced their position.

"No, it was all fixed up. They dickered and compromised upon the matter about which the moral sense of civilization is a unit. They never in this campaign opened their lips upon the subject until forced to do so by the rushing of the opposition, then they seek to hide behind a few Mormon members who were greatly in the minority. The Mormon members did not have votes enough to defeat any measure, had they stood alone.

Gooding's Fearlessness.

"In this connection you get a full view of the fearlessness of Frank Gooding. When his attention was called to the defects in our criminal code he unhesitatingly decided in favor of its amendment, notwithstanding the senator would have us believe that the Mormons defeated it at Moscow, also at Lewiston and that Mr. Gooding is dependent upon them for his election. Not only this but he went among these people and declared to them what he declared to the public and, strange as it may seem, they unmistakably made known their approval of his course. So the stone which was rejected by the builders has become the key to the edifice of the opposition.

"Now why could not Henry have done so much and why did he not do so? Even yet he is silent. But Henry moves deliberately and cannot change his speech but once in two years. He is occupied in discussing with parrot like monotony the unfortunate lack of moral courage as he claims in your humble servant, and if I had dropped dead a month ago the speech would have had to continue through the campaign just the same. The paper had been filled for a certain kind and there was no way to change the grist.

Character of the Republican Party.

"Let me say a word to those who will cast their vote in 1904. Political parties have characters—reputations built up the same as the reputations of men. The past years with their failures or successes become ingrained in the party's character. Every grand deed, every pledge fulfilled, every promise kept, make up that character. In the past Republicanism has stood for gain, for

freedom, for financial honor in war and in peace, for the home as evidenced by the homestead law and as evidenced by every law upon the statute books of the United States against polygamy, for protection of American labor and American industries, for liberal reward to the flag's defenders and at this time with the most courageous leader of the hour it seizes hold of the complex problems springing out of our commercialized age with the same zeal, patriotism and enlightened statesmanship as in the past. The party that struck the shackles from the slave, released a people from the clutches of Spanish tyranny and gave a new flag to the sky, the party which married the Atlantic and Pacific with the transcontinental railway and is now linking the seas with the isthmian canal; the party which found American industries prosperous and in perilous and placed them at last in competition with the world and is standing guard over them still, is the party which appeals to you tonight for your vote and support. It is a party with a creed, with a faith and with the power to do.

"You will notice that the men who have trusted implicitly in the capacity of the people to do whatever was essential for their welfare, who have unhesitatingly adopted the faith which teaches that our institutions grow with the growth and expand with the expanding energy of the people, have naturally drifted to the leadership of our party. Its leaders have been men with faith in the power of the people to govern, men who have believed in our institutions and that they were flexible enough and strong enough to admit of the greatest possible growth in national life.

Statesmanship of Republicanism.

"Look over the years since 1836 and how well they tell the story of far-seeing statesmanship of Republican leaders. If they tell you that the Republican party wants for a remedy when there is a wrong, that it wants for a plan when there is something to be done, your answer is the marvelous years from 1836 to 1901. Never was a party of its leaders more bitterly assailed, more malignantly maligned, but it has gone steadily and grandly on pursuing its plans with invincible purpose and writing the history in which the people now regardless of party exult.

"Every pledge made by the party in 1836 and 1860 stands redeemed tonight, every obligation fulfilled. The protective tariff has been restored, the standard of money permanently fixed, the Alaskan boundary established, Cuban reciprocity accomplished, the Panama canal assured under the sole ownership and control of the United States, free delivery given to millions in the agricultural community, the laws for the proper regulation of trusts have been enforced, prosperity established, labor paid and given employment, civilization and good government established in the Islands, the Boxer war settled, another achievement in diplomacy chronicled, and today the American flag is an emblem of honor and strength throughout the world.

Contest in This State.

"In Idaho the contest has been a peculiar one, and the great victory which we will enjoy after the 8th will not be the victory of Republicans alone. We will have to share the glory with many Democrats. There are hundreds of them in this state who put state loyalty above the mere name of party and, realizing that their party as such is not represented in this fight, will vote against the maverick organization sailing under the false colors of Democracy.

"The opposition is not the Democratic party. It does not represent Democratic principles. It does not advocate the old-fashioned Democratic standard. It has ~~used~~ the name of Democracy while repudiating both its candidates and its principles. In the hope of securing a few Republican votes it has willingly trampled under foot the principles of Democracy.

"In the membership of this Democracy is found no familiar name. The old fighters of 20 years ago do not visit its headquarters or appear upon the hustings—the organization is made up of six Silver Republicans, three strangers as yet unclaimed by any party, but who openly from the stump renounce Parker, and one gentleman who cares nothing for politics but is simply the apostle of good manners and bewitching style.

Same Parties Who Betrayed Hearst.

"Democracy realizes that the influence which betrayed Hearst at St. Louis was the same influence which betrayed Parker at Lewiston. The only difference, at St. Louis there was a kiss and at Lewiston a kick. Parker and the seventh commandment went down together. It is a notorious fact that those loyal Democrats in the state who have desired to go out and speak for Parker have not been permitted to do so under the auspices of the organization. Those who wished to discuss national issues have been denied the privilege of doing so by this organization. The great leaders of the opposition has declared in print, 'There are no live national issues in Idaho.' This must be exhibiting beyond measure to Democrats. You Democrats were undoubtedly of the belief that this was a presidential campaign, that a Democratic president was to be elected; but you were mistaken. They would disfranchise you upon the national question."

BORAH'S LAST SHOT

OPPOSITION IS NOT THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

STATES ITS CONSTITUENTS

Six Silver Republicans, Three Unclaimed Strangers, One Apostle of Good Manners.

Boise, Nov. 1.—W. E. Borah addressed a large meeting tonight in Shoshone, the home town of Frank R. Gooding. He paid a glowing tribute to the republican candidate, declaring that his frank manner in facing issues and of declaring his position had won votes for him in every portion of the state.

It was pleasing in these days of sidestepping, he said, to find a man who would thus carry the frankness of private life into his dealings with the people as a candidate for office.

Referring to Senator Dubois, he said the senator is engaged in attempting to make the people believe that polygamy was a greater offense than adultery. How he arrived at such a conclusion the speaker could not understand. Again speaking of the democratic campaign, he said:

The opposition is not the democratic party. It does not represent the democratic principles, and does not advocate the election even of a democratic president. It filched the name of democracy while repudiating both its candidates and its principles. In the hope of securing a few republican votes it has willingly trampled under foot the principles of democracy.

In the membership of this democracy is found no familiar name. The old fighters of 20 years ago do not visit its headquarters or go upon the hustings. The organization is made up of six silver republicans, three strangers as yet unclaimed by any party, but who openly from the stump renounce Parker, and one gentleman who cares nothing for politics, but is simply the apostle of good manners and bewitching style.

The democracy realizes that the influence which betrayed Hearst at St. Louis, was the same influence which betrayed Parker at Lewiston. The only difference was that at St. Louis there was a kiss and at Lewiston a kick. Parker and the seventh commandment went down together.

BORAH SAYS BOTH LAID DOWN

Has Challenged Dubois and Heitfeld for New Polygamy.

