

TARIFF TIDE TURNING.

New York Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin, Int. Dep.

Agitation upon the subject of tariff revision and reciprocity treaties nowadays is induced by anxiety about foreign markets for our surplus products. This is in striking contrast with the time when the chief solicitude was over the home market, and it implies a changing sentiment which must sooner or later lead to a new commercial policy. The requirements for preserving and developing the home market for domestic production are different from those necessary for securing and extending the foreign market. The old policy of protection was supported by plausible arguments. Its avowed purpose was to build up and diversify manufacturing industries and provide a market among our own people for products of the soil. By restriction of the admission of foreign manufactured goods by means of high duties, foreign capital and labor were induced to come here to produce them instead of producing them at home and sending them here in exchange for raw materials and foodstuffs. This hastened foreign investment in our industries and stimulated immigration, and for a time it contributed to diversity of employment for both capital and labor and increase of population, restricting the export of natural products and enlarging the market for them at home. The plea was made that this not only stimulated the development of our resources and our growth in industry and population as a nation, but made us more independent of other nations and more efficient unto ourselves.

This was the theory of our protective policy in the industrial and commercial infancy of the country, and the arguments in support of it had certain force which vanished long ago. Much fallacy has taken its place. While it may be true that development and growth were hastened by protecting the domestic market against foreign invasion, that policy was not the source or the primary cause of the development and growth. That lay in the natural resources and advantages of the country, and foreign capital and labor would have come in to avail of these in profitable employment in any case. Without "protection" early progress might have been slower, but it would have been more healthy, and later progress would have been more rapid as well as healthier, and we should have escaped the demoralizing and corrupting abuses of the tariff policy. There is no fallacy more gross and palpable than that which attributes high wages for labor and high profit for capital in this country to the restriction of imports. They are necessarily due to natural resources and advantages which enable us to produce larger value than others at a smaller expenditure of labor and of the capital which is the other chief factor in production. The result may be increased by higher intelligence and activity and greater freedom in the application of energy, which add to efficiency in production, but we are apt to overestimate our superiority in these qualities. Opportunity, no doubt, tends to stimulate them, but so far as they are really more highly developed than elsewhere there is

the less need of protection against the competition of others. With superiority of resources and advantages, and of energy and industry, we could defy the world in production and trade, with a free field and no favor. If we fall at any point it is on account of inferiority, and the advance made by Germany in recent years is mainly due to superior intelligence, industry, skill and training applied to resources much inferior to ours.

But that development and diversification of industries, that accumulation of capital and increase of population, which the early protectionist epoch, were long ago attained. The home market has been built up and filled up, and we have reached the point where, not only in agriculture, mining and forestry, but in many lines of manufacturing, we are able to produce a surplus for export. What we want is not to hold our domestic markets against others, but to gain access to foreign markets. We can hope to do that only in competition with others and by producing at as low a cost and selling at as low prices as they do. By superior resources and superior capacity we can do that without diminution of the returns to capital or to labor or lowering of the standard of living, for it is to be remembered that whatever the figures representing wages or profits or prices, the real source of wealth and well-being is in volume of production and facility of exchange. If we are to find more and larger markets abroad and increase our foreign trade, we must abandon the policy of restriction, remove obstacles and lower barriers which add to the cost of interchange and limit the opportunities of production. In spite of a casuality that has become so familiar as to be accepted by many as a truism, there can be no one-sided trade between nations, no selling without buying, no extension of exports without corresponding increase of imports in one form or another. The agitation for "outlets" for our surplus, for foreign markets, for freedom to sell to advantage, must inevitably lead to a change of view on the subject of restrictive tariffs, and already there are indications that the tide of sentiment and of thinking is turning. Reciprocity is but a means of mitigating the effects of an undiscriminating protective policy, and, once begun, it will find no stopping place short of a revision of the tariff on the principle of extending foreign trade by making it freer and gaining access to the markets of others by opening ours to them.

VALUATION OF RAILWAY LINES

IMPORTANT AND INTERESTING
BULLETIN ISSUED FROM THE
CENSUS BUREAU.

Total Commercial Value of all the
Railroads of the Country Found to
Be \$11,244,852,000—Figures Showing
the Valuation in Each State and the
Amount of Assessment.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 12.—The United States bureau of the census has just published bulletin 21, presenting the results of an extended inquiry in regard to the commercial value of railway operating property in the United States. The inquiry was conducted by the bureau of the census, with the cooperation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, under the supervision of Professor Henry C. Adams, statistician in that commission.

The commercial value of railway operating property in the United States, computed for the year 1904, was \$11,244,852,000. The apportionment of this value among the various states and territories (foreign possessions excluded) may be seen from the following table:

State, Territory, or District.	Commercial value of railway operating property as of June 30, 1904.	Latest reported value as assessed for purposes of taxation—Amount.	Ratio of assessed to commercial value (per cent).
Alabama	\$150,211,000	\$5,526,925	35.9
Alaska	100,000		
Arizona	48,356,000	4,667,349	9.7
Arkansas	124,626,000	34,709,623	27.8
California	350,694,000	92,378,550	26.3
Colorado	198,261,000	49,492,135	25.0
Connecticut	186,263,000	129,463,648	114.4
Delaware	17,285,000		
Dis. Columbia	5,574,000	2,496,624	44.6
Florida	80,467,000	21,317,478	27.1
Georgia	154,607,000	61,105,810	40.2
Idaho	91,877,000	18,115,374	19.8
Illinois	805,657,000	425,769,655	52.8

Indian Ter.	78,995,000		
Indiana	275,541,000	163,862,367	44.2
Iowa	244,547,000	37,535,169	15.3
Kansas	256,206,000	60,692,534	23.7
Kentucky	152,772,000	77,658,640	50.8
Louisiana	121,491,000	29,044,190	23.9
Maine	89,148,000		
Maryland	122,542,000		
Mass'ch'ts	256,652,000		
Michigan	277,587,000	106,795,668	38.5
Minnesota	466,774,000		
Mississippi	197,854,000	79,347,840	40.1
Missouri	309,758,000	97,318,569	31.4
Montana	198,269,000	16,758,327	8.4
Nebraska	261,170,000	44,662,822	17.1
Nevada	43,745,000	12,775,649	29.2
New Hamp.	79,786,000	22,625,600	28.3
New Jersey	933,568,000	291,657,325	31.2
New Mexico	86,406,000	8,511,338	9.8
New York	898,222,000	229,582,064	25.6
N. Carolina	114,148,000	69,480,374	60.8
N. Dakota	123,290,000	22,161,304	18.0
Ohio	649,797,000	133,808,945	20.4
Oklahoma	78,668,000	21,836,217	27.7
Oregon	75,661,000		
Pennsylvania	1,479,608,000		
Rhode Is.	25,719,000	15,401,603	59.9
S. Carolina	75,998,000	29,467,716	38.8
S. Dakota	49,644,000	14,254,230	28.7
Tennessee	131,165,000	23,536,566	17.9
Texas	237,718,000	95,269,785	40.1
Utah	90,225,000	20,582,461	22.8
Vermont	37,311,000	27,344,920	73.3
Virginia	211,315,000	61,269,623	29.0
Wash'gton	182,827,000	26,666,949	14.6
W. Virginia	201,796,000	28,771,334	14.2
Wisconsin	284,510,000	218,054,900	76.6
Wyoming	100,507,000	7,493,222	7.5
Total	\$11,244,852,000		

*Exclusive of Jersey City ferries of the Pennsylvania railroad system. The value of this ferry property is \$5,000,000.

The above valuation does not include the value of Pullman cars or private cars. The physical value of this equipment, that is to say, its value independent of the commercial use to which it is put, is estimated as follows:

Pullman cars	151,608,000
Private cars	71,000,000
Total	222,608,000
The total number of Pullman cars "available for the business of the company" on July 31, 1904, was as follows:	
Standard cars with sleeping accommodations	2901
Ordinary, or tourist, cars with sleeping accommodations	547
Parlor cars	464
Composite, dining and other cars	85
Total	3997

Considerable space in the bulletin is devoted to the consideration of the method employed in arriving at the values submitted. This value is the commercial value of the property used by railways in connection with the business of transportation. By commercial value is meant the estimate placed upon the worth of the property regarded as a business proposition, i. e., the market value. The two chief factors determining the market value of railway property are the expectation of

income arising from the use of the property and the strategic significance of the property. The influence of these factors is indicated by stock market quotations, and on the basis of a study of these quotations the rates of capitalization applied to the net earnings of individual railways and railway systems were determined. In computing the net earnings for this purpose taxes and operating expenses, but not expenditures for improvements in property not used in the business of transportation was excluded, as was also the income which accrues to a railway corporation from investment in the corporate securities of other railways.

The value submitted was determined not with a view to discovering a proper purchase price for the railways of the United States, nor as a basis for taxing these railway properties, but as one step in ascertaining for the census bu-

reau the total wealth of the United States.

Whether or not the value (\$1,244,521,000) represents the value upon which the railways of the United States might properly be taxed depends upon whether the state undertakes to tax the roads at their full commercial value, including the values of both tangible and intangible property, or whether it seeks to confine its taxation to the value of the taxable property alone. In the former case the value submitted is believed to be substantially correct so far as it concerns the operating properties of the railways; in the latter case, it is too high.

The results of the investigation reported in this bulletin have been carefully tested; and it is believed that the methods employed conform closely to those followed in the business world.

The several papers which comprise the "supplement" to the bulletin proper discuss with much detail the various methods suggested and employed in arriving at the valuation of railway properties.

J. Shirley Eaton, recently associate editor of the Wall Street Journal, describes the method of valuation which preceded the purchase, the underwriting of the reorganization of railway properties during the past nine years.

Professors Mortimer E. Cooley and Henry C. Adams of Michigan, and Professor W. D. Taylor of Wisconsin, publish here their reports submitted, after exhaustive investigation, to the Michigan board of state tax commissioners and the Wisconsin state tax commission, respectively, on the valuation of railways in Michigan and Wisconsin. Where the object sought is to ascertain the value of railway properties for purposes of taxation, the work accomplished by the states of Michigan and Wisconsin in valuing railways and railway systems should not be overlooked.

"THE CRIME OF 1904"

Thomas E. Watson.

Bryan was nearer to the White House in 1894 than he will ever be again; and he did not enter it because he was ashamed to recognize the Populists who wanted to elect him and whose full strength was necessary to his triumph. For eight years Democracy paraded our platform and controlled the Populist National Committee. For eight years there was no room to work in for a mid-road Populist like myself. Seeing no chance to do anything under such circumstances I quit the field, and I believed, forever. It never entered my head that the Democratic leaders would be so incredibly stupid as to do what they did at St. Louis in this year 1904. I never dreamed that they would shed their principles like a garment, frame a quasi-Republican platform, put at the head of the committee a notorious gambling-house keeper like Tom Taggart, sell the nomination to a Rothschild agent and corporation like August Belmont, and put up as nominee for President a featureless candidate who was utterly unknown except as a creature of the most crooked wireworker in American politics, David B. Hill.

Neither in 1894 nor in 1904 had I sought the Populist nomination. No man can say that I ever moved a finger or spoke a syllable to get either nomination. Each of them came to me absolutely unthought. As soon as it was known that the Democratic bosses had surrendered to Wall Street at St. Louis, as soon as I learned that Bryan, Tillman, Bailey, Keckler, Williams, etc., had not only deserted by Parker as nominees, but had fattened themselves out beneath that "gold standard telegram," I fully realized what a monstrous crime had been committed against the people and what a splendid opportunity the politicians had left open for the men of principles. I did not believe that the American voters would stand for the "crime of 1904"; it was only a question of how to protest.

The Democratic "crime of 1904" stirred the country as it has not been stirred since the Civil War, and the unprecedented triumph of Theodore Roosevelt is due quite as much to the revolt against the reward, corruption and imbecility shown by the Democratic leaders at St. Louis as to any other cause whatsoever. The man who does not now realize that the recent election and the exposures that have been made since vindicate my judgment and my conduct must be lost to common sense. No real Democrat is proud of the fact that he supported the ticket of Tom Taggart, Pat McCarran, Dave Hill, August Belmont and Alton B. Parker. Only those Democrats whose principles are Republican are satisfied. Those Democrats whose principles are Democratic are ashamed, and apologetic. They know that they were tricked at St. Louis. They know that to the extent of their support of Parker they condoned the fraud, endorsed the trick and aided the attempt to bamboozle the American people. They know it now; they confess it now.

In other words, Parker made no fight for Democratic principles; he stood for nothing beyond the plate, simple proposition that he would rather have the office

than to let Roosevelt keep it. Throughout the campaign the Republican party was consistent with itself and its creed. Socialism was consistent with itself and its creed. The People's party was consistent with itself and its creed. Democracy was at war with itself and had no creed. Hence, National Democracy came out of the campaign utterly wrecked—without policy, principle, purpose or leadership, discredited before all the world to come. Never in this generation can it again inspire confidence. Never can it again deceive the East, the North or the West. I pray God that the time is not far off when it cannot even deceive the South. Why prate about reform inside the Democratic party? You might as well talk about reforming hell from the inside. How can you get rid of Tom Taggart, the gambling establishment man? How can you eject Belmont, the Rothschild man? How can you banish Pat McGarrah, the Standard Oil man? Or Gorman of Maryland, the sugar trust man? The whole machinery of the party for the next four years will be in the control of the plutocratic element which overthrew Bryan at St. Louis. For four years the party has no platform excepting the quasi-Republican abomination which was adopted at St. Louis. And for the next four years the official commander-in-chief of the Democratic party is not Bryan, nor Hearst, nor Bailey. The commander-in-chief is Tom Taggart, the gambling hell man of Indiana.

WHAT ROOSEVELT STANDS FOR.

William Allen White in Chicago Tribune.

All Americans believe this is the best government on earth; but only those who have society's license to steal by making something out of nothing in the upper circles of high finance believe it the best possible world, and desire to shut the door of progress and throw the keys out of the window. But they are mere flies on the wheel. With all the power of "Standard Oil," with all the control on American affairs that the railroad syndicate has through its influence on legislatures and courts, with all the force of dishonestly organized capital in this country, it cannot stand a day against the clearly defined intention of the American people to go ahead solving the problems of the distribution of wealth as they have gone forward with the problems of production. The most potent thing on this continent is the American spirit, manifesting itself in changing institutions, in innumerable newspapers voicing the soul of progress, in the sudden rise of the clear man in practical politics, and the contemporaneous decline of the demagogic styler, in the appearance of magazines—a new element in political life—devoting themselves to civic decency, and in a hundred ways making itself felt like a dominant consciousness. Like a sentient thing commanding the race to move on. And all that is good in this spirit of industrial and economic progress is found incarnate in Theodore Roosevelt. He is the man who is the living soul to speak and act for his times. His face is forward. His hands are untied; his mind is trained in scholarship and his heart schooled in practical experience. Industrially he is of the middle class—understanding the honest claims of the honest rich, sympathizing as a brother with the wrongs of the struggling poor.

its well-known clairvoyant instinct for suicide directed the Democratic party to align itself this year with dishonestly organized wealth and then to make Theodore Roosevelt the issue in the campaign. There has been some question during the last 20 years about the relations of the Republican party and the pirates of commerce. In the days of Hanna's control of the party its relations with the financial powers that prey, vacillated between scandalous flirtation and intrigue. But Theodore Roosevelt has struck his corn without reference to the red ears of financial embezzlement; he has not danced to the lascivious pleadings of the fiddle of high protection for large campaign contributions, and therefore has no villain's bill to pay.

In all the years when Congress was making its questionable tariff schedules Theodore Roosevelt was the bound boy at the husking. He has been a consistent Republican, but his associates in the party have been men of ideals, not men who fried the fat. The fat may have been shimmering a little during his administration as president, but he has turned his back on the skillet and the cooks and scullions of politics, and has worked with the people and for the people. If he has erred, it was when he erred in candor; if he is strong, it is the strength of manly courage. He is the best American type, clean, frank, shrewd, and brave, and the Democrats, with the charming consistency, slipped into the liaison with Wall street which Roosevelt had spurned and are now making his character the issue of the campaign. No wonder, then, that the incomes turning at the altar of their glided jaws smell like splashing fluid drossed on punk!

There is no hope from the Democratic party for the solution of the problems now facing the American people. The best that Democracy can offer is a four years' period of fasting and prayer before the Republicans come in to do the work? But is this season in the wilderness needed? Times are good and the people are sane. Four years of adversity would make the people angry, and public wrath never made a just law. It is only in times like these, when people reason together and do not get their view in the heat of passion, that wisdom comes into the councils of the Nation. There is no disposition in any honest quarter of this country to be unfair. The laws that would be made under the coming Roosevelt administration—the railroad laws, the anti-trust laws, the labor laws, the agrarian laws, the laws of business—would be fair laws. Every one desires capital to have a square deal.

The American people are not revolutionary. They dislike the mess and clutter of shattered institutions. They are long-suffering and in the end they are just in their judgments. They admire Theodore Roosevelt because they believe he is fair—embodying the American spirit. Under his leadership they will meet the problems of today, which call for more beneficence than the country has put into its public acts since the War of the Rebellion, and settle these problems with justice toward all and with malice toward none. For Roosevelt is conservative. Dealing with him as a leader, opposing forces in the industrial armies may make fair terms. They will be the terms of peace. But if these problems are allowed to remain open, if the people who demand justice are tricked of it, the day will surely come

when dishonestly organized wealth—and unfortunately honestly organized wealth also—will meet some rampant radical with a senseless mob behind him. The Populist is not dead. When bad times come it will rise.

The Republican party today stands between capital good and bad, between organized and unorganized labor, and the mob. The question for business men, for workmen, for capitalists, for professional men, and farmers, is decide at the polls this Fall if whether they desire their differences adjudicated by the Republican party in times of peace and prosperity, or whether the mob shall upset things when the people tire of Democratic delay.

"I have no war with the president. That's all rot. In the main we agree. If we disagree it is an honest and candid difference of opinion. There is no war at all."

Thus answered United States Senator W. B. Heyburn of Idaho today, says the Portland Telegram, when queried about his reputed martial relations with the national chief executive with reference to the creation of forest reserves. Not only is there no war with the president says the senator, but the idea that he intends to go into the senate and make things sizzle is "in the imagination of those enterprising gentlemen." Furthermore, his action in congress will be along conservative lines, quoth he.

"Will you oppose the president's policy on the forest reserve question?" was asked.

"That depends on what the policy is," returned the senator from Idaho.

"I am in favor of forest protection that shall leave the lands open to settlement by bona fide homesteaders. I am in favor of government assistance and co-operation to any extent necessary for the prevention of fires and waste of timber."

"Are you opposed to the president's policy at the present time?"

"That's a broad question," was the reply. "What the president's policy is and what it has been said to be are vastly different. I am opposed to the withdrawal of the forests in Idaho from settlement. I regard the settler as the safest guardian of his own and surrounding sections against fires.

HEYBURN'S POSITION

Shows Clearly How Idaho is Being
Injured.

LABOR DAY PROCLAMATION

The Sugar Factory at Blackfoot
About Complete.—State Fair
Premiums.

Senator Heyburn has again defined his position on the forest reserve question, and, in justice to him, as well as for the information it conveys for, one should read and read carefully the following: "I am in favor of forest protection that will leave the lands open to settlement by bona fide homesteaders", says Senator Heyburn.

"I am in favor of Government assistance and co-operation to any extent necessary for the prevention of fires and waste of timber. I am opposed to the withdrawal of forests in Idaho from settlement. I regard the settler as the safest guardian of his own surrounding sections against fires.

I am opposed to the laws and departmental regulations which have transferred the large portion of the railroad land grants in Washington, Arizona and some other states and territories of Idaho by means of a system of exchanges of lands surrendered in other states for lands to be selected in Idaho. Thus, in effect, transferring the land grants in other states and territories to Idaho, which under a misinterpretation of the letter and spirit of the law by the interior department has allowed the lands in alternate sections of such other states and territories to be selected in solid blocks, carrying vast areas of the valuable timber lands of Idaho, disregarding the limitations to alternate sections contained in the original land grants to the railroads.

The withdrawal of forest reserves in Idaho to date include more than 700,000 acres of school lands

which, under the admission act and the constitution, have a minimum value of \$10.00 per acre. The lieu privilege of selecting of other lands for these is of comparatively little value in view of the fact that the withdrawals from sale and selection cover the only class of lands which would be worth the price at which the state lands could be sold for educational purposes.

"My action in congress will be along conservative lines for the restoration of these lands to settlement by homesteaders. The withdrawals in Idaho already amount to twenty-five per cent of the entire area of the state, with more promised."

FOREST RESERVE

Frank A. Fenn, superintendent of Idaho forest reserves, who has just been transferred to the southern division of the state, with headquarters in Boise, yesterday accorded The Statesman an interview in which he made some very interesting statements concerning the practical workings of the forest reserve policy.

"No industry will or can be injured by the forest reserve administration," he said. "Wherever in operation and the people have learned the purposes sought to be attained, they have uniformly indorsed that policy. All over the southern part of Idaho there are tracts that had an adequate supply of water a few years ago, today there are without a sufficient supply on account of denudation of the water sheds. One of the great objects of the service is to restore the natural conditions along water sheds that have been injuriously affected by fire and over grazing. It will take a long time to do this. In many localities the forests will have to be renewed by planting artificial reproduction. This will be slow work, but in nearly all sections natural forestation will occur if nature be given an opportunity to assert itself. Reforestation of the water sheds supplying the irrigated region in the southern part of the state is one of the chief objects to be accomplished."

Easy to Get Timber.

"The preservation of the timber as such is not so important to southern Idaho. Preservation as the conservator of water is the main object. It is not and will not be an easy matter to secure timber. For what may be styled corporate use, by mining companies, timber companies, etc., the timber can be purchased. For individual use it can be secured without cost. All that is necessary is to secure a permit."

Asked about the objection to the red tape involved in the acquisition of timber, Superintendent Fenn said: "Formerly, while the service was in the hands of the department of the interior the inadequacy of the appropriations made it impossible for the general land office to transact the business expeditiously. Nearly all the business was done through the central office in Washington, which necessitated delay. Now the business can be expedited. All sales under \$100 in stampage value and all tree use permits may be made by forest rangers in the field. For larger amounts on a purchase basis there is requirement for 30 days advertising. For heavy demands, however, this requirement can readily be anticipated. Emergency cases are covered by the provision referred to. People given permission to take timber are required to pile up the cuttings and brush so the forest officers can destroy it and thereby reduce the fire menace to a minimum."

As Affecting Grazing Industry.

"The grazing industry is one most directly affected in this part of the state. This year there has been no interference whatever with grazing, nor will there be. Late in the fall an examination of range conditions will be made and the question whether or not it is overstocked will be determined and also the number of stock that it will support and that will be allowed to graze thereon in 1908, subject to increase or decrease as the condition of the range may warrant, the object being to ascertain the maximum number of stock the reserve ranges will support continuously without damage. While the sheep industry is important, mining and prospecting must be protected, and the camp grounds, places where stock of packers and teamsters must feed, will be cared for along the main thoroughfares. No sheep will be allowed to graze there. If necessary the grazing of cattle will also be prohibited within these small areas."

"Mining will not be interfered with in any way. Legally the miners enjoy the same rights in as out of the reserves. There are no restrictions placed on the prospectors."

Homesteads Within Reserves.

Asked respecting homesteads within reserves, Superintendent Fenn said there had been some objections to the reserve policy on the theory that the reservations included vast tracts of land susceptible of farming but which could not be homesteaded, the state being deprived of both population and taxable property. "That is a false idea," he continued. "The principal objection along that line has come from the so-called Shoshone reserve. I want to say that not one-half of one per cent of that reserve is susceptible to agricultural development. Moreover, the law now provides for the elimination of all tracts that may be shown to be more valuable for agriculture than for timber. I have secured several such relinquishments, notably one tract of 18,000 acres."

"There is now pending before congress a re-organization of President

Roosevelt in the form of a law providing for utilization for agricultural purposes of tracts that may be made susceptible to tillage. That recommendation is based on the recommendation of a commission composed of the commissioner of the general land office, the director of the geological survey and Mr. Pinchot, the forester. The proposition in substance is this: Tracts within forest reserves that may be used for agricultural purposes may be acquired for homestead purposes only. These tracts are not to be restricted to the ordinary rectangular surveys, but shall be defined by notes and bounds, no claims to exceed 160 acres and none to be more than 1½ miles in length. This provision is designed to enable prospective homesteaders to take up bottom lands along streams in such manner that the meanderings of their lines will not have to embrace unproductive ground."

What the Commission Said.

Superintendent Fern referred to the report of the commission, from which the following is taken: "However carefully the boundaries of forest reserves may be selected, it is practically inevitable that more or less agricultural land should be selected. Such land usually lies in the narrow valleys of the rivers. Its occupation for agricultural purposes is in the interest of the region in which it lies and of the settlers who would make homes upon it. The presence of the latter would, under wise laws, operate distinctively for the protection and general advantage of the reserves. It is essentially for the prosperity of the public land states both that the forest reserves should be maintained and that all of the land within their borders should be put to its best use." The commission then recommended the plan as outlined in the foregoing statement of Superintendent Fern.

Anti-Reservists Oppose It.

"It is a remarkable fact that those who oppose the forest reserve policy are the most active opponents of this recommendation which has in view the making of homes throughout the reserves. The only plausible explanation is that, with such a change as that suggested in force, the principal cause of objection to the broad principle of forest reserves would be eliminated. At the present time agricultural land within reserves can be acquired by home seekers, but a presidential proclamation is required. This is too involved a procedure. As the commission referred to said, "To exclude all agricultural lands by presidential proclamation is not feasible because of their small area, scattered location and irregular boundaries."

In conclusion Superintendent Fern said: "It will be seen that, when the subject is investigated, the objections to the forest reserve policy are not well grounded. No industry has been even in the slightest degree interfered with, none will be. None of the agricultural land within reservations is denied to settlers. Every interest is subserved."

Chinese Exclusion.

[Gardner's Weekly.]

Some writer thinks that what causes the irritation of the Chinese government and people toward the United States, because this country will not open its gates to the hordes that want admission to this country, is that China is directly discriminated against; that if a law could be passed shutting out the unwelcome classes from all countries, China would be satisfied. Well, there is a law which applies to all the world and which literally construed would be a most exclusive law against the Chinese. That is the law which excludes contract laborers, for Chinese coolies can only come under contract. They have no means on which to come away. The Chinese companies pick them up. Every one comes as a slave to one company or another; their relatives at home are mortgaged to insure good faith in carrying out the contract; it is simply a species of servitude and there is no motive behind it all except plunder.

When Minister Wu Ting Fang left this country he hurried a defiant message at this country, which was in substance: "You have made your challenge to the yellow races; see that your walls be strong." We are told now that Wu is anxious to have the restriction removed that prevents the Chinese from going to the Hawaiian Islands. He is a shrewd man and knows that where his countrymen go, that means disaster to all generous working races, but he does not

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worry over that. When here he declaimed fiercely against the exclusion act, and we suspect that he may be thanked, at least in part, for the boycott now on against American products.

But we hope our government will not be jostled out of its calm because of that boycott. China has no paramount desire in that respect except to buy what she has to buy in the cheapest market. She will not long maintain a boycott that costs her money. But no matter. There are higher considerations in this matter than money. All the cities on the Gulf have established quarantines against New Orleans. The question of trade does not enter their calculations. Rather they but follow an instinct to protect their own people against a pestilence. Well there are more than one kind of plague. So soon as a frost comes, it not before, the plague will disappear from the south. But there is another yellow plague that no frost will kill. The only way to avoid it, is to keep it out.

There are men who say: "While the millions from Europe are pouring in upon this country why would a few thousands more or less of Mongolians make any difference?" If we had our way we would vastly curtail the host from Europe. We would make every one present a certificate from some of the people where he had lived—if from the north of Europe, a magistrate, if from southern Europe, a priest—that he had lived a decent life and that his purpose as understood at his home was to become an

American citizen.

The case with our country is not as in any other country. Our institutions rest on the public opinion of the people and the sceptre of sovereignty is the ballot.

Hence the necessity of intelligence. When the millions of working people are this year debased by the injection of 5 per cent. of ignorant voters who still know no other government except some petty king or priest-ruled state of southern Europe, a wrong is not only done the intelligent working men of this country, but it is a menace to free institutions.

Irishmen are good Americans when they come. Germans and Scandinavians are pretty good Americans when they land. If Englishmen, Scotchmen and Frenchmen are slow to give their allegiance, they believe in order and in law. But when southern Europe unloads its hosts upon us they come with thoughts the very opposite of those on which our government was founded, and anything like affection for or appreciation of our country is altogether absent. But they in a couple of generations become good Americans. With the Chinese other factors enter into the case. The people from Europe merge with our people; the people of China push our people out. The toilers of this country cannot compete with them, cannot eat the same food; cannot live on what a Chinaman can support a family on.

M'CONNELL KICKS

Looking over the assessed valuations of the county, I met a further and a greater surprise. I discovered that the total assessed valuation of Ada county, as equalized by the state board, was \$5,311,898, including the railroad property. The county assessor returned a property valuation of \$5,306,461, which did not include the railroad property. The increase made by the state board, with the railroads added, amounts to over a million. My surprise wasn't so much from the wealth of the county, as from the manner in which its increase was brought about. For instance, the railroads were increased \$29,855 over that of last year, while over the value returned by the county assessor on horses alone was \$42,021, or more than double the increase on the railroads. The state board raised the value of deeded lands \$151,477, and on city lots, \$302,525—a total value on these three divisions of property of \$498,423, to offset an increase of \$29,855 on the railroads in this county.

Now, I do not believe that at this time we have any considerable number of people in Idaho who desire to be severe on the railroads, or any other enterprise which requires large capital, yet I do think that they are about all of them of the same opinion as myself, in that they believe that the burden of taxation, if it is a burden, should be fairly and equally distributed. This is not a matter of political policy, but of common, every day honesty on the part of those whose duty it is to equalize taxes.

A member of the state board of equalization informed me that, under the law, assessed values could not be raised more than 15 per cent, yet it will be observed that the assessed value of horses in Ada county was increased 50 per cent, and the same is true in Latah county, where I live.

I would suggest to the commissioners of those counties of the state through which there are lines of railroads, that they have the county surveyors measure the mileage of the tracks and see how it compares with that turned in to the state board by the officers of the railroad companies. I would urge this suggestion upon the commissioners of Ada county, especially, and you may quote me as predicting that the county surveyor will find at least 10 miles more railroad trackage than the records show you are receiving taxes for.

REVISE THE TARIFF.

PITTSBURG, Pa., Sept. 1.—The leading editorial in today's issue of the Pittsburg Gazette, published under the caption, "Revise the Tariff," will undoubtedly be read with interest and other emotions, mixed and mingled, in the North, the South, the East and the West. It will, of course, delight the revisionists to find that this stalwart Republican newspaper, published in the chief city of the great state of tariff-protected industries, demanding that the tariff will be lowered, and it will to the same degree bring confusion in the camps of the standpatters. And yet the Gazette's editorial on its face has not a waver of heresy in the doctrine of protection, nor does it smack of injustice.

In the last few months—the coming session of Congress looms large in the distance—many of the leading Republican papers of the country have gone on record on the tariff question. The pros and cons of the revision question have been gone over once more and the shadings of the diversified arguments have depended for their strength largely upon the geographical location from which they emanate. But interest and astonishment, concern, and delight, and a host of other emotions besides, will undoubtedly follow the cry of the Gazette for revision of the tariff by the Fifty-ninth Congress.

There is no apologetic preface to the demand for revision. "In this broad country with its abounding prosperity," says the editorial, "there are unmistakable steps of progress. The common people, grown instead with fairness, have furnished the last years and are demanding a change in the tariff laws. There is no better time than the present to undertake revision. This Fifty-ninth Congress of the United States is peculiarly fitted for the task and ought to perform the duty. Revise the tariff now and then let it alone for the next ten years."

That demand is certainly brief and to the point. In explaining its position the Gazette says:

"In advocating present revision of the tariff schedules the Gazette does not believe the existing tariff to be injurious to many interests—it knows of none that is harmed. The Gazette shares none of the faith in the protective principle. It stands, as it has always stood, for protection to American labor and American capital. There is no room to doubt that a protective tariff is the basis of National prosperity. The student of history cannot avoid that conclusion if he follow the lines with an open mind. Revision of the tariff at this time must be an armed protective line and no other.

"The Fifty-ninth Congress is a Republican Congress. It is economically sound. Speaker Joseph G. Cannon is a protectionist. Sereno E. Payne, John D. East, Charles H. Grosvenor, ranking members of the committee on ways and means, these are among the most ardent protectionists in this country. With these men to lead and a solid phalanx of Republicans behind them, when the tariff is taken up for revision it will be in the hands of its friends. It will be revised right. No industry, no material interest will suffer. There ought not to be any fear about revising the tariff while these men, good and true, are there to do it. There ought not to be any delay to a less opportune time.

There are many schedules that may be reduced without exposing American industries to foreign competition. Some of them might be cut in half. There are a few schedules that should be raised to give better protection. Never has there been a more favorable time to do this. Teeming prosperity greets the observer on every hand. Mills and factories are overwhelmed with orders, labor is fully employed, the second earth is yielding crops almost without parallel in agricultural annals. If tariff adjustment is a shock to business there will never come a moment when business will be in better condition to bear it. This prosperity, practically continuous, began with the enactment of the Dingley law. That law was the foundation on which it was built. The 59th Congress can be trusted to frame a new act without abandonment of the Dingley principle; in the 60th Congress it may not be so.

The editorial takes a fling at the standpatters as follows:

"Stand pat! Grand advice from a sturdy statesman who has passed to the other life. Stand pat always when there is no reasonable chance to draw anything better. When the Hon. M. A. Hanna gave to a poker term a National significance, his party stood pat on a hand that could not have been improved. That hand has been played for five years of unexampled prosperity and there is clamoring for a new deal."

A solemn warning is contained in the final paragraph of the editorial, phrased as follows:

"In a Gazette, the bitter lessons of 1892-4-5-6 have been forgotten. The full stomach feels no pang of the past hunger. Satiety is longing for a change. Shall it be a new diet, or no food? By all means a new diet. Something nourishing and some beans. If the 59th Congress does its duty and readjusts the tariff on a protective basis, with due regard to the protection of all classes, the Republican party can 'stand pat' for another ten years. Prosperity will abide in the land. If the 59th Congress does not do this, no man may say who will be called to do it. It is foolish to pretend not to hear the call. It has been given voice so often from the West to New England. Senseless though it be, it is earnest. There must be tariff revision and it should be right revision on protection lines made by the able ways and means committee of the present and endorsed by the Congress that is soundly Republican."

Probably few papers have a better claim to consistent adherence to party principles—with emphasis on that of protection—than the Gazette. At the first National Republican Convention in Pittsburgh in the late Deacon White, who then owned the paper, was one of the principal figures. Additional strength is given to today's tariff editorial by the fact that Mr. Oliver, the present owner of the paper, has been for years in the steel business as an associate of Andrew Carnegie, and has practical as well as theoretical knowledge of the number of stoves in the tariff wall.

TARIFF REVISION IN PITTSBURG.

An editorial in the Pittsburgh Gazette calling for revision of the tariff has attracted very wide attention, the Gazette being a consistent protectionist organ and Pittsburgh the cradle of numerous tariff-parasitoid industries. The principal paragraphs of this remarkable editorial are reprinted elsewhere in The Oregonian. It recognizes the fact that there is a strong popular demand for revision, and suggests that if the friends of protection do not comply with the demand the task may be entrusted to its enemies before a great while. "Senseless though it be, it is earnest," says the Gazette concerning the call for revision, and with delightful consistency goes on to admit that certain schedules "might be cut in half" without doing any harm. Is it really senseless to wish to revise a tariff whose best friends admit that some of its rates are double what they ought to be?

The eccentric belief of the Gazette that the present prosperity of the country flows from the Dingley tariff we shall not quarrel with now. So long as it is willing to have that venerated felix shorn of its excesses, the Gazette is welcome to believe anything it pleases. Even the partial conversion of that staunch newspaper to partial-economic sanity excites unmingled joy.

NEW YORK, Sept. 13.—(Special)—

Admitting that in the last three Presidential elections the New York Life Insurance Company had contributed to the Republican National campaign fund nearly \$100,000, George W. Perkins, partner in the firm of J. F. Morgan & Co. and vice-president of the New York Life, told the members of the legislative investigating committee today in the same breath that a law preventing such contributions should be enacted.

He asserted that John A. McCall, president of the New York Life, although a Democrat, contributed from his personal means and those of the association together, "because he believed there was a great peril which threatened the assets of the policyholders."

Mr. Perkins said positively that all the big insurance companies of this city contributed to campaign funds at every election. He said the contributions made by the company he represented to the Presidential campaign fund had been in three lots of about \$10,000 each.

MORE PLEEROTOMY.

