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When William Jennings Bryan, democratic Democrat, fraternally advised the Kansas City convention four years ago that he would not accept its nomination on any platform inconsistent with his convictions upon living political issues, doing so before his nomination, before the adoption of a platform, and after advising the country fully as to his convictions regarding what he held to be living issues, the Republicans and their pluto-Democratic allies denounced him as a dictator and warned him that "no man is big enough to be bigger than his party." But when Alton Brooks Parker, plutocratic Democrat, imperiously demands of the St. Louis convention this year, that it violate the terms of a harmony-platform compromise made in his behalf by his own political managers, with reference not to what he holds to be a living political issue but what he declares to be a dead one, doing so after the adoption of the platform, after his nomination, and as the climax to a sphinx-like silence regarding his convictions on all political issues, living and dead, a silence maintained throughout his long canvass for the nomination, the same Republicans and their same pluto-Democratic allies laud him as an honorable man and praise him for being "bigger than his party." What does this contrast mean?

Judge Parker asserts that the gold standard is permanently established. That is not true, for no policy can be permanently established so long as popular opinions alter and political power

shifts. But if Judge Parker believes it to be permanently established, why has he insisted upon resurrecting the issue? Until the convention met, Bryan was held up to public odium in the party upon charges of endeavoring to prevent harmony by injecting the "by-gone silver issue" into the campaign. The charges were untrue, and were frequently so denounced by Mr. Bryan; but that does not affect the present question. When Bryan came to the convention he came as a harmonizer. Appreciating the overshadowing dangers to the country of advancing militarism, he declared his willingness to subordinate all differences for the purpose of uniting the party on this and other issues over which its counsels are undisturbed. And he made his declaration good. He agreed with Judge Parker's managers to treat the money question as not an issue in this campaign. He agreed to omit all reference to income taxation, to asset banking, and to contraction of the currency by melting down the silver dollars and retiring the greenbacks. Everything was conceded by him to secure that harmony which the plutocratic Democrats insisted could not be secured so far as their faction was concerned, if the money question were allowed to enter into the campaign. But after all these concessions had been made and harmony thereby secured, Judge Parker himself injected the "by-gone silver question" into the campaign and disrupted the party harmony for which his friends and the plutocratic Democrats generally have pretended to be solicitous and which Mr. Bryan secured. Why did he do it?

Another question arises. Judge Parker selected his own "running mate." There were at the convention numerous candidates for Vice

President, but Senator Davis was not one of them. Neither had he been thought of in connection with the Presidency. Beckwith of Kentucky, Williams of Mississippi, Williams of Illinois, Hearst of New York, Bailey of Texas, Olney of Massachusetts, Pattison of Pennsylvania, Kern of Indiana, Wall of Wisconsin, Cockrell of Missouri, Gray of Delaware, Nelson A. Miles were all Vice Presidential "possibilities" in the party sense. In that sense Davis was not a "possibility." But when the convention in effect referred this nomination to its candidate for President by referring it to his instructed delegation in the convention, his delegation, speaking for him, selected Davis. Why? Davis is a "free-silver" man. Did Judge Parker and his friends select him in order to restore the harmony he had disturbed, or to intensify the disturbance?

While a "free-silver" man, as is Bryan, Davis is not a democratic Democrat, as Bryan is. He is a plutocratic-Democrat, with all that implies—possessor of a vast fortune in monopolized lands, in his case coal-mining lands; close affiliations and responsive sympathies with the votaries of "frenied finance;" and a predisposition to the timidity, so characteristic of capitalists and sheep, which makes the fears of one the fears of all and thereby lends plausibility to the socialist concept of "class consciousness." Mr. Davis, moreover, has a son-in-law, Stephen B. Elkins, who is the plutocratic boss of the State in which both of them live. Added to all this, Mr. Davis is 81 years of age. In choosing him other reasons may have prevailed than Davis's willingness to swell the campaign fund and his ability to reach the plutocratic corruption funds that have for the past two campaigns gone to the party of his masterful son-in-

law; but no other reasons are apparent. Why was Davis chosen?

In the very improbable event of the election of Parker and Davis, interesting contingencies are possible. Mr. Davis may live through the term, retaining all his intellectual faculties; men of 80 do live on, not infrequently, for four years. In that case, his election will prove to have been unimportant. Judge Parker may very probably survive the full term, for he is young and robust; in that case nothing serious may occur out of the ordinary or the expected. But suppose President Parker—presuming, not without violence but merely for the sake of this speculation, that Judge Parker becomes President Parker—suppose President Parker should die in office. What then?