Boise, Idaho, Nov. 1.—W. E. Borah addressed a meeting at Caldwell last evening, devoting a large portion of his time to the Mormon question. He referred to the telegram of Charles Moxley Owen in which 19 different cases of polygamy were pointed out. The speaker declared he was personally acquainted with 17 of the men on the list and all had taken plural wives many years ago, before the manifesto. One of the men is over 80 years of age and had married his polygamous wives about 1848. He would refuse to prosecute a man like that. By common consent the old Mormons who had more than one wife at the time of the manifesto had been left unmolested at that time and during all the years since, notwithstanding that all the names of polygamists in Owen's telegram had been known. Borah declared he had challenged Senator Dubois and also telegraphed ex-senator Heitfeld offering to prosecute any new cases of polygamy if they would file sworn complaints in court. They had declined, Dubois asserting it would be "unbecoming" for a United States senator to file complaints in court, and Heitfeld also felt it would be beneath his dignity as a gubernatorial candidate.

BORAH SPEAKS AT LEWISTON

DENIES THAT MORMONISM IS AN
ISSUE OR THAT POLYGAMY
EXISTS IN IDAHO.

STANDS BY HIS CHALLENGE

Arnauld Dubois, Ridicules the Principles
Expounded by Him and
Ronald Jackson.

LEWISTON, Idaho, Oct. 25.—W. E. Borah of Boise tonight delivered one of the most eloquent addresses ever heard in this city. He discussed national and state issues and took occasion to arraign Senator Dubois and Chairman C. R. Jackson of Boise. He made a scathing and bitter attack against the principles expounded by them and ridiculed the presence in this state on the democratic side of William Hyde Stalker, a son of polygamous parents; Mrs. White of Philadelphia, and Mr. Owens, a special detective, whom, he said, were impositions, with little knowledge of the true condition of affairs in Idaho.

Mr. Borah devoted the major portion of his address to the Mormon question, but prefaced his remarks with a reference to national issues, comparing the years of prosperity under republican rule since the time of Lincoln with the particular administration of Cleveland. He discussed the tariff, protection and prosperity, and paid a most glowing tribute to the memory of Lincoln, to whom he likened Roosevelt as a man of similar attainments.

Discusses Mormon Question.

In taking up the Mormon question Mr. Borah ridiculed Senator Dubois as always digging up paramount issues, and this time it is polygamy. He denied that it was an issue and time and again repeated that there was no such thing as polygamy in Idaho, and defied Dubois or anyone else to produce a case of plural marriage since the manifesto. He reviewed the session of the democratic state convention in this city when he said that five or six democrats in the party had discovered that the purvey of the women of Idaho was in danger over polygamous practices, and still that such moral advocates as St. Donnelly, "Blahney" Flesher and Senator Dubois had denied that the great democratic party should be the savior of women. His address was full of satire and wit and evoked much laughter at times.

Answers Dubois.

Mr. Borah took occasion to answer Senator Dubois with reference to the accusation of polygamy in Idaho if complaints would be filed, and laid small blame on the names of polygamists furnished by one Owens, stating that not a man entered on the complaints could be prosecuted, as he had not violated the law by taking plural wives since the effects. He said, however, that he did stand by the challenge if complaint was made through the proper courts and in the proper courts. He was asked as to what Senator Dubois had been doing in 12 years of public service that he had not checked this alleged

polygamous move in Idaho. "Let them proceed to file complaints. Why should not Senator Dubois prosecute these cases and why should he wait for me? He is the one who should proceed." Mr. Borah said that there were sufficient laws in effect, and cited cases of bigamy that had resulted in conviction, which, he said, was the same thing as polygamy.

In speaking of Mr. Stalker, who is traveling with Senator Dubois, Mr.

Borah said he was a side show and declared that his statements from the platform as to the fact that cruel methods were used to enforce women into becoming polygamous wives were untrue. He said that he was opposed to polygamy; that the whole republican party was opposed to it. When the women of Idaho asked for a crusade against polygamy in Idaho the republican party would come to the rescue, and every political organization in the state would join in the work.

He referred to the charges made by Mr. Jackson here last night in reference to the statement concerning his efforts in Chicago to have an anti-polygamy plank placed in the republican platform and denied having gone there for that express purpose. He challenged Dubois, or anyone else, to produce anyone who could say that he had brought the matter out or insisted on the plank going in the platform. He said that Senator Gallagher had talked with him five minutes on the subject and asked if it was wanted, and he had replied that "if you people think the question is an issue, you can declare against it."

The Smoot Matter.

The speaker denied that Senator Hayburn was elected by grace of the Mormon influence. He said that there were 11 Mormon members in the legislature and that seven had voted for him and four for Hayburn and that it was a physical impossibility for this to have been the case. He said that the statement had been made by others than Dubois (referring to Mr. Jackson) that the Mormons had gone to him and asked him whether, if elected to the senate, he would vote for seating Reed Smoot, and that he replied that it was a judicial question and would have to be considered. He denied that he had made that answer, and said with emphasis that "the man who circulated that statement is a wilful and deliberate liar." Mr. Borah said, however, that when he was asked if he would vote for Smoot if elected, he had replied that he would examine the case and vote as his conscience dictated.

Ronald Jackson.

At this point Mr. Borah made a scathing attack on the personality of Mr. Jackson by stating that it was not worth while attacking a man who could not get credit for \$25 in Boise, if his feed depended on it, and that he was irresponsible, both financially and morally.

He closed his remarks by asking that the people of the state vote the republican ticket.

Mr. Borah was introduced by R. E. Anderson of this city. On the rostrum sat many prominent republicans, among whom were several state candidates.

MOSCOW HOSTS FLOCK TO TOWN

IDAHO REPUBLICANS VISIT SPOKANE AFTER THEIR STATE CONVENTION.

MR. GOODING IS IN CROWD

W. E. Borah Says Result Was Not Slap at Governor Morrison's Administration.

Delegates to the republican state convention of Idaho, held Wednesday at Moscow, invaded Spokane yesterday. The special train which had brought the southern delegation to Moscow arrived at 2 o'clock yesterday afternoon and remained until midnight. Then it departed for Boise over the O. R. & N. Most of the delegates attended the ball game in the afternoon and rooted for Boise. To the presence of the politicians is attributed the success of the Boise team.

Foremost among the visitors was Frank R. Gooding, nominee for governor. Mr. Gooding mingled with the crowd which came from the convention as freely as the humblest delegate. To his "mixing qualities" is due much of his success as a politician. Until he was nominated everyone who knew him addressed him as "Frank," but yesterday there was a disposition to call him "governor." He apparently did not relish the new distinction, for he told the delegates to "cut it out."

Mr. Gooding's Career.

Mr. Gooding was born in England. He is 45 years of age, and emigrated to America with his parents when he was eight years old. They first settled in Michigan, but when Mr. Gooding grew up he came to the Pacific coast. California was his first stopping place, but he did not remain there long. He went to Idaho in 1882, and within a year settled at Shoshone Falls, Lincoln county, where he still lives.

On his arrival in Idaho Mr. Gooding went into the sheep business in a small way. Now he counts his sheep by the thousands, and has branched out into various other lines. He is president of a national bank at Shoshone Falls and is a heavy stockholder in a general merchandise store.

In politics Mr. Gooding has always been a republican. Even in the free silver era, which witnessed the defection of a large number of Idaho republicans, he stood steadfastly by his ancient faith.