Senator Lodge's recent speech in favor of ship subsidies before the Essex Club at the little village of Peabody, in Massachusetts, is one of those utterances which seem to indicate that many of our politicians take the American people for a nation of idiots. Our long-suffering patience under robbery, varied, shameless and wholesale, may lend some countenance to such an opinion, but let the politicians be assured that it is, nevertheless, a mistake. Whatever our National disease may be, severe or trivial, fever or anemia, quacks of the Lodge school have one remedy, one sovereign panacea for all ills. "Bleed the patient" is their advice first, last and all the time. Is there a deficit in the Treasury? Never think of lessening the exorbitant tariff which shuts out imports and cuts off revenue, but bleed the consumer. Tax his morning coffee. Do the trusts wish to extend their power over foreign markets? Bleed the home consumer until their domestic gains are heavy enough to balance a foreign loss. The American consumer has learned to shudder whenever there is talk of establishing a new industry or extending foreign trade, for he knows that sooner or later he will be bled to pay for it.

Senator Lodge complains that he could not pass the ship-subsidy fraud through Congress last year on account of the prejudice "it seemed to excite." The Senator may rest assured that the prejudice was not a mere seeming, blissful or otherwise; it was one of the most real things he ever came up against, and it still exists in all its pristine substantiality. The American people do not propose to be humped out of \$2,000,000 a year for the benefit of a New England ship trust, and the sooner Senator Lodge gets that fact thoroughly wedged into his scholarly brain the better for his peace of mind. The sum of \$2,000,000 is what the trust wishes to begin with, but once a graft gets its suckers fastened into the Treasury, everybody knows what happens. A graft is like a woodtick, or a devil fish, all suckers and belly. The more blood it draws the bigger it gets; and the ship-subsidy graft is no different from others.

There is no information at hand of a school for the feeble-minded existing in Peabody, Mass., but many passages in Mr. Lodge's speech lead us to believe that such a school exists there and that he was addressing his inmates. For one thing, he argues that since the ship-subsidy proposition is Republican doctrine, all Republicans must support it. The ship subsidy is no more Republican doctrine than standpat Dingleyism is. The wish of a few bosses does not make Republican doctrine. The wish of the voters counts for something in the matter. But, even if the absurd and iniquitous proposal to rob the whole people to build and man ships for a

New England trust had once been Republican doctrine, which it never was, it need not always be such. In the glory of the Republican party it is the party of progress; that it has no fixed, inflexible and unchangeable creed, but that its doctrine progresses to suit the changing circumstances of the Nation. And, even if the party should some time be deluded by bosses like Mr. Lodge into accepting foolish policies like that of a ship subsidy, there is vitality and conscience enough within the organization, one would hope, to throw off the incubus and return to common sense.

Equally inadmissible is Mr. Lodge's proposition that we must accept as a whole whatever the bosses choose to designate Republican policy, or else stand in the position of condemning the Roosevelt Administration. We cannot condemn standpatism and ship subsidies, this amazing logician argues, without condemning Mr. Roosevelt's foreign policy also. Let Mr. Lodge wait until the next elections and he will see whether this feat can be done or not. Mr. Roosevelt is not on trial. The American people have made up their minds about him and his policies, which, by the way, do not include either ship subsidies or standpatism, and neither Lodge nor any other boss need worry lest an expression of public disapproval for those starchy iniquities should be misunderstood to be a condemnation of the President.

The argument for ship subsidies, such

as it is, runs in this way: We have protected every industry in the country except that of shipowners. Foreign nations subsidize ships to such an extent that they can carry freight cheaper than American vessels can. The result is that our goods are carried across the ocean in foreign bottoms, and that we pay foreigners some eighty millions every year for transportation charges. Why we ought to prefer to pay this sum to domestic trust magnates who would go to Europe and spend it for champagne the argument does not state. What we should really have to pay the ship trust, which would spring into being at once if the subsidy were granted, would be not only the \$20,000,000, but this sum plus the subsidy. The trust would not carry goods for nothing any more than the foreign owners. We should be out of pocket on the transaction exactly the amount of the subsidy plus what foreign trade we should lose on account of throwing the ships of other nations out of business. Part, at least, of what we pay for freight is spent by foreigners for American goods. If we cease to patronize them, of course they will cease to patronize us, even if they do not go into bankruptcy.

Roosevelt Squeezes Heyburn.

The White House, Washington, June 13, 1905.—My Dear Senator Heyburn:—With your recent letter were several newspaper clippings from Idaho papers on the subject of forest reserves, which you tell me indicate the sentiment in your state on the forest reserve question. With few exceptions the articles, though the writers do not always seem to know it, are in direct accord with the present policy of the Government in the establishment of National forest reserves. The various writers agree that forest reserves in Southern Idaho are absolutely essential to the general prosperity of that region. It is admitted that these forests must be protected and wisely used for the regulation of the water flow and for the benefit of sensitive or vast areas of arid lands soon to be irrigated. This sentiment speaks well for the work of the forest service in this region and seems to indicate that the recommendations of its field men are far heartily approved, notwithstanding the fact that you yourself have opposed, by written protest, the establishment of each and every one of the new forest reserves in Southern Idaho.

It is said in these articles that some pine lands will produce excellent crops after the timber is removed. This I can readily believe. If such lands are included in forest reserves, it will be the Government's policy to cover them by settlement, by elimination or otherwise, just as soon as they are shown to be more valuable for agriculture than for the production of timber or the protection of the water flow.

One especially interesting article contains an interview in which the opinion is expressed that the recent temporary withdrawal in the Coeur d'Alene and Lewiston districts was encouraged by certain large corporations, which corporations already had large bodies of timber land in Idaho and adjacent states. It is argued that if this temporary withdrawal is made permanent these corporations will be the only people who can purchase the timber from the Government, and that they will be able to make purchases at a very low price and in that way will monopolize. As the gentleman who advances this opinion is speaking in favor of the so-called arid, large areas of timber lands in Northern Idaho, in the interest of certain Eastern capitalists, it is evident that he himself, at least, stands in no great fear of the competition of these corporations. But the fear expressed in the article is unwarranted. In reality, in such cases as this, the establishment of a forest reserve offers the fairest possible solution of the question at hand. At present, since by far the greater part of the lands are unreserved, the timber can not be lawfully disposed of. Just as soon as a forest reserve is established the mature timber

is for sale to the settler, the miner and the stockman, to individuals, companies and corporations. It is for sale in small or large amounts. Moreover, the Government is at liberty to sell as much or as little as conditions may warrant, and at such a price as circumstances may call for. But it is for sale; it is not to be stolen, and this simple fact accounts for much of the hostility in any policy. No one can force the Government to sell a single stick of timber from a National forest reserve if by so doing the best interests of all the people would be injured. What better guaranty is possible against unjust competition?

Interest of Real Homesteader.

This same article complains that the homesteader can now obtain but a small compensation for the relinquishment of his timber claim; but such a so-called homesteader is not a real homesteader at all. He is entitled to the sympathy. He is not the man who tills the soil, builds the home and brings permanent prosperity to the region. This is the man who owns the country and moves on. Otherwise he would not relinquish his claim, as he admittedly does at the first favorable opportunity, to those who are seeking investments in timber lands. To the real homesteader who tills the soil and builds a house to live in nothing should be granted. He is there to stay. To the fraudulent homesteader who builds a shelter for the night under the tall timber no encouragement is due. He takes all he can get and moves on. Sympathy for such a man is sympathy

for one who is engaged in fraudulent transactions; if it stops it is wasted, and it is hard to see how it can be shown on the part of one who takes the trouble to find out the facts.

An argument for the establishment of reserves in Northern Idaho it has twice been claimed that the forests were important as a means of regulating the water flow. That part of the state is abundantly watered and is not concerned with questions of irrigation. It is merely a matter of bringing the Government timber lands under a wise and practical system of protection with a view to providing a permanent supply of timber, first, for present needs, and, second, for future use. The immense damage already done by forest fires in this particular region is well known. Under forest-reserve management the timber is protected against fire, and ample regulations are made for lumbering, in order that the future productiveness of the forest lands may be assured. Great as the mining interests of Northern Idaho are now, they are insignificant in what they will be in years to come. Timber near at hand is absolutely essential to the permanent prosperity of this industry, and one of the chief objects of forest reserves in Northern Idaho is to make sure of the forest resources for present and future use. We wish to prevent the theft of timber and the wanton and reckless destruction of timber; and we do this in the interest of the public, of the public as it is today, and of the public as it will be in the future.

Both Favor Same Policy.

In your own interview, published by the Wallace Press and copied by the Lewiston Journal, you say that it is your purpose to prevent the withdrawal of any portion of the lands of Idaho that are adapted to settlement and home-making purposes. If this be your only purpose you can spare yourself all anxiety for the policy described is precisely the Government's policy in the temporary withdrawals for forest reserves. These withdrawals are based on detailed maps prepared after careful examination in the field. The character of each section is shown, and the field work is done by men who are, from training and experience, thoroughly familiar with Western conditions. The peculiar difficulties of this work have been appreciated, and, in my judgment, your belief that theory and inexperience have entered into the matter is a wholly mistaken one. I had you in conference with the men-men here and raised in the West, by the way—who have advised these withdrawals, and it was evident that they knew thoroughly and completely the conditions and that the theory upon which you, yourself, were acting was an entirely mistaken one. Let me again repeat with all emphasis that only those lands which are shown by the Forest Service to be more valuable for the production of timber or the protection of the water flow than for agricultural purposes will be included in permanent forest reserves, and that if it is afterward proven that any lands within a forest reserve are of chief value for agricultural purposes, such lands, by elimination or otherwise, will be turned over to the home-builder.

Where They Differ.

We are agreed in the question that public lands of an agricultural nature should be jealously guarded and freely offered for the permanent use of the real settler and home-builder, and that every encouragement should be offered to bring about a substantial development in this direction. Further than this, and apparently in opposition to your own views, I am convinced that the public forest lands should be as carefully guarded as the public agricultural lands, and that their resources should be protected and wisely used for the best good of all the people in the long run. The contrary policy, which you seem to advocate, is, in my judgment, a policy of destruction of the state's future assets in the temporary interest of a few favored parties.

The other opinions you send relate to party matters and strive to make it appear that the forest-reserve question in Idaho is a matter of political importance. Now, when I can properly pay heed to political interests, I will do so, but I will not for one moment consent to sacrifice the interests of the people as a whole to the real or fancied interests of any individual or of any political faction. The Government policy in the establishment of National forest reserves has been in effect for many years; the good results are already evident; it is a policy emphatically in the interest of the people as a whole, and especially the people of the West. I believe they cordially approve it, and I do not intend to abandon it.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

Sen. W. M. Heyburn, U. S. Senate.

HEYBURN AND THE PRESIDENT.

The Oregonian prints today part of the voluminous correspondence between President Roosevelt and Senator Heyburn over the Administration's forest-reserve policy in Idaho. This correspondence—and there is more to come—will serve to explain some things not clear to the people of the Northwest, and especially of Idaho. Senator Heyburn from the first assumed a bully's attitude toward the Administration and its agents. He challenged the right of the National Administration to create reserves, and he made ugly assertions

about forest-reserve officers and surprising misrepresentations about the situation in Idaho. Finally he wrote a whining letter to the President, and because The Oregonian described it as "half-way apologetic," he burst into a furious rage. He had a conference with the President and with Mr. Pinchot, in which he finally accepted their position as to a number of forest reserves, and agreed specifically to their policy, so far as reserves were to be created for protecting the water supply of irrigation districts. Then, without explanation or excuse, he repudiated and upset the whole agreement.

The Oregonian recently said that Senator Heyburn had "queered" himself with the National Administration. It was and is true. The reason, bluntly stated, is that the President has no confidence in him or in any representations he may make about Idaho affairs. Heyburn is the only Senator from any state who has made a personal issue with the President on any matter, and he is probably the only Senator of either party whom President Roosevelt is disposed to ignore entirely in considering and determining affairs of interest and importance to his state. It is a situation unpleasant for Senator Heyburn and most unfortunate for Idaho.

HEYBURN'S CONTROVERSY WITH ROOSEVELT

Senator Heyburn is the only Senator who has made a personal issue with President Roosevelt on the latter's forest reserve policy.

February 29, 1904, the Senator wrote to the President objecting to the inclusion of mineral land in forest reserves and in the creation of any reserves in Northern Idaho unless needed to protect watersheds and asking to be consulted about any more temporary withdrawals in that section.

The President replied, refusing to consult him in advance.

March 15, 1904, the Senator wrote again, asking for this advance information in confidence.

A conference at the White House followed, at which the Senator agreed to the Southern Idaho reserves, but the President agreed to suspend action on those in Northern Idaho pending discussion.

May 1, 1904, the Senator threw over the White House agreement and wrote to the President renewing his protest against any new reserves, particularly the inclusion of mineral lands, and denying the authority of the President to include such land.

Mr. Pinchot, to whom this letter was referred, showed the Senator's repudiation of the White House agreement and answered his objections in detail, exposing the falsity of his statements that the Coeur d'Alene and Boise Basin mines were included in reserves.

This letter of Mr. Pinchot called forth a letter from Mr. Heyburn to the President on July 15, 1904, in which he calls Mr. Pinchot a theorist and his only reply to the exposure of his mis-statements is some nasty abuse on Mr. Pinchot.

Mr. Heyburn's opposition was revived when the Shoshone withdrawal was made last Spring. He wrote several letters to the President, in which he misrepresented the facts and backed up his statements with clippings from his nephew's paper.

The President replied on June 15, 1905, exposing his mis-statements and clearly showing that the forest reserve policy was in the interest of the people of Idaho and that only fraudulent entrymen would suffer.

To this Mr. Heyburn replied on June 21, making a half-way apology for his violent opposition and expressly admitting the authority of the President to create reserves, which he had formerly denied.

The tenor of this letter was conveyed to The Oregonian correspondent at Washington by the Senator's private secretary and was stated in a dispatch published July 15.

Mr. Heyburn became enraged at this dispatch and denounced it as untrue, but did not produce the letter to prove its falsity.

The correctness of the dispatch is proved by the terms of the letter, in which he practically admits the correctness of the President's position.

WATTERSON'S HAT OFF TO ROOSEVELT

From the Louisville Courier-Journal.

Had Japan of the Russian message—reduce Russia to a realization of the power of Japan—and what is to hinder them reaching an understanding and a working agreement by which to all intents and purposes China becomes the customer—we will not say the prey—of the two of them? The Japanese, we are told, are the Yankees of the orient. If they are, we need not greatly fear them, because they will commit as many follies as we have committed. But if, acquiring our mechanism and method and enterprise, they retain their own peculiar subtlety in design and craft in action, we may presently see the ground cut beneath our feet in China, for which, in truth, we have prepared the way and provided the means by our senseless policy both of tariff and Mongolian exclusion.

It is here that the extraordinary personality of the president may be considered as at once an asset and a factor. He is at this moment the foremost figure in the world. All over Europe he is a popular hero. Everywhere the masses of the people warm to him. His name is a synonym of wisdom and virtue and power. In Germany he divides popularity with the kaiser, to whom he is constantly likened. In England, with the king, who, it is needless to say, is the first of Englishmen. For us and the country, all this is of paramount import, implying that the president may do what another might not be able to do, so that if good fortune continues to follow the Roosevelt star, he and the new secretary of state—if they strike while the iron is hot, as we doubt not they will—have it in their hands to bring out of the stage of conflicting interests and selfish collisions enough of grist to serve our mill for a good while to come, no matter what Japan and Russia agree to do, or England and Germany are able to compel, in the trade adjustments.

One thing is certain, we have reached a point on the map where the roads cross. Nay, we have come to a turning where many roads converge, each road having its own signboard, many of the signboards bearing strange inscriptions. The American manufacturer is right up against the proposition whether the protective tariff is not a positive hindrance. Reciprocity, which is only free trade in broken doses, may afford temporary relief. But, at the moment when a party in Britain is moving to go back to protection in order to hold the colonies, it is a question whether we have not reached the precise conditions which, 60 years ago, led Cobden and Bright to induce their fellow-manufacturers to lower the tariff bars and open the ports and the mills of England to the world. Assuredly, the high tariff—come at last in more ways than one to be a Chinese wall—cannot be made either to dam or ride the flood of foreign interests and international relations which the end of this great war will inevitably let loose upon us.

OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, Wash- ington, Sept. 21.—Senator Heyburn is confined to his room with an attack of appendicitis. He arrived here on the first train from New York this morning and went at once to Stenograph Court, where a physician was waiting. The doctor is unable as yet to tell whether an operation will be necessary, but the Senator, who suffers considerably, hopes to recover without surgical aid.

Although confined to bed, the Senator consented to see The Oregonian correspondent this afternoon, but absolutely refused to make any connected declarations of his future course regarding Idaho forest reserves. He will not call on the President while here, nor pay any attention to forestry matters, but will leave for Idaho when able to leave.

Asked if he was now ready to abide by the Administration's forestry policy or intended to carry his fight into the Senate, Mr. Heyburn hotly replied:

"I will do what I please when I get ready. Forest reserves don't interest me just now, and I won't bother about them. They don't interest my constituents as much as the papers try to make it appear.

President Not Whole Government.

"Administration's policy?" he added with a sneer. "Who made the Administration's policy? President Roosevelt is not the whole Government. He is not a member of any legislative body—I am. Congress makes policies; the President don't. There is a time and place where I will have my say, and when that time comes, you will see what I intend to do."

"Then it is to be inferred you will carry your fight into the Senate?"

"Infer what you please; say what you please and say I said it. I don't care anything about it. Newspapers don't run things in Idaho; they can't scare me; they can't dictate to me; nobody can dictate to me, not even the President. I am not a servant of the President; I am his peer, and as for Pinchot and the rest of those underlings, I don't care anything about them; I'm through with them."

Scoffs at Pinchot and Gooding.

"Mr. Pinchot and Governor Gooding have reached an understanding as to forest reserves in Idaho," was suggested.

"If you think Gooding has changed, ask him," snapped the Senator, and in the next breath he sneered:

"Pinchot and Gooding have agreed to deal out lands in Idaho. Who gave them authority? It's not their land; they can't give away that land, any more than I can give away the Kingdom of Heaven. It is all foolishness. Congress gave the state sections 18 and 26; Pinchot and Gooding can't take these sections away from the state."

Mr. Heyburn was considerably surprised to learn that the President had made public all the correspondence bearing on the Idaho reserves and that the letters

had been published today as a Government document.

Calls Everybody a Liar.

"Full of more lies," he growled. "They have been lying all along; guess they can keep it up; they can't hurt me; none of them can hurt me; the people of Idaho elected me to my office; I was not appointed by the President, and the President can't take my place away. I don't care what he thinks; I don't care what anybody thinks. I am sent here to act for the people of Idaho, as my own judgment directs, and I'm going to do it."

Asked how he intended to make a fight in the Senate, the Senator said there would be an opportunity when the appropriation bill came up.

Try to Cut Off Appropriation.

"And maybe there won't be any more appropriations for forest reserves," he said, with a sarcastic grin.

When told that Mr. Pinchot said the Administration had won the forestry fight in Idaho, the Senator exclaimed:

"That's another lie. That's not so. Pinchot lies. I know how the people of Idaho feel; they have not deserted me. There has not been a change of sentiment out there. I know it now, I know what it has been all along, and I am acting for the people."

When attention was again directed to the published correspondence, Mr. Heyburn said:

Abuses the Correspondent.

"That correspondence shows you had about me, don't it?"

"Quite the contrary," was the reply. "Your published letter shows who lied. It sustains what was said about you in these dispatches."

"That is another lie," thundered Mr. Heyburn.

Shifting a bag of crushed ice and rolling over, Mr. Heyburn finally exclaimed:

"I don't intend to be badgered any longer. This interview has got to close. If I have to telephone for some one to put you out."

Impossible to Get Explanation.

Because of his irritability and his unwillingness to be interviewed, although he consented to the interview, it was impossible to get from Mr. Heyburn any explanation of his interest in the fraudulent entryman from Wallace and neighboring cities who tried to acquire some of the best timber lands in Shoshone County. Nor could any definite interview be obtained, though an offer was made to print any statement he might dictate. He made it plain, however, that he resents the publication of his letters and, when opportunity presents, will try to organize enough Senators to shut off the appropriation for forest reserves and the Forest Service and endeavor by legislative act to abolish some of the existing reserves in Idaho and prevent the creation of any additional reserves, except by his consent; something that is utterly unattainable. Mr. Heyburn apparently will have no further intercourse with the President

How Heyburn Lost His Confidence.

OREGONIAN NEWS BUREAU, Washington, Sept. 2.—When a United States Senator or any other man deliberately misrepresents facts to President Roosevelt, and the President finds it out, that man need never look for any consideration at the hands of the Chief Executive; he need never expect President Roosevelt again to place reliance in what he may say. This statement has direct bearing on the case to be cited.

On the night of March 26 a conference was held at the White House, attended by President Roosevelt, Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, Assistant Forester G. W. Price, of the Forest Service, and Assistant Land Commissioner J. H. Fritts. The conference was called to talk over forest-reserve land in Idaho, Mr. Heyburn having repeatedly taken issue with the steps made by the Administration.

On this particular night Mr. Heyburn directed his attention to the proposed Shoshone reserve which is to be created to embrace about one-half the area of Shoshone County, Idaho. The Senator was the first man called. "Senator Heyburn," said the President, "let us hear what you have to say."

All "Industrious Settlers."

The Senator then proceeded at great length to present against the creation of the Shoshone reserve. He said it was unnecessary; that the people of Shoshone County did not want it; that it would retard development, and added that much of the land had already been settled upon by industrious settlers who had gone into that country to make homes. He made an earnest plea on behalf of these settlers, saying they would be hardshiped if their lands should be embodied in a forest reserve, and would be obliged, in the end, to relinquish the lands upon which they were struggling to build homes.

"Why, Mr. President," exclaimed the Senator in conclusion, after he had asserted that there was a vast amount of purely agricultural land in the Shoshone withdrawal, "Mr. President, we have in that region an Adirondacks where some of our wealthy men have built themselves summer homes. If that country is not reserved, it will in time become a famous summer resort."

Other Side of Story.

When Mr. Heyburn concluded, Mr. Price, at the President's request, told why the Forest Service desired to create a big reserve in Shoshone County. He explained that some valuable timber remained, that much of the area had once been timbered, but had been denuded by fire, and said that without Government protection the remaining timber land would soon be denuded by timbermen. Under Government care the existing forest would be pre-

seed, and the burned areas would in time become reforested. He then laid before the President a great collection of photographs showing the type of country and the character of settlements. Instead of agricultural country, the land was used in every way for cultivation; instead of homes of bona fide settlers, the photographs showed rough huts built on a hundred or more claims by men who had located in the very best timber for the obvious purpose of getting the timber and deserting the land. Not a single house was found which was inhabited; not a single entry appeared to have been made in good faith.

Facts Astound President.

The President was astounded by what he saw. His interest increased as he went further through the pile of photographs. When he had seen enough, he took out a bunch of photographs of the huts erected by fraudulent entrymen, and, waving them before the astonished Senator, fairly blazed:

"Mr. Heyburn, rich men don't build shacks."

Heyburn Returns to Charge.

That ended the conference, but it evidently did not subside the junior Senator from Idaho. Within a week, on April 4, to be exact, Mr. Heyburn addressed a lengthy letter to the President, renewing his protest against the creation of the Shoshone reserve. This letter was fully quoted in these dispatches at the time, but a few extracts are here made. In the letter Mr. Heyburn again referred to the settlements which he insisted had been made in good faith within the reserve. He told how settlements abounded just outside the limits of the proposed reserve, and said they were gradually extending up the various streams, into the heart of the Shoshone country. "Every year sees the settlements push farther up these streams, and there are now prosperous mining camps and growing settlements right in the very heart of the proposed reserve." He said Shoshone

County had made provision for building a road to reach some of these settlements. He said:

You will recall that the representative of the Forestry Department stated that a large number of settlements had been taxed by their representatives to be bogus. Their representatives are evidently unacquainted with the methods of settlers. They know nothing of the customs of the great West. It is so easy to condemn the enterprise of other men and their judgment in entering upon the contract by those who are not in sympathy with them or advised as to what human energy can do.

The showing against Mr. Heyburn at the White House conference had been convincing; it convinced the President, but in order that Mr. Heyburn might have the "square deal" guaranteed to every man, this last letter was referred to Clifford Pichot, head of the Forest Service, and on April 10 he submitted his report to the President, in which he said:

No Room for Farm Land.

Senator Heyburn asserts that the withdrawal for the Shoshone reserve was made rather to prevent settlement than to preserve timber.

If the lands are agricultural in nature, Senator Heyburn has good reason to object on this score. If the lands are not agricultural, no settlement is possible, and this objection does not hold.

The whole region has been carefully examined and mapped by the Forest Service, and is shown to be a rough, mountainous country, broken by deep, precipitous canyons, almost wholly without alluvial bottom lands. The only open lands are on the ridges at altitudes of from 2000 to 2500 feet above sea level, where successful cultivation is naturally impossible. Approximately 90 per cent of the withdrawal is timber land which has been burned over, and the remaining 10 per cent is merchantable timber land which has not as yet been touched by fire, and which will average 20,000 board feet in the acre. The principal trees are white cedar, white pine and tamarack.

A survey of four townships, 30 and 47 north, range 5 east, and townships 47 north, ranges 4 and 5 east, has recently been completed. The temporary withdrawal of these particular townships is specifically objected to by Senator Heyburn on the ground that settlement is prevented. The report shows that in these four townships there are approximately 90 square section claims of 160 acres each, all of which are located on the very best of the timber lands, and on none of which the slightest pretense of cultivation has been made. On most of the claims are claims representing a cost of from \$1 to \$10. The claimants can have no intention of making agricultural settlements, and are endeavoring to gain possession of the land for its timber only. As soon as they have obtained title, they will undoubtedly sell to the highest bidder.

In brief, according to our information, the whole area is good forest reserve land, and is highly suited for agricultural purposes. If this proposed reserve is eventually created, its chief object will be to protect and wisely use the timber resources for the best permanent good of all the people, with special regard to the future prosperity of the mining interests.

Special Agent Gives Facts.

Out of abundance of precaution, and in order that no injustice be done Mr. Heyburn, the President then directed the Commissioner of the General Land Office to send one of his special agents into Shoshone County to ascertain the facts regarding the hundred or more settlements that had been made within the proposed Shoshone forest reserve. H. H. Schwartz, special agent in Montana, was assigned to this duty, and he spent an entire month this summer carrying on his investigation. His report absolutely sustains the conclusions of the Forest Service, and clearly shows that Mr. Heyburn had objected to the Shoshone Reserve on false grounds. In other words, it confirms the opinion formed by the President on the night of March 26, and, as further evidence of this fact, the President only recently directed that the Shoshone withdrawal be retained intact, and be not canceled, as requested by Mr. Heyburn. But let the report speak for itself. Here is what Mr. Schwartz says:

In June, 1908, I made careful field examinations of townships 30 and 47 north, range 5 east, and townships 47 north, ranges 4 and 5 east, and some of those adjoining (these being the townships in which Senator Heyburn had stated settlement had been made), for the past five years I have been familiar generally with the territory embraced within the temporary withdrawal. You ask me to examine and report:

First—Whether the lands claimed as agricultural under settlement rights are in fact agricultural or timber lands.

Answer—They are, without exception, timber lands.

Second—If timber lands, what portions thereof, if any, could be successfully cultivated and improved if the timber were removed, and the character and productiveness of the soil?

Only Patches of Agricultural Land.

Answer—There are about 120 squatters' claims within the withdrawal, and each claim is located in bold line above until the land runs into the market. About 120 of these claims have no lands susceptible of cultivation or improvement because of the steep and rocky side hills and the shifting gravelly stream bed in the narrow valleys. Between 40 and 50 of the claims have about 5½ acres each capable of cultivation if the timber were removed, and these five acres are small, generally flats between steep mountain sides, and the flats are overlaid with generally with from six to 12 inches of black soil, though which there is considerable rock showing. There are about 20 claims such as the above, whereas the amount of land capable of improvement and cultivation will average 10 acres, and there are about 10 claims in the withdrawal where the flats widen out, so that from 40 to 80 acres may be brought under cultivation. Of these 10 claims, two are in section 30, T. 47 N., R. 4 E., and these in section 35, T. 47 N., R. 4 E., and were "located" with knowledge that the approval of survey would find them on school lands. Such of these lands as are capable of cultivation will produce good crops of hay, although it has been the general experience in that country that the small flats dry out after the timber has been removed. Owing to the mountainous character of the country, with its heavy snows and cold nights, diversified agriculture is out of the question, and grasses would be the main reliance.

Third—To what extent, if any, have the lands claimed been cultivated, grazed or otherwise used for bona fide homestead purposes?

Hardly Any Land Cultivated.

Answer—Frank Herdman, who has a claim in section 14, T. 47, R. 4, which is on the north side of the range and near the town of Wallace, and not in the main timber belt, has about five acres under cultivation. Emil Kraus, in section 20, same township, has one-half acre in garden truck; Fred Uhlman, in section 20, same township, has about one acre cleared and in garden and grass. With these exceptions, none of the lands in the withdrawal have been cultivated, grazed or otherwise used for bona fide homestead purposes.

Fourth—What improvements have been placed thereon, and what are the value and character of such improvements?

Answer—Herdman has a good hewed log house and small barn, and about 10 acres fenced, also a water-power sawmill, used principally for sawing wood from the claim for Wallace people. The remaining claims have claims built of a cost of from \$10 to \$25 each, and with half a dozen exceptions none of them are habitable. There are over 100 cabins without doors, roofs, windows or chimneys, built of brush or unchinked logs, and with roof of brush or bark.

Fifth—Have those claiming lands complied in good faith with the requirements of the settlement laws as to residence, or maintained homes elsewhere since the assertion of such claims?

Only Two Live on Claims.

Answer—Herdman lives on his claim part of the time, and also has a home in Wallace, Idaho. He was living in Wallace in June last at the time of my two trips there. Uhlman lives on his claim, although not at home at the time I was there. Emil Kraus makes trips to his claim about once a month and stays a day or two. The other claimants in the withdrawal make occasional hunting or hunting trips to the claims. Such claimants as were mentioned by the surveyor's field notes (many of whom were "located" by the surveyor) and such claimants as have their names on the claims of claims I have run down, and I append a

(Continued on Page Four.)

list showing their actual residence and occupation. The lists are of interest. None of the claimants have complied in good faith with the requirements of the settlement laws as to residence. Uhlman is out there because he has a good timber claim and is enticed by the State Creek Settlers' Association to bluff out any claim-jumpers. Herdman's ground is probably mineral, as it is surrounded by mineral claims, and he formerly held the land as mining claims, but his principal income has been from the sale of wood. He has about 30,000 feet of saw logs now cut on the ground he is not clearing. None of the other claimants live on their claims.

The conditions throughout the entire withdrawal do not differ from those in the four townships especially named.

After attaching the affidavits in question, Mr. Schwartz gives a detailed list of the "poor settlers" for whose interests Mr. Heyburn is so solicitous, and he shows how deserving these "poor settlers" are of consideration at the hands of the Government.

In consequence of Schwartz's report, which fully concurs in the findings of representatives of the Forest Service, each one of these settlers will ultimately be deprived of his land, and may count himself lucky if he does not fall into the hands of the law.

Names of the "Poor" Settlers.

Then follows a long list of those who have made settlements on choice timbered tracts in township 47 north, range 4 east, in the midst of Shoshone County, but who have not resided upon or improved their claims, but have rather attempted to hold the lands in an illegitimate way, for their timber.

J. P. O'Brien, general manager of R. & N. Portland; J. W. Graham, general superintendent of native power, R. & N. Portland; D. McDonald, engineer for R. & N. Wallace, Idaho; F. J. Damon, brakeman, R. & N.; Mowbray; Jack Stewart, not located; C. H. Tamm, not located; F. W. Eitel, City; J. M. Hensley, Colfax, Wash.; W. S. Tourster, Colfax, Wash.; C. W. Hess, Colfax, Wash.; Thomas North, Colfax; George E. Campbell, Tekoa, Wash.; G. W. Larus, Springton, Idaho; A. Scott, Tekoa, Wash.; H. W. Campbell, Colfax; S. A. Turner, Lewiston; Gus McIlverey, Tekoa; F. H. Hensley, Tekoa; Frank Quinn, Tekoa; Lee Dwyer, Tekoa; Edwin Schmidt, Tekoa.

These claimants, with two or three exceptions, all voted in the town where they lived and not in the precinct where the land is located and not where they should have voted, if they had given their residence as that of the land claimed by them.

In township 47 north, range 4 east, the following gentlemen have made entries of the same kind as those specified above:

James Bass, Wallace, Idaho; Albert Bakewell, Wallace; J. Backwell, Wallace; James Camp, Wallace; August Carlson, Coeur d'Alene City; George Chapman, Colfax, Wash.; T. Dan Connor, ex-Mayor of Wallace; William Fiedinger, Wallace; Frank Franz, Wallace; Charles Gustin, Wallace; M. H. Hare, Wallace; Frank Herdman, Wallace; Fred Johnson, Wallace; Sam Johnson, Coeur d'Alene; Emil Kraus, Wallace; P. F. McIlverey, Coeur d'Alene; Terry McLaughlin, Wallace; Dan McNamee, Wallace; A. P. Moltes, Wallace; John J. Price, Wallace; Henry Pannochaker, Wallace; Charles Pilsenmiller, Wallace; John S. Quinn, Wallace; J. B. Sandergerger, Wallace; Thomas Tweed, Wallace; Hugh Toole, president of City Council, Wallace; Fred Uhlman, caretaker of claims and ranger for State Creek Settlers' Association (may live in Idaho); Sidney Van Hook, Muller, Idaho; John Worams, Wallace.

There is a small log cabin or hut on each of the above claims. With the exception of Hardman's and Uhlman's claims, these claims are not used for any purpose, and no clearing, fencing or other work has been done.

The following named have taken claims on the same fraudulent basis:

Edward Schmidt, Texas, Wash.; J. W. Hutchinson, Tekoa; W. B. Walker, Texas; O. H. DORRIS, not located; M. E. Taylor, Coeur d'Alene City; J. C. H. Swanson, Wallace; Horace King, Wallace; G. M. Featherstone, Wallace; N. D. Hedrick, Spokane; A. J. Ramsey, Minocanville, Minn.; E. H. Foley, not located; A. Anderson, Tekoa; J. W. Sothen, Colfax; C. E. Sorlien, Colfax; D. W. Campbell, general superintendent O. R. & N., Portland; George Campbell, not located; Ed Alvord, Tekoa; S. A. Mitchell, Colfax; H. H. Logan, Heppner, Mont.; W. E. Grant, Harrison, Idaho; George Stevens, Spokane; G. N. Smith, attorney for O. R. & N., Portland; A. M. Scott, Colfax; J. W. James, not located; A. T. Tracy, Colfax; F. A. Toney, Colfax; G. Swanson, not located; A. J. Olson, A. J. Proberg, A. Narsal, John Erickson, A. Thoms, O. H. Heilichson, A. Thoms, F. B. Place and G. Doldenberg were not located; I. B. Logan, Harrison, Idaho; Robert Sell, Texas; William Bartel, Harrison; H. B. Howard, Tekoa; Stella Perkins, Colfax; F. F. Darley, Wallace; Hattie M. Crawford, Irigon, Or., formerly of Wallace; A. C. Crawford, Irigon, formerly of Wallace; M. G. Reed, Colfax; W. E. Reed, Nampa; M. P. Longren, Wallace, and A. W. Foley, Tekoa.

Not one of these persons is living on his land, but in the town designated after his name. All are fraudulent entrymen.

Nearly All Heyburn's Neighbors.

When the President read over the list of these fraudulent entrymen, he must have been impressed with the preponderance of Wallace people, persons who are today and have since the signing of their claims been residents of the same town with Mr. Heyburn. Wallace is not such a large place that all or any considerable portion of these people could be unknown to the Senator. And yet he had the nerve to tell the President that "bona fide" settlers in the proposed Shoshone reserve would be hardshipped by the establishment of a permanent forest reserve, when the very men interested were his townsmen, for the most part, who were trying to fleece the government out of a lot of very fine timber.

Of all exposures made in connection with Mr. Heyburn's attack on the forestry policy, nothing is so damaging or looks so bad on its face as this list of fraudulent entrymen whom he is trying to protect. Mr. Heyburn has got to do a lot of explaining to the President when he again calls at the White House to object to forest reserve extension in Idaho.

HEYBURN'S POOR SETTLERS.

The Oregonian is not "persecuting" Senator Heyburn, of Idaho, as some of his friends declare. It is simply telling the truth about his continued and persistent misrepresentation of the real situation in Idaho. The Oregonian takes it that the people of Idaho want the facts known at Washington and elsewhere about their forest reserves, if Heyburn doesn't. They have nothing to gain by bluster, buncombe or big bow-wowism, which are all synonyms for Heyburnism; they have everything to gain in the preservation of their timber lands and in the defeat of the schemes of the timber sharks, whose masquerade under the guise of "poor settlers" has so aroused the vociferous sympathies of Senator Heyburn. No newspaper in Idaho cares enough about the public interest to expose the sham and fraud of the Heyburn plea for the "poor settler"; so the Oregonian does it.