If Vice President Davis—another violent presumption—were to retain the full possession of his faculties he might, in case of Parker's death, administer the Presidential office fairly well, even at his great age, except of course, that he, a "free-silver" man, would not follow the example of his predecessor in regarding the gold standard as unalterably fixed. But suppose him to have lost his mental poise through senility—not sufficiently to incapacitate yet enough to make him open to influences from stronger minds—a presumption by no means violent, who then would in all probability administer the Presidential office in his name?

The obvious inference regarding a man in that condition is that he would yield confidingly to the most dominant member of his own family, if that member were tactful; and in these circumstances the Democratic party might enjoy the exquisite thrill of seeing the highest official authority within their power to confer, cynically exercised by a deputy no less distinguished than the Republican Senator from West Virginia, Stephen B. Elkins.

Or suppose that both President

Parker and Vice President Davis were to die in office. This may be improbable, but the improbability is diminished almost 50 per cent. by the fact of Mr. Davis's great age. At any rate let us face the possibility. What would probably occur in that event? The answer may be evoked by the inquiry: Whom would President Parker probably have called into his cabinet as Secretary of State? Without gross ingratitude he could have called no other than David Bennett Hill. In that event, supplemented by the death of Parker and Davis, David Bennett Hill would be President of the United States.

It is not a pleasant outlook for self-respecting Democrats even if they win at the elections. Few of them can contemplate with satisfaction the fact that if they win there will be but one life—robust it is true, but uncertain nevertheless—and an octogenarian's mental poise, in the way of Stephen B. Elkins's acting as the political guardian of their administration; and only two lives, one of them exceedingly precarious, in the way of a back-stairs ascent by the notorious David B. Hill into the Presidential chair.

But all this is remote speculation. Not so much because it involves Parker's dying in office, nor because it contemplates Davis's falling under the influence of his Republican son-in-law, nor of his dying to give place to Hill. It is remote because there is no reasonable probability of the election of Parker and Davis.

In the first place, they do not appear to stand for anything vital in opposition to the Republicans; and, irrational as it may seem to some of us, the masses of the people almost always prefer an "in" to an "out" when it is only a question of "ins" or "outs." In the next place, Parker has already alienated every independent voter whose convictions are not in substantial agreement with his. For another thing, the Parryistic tone

which envelopes the whole Democratic situation at present with reference to labor, not to mention Davis's antagonism to labor unions, is well calculated to repel Republican workingmen of the organized labor class and to drive out Democratic workingmen of that class. Another serious consideration is the Negro vote of the Northern States.

There has been a strong tendency among thoughtful Negroes of the North, since the Republicans have dropped Lincoln's principles and the Democrats have taken them up, to come over to the Democratic party and join in the new anti-slavery fight of democracy against plutocracy. In a little time this tendency would have become a landslide, and those Northern States, where the Negro vote holds the balance of power, of which there are several, would have swung out of the Republican column and into the Democratic. But under the influences which now dominate in the national Democratic party, it must be conceded that no thoughtful and self-respecting Negro can vote for the Democratic Presidential ticket this year without stultifying his citizenship and insulting his race.

It is to be hoped, however, that none of these repulsions and alienations will prejudicially affect local and Congressional Democratic candidates who are at heart out of sympathy with the anti-labor, anti-Negro, and plutocratic influences that envelop the Presidential ticket. This is the time of all times when independent Democratic voters should distinguish intelligently between the plutocratic and the democratic leaders in their party. Let all be discriminating and let all be patient, remembering Mr. Bryan's suggestion this week in favor of organizing not a futile party outside the Democratic party, but a virile division inside the Democratic party. This is the true policy for the democratic-Democracy.

The Chicago Chronicle is something like Artemus Ward's kangaroo, which was a "komical kuss." The Chronicle began life in 1895 as "the only Democratic paper in Chicago," and has been reared through the careful nursing of John R. Walsh, banker, plutocratic Democrat, head-center of Republican-Democratic rings, chief manipulator of politico-business deals and expectant partisan of Grover Cleveland's fourth candidacy as President. In 1896 the Chronicle "bolted" the Democratic ticket, and lost so heavily in circulation in consequence that it took the other tack in 1900. But no one trusted its democracy then, and it gained nothing by its spasm of pretended loyalty. Since the defeat in 1900, which it feebly tried to prevent but over which it strenuously rejoiced, it has masqueraded as an independent Democratic paper. The mask was thin, however, for the paper exhibited no signs of democracy beyond advocating the candidacy for 1904 of the nominal Democratic Cleveland. And now that Hill has side-tracked Cleveland with Parker, the Chronicle with refreshing honesty throws off its mask and openly declares itself to be what for the most part it has actually been, "a Republican" paper. Since Mr. Walsh owns the Chronicle and dictates its policy, it is to be presumed that he also is ready to renounce his pretenses of Democracy and henceforth to label himself honestly as "a Republican" plutocrat. Mr. H. W. Seymour, the publisher of the Chronicle, is already on record, in an interview in the Chicago Tribune of the 12th, as saying that Mr. Walsh is "as good a Republican as anybody."