Three years ago he was chosen chairman of the state central committee to fill a vacancy, and in 1902 he managed the successful campaign which redeemed Idaho from the democracy. At the head of the winning ticket for governor was John T. Morrison, whom Mr. Gooding defeated for renomination on Wednesday.

Mr. Gooding is married and has three children. His eldest child, a daughter, aged 12, is married. Accompanying him to the convention was his brother, Fred W. Gooding, also of Shoshone Falls. The latter's pleasure over his brother's political success was unbounded.

What Mr. Borah Says.

Next to Mr. Gooding the central figure among the visitors was W. E. Borah of Boise, who assisted in managing the successful fight which resulted in Mr. Gooding's nomination. Mr. Borah, according to convention gossip, will be supported by Mr. Gooding for United States senator when Senator Fred Dubois' term expires, two years hence. In discussing the Moscow convention, Mr. Borah said:

"The opposition to Governor Morrison's re-nomination was not aroused by his conduct of his administration; for, while it has not been a popular administration in every sense, it has been both clean and efficient. We heartily endorsed it, despite the fact that the opposition was in complete control of the convention at all times.

"It was simply a contest between Morrison and Gooding for the governorship, and Gooding won. As between Beale and French for congress, the feeling was that a congressman should be re-nominated. While we did not apply the same rule to the governorship, the defeat of Governor Morrison is in no sense a condemnation either of the administration or the man. If it had been intended that the governor's term should be one of four years, instead of two, it would have undoubtedly been so provided in the constitution.

"Mr. Gooding, the nominee for governor, is a wealthy stock raiser and merchant—a man of experience, force and energy."

In No Mormon Question.

When asked about the Mormon question, Mr. Borah said:

"There is no Mormon question in Idaho. Polygamy is not countenanced by the church. It lives up, in my judgment, to its antipolygamy manifesto. We put nothing in our platform touching polygamy for the same reason that nothing was put in the democratic platform on the money question. We did not consider it a living question, and we declared only on living issues.

"The defeat of Judge Stewart was due entirely, in my judgment, to the fact that he has two years yet to serve on the district bench. He is a judge of exceptional ability, and is so recognized by the bar of the state."

The northern delegates who returned

Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, offers a letter to The Oregonian, written in furious terms—in the big bow-wow style. The Oregonian prints it, because it gives every one a hearing. But The Oregonian has been familiar with Senators of the Heyburn type these many, many years. The Oregonian knows perfectly the standing of Senator Heyburn at home and at Washington. On his land schemes for Idaho he has been turned down heavily at Washington, and he will not be able to maintain himself at home. Mr. Heyburn is one of the birds of passage, who flit through the United States Senate. They come and go.

THE MAN JACKSON.

In a speech of Wilson on Monday night, Hon. W. E. Borah took a little shot at C. H. Jackson, the kid-gloved chairman of the Democratic state committee, and people who know Jackson say that he called the turn to a steady, or Borah said:

C. H. Jackson said last Friday night at Wallace that Frank Gooding has the tastes and customs of a sheep herder, that he was smooth, ignorant, obstinate and foolheaded. That is now their style of campaign as outlined by this gentleman from New York. Had Mr. Gooding been connected with mines or farming Jackson would undoubtedly have said he had the tastes and customs of a hobo as he is one of that class of men who look upon every man that has a visible means of support as questionable in character.

"Frank Gooding is a man from the ranks. He has fought his way from poverty to competency. Casting his lot with Idaho and her people at a time when he was poor, he has endured the hardships and conquered obstacles which has been the portion of 99 per cent of our people. He knows their wants and in the school of experience has been taught their needs. He is of that class who open and work the mines, clear the sagebrush, plant homes and pay the taxes. He has the bluntness of honesty, the directness of conviction, the resolution and determination of courage. He fights in the open, and no one doubts his obstinacy when he once takes a stand. His indomitable will, power, his tireless energy, his open, outspoken disposition as shown by the fearless, open method with which he has met the issues of the campaign, stamp him as a man of force, one of that class of men who make states and open up new countries while the more fortunate wait upon the dancing master and keep open the pawnshop.

"Such men as Gooding never betray a state. It would be like betraying their name, for all their interests, a life's work and savings, are wrapped up in the welfare of the state. Such men believe in the punishment of crime, in the enforcement of law. They are tied up with the welfare of the state. Unjust legislation would effect him as it would all the people. He would suffer from unsafe and bad laws the same as every one else would. It is, therefore, the uncontradicted history of the northwest that such men make our safe and solid governors.

"The man who looks with contempt upon labor, who thinks everyone that works is more or less vulgar and un-

...will always find fault with such men. But the hardy pioneer spirit, the sturdy manhood and womanhood now laying so firm and grand the foundation of a great, new commonwealth, will take their chances with him who walks the path with them and is obstinate and bullheaded in defending their rights and the upbuilding of the state.

TRIBUTE TO GOODING.

In his Weiser speech W. E. Borah paid a tribute to Frank R. Gooding, the Republican candidate for governor, that was as deserved and practical as it was eloquent and effective. For some time speakers of the opposition, and notably Chairman Jackson, have been going over the state attempting to belittle Mr. Gooding as unsmooth and to minimize his ability to handle problems of state. While it is no doubt true that Mr. Gooding would be outshone as a drawing room power by the chairman of the Democratic state committee, it is equally true that, in the arena of practical, every day, common sense business affairs, in the promotion of those interests in the upbuilding of a state, Mr. Gooding stands the peer of all those

who essay on the rostrum to underrate him.

A man who can successfully manage his own affairs can successfully manage the affairs of others and, conversely, a man who is a failure in the conduct of his own business is more likely to bring disaster to any other interests entrusted to his care. This is a strong point in favor of the Republican candidate and one that the people haven't been slow to grasp. Coming to Idaho a poor man, working for day's wages for many years, undergoing the hardships that the great majority have known, overcoming the obstacles that have confronted practically all who have come into this new country to make their homes, he has built up a competency for himself, won the reputation of being a substantial, reliable, clear-headed, firm business man and, at the same time, he has been responsible for improvements that have added materially to the wealth of his state. During these years he has always been one of the people, and, as Mr. Borah puts it, "he knows their wants and, in the school of experience, has been taught their needs."

A man who has accomplished what Mr. Gooding has accomplished and who has been instrumental in the promotion to such a degree of the material interests of his state will devote himself

just as zealously and with as painstaking care to official duties, applying to them his ripe experience and bringing about as successful results as though he were conducting his own affairs.—Statesman.

(OVER)

Address Borah

SPOKANE

PRESS CLIPPING BUREAU,

RELIABLE INFORMATION.

P. O. Box 1748.

Spokane, Wash.

WE DO MORE.

We make fac-simile type-written letters that look like personal letters, furnish up-to-date lists of names for all branches of trade; address envelopes and wrappers; print all kinds of stationery and circulars; fold and mail, or reliably distribute all kinds of advertising matter in Spokane, Wash., or adjacent vicinity.

We have the best STILL HUNT advertising bureau in the Pacific Northwest.

This Clipping is from the

Star
Moscow, Ida
Dated 12-12-1904

It is a pleasure to know that Hon. W. E. Borah will speak to the people of Moscow at the opera house next Saturday night, Oct. 22. Mr. Borah is considered the foremost Republican in Idaho today, and is a most attractive speaker. His coming is always considered a treat and his audiences are only limited to the capacity of the hall in which he speaks. He is always sure of a large hearing, and his meeting here will probably be the largest of the campaign.