Poor settler, forsooth! The Oregonian today contains a list of "poor settlers" who have been trying to grab the timber lands in the Shoshone reserve. They are about the poorest settlers that ever perjured themselves in any cause. There are about 180 of them who have erected squatters' cabins within the limits of the Shoshone withdrawal, and not one of them ever had the slightest purpose of cultivating the land, building a home, or doing aught but fleece the United States out of 180 acres of fine timber. Possible exceptions are three persons—named Hardman, Uhlman and Klaus—who live in their cabins part of the time, but even these scarcely pretend to be there to cultivate the soil. The remaining 177 are fraudulent entrymen. They will be deprived of their lands. They should be.

These are the "poor settlers" Senator Heyburn is trying to protect. They live all over the Northwest—everywhere but in the Shoshone reserve—and are engaged in all sorts of occupations. They are attorneys, bankers, merchants, and railroad men, from the general manager down—everything but bona fide builders of homes in the virgin forest. Just read the list. Your tears, too, will flow with Heyburn's when you run across the familiar names of these outraged and helpless "poor settlers."

HOW HEYBURN "QUEERED" HIMSELF

Senator Heyburn "queered" himself with the President by misstating the facts about the Idaho forest reserves, particularly the Shoshone reserve, which is in Mr. Heyburn's own country.

At a conference at the White House, March 26, with the President and forest and land officials, he stated that much land in the proposed Shoshone reserve was purely agricultural, that much of this land had been settled by industrious settlers, who had gone there to make homes, and that the country would become a rich man's summer resort, like the Adirondacks.

In reply Assistant Forester O. W. Price showed photographs illustrating the character of the country and showing that the "houses" were rough huts, that none of them were inhabited, that no entries had been made in good faith, that the country was rugged, timbered mountains and was unfit for cultivation.

The President indignantly exclaimed: "Mr. Heyburn, rich men don't build shacks."

Mr. Heyburn, in spite of this, reiterated his statement in a letter to the President a few days later, maintained that settlements had been made in good faith and accused the forest officials of ignorance of Western conditions.

In reply to this, Gifford Pinchot stated that surveys showed 85 per cent of the withdrawn was burned timber land, the other 15 per cent merchantable timber land, and that the only open land was on ridges at altitudes of 800 to 900 feet, incapable of cultivation. He said there were 80 squatters on the best timber land, costing \$5 to \$10 each, and that not the slightest promise of cultivation had been made.

H. H. Schwartz, a special agent of the Land Office, was then sent to examine the land. He found that the tracts claimed as agricultural were without exception timber land; that of the 120 squatters claims about 100 have no cultivable land, about 20 to 30 no cultivable land, about 40 to 50 have five acres, about 25 have 10 acres and about 20 have from 40 to 80 acres, cultivable if timber were removed; that only two claims have land cultivated; that none of the claimants have complied with the law in good faith.

Mr. Schwartz gives a list of the claimants, showing that the great majority reside in Wallace, Mr. Heyburn's home.

They got on one railroad. And it is difficult to railroad to make a reduction that does not pay some other railroad. I remember when we came to the Coast I looked rather suspiciously at him and walking around with the Indians and that nothing on all the face of the earth that was dead in his timber in the mountains way and down into by white...

Foraker's Ohio Speech.

A better way may be found of making rates than that now in vogue, but I do not believe it possible for Congress to provide it by entrusting such a complicated, delicate and vitally important duty to any such agency of its creation as is that which has been proposed (the Interstate Commerce Commission). There are serious legal questions involved in such a proposition. There are numerous difficulties of a practical character that must arise the moment the Government undertakes such a duty.

To take control of the rate-making power is to take charge of the revenues of the roads, and that means that the Government is to assume the responsibility not only of determining what rate shall be charged, but also of necessarily how much money a railroad shall be allowed to make, and thus determine also of necessity what improvements it shall be permitted to make, what extensions it may build, what equipment it must provide, what new tracks it may lay and what kind of service it shall render; for rates are so interdependent that there is no such thing possible as changing one without affecting many. Any other method is a delusion, rebuffed by conditions and experience. In short, if the Government is to determine how much money a railroad shall be allowed to make, it must of necessity determine also what expenditures shall be permitted. None of these things can be escaped, and none of them can be done by the Government as well as they are now being done by the companies themselves.

United States Has Lowest Rates.

The United States has today the lowest rail transportation in the world by a great extent. Russia has the next lowest in the United States, and they pay for hauling a ton of freight 100 miles an average of \$1.25. Great Britain pays an average of \$1.25 and the United States pays an average of 75 cents. Notwithstanding that the average rate paid by the people of the United States is only about 40 per cent of that of Russia, we have a great many people who are preaching a new doctrine, and that is the regulation of railway rates by Federal authority. Now, let me say to you that if the Federal laws or the State laws are what they ought to be, they ought to protect every man in the enjoyment of his own property, and nothing beyond. (Applause.) Take the case of our own Great Northern

Railway. It has been announced in an official manner that there has been no reduction of rates in the United States for 25 years; that tariffs have been reduced at times, but that whenever a tariff was reduced, the classification was given another tick of the wheel and advanced an cent at least to offset the reduction in the tariff.

Constant Reduction of Rates.

The man who made that statement did not tell the truth. For 25 years our Great Northern Railway rates have been reduced until today they are from 12 to 14 per cent lower than the rates of any other trans-continental railroad but one, and that one lies alongside of us. (Applause.) Now, I have just an inner satisfaction in knowing the truth of that, so any one who has to pay for the transportation. The reduction in the average rate per ton per mile in 25 years on the Great Northern Railway averages 100 per cent. (Great applause.) That is enough to build the Northern Pacific and the Great Northern and the line down the North shore of the Columbia River, equip them and everything connected with them. That has been the reduction that the people

THE LAW AND MR. ELLIOTT.

An Intelligent and courteous correspondent asks this question: "If the Oregonian states correctly the President's proposed law to regulate railroad rates, why do men like Mr. J. J. Hill and Mr. Howard Elliott state it so differently?" They differ, that is, not from each other, but from the newspaper. This is a fair question, and it will not do to answer it by saying that these distinguished men have not the understanding to perceive what Mr. Roosevelt actually proposes. There are several passages in Mr. Elliott's speech before the Senate committee on interstate commerce, delivered last May, which show that he at least knows exactly what the President wishes, though almost the whole of the discourse is an argument against something else. It is an old trick in the game of politics to condemn both men and projects for what they are not, when no good reason can be found to condemn them for what they are. The plan which Mr. Elliott substitutes for the President's is vulnerable in many places, and the head of the Northern Pacific argues against it with great force of logic. The President's real plan is vulnerable nowhere, and Mr. Elliott could not, and he knows he could not, attack it with any success whatever. To settle once for all what Mr. Roosevelt has recommended concerning the regulation of railroad rates, let us quote his own words from his last message to Congress. "I am of the opinion," he says, "that at present it would be undesirable, if not impracticable, finally to clothe the commission with general authority to fix railroad rates." What could be more clear and explicit? And yet both Mr. Hill and Mr. Elliott in their public utterances have uniformly assumed that the President desired what in the plainest words he says he does not desire. Turn now to the question what he does actually recommend. We are not left in the dark. The message is absolutely perspicuous. "I do believe that as a fair security to shippers the commission should be vested with the power, when a given rate has been challenged, and after full hearing found to be unreasonable, to decide, subject to judicial review, what shall be a reasonable rate to take its place, the ruling of the commission to take effect immediately and to obtain unless and until it is reversed by the court of review." The President then goes on to remark that this legislation which he proposes is the only way to prevent two great evils of opposite nature, but both flowing from the abuses of the present system of deciding controversies over rates. These evils are, on the one hand, the increase of the present abuses, and on the other a demand from the people for radical and possibly destructive legislation. He adds, with that keen insight into the

heart of the matter for which Mr. Roosevelt has always been remarkable among public men, that in his judgment the most important legislation now needed pertaining to the regulation of corporations is this act to give the Interstate Commerce Commission power thus to fix a controverted rate and to have the revised rate go into effect at once and "stay in effect unless and until the court of review reverses it."

Now there is no misunderstanding these words, and when we read what the railroad officials persistently make out of them we are driven to believe either that Mr. Roosevelt was disingenuous in stating his recommendation or that his opponents are disingenuous in quoting it. Judging from their past history, their known character and their comparative motives for taking the Nation wholly into their confidence, which is the more likely to be disingenuous, a railroad official or a President of the United States, of whom one may say, as the greatest orator of Rome said to her greatest statesman, that he has already by his achievements made his fame eternal? What has Theodore Roosevelt to gain by lying to the American people about what he hopes and what he wishes? What reward is there for the base indirection of the demagogue to offer this marvelous man that he has not already gained by free courage and noble frankness?

Let us not, however, distract from the merit of railroad officials. They are men of courage, ability and enterprise. It has been characteristic of such men in all ages, whether as Gothic chieftains plundering the plains of degenerate Italy, whether as robber barons levying tribute upon the commerce of the Rhenish provinces in medieval times, or whether as the English pirates of the Spanish Main, to chafe under the restraints of law and endeavor to set themselves above the rights of their fellow-men. It was seriously argued by Gorgias, the Greek sophist, that laws being made by the weak to protect themselves from the strong, it was ignoble for a man to obey them when he had the strength to emancipate himself. But let us not wander. Mr. Hill and Mr. Elliott do not wish to be subject to the laws of the United States. They wish to play the part of the benevolent despot in regulating the commerce of the American people, and they use the despot's argument, as old as time and tyranny, that they can rule us better than we can rule ourselves. Perhaps they can, but they may lay it to heart that this Nation will not ultimately accept their rule, and that, so far as they are concerned, the final choice is between submitting to the law and being destroyed by the law. "But there is that is destroyed for want of judgment."

Mr. Elliott's speech has been printed and distributed as part of that "campaign of education" which has been

waged the past summer by the railroads against the President of the United States. It is not a brief document, and it is mainly directed against the chimera which has been substituted for Mr. Roosevelt's real recommendation, but it does also touch the real issue, and in this wise: First, says Mr. Elliott, the evils which the President complains of do not exist. There is no discrimination, no rebate-giving, no private-car evil, no private terminal allowances amounting to rebates; or, if these evils do exist, they are mere trifles. On the other hand, Mr. Roosevelt says these evils do exist, and in such

degree as to threaten the welfare of the Nation. Which is the more disinterested, the more single-minded and the better informed, the President of the United States or the president of the Northern Pacific? Secondly, Mr. Elliott says that, if the evils do exist, the Interstate Commerce Commission has already the power to remedy them. The Interstate Commerce Commission has no power except to state the facts in a given case and recommend a remedy. It can enforce nothing. Upon this point there can be no disagreement. Mr. Elliott admits it in his speech; the President says so in his message; the Supreme Court has decided the point beyond all doubt or cavil. The commission can do absolutely nothing to remedy discriminations and rebates. The only recourse is to the Federal Courts, where, as things now are, the tergiversations and delays amount to a denial of justice. During the whole tortuous course of the litigation the unjust rate remains in force, to the ruin of the shipper and the disgrace of American law. Thirdly, Mr. Elliott says that, if the evils do exist, let them alone and they will remedy themselves, or, if they do not, our benevolent despots, the railroad officials, will remedy them for us. "Let us alone," cried the devil in the synagogue. "Let us alone," cried the Southern slaveholders. "Let us alone," pleads every unjust privilege, every iniquity and every abuse of power; but advancing civilization will not let them alone, and, if there is one event in the future history of this country which may be prophesied with absolute certainty, it is the ultimate triumph of law over the anarchy of corporations as well as the anarchy of the Haymarket.

WHO SHALL OUR OWNERS BE?

Judge Peter S. Grosscup, of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals, has an article in the American Illustrated Magazine for December of singular timeliness and interest. It is headed, "Who Shall Own America?" and the answer clearly implied by Judge Grosscup is that, if things go on for a few decades as they are now going, the corporations will own the country. The people, as yet, possess wealth enough, he thinks, to buy out the corporations if they had the chance, but they will not possess it long. During the last twenty years the wealth of the country has increased 11 per cent only; but during the same period the amount of deposits in banks, trust companies, insurance reserves, and so on, has increased 500 per cent. Now all such deposits are under the control of the corporation magnates and furnish them sinews of war for renewed raids upon the system of individual ownership of property. This system of individual ownership, says Judge Grosscup, and every man of sense agrees with him, is the foundation of American liberty and prosperity, and the corporations are destroying it. The destruction goes on at a heartily accelerated rate. It has multiplied 500 per cent in twenty years. The Judge compares the greed of the corporations in a funnel wide enough at the mouth to cover the whole land and narrowing down to a small tube, which the products of the intelligence and industry of the Nation rush through like water through a tailrace into the pockets of some half-score of men.

The 500 per cent increase of deposits during the last twenty years represents the extent to which the common people have been forced out of the control and management of the business of the country. Instead of using this vast wealth themselves in individualized industry, they can do nothing but deposit it in banks, and this is equivalent to placing it in the hands of the Morgans, McCurdys and Rockefellers for endlessly reduplicated inventions of chicanery, fraud and swindling. Why can the common man do nothing but deposit his money? Why is he excluded from those headships of enterprise which stimulate manhood and develop citizenship? Judge Grosscup shows why. With profound intelligence and philosophic insight he perceives that the processes of modern industry, transportation, manufactures, mining, what you please, are based on inventions and scientific discoveries which called for corporate power to exploit. The corporations were organized, and being organized, they found themselves ignored by the law, left to the interminable struggles of feudal anarchy, free to develop their power as they pleased, free to devour one another and plunder the Nation without supervision or restraint. And to devouring and plunder they forthwith set themselves. "Like a roaring lion ravelling the prey they have taken the treasure and precious

The big corporations swallowed up the little ones as Aaron's rod swallowed those of the Egyptian magicians. It was called trust-building. The builders of the trusts reserved to themselves securities of a fundamental sort which represented the entire value of the property they controlled. These securities they overlaid with other bonds representing nothing but fraud and lies, and these twines were for sale. The public bought the securities, but no voice in the business went with them. The buyer only lent himself to exploitation. He gained the mere mockery of ownership in a business whose conduct was sedulously concealed from him; and naturally he soon ceased to invest. He began to hoard and deposit, and thus, though he had no such intent, he gave the magnates his money to use without the trouble even of losing watered stock.

The gates of opportunity slammed shut in the face of the common man. Betrayed to spoliation by the laws of his country, contemned by the courts, ignored by Congress, he is swiftly degrading to economic serfdom. Judge Grosscup would arrest his descent. He would retrieve American civilization from ruin by delivering the control of corporate industry to the proletariat, but to the proletariat as a mass of Kluge-headed cats inspired with the instincts of mutual hate and destruction.

The proletariat as a class, hiding mass of unorganized units is Judge Grosscup's admiration and love. The proletariat as a corporation he dreads. He will have nothing to do with state socialism. In the form of municipal ownership of public utilities he fears it; in the form of state ownership of railroads, mines, and so forth, he condemns it. His reason is that municipal ownership would become state ownership and the latter would destroy the institution of private property. It might, but even so, there might be a gain. It would be better for all property to pass

into the hands of the state than into those of a corporation like Standard Oil; for the benefits of state ownership would accrue to everybody, while those of Standard Oil ownership accrue to a few only, and the number of that few decreases yearly. National incorporation and supervision are the means Judge Grosscup specifies to cure the evils of corporate rule. On the face his remedy seems almost pitifully inadequate to the disease. The Zeitgeist proclaims another. The faith of the proletariat is not in its units, but in itself as a corporation, and the faith of the proletariat must be tried and found wanting before Judge Grosscup's remedy will be accepted.

THE UNHOLY ALLIANCE.

Mask Torn from Conspiracy of Grafting Financiers and Politicians.

From the New York Evening Post.

Mr. Hyde's testimony yesterday stripped away the last shreds of the veil behind which grafting financiers and grafting politicians have been hiding. Suspicion has now become certainty. We see the whole politico-financial conspiracy revealed. It was not only great speculators who were driven wild by the sight of the vast life insurance surpluses; politicians also went frantically to work to get their clutches upon a part of the huge accumulation. The dovetailing of greed and corruption, in finance and politics, is now clearer to the public vision than ever before. Mr. Hyde, with either the innocence of an infant or the quiet resolve of a man with his back to the wall to tell the whole truth, has given the world a picture of the unscrupulous politician in alliance with the conscienceless financier, which no subsequent protests or attempts at correction can blur.

Ex-Gov. Odell, for example, is a ruined man. Mr. Jerome was not so far wrong in dismissing him as "dead." He may take the stand and make his explanations and denials; Senator Ambler being dead, Mr. Odell may deny that he prompted that statesman to introduce the bill which was made the means of blackmailing the Equitable out of \$11,000, and putting it in Odell's pocket; but he will never be able to make a living soul believe that the transaction was anything but corrupt, a disgraceful plot on the part of the governor of New York to recoup himself for his stock-gambling losses. And the question is at once thrust in the face of the Republican party in this State—can it stagger longer under the burden of such a boss? What is Gov. Higgins going to do about it? Even his sleeping indignation must have been roused at last, one would say. And unless the Republican party of New York is beyond the power of self-cleansing, there will be a revolt against Odell. If he will not step out, he must be put out. His fitting place is on the retired list of bosses—with the extinct volcanoes, Cox, Croker, and the rest.

In the field of national politics, too, we have further details of the same unholy alliance. Republican fingers burned to get at trust funds. The Equitable also paid \$28,000 to elect Theodore Roosevelt. That sum—\$28,000—appears to have been the "assessment" of each of the big companies by the national committee. Treasurer Bliss, Mr. Hyde testified, got that amount at the expense of the Equitable policyholders, the plain understanding being that "many large corporations" were also contributing heavily. And yet we seem to remember a fine moral indignation at Judge Parker for asserting this to be the case a year ago. If our memory serves a heated document issued from the White House on that subject. True, Judge Parker made specific allegations of blackmail by Mr. Cortelyou, which he could not sustain; and the Presi-

dent's denials were technically correct. Still, if the facts now known had been known last November, the public would have thought the case as bad as Judge Parker asserted. But all this was before Mr. Hyde went to the White House to ask for the Ambassadorship to France to return for the Esquerra's contribution. On this point, Mr. Hyde's testimony is illuminating. To be sure, Treasurer Hilges requested money so as to save the country from the Democrats, but that did not prevent the savors from coming in for something handsome. Both he and Mr. Frick felt that Mr. Hyde's qualifications for the Embassy at Paris rose with every \$25,000 he took from the policyholders to give to the campaign fund; and they backed him—or fooled him—to the top of his bent.

This matter cannot just here. We have had a good deal of financial house-cleaning, in consequence of the insurance revelations, but the political house-cleaning is yet to come. And there can be no doubt who should take charge of it. President Roosevelt is the leader of the party which has been sadly embezzled. He himself stands as the presumptive beneficiary of the concealed gifts of corporations. It is beside the point to say that his great popular majority showed the shady financial soliciting of his committeemen to have been unnecessary. Neither he nor they knew it to be unnecessary. The money was asked for on the ground that it was indispensable. These huge sums were taken and used, and used for Mr. Roosevelt's benefit. That he did not, in fact, need the tainted money, does not excuse its being sought and accepted; nor does it relieve him from the duty of publicly repudiating his agents (which he has not yet done), and taking vigorous measures to prevent the repetition of such scandals as those with which they have stained the Republican party. We look to President Roosevelt's forthcoming message for plain speaking on this subject, and for recommendation of laws to prevent his party, or any party, from disgracing itself and debauching the electorate with money secretly and corruptly obtained from corporations. Only by some such step can Mr. Roosevelt both clear his own skirts and do the country a service for which the times are crying out.

Social Optimism.

If any one will make a careful study of any period of history, from the earliest epochs down to the present time, having it especially in view to ascertain the condition of the masses with reference to their personal freedom and rights before the law, their education and intelligence, their average physical comfort, and the equality of opportunity open to all to attain riches, power, and high position, he will be compelled to admit that the age in which we live is far in advance in all these respects of any that has preceded it; that there has been general progress all along the line, and that there is good ground—looking at the world by and large—for at least a moderate degree of optimism and cheerfulness.

There are, however, conditions still widely prevalent calculated to make one despair. When did mankind ever look upon a more squalid and distressing spectacle than that of twenty thousand starving women, marching through the streets of London, wan, emaciated, and exactly dead, to present their unavailing petitions for relief to the head of the government. It was enough to make the whole world weep; and who can wonder that those risen up in the bosoms of that army of women, and all others in their situation, a blind sense of injustice and wrong, when they are told that, helpless as they are, nothing can be done for them—except by charity. Willing and anxious to work for a bare subsistence even, why should they be denied the right to live in the midst of all the comfort and luxury everywhere about them? Who is responsible for such appalling conditions? In what degree are they themselves to blame for them? To some extent, no doubt, for it is everywhere true that idleness, industry, and theft will generally avail to lift the individual possessing them out of the worst surroundings and set him on his feet. These qualities, however, are largely a matter of original endowment, and those without them are unequal to the struggle, and a large proportion of the submerged tenth has sunk down to its hopeless state through the agency of misfortune and sickness for which they were not responsible, or from lack of employment which they were unable to obtain.

There must be some grave fault, either in the original constitution of things and in the law of social evolution by which such a status is brought about; or it is due to our perversion of the law. Was it within the scope and purpose of that law that the vast aggregations of people found in our cities should crowd together as they do? It is to them that nine-tenths of the equator and misery of the world is found, and, if improvement is possible, some method must be devised to weather out the surplus upon the vacant land. There are acres enough in Great Britain unutilized, and deliberately left in a wild state for purposes of sport, to sustain in comfort all the poor of the kingdom. If there does not come, before very long, some readjustment which will make unused land available for the people by voluntary arrangement, will it not come later on by compulsion?

As one looks back down the long line of centuries, nothing more wonderful is disclosed than the uncomplaining patience of the poor. They have been told, and have believed, that for their sufferings and deprivations here they would be doubly compensated in a better land. It may not be that their confidence in that theory has been shaken, but it is certain it has pretty much ceased to have any effect, and every one is justly demanding all that rightfully belongs to him, here and now. Such demands must be respected, and the best endeavors of statesmanship and philanthropy should unite to uplift the submerged tenth into the air and sunlight which were meant for all.

Turning our eyes in another direction, we have seen—and still behold—scenes of bloodshed, cruelty, devastation, and suffering, as horrifying as any that mar the pages of history. Two great nations have just closed a desperate struggle, in which they killed and maimed hundreds of thousands of each other's subjects, and now the fires of domestic war, with all its savagery, aggravated by the rabid fury of race and religious hatred, are sweeping over Russia, leaving its cities corpse-straw and desolate. Was ever blood-thirstiness more rampant, or man's inhumanity to man more heartrending?

Looking at these conditions from a near viewpoint, we find it hard to conclude that there has been any progress, or to find any ground for optimism, but as we gain perspective, so as to take in the near past and remote periods, reaching back to the beginning, we grow conscious that the darkest shadows in the picture do not lie in the immediate foreground, where, despite the lurid sky, the clouds are rifting and gleams of sunshine struggling through.

There is no landscape that has not been scarred and seared by battle and the torch, but the mitigations of war which have been secured, the growing realization of human brotherhood, the broadening intelligence among all peoples, and the establishment of tribunals which the great nations recognize and bow before, give us ground for hope that our children's children may look out upon a rejuvenated earth, where peace and kindness hold universal sway.

THE FORAKER RATE BILL.

Mr. Foraker, of Ohio, has a plan for regulating railroad rates which he thinks is better than President Roosevelt's. That he was maturing such a plan has long been known. The people of Ohio knew it on election day, and expressed their opinion of his intention; but their condemnation, though well merited, was based rather upon knowledge of Mr. Foraker's history and bias than upon any definite information about the plan itself. Now he has read his proposed measure before the Senate committee on interstate commerce, has explained it elaborately, and we know all about it. Whether we approve or condemn it, our judgment will be upon definite information, and not upon vague guesswork. If we prefer Mr. Foraker's leadership to President Roosevelt's in dealing with the railroads, we shall do so not merely because we believe the Ohio statesman to be a man of sounder wisdom and more approved patriotism than the President, but also because we believe his proposed scheme of rate regulation to be more effective and just.

These grounds, if they exist, are the only rational ones upon which we could prefer Mr. Foraker's leadership. That he is a wiser statesman and truer friend to the American people than Mr. Roosevelt, some persons may be willing to admit, but one may safely guess, those persons are mostly railroad presidents and corporate lawyers. Whether his scheme of rate regulation is more effective and just than the President's can be decided only by comparing the two.

Whether good or bad upon the whole, the Foraker bill is not devoid of excellent provisions. Two of them in particular seem honestly aimed at evils which have hampered, or, in many instances, paralyzed judicial procedure in corporation cases. The first gives the Interstate Commerce Commission authority to examine the books and accounts of the common carriers. This would put an end to that pernicious secrecy which has so aided the corporations to saddle their hateful tyranny upon the Nation. The second provision is equally salutary. It excludes the plea so often made by corporation agents and servants that their testimony will incriminate themselves. Hitherto such persons could always avoid answering questions by advancing this plea, and generally the plea was true. Too many of them were habitually guilty of criminal acts as part of their ordinary business. Thus the fact that a man was a lawbreaker was, and is, ingeniously used to shield both himself and his employer from punishment. The Foraker bill compels the witness to testify, even if he is a criminal, but provides that his testimony must not be used against himself.

So much must be said in praise of the Foraker bill. Its other provisions are

less admirable. There is some twaddle about American shipping, but this we have learned to expect from a certain class of statesmen, and it may be passed in silence. The damning criticism to be made upon the bill is that the proceedings under it must be intricate and wearisome, and that the remedy it offers for existing evils is wholly illusory. Thoroughly to understand such matters is the duty of intelligent Americans, but such understanding demands patience and mental effort. Let us then patiently unravel the deceptive intricacies of the Foraker scheme for rate regulation. To obtain relief in a case of discrimination or excessive rates under this bill involves certainly twelve different steps, and probably many more, all ruthlessly retarded by red tape, postponements, dilatory pleas and the other devices so skillfully employed by corporation lawyers to defeat justice.

In the first place, the Interstate Commerce Commission must discover and prove the offense. This, of course, demands going through books, examining witnesses, and so on, exactly as if the proceeding meant something. In Mr. Roosevelt's plan it does mean something. It means the end of the controversy, so far as the shipper is concerned; for, as the President proposes, as soon as the commission proves the offense it will make and enforce a remedial order. Not so in Mr. Foraker's scheme. Here, when the commission has proved that the railroad is breaking the law, it must take a second step; it must entreat the criminal to cease his lawbreaking. It cannot order, it must

entreat; and, the presumption is, the entreaties will fare exactly as they do now. Then (2) the commission must try the case again before the Attorney-General and obtain a decision from him. If he decides against the railroad, he will (4) direct his subordinates to begin an action in the Federal District Court. Understand that with all this know-nothing, tergiversation and heart-breaking delay, the case, though already tried and decided twice, is not yet really begun. The court now, after all the circumstances preparatory to an action in equity, (5) tries the case again. This makes three trials. The bill provides that the trial must proceed without "the usual pleas," but we all know what that means. It means the usual pleas plus an infinity of new ones to get at them. And all this time the evil flourishes unchecked. The court then (6) will order the railroad to show cause why an injunction should not issue against the excessive rate. The railroad (7) shows cause. This means a fourth trial of the case and no remedy yet; but let us not despair. While there is life there is hope. Being a case against a railroad, it is very important, and therefore (8) the court takes it under advisement; but, after a few months' delay, it decides against the corporation, and (9) the injunction issues. Here, then, is the end; justice at

last triumphs? Softly, softly; not too fast. The railroad (10) appeals to the Supreme Court and obtains (11) an injunction against the injunction, and the iniquitous rate runs merrily on. Some years later the Supreme Court gets around to hear the case, and (12) dissolves its counter-injunction. This leaves the injunction of the Circuit Court in force, and now we may really rejoice, for the case is ended. That is, we may rejoice if we have the heart for it.

This is Mr. Foraker's plan for regulating railroad rates. The Senate may prefer it to the President's, but the Nation will not; and, between the wish of the Senate and the wish of the American people, which shall finally prevail?

Mr. Williams to Mr. Lamar.

(From report of House proceedings in New York Times.)

Mr. Lamar referred to the aspiration of Mr. Williams to go to the Senate, and said that when he got to that "great temple of legislation" and the people of his state came to call upon him, expecting to see a worthy representative of their great state in that famous hall, they would find only the "image of a shriveled ape."

Mr. Williams replied briefly, and in referring to Lamar's criticism of his own family connections, said that, like his uncle, the late L. Q. C. Lamar, he possessed a "superb egotism," but the uncle was justified by the possession also of "a superb intellect."

"I wanted a team that would pull all together," he said, "instead of a team that pulled in every direction at once. It is no wonder that the party is represented in the comic papers of the country as a donkey."

During this exchange of courtesies the minority leader said: "I am reminded of the case of the misidentified body in the city. The sons, reading the description, thought it was their father. They telegraphed an undertaker to care for the body, and started for the city themselves. But when they saw the body the mouth was open and the false teeth disclosed. They knew it was not their father, and went away. So the undertaker said to the corpse:

"You blamed fool, if you had kept your mouth shut you would have had a first-class funeral."

Shouts of laughter greeted this from both sides of the House. It was especially apt, because of the aspirations of Mr. Lamar to be elected to the Senate from his state, and because he had been assigned to the committee on foreign affairs, which, if he had made no fight, would have been taken for a promotion.

PRIMARY LAW MUST BE MAINTAINED.

THERE IS A MOVEMENT going on throughout the country to get away from the thrall of the bosses and the political machines and to elevate to public office men who will honestly try to do their public duty. There is another movement, neither so strong nor so pronounced at the present moment, but which is steadily growing nevertheless, to return to the people themselves some of the power which they had delegated in the past to their public servants. In this latter movement Oregon is in the van. The initiative and referendum have given the people a control over legislative action of which until very recently they could only dream. They have it in their power not only to initiate legislation but to veto it. Previous to the passage of this law the members of the legislature might do as they pleased regarding any matter of public concern. They might, as many of them have done, go to the legislature pledged to pass a certain measure which the voters loudly demanded, and simply ignore that pledge, and there was no way of reaching them. Under present conditions they may, as it were, be caught coming and going by the outraged citizenship of the state.

Under the provisions of the direct primary law even the United States senatorship is well within their reach. It is true in most states that the men elected to the senate are rarely men who could be elected by a popular vote. Many of them have represented not the people but some special interest. These interests maintained them in office, oftentimes against the well known wishes of a majority of the voters, against whose best interests they insidiously labored. The boss and the machine were omnipotent, so far as was apparent to the public view, but back of both stood the special interests which were to be unjustly fostered at the expense of the public. The bosses and political machines so manipulated the laws, which were made not to give a full and fair expression to the popular will but to give the bosses an undue advantage, that, backed by the partisanship of those who usually composed the dominant party, whichever it might be, they made themselves invincible.

The direct primary law is aimed to correct this stupendous evil. Its purpose is to give the people themselves a direct opportunity to say whom they want for United States senator. If they want Jones, or Smith or Brown, it is for them to say so at the primaries which are held. At those primaries they vote their choice, just as at an election. True, candidates for the legislature, in a sense, are not bound to accept that choice but none know better than politicians that when the public is aroused the wise thing to do is to make the concession which is demanded and in this way save the hides which they esteem so precious. The experiment for the first time is to be put in operation at the coming election. There are hold-over senators who were elected previous to the adoption of the law and it is hoped by some of the bosses that these may be used as a sort of balance of power with which to beat down the law and make of it a dead letter. If it can be circumvented this year, they agree, it may be forgotten next and in this way the great reform which the law contemplates may be knocked out and the same old methods of electing United States senators maintained.

PLOWBOY TO SENATE

Elmer J. Burkett's Rise Has
Been Rapid.

DEFEATED BRYAN FOR TOGA

"Baby" Member of the Upper Branch of Congress Was the First Elected After the People of Nebraska Decided to Nominate Their Senatorial Candidates. Is Man Who Does Things.

A plowboy at ten.

A student of an Iowa college at seventeen.

A graduate at twenty.

A school teacher, a lawyer, and a member of the House at thirty.

A United States Senator at thirty-seven.

This is the remarkable record of Elmer Jacob Burkett, who in January of this year was elected for a six-year term, commencing March 4, 1904, to the upper branch of the nation's legislature.

To be a United States Senator is a distinction worthy the ambition of any American citizen. To be the "baby" member of that great legislative body is a rarer distinction.

Out in Nebraska there has been in the past a number of long-drawn-out senatorial deadlocks. The people were not only dissatisfied with conditions, but they were determined to stop it. They decided not only to interfere, but to direct the action of the legislature.

The newspapers took up the matter very energetically, and the plan was suggested of having a State convention nominate a candidate for United States Senator, and instruct their legislative nominees to vote for him when the legislature met. Of course, there was opposition to the plan in certain quarters, for it materially interfered with the desires of the "bosses" who had controlled Nebraska politics for many years, and Burkett was not exactly to their liking.

The opposition, however, did not develop any great amount of strength, and when the test vote was made in the Republican State convention of May, 1904, whether that convention should place before the people a nominee for United States Senator, to succeed Charles H. Ditch, the opponents of the scheme were in a hopeless minority, having scarcely one-fourth of the votes of the convention.

Mr. Burkett was unanimously declared the choice of the Republicans of the State for Senator, and, of course, Republican nominees for the legislature were pledged to carry out the action of the State convention.

WISCONSIN'S NEW MAN DISCIPLINED

27

Hot Contest with Bryan.

William Jennings Bryan was the universally accepted candidate of the opposition, consisting of the Democrats, Populists, and Free-Silver Republicans. The fight was thus narrowed down to one between Mr. Burkett and Mr. Bryan for control of the legislature.

Which now would be senator was dependent upon the political complexion of that body. The campaign, extending over a period of about five months, was exceedingly virile, and there was plenty of uncertainty to make it interesting, and at times almost bitter.

Mr. Burkett, like his distinguished opponent, is of even temper, slow to anger and plentiful in that brand of good nature that never wears off; and whatever may have disturbed others, it can be said that nothing harsh or bitter ever passed between them personally.

Roosevelt's great popularity made the State sorely Republican, so far as the electoral ticket was concerned, but Mr. Bryan's popularity and his force as a campaigner made the outcome as to the complexion of the legislature one of doubt and uncertainty. Then, too, there were local conditions that were not advantageous to the Republicans.

The last preceding legislature had been Republican, and it had passed a new revenue law. The first assessment had been made under it, and the taxes were due and payable during the progress of this campaign. Taxes were increased, and this created intense dissatisfaction. The Republican party was charged with these increased taxes and the accompanying extravagance growing out of the larger assessments.

These were the conditions confronting Mr. Burkett when the campaign of 1904 opened. Mr. Bryan, shrewd and resourceful as he is, took advantage of every mistake of the Republicans, and he went into the campaign to elect a Democratic legislature. He strove mightily; he held meetings in almost every district; he completely covered the State with a special train, and made from five to eight rear-platform speeches a day. But Mr. Burkett was also over the State. He made as many speeches as did his opponent, and visited every portion of the Commonwealth.

Genius for Organization.

Probably one of Burkett's chief attributes is his genius for organization. As a result of the marshaling of his forces, a legislature was elected with every one of the thirty-three members in the Senate Republican and only nine Fusionists out of 90 members of the House. The legis-

SENATOR LAFOLLETTE GIVEN TO UNDERSTAND THAT HE MUST BE GOOD.

Assigned to a Dead Committee with a
Room Down Among the Furnaces—
Some Things That Injured His
Standing in Advance—Butler's Fun
While Presiding.

(Special Correspondence.)

WASHINGTON, Dec. 22.—That a United States senator is a bigger man at home than he is in Washington is demonstrated in the case of Hon. Robert M. LaFollette of Wisconsin. He is an extreme case, because he is the most conspicuous figure in Wisconsin politics, and comes to the senate to mingle with the newest and tenderest members of that body. LaFollette, who has been boss among his own people, is made to feel his insignificance in the senate at the very outset. He is made chairman of the committee to "investigate the condition of the Potomac river waterfront," and assigned a committee room in the sub-basement of the Capitol, down among the dynamos, furnaces and wood piles. He is, in fact, as far removed from the senate chamber as he could possibly be. He has been given the least important and most useless committee on the entire senate list, and has a room less desirable than any other at the disposal of the committee or committees.

There is no particular fondness for LaFollette in the senate, for several reasons. In the first place, after his election, his gross barons announced a program that Senator LaFollette was going to put through congress. It pictured him leading the fight for railroad rate legislation such as the president wants, and predicted that he would be a mouthpiece of the administration in the senate. That was a very unfortunate thing for LaFollette, for if there is one thing the senate resents above all others it is the attempt of any new senator to force himself to the front and the attempt to assume the responsibilities of leadership.