The Chronicle becomes a Republican newspaper on the ground, so it says, that the St. Louis convention demonstrates that the Democratic party is "subservient to Bryan," and that it "is Bryan." It is uncertain where the Chronicle obtained the information which led it to this conclusion. Its own dispatches from St. Louis would not justify it at all. In the

Chronicle of the 9th F. E. Sullivan, the Chronicle's special correspondent at St. Louis, asserted that Mr. Bryan "had no more to do with" the omission of a money plank from the platform "than any other single member of the majority of the committee on resolutions; and "as a matter of fact, Bryan exercised no influence in the committee. He was regarded there as a repudiated, dethroned leader, whose presence was a misfortune and a harbinger of fresh disaster," and who "can never rise again." But the Chronicle never was strong on consistency. The comical thing about its last move is that it has been trying hard to force Bryan to "bolt," and now Bryan has made it "bolt." If all the plutocratic Democrats would follow Walsh's example, and all the democratic-Republicans would come into their vacated places in the Democratic party, American politics would be much improved.

To speculate upon the present political situation may be rather profitless, yet some possibilities of speculation are peculiarly interesting. Through Belmont, the plutocrats have invested probably a million dollars to capture the Democratic organization and nominate Hill's silent man. But they have done this less with a view to his election than to whipping Roosevelt into line by scaring him with a Wall street adversary at the polls. Should Roosevelt satisfy the Wall street crowd that he will walk their chalk line, they will naturally enough prefer Republican to Democratic success; though they are not likely to get excited over an election in which they "stand to win" no matter which candidate is returned. In these circumstances they will probably make comparatively small financial contributions to each party, and await the "safe and sane" result with indifference. One-fourth of \$15,000,000, the amount they are reported to have disbursed to defeat Bryan in 1896, might seem to them a reasonable business investment, the amount to be about equally divided, but they are not likely to go much

deeper into their pockets than that. Having "a sure thing" they are unlikely to see any reason for spending money except to keep the politicians in good humor. Yet they may count without their host when they presume upon Roosevelt's good humor over a divided campaign fund and feeble plutocratic support. He is not the silent man that Judge Parker is. On the contrary he is just the man who would show his teeth and break silence if overtures to him by the plutocratic rings were distasteful. In that case they would be exposed as sure as fate, and that would be disastrous to their hopes for "safety" and "sanity."

ANALYSIS OF THE ST. LOUIS PLATFORM.

Considered simply as a party creed, framed by representative men from all sections of the country, who were moved by strong diverse opinions and many conflicting prejudices, the St. Louis platform appeals to us as one of the best, if not the very best, the Democratic party of the nation has ever sanctioned.

It is far from perfect, both in generals and in details. Few thoughtful men, whatever their opinions, would be willing to accept it without reservation or modification. But no platform that any thoughtful man would accept unreservedly and unconditionally is ever likely to be adopted by a large deliberative body, representative of the people of a country as varied in the character of its inhabitants as ours, if its members act in freedom. Platforms promulgated by such bodies are necessarily resultants not only of conference and conversion, but also of compromise—more of compromise, perhaps, than of anything else.

With this understanding we unhesitatingly pronounce the platform good. But for the bad taste in the mouth left by the manipulators of the convention and the plutocratic and pro-slavery atmosphere of the occasion, one might foresee an ideal campaign upon it, and look hopefully forward to success at the election.

Even the Negro question is dealt with considerably. Taken

in connection with the declaration on that subject of the Republican platform, to which it refers as its own reason for being, and ignoring the pro-slavery spirit which called it forth, this plank is unobjectionable.

No one can deny that "the race question has brought countless woes on this country." No one would deny that "the calm wisdom of the American people should see to it that it brings no more." We should all deplore the revival of "the dead and hateful race and sectional animosity in any part of our common country." Moreover, upon reflection we may all "deprecate and condemn the Bourbon-like, selfish, and narrow spirit of the recent Republican convention at Chicago" in demanding that representatives in Congress and in the electoral colleges shall be reduced in proportion to discriminations in the Southern States against voting by illiterate Negroes, if such reductions are not also made in proportion to like discriminations in Northern States against voting by illiterate whites.