This Clipping is from the

News
Sandpoint Ida
Dated *12-24* 1904

Clipper

BORAH REPLIES TO THE CHALLENGE OF DUBOIS

Republican Leader Talks From the Shoulder at Bonners Ferry.

IS READY TO LAY ASIDE HOPE FOR TOGA

He Would Then Go Into a Personal Campaign if Dubois Desires it—Distinguished Boise Statesman Makes a Whirlwind Speech and Carries Everything Before Him.

If Senator Dubois will sign an agreement to not be a candidate for re-election, I will sign a similar agreement, and then we can fight this question out on personal lines.

If Senator Dubois will find a Mormon who is practicing polygamy and will swear out the complaint against him I will find the court and the officers to prosecute that man, and I will assist in the prosecution without any charge for my services.

The above are the words of Hon. W. E. Borah in his speech at Bonners Ferry.

Inasmuch as Senator Dubois in last Saturday's Spokesman-Review issued a warning to Hon. W. E. Borah to cease making disparaging

that if McKinley was re-elected and the republican party continued in power in both branches of congress that rights of American citizenship would be jeopardized. This democratic spellbinder had laid great stress at that time on the fact that the country was even then on the very eve of another panic and that unless Bryan was elected the whole country would go to ruin.

Mr. Borah said that at that meeting four years ago he had asked his Bonners Ferry audience to vote for four years more of republican rule and that he had assured them that they would continue to have prosperous times.

Republican Policies Proven Right

He asked his audience to recall

reference to his own Friday, who is carrying about the state with him to malign the name of his mother in an effort to stampede the ladies' vote to the democratic party, a representative of the News accompanied Mr. Borah and his party from Sanduski to Honours Ferry Saturday to report Mr. Borah's answer to the senators' warning.

The meeting at the Ferry was one of the best attended and most enthusiastic of the campaign. Mr. Walker, the principal committeeman at the Ferry, is a lively, energetic abolitionist, and had all details for the meeting nicely arranged.

State Senator Taylor on Record

James K. Dolan presided and first introduced Herman H. Taylor, of Sanduski, candidate for state senator. Mr. Taylor addressed the audience for 15 minutes on county affairs and on matters of interest to the citizens of Honours Ferry. He said he was in favor of the amendment of a state and county depositary law, both the state treasurer having to deposit the state funds and the county treasurer the county funds with a depository bank which would interest in the same. He also announced the plan of Honours Ferry and the location of the bridge that he would not his efforts to secure an appropriation toward the erection of a bridge across the Keweenaw river at or near Honours Ferry.

Mr. Taylor was followed by Harry J. Conroy of Cass, one of the candidates for representative. In a few well chosen words Harry let his hearers know where he stood on county matters and left the impression that his ear would always be open to the people of the north end of the county.

Amused Audience Held Harsh

Chairman then introduced several other candidates for representative. Mr. W. E. Borah, who held the floor in the afternoon and who had a fine record in the senate, was the last speaker. He said that he was in favor of the amendment of a state and county depositary law, both the state treasurer having to deposit the state funds and the county treasurer the county funds with a depository bank which would interest in the same.

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Mr. Borah said that he was in favor of the amendment of a state and county depositary law, both the state treasurer having to deposit the state funds and the county treasurer the county funds with a depository bank which would interest in the same.

if that was not the address made at that time. "You voted for four years more of republican rule," said Mr. Borah. "Now, who was right four years ago? Was it the democrats or was it the republicans? We can only gauge the future by the past. We have had seven years of prosperity under republican rule. Do you want to continue that or do you wish to try another experiment with democracy, and remember it is the Grover Cleveland kind? The same managers are behind Judge Parker that were behind Grover Cleveland in his four years' administration which is always referred to now as the 'Cleveland nightmare'."

Mr. Borah compared politics to business, and said that the voters were members of the party much the same as stockholders were members of a corporation. In politics persons are called in and out with the same alacrity with the same indifference that they feel that they are doing for the best interests of themselves and their neighbors. The voters are not to be taken in by the promises of politicians but as individuals but as a community. He called attention to the time of the election of Harrison's administration, history showing that never had a nation known such an increase in prosperity as that of 1888, but that that had been a one-time boom and had been followed by a depression and a hard winter. He said that the voters should be warned against the promises of politicians and should be warned to vote for the party that would give them the best government.

Four Years of Cleveland Night

Mr. Borah said that he was in favor of the amendment of a state and county depositary law, both the state treasurer having to deposit the state funds and the county treasurer the county funds with a depository bank which would interest in the same. He also announced the plan of Honours Ferry and the location of the bridge that he would not his efforts to secure an appropriation toward the erection of a bridge across the Keweenaw river at or near Honours Ferry.

Mr. Borah said that he was in favor of the amendment of a state and county depositary law, both the state treasurer having to deposit the state funds and the county treasurer the county funds with a depository bank which would interest in the same.

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...He stated that during the afternoon while at his hotel he had become restless and had come back to his club four years ago. On that occasion as on the present one he was following a night after a speaker of the opposite faith. Four years ago this Democrat leader had asked the Farmers' Party audience...

The speaker referred to the trust question and went into detail to show that the republican party was the only organization which had been for the people and in opposition to the far reaching act. The Sherman anti-trust law, he said, was passed at the close of Harrison's administration. When Cleveland came to power he totally ignored it and allowed the close of his term by his message to congress called attention to the fact that the law was ineffective, although he had never attempted to enforce it; and further said that his attorney general said it was unconstitutional. "How about it when Teddy Roosevelt stepped into the president's chair?" said Mr. Borah. "We find that he at once invoked the aid of this law in suppressing the merger in which the great railways of this country were attempting to merge into a huge trust to avoid competition. We find that Roosevelt and his attorney general were sustained by the supreme court of the United States, five of the judges, all republicans, holding the law as constitutional, and four of them, all democrats, holding the opposite. Then we have Roosevelt invoking the same anti-trust law against the pooling of southern roads as to the handling of cotton and again in the rebate case where the small shipper was discriminated against."

Pays Tribute to Roosevelt
Mr. Borah paid high tribute to the president, calling attention to his moral courage and illustrating the same by referring to the Pennsylvania coal trouble when the moneyed men of Wall street and the coal barons were warning to the president that he had an eight under the constitution to take a hand in that trouble. We find nevertheless that Roosevelt did take a hand. That he went into those coal fields, ascertained the conditions there, the suffering of the families of men who were out of employment; that he then went into the cities of New York and throughout the East and found the suffering of the poorer classes for reason of their inability to buy fuel on account of the high prices in vogue. When he had ascertained these conditions he appointed the coal commission and forced the matter to a compromise and eased the conditions of the suffering thousands of laborers' families in the coal region and the poor classes in the cities.

Mr. Borah referred to the president's prompt action in the Lathrop coal commission, and said that while there were those at the time who tried to make political capital out of that action by the president, that all of this country as well as the whole world now acknowledge that it was one of the wisest moves ever made by the head of this government, and that the question was settled for all time.

Dubois' Mormonism
Mr. Borah then turned to his audience and for over half an hour paid his compliments to Freddy and his sidekick, whom he calls a Stalker.
He said that he wished the Farmers' Party audience to understand that Dubois was not his advance agent, that there was no combination between them wherein Dubois was to go ahead and advertise his meetings for him. There was much movement over these opening remarks, as there were scores of ladies in the audience who had come out purposely to hear what reply Borah would make to Dubois' warning of the previous night.