Later on LaFollette further injured his standing in the senate by clinging to the governorship of Wisconsin several weeks after congress convened. For personal purposes he held onto his job in Wisconsin, in preference to coming to Washington to begin his career as senator. The senate looks upon this as an affront, in that it shows that LaFollette, for a time at least, considered the governorship more important than the senatorship. He was unwise when he made this move, and the senate will never forgive him.

Altogether, the future for "Bob" LaFollette is not as bright as he and his friends might hope. It is a safe prediction that his career at Washington, at least his first two years, will be a sad disappointment to his friends.

MACHINE-MADE SENATORS RAGE

FRENZIED HATRED BLINDS
THEM TO THE POLITICAL
DEATH THAT AWAITS ALL
ANTI-SQUARE DEALERS.

Blind, persistent opposition to public sentiment and to national necessities characterizes the anti-administration line-up of Republican senators to resist the president's demand for railroad rate legislation. It is not the president they are fighting, says the Washington correspondent of the Philadelphia North American, although they blame the president for forcing the struggle about to begin, but it is the public, aroused to a sense of its own wrongs by revelations of corruption in political machines and corporation operations, and awakened to a sense of its own strength by the patriotic stand the president himself has taken in behalf of the national welfare and progress.

But in the senate of the United States the men who have heretofore held a controlling hand over legislation, who have been recognized as leaders of the Republican party, and who have brought the party to the point where it must approve the president's doctrines or be repudiated by the country, entirely ignore the significance of the last elections and the lessons which might be learned from the manifestations of aroused public spirit.

It cannot be denied that in the fight to come for the establishment of those principles of legislation for which the president has contended, the strength of the anti-administration forces in the senate makes the early achievement of the president's purposes extremely doubtful.

Recognition of Public Rights.

But at the same time it is apparent to everyone except the bigoted worshippers of corporation strength and the upholders of special privileges to corporations, no matter how unjust these privileges may be, or to what corrupt purposes they may be put, that the conflict of the public interests with those of the corporations has become irrepressible, and will continue until public rights have been duly recognized and the corporations are subjected to the restrictions of law.

Evidences, apparent upon every hand, that the president has aroused the people of the country to a sense of their own responsibility, have given

them a clearer conception of their duties as citizens and forced them to realize the enormity of the crimes committed against them by corrupt politicians and self-seeking corporation magnates are being read aright everywhere except in the senate by the coteries of senatorial leaders, who are plotting and scheming to defeat the president's policies and the demands of the people at one and the same time.

In the senate and upon the Republican side there is selfish, blinded, bitter resentment of the mere suggestion that the people of the country should control legislation, and from this resentment has sprung the determination to resist to the last effort whatever attempts are made to wrest from the senate its power to impose its own will, and to make that will subservient to the money interests of the extremely wealthy. It is difficult to think of frenzy in connection with the senate of the United States, or to picture grave and dignified members of the body as a prey to consuming rage and blinding prejudice, and yet the actual condition of the representatives of corporation interests in the senate is that of men both frenzied and blinded by anger.

There are writings on the walls all about them promising the doom to which they are hastening and they cannot see them. There are manifestations of public determination and public discontent on every hand, and they are unable to construe them aright or to understand their meaning.

Will Not Modify Demands.

Because this is true, they have centered all their efforts upon forcing the president to accept a compromise upon the rate bill, believing fatuously that if they can succeed in this that they have nothing to fear from any other quarter.

Those who know the president best know also that he has no intention of modifying his demands for legislation that will assure a square deal to every man. They know that the mere suggestion that he should barter away the interests of the public for the support of such men as are now fighting him is a suggestion that he turn traitor to the people and that he renounce the very principles he has upheld throughout his public career.

But even if the president himself were to abandon the fight, and were to give in to senate obstinacy and senate anger, the spirit he has aroused and the reform movement would continue under new leaders with undiminished force.

Members of the house of representatives realize this. So do those senators who have fought for their elections within the last two years and have been forced to take a stand with the president.

The only men who cannot appreciate the fact that the people of the country have assumed control are the obtuse members of the senate who pose as leaders of the Republican organization and who would make that organization the willing tool of corporate greed and corruption.

Philadelphia's Lesson.

It is not surprising that the men heretofore most influential in the senate are the men who form the real strength of the anti-administration forces. They have obtained their power through long service and their long service is due to the organization and maintenance in their own states of such political machinery as can be brought most easily under their absolute control.

The country has learned what the people of Philadelphia discovered in their fight against the Gang in that city, that every political machine depends for its strength upon the aid given it by corporations. A fast and

firm alliance between political leaders and corporation managers for their mutual advantages has alone given prolonged power to unscrupulous politicians. The same alliance has given to the corporations their dominating influence in public affairs and the extraordinary privileges accorded them in state and national legislation.

It therefore follows that every machine-made senator in the entire assemblage stands for the corporations first because through corporation influence they hold their seats, and every one of them believes the corporation machinery at home can protect them from public wrath and indignation.

So it is found that Aldrich representing the Standard Oil company and most of the corporations in Rhode Island, is at the head of the railroad representation in the senate of the United States. So it is that Foraker, a corporation man, is the most outspoken of all the president's opponents.

Men Doomed to Defeat.

So it is that Ekins, who began his Washington career as a lobbyist, and has continued it through his affiliations with corporations is fighting as a man can only fight when his personal interests are involved, to prevent legislation in the interest of the public.

There is Allison of Iowa, too timid to make public announcement of his antagonism to the president, because the people of Iowa are known to be with the president, but nevertheless resenting as bitterly as the rest of them the suggestion that a public demand should force the senate to act against the imperious will of its self-constituted leaders.

Another of them is Spooner, the best debater on the Republican side, and doomed to defeat by the uprising of the people in his own state against the continuance of corporation control, because he is known to be a corporation representative, boosted into his present place of prominence from the obscure position of a railroad lobbyist and attorney by the corporations which he has served so well and faithfully.

There are Dryden and Kean of New Jersey, the very fostering ground of

trust iniquities, the former an insurance leader under investigation at the present time, and the latter a millionaire corporation man, whose efforts in the senate are efforts for the advancement of his own interests and those of his corporation associates.

These are the men who have heretofore been the most influential in all matters of legislation, and who believe now that they can control the Republican side of the senate against the president and consequently against the cause of the public.

Enemies Not All Known.

Into a place of leadership has been taken the new senator from California, until his election the attorney of the Southern Pacific railroad, and still high in the councils of railroads, and with him Perkins, from the same state, whose interests are in the Pacific Coast Steamship company, and whose relations with the railroads are of the closest character.

How many others there are cannot now be accurately stated, because the anti-administration fight is being conducted as much as possible under cover, and every effort is being made to conceal the actual strength of the forces.

But every man whose election has been due to machine manipulation, and this includes Lodge and Crane of Massachusetts, despite their professed personal friendship for the president, and every man who has made his subservience to corporation interests, including Hale and Frye of Maine, a means to his own advancement, is under suspicion and will be under suspicion until the fight is on and he is compelled to disclose his personal attitude with respect to the questions involved.

There are several senators from the western states, like Millard of Nebraska, whose election for the senate was made by the railroads, but who hopes to be re-elected by the people, and Clark of Wyoming, who attributes the development of his state to railroad enterprises, who make up a doubtful list and cannot be classified by the friends of the administration until they have been put to the test.

And this aggregation of corporation

men forms a precious crew to intrust with legislation for the whole people, and to depend upon for the enforcement of the public-spirited policies which the president has announced. Yet there is no need for discouragement, because it is inevitable that the awakening of the public conscience, for which the president is mainly responsible, will be followed, and by being followed, by serious and earnest plans to deal with just such foes as these men are known to be; while in the senate of the United States there are on both sides of the senate men as earnestly determined to fight the public battles as the corporation men are to prevent its success.

Position of Senator Knox.

In the latter class Senator Knox of Pennsylvania has taken a high rank. There has been no equivocation in his statements of his position, and this, with his known ability and courage, promises to make him a tower of strength, despite his diminutive physique, in the coming conflict.

There are men who have read aright the signs of the times and know that the onward movement of the country cannot be blocked by their opposition and there are still others who are actuated by the same character of public spirit that has prompted the president's recommendations. These men on the Republican side, with the earnest support of the railway rate bill promised by the Democrats, are thought to constitute a clear majority of the senate who will heed the demands of the public and endeavor to carry out the president's suggestions.

But no one can contemplate this alignment of forces without realizing that as the outcome of the struggle there are to be marked changes in party lines in the future, and that Republicans, under the leadership of President Roosevelt and those who stand with him, will take such a stride forward that the corporation-controlled members of the senate will be left far in the rear, and their efforts to retard the progress of the people will waste themselves in futile remonstrance against the new order and the dawn of a new political era.

Changes Due in Senate.

It is also apparent that the time has come when the old and besotted leaders must be cast aside; must be forced to give up whatever hold they now have upon the party organization, and scraped and forced away like barnacles on a ship's hull, which they most resemble. If the people of the nation are true to themselves there must come changes in the personnel of the senate, and these changes must be all for the better, until the senate has come to represent the public interest and can no longer be looked upon as opposed to equal justice before the law.

An illustration of the manner in which the anti-administration forces are fighting blindly against the irresistible power of an aroused public sentiment is shown in the opposition to the confirmation of Franklin Lane of California, nominated by the president to be an interstate commerce commissioner. Lane is a Democrat, but of that type of Democrat which the president admires. He is public-spirited, earnest and progressive in behalf of the public and honest and courageous.

Those who know him, including the president, believe him to be an ideal man for the position for which he has been named.

But not so the Republican railroad senators.

With Perkins and Flint of California, both of them, as has been shown, corporation men to the core, as leaders of the opposition to Lane, the entire strength of the anti-administration forces has taken a stand against his confirmation.

Object to An Honest Man.

They announce their objection to him as based upon the fact that he is regarded as a Democrat.

Their real objection is believed to be that he is an honest and an independent man, and that he is in entire sympathy with the president's views on the subject of corporation control.

Showing how marked is already the breach between the president and those Republican senators who oppose his policies, it has become a matter of significance that the White House conferences held so frequently during the administrations of President McKinley and also during the first years President Roosevelt occupied the White House, have been discontinued.

The president receives only his friends and advisers in the evening, and senators who have business to discuss with him see him at his office in the daytime. Senator Knox is a frequent caller in the evenings, and the others are chiefly members of the cabinet, with whom the president discusses plans for further efforts in behalf of the general welfare.

THE NEW METHOD.

Of course the Legislature is to elect the Senator of the United States. But is the Legislature to be guided by the expressed will of the people, or is adhere to the old way of traffic, of bargain and sale, employed at the state capital, thus out of mind?

This method enabled unscrupulous aspirants, partly by direct purchase, partly by promise of office and favors, not only to control the election of Senators, but to corrupt the life of the state in its domestic policy, and to control the official life of the state in its relations to the National Government at Washington.

He who was responsible, chiefly, for this system in Oregon has passed away. Had he lived, the abuse could not have been carried much farther. The new legislation that Oregon has enacted was the effort of a people to rid themselves of the consequences of this corruption.

The primary election law, with the obligations it imposes, was adopted and enacted as a means of ridding our political life out of this corruption and degradation. It is not perfect, of course, and it is easy to find fault with it. But sincere adherence to it, and enforcement of it, will cut off the old traffic at Salem.

As the Salem Capital Journal expresses it, "There are graft, venality, fraud and corruption on the side of the old way of electing Senators. The office is put up at bargain and sale, raffled off to the highest bidder, the greatest corruptionist. This has been the rule, not the exception. Nine times out of ten money and patronage have carried the day, instead of honesty and principle."

The results of this system—its legitimate consequences—have at last overtaken the system and those who have employed it. The results are collapse of the system, disgrace to those who have pursued it, dishonor, infamy and death.

But a new light appears. We shall not say it is a clear and perfect light. It is easy to find fault with it; easy to say it does not answer every purpose of illumination and reform. But at least it will shut off or put an end to the old system of purchase, bargain and sale.

There is a plutocratic influence in Oregon, that has its headquarters in Portland, whose purpose it is to continue the old corrupt regime. It puts up its money without stint for support of its

newspaper organ; its desire is to render the primary law abortive; it believes in the power of money, and thinks every man has his price. It plays a game between the parties, professing attachment to neither. It has no principles, save the principles of profit, and therefore professes to be "independent." All it wants is special privileges, from the public. Its ambition is to possess franchises, control officials, manage legislation, municipal, state and National, while it poses for philanthropy and rakes in profits.

Under the primary law, this influence can control neither party, certainly cannot both of them. The people of Oregon are awake, and now and henceforth will cast these selfish and corrupt influences out of their politics. The candidates who receive nominations may not be those whom everybody wants, but at least, or at worst, they will not be the candidates of small and corrupt cliques, in alliance with plutocratic combines. The new method, how far soever it may fall short of ideal results, will effect a change; and any change must be for the better, cannot be for the worse.

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WASHINGTON, Jan. 26.—(Special Telegram.)—Washington looks different from what it did not there in the United States. The senate, for example, I thought the United States senate was bad. Didn't you? I had heard it spoken of as "a rich man's club." I called it once "the chamber of the bosses" and I had come to think that the men who sat there were, if not the enemies, at least the agents of the enemies of the republic. I was prejudiced—before I came to Washington. And you, out there in the United States, aren't you a little bit prejudiced?

You are if you think not well of the senate. Far from being an enemy, the senate is the saviour of the republic. You protest? Well, so did I. I still protest. I am not yet converted, nor shall I attempt this week to convert you. But if we are to get the truth about things, we must open our minds to all views, and this is the Washington view of the senate. Oh, there are other views that are held here, and strenuously, too. One of the masters of the house of representatives described the senate to me at length as a body which, legislating by unanimous consent, could pass bills only when every senator, good and bad, had arranged to get out of our government just what he wanted, right or wrong. "A most expensive method of legislation," this sober, responsible critic of the senate called it. But he was prejudiced. The house is jealous of the senate. Veteran members of the house who long have watched the senate have facts and figures, stories and exhibits to illustrate their neighborly view of their neighbors. And we shall want their facts. But our best course is to see the senate first as the senate sees itself.

And the senate sees itself as the head of the government of the United States. Now this was one of the charges which I, in my prejudice, thought to bring against the senate, that, by usurping power, this lesser half of the legislative branch of the government has so magnified itself that the constitution had been cracked to let the senate rub. But I concluded last week that the president was president, and, since the senate continues to complain both privately and publicly, that the executive is encroaching upon congress, it still seems true that, at least, the executive is intact. So it rather takes one's breath away to hear grave senators declaiming gravely that their house is, and of right ought to be, the throne of American sovereignty. Some of them read this into, some read it out of, the constitution, but they seem to differ materially, (and, by the way, quite significantly), among themselves as to the intent of that great instrument. They agree, however, that in the last analysis the senate is what it is because the senators are, and always have been, what they are, the saviors of the republic.

Though there is no such word, there is such a thing as "plutology" and the phrase "Saviors of the Republic" dropping from the lips of a friend of the senate, sounded to my unaccustomed ears, like the opposite of "demagoguery." And I looked for the smile that goes with the word "pee-pul," but my friend of the senate smiled not, neither did he bat an eye-lid. Then I heard others use it, some with real feeling. One hard-headed, veteran correspondent said:

"I suppose you're down on the senate. We all are when we come here. But I'll bet you anything that in a

month you'll see, and you'll say, that the senate is the saviour of the republic."

Gingerly I took the phrase, and, lest they should think me guilty of senatorial discourtesy, I gently tried it upon half a dozen senators. I need not have been so careful. The saviours of the republic repeated their Washington title with admirable complacency and, with various learning in law and history, and a sad survey of political conditions in the country today, they justified its wider use. The senate is the head of the nation not only because it is the best mind of the nation, but because also the folly or the weakness of the other branches of the government, including the people, are such that we have compelled the senate to save us from ourselves.

The fact is that just as everything in Washington looks different here from what it does out in the United States, so everything out there looks different as we view it from the capital. The people, for example, meaning you and me and the man on the street; physicians and merchants, lawyers and editors and wage-earners, we lose our individuality completely. We merge into great masses, potent and powerful, unreasoning and sometimes ungovernable. I could write a mile on this aspect of us, and it would do us good to see ourselves as the senate sees us, but I can sum it all up in an inch or two. We look to our govern-

ors at Washington as the weather looks to us: variable; subject to laws and forces not fully understood; liable to go from bright sunshine to the most unaccountable storms of thunder and lightning; and, yet, capable of hurrying fiercely only to clear up and be a pleasant day. Now this is no fancy of mine. It is remarkable how often in the short time I have been here I have heard them speak of us in terms of the weather. We are supposed to be "unsettled" now, and "threatening," and since all members of the house and some 16 senators have in stand for re-election in the fall and winter, some of our representatives are worrying. They ask me frequently, as a newcomer, from outside, whether I think this "reform wave" will "blow over." And they seem to want it to blow over. And when they speak of a brave man they seem to mean one with courage to ignore or defy public opinion and the public will. Thus one brave statesman explained to me with contempt that some of his colleagues couldn't "tell the difference between a breeze and a sure-enough cyclone."

If they would leave off worrying and attend to our business, doing the best they know how, I would be better satisfied; wouldn't you? But they don't think we would. They don't have any decent faith in us, and I wonder if they are right about us. They think that if they could get jobs enough to go around in their districts and a tiding bill so that they could make

all of us put up federal buildings for some of us, then, they think, they could be able to bribe us to send them back. They think we are as corruptible as a board of aldermen, and that if they could give us some graft (legitimate, of course), we wouldn't care whether they solved the statehood problem or the tariff question or railroad rates. And maybe they are right. All I say is that from the top of capital hill, Washington, the view of the American people is most humiliating. I verily believe we look worse to them than they do to us.

But never mind. Above our dull turbulence, out among the frightened, factional craft of the cowardly house sits the senate, high, serene, like an ocean steamship, steering straight at the storm center, the president. It is beautiful, and one cannot blame Washington for admiring the senate. The house may say, what the house says:

"Oh, well, the senators are elected only once in six years, and then, not by the people. Legislatures elect them. We have to go to the people themselves every two years."

Washington doesn't care why. Washington is inhabited by people who have got what they came here for. Their lives are settled and satisfactory. Washington wants to stand pat. So Washington looks up to the senate and sees it as the senate sees itself.

And the senate sees itself, calm and sure, facing trouble ahead, but only such troubles as it has faced before; and weathered. So the senate is patient of our impulses, more even than our representatives in the house are. The senate will stay on its course. Oh, it may waver just a little if we grow too violent. It bucks the storm center.

trying its strength. (Do you think the people still believe in him," they ask, but not anxiously). And if the president fights back the senate pours on a barrel or so of oil. But it does not turn aside. All will be still again some day. For presidents and congressmen and reform waves, they come and go, but the senate goes on forever. Democrat or Republican, young or old, rich or poor, demagogic or "plagiologic," the senate has charms to soothe them all. The senate has manners and traditions; it is formal and staid; it has free speech and implied power. Supposed to be an oligarchy, it is in itself a democracy: a Polish democracy, somebody called it, made up of nobles, and that is very pleasant. Senators become devoted to the senate, and, like the church for the church and the army for the army, senators, standing for the senate, come to stand for what the senate stands for. And what is that?

I can admire the senate. I can see how, if I lived there long enough, I might come to prefer the senate, as a precious taste prefers a sunset, for its perfect self alone. But what does the sunset sing? What does the senate do? We are a practical people. We want to know not that it is beautiful, but simply whether the senate represents or does not.

I don't know. I don't know what the senate represents because I don't know what all the senators represent in the senate. But I know what some of the senators represent at home. Looking down upon it from the gallery I see "my" senators from my state, and I know what they represent at home. Thomas C. Platt was the boss of the political organization which has sold me out for years in New York, and Chauncey M. Depew, his colleague, has represented at home the New York

Central railroad and other big businesses which have bought me out for years. Then there is Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island. I know Rhode Island, and I know Mr. Aldrich's standing in that state. Senator Aldrich represents the state organization which has systematically corrupted the people of his state, the very voters themselves who for so much a head, have let their legislators give way to Aldrich, and his friends, franchises and privileges which they have capitalized and sold out for fortunes to Pennsylvania promoters. And Mr. Aldrich's colleague, Senator Wetmore, he is not so important. But he contributed largely to the campaign fund which were used to corrupt the people of Rhode Island, and therefore he was sent to the senate, he represents Newport in the summer time. So with other senators from other states. I know a dozen of them, and their stories, and I know what they represent at home. We can go into these circumstances later, after we see enough here in far-sense notion of what they represent here, they and their colleagues, the 99 senators sent to Washington to represent all of us in all of our 45 states.

It is the fashion in Washington to ignore the part of "our" representatives. That is one reason why the city is so pleasant for them. And it is a fair and practical attitude. Why should Washington question the wisdom of our choice of governors? But

we don't expect to dwell long in Washington. Our view is different. We want to forget the past, too; and we will let "our" representatives in the senate, no matter how they got their seats, will represent us. It is only fair, for me, however, to admit a prejudice against the senate, and having confessed, to explain it. Since the senate is made up so largely of men such as those I have named, how can it represent you and me in the senate? I can well believe that there is no nobility there. I can believe that men may reform after most successful careers of corruption; for I have seen such reformers. And I can admire dignity and courage and courtesy and ability. But what I want to ask now is this:

Aren't these senators likely to represent honestly here that same systematic dishonesty that they have stood for at home? Let us watch them this session, and see; not without prejudice, but with minds re-opened, willing to see the senate as it sees itself, but insisting also on seeing it as it seems to us to be.

ELECTION OF SENATORS.

The expansion of national and popular power has been one of the most striking features of our constitutional development. In the people, as such, the framers of the constitution wished to lodge only a modicum of authority. They accepted the principle of delegation and pushed it to the extreme of compelling an indirect election of president and vice president and an indirect choice of United States senators. The procedure was made appellate, not only in the selection of members of the house of representatives was the voice of the people allowed to express itself without hindrance and without mediation. Such a system may have met the wants and ideas of a generation little accustomed to democratic usages and little trained in democratic theories of government. But it could not hope to endure when once the democratic impulse got full play, as it did first under Jefferson and then later, and with more effective energy, under Jackson. The task of altering the constitution is one from which, as a nation, we have always shrunk. But American ingenuity easily devised ways to circumvent embarrassing constitutional provisions. By inventing the national party convention and stripping the electoral college—morally though not legally—of all political, the design of the fathers to set up a sort of pontifical concave in which presidents should be balloted for was effectually frustrated. The people took into their own hands the elective power which they were not thought capable of using safely and wisely.

We seem nowadays to be in the midst of another circumventing process, this time directed toward securing popular control of the United States senate. In many states the constitutional right of the legislature to elect senators has been practically annulled. In Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Arkansas, Virginia, South Carolina and Tennessee, nominations for senator are now made at legalized party primaries. The legislature merely ratifies selections determined at the polls. In other states party conven-

tion designate the candidates to be voted for in the legislature, thus reducing the members of that body to figure-heads as important as our federal electors.—New York Tribune.

After discussing the subject further, the Tribune adds: "But it seems clear that if the people of the United States are dissatisfied with the old machinery of senatorial elections, they can put that machinery out of operation as easily as they snuffed out the electoral college and converted the constitution's elaborate scheme of delegated powers into an idle legal fiction."

There are several interesting features of the Tribune's comment. One is the reference to the manner in which the electoral college has been changed without changing the constitution. That was because the people felt the election of president should be brought closer to the people themselves. The dominating idea of the constitutional convention was radically different; it was that a small number of representative men should be chosen by the people to select a president. The theory was that these would be careful and wise in making their selection, while the people could not be trusted to act with wisdom. Experience demonstrated after a time that the people preferred to take direct control and a way was found for doing so. The man who, today, should propose that we return to the spirit of the method provided for by the constitution, would be denounced as a public enemy; it would be charged he desired to put the selection into the hands of a small body that could be controlled by political or other interests; and that the plan was altogether unsafe.

Another point of the Tribune's article is the manner in which it calls attention to the methods provided in so many of the southern states for the selection of candidates for senator. That serves to call attention, again, to the fact that, notwithstanding the mistakes made by the south in connection with the troublesome question of earlier days, the American spirit has been preserved in that part of the country better than in any other great section. All manner of influences have been at work in other sections and the distinctive American spirit has suffered in many.

ARE THE PEOPLE PRESUMPTUOUS?

ONE of the most remarkable and noteworthy circumstances connected with the enforcement of the direct primary law, so far as it relates to the election of a United States senator by popular vote, is that certain politicians seem to regard it as a piece of presumption that the people should concern themselves about such a matter. Legislatures have heretofore elected senators; it has oftentimes been profitable to the members and a small clique of politicians was usually in a position to dictate who the man was to be. Whole sessions were oftentimes wasted in making the selection and the man selected was not often the man the people, left to themselves, would have picked out. This work has been so long carried on that it is with a positive feeling of resentfulness that the politicians face the possibility of the people themselves taking the matter in hand and designating the precise man they want to serve them in the greatest office within their gift. When one comes to look at it squarely isn't this a marvellous state of affairs? Could anything more clearly demonstrate the need that exists for precisely this step being taken, providing of course the people want to rule instead of turning over the work to a self constituted oligarchy?

The fault of the legislative system of election has long been apparent. The people got representatives over whom they had little or no control. Candidates for senator looked to the election of legislators and paid no heed to the people from whom the legislators got their power and authority. Therefore senators were usually representatives of some class interests that were fundamentally opposed to the commonweal. Indeed the conditions have finally grown so scandalous that the senate is no longer regarded as a representative body but a body elected to conserve the protected interests. Through the direct primary law Oregon has severed the gordian knot, it has provided a way through which the people themselves may elect a United States senator, a practically impossible achievement under any other conditions. As party men they may take part in the nomination of party candidates and as citizens they may afterward express their will at the polls, voting for the man they regard as best fitted for the place without reference to his politics or their own.

Beyond this there is nothing for them to do but to insist that every candidate for the legislature for whom they vote be pledged to abide by the decision of the voters themselves and to ratify the verdict when the legislature meets. Every candidate for the legislature should be forced to sign pledge No. 1; either that, or be given the certain assurance that he would be permitted to stay at home. If the people of Oregon want to elect their own senator the way is provided. The method is simple but effective and if it is put in operation this year it will run itself hereafter and United States senators will be elected by popular vote for all time to come in Oregon.

TO SECURE ELECTION OF SENATORS BY THE PEOPLE

DES MOINES, Ia., Feb. 2.—Following a conference with Governor Cummins held several days ago, Senator L. W. Lewis of Page county, stated today that he would, at his earliest opportunity, introduce a resolution in the Iowa senate instructing the governor to invite the governors of several states to appoint committees from their legislatures to meet in Des Moines next summer for the purpose of adopting specific and united plans looking to an amendment of the national constitution requiring the election of United States senators by direct vote.

SALEM, Feb. 2.—Governor Chamberlain has received a communication from Iowa stating that the legislature will pass resolutions inviting the other states to join a movement to secure an amendment to the national constitution providing for the election of United States senators by popular vote. Governor Chamberlain replied that he is heartily in favor of the movement and will co-operate in bringing about the conclusion sought.

HELENA, Feb. 2.—Governor Toole replying today to a telegram from Iowa asking if he favored the proposed convention of governors to hasten the enactment of an amendment to the constitution providing for the election of United States senators by popular vote, replied in the affirmative.

OREGON AND THE ELECTION OF A SENATOR.

THERE IS NO QUESTION before the voters of Oregon of such fundamental importance as that of the direct primary. It was partially put in operation a year ago but this year its application is to be much more widely extended, embracing as it will not alone the state offices but the United States senatorship as well. There can be no doubt that here as elsewhere the people are desirous of electing their United States senators. In no other way can they secure the men they want and in no other way can the senatorial body be made amenable to the will of the people, representing their interests rather than the trusts and corporations. Besides, as a method of economy it is of the utmost importance. During the legislative sessions charged with the election of a United States senator everything is in a state of turmoil from start to finish. No attention is paid to making those laws for which there is a popular demand and such laws as are passed are the results of trades and deals with votes for certain candidates as the basis of them. By a popular election the political machines and bosses are practically dealt a death blow and one of the greatest elements of corruption is thus removed from our politics.

The people of Oregon have it now within their power to elect United States senators by popular vote. By registering their politics they may first help nominate the man they want for that position; failing in this they have the opportunity at the polls to vote for the man who suits them best. In order that their will may be officially declared they must exact pledges from the members of the legislature when they elect that they will abide by and ratify the choice at the polls, electing the man the people designate. To accomplish this it is essential that no man be elected to the legislature, however able and otherwise well qualified, who refuses to abide by this feature of the law. The politicians who see their power drifting away from them are naturally opposed to this law. They do not openly oppose because they fear popular sentiment is too strong in its favor, but they propose to circumvent it if that is possible. Their starting point will be the hold-over senators. In addition to these they will help to elect as many as they can of those who have signed no pledge to abide by the popular will. Whenever it is possible they will keep the discussion of this law out of politics this year and secure by indirection what they could never get by an open fight. The great test of the law comes this year. If it is put in force at the next session of the legislature it will have all the binding force of a constitutional provision. The people should therefore be alert to their own interests and see that no man is elected to the legislature who does not freely subscribe to pledge No. 1 of the law and who is not the kind of man upon whom that pledge will have a binding effect.

(An open letter.)

Hon. W. B. Heburn, Washington, D. C.—My dear senator, I observe that you deemed it necessary to turn aside from your arduous duties at the capital long enough to give us the benefit of your ripened wisdom on the subject of endorsing a candidate for United States senator at the state convention. If I may presume to offer a suggestion in the way of criticism as to the manner of your deliverance, let me say that it does not seem necessary to bring so early into the conflict insinuations against particular individuals or to challenge the good faith of those who may not agree with you. If this movement has for its support only the selfish ambitions of an individual, then it would seem scarcely worth your while to turn from your urgent duties elsewhere to give it even the passing favor of your valuable time. If, on the other hand, it is a movement backed by the serious demand even of a considerable portion of your constituency, it is deserving of a dignified discussion relieved of all personalities and such as would be expected of one occupying your exalted position.

I therefore suggest that, in the future, should you conclude that this subject needs any further elucidation from you (and I trust you may so conclude) that you discuss the subject wholly upon its merits. Do not further indulge in personalities. That is a dangerous field for you to invade, senator. Reflection is prudent under some circumstances. I certainly have no desire, myself, to indulge in personalities in the presentation of this question to the people of this state. It is my intention to fairly and fully submit it for the consideration of the people and to abide by and be content with their action. Nevertheless, if you can afford to put aside the dignity which belongs to your position and forfeit, by voluntary act, the respect which your position alone entitles you to, I shall henceforth feel perfectly free to follow your illustrious example.

You say "I think the fancied necessity arises only from the immediate selfishness of those who would like to get the advantage of some one else in the race for public office." If your perspicacity were equal to your assurance, what a marvelous polemic you would be! Please be more specific. Who would gain the advantage, and how? Is not the field open to all comers? Are not the primaries yet to be held? Have not all equal access to the favor of the masses? Does not the forum belong to the ambitious? May not the people start with this matter in their homes and follow it through the primaries on to the most democratic of political gatherings—the state convention? Is there any advantage in the race for senator other than that which pertains to the governorship or a justice of the supreme court? Will you say that, when the people select their delegates and nominate their governor, such advantage is taken as to discredit the result? I should like if, upon this subject, you would be a little more specific.

Again, I think you will agree with me, senator, upon one proposition, at least—that is that the candidate who should receive your support would

likely receive the indorsement of the convention. If, therefore, you favor the principle of giving the people an opportunity of knowing who their candidate is before he is elected and accredited for six years of public service, why not join with the people, throw your influence to a proper man, and know that, for this important office, its occupancy should not depend upon any other fact than the righteous and intelligent approval of a popular vote—and which a candidate ought to be ten thousand times more proud of than the office.

To illustrate, should Judge Beatty, an eminent jurist, a man of public spirit and long experience, receive the indorsement of his party at the state convention, we would all unhesitatingly give of our time and ability to assist in placing a sufficient membership in the legislature to carry out the will of the people. Certainly he would feel as proud of his selection as if it had resulted, as it often has in the history of other states, in broken caucus agreements, the market value of federal appointments and river franchises.

Senator, the people demand in these days to know in advance where a man stands and what he stands for. If he wants the people to trust him he must trust them. It is not quite sufficient to say that if it is a Republican legislature it will be a Republican senator. The most vicious, corrupt and unscrupulous opposition to the president and his great measures of today are unfortunately within our own party. The Democrats seem to have retired until it is determined which of the great forces is to prevail in the opposition party. If, when the delegates come to the state convention, a majority are against me, I shall insist that the convention indorse—we want to know. We are not willing to spend our time and money in discussing the merits of a candidate for senator during the 60 days' campaign and know nothing whatever in a practical sense of who our candidate shall be for the highest office within the gift of the people of the state.

You say, in effect, that such a proceeding is unconstitutional. Into this domain of constitutional discussion, which is peculiarly yours, I hesitate to enter. But may I ask you what you mean in talking about the constitution and an indorsement at a political convention? I hope you will point out again more specifically. May I ask you what part of that document, so often referred to in high sounding phrases for the purpose of misleading some who think there is an occult force in its provisions which only the eminently wise can detect, prevents a political convention from indorsing its choice for United States senator? Every one knows, as a legal proposition, that it does not bind the members of the legislature, but every one knows also that the will of the people thus expressed is generally accepted by their public servants. Public opinion is one thing to which even the senate of the United States will yield, and all minor rights.

Let me ask you what position, from a legal standpoint, the national convention which nominates the president occupies. What binding force as a legal proposition has the action of that convention upon the action of the electors? From a legal standpoint are they not perfectly free to select a man they like regardless of the action of the convention? Is it any more a violation of the constitution to direct by public

nomination in advance the members of the legislature than to direct the electors for a particular man for president?

Again, three years ago, you saw fit to ask a county convention to pass the following resolution: "We indorse W. H. Heyburn as a candidate for United States senator and pledge our candidates for the legislature to use all honorable means to accomplish his election."

Were you actuated by "inordinate selfishness" in thus take advantage of ex-Senator Shoop and myself? Was this action unconstitutional? Did the action of this county convention have any binding force as a legal proposition? I am informed that you also made an attempt to have a similar resolution passed by the Nez Perce convention. Suppose you had continued your action until you had secured the indorsement of every county in the state, what would have been the difference, in the eye of the law—the purview of the constitution—in the matter of "inordinate selfishness," between such action and that of asking for an indorsement at the state convention?

I think, senator, in this matter you can afford to be entirely candid, and if you are, upon reflection, you will put aside this sophistry about the constitution. What we are striving to do in these days is to get an expression of public opinion as a guide for public service. Somehow there is a feeling among the people that our public servants need direction.

Abraham Lincoln indorsed this process method by word and act. He did not consider it to be unconstitutional or morally wrong and perhaps was not actuated by "inordinate selfishness" and a desire to get an advantage. It was as natural for him to get close to the people as it is for others to get away from them, and in the simplicity of this faith he walked to the end of his career. While we feel immense without the assistance of some of the great statesmen of today, there is some consolation to be found in the precedent set by Abraham Lincoln. We need not be afraid to do what he did and to follow the light of his example.

There are other things I would like to say, but this is already too long. I should be exceedingly glad if your duties at Washington end in time to enable you to enter upon a public discussion of this matter before the people of this state. There is no one in the state so able to present your side as yourself, and I will depend upon the righteousness of my cause to make up what may be lacking in that respect. I expect to find time to discuss this matter before the people in the different counties of the state before the state convention meets and will accommodate myself to your convenience in the matter of time and place that we may jointly discuss the same.

Respectfully,

W. E. BOBAIL.

IDAHO AND THE CRISIS.

The trial of the officials of the Western Federation of Miners, charged with complicity in the Sten-
enberg murder, is under way. It will be one of the greatest cases in the annals of the law. On one side will be the State of Idaho and on the other a defense fund approximat-
ing \$250,000, and the men in behalf of whom any part of this sum that may be required will be spent. Pending the outcome the people of the state should rest confident that justice will be done. No innocent man should suffer nor should there be any escape from swift and terrible retri-
bution if proof of guilt be estab-
lished. The loss to Idaho of the great chieftan who perished on the threshold of his home was a blow from which the state will not recover for years but the recovery will come when Time binds up the wound. However, should passion and the desire for revenge cause innocent men to be railroaded to the gallows, or incapacity on the part of officials and the courts allow the guilty to gain liberty, Idaho would never live down the infamy. There is no stain on our escutcheon now but to prove unequal to the responsibilities involved in the approaching trial would mean shame forever.

The World believes that Meyer, Heywood and Pettibone are innocent men. The people of this state will demand that they receive a fair trial and before the conclusion is reached many things will be made plain. Two charges of conspiracy have been made; one that the men under arrest plotted the murder of Sten-
enberg; the other that the Mine Owners' Association of Colorado has manufactured evidence to destroy labor unionism in the mining industry in the west and to take the lives of its leaders at the same time.

NOMINATION OF SENATORS.

The movement in favor of the nom-
ination of United States senators at primary elections is gaining immense momentum. Everybody understands that the passage of a constitutional amendment striking out the clause which provides that a state's United States senators shall be elected by the legislature would be impracticable. It is quite possible, however, to nullify the clause in practice, just as we have nullified the provision that a president shall be chosen by presidential electors. We continue to designate presidential electors, but we make dummies of them. It is now proposed to make dummies in like manner of state legis-
latures so far as the choice of United States senators is concerned. Already in a number of southern states the Democrats name their candidate to fill a vacant seat in the United States senate at primary elections, the man re-
ceiving the largest number of votes at the primaries being accepted as the nominee of the party by the Democratic members of the legislature at its ensuing session. For instance, last autumn in Virginia, Mr. T. S. Martin received the highest vote at the Demo-
cratic primaries for United States senator, and, accordingly, the legislature has just re-elected him to the senate. A contest for nomination at the primaries is now going on in Tennessee. In Alabama a primary election will take place next August, and the primaries will determine whether Senator Mor-
gan and Senator Pettus are to keep their seats. Some Republican states also seem inclined to adopt the same method of evading the constitutional provision for the election of United States senators by legislatures. A resolu-
tion has been introduced in the Iowa legislature, directing the governor to take steps tending to joint action on the part of two-thirds of the states to secure the calling of a constitutional convention for the purpose of carry-
ing an amendment for the direct elec-
tion of senators. It is true that, if two-thirds of the states concur, they can call a constitutional convention, whether congress likes it or not, but for an amendment to become a law, it would have to be ratified by three-fourths of the states, and few persons believe that the consent of three-fourths could be obtained. The feasible plan is to follow the example of certain southern states, and nominate the United States senators at primary elec-
tions. In the New Jersey legislature, both State Senator Colby and State Senator Hillery have introduced bills intended to enable the voters to indi-
cate to the legislature their preference as to candidates for United States senate.—Harpers Weekly.

On June 3, 1894, Senator Mitchell said, pursuing further the argument referred to.

It is believed by those who advocate the adoption of the pending amendment that the political history of this country touching this question, and especially the history of senatorial elections during the past few years, as also their effect upon many other important questions of state and general policy, loudly demand this change in the mode of choosing senators. The advocates of this measure are unwilling to yield to any their loyalty to the principle of equal state suffrage in the United States senate which we all believe so absolutely essential to state and national equilibrium and to the maintenance and perpetuity of our present form of republican representative government.

It is, therefore, with entire confidence we give to this measure our cordial and energetic support, being assured it in no respect disturbs in the slightest degree the relation now existing between the national government and that of the several states respectively.

Whatever of independent sovereignty now attaches to either the general government or to the states respectively is in no wise either enlarged or diminished by the proposed amendment. The ratio of representation to each house of congress is left precisely by this amendment, as it exists today. The physical and political structure of our government, both national and state, is not in the least modified. The physical relation of the one to the other and of each to all remains precisely as now.

Reasons for Change.

This being so, the only remaining question to be considered is this: Is it wise, is it politic to provide for a change in the mode of choosing senators, as proposed by the pending amendment? Are there any good reasons which operate to demand the change? Are there any controlling reasons why the change should not be made?

Some of the more salient reasons in favor of the proposed change in the mode of choosing senators may be summarized as follows:

First—What the people are authorized to do indirectly through the means of the ballot they should be permitted to do directly through that medium. This is republicanism; this is democracy.

The present mode is tainted with the spirit of aristocracy; it is tainted by the odor of monarchy. The proposed change is, therefore, an enlargement and widening of the individual right of suffrage, by permitting the people to do in their own right, and directly, that which they are only permitted to do now in a vicarious and indirect manner in the matter of choosing United States senators.

Second—The present system of choosing senators has a tendency to divert the attention of legislators from matters of legislation to which the state and the people of the state are vitally interested, and to the great detriment of the best interests of the state and of the people.

Present Debauchery.

Third—The present system of choosing senators converts primary and other elections into backrooms of debauchery wherein the question absorbing every mind in the selection of members of the legislature is not as to the capacity or fitness of the selection for legislative duties, but rather how he will vote for

Fourth—The proposed change will, more than any other suggested reform of the present day, have a tendency to destroy the power of local and state political bosses and eliminate them, as they properly should be from American politics, thus committing to the people, where it properly and rightfully belongs, the control of political affairs in the state.

Fifth—The proposed change will place the position of United States senator in a greater measure than at present beyond the reach of those whose sole qualification for the position is their wealth. In other words, it will minimize to a great degree the debauchery of legislatures, now unfortunately quite too prevalent.

Sixth—The proposed change will have a tendency to disarm unjust criticism of the United States senate and to create more amicable relations between the senate and the people, a consummation most devoutly to be wished.

Raise the Character.

Seventh—The change, in my judgment, will tend to elevate the character of the United States senate and will tend to the extent from each senator a fuller recognition of the rights of the people than is the case now under the present system.

Eighth—The history of senatorial elections in the United States during the past 10 or 15 years, notably in the senatorial elections in the states of New York, Oregon, Washington, Idaho, Montana, Wyoming, Delaware, Kentucky, Louisiana and other states, furnishes an unanswerable argument in favor of the proposed change.

Ninth—The choosing of senators by

a direct vote of the people instead of by the legislatures of the several states is more in accordance with a republican and democratic government and less in sympathy with that of a monarchy or aristocracy. It is only in this manner that the moral and political sense of the people can find fitting and adequate expression.

Tenth and Lastly—It is a reform demanded by the great majority of the people of this country, irrespective of party, and one that should, therefore, be promptly met and awarded to by congress, and by no branch of the legislative department of the government should this acquiescence be so readily and cheerfully given as by the United States senate.

Perkins Favours Change.

The same day Senator Perkins of California said:

"Mr. President, the people whom I, in connection with my distinguished colleague, have the honor to represent have manifested their opinion on this question in no uncertain way. By a vote of 187,668 against 11,800 they have shown how strong is their belief that the election of United States senators should be by popular vote.

"In entering a plea for that mode of election I am, therefore, speaking for practically all persons in California who have a right to demand representation in those bodies that make the laws by which they are governed and levy the taxes which they are to pay. It is a right in defense of which their ancestors look up arms. It is a right which was established at the cost of suffering, privation and blood, and which is recognized to be the foundation upon which rests the liberty that 18,000,000 people now boast of.

"It is because the people of the United States are jealous of that right and believe that it either has been, or is in danger of being, denied them that from one ocean to the other there has arisen a demand that they themselves shall by votes deposited in the ballot box by their own hands elect the senators who are to represent them in this chamber.

G. W. Curtis on Change.

"Every person," says George William Curtis, "is born with an equal claim to every kind of protection of his natural rights which any other person enjoys." The practical question, therefore, is, How shall this protection be best attained? And this is the question of government which, according to the declaration, is established for the security of these rights. The British theory was that they could better be secured by an intelligent few than by the ignorant and passionate multitude. Nobody denies that the government of the best is the best government; the practical question is how to find the best. And our fathers answered the question of the best and surest protection of national right by the famous phrase, 'the consent of the governed.'

"But although the fiction of the state was brought forward as a justification for election of legislatures, it has been more and more ignored as political education has progressed and popular rights have become better understood. The restless movement of the century toward the goal of direct and unfettered political action is manifested here and in this matter as in similar questions abroad.

People in Power.

"Every change in European institutions has brought the people nearer to the seat of power. Reform in England has been in the direction of a full and direct representation of the people. One by one the fetters which bind them have been stricken off. One by one classes have gained a right to a voice in the conduct of public affairs. More and more influence have the people secured in public affairs; more and more intolerant have they become of that which stands between them and their will.

"One by one the fictions of government have been exposed, and step by step they have pressed forward toward a government for the people by the people. The body which has different interests from theirs, whose point of view is widely removed from their own,

they now wish to cast aside as one of the relics of a time in which freedom was denied them. They distrust the makers of laws those who do not represent them.

"They are beginning to realize that they are the state; that the government is for them and should be by them, and that this can be attained only by direct representation. They will be content only when every man shall know that his vote will count in the election of those who make the laws.

"They demand and will secure the same measure of liberty which the people of the English colonies in America demanded for themselves, and which has been so fully secured to them by our constitution. 'Fymouth Rock,' said George William Curtis, 'was but a stepping stone from one continent to another in the great march of the same historical development.'"

By John E. Lalrop.

(Special Correspondence of The Journal.)

Washington, D. C., March 4.—The late Thomas H. Tongue, representative in the congress from the First congressional district of Oregon, supported the election of United States senators by direct election. He delivered a speech in the house on May 11, 1888, which set forth the fundamental propositions involved, and also specifically applied them to the conditions in Oregon.

Tongue's Speech.

Mr. Tongue, the question being at the time up for general discussion, said in part:

"Allow me to say that this is not a new question in the state of Oregon. Quite a number of successive legislatures have passed resolutions upon this question, and asked for this amendment. Representatives from that state, both in the house and senate, have uniformly favored it for a great many years.

"We have had some experience in that state of the evil effects of the present system. Within a few weeks past two legislatures have met and adjourned without electing any senator. During three sessions of the legislature the senatorial contest has taken up practically the entire time, and has prevented the passage of desirable legislation. The last one has discovered another method of handling this matter, that does not seem to have occurred to the members in any other state. Our constitution requires two thirds of the members of either house to constitute a quorum.

Can Make Deadlock.

"The result has been that one third of the members of either house can prevent the election of a United States senator, and so, at the last session, a little more than one third of the members of the house declined to take the oath, declined to qualify, declined to enter upon the discharge of their duties, and the legislature was absolutely powerless. The senate organized and was in session 40 days, incurring expenses and bills to be paid, but could not pass a single measure or a single binding resolution.

"The house resolutely refused to organize because more than one third of the members failed to qualify. The result has been no legislation, no United States senator, no appropriation bill, and so, while we are collecting taxes and piling up money in the treasury of Oregon, the bills against the state are paid by warrants drawing 3 per cent interest.

"So far as that state is concerned, it will be a very economical matter. It will save a vast expenditure of money, it will save a vast amount of friction and feeling, if the people elect their senators at the ordinary election, without additional expense or additional trouble.

Make It Compulsory.

"But, there is another matter. I am in favor of the amendment so as to make it compulsory on the people of a state to elect their senators. The state of Oregon is interested in the quality

of men that are elected from the state of New York or the state of Pennsylvania or the state of Ohio. The present system is not designed to elect the best men for United States senators. Before a man can become a United States senator he must learn other things than

Federal legislation. He must learn to control the political machinery of his state. He must learn the methods of handling the various members of the legislature, and it is not always that the best people learn to do that. There have been men, less than a half a century ago, elected to the senate of the United States that could not have been elected by the people of their state."

HOT STUFF FROM HEARST.

Calls on Bryan to Repudiate Certain Followers.

Indianapolis, June 5.—The Indianapolis Star has received a telegram from William Randolph Hearst, in reply to a message asking him for his opinion of certain indorsements of William J. Bryan lately expressed in various quarters. The telegram from Mr. Hearst is as follows:

"I have been for many years a sincere friend and earnest supporter of Mr. Bryan. I rejoice in his achievements and successes, and I approve of every honest indorsement of him.

"Personally, I would never welcome into the company of loyal friends of Bryan and sincere advocates of good government any such men as Tom Taggart, gambling-house keeper, or Tim Sullivan, keeper of dives and brothels, head protector of crooks and criminals; nor would I ever welcome such men as Pat McCarren, election thief, or George McMillan, election thief; nor such Captain Kilds of industry as Belmont, and Morgan and Dave Parsons, all of whom, with their mercenary, were last winter under the stained and dragged banners of Cleveland and the corporations.

"I am confident that Mr. Bryan will repudiate utterly these men and their professions of friendship, realizing that they are not honestly in favor of any man or any measure that will protect the interests of the plain people of this country.

"WILLIAM RANDOLPH HEARST."

the plan of allowing the States to pass upon the question. The reform will certainly come about in the course of time. Meanwhile, public opinion should bring constant pressure to bear on the Senate; and constituents should demand of their own Senators that they allow the proposed amendment to be submitted, in the constitutional way, to the decision of the country. It is perfectly well known that the protracted Statehood fight, which monopolized the time of the Senate during the recent session, was not a little due to the personal schemes and ambitions of certain men who were proposing to bring a group of undeveloped Territories into the Union because they had well-laid plans for controlling the legislatures and putting themselves into the United States Senate. Direct election of Senators by the people would serve a twofold purpose,—it would make the upper house at Washington a more representative and efficient body, and it would improve political conditions in a large number of States, and leave the legislatures free to do their proper work.

Senatorial Elections

Last week Senatorial elections were accom-

plished in the Legislatures of New Jersey, West Virginia, Texas, Nevada, and Montana, but the deadlocks still continued in Delaware, Pennsylvania, Wisconsin, Nebraska, Utah, Washington, and California. In New Jersey John Kean, a Republican banker and operator in municipal franchises, succeeds Senator Smith, a Democrat. In West Virginia N. R. Scott, a Republican manufacturer, succeeds Senator Faulkner, a Democrat. In Texas ex-Governor Culberson, a Silver Democrat who favors the annexation of Porto Rico and Cuba whenever these islands desire annexation, succeeds Senator Mills, whose vacillations on the silver question made the opposition to his retirement even less than the opposition to his election six years ago. In Nevada the re-elected Senator Stewart is chosen this year as a member of the "Silver" party instead of the "Republican." This party, it should be said, has nothing in common with the Populist party except silver. The Nevada Populists generally regard Senator Stewart as a railroad appointee. In Montana W. A. Clarke, the Democrat who succeeds Senator Mantle, Silver Republican, is a millionaire banker and mine-owner. In Delaware and Pennsylvania the week has brought no news, except that the confident predictions of some of the Quay leaders have not been fulfilled. An attempt to create

Let Us Have Popular Election of Senators.

This long fight in Delaware would have been obviated if United States Senators were elected by direct vote of the people. The Delaware House of Representatives took time between its ballottings for Senators, one day in February, to declare itself unanimously in favor of an amendment to the Constitution of the United States to permit the people of the States to elect their Senators, as they do their governors and Congressmen, by direct vote. The public sentiment of the country, as expressed in the newspapers and in the formal action of legislatures, is in favor of such an amendment. If the question could be submitted to the people to vote upon, they would decide it in the affirmative by an overwhelming majority in every single State. Each succeeding House of Representatives at Washington votes for this proposition with entire or practical unanimity. The only obstacle to getting the proposed amendment before the country is the Senate itself, which has the bad taste to block

a rupture between the independent Republicans and the Democrats by a resolution indorsing President McKinley's attitude toward the treaty was defeated by the adoption of an amendment opposing a policy of forcible annexation. In Montana and California the charges of corruption have become more definite and convincing. In Montana the grand jury to which they were referred reported that there was no ground for indictment, but that money had without doubt been used. In California the investigating committee appointed has reported that the Speaker of the House pledged his support to two of the Senatorial candidates to secure his present office, but had previously bound himself to vote for U. S. Grant, Jr., by receiving money from Mr. Grant's managers.

Senators and Legislatures

Two of the most interesting speeches recently delivered in Congress were those of the two Senators from California upon the resolutions unanimously adopted by the California Legislature, instructing them to support the treaty and vote against any amendment thereto. These resolutions were in answer to a letter from Senator Perkins expressing his belief that Senators were in duty bound to represent the people of their States, but urging in strong terms that the acquisition of the Philippines would add an unassimilable element to our population, would require a great increase in our army and our military expenditures, would expose our farmers and laborers to the competition of the servile labor of the Orient, and would involve the abandonment of Washington's precept to avoid entanglements in the Old World's conflicts. Mr. White, who had not joined his colleague in requesting the instructions of the Legislature, but who, like his colleague, favored an amendment of the treaty so as to prevent the cession of the Philippines, declared in the Senate that he did not feel in any manner bound

by the instructions. "It is undoubtedly true," he said, "that Senators are the agents, in a qualified sense, for the time being, of the people of their State, but their agency involves discretion." The votes of the California Legislature, he urged, illustrate that Senators cannot be governed by legislative instructions. In 1893 both parties in the California Legislature voted in favor of the annexation of the Hawaiian Islands. Two years later a majority of the Republicans and all the

Democrats voted against it. In 1895 the Republican Legislature instructed its Senators to vote for the free coinage of silver; at the present time no such instructions were possible. "If the public are to be appealed to," said Senator White, "it is imperative that there should be a vote, that mistakes should be avoided. There is no law for this, nor should I favor such an enactment. I regret beyond the power of expression the present situation, but I must meet the present problem without, as I view it, being faithless to my trust and my manhood." Senator Perkins said in reply: "I believe this to be a representative government in the broadest acceptance of the term. My first duty is to represent the people of my State and of the country, and when I have ascertained what their sentiments and wishes are, I should be false to my position and I should retire from it if I could not carry out their wishes. I believe in carrying out after election just what I promised before—that when I heard and knew the expressed will of the majority of my people, I would obey their instructions or I would return to them the power which they temporarily delegated to me."

These facts present the issue between two conceptions of democratic government. The antithesis between them is not often so clearly presented in a concrete case. Doubtless the Fathers expected, not that the people would directly determine the great political questions concerning National policy and National destiny, but would elect wise men who would, as experts, determine these questions for the Nation. The tendency of the last century, however, both in this country and in England, has been away from their conception and toward democracy pure and simple. This tendency is strikingly illustrated by the change which

has taken place in the election of the President. The Fathers did not expect that the people would elect the President, but that in different localities they would select the wisest and best men, who would come together and choose the President for the people. In fact, the people elect the President themselves, and the Electoral College is a purely formal organization to give effect to their decision. In a somewhat similar manner the people, in conventions, assemblies, local associations, clubs, and street and parlor discussions, come to a decision on such questions as, What shall be the currency? What the system of taxation? Shall the Nation

have colonies or not? etc., etc., and send to Congress men, not to determine these questions for them, but to put the decisions of the people into effect, by formulating them in legislation. Congressional debates are far less important than they once were, and the object of the speaker is not to influence the vote in Congress, but to influence the public opinion in his district. The House of Representatives is almost purely a business organization, whose work is done in committees, and this is coming to be the case also in the Senate. Senator Perkins frankly recognizes this change, and holds himself obliged to carry out the decision of his State when it is clearly ascertained and definitely announced. Senator White does not recognize this claim, but holds himself elected by the State, not to carry out its will, but to exercise his own judgment on its behalf. Either is a consistent and honorable position. Whether the reader will think the tendency to transfer political deliberations and true legislative functions from Congress to the people, with an accompanying tendency to convert Congress into a mere business body to carry out the will of the people, is progress or degeneracy, will depend upon the question whether he has greater faith in the leaders or in the common people. As our faith in the common people is greater than our faith in leaders, we regard it as progress. And we hope to see the time when Senators will be elected by direct vote of the people, and when, by a referendum, the people of the State can express their judgment on current questions for the information, if not the instruction, of their Senators.

Senatorial Deadlocks

San Francisco (Cal.) Call (Rep.)

By way of variety in the discussion of reforms in senatorial elections, the eastern press has turned from the familiar proposition of providing for such elections by direct vote of the people to a new scheme of enabling deadlocks to be broken in legislative bodies by authorizing the election of senators by a plurality instead of a majority vote. The new plan, which was submitted to congress in a bill by Senator Hoar, provides "if no person shall have received a majority after seven separate ballots in joint assembly, one of such ballots at least having been taken on seven separate days, the person who receives a plurality of all the votes cast on the next ballot, or, if there be no plurality, on the first subsequent ballot where any person shall have a plurality, a majority of all the members of both houses being present and voting, shall be declared duly elected." Election by a plurality vote after the seventh joint ballot would indeed break a deadlock, but it would in most cases break it to the advantage of some candidate utterly unworthy of the office. It would open the door of the senate for aspirants who could never command a majority vote nor obtain the suffrages of the people, and such results would be worse than the most prolonged deadlock we are ever likely to see. The very fact that such a plan has been submitted to congress is significant of the tone of public sentiment on this subject. It shows that even among the more conservative citizens there is a general recognition of the evils growing out of the present system of electing senators and a desire to provide a remedy. It is evident the issue can not be much longer ignored or postponed. Deadlocks and worse scandals are becoming too common in these periodical contests before the legislatures, and the consequences are too disastrous to ordinary legislative business. A change is inevitable, but when it is accomplished it should not be a compromise. The only adequate remedy for the abuse is the popular one of electing senators by direct vote of the people.

Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal (Dem.)

The most conclusive argument in favor of an election of senators by the people is that the present system ruins a legislature. It impairs its usefulness in the first place because men are selected, not for legislative ability, but on account of friendship for some candidate for senator. In case of close and protracted contests the time of the legislature is taken up with the senatorial struggle and other business is neglected. It is, therefore, a very wasteful way of electing a senator. If chosen by popular vote the names of senatorial candidates could be put on the general ticket and no expense incurred. The plan of election by legislatures is becoming more and more impracticable. Failures to elect and scandals multiply from year to year. Give the people a chance and they will elect a senator in one day.

REPUBLICAN STATE COMMITTEE

The following is a list of the members of the Republican state central committee. J. H. Brady, chairman:

- Ada—C. C. Carraway
- Bainock—J. P. Hunt
- Bear Lake—Walter Hodge
- Dingham—Eugene Wright
- Elaine—B. D. Boone
- Fort—F. V. Tinker
- Caribou—F. E. Plisk
- Coos—T. O. Boyd
- Custer—Charles Baker
- Elmore—Earnest Pearson
- Freemont—John W. East
- Idaho—E. S. Sweet
- Latah—C. J. Munson
- Lewistown—Rodolph Wright
- Kootenai—A. V. Chamberlain
- Naselle—G. W. Thompson
- Oxyhoe—H. H. Leonard
- Orinda—George E. Parkinson
- Shoshone—B. P. O'Neil
- Washington—H. M. Jergens

Detroit (Mich.) *Free Press* (Ind. Dem.)

Senator Hoar has a plan to prevent these deadlocks, by substituting a plurality for a majority vote. His method would cure one evil by creating another. For if a bare plurality could elect it would often happen that a small faction of the legislature, representing a minority of the people, would control the election, and this would be a wider departure from popular government than the present rule entails. The truth is the legislative method of choosing United States senators has been a disappointment. It was supposed that a legislative body representing the state in its sovereignty and composed of men of superior wisdom and judgment would be the appropriate, as well as the best qualified, body to perform the important task of choosing a senator. But the theory of appropriateness is a mere abstraction, and the idea of special fitness has been proved by practice to be a fiction. The voters of each state are as competent to elect United States senators as they are to elect representatives, and senators chosen directly by the people would uphold the sovereignty of the state just as effectively as they do when chosen by a select few. The only true remedy for the deadlocks and corruption that so often characterize senatorial elections is to transfer the elections from the state capitol to the voting precinct, and trust the people to express their own will.

New York Press (Rep.)

For years there has lain in a committee of the upper chamber a resolution, at least twice passed by the house and the last time with practical unanimity, propounding to the people of the states a constitutional amendment, by the terms whereof they shall choose their own senators at the polls instead of leaving that choice to degenerate legislatures. If the people of these defrauded states will apply the pressure primarily necessary to start the screw, public opinion will ultimately do the rest. For in this amendment, as will clearly appear as it comes to be debated, is the cure of the ills which make the senate of today a practically unmixed evil, a body incapable of initiating wise or arresting unwise legislation—all because of its separation from the people of the states which it pretends to serve.

New York Journal (Dem.)

When the chief defenders of an abuse begin to suffer from it there is good reason to hope that something will be done to suppress it. The Republican party, as the retained attorney of all the hoary evils of American politics, has been the principal obstacle in the way of a reform in the senate. But now it is the Republican party on which the evil of senatorial elections by legislatures is pressing. Of the three deadlocked legislatures that have adjourned without electing senators, two are Republican. The fourth, which is about to follow their example, is Republican, too. Thus the Republican party will lose three senatorships for the next two years to one that will be lost by the Democrats. With such a reminder of the

evils of the present system we may expect to see the Republican party abandoning its opposition to senatorial reform.

Democrat? "Not Muchy!"

By William Allen White.

UNDER the caption "Not Muchy!" William Allen White thus disposes of a Democratic tempter in the columns of his Emporia Gazette:

A good Democratic exchange which is filled with east wind by the heavily charged atmosphere of current politics says:

"If the Emporia Gazette and the Republicans who are contending for a square deal are sincere and earnest in their contention they should get in the Democratic band wagon, where there is hope for purer politics and honest enforcement of the laws in the interest of the people."

That looks fine on paper. It works out beautifully as a theory. There is not a flaw in the scheme. But the hard, uncontrollable facts are that when the Democratic party has been in power in this state or in this nation, it does not enforce the laws; it does not give the people purer politics, and instead of these things it gives them confusion, bickering and trouble. The Democratic party in Kansas no sooner gets into power than it begins to quarrel. A Democratic administration in Kansas would set the state's clock back a dozen years. Harra might mean well, and of course he does mean well—but he would have to fight the hungry hordes of office seekers who would want to turn the state upside down to get at the grub. He would be able to do little or nothing. The Democratic party as a party offers little hope for Kansas, and while here and there is a Democratic candidate who is worthier than the Republican candidate opposing him, and here and there is a place on the ticket where for the good of the party Republicans should rebuke their party, yet the fact remains that the Democratic party never helped Kansas or the country; and a Democratic victory would be a miserable mistake in Kansas at this time.

It is all right to have a Democratic party. And it is all right to have it operated about as it is operated now, with a gambler at the head of the national committee and a false alarm at the head of the state committee. For there are many citizens who are not moved by an appeal to their nobler instincts, and the Democratic party bears the same relation to good government that hell fire and damnation bears to religion. It scares a lot of naturally ornery citizens into being good!

The Great Northern's profits for the past fiscal year were \$33,633 a mile—an increase of nearly \$100 a mile over the previous year. President James J. Hill's famous record of reducing operating expenses was still further justified in the latest annual report, for all operating expenses were only 48.28 per cent of the gross earnings of the railway. That was a decline of over 2 per cent. Even counting in taxes, the expenses were only 51.75 per cent of gross earnings. In other words, of every dollar paid to the Great Northern railway, 47.25 cents was net gain.

The earnings of the railway system from operation for the fiscal year ended June 30 were \$39,334,113.52, and operating expenses and taxes were \$20,528,339.92, which left a net income from operation of \$18,815,773.60. After making various charges for rentals and placing aside \$3,990,000 to the fund for permanent improvements and renewals, there was still a net balance of \$11,815,115.87, which was transferred to the income account. Dividends amounted to \$3,625,260.

Reports with interesting information and statistics, the 16th annual report of the Great Northern Railway company has just come from the printers. Between the covers of a 29 page pamphlet, exclusive of maps, the management hurries to shareholders a concise statement of the company's financial position, together with data relating to the equipment and general condition of the great Overland road.

Capital Still \$124,129,250.

In opening the statement is made that no increases in the authorized share capital have been made during the past year, this remaining at \$124,129,250. The most notable transfer of stock was 1350 shares, amounting to \$125,000, to the Great Northern Employees' Investment company, making that concern's total subscriptions 8150 shares, \$315,000.

Expenditures on capital accounts of proprietary companies for work completed or under construction during the year aggregated \$188,890. Construction advances by the Great Northern to other companies than those embraced in the proprietary group totaled \$3,122,693, while additional equipment for the Great Northern cost \$497,192.

Downward Trend of Rates.

"The subject of the control of rates," continues the report. "By the federal government has been prominently before the country for some time past. It is stated that while tariffs have been reduced the various classifications have been changed so as to effect the apparent reduction in rates. The following table, taken from the annual reports of the company, shows the actual yearly reduction in freight rates for the past 25 years, and the total reduction for the same period." Commencing in 1881, the company's revenue tons hauled one mile totaled \$1,454,824, and the revenue collected was \$2,507,772 at an average revenue per ton per mile of 2.88 cents. Thereafter in each succeeding year the total tons hauled steadily grew, while the average revenue decreased until, in 1905, the tonnage was 4,174,140.655 tons hauled one mile, the average revenue per ton per mile being 2.52 cents and the total revenue \$10,517,210.122. The table works out the amount the company

would have realized each year at the average charge collected in 1901. In this column it is shown that had 1901 rates obtained in 1905 the company would have collected \$120,190,878, instead of \$33,915,323, as was actually received. Carrying the figures into another column, it is shown that, based on 1901 rates, the existing tariffs have saved shippers \$37,000,504.

Earnings on the Increase.

Dealing with gross earnings, operating expenses, volume of traffic and rates, Vice President Louis W. Hill produces a variety of interesting data. Gross earnings were \$43,538,088, an increase over the previous year of \$3,488,735, or 8.68 per cent. Freight earnings increased \$1,009,422, or 10.35 per cent. The number of tons of revenue freight hauled increased 3,200,668, or

23.162 per cent, and the number of tons hauled one mile increased 318,324.83, or 24.4 per cent. After referring to the commissions on lumber from coast and Spokane district points and the commissions to distributors in Spokane territory, Mr. Hill states that in accordance with the practice of former years a new grain tariff was issued affecting Minnesota and the Dakotas, reducing wheat tariffs half a cent to 2 cents per hundred.

Passenger Trains Were Productive.

The earnings of passenger trains increased \$139,828, or 21 per cent. Of this \$222,180 came from passenger fares, \$18,791 from transportation of mails, \$2,347 from transportation of express matter, \$17,581 from sleeping cars, \$4290 from express baggage collections and \$4420 from miscellaneous sources. Passenger train mileage increased 82,897 miles, or 1.5 per cent.

Expenses Were Higher.

Operating expenses increased \$847,564, or 4.1 per cent. Maintenance of equipment cost \$613,428 more and maintenance of ways and structures \$497,192. The effect of permanent improvements was very noticeable. The reduction in the cost of handling the traffic aggregating \$177,622, or 2.5 per cent.

During the year under review orders were placed for 27 locomotives, 84 passenger coaches, 1900 boxcars, 250 steel ore cars, three steam shovels, three ladderwood loaders, one steam crane and six Russell snow plows. The outlay for equipment was \$270,634. A long list of permanent improvements is appended, including the new stores at Hilliard, Wash., a standard stock yard at Trinidad, Wash., buildings at Blaine, Wash., the Grater tunnel, track bet-terments at Bonners Ferry, Idaho, and minor improvements in the Spokane country.

Owns Much Equipment.

The statement of equipment owned by the Great Northern and proprietary lines shows a total of 361 locomotives, 233 passenger train cars and 32,879

Stylish New

—THE CHERRY—

shown in Japanese milk, eastern milk
\$2.00, \$7.50, \$10.00, \$12.50 and up to

CHANGES IN POLITICAL METHODS.

In Oregon the political party convention is a thing of the past—unless the primary law for nomination of candidates should be repealed, which is not likely to be done. The people of Oregon feel that the convention system left too little power in their own hands, so they resolved to do away with it. Indeed it often left no power at all in the hands of the people; for the power was in those of the managing politicians, who made control of parties and therefore of conventions their own peculiar trade from year to year, and often for their lifetime. As the convention system itself was an advance of the democratic principle over the old caucus of self-appointed managers that preceded it, so the nominating primary is an advance in the same direction over the convention system. Whatever else may be said against the nominating primary, it puts out of business an oligarchy of professional managers—even though the people in making direct nominations may not always do their work wisely or well.

In colonial times in our country nominations for office were made by a "gentry"—that is, by groups of men who, owing to their character, their wealth and their social position, commanded the confidence of their fellow-citizens. This, however, was nothing less than an aristocracy, or oligarchy, or both, but it had character behind it. Their leadership was accepted without question; and nominations made by a coterie or clique of these "leading citizens" were ratified or accepted by the electors who, in the mass, seemed not to suppose they could have much to say about the proceeding or method. In part this was due to the fact that the suffrage, as compared with the usage of the present time, was very much restricted. But as the democratic spirit grew the people would no longer acquiesce in self-appointed chiefs. Party members of the Legislature, in their representative capacity, began to be recognized, as the proper persons to make nominations for the state offices, and party members of Congress to nominate the National candidates. For local and county offices party nominations were usually made by announcement of candidates and general consent of the party members, and the elector almost always voted for the candidate who stood in the name of his party. Party opinion was the bond.

In the states then, the legislative caucus arose to nominate the party's candidates for state officials, including the Presidential Electors, and the Congressional caucus arose to nominate the party candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency. The party's members of Congress were supposed to have superior information upon all main questions entering into the politics of the time; so their leadership was followed with little dissent. Jefferson, the father of the modern Democratic party, was

nominated in this way for the Presidency—a proceeding that would be considered the height of "boss" and "ring" rule now. But the legislative and Congressional caucuses for naming party candidates continued many years—the people acquiescing, with little dissent, in the work of a self-perpetuating machine. There were no facilities of travel then; the party representatives were already assembled in the Legislature or in Congress, and it was admitted that they would know better than others who were best qualified for the office and what candidates would command most votes. Men yet living remember these conditions very well.

At last, however, with growth of facilities for travel and for communication of intelligence through press and mail, and finally through the telegraph, men began to grow restive under the system, and the people to demand participation for themselves in the selection of candidates. It was urged against the caucus that the makers of the Constitution were very careful to provide that Congress should not elect the President; yet a party majority of Congressmen were doing so, and frequently in a secret caucus. Dissent appeared as early as 1814, in a memorial which declared: "The members of the two houses meet in caucus and there ballot for President and Vice-President. Their recommendation then comes before the Legislatures of the states; so the chief magistrate of the Nation owes his office principally to aristocratic intrigues, cabal and management." Yet the system still continued many years after the protest against it began.

In opposition to this method the convention system grew up—though but slowly. The origin of any important change is always remote and obscure. Down to 1812 there was a period of transition from the caucus to the convention and it is notable that the anti-Masonic convention of 1820 was the first delegate National convention and the first to arrange for a convention in which representation should be based

on the representation of the respective states in Congress. Hitherto the powerful politicians in the more powerful states had had things much their own way. What a convention did that represented only a passing phase of our political life was quickly taken up by the main parties, and Jackson, soon to be all-powerful, gave it his sanction. The Whigs followed only a little later, and the convention system was established.

But the convention system soon fell into the hands of professional politicians, and was scarcely an improvement on the other. Through the refinements and corruptions of political management men whom the people wouldn't elect to any important office got control of party conventions and named the candidates. Against this abuse the direct primary law is a protest, and many believe it a remedy. It has not yet been tried far enough to determine whether, in curing old evils, it will introduce new ones. But Oregon has resolved to make the trial, and in making

It has gone beyond the limit attempted in any other state. A series of experiments, which will require several years for determination, will tell us what we are to get by the change. The law certainly will not now or soon be repealed, may never be. It is questionable even whether the Legislature will venture soon to make any change in it.

BORAH ON NOMINATION OF CANDIDATE FOR SENATOR

Those who advocate the plan of inducting some one at the state convention do so because they believe in the election of a United States senator by direct vote of the people. And they believe the convention plan to be the nearest approach to an election by popular vote to be had under present conditions. They further believe that, unless some step of this kind is taken, we will never realize or accomplish that which 90 per cent of the American people today favor. We would much prefer an amendment to the constitution of the United States so that senators might be elected by those whom they are presumed to serve, but we have not that amendment. It has been denied to the people for nearly a century by the very same influence and interests which now oppose the convention or any other plan looking to a realization of this long postponed demand.

Eighty years ago the first move was made looking to the securing of this amendment. Since that time almost, if not every state in the Union has repeatedly joined in the demand. At least ten times according to the reports the lower house of congress has passed the proper resolution providing for the amendment. Three different sessions of our own legislature have passed urgent and eloquent memorials to congress to the effect "that the people are very strongly in favor of the election of United States senators by direct vote of the people." So for eighty years the people have petitioned

and remonstrated and prayed for at least an opportunity to vote upon this question of an amendment to the constitution and all such efforts have been frustrated and set at defiance by the influences which think the people unsafe and incompetent to deal with so grave a subject as the election of a United States senator.

When we think of the effort made through all these years and of the result, we can see at once the insincerity of those who say, "let us wait until we get an amendment to the constitution." Methuselah was an infant at the time of his demise compared to the age which the learned advocate of this Fabian policy would attain should he live to see that amendment submitted to the people.

The First Step.

The convention plan is a step and a long step in the direction of the election by popular vote. In fact, if we had an amendment we would proceed in the first instance largely in

the same way. That exceptionally able journal "Chillers" in a late issue said "In the bold attempt now being made by the American people to be actually represented by their representatives, no change is more desirable than the trend toward popular designation of senator. The constitutional method is easily annulled when the people will it so." So the people through their primary election law or by indorsement at the convention or in some of the other methods lately adopted have determined to act

upon their own initiative, and in this end are moving along other lines than they would were it not for the special interests which have deprived them of an opportunity to vote upon the amendment of the constitution.

Not an Experiment.