Mr. Borah asked his audience if they could tell from Dubois' address of the night before whether he was a democrat, republican, populist or in fact what was his political belief. He asked his audience if Dubois ever mentioned the name of Judge Parker or Uncle Henry Gossaway Davis. "Mr. Dubois does not come before you this year and discuss his position on the tariff question, or any of the other questions in which you are all so vitally interested. Instead he comes before you with a story about some Mormon bishop who back in 1862 married a third wife, and using that as a basis tries to make all of you ladies believe that you are in imminent danger of becoming the third wife of some Mormon if you do not vote the democratic ticket this fall. The editor of the Press at Cedar Rapids has accused me of being a Mormon. I deny the charge."

Throws It Back in Dubois' Teeth
"I see that Senator Dubois warned me last evening that unless I ceased to make reference to his sidekick that he would open up on me and compromise my personal life with that of his sidekick. Well, when he puts my name and Stalker's name together he has placed all the ignominy on me that it is possible to do. I consider that when my name is mentioned in the same breath with that of Stalker's he has placed all the ignominy on my name that is possible.
"When Senator Dubois institutes a personal comparison between Stalker and myself I trust the senator will

include his own personal life in the contest. Ten days before the election in this campaign Judge Parker had announced their personal campaign on me, and Dubois himself had said from the platform that I was a coward and haggard while the Mormon church for political purposes. If there are any personalities in this campaign they have committed them. I shall continue to discuss Dubois' speeches and Stalker's assertions in the same way and after the same method heretofore adopted until the close of the campaign. I have not referred to Senator Dubois' personal life or Stalker's personal life, but their assertions, the reasons, motives and purposes for making these assertions are subjects about which I am going to talk—let it be so understood. I invite the comparison which he threatens, but it must be understood the comparison will be between Dubois and myself—back the senator to open.

Stalker's Statements False
"I say now that Stalker's statements are false. When he says there are seven hundred men living in polygamy in Idaho, when he says the Mormon people erect whipping posts in their back yards where their plow children are beaten to insensibility, when he says their women are murdered or would be if they refused to live in polygamy, and that these things have continued all these years, he lies not only a large class of our people, but indirectly the whole state of Idaho. Such miserable falsehoods make the name of Idaho abroad in sister states synonymous with lawlessness, immorality and infamy, for such things could not exist without having been known long ago by all. If one half he says is true then Idaho is a state of rascals and shameless women and lawless men. Mormons would not alone be responsible for the whole state. Here I now publicly denounce such statements as false.
"I propose to continue making the same talk on this Mormon question until the close of the campaign. If Mr. Dubois wishes to open this matter of personalities I can answer him in his kind but now I wish to say to this audience and through it to him that if he commences this question of personalities he must expect that I will meet it with comparisons of his own life with that of mine.

Dubois' Issue Ignored by His Party
"It is funny that if Mormonism is the paramount issue in this campaign that we find no reference to it in the letters of acceptance of Parker or Uncle Henry Gossaway Davis. Mr. Dubois is increased over that snub of the democracy's candidates to his paramount issue and all through his campaign he has refused to mention the names of the democratic nominees. At least I have never seen a reference to his mentioning Parker's or Davis' names in any of the papers of his speeches."

Mr. Borah called attention to the Lewiston platform and told of the history in connection therewith, showing that on the night when the Dubois-Mormon plank was turned down by the democratic convention it contained polygamy, adultery, lewd co-habitation, whereas when it was passed the next day adultery was not mentioned in the plank, that one crime being the only one that is not specifically mentioned in our penal code at the present time. Mr. Borah asked his audience if they thought Dubois was sincere in this matter. If he was why did he leave out this one crime which is the only one that is not already mentioned in the penal code and punishment fixed for? Mr. Borah said that all there was to the Mormon issue was something fictitious, made up by Mr. Dubois and his friends to use as a bogey for the ladies and also use it as a stick so that they could keep from discussing the real issues of the campaign. Mr. Borah quoted the statement of the Idaho penal code to prove that Mr. Dubois had falsely represented the case when he said there were no laws on the Idaho statutes to protect the fair sex of this state, and then he made a broad challenge to the senator.

Borah's Challenge to Dubois
"If Senator Dubois will find me one polygamist (say nothing of 700 as he and his friend Stalker claim there are) who is practicing polygamy in this state and he will make out a complaint against that man, I will offer my services free to prosecute that infringement of the law, and I will further promise that I will have behind me the republican officials of the state of Idaho in the prosecution. I will find the court and the officials that will prosecute the case, if Mr. Dubois can only find the polygamist."

Mr. Dubois claims that our state laws with reference to lewd co-habitation will not hold good to convict a Mormon of polygamy. He knows that to be false. He knows that those laws have been tested in the case of Reynolds vs the United States where the case was carried to the highest court, and this law was held

to be valid and a man was guilty of polygamy under that law and punished for the same.
"If there are 100 polygamists in southern Idaho" is that sufficient? Why doesn't he make a complaint and prosecute them? He knows there is no polygamy practiced in this state and has not even shown the manifesto.

Republicans Put Down Polygamy
"Mr. Dubois is making a big hue and cry about the democracy being the only protection the ladies of this state have against the Mormons. The records show that all of the legislation that has ever been passed against polygamy has been by republican legislatures and republican congresses. The first move made against polygamy was under President Lincoln and the republican party kept up the fight until they forced the manifesto to be issued and since that time the Mormon church and its members have ceased to practice polygamy and the question is no longer an issue. You would insult a young Mormon woman or a young Mormon man as much by talking to them along polygamous lines as you would any Gentile young lady or young man. Since the issuance of the manifesto the people have been started to believe that polygamy is wrong and they are as firm in that belief today as are any Gentiles.

Stalker Defames His Mother
"One more word about this man Stalker who Senator Dubois is carrying around with him. I know nothing whatever as to this young man's life or his personal character. All I have to judge by is his utterances from the platform during the present campaign. Any man who will go on the stump and advertise to the world from the rostrum all over the state the misfortunes and mistakes of his mother for the few coins of the realm that Dubois and his democratic committee will give him is too low in woman's of humanity to be permitted any human being I have as yet heard of. A man that will stoop so low as to drag his own mother through the mire, because of her mistakes and misfortunes, in order to win himself a few paltry dollars, is a low to be contemned by an enlightened people."

This reference to Stalker touched a heart cord of every woman in the audience. There was a breathless stillness that could be felt. That he of Stalker's miserable shame had ever been fully justified by the ladies until brought before their eyes in the forcible word picture of Mr. Borah and the contempt in which Stalker was held by the noble women of the audience could be seen at once.

Another Challenge to Dubois
Mr. Borah had warmed up to the subject as he has never before during his campaign and he issued a challenge to Senator Dubois that that politician will probably ignore.
In closing his remarks with reference to the Mormon question and by way of proving that it was no political issue, Mr. Borah stated that he had this proposition to make to Senator Dubois. Dubois had stated that he was a martyr to this cause, and he would ask him to prove it. "If Senator Dubois will sign an agreement not to be a candidate for reelection to the United States senate or to accept the office I will also sign the same agreement and then we will go out before the people as private citizens and not as candidates and discuss this question to a finish."