Those who refer to this procedure as un-republican and as an experiment are either un-informed or extremely careless in the use of their language. This plan finds a notable precedent in the very earliest and purest days of the Republican party. In 1858 when Abraham Lincoln was preparing to make his fight against Senator Douglas he asked for the indorsement of his party in state convention as their candidate for United States senator. So that memorable convention which met at Springfield, Ill., a convention the wisdom of whose action has never been impugned or questioned, passed the following resolution: "Resolved, That Hon. Abraham Lincoln is our first and only choice for United States senator to fill the vacancy to be created by the expiration of Mr. Douglas' term of office." This made Abraham Lincoln the choice of his party for this office, and in those days no demagogue dared to insult the manhood of the party by intimating that the resolution was not binding upon every member of the party. Those who talk learnedly about the constitution, about un-republican procedures and irregularities are

answered by this precedent alone. It is true that some of the "irregularities" and "precedents" established by Lincoln have not at all times been adhered to by our party, but it will be altogether to the benefit of the party when we get back to them.

But in addition to this, a number of Republican states are now following this identical plan. It has been adopted to some extent ever since the precedent above referred to. No state which has adopted this plan has expressed dissatisfaction with it thereafter. Two Republican states have already acted upon this plan this year. The lesson in Nebraska is sufficient of itself. For years the legislature in that state was the arena for deadlocks and corruption which stifled the political atmosphere from one end of the country to the other. Their senators went to Washington under a cloud, distrusted by the people, and in two instances came home disgraced if not actual criminals. The people, disgusted with the situation, as an alternative and for relief took up the state convention plan and have followed it ever since without the deadlock or a breath of scandal. Those who doubt the wisdom of this plan need only look about them.

Time and Expense of Legislature.

In this connection it is proper to refer to the effect of senatorial fights on legislatures. I think every candid reader of political history will admit that there has been nothing which has reduced state legislatures to such a low ebb of moral indecency as election of United States senators. The effect upon the legislature is first felt in the selection of candidates for the legislature. One of the most noted of living public men has lately said, "The most conclusive argument in favor of the election of senators by the holding of state conventions is that the present system ruins the legislature. * * * Give the people a chance and they will elect a senator in one day."

The state convention plan if followed makes deadlocks impossible. But aside from the question of time, when the matter goes into the legislature appropriation bills and everything which touches the public mind is used in the trade. No legislation is had or permitted until the election takes place which often consumes the entire session. Thousands of dollars are paid out in the way of taxes and public expenses for that which might have been effected in a day. Bad laws may be passed in the heat and passion of the election. I need not refer to such notorious instances as those

which readily suggest themselves to the mind of any one—Montana, Nebraska, Delaware, California, and many other instances which have made the subject of the senatorial elections a matter of unfavorable comment throughout the world. I need only refer back to our own elections. Three sessions of the legislature were practically taken up. One of them was terminated under circumstances which left no doubt in the public mind as to the shameless corruption which prevailed, the others left a feeling of deep regret that such a system of election obtained.

Every one understands also perfectly that the legislature is the place where corporate interests can exercise absolute control in the matter of election of United States senators and that such influences are wholly without power before the people. No one would contend for a moment that the state of New York would at any time have dared to put up for popular approval either Tam Platt or Chauncey M. Depew. There has not been a time in 40 years when either one or the other would have taken a convention nomination with the hope of being endorsed by the people. Nevertheless they are there, the representatives of the greatest state in the Union, men utterly devoid of character or standing, the truckling representatives of the worst element in American politics, and they are there because of the opportunity afforded such influences in legislative fights. Other instances might be noted but they will readily suggest themselves to any one.

They Want to Know.

The people want to know in advance who their senator is going to be. Before any one is given a certificate

of election which will enable him to hold office for six years the voters are entitled to know something of his views upon living issues, his political environment, whom he in fact wants to represent. From the act of the legislature there is no appeal, no chance for review. If some one wholly unsatisfactory is elected the people are utterly powerless to help themselves. He may be a political accident, or he may unblushingly lay his way through—but there is no help, no remedy. The man who is nominated at the state convention must meet fairly and openly before the people the questions of vital interest and define his position upon all matters of concern to the people. Instead of relying upon the machine or the manipulating effect of patronage, he goes direct to the people and comes to an understanding with them. To them he must go for approval and therefore it is the people whom he will serve when elected. They hold the votes and with them the candidate must come to an agreement upon all matters of public concern. Chief Justice Clark has said, "The members of a

party convention of the state brought together directly from the people and so soon dispersed again among them are not subject to the subtle efforts of the corporation lobbyist and wire pullers which are brought to bear on the member of the legislature as soon as his nomination is probable and continued until the election of senator is over, when like a suppressed letter he is thrown aside. Besides, the party convention is accessible to public opinion, being conscious that its choice if not wisely made is liable to rejection at the polls. No such responsibility attaches to the deliberations of a legislative caucus. No mistake there made in defiant disregard of public sentiment is subject to revocation by the people, and is without remedy for six years."

In one of the western states only a few years ago certain parties made an open canvass before the election of the members of the legislature for senator. They discussed matters of interest to the people but none of them were elected to the senate. A man whose name had not been before the people, a stranger to the electorate, was finally elected through the manipulations of one of the powerful corporations of the state, and as would be expected has been one of the most active opponents to President Roosevelt's policy. But he was elected. There was no remedy.

Election of President.

The most conclusive proof of the fact that the convention plan is nothing less, for all practical purposes, than an election by the direct vote of the people is found in the manner in which we elect the president. In the eye of the law, the members of the electoral college take the place of the members of the legislature in a senatorial election. The electors are supposed to meet and choose one whom in their judgment, is best fitted for the place. But do they do so? Certainly not. They must be directed and controlled by public opinion. That public opinion is evidenced by the ac-

tion of the national convention which names the candidates and the vote for the nominee of that convention is just as truly for all practical purposes a direct vote for president as a vote for governor or congressman. The electors meet and carry out the will of the people as expressed through the government of the national convention and at the polls. Who would consent in this day that the electors should meet unadvised and without direction thus given through the convention? What would be the difference in the manner of electing a president if the electoral college were done away with so far as securing the expressed wishes of the people are concerned? No, in the matter of electing a senator after the convention has nominated and the people have voted, the matter is settled except as to the formality

of casting the vote, and the people's choice has been made.

We are told, however, that some members of the legislature would object to being told what they should do and would not consent to be bound by the action of their party. In the first place, we know that this has never proven a matter of any difficulty whatever either in the election of the president or in those states where the convention plan prevails with reference to the senator. But if there is any man seeking a place in the legislature or any other office within the gift of the people who is not willing to accept instruction and guidance from the mass of the people you may be assured that he is one of that class of corruptionists who has done so much to disgrace senatorial elections. He is the very man whom the people are looking for to arrange for his remaining at home. He is one of that class who would come home from a legislature with a certificate of appointment to office in his pocket. If the convention plan would do nothing else except to keep that class of men out of the legislature it would be a blessing.

Whitelaw Reid of the New York Tribune in discussing the question of the electing of senators by direct vote of the people and the convention plan which his paper approved, in conclusion of his editorial used the following language. "It is clear that if the people of the United States are dissatisfied with the old machine of senatorial elections they can put that machinery out of operation as easily as they scuffed out the electoral college." "By inventing the national party convention and stripping the electoral college morally though not legally of all violation the people take into their hands the elective power which they were not thought capable of using safely and wisely."

A Law to Punish.

Perhaps in view of the history of senatorial elections the most amusing statement which has been made is the following. "Then again, legislatures are governed by laws in the performance of their duties, for the violation of which adequate punishment is provided." Yes, adequate punishment is provided, but when has it ever been assessed? In the 50 years of corruption and bribery, in the countless in-

stances of scandal and open confessions of giving and taking bribes, including Idaho when a man stood up inside a jailing crowd and showed his stipend of purchase, I would ask has any one ever been brought to punishment? There have been men who have gone to the senate for bribery, but none of them have gone to the penitentiary that I have heard of. In all the man-sealing stories of the last 15 years what has been the effect of this bribery law—it has been a dead letter—they laugh at it. There is but one

power by which such things can be controlled and that is the power of public opinion. When the candidate passes out from the state convention to be thereafter checked over and approved by the people he does not take the chances nor will the convention take the chances taken when an election means six years in spite of objection. There is one thing public men cannot withstand and that is adverse public opinion at a time when they are soliciting and depending upon popular vote for their election to office. It is a thousand times more effective than all the criminal statutes which have ever been conceived and put upon the statute books to be nullified.

Primary Election Law.

It has been suggested that we wait until we have a primary election law. This suggestion resembles very much the suggestion that we wait until we have an amendment to the constitution of the United States. We had a primary election law before the last legislature which was a Republican legislature. The very same influences and individuals that are now opposing the state convention plan made a special effort to defeat that primary election law. If those who say let us wait until we get a law were not trying to thwart every effort to get one, we might consent to wait. We are very much in favor of a primary election law and will join with anyone trying to secure one. We will give them every opportunity at Pocatello to show their sincerity in this by declaring in favor of it. In the meantime we have the convention and the effect of action at the convention would be practically the same so far as the senatorship is concerned as if we had a primary election law. We are not disposed to wait any longer upon these insincere promises, and we will not wait any longer unless the machine is stronger than the people.

In conclusion I wish to say there may be many reasons why this or that particular person should not be nominated or endorsed for senator at Pocatello. There may be, and in the minds of some no doubt there are, conclusive reasons why the writer should not be endorsed, but there can be no reason why the Republican party should not take the step in favor of election of a senator by direct vote of the people, and nominate some one. Our party has twice in this state declared in favor of election of senators by direct vote of the people. Why should it, if sincere, decline to take the first step,

It has since defeated the primary election law. Shall we now oppose the convention plan? If these things are to be done why not be brave and candid and come out directly against the election of senators by direct vote of the people. As a party we can certainly afford to be candid. Upon a question so thoroughly up before the people for discussion all over the

country we can afford to take a position.

Those who flatter themselves that the action of the state convention will settle the matter are mistaken unless it is settled right. While it may settle the candidacy of this or that individual it will not settle the question. From one end of this land to the other the people are making a bold effort to get in close touch with their representatives and this contest will not cease until they shall have realized fully their desires.

W. E. BORAH.

Boise, July 7, 1908.

Desert News July 28

Due Warning Given. -66

The friends of the plan to nominate a candidate for United States senator are talking big these days. They are proclaiming victory throughout the state and are loud in their justification. This is overconfidence, if it is genuine, but the probabilities are that it is done only for the purpose of inducing emotion that have not yet spoken officially. It is not reasonable to suppose that the Pugett convention is going to commit political suicide—that it is going to nominate a candidate for United States senator and start the wedge that will split the Republican party and make victory in the coming election problematical. To what end should it adopt such policy? Why should Mr. Borah seek at this time to inject his candidacy into the state campaign? Why should he not wait together with other aspirants, equally capable, equally honorable, equally consistent in their Republicanism, until the state legislature meets and try the issues of their popularity to a regular method? Who is Mr. Borah that he has grown so great that the Republican party must be racked and wrecked in order to carry out the program to further his inordinate ambition?

THE IDAHO NOMINATIONS.

William E. Borah, who has been nominated for United States Senator by the Republicans of Idaho, will be pitted in the coming election against Senator Dubois, who will strive to succeed himself and who will be the nominee of the Democratic State Convention. The issue between the two candidates will be clear and well defined, although there will be no popular election for Senator such as there was in Oregon in June. The Republican candidates for the Legislature are specifically pledged by the Republican State Convention to vote for Mr. Borah in the Legislature. They cannot ignore the pledge, nor can they deny the right of a state convention to make it for them unless they deny it now. The Republican who intends to go to Boise and vote against Mr. Borah has no honorable course before him but to avow his purposes now. But by taking such a course he will place himself in a position of open repudiation of his party's platform. There are very few legislative candidates who will be strong enough to carry an election in Idaho this year if they shall assume this equivocal and difficult position.

The question as to whether the Pugett convention had the right to name a candidate for United States Senator is now more or less academic. It did name him; and undoubtedly it had the same authority to select a Republican nominee for this office that it had to name a Governor or Supreme Judge. Party conventions are wholly voluntary affairs, and the voter may abide by its decrees or not, just as he sees fit; but the candidate must. Custom and the weight of party opinion require him to be in accord with the sentiments and declarations of his party made through its conventions or to take the consequences.

Mr. Borah is a lawyer of Boise, of excellent character, first-rate ability and wide popularity. He has been chosen as the Republican candidate for Senator, unquestionably because the mass of Republican voters in Idaho regard him as the most fit man in the state for the position. Mr. Gooding has been re-nominated for Governor because he has made an excellent record in the past two years and because he has been independent and courageous in the discharge of his duty. The entire state Republican ticket will undoubtedly be elected. It should be.

The Packers Patted It.

Mary had a little lamb,
And when she saw it sicken,
She shipped it off to Packingtown
And now it's labeled chicken.

ELEGANT.

The *Appeal to Reason* publishes this on itself on our own Uncle Johnney's principle that "Every knock is a boost."

There is a paper published at Girard, Kas., called the *Appeal to Reason*, a blood-thirsty, anarchistic sheet, coming to our exchange table, which we wish the pie-mouthed, pin-headed, parrot-prating publisher would discontinue. Just what kind of hard-pan God made him out of we do not know, but he has more gall than grey matter in supposing that we would exchange this great religious weekly for a "hellbent" handful of hairy hash like the *Appeal to Reason*. The old skeleton skinflint, who spews the spell-binding specialties for this sheet of red anarchy, claims to have a circulation of 200,000; if it is so, he must have about 100,000 exchanges and 50,000 dead-heads. Once the *Appeal to Reason* starts, you can't stop it, and the publisher has been known to go at midnight to a graveyard, exhume a widow, steal her burial shroud, and throw her bones at her soul, just because her husband, in life, refused his infernal sham sheet, which abounds only in blood and bilious bubbles. Anarchy preached straight from red-hot and hissing hades is all the leather-lunged and lying lollypop can publish. It condemns the packers, the insurance men and the oil-trust and then, on the other hand, condemns the men who are exposing the frauds and freeing the people from the thralldom of combined looters. *The Appeal to Reason* is certainly a punk piece of papyrus to unscroll to a practical people, who know that anarchy and so-called Socialism are kith and kin, and with either our glorious republic would crumble to premature decay. You bald-headed alkali spot of the earth, take us off the list, as this great weekly does not wish to be longer scented with the sulphuric fumes of the breath of a bantam bug-bear.

The platform adopted today by the Democratic state convention is as follows:

"We, the Democrats of Idaho, in state convention assembled, hereby unequivocally reaffirm our allegiance to the time honored principles of democracy as advocated by Jefferson, Jackson and Bryan. Hon. Wm. Jennings Bryan, being one of the greatest living Americans, and foremost exponent of democratic principles, we heartily endorse him for the democratic presidential nomination in 1908.

"We heartily endorse and commend to the thoughtful people of Idaho the record of Hon. Fred T. Dubois in the United States senate and in his patriotic struggle for the welfare of his state and nation, the Democrats of Idaho pledge him their hearty support. After a long career in the halls of congress during a period in which hoodie and corruption in high places ran riot, he returns to his constituents a wiser man than he was on the day he was first elected. We most cordially and heartily commend his course in congress in securing for Idaho national aid for the great irrigation enterprises that are now making the deserts of Idaho the garden spots of the world.

"We heartily endorse the policy of nominating a candidate for United States senator in the state convention, a policy that is progressively and essentially democratic.

"Appreciating the great advantages that will come to our state from the opening of the North-western irrigation program, to be held in Idaho September 2 to 8 inclusive, we pledge \$25000 or so much thereof as may be needed to assist in defraying the expenses of said congress.

"We are heartily in favor of the municipal ownership of public utilities.

"We believe the time has come when there should be a revision of the present tariff.

"We hereby pledge the passage of this convention for government in support on Nationalism, internationalism, imperialism, and we will see to it that the so-called "banker" financing companies should be prevented from doing business in Idaho until they pay their honest debts. We further pledge the people to pass more effective legislation to protect policy holders.

"The democratic party pledges itself to encourage and assist the homestead settlers to the end that the unappropriated portion of our state lands be taken up by useful citizens and transformed into happy homes.

"We favor the enactment by our legislature of a primary election law whereby candidates for office shall be nominated by direct vote of the people and pledge our legislative candidates in the event of the election, to work for the passage of such laws.

"We deplore the untimely death of our honorable citizen and ex-governor, Frank Staunenberg, by the hand of an assassin, and we demand that the person or persons responsible therefor, whomsoever they may be, be punished to the full extent of the law.

"We favor the submission of a constitutional amendment to the people providing for a separate election, at a time other than the general election of state and county officers, when shall be elected judges of the supreme and district courts and county and state superintendents of schools, until such constitutional amendment can be adopted. It should be the policy of the democratic party of this state, to select candidates for these important offices with regard solely to ability, fitness, integrity and moral worth, disregarding political affiliations, and demanding and expecting no partisan support or surrender of political convictions on the part of a nominee.

"We pledge the party to enact a state board of health law for the control of contagious and infectious diseases and for the collection of vital statistics.

"We demand the extermination of polygamy and unlawful cohabitation within the state of Idaho and the complete separation of church and state in political affairs. We pledge the people of Idaho that in the event of democratic success at the polls in November we will make effective by legislative enactment the wise and patriotic declarations in our state con-

stitution, contained in section III, article 4, which reads as follows: "No person is permitted to vote, serve as a juror, or hold any civil office who is under guardianship, idiotic or insane, or who has, at any place, been convicted of treason, felony, embezzlement of public funds, bartering or selling or offering to barter or sell his vote, or purchasing or offering to purchase the vote of another, or other infamous crime, and who has not been restored to the rights of citizenship, or who, at the time of such election is confined in prison on conviction of a criminal offense, or who is a bigamist or polygamist or is living in what is known as a patriarchal, plural or colonial marriage and in violation of any law of this state or of the United States forbidding any such crime, or who in any manner teaches, advises, counsels, aids or encourages any person to enter into bigamy, polygamy or such patriarchal, plural or colonial marriage, or to live in violation of any law, or to commit any such crime, or who is a member of, or contributes to the support or aid of any order, organization, association, corporation or society, which teaches, advises, counsels, encourages or aids any person to enter into bigamy, polygamy or such patriarchal or plural marriage, or which teaches or advises that the laws of this state prescribing rules of civil conduct are not the supreme law of the state, nor shall Chinese, or persons of Mongolian descent, not born in the United States, nor Indians, not taxable, who have not severed their tribal relations and adopted the habits of civilization, either vote, serve as jurors or hold any civil office." And further, we favor legislation in harmony with the guardian recom-

mendation of our supreme court to the last session of the legislature, providing for a change of venue on the application of the state upon a proper showing on behalf of the prisoner, that that justice demands such change.

"Denouncing the paramount importance of affording adequate opportunities for higher education of the young men and young women of our state, appreciating the precious value of the work that our state university at Moscow has been doing and the high standard it has taken among the great educational establishments of the Pacific coast, and with profound regret at the embarrassment because of the loss of the administration funding by fire, we hereby pledge the democratic members of the legislature to enact such measures as will enable the regents to rebuild at once and fully equip the great institutions in order that it may continue its career of usefulness in which the people of the state have taken such merited pride.

"We hereby denounce in unmeasured terms the gross, willful, extravagant and corrupt manner in which the present state administration has conducted the state government during the past two years and we condemn the present state administration for the manner in which the business of the state and board is conducted, and especially its action in unjustly contesting the homestead claims of the settlers who have in the utmost good faith expended their time and invested their money in securing homes for themselves and their families upon the public domain within the state of Idaho.

"We are heartily in favor of the enactment of an employer's liability law and we hereby pledge our representatives in the legislature to enact such a law.

"We favor the enactment of an eight hour law, applicable to all men employed under ground in smelters, concentrators and ore reduction works. We pledge the faith of the democratic party to the enactment of such a law and we denounce the inconsistency of the republican party in advocating such legislation and having twice defeated an eight hour bill in the state legislature.

"We are unalterably opposed to the domination of all trusts and monopolies in the judicial, political and commercial life of the state. We therefore pledge our representatives in the legislature to secure the enactment of such laws as will summarily suppress these evils. In this connection we emphatically denounce the interference of a judge for the First judicial district.

DUBOIS AND HIS "CAMPAIGN."

The campaign which Dubois is making in Idaho is the desperate expedient of a bankrupt political adventurer, in search of an "issue" for a present emergency. He has been everything by turns and nothing long. No longer having credit with the Republican party, he swung, through Populism and the silver lunacy, into the Democratic party. "Gone broke" there also, he now sets up the pretense that the few Mormons in Idaho are a peril to that proud state; and of course he is the only man who can be Idaho's rescuer and deliverer.

Nothing could be more pitiful than the career of such a politician. All "the great principles of the Democratic party," which Dubois was wont to laud so much, have passed into utter and irreclaimable bankruptcy. Should Dubois again go about through Idaho hawling for silver, as he did a few years ago, when he was proclaiming his free-coinage nostrum as the only hope of salvation for the country, he would make himself utterly ridiculous. People would laugh him off the stump. He knows it. So he invents something different. He is now railing a fit against expiring Mormonism—endeavoring to make the people of Idaho believe that upon his re-election to the Senate depends their hope of deliverance from the threatened union of church and state, under a Mormon theocracy.

Even in Utah, the home of this creed, the Mormon Church has lost most of its power and is fast losing the remnants of it. Influx of people from all parts has reduced the influence and power of "the apostles" in affairs. Polygamy has been virtually destroyed, and soon will wholly disappear; for, though it is asserted, for political or party reasons, that plural marriages continue, there has been no proof of it in a single instance, and the last of the old polygamous Mormons, now only a handful, will presently pass. Since this is the situation in Utah, why pretend that Mormonism is about to get the upper hand in Idaho, where the Mormon population is comparatively small, and where such Mormon population as exists is confined to limited districts on the Utah border?

"Get thee glass eyes," exclaims old King Lear, "and like a scurvy politician pretend to see the things thou dost not." The scurvy politician the old man had in mind must have been the present candidate for re-election to the Senate from Idaho.

To prevent and punish polygamy is a proper concern of the state. But everybody knows that polygamy, as instituted under Mormonism, is virtually at an end, and soon will be wholly extinct. It cannot bear the pressure of the forces that have been encompassing it on all sides these twenty years. As a

religious creed, the Mormon "revelation" is no more at variance with average reason than many other creeds and revelations, ancient or modern. Besides, such things are in no wise the concern of the state. In the matter of religious faith, creed and doctrine, we allow every person to be as "absurd" as he pleases. No religious sect can control any American state—not even Utah.

Dubois, reduced to extremity, is playing in Idaho the part of a desperate political gambler. The factitious "issue" which he now throws into the game is apparently his last stake. He was "out" absolutely, through his former follies, and snatched at this expedient because neither the course of events nor his own invention could supply any other to the bankrupt political adventurer who is forced this year to meet the people of Idaho.

PLATT AND DEPEW.

The rumor that Depew and Platt intend to resign from the United States Senate is not likely to be true. Men of their stamp do not quit a job. They belong to the horse-leech tribe, whose motto is "To suck, to suck, the very blood to suck." Moreover, they are quite as well qualified to be Senators now as they were when they took office. Neither of them is more depraved than when he was elected. Neither is more dishonest or more disregardful of the public weal. They are contemptuous of their duties, but so they have always been. They prefer the interests of corporations to those of the public, but so they always have. They were sent to the Senate because of that preference. This is not a reason for their resigning, unless it was also a reason for never sending them there, which few of our corporate politicians would be prepared to admit.

The only difference between the Platt and Depew of today and the Platt and Depew of three years ago is that they have been found out. Being found out does not make a man worse than he was before. In many cases it makes him better, for he desists from his sins upon exposure.

The probability is, therefore, that Platt and Depew will be better Senators for the rest of their terms than they have been. Certainly they must be less pernicious, since exposure has severely clipped their power to do mischief. A Platt, known for what he is, is a comparatively innocuous creature. An exposed Depew is like a collapsed bladder. Who is there to do him reverence or be misled by his pompous example of iniquity? New York will do well to think twice before urging the discredited Senators to resign. It might find itself put to the trouble of a new exposure unless it should choose

their successors more wisely than seems likely.

A Senator well exposed, like Platt, Elkins, or Aldrich, is vastly preferable to one of the same stamp whose plumes still drip with the purity of the white-wash. With their tall feathers bedraggled they are less likely to attempt ambitious sculduggery. Platt, for example, during the last session of Congress confined his exploits to pension bills, whereas when in full bloom he was the impregnable bulwark of the express steal and the potent enemy of the parcels post and postal currency. Before New York decides upon a change it will do marvelous wisely to consider whether it is likely to better itself. A Senator who does nothing is infinitely preferable to one who does wrong.

Depew, in his benighted retirement, is in many respects a model Senator. Who can accuse him of having aided the corporations in their fight against pure food and railroad regulation? What did he do to help along the ship-subsidy steal? What has he had to say lately in favor of tariff robbery? Nothing at all. He is as good as dead, and has been so for months. Of many of his more active colleagues it were profoundly to be wished that they were even as he. Is there not some way to investigate these also and lull them to an innocuous repose?

As of the Apaches, it may be said of some of our tugged cohort, that the only good Senator is the dead Senator. Depew is not dead, but he is next thing to it. He is in the condition of those worms which wasps sting and lay by to keep indefinitely. He fills the place. He keeps out somebody who might be actively harmful. To a looker on of a reflective turn it really seems as though New York were singularly blessed in Depew. That state, which is rid of its pair, whether by exposure, imprisonment or other device, may well heave a sigh of relief and look around for congratulations. It is true that New York stands exactly as if it had no Senators, but compare it with Ohio, which has two, and pronounce which is the happier commonwealth. The fact of the matter is that New York might do worse than to re-elect its silent and bedraggled pair of Senators. They are a little ludicrous, to be sure, but they are harmless.

The following is the platform adopted by the republican state convention:

"The republicans of Idaho in state convention assembled at the city of Pocatello on the first day of August adopt as a statement of the principle of the party the following:

"We look upon the action of the national republican party in all its history with pride and confidence; on its record of wise policies enacted in the laws and administered for the prosperity and greatness of the nation; its record of pledges kept and an unbroken record of consistent and efficient government; and we take a special pride and are satisfied with the record of Theodore Roosevelt, our president. We recognize in him a leader of supreme merit, whose councils are wise and whose administration is efficient. Under his administration the greatness, the dignity and the power of the nation have been magnified and extended upon a basis of permanency that insures the recognition of our nation as the first power of the world.

"We pledge President Roosevelt the support and confidence of the republican party of Idaho in his continuous effort in behalf of the people of the country and their prosperity and happiness. The course of our representatives in congress meets with our earnest approval and we indorse and fully appreciate the able and long continued effort in behalf of the best interests of the state of Idaho by Senator W. B. Heyburn and Congressman Burton L. French.

"We heartily indorse and commend the administration of the affairs of state by Governor Frank R. Gooding as being able, business-like and for the best interests of our beloved commonwealth. Under his vigorous and clean administration every issue has been met with ability and firmness.

"We believe in the enforcement of law and the maintenance of order, and we declare it the purpose of the republican party to sustain these vital principles of government regardless of cost or results.

"The republican party of Idaho stands for the principle of protection along the well established lines that have consistently marked the policy of the national republican party since its organization.

"It is opposed to any attack directed against this great principle in the guise of tariff reform, which term is so elastic as to be subject to any construction between the limits of free trade and the revision of a single schedule.

"We are opposed to any tariff concessions or reciprocity that will reduce the protection afforded raw material and the wage earners who convert the raw material into the finished product.

"We believe in the broad principle of protection wide enough in its scope to include the personal and business interests of the American citizen in every walk of life.

"Idaho is essentially a producer of raw material from its mines, its forests, its ranges, its cultivated fields, which add millions of dollars in value of property to the wealth of the country.

"Were the principle of protection withdrawn or abandoned, all these products would be at the mercy of the competition with neighboring or foreign countries who, because of their cheaper labor, the lesser cost of products and the lower scale of living prevailing in such countries, would either drive our products out of the market or cause a reduction not only of the raw material but also of the labor which prepares it for the market.

"Tariff legislation may safely be committed to the republican party. When changes are necessary the country may confidently rely on such changes being made. They will not be made at the suggestions of the enemies of the party.

"Economy in the administration of the affairs of the state is one of the first essentials of the government, and we declare in favor of its rigid enforcement. We believe in the assessment of the property of all citizens, whether individual or corporate, at a fair valuation, so that the burdens of government may be equalized.

"We are in favor of a comprehensive and effective state anti-trust law, and we pledge our legislative and other candidates to support the enactment of such a law.

"We are opposed to the issuance of passes by the transportation companies to state and other officials, and promise the enactment of legislation which will bring about such reform.

"We favor the enactment of a primary election law in order that elections may be brought nearer the people.

"We pledge our members of the legislature to vote for an eight-hour law for employes in underground mines.

"We commend the work of education being done in our great system of

public schools and in our state institutions and pledge ourselves to every possible encouragement of these institutions.

"We regret the misfortune which has befallen our state university in the loss by fire of its administration building, and recommend that our next legislature take such action as will enable the regents to rebuild the university so that it may meet the demands of our growing state for higher education.

"We realize that the families of working men are not afforded deserved protection because of the absence of an employers' liability law from the statutes of Idaho, and we demand the enactment of such a measure modeled after the national legislation on this subject.

"Realizing the great advantages that will result to our state from the meeting of the National Irrigation Congress at Boise on September 3rd next, we pledge the next legislature to appropriate the sum of \$5000 or so much thereof as may be needed to assist in defraying the expenses of the same.

"Resolved, that this convention shall nominate a candidate of the party for United States senator, and that we hereby pledge the good faith of the party to the election of such candidate by the legislature, and that all candidates for the legislature, whether the same have been heretofore nominated or should be hereafter nominated, are hereby pledged to the election of the candidate of the party nominated in this convention."

MORE SNAW MEN.

The following La Jara dispatch, published in the Tribune, may or may not have come over the wire. But it is just as palpably a lie as if uttered in the Tribune office:

La Jara, Colo., Aug. 15.—"The Mormons can dictate their own terms in Idaho this fall, and this I can declare to you officially," said Senator Smoot of Utah at a secret meeting of the Mormon church leaders held a few nights ago at the stakehouse at Main-street.

In the first place, would you take the word of a person present in such a meeting—the word that violated the secret pledge accredited by the Tribune?

In the second place, would Senator Smoot be likely, in public or secret meeting, to make any such silly announcement? Do men achieve his position in life by the employment of methods so crude as that?

In the third place, the whole story of a secret meeting is denied by reliable men at La Jara, and by the senator himself.

We do not speak in defense of the Mormons, far that is not part of our business here. But the whole publication is made for a single political purpose by the Tribune. Its tone is obviously selected. Easterners are to be asked for money to finance the American campaign. It will not do to tell them the American fight is against the Republican party—which it is. The Keams crowd therefore seeks to impress the Easterner with the Mormon peril, and to impress him hard before "touching" him. So all the impressive accessories of secret meetings, outboard legions, religious leaders, fanatical traitors are worked up in a Tribune front page article, and sent prepaid to that paper's two thousand Eastern victims—as well as to the special list from whom chance contributions may be secured.

The article, further along, says:

Senator Smoot is on a visiting tour to all Mormon settlements in arsons—secretly with the elders and publicly with the people—their liveliest interest in the next political campaign. Mormonism will be checked back fifty years or given a great impetus with the late of Smoot.

But Senator Smoot's fate is not to be decided by Colorado, nor in Idaho—although the Debois campaign is clumsily belated in the forged hodge-podge of alleged news. The blunder-

ing mixture of names and states may not be detected by the "toucher," against whom the Keams schemes are leveled. But they are recognized here, where the voting will be done, and where the Keams fiasco will end at the polls their too-long slander of the name "American."

Mr. WILLIAMS. I think the gentleman from Missouri [Mr. RUCKEN].

This is the article referred to by Mr. HALL of Connecticut and inserted in whole at Mr. WILLIAMS's request, in reply to Mr. HALL's question concerning a portion of it. It was published in the February number, 1904, of Everybody's Magazine.

"WHAT DEMOCRACY STANDS FOR."

"The two great parties are fundamentally divided as Jefferson and Hamilton were. Issues change with changing conditions from year to year, but issues are, after all, but the application of fundamental principles to conditions.

"As to the tariff, the Democratic party stands for the principle that protectionism is a system of taxation whereby many are robbed in order that a few may be hothoused by legislation into artificial prosperity. The method whereby 'protection' does this is by deflecting capital and labor from naturally profitable pursuits into pursuits made by legislation profitable, pursuits which without legislation would have been less profitable or perhaps not profitable at all.

"The ultimate goal of Democratic striving is 'tariff for revenue only,' but in the striving toward this goal common sense, good judgment, and conservatism will prevail and time will enter as a factor. Perhaps it might be said that an ideal 'Democratic tariff for revenue only' would consist in levying import duties upon all or nearly all imports, dividing them, however, into three classes—first, necessities of life and necessities of industries; secondly, comforts; and, third, luxuries.

"TAX REVENUES MUST GO SLOW."

"The general principle that protectionism is wrong, morally wrong, a prostitution of government for private ends, should never be forgotten; the goal ought not to be lost sight of. At the same time friends of tariff reform would not strike down in a revolutionary way, 'over night,' as the Germans say, all the scaffolding which the false system has erected. Even in Great Britain, where free trade was and is possible, free trade was not reached in that way. Duties were reduced amidst the dismal predictions of the advocates of protectionism that 'destruction and ruin,' 'starvation and poverty,' would follow. Destruction, ruin, starvation, and poverty did not follow after the duty was removed. Object lesson after object lesson was thus furnished to the people of the falsity of the claims of the advocates of the old system.

"In this country, owing to the decision of the Supreme Court in the income-tax case, founded on the provision in the Constitution of the United States about direct taxes, the goal can not be, as it was in Great Britain, free trade. 'A tariff for revenue, to carry on a government economically and effectively administered,' becomes the American tariff reformer's goal. It must be kept in mind until it is reached, but it must be reached by the exercise of wisdom and good sense. The tariff reformer who would do things recklessly or too suddenly would run the risk of destroying the very end which he had in contemplation, by furnishing object lessons, which would not help, but would hurt him, and in consequence of which he and those of his opinion might be hurled out of place and deprived of the power of doing anything.

"There is also a tariff revision by placement, which is a hand- maiden of the other system. It is very important in its place, although it ought never to be permitted to handicap the larger movement by general legislation. This is tariff revision by reciprocal trade agreements with other nations. I have always thought that there ought to be about every tariff law some degree of elasticity—a maximum and a minimum—a margin within which, by international trading and bartering, the friends of untrammelled, or comparatively untrammelled, commerce could be rewarded for the admission of our farm and mining products free, or nearly free, encouraged to continue in their course, and others encouraged to imitate it; and whereby also, incident to the rewarding of these, peoples pursuing an initial course toward our commerce could be punished. They could not complain, because they would not be punished directly—indeed, punishment would not be the end in view. They would be punished by their own act, and their punishment could be recited by their own act.

About this time another character loomed up, a man of intense personality, and, like Jackson, he succeeded in making devoted friends and implacable enemies. President or devil is he, for he is nothing between the two. Either he is the greatest statesman of his epoch or the rankest charlatan. His friends believe he is the one, his enemies denounce him as the other. Never in our political history has there been a career so brilliant and so successful. He has done things with public applause that would have convicted Andrew Johnson of high crimes and misdemeanors. He has cracked his whip over Congress as none of his predecessors ever dared do before, and Congress has meekly bowed to his lash. Dulle the Republican cloakrooms of the two Houses have listened to the boasts of the leaders that they would "beat the cat," and then, submissively they voted for his policies from their seats on the floor. Competition shrinks before him. He is greater than the Pyrenees and the Alps. Has he reached his zenith? Who can say?

And that is what the political world wants to know, and intends to know—has Theodore Roosevelt gone as far as he can go? Will his popularity waver? Can he dance the tight rope forever? There is no political issue. There is nothing anti-Roosevelt in the Republican party, and nothing anti-Bryan in the Democratic party. When Mr. Bryan left for foreign parts he commended Mr. Roosevelt to his Democratic following in Congress, and the Democrats took Mr. Bryan at his word and helped to make Roosevelt's chase of the octopus fortunate and triumphant.

When the rate bill came out of the Senate Committee on Interstate Commerce the Klan was not farther from the West than Aldrich's idea was from Dulliver's on that question, yet these two got together as did Knox and Clegg, Lodge and Cushman, Spooner and Long—everybody but Foraker and the two venerable and Democratic Senators from Alabama. No Caesar ever had more captives in his train than has Theodore Roosevelt, one of the ablest, and altogether the most fortunate, of American politicians.

Everybody is thinking about a third term for this man. The Republican party has a search warrant out for a Republican to beat William Jennings Bryan. Ask the first dozen Republicans you meet in the street how to beat Bryan in 1908, and at least five of six of them will answer "Roosevelt." That is the situation in 1906, and it will be even more pronouncedly so in 1908 if the unexpected should happen and the Sixtieth Congress should have a Democratic majority.