Mr. Borah started to go further and reveal the true motives behind Dubois' present fight on the Mormon church, but he stopped and after debating the matter in his own mind a moment said he would not make this statement at the present time, but that if Mr. Dubois insisted on making this campaign one of personalities he gave him warning now that he would not consider himself bound after having given this warning, but would divulge the real secret as had been told him by Dubois with his own mouth in months gone by.

After closing his remarks with reference to the Mormon question, Mr. Borah resumed his argument along national lines and his closing persuasion was one of those gems for which this brilliant orator is noted and one which sent each of his hundreds of hearers away with the highest regard for the magnetic orator and a glowing and everlasting remembrance of his power as a leader of men and women.

This Clipping is from the

News
Wardner

Dated 10-22

HON. W. E. BORAH'S ADDRESS.

A Splendid Speech to a Large and Delighted Audience.

The address given on Wednesday evening last must have been exceedingly gratifying to every republican in Wardner and vicinity, for every chair was taken by eight o'clock and the address was a succession of the most convincing arguments in favor of the republican party and the republican administration, delivered in a most masterly and eloquent manner.

There were with the speaker on the stage Will H. Gibson, secretary of state, and the following candidates for county offices: D. L. Hopkins, Ewen McIntosh, Paris Roushew, J. E. Gyde, J. H. Boomer, Al. Page, Doctor France and A. D. McKinley.

The meeting was called to order by F. F. Johnson, chairman of the county central committee, who introduced Mr. Gyde, who in turn introduced the speakers and announced other numbers on the program.

Mr. Gyde addressed the audience briefly and to the point. He stated that two years ago he stood before a Wardner audience and predicted that Hon. W. B. Heyburn would be the next United States senator from Idaho, and that encouraged by his success as a seer at that time he would now predict that the Hon. W. E. Borah, whom they had assembled to hear, would succeed Senator Dubois two years hence in the high office which the latter now occupies.

Will H. Gibson, secretary of state, was the next speaker. He spoke very briefly, in order to give Mr. Borah as much time as possible, but his remarks were exceedingly pertinent and were well received by the audience.

Mr. Gyde then introduced to the audience all the candidates for office who were present on the stage.

The next number, presided Mr. Borah, was a song entitled, "The G. O. P." This was rendered by about six teen ladies of the glee club associated with the Ladies' Republican Club of Wardner. This, in common with the others that were sung later, was composed by some members of the club. This was just the proper thing in the proper place and was enthusiastically cheered by the audience. In speaking of the glee club during his speech, Mr. Borah stated that if he had the ladies' glee club to accompany him in his campaign tour he could add several thousand votes to the republican majority in this state. Responding to an encore the glee club rendered, "A Hot Time in Wardner."

The band was in attendance and played suitable airs at intervals.

In opening his address Mr. Borah spoke of this government as an immense corporation in which all the people of this vast republic are stockholders, and that the election on the 8th day of next month is comparable to a stockholders' meeting, and he pointed out the importance of all being present and voting on questions of such vast importance to the nation and to each individual. He said that if the present board of managers had proven themselves worthy of the confidence and support of the people that they should be retained in office, and if not they should be removed. He particularly congratulated the women of Wardner and of the state generally, upon the excellent work that they have done for the republican party.

Mr. Borah made many comparisons of the effects of democratic and of republican rule, calling attention to the soup house administration of Grover Cleveland, with all its attendant conditions of 200,000 miles of railroad in the hands of receivers and 200 banks going to the wall in nine months. The speaker showed the prosperity of the nation upon the close of President Harrison's administration, and then compared it with Cleveland's second term, and this again with the prosperity that has gone hand in hand with the republican administration ever since.

Mr. Borah spoke for a few minutes on the distinguishing characteristics of President Roosevelt and of the work that he has accomplished with the aid of a republican congress acting in perfect unison. He compared the methods of raising money in case of emergency adopted by Grover Cleveland, with the assistance of John Pierpont Morgan and

August Belmont, for which the nation paid the latter gentlemen the modest sum of \$15,000,000, and later by William McKinley to meet the debt caused by the war with Spain—this being accomplished by a method which did not cost the government one dollar in commissions or fees, and was immediately subscribed by a willing people in every state in the union.

In regard to anti-trust legislation it was shown that the only anti-trust legislation that has been passed—the Sherman anti-trust bill—was enacted by a republican congress and signed by a republican president. That its constitutionality has been sustained by the highest authority in the land, although its passage and operation were bitterly opposed by the democrats at every opportunity that was offered.

Mr. Borah paid his respects to the Dubois-Stalker aggregation in a most emphatic manner, and probed the Dubois issue to the bottom. When he got through with it there was nothing left of it. The Dubois issue was shown to be a mass of misrepresentations, the scheme being intended solely for furthering the selfish interests of Senator Dubois. The statement, he said, that there were no laws covering the crimes of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation in this state, but Mr. Borah agreed to furnish all the law necessary to a conviction if Mr. Dubois would furnish the evidence. His remarks about William Hyde Stalker were not at all flattering to that gentleman. He could not entertain any respect for a man who goes round the country slandering his own parents, and that as far as Senator Dubois threats to expose the speaker was concerned, he could not suffer any greater humiliation than to have his name appear in the public print in connection with such a character as Stalker.

Mr. Borah concluded his address with a burst of oratory which evinced his complete mastery of the English language, and was received with a storm of applause by his auditors.

Mrs. W. C. Clark next sang a song entitled, "To Our President, Theodore Roosevelt," which will be found on another page in this issue. This was written by Mrs. France. The glee club joined in the chorus. The encore was responded to by the glee club which sang, "Teddy." These campaign songs, all of which were composed by Wardner ladies, were the hit of the evening, and showed, incidentally, the great interest which the republican ladies of Wardner are taking in the campaign.

After the meeting was over quite a number of the people stayed awhile to exchange greetings with Mr. Borah and the candidates.

There were counted coming down from the hall 500 persons, and this did not include all, as some went out of the side door and in the rear of the building.

This Clipping is from the

News
Wardner

Dated 10-22

Clipping

A GREAT SPEECH

Delivered by Hon. W. E. Borah
Last Tuesday

FLAYS DUBOIS AND STALKER

The Ablest Speech Delivered in
Wallace so Far in the
Campaign.

The most forceful, eloquent and exhaustive discussion of political questions with which Wallace has been favored was heard at Masonic Temple last Tuesday evening. Hon. W. E. Borah, of Boise, was the speaker, and he added new laurels to his already high reputation as an orator. He has force in every feature, which, backed by a flow of language and facility of expression in themselves captivating, he held the closest attention of his hearers and drew frequent demonstrations of applause.

Perhaps the most notable portions of Mr. Borah's speech were his reference to Senator Dubois and Mr. Stalker and his peroration. The senator or senator and his Mormon companion were certainly stayed to a frazzle denying that there was an issue in the so-called Mormon question, he showed the motive which prompted Senator Dubois to force this question on the democratic party and to endeavor to make it an issue in this campaign. He quoted Senator Dubois to show the utter inconsistency of his position. Referring to Stalker, the horrible example of Mormonism which Senator Dubois exhibits wherever he goes, Mr. Borah pictured him as an ingrate, a depraved, being so base that he could stand before an audience and slander his own mother. His denunciation of both Dubois and Stalker evidently gave expression to the sentiment of the audience, for they were heartily applauded.