Not even did Jackson and Clay so overshadow the men of their times to the extent that Roosevelt and Bryan overshadow the men of ours. The only third man in the calculation is William H. Hoar, and that is only because he is a little red-hotter than either Bryan or Roosevelt, and the socialistic dogma more aggressive than the principles of either of the old parties. Mr. Bryan asserts that his mission is to promote radicalism; Mr. Roosevelt says his endeavors have been to curb socialism. Mr. Bryan is where he is because he thinks the tendency is toward conservatism, if the spur is not applied; Mr. Roosevelt is where he is because he thinks the country is rushing into socialism, if the curb be not applied. Mr. Bryan spurs conservatism; Mr. Roosevelt curbs socialism, and thus the two are exactly in sound punching octopus-chasing and trout-busting and all the lawyers in Philadelphia cannot decide whether Bryan is more Rooseveltial, or

SPEECH

OF

HON. CHARLES H. GROSVENOR,

OF OHIO.

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES,

Friday, June 15, 1906.

On the bill (H. R. 12844) making appropriations for sundry civil expenses of the Government for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1907, and for other purposes.

Mr. GROSVENOR said:

Mr. CHAIRMAN: I know it is ungracious and unpopular that amid the chorus of enthusiasm about the building of the Panama Canal there should be a note of inharmony; nevertheless I shall sound that note.

We have entered upon a proposition that has been the dream of statesmen and business men for very many years, which involves the building of the Panama Canal and the connecting of the two mighty oceans—the Atlantic and Pacific. When completed the Panama Canal will be a world highway, and the enterprise is second in its cost to no enterprise ever undertaken by mankind. It will, in the end, involve an expenditure of money unheard of and undreamed of hitherto as connected with any one enterprise, and it may be wise now to stop and consider something of the momentous importance that attaches to this mighty work. That it will be the greatest achievement of engineering skill, if completed satisfactorily, that the world has ever witnessed, no man, I think, will deny.

Engineers have pierced the mighty chains of European mountains and steel tracks have connected Switzerland with Italy and France with Italy, and the Suez Canal was the wonder of the world in its day, and there are other canals and enterprises of mighty importance, and yet there is not one of them that is significant as compared with this mighty undertaking. If it shall be completed successfully and without duplicating the scandals pertinent to its former history, the Panama Canal will be recognized as the great illustration of what man can do, how he can contend with distance, how he can subvert mountains and obstructions, and how he can redistribute the continents and reunite divided oceans. And as an engineering feat, if thus accomplished, as it will be, the men who originally planned it and the men who have stood over it and fought for it and the men who shall have impressed themselves and their genius upon its form and structure will be noted men, for more than probable that no achievement like it or its equal will be known among men in the future.

AS OTHERS SEE HIM

The anti-"Mormon" campaign now raging in Idaho, under the boss-ship of Senator Fred T. Dubois, does not appear to command the support of the leading papers in that State of either political party. One or two of the small-fry journals are very fierce in their attacks on the "Mormon" people and ardent in their aid to the dexterous and reversible politician. The chief attempt at argument put forth by these Duplestites is that the "Mormon" citizens ought not to object to the proposed test oath advocated by the wily politician, if they are not practicing plural marriage, and are not setting their Church above the government. That may do very well to throw dust in the eyes of non-"Mormons" unacquainted with the situation, but it is the fattest kind of twaddle to people who are posted.

The oath which has been formulated to be incorporated into the laws of Idaho, as we have shown repeatedly, is so worded as to go far beyond the two provisions which those papers mention, and to shut out from the elective franchise every person who belongs to a society which teaches celestial marriage, that is, marriage for eternity, as well as those who contribute anything by way of support of such a Church or institution. This is designed specially to reach the case of every member of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints, and the terms polygamy, plural marriage, etc., are used for the purpose of deception as to the real meaning of the formula.

Apart from that, how would the anti-"Mormon" citizens of Idaho relish the passage of a test oath statute requiring them, as a qualification for voting, to swear that they do not indulge in gambling, intemperance and kindred peccadilloes, which are contrary to the laws of the State and to the regulations of good Christian society? We are under the impression that the chief advocate of the test oath proposition would seem very much himself as being required to subscribe to such a requirement.

NOT ANY.

A correspondent in Idaho requests the Democrat News to state "if there is one or more persons in the Utah penitentiary for polygamy, belonging to the Mormon faith." The writer apparently is not a member of the Church, and makes a number of remarks concerning plural marriage which we do not care to copy, as they have no bearing upon the question that is propounded. The same may be said as regard to the writer's caustic references to Senator Fred T. Dubois, or, as he insists is the right way to spell it, Du Bois.

In reply, we have to say that there is no one connected with the "Mormon faith" in prison charged with polygamy, nor has there been for several years. No proof of the infraction of the laws in that particular has been in evidence, nor has there been any attempt to introduce it in a criminal court. Our correspondent may rely upon this, and if further testimony is needed he can apply to the warden of the penitentiary.

Welfare of Nation Involved.

The President's letter to Mr. Watson is full in as follows:

My Dear Mr. Watson: I hear through Speaker Cannon and Representative Sherman that you have volunteered to give your services to the Congressional committee for the entire campaign, without regard to the effect it may have upon your chances in your own district, and I feel like writing you a word of congratulation and of earnest hope for the success of your efforts. If there were only partisan issues involved in this contest, I should hesitate to say anything publicly in reference thereto. But I do not feel that such is the case. On the contrary, I feel all good citizens who have the welfare of America at heart should appreciate the immense amount that has been accomplished by the present Congress, organized as it is, and the urgent need of keeping that organization in power.

With Mr. Cannon as Speaker, the House has accomplished a literally phenomenal amount of good work. It has shown a courage, good sense and patriotism such that it would be a real and serious misfortune for the country to fail to reorganize. To change the leadership and organization of the House at this time means to bring confusion on those who have been successfully engaged in the steady working out of a great and comprehensive scheme for the betterment of our social, industrial and civic conditions. Such a change will be to substitute a purposeless confusion, a violent and harmful oscillation between the positions of extreme radical and extreme reactionary for the present orderly progress along the lines of a carefully thought out policy.

Next Measures to Take Up.

The interests of this Nation are as varied as they are vast. Congress must take account not of one National need, but of many and widely different National needs, and I speak with historic accuracy when I say that not in our time has any Congress done as well in so many different kinds of endeavor as the present Congress has done. No Congress can do everything. Still less can it in one session meet every need. At its first session the present Congress, in addition to the many tasks it actually completed, undertook several tasks which I truly believe it will bring to completion in its second session next Winter.

Among these, I hope and believe that the bills to prohibit political contributions by corporations and to lower the duties on imports from the Philippine Islands, each of which has been passed by one House, will be enacted into law. I hope and I have reason to believe that favorable action will be taken upon the bill limiting the number of hours of employment of railway employees. These and one or two other measures, the enactment of which I have reason to hope for, are important. But far more important are two measures which have actually been passed, and as to these measures I wish to reiterate that they are not important in a merely partisan sense, but are important because they subserve the welfare of our people as a whole, of our Nation as an entirety. They are important because those who enacted them into law thereby showed themselves to be fit representatives of all good Americans.

What Congress Did for Canal.

In affairs outside our own country our great work has been beginning to dig the Panama Canal. The acquisition of the canal strip was due to the initiative of Congress, and the fact that the work thereon is now being done in the most thorough and satisfactory fashion is due to the action of the present Congress at the session just closed. Only this action rendered the work possible, and the heartiest acknowledgments are due to the far-seeing patriotism of those who made it possible. The digging of the Panama Canal is the colossal engineering feat of all ages. No task as great of the kind has ever been undertaken by any other nation.

The interests banded together to oppose it were numerous and bitter and most of them with a peculiarly sinister basis for their opposition. This sinister opposition rarely indeed ventures openly to announce its antagonism to the canal as such. Sometimes it takes the form of a baseless accusation against the management or a demand for an investigation under circumstances that would mean indefinite delay. Sometimes it takes the form of determined opposition to the adoption of plans which will enable the work to be done not merely in the best but in the quickest possible way. Had Congress been either timid or corrupt, and had not the leaders of Congress shown themselves far-sighted in the matter, the work of building the canal would never have begun, or, if begun, would now have halted.

Evil Work of Opposition.

The opposition to the treaty by which our right to build the Panama Canal was secured, a part, at least, of the opposition even now being made to the ratification of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty, which is one more step in the effort to make peace-ful and secure the waters through which the route of the canal leads, the constant effort to delay on one pretext or another the actual work on the canal—all prove how essential it is that, if the American people desire the Panama Canal to be built in speedy and efficient fashion, they should uphold the hands of those who in the present Congress have so effectively abandoned this work.

No less praiseworthy has been the attitude of this Congress in continuing to build and maintain on a high plane of efficiency the United States Navy. This country is irrevocably committed to the maintenance of the Monroe Doctrine. It is irrevocably committed to the principle of defending and protecting the canal route. But the abandonment of the Monroe Doctrine and its announcement of its intentions to the canal route would both be

absurd on their face if the Nation failed to do its duty in maintaining a thoroughly efficient Navy at as high a point in perfection as can possibly be obtained.

Moderation in Fighting Trusts.

Our external affairs are important, but our internal affairs are even more important, and no other Congress for nearly a long year has, as regards the betterment of our internal affairs, done so much and such excellent work.

The tremendous social and industrial revolution in our Nation have rendered without the need of a larger exercise to the National Government of its power to deal with the business use of wealth, and especially of corporate wealth, in interstate business. It is not too much to say that the course of the country within the last few years and the hearty agreement between the executive and legislative departments of the Nation in taking the needed action, each within its sphere, have resulted in the Nation's, for the first time, definitely entering upon the career of proper performance of duty in these matters.

The task is peculiarly difficult, because it is one in which the fanatical or foolish extremist and the reactionary, whether honest or dishonest, play into one another's hands, and they thereby render it especially hard to secure legislative and executive action which shall be thoroughgoing and effective, and yet which shall not needlessly jeopardize the business prosperity which we all share, even though we do not all share it with an equal equality as we are striving to secure. It is a very easy thing to play the demagogue in this matter, to confuse oneself merely by denouncing the evils of wealth and to advocate, often in vague language, measures so sweeping that, while they would entirely fail to correct the evils aimed at, they would undoubtedly succeed in bringing down the prosperity of the Nation with a crash. It is also easy to play the part of the more obscure agitator, to decline to recognize the great evils of the present system and to oppose all effort to deal with them in rational fashion, thereby strengthening immensely the hands of those who advocate extreme and foolish measures.

But it is not easy to do, as the present Congress and its immediate predecessor have done, that it, sternly to disregard alike the self-interest of those who have profited by the present evils and the wild clamor of those who care less to do away with them than make a reputation with the unthinking by standing in extreme opposition to them. But this is precisely what the present Congress has done. Instead of enacting stringent laws, which were so vague or so sweeping as to defeat their own objects, it has given us an interstate commerce law, which will enable us to exercise in thorough fashion a supervision over the common carriers of this country, while scrupulously safeguarding their proper interests, to prevent them from charging excessive rates, to prevent their favoring one man at the expense of another, and especially a strong man at the expense of a weak man, and to require them to be fully accountable to the public for the service which to their own profit they render the public.

State Supervision a Sham.

The previous Congress, by the enactment of the Elkins law, and by the creation of the Department of Commerce and Labor, including the Bureau of Corporations, had enabled us to make great strides in advance along the path of thus bringing the use of wealth in business under the supervision and jurisdiction of the National Government. For in actual practice it has proved a sham and pretense to say that several states can thus supervise and regulate it. The strides taken by the present Congress have been even longer in the right direction. The enactment of the pure-food bill and the passage of the bill which rendered effective the control of the Government over the meat-packing industries are really along the same general lines as the passage of the interstate commerce law, and are second only to it in importance.

Stand for Protective Tariff.

We stand unambiguously for a protective tariff and we feel that the phenomenal individual prosperity which we are now enjoying is not lightly to be jeopardized, for it would be wiser to the last degree to secure here and there a small benefit at the cost of general business depression. But whenever a given rate or schedule becomes evidently disadvantageous to the

Nation, because of the changes which go on from year to year in our conditions and where it is desirable to change this rate or schedule without too much disturbance of the system, it will be done while a general revision of the rates and schedules will be undertaken whenever it shall appear to the sober business sense of our people, because the benefits to be derived from making such changes will outweigh the disadvantages, that is, when the revision will do more good than harm.

Let me add one word of caution, however. The question of revising the tariff stands wholly apart from the question of dealing with the so-called "trust"—that is, with the control of monopolies and with the supervision of great wealth in business and especially in corporate form. The only way it is possible to deal with those trusts and monopolies and this great corporate wealth is by acting along the line of the laws enacted by the present Congress and its immediate predecessors. The cry that the problem can be met by any changes in the tariff represents, whether consciously or unconsciously, an effort to divert the public attention from the only method of taking effective action.

I shall not attempt to enumerate all the good measures of like importance which the Congress has enacted into law, although some of these measures, as, for instance, the Consular bill and the anti-trust bill, are of wide-reaching effect. I have said enough to show why, in my judgment, you and your colleagues are entitled to the good wishes of all those American citizens who believe that there are real evils in our industrial and economic systems, and that these evils can be effectively grappled with, not by loose declamation, but by resolute and intelligent legislation and executive action.

As a special dispatch was sent from Salt Lake City to respectable newspapers, repeating the story fabricated by or for the Salt Lake Tribune concerning alleged remarks by Senator Reed Smoot in Colorado at a so-called "secret meeting," that gentleman has authorized the Deseret News to state: First, that he pays no attention to anything the Tribune may say about him; Second, that he emphatically denies that on his recent visit to Manassa, Colorado, he made any mention of political affairs in public or in private; Third, that he attended no secret meeting of any kind there, and that not even a priesthood meeting was held as is customary at such general gatherings; Fourth, that he will pay to any charitable institution in Utah that may be designated by his accusers the sum of Five Thousand dollars on proof that he made the remarks attributed to him in the pretended dispatch from La Jara, Colo., published in the Tribune of August 16, 1906, on which the false special sent out from this city was based. The whole story was a malicious fabrication of the kind that is common with that paper.

"For my Church and for that superb man that stands as its recognized head, I wish to say that the Church—I mean the whole body of the people—and the Church is bigger than any man in it—I say that the Church decrees the individual

political liberty of every man and woman in it. I wish to say that the splendid leader of it, to him I give my individual allegiance as a religious leader under God—I say that he recognizes that freedom of the individual.

"If a man pretends to speak in his name publicly—they dare not—but if they pretend in secret and by surreptitious methods to represent him in any other light than as declaring in favor of the separation of church and state and the elimination of religious influence from political affairs, then I brand them liars and hypocrites. It is not true, and for one let me lay my hands upon the man and the evidence and so help me all proper powers, I will bring them to task. They shall not disgrace my Church, nor slander its president. They have no right to do that. The authorities of the dominant Church of this state stand pledged by a series of official utterances running through some years of this policy of right of the individual to be practically free, and henceforth, for one mem-

ber of that Church, I will not tolerate the 'Fussy' Andersons and the rest of them in slandering both the Church and its officials. So far as that question is concerned, it is settled and it is settled in this state in accordance with the sentiment and with the conditions of the American people. No priesthood, however so disposed, can dominate a free expression of the will of the people in the great and grand republic of the west.

POPULAR ELECTION OF SENATORS

Progress of the Movement in Many States.

Philadelphia Press.

The selection of Senators by a popular vote instead of by a State Legislature makes steady progress this summer with almost every week, if it continues in six years a majority of the Senate at Washington will be made up of men owing their seats not to the manipulation of State Legislatures, but to a majority at a party primary or at a regular state election.

In 11 Southern States this Summer Senators have been chosen by party primaries. When the new Senators from Virginia, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Texas, Arkansas, Tennessee and Kentucky are sworn in for the next Congress they will really owe their seats to a popular vote and not to the Legislature which has nominally "elected" them.

One Northern State, Illinois, has just held its primary for the selection of Senator and the summary rebuke of Republican voters to the machine, which sought to defeat Senator Cullom for re-election, shuts the door on any attempt to manipulate elections to the Legislature. In Maine the two party conventions nominate Senators and the Legislature elects whichever candidate gets a majority in the election of legislators. But this is a poor way and a wasteful way.

Oregon has the best plan, better than any party primary alone, in a vote at the party primary first and then a vote on Senator at the regular election. This leaves the action of the Legislature in "electing" a Senator like the election of a President by Presidential Electors, a mere form. This is the reform needed. In Michigan the Republican convention has demanded this change. In Iowa both conventions were in favor of it. In Wisconsin the same step has been taken. An agitation in favor of this reform is in progress in New Hampshire and Vermont.

A movement like this is bound to sweep the country. One-half of the states in which the election of a Senator is just now a vital issue because of the close of a term have thus far adopted this reform. An agitation exists in almost every state in the Union in favor of it. It is a mere question of time when a popular vote will be the universal rule for the selection of Senators.

It ought to be in this state. Why should not the next Legislature pass an act like that of Oregon? If the next Legislature does not act let the next Republican convention take action. When Senator Quay was in complete control the Harrisburg Legislature passed resolutions in favor of popular election of Senators. Let the Republican party follow in his steps in this reform by demanding a popular election, not a mere primary, in the next election of a Senator.

New Jersey is another good state for this reform.

Two Pictures.

For the benefit of students of evolution and sociology, below is figured Mr. BRYAN in his habit as he lived in 1900, standing then by the side of our old and bearing friend the Hon. ADLAI EWING STEVENSON, and Mr. BRYAN as, laden with world experiences and garlanded with the thought of nations, he comes back to his native shores. For the personal history of the Lincoln of Lincoln, for the history of manners and costume, for CLIO herself, the stately Muse who still cannot resist the glories of the trousered, these records of the brooks of the Fearless possess a breathless interest.

The more Mr. BRYAN changes, the more he is the same. He has stood before and sat down with Kings; he has lunched with Chancellors and dined with Prime Ministers; the bryanstone has kissed him; the "producing classes" of the world have clung in expectation to his fateful knees. Yet he is as radical and as conservative as before.

Gaze here upon these breeches and on these:



The splendor of Olympian JOVE is in this head; in such unmentionables would domesticated APOLLO walk in the house of some great ADMETAS, like MOSES CINCINNATUS WETMORE. The wrinkles are getting more complicated, subtle and full of thought. Age tells, but the schema, the division, the science of the folds is essentially one.

Look at these legs that have stalked around the world. Look upon these august portraits of a world statesman. The head grown bald in the service of the pee-pul; the hands that tore down the Cross of Gold; the frock coat of the statesman, the sack coat of the Great Uncommon Commoner; the lips grown thin with emotion bitten in and emotion uttered; all this is as it should be, grand, simple, noble. More majestic, however, of deeper meaning, more authoritative, fuller of testimony to a life devoted to the service of the pee-pul, are these popular and peerless "pants," the same in substance in 1900 as in 1896, but growing more thoughtful and heavily lined with the fugacious years.

It may be said of Mr. BRYAN'S trousers as MACATLAY said of CROMWELL'S realistic portrait with all his warts and wrinkles: They have "power and authority and valor in every rugged line."

BRYAN AT MADISON SQUARE.

Returning from his wanderings on a foreign strand, it is perhaps praiseworthy in Mr. Bryan to make pleasantly flattering remarks to his countrymen to show them that he has not been seduced from his fidelity to democratic ideals by the pomp of royalty and the insidious attentions of feudal aristocrats; but there is a limit to permissible flattery. Mr. Bryan need not have indulged in such a flimsy violation of truth as to assert that "our Nation is in a position to make the largest contribution of any to the education of the world." What can we educate the world in? Our young men and women go abroad to study art, science, medicine, music and history. Can we instruct the world in literature? In business morality? In municipal government? In the administration of criminal law? If we are in a position to be the principal educator of the world, there must be something we can do and teach better than anybody else. What is it? But these matters are trifles.

Mr. Bryan's professed purpose in the Madison-Square speech is to acquaint his countrymen with the fruits of his observations abroad. He remarks with satisfaction that the cause of international arbitration, and therefore of peace, is making progress, albeit slowly. He would not have the Federal Navy used to collect private debts abroad because weak nations will refuse to do business with us when their contracts may open the way to war and conquest. That England be ready to make with this country a general arbitration treaty Mr. Bryan does not doubt, and in the gradual adoption of such treaties he foresees the end of war. So far as one can gather from what he says, the real cause of most modern wars escapes Mr. Bryan com-

pletely. He makes no allusion to the deadly struggle for markets which cannot cease because it is a struggle for existence. This is the cause of all recent wars, and it will continue to originate others until some one nation has acquired world-wide commercial dominion. Many thinkers foresee a universal industrial empire which shall play much the same part in the stabilization of the future as the military empire of Rome in the past. However that may be, the struggle for markets is a phenomenon so significant and sinister that the reader is surprised to see no mention of it in Mr. Bryan's speech and no hint of its influence on tariff legislation.

He objects to the prohibitive tariff on several grounds and he recites a number of difficulties in the way of revision, but he seems not to have perceived that the tariff is really a military measure which helps America, or rather a certain class of Americans, to success in a world-wide and deadly struggle. When the war for markets has been fought out, then the plutocratic oligarchies of the modern world will have no further need for tariffs. Half-way measures against Dingleyism may perhaps achieve some measure of temporary success, but the overthrow of tariffs, not only in America, but elsewhere as well, involves the overthrow of plutocratic rule and the destruction of privilege.

Mr. Bryan's principal objection to the prohibitive tariff seems to be that it encourages men to vote for their financial benefit. He thinks that voting ought to be for political benefit only; but a little later he changes his ground and remarks that political and industrial benefit are fundamentally the same thing. A man in voting for his political advantage does in fact vote for his financial advantage, and Mr. Bryan approves of it. For he says with truth that political liberty cannot long endure when a few trust magnates control the means of livelihood of the masses. As a matter of fact, the common distinctions between political and economic benefit are illusory. Men must vote for their financial or economic advantage, or they will fall into industrial serfdom, and that statesman will be a true friend to his country who shall devise some method whereby we can do so without breaking up the Nation into warring classes. If it is impossible to reconcile the financial interest of the few with that of the many, which ought to prevail in a popular government?

Mr. Bryan has no doubt that the interest of the many ought to prevail, and therefore he advances his other great objection to the tariff that it fosters trusts. Trusts, he believes, are an evil without mitigation or excuse. To quote his own words, they are "a form of legalized larceny," and he understands that it is the mission of the Democratic party to destroy them, root and branch. Possibly this

can go home, though few thoughtful men believe so. But what better off would the consumer be? Could the host of competing middlemen be restored they would extort all they possibly could, and to the prices which the trust exacts they would necessarily add the expense of their wasteful struggle for customers. Mr. Bryan says that any attempt to utilize the economies of trust production and distribution for the public good is socialism, and it illustrates the sheer conventionalism of his mind that the word scares him. A genuine statesman would not be frightened from a great public betterment by a mere word.

LEWISTON, Me., Sept. 5.—Speaker Cannon, of the National House of Representatives, in an address before a large audience at the City Hall here tonight, criticized Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor. The Speaker was introduced by Senator Frye. Cannon said:

Mr. Samuel Gompers has come into your district and demanded the defeat of Charles E. Littlefield, your Representative in Congress—not because Mr. Littlefield has failed properly to represent the people of this district, or even the workmen here, but because he has failed to comply with the dictates of Mr. Gompers, who claims to be a citizen of New York and a resident of Washington.

Mr. Gompers has introduced a new element into American politics. He does not exercise the right of petition; he demands that Congress enact into law his will. He does not appeal, but commands you. If you are a member of the Federation, to go to the polls and vote as he would vote. He does not come here to argue; he publishes a decree in the name of labor, that the public official who refuses to obey his commands shall be retired from public life.

Boss in the Labor World.

On what meat does this new Czar feed to make him different from other political bosses of this day of decadence of bossism? He is president of the Federation of Labor, an honorable organization, which has accomplished much for the wage-earner and is capable of accomplishing much more when properly directed by those who exercise the functions for which they were elected to office in the union.

I have no prejudices against the Federation of Labor. My sympathies are with it in all efforts and struggles to improve the material condition and secure a larger share of the profits of production for the wage-earner. I do not, however, believe in proscription in politics. It is foreign to our institutions, foreign to a government by the people. I am opposed to Mr. Gompers' political methods of blacklisting men who vote as their conscience and judgment and the welfare of their constituents dictate.

It is reported that Mr. Gompers has made an assessment on the members of the Federation of Labor to secure money for use in this campaign. A member of the Federation may be a Republican, in favor of Republican politics, but he is assessed to make a campaign against his own interests, as he sees them, because Mr. Gompers is opposed.

Plan Has Failed in the Past.

Such methods in politics have never succeeded. The old "Know Nothing" party tried this method of blacklisting all who were not native-born. It would have blacklisted Mr. Gompers and other Federation leaders as not qualified to hold public office. But the life of that party was short.

Such efforts will always fail, because man here is a co-sovereign and he exercises his alienable rights to unite with his fellows, be they farmers or factory employees, railroad men, doctors or lawyers, and agree on policies which they believe to be for the best interest of the whole people. I believe the effort to combine the vote of organized labor in politics would fail, even if a majority of the Federation of Labor adopted it. I am certain it will fail as the order of Mr. Gompers and the executive committee of the organization.

The workmen, both union and nonunion, of this country are as jealous of their sovereignty as are the farmers or any other people. They will act with the organization in what pertains to the purpose of the union, and they will follow Mr. Gompers so long as he exercises the functions for which he has been chosen as protector of labor. Hence they will not follow him in his self-assumed function of dictating how they shall exercise their right of citizenship.

Grievances of Gompers.

Mr. Gompers has a grievance against four representatives as he has against President Roosevelt, myself and 40 or 50 other men in public life. We refused to disregard our entire office and enact legislation which Mr. Gompers demands.

He is aggrieved because Congress suspended the eight-hour law on the Panama Canal zone, as it applied to alien labor, not American labor. He is aggrieved because the President has authorized the employment of Chinese labor in digging the canal, because American labor cannot and will not go there. He is aggrieved because Congress would not enact an anti-injunction law, which he approved and declared constitutional.

Some men, among them your Representative and myself, did not believe the proposed law either constitutional or fair to all the people. It proposed to repeal the common law, which is older than our Government, and which by legislation and the decision of the courts, which, under the Constitution, interpret the law, have from the beginning exercised the power to protect property from destruction and damage where the damage would be irreparable.

Unfairness of Proposed Law.

This proposed law demanded by Mr. Gompers in substance prohibited the United States Courts from issuing injunctions in any case between employer and employe unless necessary to prevent irreparable injury to property or to a property right of the party making the application for which injury there is no adequate remedy at law, and in the next sentence the bill provides "and for the purpose of this act no right to carry on business of any particular kind or at any particular place or at all, shall be considered, held, considered or treated as property or as constituting a property right."

This means that what is property and a property right under ordinary interpretation of law shall not be considered property or a property right in a labor dispute. It will be one law for the men who seek to destroy property in a strike and another law for those who seek to destroy property under all other circumstances; one law for the striker and another law for the rest of the people.

All Must Have Equal Rights.

Mr. Gumpson has been elected so because Congress failed to pass that law. He has said he was of abolition. But, speaking for myself, I had rather quit public life now and at the age of 58 quit forever, than to see the distribution of powers to the legislature, executive and judicial, which are a check on each other, thus to retain public office at such a sacrifice to my own self-respect and such benefits to the country.

While God alone has the right to give I will not by any act take from any citizen, be he rich or poor, union man or nonunion, farmer or mechanic, abolitionist or paperhanger, doctor or lawyer, any right which right is given to another. I will not vote for any law which will make fair for one and foul for another. And I believe that by the grace of God and the intelligence and the patriotism of the people in this district the laboring men, Republicans and Democrats, who are the law and order, will put their feet on Mr. Gumpson's proposition because it is un-Republican and un-Democratic and un-American.

Power of the Church.

"We are confronted on one hand by the power of the Mormon hierarchy and on the other by the struggle of our splendid citizens and sentiment in the west to down it. I compliment the Democrats of this state for the splendid stand they are taking on this question."

"The Mormon church, by the testimony (and I want you to understand that the statements I make on this question are all based on testimony—through testimony)—the authority of the church is in the hands of its first president, his two counselors and the 12 apostles. The power of these officials extends everywhere that Mormons live. It has the same effect in Idaho as in Utah. It is the same in Nevada and Wyoming as in Utah and it controls the commercial, political and religious actions of the Mormon people."

"I wish you could all read over the testimony that was taken in Washington. That would be all that would be necessary to convince any one that my contentions are right. It was proven there that the Mormon church is a secret, oath-bound organization—that its members must take an oath of allegiance to the church which is hostile to the government. That fact was sworn to by Mormons who took the oath. They would not tell the exact nature of the oath; they said it was a religious ceremony. They would not reveal what the oath is, but it is a fact that every Mormon who passes through the endowment house must take a secret oath of allegiance to the church, not to the government of the United States."

Public Schools Affected.

"No institution has nearer the heart of the true American than our public school. Religious classes are taught in the public schools in Utah. It is said that in 300 out of 600 public schools in Utah, gentle children are taught the

Mormon doctrine. Utah is not the only state where such conditions are true. They are teaching it in public schools in southeastern Idaho. Children—gentle children of tender minds—are being taught the deeds of noted polygamists, whom they are told to revere and pattern after."

The senator then called attention briefly to what he termed the "bishop courts," which he said constituted a Mormon government within our government. He alleged that disputes between Mormons were seldom if ever allowed to reach the secular courts. They were settled by the church. He told of an instance where a woman, whose property had been conveyed to a Mormon, applied to the church for redress. "The case was appealed from one authority to another until at last it came before Joseph Smith. He decided against the woman and the woman was threatened with excommunication if she demurred. The woman was a devout Mormon. Excommunication in her eyes was worse than death. She lost her property and finally lost her mind and became insane because of brooding over her trouble. They have these trials right along. They pretend to settle all disputes between their citizens."

The Reed Smoot Case.

Speaking of the Reed Smoot case the senator said in part:

"There has been no charge made that Reed Smoot is not a man of high character. He is a moral man in the common sense of the word. He is not a polygamist himself. But the senate committee concluded by a vote of five that he was not competent to be a senator because of the reason that he belongs to an organization hostile to the government, an organization which fosters polygamy. His trial on the report of the committee, is set for the first day of the next session of the senate and before Christmas he will be returned to his people. Mr. Borah is Senator Smoot's attorney of record, and if Mr. Borah goes to the senate he will go as a representative of Reed Smoot and what he stands for and there is no escape from it."

"Our opponents," said the senator, taking another tack, "thought they wouldn't discuss this Mormon question. Now, I believe they will discuss it. There have been many differences of understanding between Governor Gooding, Mr. Brady, Senator Heyburn and Mr. Borah. No two of them have apparently ever agreed. They have been having many conferences, I believe, and I think their last plan was for discussing this question."

Forest Reserve Policy.

"Of course I don't know, but I think Mr. Borah agrees to support Senator Heyburn's forest reserve policy, if he'll make a few speeches in return where they will do the most good. Senator Heyburn, Governor Gooding and Mr. Borah, I believe, are opposed to the forest reserves. I can't say whether Gooding is or not. He has changed his mind four or five times on the subject and I don't know where he finally landed. I am in favor of forest reserves. I would like to know just where Borah will stand—whether he will advocate Heyburn's policy or take the view that President Roosevelt and myself take."

"Without forest reserves irrigation in southern Idaho will end. It will soon be a thing of the past. Fields now covered with waving grain will revert back to their original desert state. The crops will wither and die. If the forests are removed from the heads of our streams that condition will surely be experienced. I know Senator Herburn says that the forests have nothing to do with conserving the moisture; that they do not keep the snows of our mountains from melting too early. I do not agree with him and in my theory I am backed by the entire scientific corps of the world.

Promises More.

"Tomorrow night I am going to speak and will go into this Mormon question more in detail. It is a question which our opponents must answer. If they do not answer it they will not carry any counties in Idaho outside of the Mormon counties. The Mormon menace is in the minds of the people all over the country. More than 1,000,000 persons sent petitions to congress to turn Smead out. There is no chance for the opposition to dodge this issue. They must answer the Mormon question even in Ada county."

stream. Speaking of the President's trust policy the Secretary said:—

The vigorous action which Mr. Roosevelt has taken against trusts through his Attorneys General, Messrs. Knox and Moody, is already beginning to bear fruit. The Puller Trust and the Northern Securities Trust have been dissolved. The mere prosecution and indictment of the Elmer Trust, of the Standard Oil Trust, and of the Tobacco Trust have led to changes in the methods of these organizations, and to an abandonment of some of the more glaring discriminations in rates and prices which were the instrumentalities for preserving monopoly, even before conviction has been effected or final judgment pronounced against them. The fear of the law has been put into the hearts of the members of these great corporations, and this has been due chiefly to the courage, the determination and the intense interest of Theodore Roosevelt in the securing of adequate legislation and its vigorous executive enforcement.

The attitude which Mr. Roosevelt took in the Northern Securities case, Secretary Taft declared, resulted in Wall Street's demand for the nomination of Judge Parker for the Presidency.

The President's Policies.

He then pointed out the absurdity of electing a Democratic House to assist in carrying out the national policies for which the President stands. He thus explained these policies:—

Mr. Roosevelt's policy is to secure, by national legislation and executive action within the somewhat narrow range of Federal jurisdiction over interstate commerce, effective control of those who manage and operate organized capital, so as to prevent them by the misuse of the powerful instrumentalities that organization of capital affords, from unjustly suppressing competition, establishing monopolies and thereby making impossible the benefit from such organization of capital of a reduction of prices and increase of conveniences which otherwise would and ought to inure to the public.

A Democratic House, he said, would paralyze the executive hand by devoting its energies to a series of investigations in an attempt to show that the departments are "honey-combed with

graft," as Chairman Crites announced, and manufacturing material for the presidential campaign instead of helping along the work for which the President stands.

Roosevelt the Issue.

The history of trust legislation and prosecution, Secretary Taft declared, shows that the most active sympathy and co-operation between the Executive and Congress is necessary to meet and overcome the difficulties constantly arising in the work. Continuing he said:—

It is, therefore, just and fair to say that the issue of the present campaign does not involve merely the approval or disapproval of Mr. Roosevelt's policy, but it involves the question whether that policy shall be carried to a successful issue, or shall be defeated by a vote of want of confidence.

It has been suggested at times, as if it were a ground for criticizing the Republican party and the Congressmen who now go back to their constituents for a judgment upon their course, that they propose to make Mr. Roosevelt the issue in this campaign. They do propose to make Mr. Roosevelt the issue, not in what he has said, but in what he has done and what the party has upheld him in doing. The Republican majority in the House and Senate have fully accepted Mr. Roosevelt's leadership, have approved his recommendations, and have stood by him in formulating into legislation that which should enable him to carry out his policy.

Is it wonderful then that the Republican party asks, and the Republican members of the House of Representatives ask, that the electors of the country in determining whether a Republican or Democratic majority shall appear in the next House of Representatives, shall base their decision upon the question, "Do we approve the course of Theodore Roosevelt as President of the United States or do we disapprove it?" The magic of Theodore Roosevelt's name in winning votes, and the deep-seated confidence that the American people have in his patriotism, in the sincerity of his sympathy with all the people rich and poor alike, in the courage of his convictions, in his great ability, and tremendous energy, and in his intense interest in effecting results which shall inure to the benefit of all the people, and especially the less fortunate, may be legitimately used to secure a return of a Republican House to support and sustain him for the remainder of his administration.

Favors Tariff Revision.

After mentioning the other acts of Congress and the Roosevelt Administration which redound to the public good, particularly the pure food law, the Secretary took up the tariff question and refuted the old Democratic contention that the tariff fosters trusts. The best and only safe way to reach the evils of the trusts is, as the President has said, by direct legislation and executive action to compel them to obey the law. Speaking of the difficulties of adjusting the tariff he said:—

Speaking of my individual opinion and for no one else I believe that since the passage of the Dingley bill there has been a change in the business conditions of the country making it wise and just to revise the schedule of the existing tariff. The sentiment is growing in the Republican party, and in the near future the members of the party will doubtless be able to agree on a reasonable plan. But the work of the present session, which was proceeding in its urgency, could never have been accomplished if there had been introduced into

Congress and the councils of the party the heated discussion which is now over the question of the revision of the tariff.

How soon the feeling in favor of revision will strengthen into action cannot be foretold, but it is certain to

come, and with it these schedules of the tariff which have inequalities and are excessive will be readjusted. The reasonable prospect of a revision of the tariff by the Republican party on non-protective lines should certainly be greatly preferred by those who favor revision and yet believe in the protective system to legislation, which is always threatened by the incoming of a Democratic Congress and a Democratic Administration under the battle cry "a protective tariff is a robbery of the many for the benefit of the few," and to the disaster to general business which inevitably follows.