Mr. Borah closed with a tribute to the republican party in which he eloquently reviewed its glorious achievements in the past and its ability to accomplish even greater things in the future.

Mr. Borah received many congratulations on his masterly effort, and there is no doubt that it left a profound impression upon his hearers.

the sixth of October, 1906, that I would
presente that man to conviction. Now
of the case. He was not on the

This Clipping is from the

News
Wardner

Dated 10-22

Clipping

Senator Dubois may now carry out the threat that he has made in regard to W. E. Borah, namely, that he would expose the latter gentleman if he did not cease his denunciations of the methods of William Hyde Stalker, for Mr. Borah certainly roasted him to a turn on Wednesday evening. But it is a matter of general report that Senator Dubois lives in a house made of such exceedingly thin glass that a watch crystal is thick in comparison. This will be easily broken, and if Senator Dubois is prudent he will avoid throwing stones at his neighbors while living in such a frail structure.

We have the best of all
ing bureau in the Pacific Northwest.

This Clipping is from the

News
Wardner

Dated 10-22

Hon. W. E. Borah fired the arrows of truth at the Mormon balloon which Dubois and Stalker had inflated with the gas of selfishness and deceit for their own elevation, and the thing collapsed entirely, letting the aeronauts fall to the earth with a thud loud enough to be heard all over the state of Idaho.

(OVER)

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Borah

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12/25/04

Clipping

MR. BORAH TONIGHT

Prominent Boise Orator Will Deliver an Address Here.

Hon. W. E. Borah, of Boise, will deliver an address at the Graustein & Binhard opera house tonight on the issues of the campaign. Mr. Borah is well known throughout the state, being a lawyer of much prominence. He was the opponent of Senator Heyburn for election to the United States senate in 1902, and he will be strongly supported by a strong element of his party as a successor to Senator Dubois in the contest of 1906. Mr. Borah, since taking the stump for the party, has brought about an interesting situation by offering to withdraw from the senatorial fight if Senator Dubois will do likewise. Mr. Borah explains that he has made this proposal so that the Mormon question could be discussed by him and Mr. Dubois without the suggestion that either were guided in their views by selfish purposes. Senator Dubois has not yet made a reply to Mr. Borah's proposal.

DUBOIS EXPLAINS

Senator Dubois is quoted in an interview as saying: "The Mormon vote in the republican state is Idaho its solid vote. The republican majority on the state ticket is the Mormon vote. If the Mormon vote had voted the democratic ticket we could have elected our state candidates by about 20,000. If the Mormons had not voted at all or had divided their vote evenly between the two parties, our candidate for governor would have been elected and the balance of the state ticket would have been carried by the republican nominees by a small majority."

In other words, then, Senator Dubois practically admits that by driving the Mormon vote out of the democratic party, democratic success and democratic government were made impossible. One might go further and draw the inference that this policy has made democracy vain and useless and the men who cling to the democratic creed helpless and hopeless in the advocacy of their principles. The Tribune is willing to concede and has always done so, that some of the practices and tenets of the Mormon church are offensive and ought to be eradicated. The same might be said of some of the practices of the democrats, of the republicans, of mankind in general, of liquor, gambling, tobacco, coffee and what-not. But the Tribune declines to admit that the Mormon church in Idaho is the whole thing, the main thing or anything at all, so far as the people of the state as a whole are concerned. If the church has trafficked in politics, we have the organizations or officials that have trafficked with it, and of the two the latter seem by far the more culpable for various and obvious reasons. The testimony disclosing the showmen house ceremonies, while silly and reprehensible as many other secret rites are, at least seem to show that the membership of the church at large is not very intelligent, being largely immigrants converted abroad, and that the strong hand of the priesthood has made of them thrifty, industrious, temperate and law-abiding people. If they are prone to be influenced in their politics by their leaders it is no more than a very respectable element of other sects may be accused of with equal justice. The two or three cases of new polygamy that have been admitted by them constitute a very creditable record compared with that of other people and considering their previous religious belief in the institution. The facts all seem to show that this abominable practice has disappeared much more rapidly and readily than could really have been supposed and is leaving that sort with quite as clean skirts as other denunciations can show. Otherwise, while their religion seems bizarre, like the Zoroastrians or the Trappists, it is a matter that concerns themselves and their hopes for the hereafter more than it does others who have need of providing for their own hereafter. We may all continue to enjoy the unique testimony in the case, as we did when Dowie was on the rack, and still live at amity in the same state with them, without bringing the heavy hand of the law upon their peculiarities or doctrinal vagaries unless we decide to regulate all other dissenters or speculators in the religious field.

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 Dated 11-28-17
 Clipping

MR. BORAH'S
GREAT SPEECH

A Stirring Address by This Gifted Orator

THE MORMON QUESTION EXHAUSTIVELY HANDLED

The Falsity of the Charge of Open Polygamy in Idaho—Senator Dubois Challenged to Produce the Evidence

Hon. W. E. Borah of Boise, the gifted orator and leader of the Republican party in Idaho, and the man destined beyond question to succeed Senator Dubois, addressed a large audience at the opera house last Saturday night. Mr. Borah was in good trim and he warmed into magnificent periods of eloquence as he proceeded with the discussion of the issues of the campaign, first dealing with national affairs and then with local conditions. His remarks bearing on the Mormon question attracted unusual interest, and it is only this part of his address that the limited space at our command will permit us to publish. Upon this subject Mr. Borah said:

"I have said in this campaign that Mormonism could not be a political issue and Senator Dubois has taken umbrage at that statement. Now, when I said that Mormonism was not a political issue, I did not mean that Senator Dubois could not discuss it. He will discuss it, for the very reason that it is not a political question nor a political issue, as he does not propose to discuss the political issues that are involved in this campaign. He would have some difficulty in explaining to the people of Idaho his vote on the Isthmian canal question. He will have

some difficulty in explaining his action in congress when the Wilson bill was passed, as it is not local interests.

"Now, it is not a political question, and you cannot make it so any more than you can make horse stealing or murder or any other violation of the law of this state. Every political party in the state of Idaho, prohibitionists, socialists, democrats, republicans, and everybody who have organized themselves into a political party, are opposed to polygamy. You cannot find a political organization in the state of Idaho that is in favor of it. Suppose that in his excitement, when the frenzy of moral reprobation was upon him that he would have declared that he was in favor of the ten commandments, would there have been any political discussion? Could he have gotten up any discussion over the matter? Suppose somebody should have told him that there was such a thing in the bible as a serpent on the ground, and he would have declared in favor of that, would it have raised a political controversy? The reason why it cannot be a political question is the simple fact that you could not find a political organization in this state that is in favor of polygamy. Everybody is opposed to it, and I say to you tonight, notwithstanding they declare I am a heathen in the Mormon church, I am in favor of punishing any man guilty of violating the laws of this state. (Laughter.)

"But, says Senator Dubois, there are no laws in this state by which to punish these offenses.

"Now I want to call your attention to something that is not always pleasant to discuss, but I feel bound to say a few words about it. He says there are no laws in this state to cover these offenses, well if there are no laws in this state to cover these offenses, what in the name of all the gods at once has Senator Dubois been doing for 15 years?

"What law has Senator Dubois suggested in 15 years covering a single one of these offenses? What legislation has he undertaken for the people of this state of Idaho? What has he suggested to the legislature to cover these matters in the 15 years he has lived in the heart of Mormon country? Now in 1890, Senator Dubois was elected senator from this state by a legislature over which he had absolute control. Did he suggest any bill? Has he moved a hand or raised a voice for the women of his state? You have delegated to him for 15 years unlimited power, you have paid him nearly one hundred and fifty thousand dollars. He has had at times absolute influence and control, and in this campaign, when the great issue is before the people, for

the Atlantic to the Pacific, when the election of President Roosevelt is in view and the life of the republic hangs for three or four years is at stake, this man comes before you and asks you to subordinate his power when he has fastened your rights for 15 long years.

"I want you tonight to consider that proposition, because this question was raised by him and him alone. It was not raised by the democratic party, some of the most brilliant men in the state of Idaho, some of the men who have spent their lives fighting for democracy, have repudiated it and trampled upon its every law, raised it in the winter of 1890.

"But, are there no laws in Idaho to cover these offenses? I say to you tonight, that there is a law covering every single offense that is covered by the platform by which Mr. Dubois is running this campaign. Now if that is true, that if there are people violating these laws, why don't they proceed to prosecute them? If they are offenses which these laws cover, why don't they file a complaint and proceed? Suppose a man had stolen a horse in southern Idaho or committed a murder in southern Idaho, would it have been necessary for Mr. Dubois to discuss with you, but they should do about it? Let them proceed. Why should I be called upon to ask him to file the complaint? If he knows of any wrong under the laws of this state, he should proceed, without my suggestion or any man's suggestion to prosecute these offenses under the law. (Applause.) But I want to call your attention to his explanation—it is a very peculiar explanation. It is addressed to you, I believe, that the crime of poly-

gamy is covered in our statute by the crime of bigamy, and I may say to you, in passing, that the supreme court of the United States, way back in 1878, considered this statute and upheld a conviction for polygamy under this statute. A man was punished and that decision has never been modified or changed in any respect, so that offense is covered. There is no question about it, and they can proceed any time they want to.

"But there is another offense and that is illegal co-habitation which Senator Dubois says is not covered. I want to call your attention to his explanation of that—it is entirely worthy of the senator. He says that the second or third marriages of Mormons are solemnized in the temple (he knows a great deal about this in some respects). He says: 'If a man lives with one woman, it is punishable as legal co-habitation, but if a man lives with three or four women it is unlawful co-habitation for which the statute makes no provision.' (Laughter.) In other words if a man lives with one woman, he is awful bad and if he has about a half dozen, he is getting to be a pretty decent sort of a fellow (laughter.) If a man kills one man, he is guilty of murder but if he kills four men, he is guilty of assault with intent to do bodily injury. Now this is the explanation he is making to the people of this state of this statute. I say to you that there is not a single offense covered by their platform but what is covered by the statutes of this state and those statutes have been construed by the highest courts of the land.

"Senator Dubois is traveling with a gentleman by the name of Stalker, a kind of side show in my judgment. Mr. Stalker comes to you in this campaign and makes certain statements. He says that there are seven hundred polygamists in the state of Idaho. He also says, in the second place, that they are in the habit of erecting whipping posts in the back yards of the Mormon homes where the children of plural wives are often beaten into insubordination or into death, now imagine this movement, will you? He says it is his position to murder women in southeastern Idaho who refuse to live in polygamy. What atrocious, miserable false hood.

"In addition to Mr. Stalker, we have another party traveling in this state, Mrs. White. I know Mrs. White must be a very cultured and devoted woman. I know she must be a heroine, because she is going to spend the next two weeks traveling with Chen Jackson and that is evidence of her heroism. I have no word of personal criticism against Mrs. White in any shape or form, but did she tell you how long she has lived in Idaho? Did she tell you how long she lived in Fremont county? One of the Mormon committees, or whether she had ever lived in Dear Lake county or whether she had been there at all? Did she say to you that she had ever witnessed any of the things which she claims have taken place in the state of Idaho? I don't care how many proposals were made to her over in the state of Utah. Did she give you any information as to what she knew about the conditions in this state of Idaho which she is painting for you? I will call to the stand, please Mr. Stalker and Mrs. White, and I will ask them a few questions.

"I am glad to see that you are ever true upon one subject, they are Christian women, they are members of Christian churches, they are devoted mothers, they live in the same yards with Mormon people, they visit with them from time to time, they know what is going on there 10,000 times better than Mrs. White could or Mr. Stalker or any other immigrant to the state of Idaho within the last 30 days could. Do you think that if one ten thousandth part of what Mr. Stalker says is true, that these women in southeastern Idaho, the devoted women, wives and mothers, would not be heard from in this campaign? There would be such a cry coming up from the Gentiles living in that country that Senator Dubois would not need to conduct this campaign for 15 minutes. They would tell you what is happening, but have you heard anything from them? Have you heard from the ministers in southeastern Idaho, the leaders of the Christian churches? Have you heard from the Christian denominations in southeastern Idaho? Those who are working to stir up the polygamy question in this state are Mr. Stalker, from Oregon, Mrs. White from Pennsylvania, and some men now from the state of Utah by the name of Owen, all of which are strangers to our state.

"Why, ladies and gentlemen, if there was one ten thousandth part of this true, the women of southeastern Idaho would be organized, and instead of four hundred strong in Pennsylvania, it would be twenty-five thousand strong, represented by the women of the state of Idaho. I am willing, so far as I am concerned, to treat the homes, and the purity of the home, and the protection of the home to the women of the state of Idaho, and when they say that the crusade should begin the republican party, and all other parties, will join with them because they believe in their judgment, and their unshaken. (Applause.)

"I called Senator Dubois' attention Saturday night a week ago in Senator Dubois' right to the fact that if he would file a complaint against any man living in polygamy by means of a plural marriage sanctioned by law since the marriage of the state of October, 1890, that I would prosecute that man to conviction. Now what has he done? He is an officer in the army, but he has got another name.

and that I said. This is a political question, and I will have to weigh the good and bad, and those feet are a good sight. I and voted for Senator Heyburn and elected him master of the United States.

"Now I hate to say some things in public that I would like to say in private, but I am going to say this. That the man who circulates that statement is a willful, deliberate and infectious liar. (Applause.) I don't want Mr. Jackson to be the man who circulates it. I don't want Mr. Owen, the hired detective from Utah, to be the man who circulates it. I want Senator Dubois to go upon the rostrum of this state and circulate that proposition. I want him to say that that is true, and I will convince you, when a responsible man says it, that a responsible man will have no money for it, because a good dollar is not worth it if it was never circulated in a campaign.

"These three men visited me in my camp when I was a candidate for United States senator and they asked me in substance if I was prejudiced against Senator Smart and I said 'no.' I said 'I shall examine the evidence and vote in accordance with my conscience.' They said, 'That is perfectly satisfactory,' and instead of those three men going back and voting for Senator Heyburn, they went into my camp and voted for me until the close of the voting."

Mr. Borah, at the close of his speech invited any person present to ask him questions relative to any question connected with the campaign. He was warmly congratulated on his address.

"When Shall We Three Meet Again?"

Speaker Cannon Telling One of His Little Moral Narratives to Senators Depew and Platt.

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