The gentleman from Pennsylvania, in that speech to which I have referred, has done me the credit to say that I wear no mask, that I always insist protection is robbery. I repeat it now—it is robbery; it can not be anything else. That it is robbery, and can not be anything but robbery, every advocate of the system shows conclusively by the results that he attributes to it. Does not the gentleman from Pennsylvania and every apologist who assigns that to its accomplishment the Republican spoliation. Yes, Mr. Chairman, protection is robbery. Its root is avarice; its method is bribery; its fruits, corruption, spoliation, depopulation. [Applause on the Democratic side.]

Washington.

Consider the activities of the department of justice in the realm of commerce and industry since Theodore Roosevelt became president. Roosevelt attacked the great railroad trust in the United States vs. the Northern Securities company, and dissolved it; the beef trust in the United States vs. Swift & Co. for conspiring with railroad companies to suppress competition in monopolizing the purchase of live-stock and the sale of meats, and stopped that conspiracy; the salt trust in the United States vs. Federal Salt company, and he ended its evil practices; the paper trust in the United States vs. the General Paper company, and ended its violations of law; the beef trust again defied the law and he again attacked it by the United States vs. Armour & Co.; and the beef trust was saved in that case only by the famous immunity decision of Judge Humphreys; and then President Roosevelt demanded a law removing that immunity, and we passed the law, and no "immunity bath" will ever again cleanse the beef trust of its sins. He attacked the elevator trust in the United States vs. the Otis Elevator company, and dissolved it; the drug trust in the United States vs. the National Association of Retail Druggists, and that case is now progressing.

Through the interstate commerce commission and the department of justice President Roosevelt has attacked, in criminal proceedings as well as civil action, every violation of law that he has heard of. In five years the department of justice and the interstate commerce commission have done more to effectively enforce laws against the abuses and crimes of business than in the preceding sixteen years all put together. And every one of these has meant not the tearing down of American business, but the building up of American business.

All business is fatally diseased that feeds on fraud; only that business is healthy that lives by those rules of commercial hygiene called the laws of the land.

This moral regeneration of American business has not injured the country's commerce at home and abroad, caused no panic, killed no honest enterprises. We were told not to pass certain laws for fear that they would "hurt business." The president was warned not to execute certain statutes for fear that it would "hurt business." Investigations have been resisted because they would "hurt business." And yet business has steadily improved and prosperity steadily increased.

RECORD OF THE 59TH CONGRESS.

A List of the More Important Measures Passed At Its First Session; the Bills Left Over to the Next Session; and the Propositions That Were Considered and Definitely Rejected.



RAILWAY rates to be fixed by enlarged Inter-State Commerce Commission; rebates and other discriminations penalized; sleeping-cars, express companies, and pipe-lines made common carriers; railway passes prohibited.

Panama Canal to have eighty-five foot level, with locks; Panama Canal bonds to enjoy same privileges as all other United States bonds; Panama Canal supplies to be domestic products.

Pure Food: Label must tell the truth, especially on popular remedies.

Meat inspection, "from hoof to can," at government expense.

Free alcohol, denatured, for use in the arts.

Oklahoma (including Indian Territory) admitted to the Union, and Arizona (with New Mexico) if they agree to union.

Consular service reorganized on merit basis.

Quarantine against yellow fever nationalized.

Niagara Falls to be preserved.

Alaska allowed a delegate in the House of Representatives. Alaska liquor revenue devoted to schools and road-building. Prohibition of aliens fishing in Alaskan waters.

Naturalization safeguarded and made more difficult.

Steamboat inspection made more rigid, due to General Stocum loss. Motor-boats operated for profit required to have Federal licenses.

The Philippines: Application of coastwise law postponed until April 11, 1903. Minor tariff modifications made, and ratio of gold and silver in insular coinage changed. Batan coal mines to belong to the government. Tariff duties collected before 1902 legalized. Naval vessel for Philippine Naval Militia.

Gold bullion reserve in excess of fifty million dollars to be coined. National Bank liabilities limited to thirty per cent of capital.

Employers' Liability Statute: Negligent common carriers within United States jurisdiction liable for damages to employees.

Federal donations to State Agricultural Experiment Stations increased so that within ten years they shall each receive thirty thousand dollars annually.

President's traveling expenses defrayed to the extent of twenty-five thousand dollars annually.

American representative at Constantinople made ambassador, and one hundred and fifty thousand dollars appropriated to purchase legation property.

Production of pure domestic sweet wines encouraged by reduced taxation.

Immunity of witnesses in criminal cases limited (Anti-"Immunity Bath").

United States District judge and court officers for China, and additional judge for New York, southern district, provided.

Destruction of antiquities on United States lands forbidden, and the President authorized to acquire lands which have historic value. Mariposa big tree grove accepted from California. National Park established in Oklahoma and named for Orville Hitchcock Platt. Battle Mountain Sanitarium reserve in South Dakota established for disabled soldiers.

Trade-mark law amended.

Militia efficiency to be promoted by aid of two million dollars annually.

Final disposition of affairs of the five civilized tribes of Indians.

Secretary of the Interior authorized to establish town sites of not more than one hundred and sixty acres each in irrigated areas.

Unlawful wearing of insignia of Grand Army of the Republic and other soldier organizations forbidden.

Secretary of the Navy given greater discretion in suppressing hazing at Annapolis.

Falsely marked articles of gold or silver, or their alloys, not to be imported, exported, or carried.

Sponge-growing in American waters protected.

San Francisco sufferers aided; two million five hundred thousand dollars appropriated.

Extending period for continuous shipment of cattle to thirty-six hours.

To destroy derelicts, steam vessel authorized costing two hundred and fifty thousand dollars.

Numerous lighthouses and beacons authorized.

Census Office directed to collect and publish vital, social, and other statistics.

Waste in public printing cut down one-third.

For District of Columbia: A Juvenile Court, compulsory education, sale of poisons restricted.

Grave of Andrew Jackson, with fifteen acres of land, made a national cemetery. Marking graves of Confederate soldiers ordered.

Jamestown Exposition, 1907, given aid.

Monuments Authorized: King's Mountain battle-ground, South Carolina, \$30,000; landing of the Pilgrims, at Provincetown, Massachusetts, \$40,000; Princeton battle-ground, New Jersey, \$30,000; John Paul Jones, in Washington, \$50,000; Commodore John Barry, in Washington, \$50,000; H. W. Longfellow, in Washington, \$4,000 for pedestal.

Incorporations: Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Learning; Archaeological Institute of America, and Ohio and Lake Erie Canal Company.

Thanks of Congress extended to General Horace Porter for recovering body of John Paul Jones.

Restrictions on Cabinet Officers to prevent deficiencies of appropriation.

Sixty-nine laws enacted authorizing bridges or dams across navigable rivers.

Forty-three acts for the government of the District of Columbia.

Three hundred and twenty public acts altogether.

Three thousand six hundred and ninety Civil War pension acts; six hundred and ninety-six private pension acts.

Bills introduced: In the House, twenty thousand four hundred and seventy-five; in the Senate, six thousand five hundred and fifty-one.

Number of pages of Congressional Record, over ten thousand—a new record.

MEASURES LEFT OVER TO NEXT SESSION.

Santo Domingo Treaty.

Isle of Pines Treaty.

Morocco Treaty to be voted December 12.

Immigration restriction (in conference).

Senator Smoot's right to seat.

Publicity of campaign affairs.

Prohibiting corporation campaign contributions.

Ship subsidy.

To make Porto Ricans United States citizens.

Reduction of tariff on products of Philippines.

United States to own its embassies and legations abroad.

To build government powder factory.

Appalachian and White Mountain forest reserves.

Copyright revision.

Modification of Chinese exclusion law.

Prescribing punishments on high seas.

Codification of Revised Statutes.

Navy to have biggest battle-ship afloat.

Removal of customs duty on works of art.

Swamp reclamation similar to irrigation statute.

Cable to Guantanamo and Panama Canal zone.

Anti-injunction bill.

Eight-hour law.

Nominations of Isthmian Canal Commissioners.

Army and Navy Dental Surgeon Corps.

Increase of Artillery Corps.

To punish improper use of the Stars and Stripes.

Retirement of superannuated Federal clerks.

To establish postal savings-banks and parcels post.

Limiting working hours of railway employees.

PROPOSITIONS DEFINITELY KILLED BY CONGRESS.

Federal insurance regulation.

Making Representatives' terms four years.

Sea-level canal plan for Panama.

The President vetoed eight acts of Congress: four changing jurisdiction of courts, two Indian bills, one pension bill on account of beneficiary's death, and the bill allowing carriage of dangerous explosives on passenger vessels.

Mr. Beveridge stated the issue of the campaign at the outset by asking:

Do you believe in Theodore Roosevelt, that is the question. If you do, you will elect Congressmen and Senators who will support him. Do you believe that American business should not only be the greatest but also the purest in the world? If you do you will elect Congressmen and Senators who will aid President Roosevelt in the policy of purification. Do you believe in increasing the prosperity of the Nation and at the same time upholding the morality of the Nation? If you do you will elect Congressmen and Senators who will unreservedly support President Roosevelt's policy of constructive righteousness.

He turned to the trust question, saying the American people have begun to fight the wrongs and correct the errors of American business.

"The American people intend henceforth to do nothing shall be" combated with consciousness as much as with intelligence. We are in the renaissance of the decalogue in American commerce."

He compared Roosevelt's straightening out of the methods of business to a railroad company's straightening its road, and said:

All Lawbreakers Treated Alike.

And this self-renewal of a free people means the justification of free institutions and the immortality of liberty.

Consider how far we have traveled in reforming methods. In slaying shrews, since Theodore Roosevelt became President, he has proved that old laws, which were formerly declared to be ineffective and impractical, needed only enforcement to remedy the evils at which they were aimed. The Sherman anti-trust act has shown more vitality during the Presidency of Theodore Roosevelt than since its enactment. And where that and other laws fall short of remedying existing conditions, new laws like the anti-trust law have been added.

And all these laws have been enforced against all offenders alike. The Nation's justice has not considered the wealth or influence of the law breaker; and just as a poor man is not permitted to escape upon the plea that he did not know what the laws were, so high-priced violators of our National statutes have not been permitted to escape upon the plea that they have not understood the laws. No man, no corporation, no combination, however vast its wealth, however established and apparently irresistible its power, that does not today stand in awe of the Nation's laws. To Theodore Roosevelt an honest man is an honest man, to be the chief business commander of a continent or its humblest employee, and a law-breaker is a law-breaker, even though he wears the crown of the world's finance. American citizenship means the equality of all before the people's laws and in the people's courts.

He then reviewed the various prosecutions of trusts and the passage of the law to remove immunity, and continued:

People's Conscience Awakened.

Through the Interstate Commerce Commission and the Department of Justice, President Roosevelt has attacked, in criminal proceedings as well as civil action, every violation of law that he has heard of. In five years the Department of Justice and the Interstate Commerce Commission has done more to effectively enforce laws against the abuses and crimes of business than in the preceding 24 years all put together. And every one of these has meant, not the leading down of American business but the building up of American business.

All business is finally blessed that feeds on trust, only that business is healthy that lives by those rules of commercial hygiene called the laws of the land.

These labor laws have not only protected eyes, but they have been points of battle about which the awakening conscience of the people could rally. They have radiated waves of moral resolution all over the country. Where business was believed to be sound, but was really corrupt, the true conditions have been exposed or are being rapidly uncovered by the light. Where methods were innocent, but in effect, they have been charged or are rapidly changing into national customs based on true principles. Everywhere American business is adjusting itself to the eternal standards of right and wrong as well as to the eternal standards of profit and loss.

The moral regeneration of American business has not injured the country's commerce at home and abroad, caused any panic, killed any honest enterprise. We were told not to pass certain laws for fear that they would "hurt business." The President was warned not to execute certain statutes for fear that it would "hurt business." Investigations have been insisted because they would "hurt business." And yet business has steadily improved, prosperity steadily increased.

Has Not Hurt Business.

He quoted statistics of money in circulation, domestic and foreign commerce, agriculture and wages, to prove this last statement. He said:

They said that unless the Roosevelt policy of law enforcement ceased, capital would decline in investment and panic result. And yet there is more than \$2,600,000,000 invested in manufacturing industries today than there were when Theodore Roosevelt became President.

Next, "Equality before the law" the doctrine of our institutions—says the doctrine of our republicanism. Industry's greatest friend, American business needs no better of justice and fairness, be prosperously and the ease of commerce.

This was followed by figures showing the increase in number and wages of workmen, decrease in failures and railroad foreclosures and range of prices of staples. He stated that the people's savings under Roosevelt's Administration had increased from \$2,000,000,000 to \$11,000,000,000, and continued:

Prosperity With Honesty.

These benefits are the essential heritage of the American people during the Roosevelt period. And it is the common man for whom the American Republic was made, the master minds of trade and markets will in any land and under any government. But the purpose of American institutions is to give the common man a chance. The surplus earnings of the common people are more important than the mounting profits of the adventurers of finance. The people have stored almost enough money to again keep them from starvation during a Roosevelt administration.

American business, then, has actually improved and American prosperity has increased during this great era of the moral regeneration of American business. And it is not only a greater business—it is a better business. Who does not know that American business is on a sounder basis today because of Roosevelt's enforcement of the laws? Who does not know that commercial methods are more correct and careful because of the investigations that have been made under order of Theodore Roosevelt? Who does not know that all American financial and industrial enterprises are safer because of the exposure of corrupt practices, in what everybody believed to be that model corporation of the world—the Pennsylvania Railroad? Who does not know that the revelations of the Standard Oil investigation have made all American commerce healthier and purer?

public, and with the railroad rate law would correct many evils. He concluded:

And if it does not correct them all the law will be amended by each succeeding Congress until every wrong and every evil in railway transportation has been eliminated.

For a hundred years we have been tending steadily toward the Nation's control of the Nation's business. The products of the people must be bought from whom to whom, from East to the Westland, from Oregon to Florida, from Arkansas to Maine. Transportation gives them their value. Therefore, railway rates are a tax on every business living in the republic. And from this fundamental fact springs the wrong of exclusive private control of our transportation system and the right of the people who are thus taxed to have a voice in the control of that mighty business. And so it is that the principle of the Nation's control of Nation-wide business is vital. The Government will bring both the people's business and the people's Government closer to the people which both should serve. And not a word of that law would today be on the statute books but for Theodore Roosevelt. The railways said for the Nation, not the Nation for the railways—that is the maxim of honest profit in the railways and welfare of the Nation, alike.

No Poison in Food.

Ever since Theodore Roosevelt has been President he has demanded a law insuring pure food to the people. Now that law is on the statute books. Masters of poison under the name of food, said that that law would "hurt business." But the business which such a law would hurt ought to be hurt. There are

varieties of business whom the American people do better and wrong without.

Nobody has any objection to men making good sums of money; millions, too, are all right—but they are all right only when they money is made by honest methods. Industry which is built up by poisoning the people is a curse to the land, prosperity which is based upon fraud is adversity. The American people want an skill-and-honest prosperity. We want a prosperity which fills the pockets of our business men, but satisfies his conscience as well. We want the prosperity which does not leave a bad taste in the mouth of the Nation. We want our prosperity not only to be great, but also to be pure—a prosperity that will satisfy our moral sense as well as our business sense. But with poison in our food and in our business, too.

Digging Panama Canal.

Ten years ago nobody believed that we would ever get to work on the canal. But that great waterway (the canal is actually

being dug. In less than a decade it will be completed. It is the largest constructive work ever undertaken by man. And the legislation, the diplomacy and the execution necessary to this mighty undertaking are among the largest Governmental achievements in history. All this has been done upon the initiative of President Roosevelt. Let him keep at it. Mind not his hands. Opposing Congressmen and Senators means obstruction not only to the President's general administration, but to the digging of that world waterway. Every Republican vote cast in the United States means obstruction to action in Panama.

Do you intend all this constructive state-shipmanship of Theodore Roosevelt? If you do, return a Republican House to support him to the future.

"The Mormon question will be more potent than it was two years ago," said Judge Stockinger last evening. "We will gain more by it this fall than we did in the previous election. In the southern counties we shall gain many genuine votes and we have nothing to lose in the Mormon following. At the same time I expect to get votes from many of the younger generation of Mormons."

"The young men are growing tired of the church details. In Fremont county I have heard instances, as for example, where a young man had an ambition to run for assessor. He consulted his father who in turn told him to see the bishop. The bishop praised him for his ambition, but informed the young man that Elder Jones would run for assessor at the coming election and that the young man must wait till his turn came. The young men are getting tired of this kind of restriction and many of them are anxious to break away."

"A great many people, two years ago, did not know exactly what we meant by our anti-Mormon plank. Now we have made it plain; that it means the revision of the test oath."

"Will the enactment of the test oath have the effect of disfranchising nearly all the Mormons, or will it have the effect of breaking up church dissection?" Judge Stockinger was asked.

"It will have the effect of breaking up church dissection. The test oath will disfranchise any man living in polygamy or any man holding the doctrine of his church above the laws of the nation. I look for it to break up the church dissection rather than to disfranchise the Mormons."

"As to other features of this campaign, one of the most important will be the exposure of the present administration. Many of the departments have issued deficiency warrants."

"We shall also attack the action of the state land board in granting leases on such extensive bodies of land to the big sheep growers in Fremont county as it has done. The state land board has also committed many other acts which will be shown up to the public."

"Do you consider your plank with reference to the Stockinger constitution an endorsement of the governor's stand or the reverse?" was asked.

"It can not be construed as either. We simply pledge ourselves to uphold the law. That is always done. The law, in fact, takes care of that itself and there was really no need of mentioning it. We certainly do not approve of Governor Gooding's administering himself the way he has done in this case."

"The plank referring to the law granting public prosecutors a change of venue will be an important thing for the state. This plank I suggested myself."

"What will be the effect of your plank referring to the 'six-bit' insurance companies?"

"It will mean that every insurance company that does not pay its San Francisco losses in full will be barred from doing business in this state."

"Will the fact that the republican party endorsed a candidate for United States senator in convention strengthen them?"

"Yes, I think it will."

Judge and Mrs. Stockinger left to-

Fight Shy of Socialism.

It is the part of wisdom and patriotism for us to adhere to the principles of government by which we have made such splendid progress in our National development. They have hitherto served us well, and we should not quickly cast them aside. We have not yet outgrown the principles upon which this Government was founded by our fathers. They are as sound and well suited to the needs of a great people today as they were when they came from the hands of the mighty men of genius who fashioned them in the long ago.

The substitution of socialism, either absolute or in a modified form, would be to strike down the best political system which has thus far been devised by the genius or wit of man, and it would undermine and overthrow the last hope of the lovers of republican government in this world. Those who would take a step toward socialism in the professed hope that socialism may be tracked outstate but a narrow view of the best national interest. It is the part of National prudence to avoid the initial step, though it be but a small one. There is but one safe policy, and that is to hold the Government true to the course laid down by those who founded it.

Ownership Step to Socialism.

Those who advocate the ownership of the railways of the country by the Federal Government or by the Federal Government and the state governments, propose a radical departure from the sound principles which have hitherto guided us. They propose to introduce the Government into a field which is possessed by individual and corporate enterprises—a field which the latter are fully competent to occupy. This departure would be a long step toward dangerous centralization of power and toward the inauguration of a system of socialism, which is the rebellion of the government against the individual. It is not wise policy for the state to wield functions which can be readily discharged by the people in their individual or corporate capacity. Let the government use the word in its general sense; regulate the instruments of commerce, as the Federal Government is now doing, with a determination to secure just and reasonable returns. This it has the undoubted lawful power to do. It can prevent every abuse and prevent every evil. Its authority to regulate and control is plenary.

To insist that government ownership is necessary to guard against abuses is to confess a degree of impotency, which is a libel upon our form of government and an impeachment of our integrity and capacity as a self-governing people. There is nothing more important for us to do in our progress than to keep distinctly in view the natural legitimate functions of government and the natural legitimate functions of the people, whether in their individual or corporate capacity.

Women Lack Courage.

I find in northern Idaho that there is a greater apathy than in the south-eastern parts, where the evil is fast to face with us, but even there we have to contend against the fear that the women have of the Mormon power. The women there, even those of the gentle persuasion, do not dare to voice their opinions as they feel them, and consequently we are put in a disadvantage in trying to get out the vote that we should. The Mormon women, although too coward to be relied upon in emergencies, are fully in accord with our movement, and we receive many confidences from them in secret which they do not dare acknowledge publicly.

A SCURRY POLITICIAN.

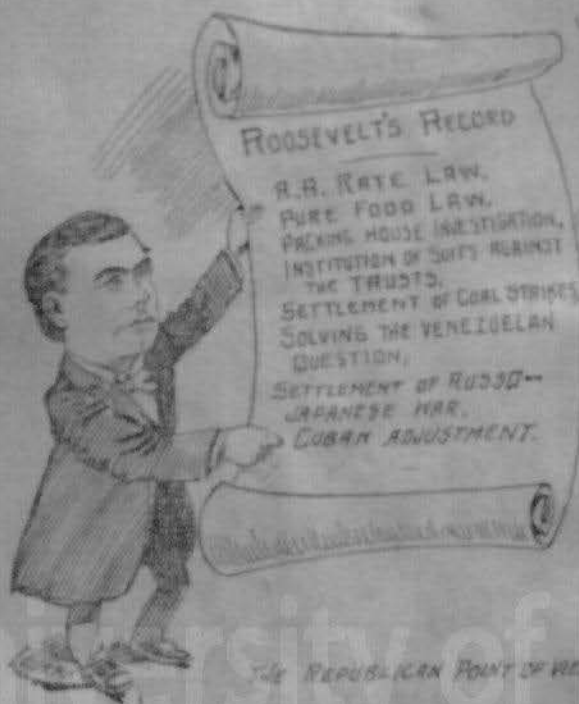
President Roosevelt does well to ignore the letter addressed to him by that desperate and discredited political adventurer, renegade and turncoat, Fred T. Dubois, of Idaho. The letter assumes to instruct the President that "the sole issue in Idaho is the domination of the Mormon Church in our politics." This pretended issue is the latest effort of a discredited political mountebank. The Mormon Church is weak in Idaho, and Mormons have been Democrats hitherto, more than Republicans. But Dubois, who is utterly played out, wants a "new issue," and he attacks the Mormon Church, asserting that it is the "sole issue." It is peculiar enough to see Dubois in Idaho, and Heard in New York, trying to make serious and imaginary "issues" that distract our political system. Is the Mormon Church more foolish or absurd than any other form of churchdom?

The idea that Dubois of Idaho is to assume the guardianship of religion and morals in Idaho is of a piece with the assumption that Heard, of New York, is the champion upon whom the regeneration of New York, civic and social, moral, industrial and political, depends. These are merely grotesque bubbles, blown up to the top of a boiling pot.

Dubois is great on "sole issues." He found one in silver, a little while ago. Now he finds another in the Mormon Church. Dubois is simply that "scurry politician" who "gets him glass eyes," that he may "pretend to see the things he does not."

If there is any "sole issue" in Idaho, the meaning he is put down blatant demagogues and glib murderers. The people of Idaho will not overlook the fact that every effort is being made to prevent the punishment of the murderers of Governor Steunenberg. This is the main "issue" in the election in that state.

The Paramount Issue in Idaho



THE REPUBLICAN POINT OF VIEW



THE DEMOCRATIC POINT OF VIEW

Movement Growing and Certain to Be Effective.

Chicago Tribune.

Delegates representing a number of states, appointed by their Governors, met at Des Moines last week to urge the election of United States Senators by popular vote. They adopted resolutions recommending that the legislatures in 11 states where senators are held this winter apply to Congress to call a convention for the purpose of proposing amendments to the constitution. If Oklahoma be counted as a state the concurrence of 11 legislatures would make it obligatory on Congress to take action.

It is undeniable that for some time the popular sentiment in favor of taking from the legislatures the election of Senators has been gaining strength. On different occasions the legislatures of many states having to that sentiment have instructed their Senators and requested their representatives in Congress to vote for the substitution of an amendment providing for the election of Senators by the popular vote. The House of Representatives has complied with the request, but the Senate has refused to do so. Its members prefer the present mode of election, and unless great pressure is brought to bear on them will cling to it.

The delegates to the Des Moines convention would rather see an amendment submitted by Congress than a constitutional convention called. They realize that many of its members would not comply themselves to the Senatorial question and would demand the modification of the organic law in many particulars, some of them for the worse. The delegates from the southern states would be a unit for the abrogation of the 15th amendment.

It is the hope of some of the friends of the popular election of Senators that if the legislatures which are to convene this winter manifest a disposition to request Congress to call a constitutional convention the Senators will yield and submit for ratification the amendment which they have hitherto treated with scant courtesy. It is by no means certain, however, that the necessary number of states will unite in a request to Congress. No legislature really wishes to divest itself of an important function. Nobody willingly surrenders power. The legislature which appealed to Congress to submit the Senatorial amendment—knowing that it would not do so—may be less ready to unite in a call for a convention. That would mean business. The legislature may suddenly grow lukewarm.

Even if the movement set on foot by the Des Moines convention shall come to nothing, the people will gradually take into their own hands, in one way or another, the election of Senators. If the constitution cannot be amended sometimes it is possible to get around it.

Another fact which was stated by Mr. H. H. H. The next week would be the first time that the people would be able to elect their own Senators. The first time that the people would be able to elect their own Senators. The first time that the people would be able to elect their own Senators.

Shows Seeds of Disaster.

But the worst of Mr. Hearst is that with his great wealth, with his great newspapers, with his army of paid agents, for his own selfish purposes he has been day by day and year by year sowing the seeds of dissension and strife and hatred throughout our land; he would stir labor against capital and capital against labor; poverty against wealth and wealth against poverty with bitter and conductive feeling. He would divide among the great masses of our people that kindly and friendly spirit, that consideration for the interests and rights of others, that brotherhood of citizenship which are essential to the successful conduct of free popular government; he would destroy that respect for law that love of order. What public servant honored by the people's trust has in his conduct with view and vulgar epithets? What leader of our free government has he not caught his readers to believe a certain agency of oppression?

Incitement to Assassination.

Continuing on this subject, Mr. Root said:

Only some had this method of incendiary whose result was the natural consequence—in the murder of President McKinley. For years by the articles and other writings, the readers of the Journal were taught to believe that McKinley was a monster in human form, whose taking off would be a service to mankind. Let me quote some of those teachings.

McKinley continues the deplorable murder of our fathers at Bunker and takes of his confidence in the name of Spain. He steps the onward and stream whitened at the footfall of a progressing War. He makes an international out of his country. He is an object, weak, feeble, insignificant person.

McKinley, he was a dirty, filthy, scoundrel who was to be no more to show that a better, nobler, more in human, is there, than the most degraded and base creature in the lower world, his name is hated, his name is burning in anger.

The best that justice should be done cannot be found in all the West.

Good evening, it is spreading here.

To stretch McKinley on his bed.

and you in April, 1901.

Incendiaries, like men, will last until they die, and, if bad institutions and bad men can be got rid of only by killing, then the killing must be done.

Is No One Left Who Loved McKinley?

What wonder that the weak and malleable brain of Congress allowed to such business as that. Do you know McKinley, he had no real or feared enemies of his own to stir against McKinley or McKinley's government; he was answering the lesson he had learned that it was a service to mankind to rid the world of a monster, and the foremost of the teachers of these lessons to him and his kind was and is William Randolph Hearst and his yellow journals.

Is there no one left who loved McKinley? Are there no workmen in New York who cannot see with satisfaction honors heaped upon the men who is not justice of McKinley's death? The same kind of teaching is being continued now month by month and day by day by the Hearst journals. Its legitimate consequences, if continued, must be either weak dupes playing the role of Congress; other McKinleys stretched upon the bed, diseased and bloody, strewn in place of the reign of peace and order throughout our fair land. It is not the spirit of Washington and of Lincoln; it is the spirit of malice for all and charity toward none; it is the spirit of the assassin, of the conspirator of Edward and of Madison.

To the People of Idaho

In view of the great consequences which will arise from the campaign of 1906, and which may affect for good or evil the destinies of the people of Idaho for a long time to come, I have deemed it proper that a statement should be given to the people of this state relative to the course to be pursued by the Democratic State committee, of which I have the honor to be the chairman.

A convention of the Democratic party lately held in Coeur d'Alene City, has declared in unmistakable words that polygamy and unlawful co-habitation must cease, and that the interference in the political affairs of this state by the Mormon Hierarchy must stop; and it pledged the party, if given the power by the people at the polls, to carry into effect by statutes punishing such offenses, that clause of the state constitution which has heretofore been at once the bulwark of morality and decency in the homes of this state and the weapon of defense against the political domination of an unscrupulous and selfish alien oligarchy which seeks to confuse the religious sentiments of its people by directing them in their political actions.

No partisanship has dictated the course of the Democratic party in presenting this issue, for at all times, disregarding the possibility of deriving advantage by truckling to the Mormon Hierarchy, the Democratic party has sought to occupy the high ground of citizenship, which looks solely to the welfare of the state and the preservation of those homes which are at once the glory and a safeguard of a republic.

We affirm unhesitatingly that polygamy is not only practiced in this state, but is increasing to an alarming extent, and if the people of Idaho will entrust the affairs of government of the state of Idaho, to the nominees of the Coeur d'Alene convention and the legislators from the various counties who endorse the Coeur d'Alene platform, we will pass such laws at the next session of the Idaho legislature as will enable us to prove this assertion, without laws we are powerless to act. We affirm that children, the future citizens of this state, are being born branded with illegitimacy and deprived of their legal birthright and reared in an atmosphere which must undermine their moral natures. To absolutely stamp out this crime, prohibited by the moral sense of mankind and to rescue these little children, so that each may stand equal to the eye of the law, unashamed of its parentage, we appeal to the motherhood of this state to stretch out protecting arms over the children reared in this vicious practice of unlawful co-habitation.

The women of Idaho have been given at once a great privilege and a great duty and we urge them so to act in this campaign that the claims made in their behalf shall be vindicated; viz.: whenever a question of morality should be presented to the people, the votes of the women would be cast fearlessly for the right. Can you, women of Idaho, looking into the clear innocent eyes of your children, fail to help us free the polygamous children of the curse of bastardy? Was it not taught on the shores of Galilee that, "It were better that a millstone were hanged about his neck and he be cast into the sea, rather than he should offend one of those little ones?" Is that not living truth to-day in Idaho? Is not the question whether or not you will continue to permit these little ones to be offended, put straight to the hearts of the women of Idaho to-day in this campaign: or, whether joining with us, you will put down forever the practice of polygamy in this state. There have appeared apologists for the old polygamists but who, if not the women of this state, shall be heard in defense of their young children.

The state of Idaho stands pilloried before the United States, placed there by the sworn testimony of representative French before the Reed Smoot investigating committee of the U. S. Senate, where sitting between two polygamous apostles of the Mormon church, he unblushingly testified that the people of Idaho condoned the crime of polygamy and unlawful co-habitation in the cases of old polygamists. Do you women of Idaho condone the birth of the children of the old polygamists, tainted from their infancy by this system of crime? (Last July a 43rd child was born to the 3rd polygamous wife of Jos. F. Smith, President of the Mormon Church.) Are we to allow this statement to stand regarding Idaho, or will the earnest man and woman of this state repudiate it?

No less momentous in its effects upon the future of Idaho is the interference in political affairs of the Mormon Hierarchy. As is well known, the Mormon voters held the balance of power between the two great parties, the Republican and Democratic, and these Mormon votes are absolutely controlled by the Hierarchy. It is possible for the authorities of the Mormon church sitting in Salt Lake City, to say to either party in Idaho, "If you will agree to our demands, we will place you in power." It can say to any individual of either party, "If you agree to support measures favorable to us, we will make you senator, governor or put you in whatever office you may aspire to." Is not this great power inimical to the best interests of the State? Will it not build up in our politics the system of "bossism", to trample on the aspiration of our people? Was not this great power of the Mormon Hierarchy lately exerted at Pocatello, when in a convention in which three polygamists sat, two were permitted to prepare a "slate" and pared out the offices of this state, without regard to the choice of the people, but always with the approval of the Mormon leaders? The motto of that convention seems to have been, "If we can please the Hierarchy, the people can be disregarded."

Have we not seen in Boise the polygamous apostle, John Henry Smith, of the Mormon church endeavoring to coerce a legislature and to change the clear provisions of the constitution of Idaho against polygamy, which he said were so objectionable to his people, and has not this been testified to by leading Republicans of Idaho?

Have we not seen the polygamous apostle, Matthias Cowley, masquerading as a book agent and visiting homes in Oneida County with the statement that inasmuch as he was the spiritual advisor of the people, they must listen to him in political affairs? Have not the people of this state seen apostle Pentose, likewise a polygamist, leaving his office in Salt Lake City and coming at the request of political leaders in Fremont County Idaho, and changing its political complexion in a night? Is there, in this demand that the Mormon Hierarchy should refrain from interfering in the political affairs in Idaho, any partisan politics? If so, then the evidence of leading men both in the Democratic and Republican parties must be disregarded. Who can view the last session of the Idaho legislature without the blush of shame mantling his cheek? Did not representative Alney, a Republican of Canyon County, stand up in the house of representatives and declare that he had been approached by members of this ecclesiastical organization and told that if he voted for certain measures, his usefulness as a legislator was ended? Have the men of Idaho become so docile in their submission to Joseph F. Smith of Salt Lake, that such a statement can be made by one of their representatives and they not resent it? Was it partisan politics, when acting under their constitutional duty, the judges of the Supreme Court of this state, wisely suggested to the legislature of this state that a change of venue bill be passed, in the interest of justice? And yet was this Democratic politics when this measure advocated by the Supreme Court (composed of two Republicans and one Democrat) and introduced by a prominent Republican as Judge Richards of Ada County in the House, the Mormon speaker left the chair and descending to the floor of the House, characterized the bill as the weapon of character assassins and with passion, declared it an insult aimed at the Mormon people. Why? When this change of venue bill was being discussed in the Senate, Senator McBeth, in

advocating its enactment, stated that if this bill should be passed, it would be the death blow to polygamy, and on this statement notwithstanding the recommendation of the Supreme Court of the state, and in order to continue this abhorrent practice, the influence of the Mormon Hierarchy in the Senate forthwith killed it.

Are the citizens of Idaho who are striving to lift Idaho to the high plane occupied by her sister states in civic authority and public morality, to be called partisans, when they insist that laws which have proved efficacious in other states in preventing disease and in fostering public health, be adopted in this state? If in agitating against the control of the affairs of Idaho by the Mormon Hierarchy, we be called partisans, we point to the experience of Dr. France, Republican representative from Shoshone County in the last legislature, as an example of the power of the church, to oppose and defeat the best interests of this people. Dr. France, at the request of the State Medical Board, introduced a Board of Health bill which in effect provided the machinery for stamping out epidemics and contagious diseases, and provided for the collection of the vital statistics of the state. Idaho is the only state of the American union which has not such a law and to the credit of the medical profession of this state, they endeavored to place Idaho in line with the best medical and scientific information by collecting and copying the best parts of each law from the different states on this subject. Dr. France introduced this bill and was thereupon told by the representatives of this Salt Lake Hierarchy that if he advocated the provision regarding the registration of births, it could be passed; otherwise, it could not. Upon his refusal to truck to this plainly immoral demand, the bill met the same fate as its predecessors by being defeated at the hands of the Mormon influence. Thus to hide the evidence that they still preach and practice polygamy, the Salt Lake hierarchy have exposed the people of Idaho to contagious disease and possibly death, by keeping the state from having the necessary machinery to effectually quarantine against disease.

There is but one issue to be presented to the people of the state, in view of these incontrovertible facts above stated, viz., whether or not the people of Idaho shall enjoy political independence, and whether or not they shall choose this state of the citizens now being practiced within its borders. I shall not permit the personalities of the different candidates to enter into the discussion, but I shall insist at all times that the question of the equality of the home and political liberty be greater than the separation of candidates; that the great question be answered and settled at the polls in November, is whether there shall be effectively suppressed and individual political liberty be preserved to each citizen of Idaho. We must make sure that the state lives before we discuss the question of politics.

I am not appealing to the partisan sentiment of the Democratic party, but rather I am addressing to this campaign all the citizens of Idaho regardless of party; to Democrats and Republicans alike, because their interests are being injured in the most vital places; in the women of Idaho regardless of party affiliations, because crime is practiced in this state which particularly affects them. We have before us the ever continuing struggle of a Democracy—the preservation of a liberty dearly bought and heroically maintained. It is a fight for first principles and all that is most dear to men.

Before any other question can be answered, the people of this state must, by their solemn votes, affirm that liberty is dearer to them than their party affiliations and that the purity of the home must be preserved and that children born in this great commonwealth shall live the world without a stain upon their birth. For the accomplishment of these great ends, I appeal to the whole people of Idaho to unite with the Democratic party, so that the pledges of its platform may be enacted into the laws of the land.

Boise, Idaho, August 30, 1891.

(Signed) H. W. LOCKHART, Chairman.

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