The Constitutional provision on this subject is very clear, and it is entirely fair if fairly enforced. It is part of the Fourteenth Amendment and reads as follows:

When the right to vote at any election for the choice of electors for President and Vice President of the United States, Representatives in Congress, the executive and judicial officers of a State, or the members of the legislature thereof is denied to any of the male inhabitants of such State, being 21 years of age and citizens of the United States, or in any way abridged except for participation in rebellion or other crime, the basis of representation therein shall be reduced in the proportion which the number of such male citizens shall bear to the whole number of male citizens 21 years of age in such State.

The objection to that clause is not that it authorizes reduction of representation, but that it does not authorize it for enough causes. It is incomplete, not obnoxious. There should be no exception for denial of suffrage to women; none for its denial to children under age; none for its denial to aliens; none for its denial to rebels; none for its denial to criminals; none for its denial to anybody. The basis of every State's representation in Federal affairs should in

fairness be its voting population and only its voting population. But this Constitutional provision, even if not complete, is fair as far as it goes. It ought to be enforced, but enforced without sectional discriminations.

If a Southern State disfranchises its male Negro population, whether frankly for race reasons or indirectly on grounds of illiteracy or pauperism, that State should not be allowed to estimate this disfranchised Negro population in the basis for its representation in Congress and its numerical power in the Presidential electoral college. To allow it to do that is unfair to States which do not disfranchise. It enables the governing class of the disfranchising State not merely to disfranchise, but in effect to vote in behalf of the disfranchised upon Federal questions. Whether disfranchisement be excusable or not, there is no excuse for giving political power to the disfranchised and then allowing others to exercise that power.

But this is no more true of disfranchised Negroes in the South than of disfranchised whites in the North. If any State has an educational qualification, or a property qualification, the illiterate and the propertyless who are thereby disfranchised, whether white and in the North or black and in the South, ought not to be estimated in fixing the basis of Federal representation. If, then, the Republicans do not propose to discriminate against Southern States nor with reference to the race question in enforcing the Constitution in this particular, their condemnation by the Democratic platform is unjust. But if they are proposing such discrimination—and their platform certainly implies it—then the Democratic platform condemns them justly.

When this plank is considered in connection with the plank on American citizenship, there is nothing serious to complain of from the point of view of race rights, for the latter pledges the party "to insist upon the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad, and to use all proper measures to secure for them, whether native born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed, the equal protec-

tion of laws and the enjoyment of all rights and privileges open to them under the covenants of our treaties," etc. This may seem like a pledge with reference only to travelers or foreigners abroad, but "the just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad," is a phrase that will not bear that limited interpretation.

The Philippine plank of the St. Louis platform is all that could be desired. It is an unqualified and uncompromising demand for Filipino independence. There are no "weasel" words in this plank. It is a straight-forward, manly declaration which the party, if it comes into power, must either execute by arranging for immediate independence, or flatly repudiate. It cannot excuse practical repudiation by reference to qualifying clauses, for there are none.

There were such clauses, however, in the sub-committee's report. That report filled the plank with "weasel" words, making Philippine independence to depend upon some future time when it can be granted "wisely and safely for the Filipinos themselves, and after amicable arrangements with them concerning naval stations, coaling stations and trade relations, and upon suitable guarantees of protection to all national and international interests." The striking out of this deceptive verbiage was Mr. Bryan's work. He made the pledge one which cannot be evaded.

Whatever opinion may be held regarding the efficacy of the specific remedies proposed for trusts, the statement of principle in connection with the trust question, which denounces "private monopoly" and demands "individual equality of opportunity and free competition," is fundamental and sound. By that standard the trust question can be settled and settled right.

Here again we are indebted to Mr. Bryan's democratic impulses and his master hand, for the sub-committee had dealt very gingerly with the trust question, and Bryan induced the resolutions committee to be courageous.

On the tariff question also the

platform makes a fundamental declaration of principle of extraordinary value in honest politics.

Specifically this is a tariff-for-revenue plank. It favors the reduction of the tariff to the basis of the needs of the government economically administered. Under the Constitution as now construed, this is probably as far as the party can go. But it is a great advance. "Tariff for revenue only" is far and away beyond Cleveland's go-lightly "tariff reform."

Yet in principle the platform stands for free trade to the farthest limit that is economically possible; for it denounces "protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few." This is substantially the plank Tom L. Johnson tried to get into the platform of 1892. His phrase was "protection is a fraud." But he had to consent to have this changed to "Republican protection is a fraud," before the Ohio member of the committee on resolutions, Lawrence O'Neil, would take the responsibility of bringing it in as a minority report. We now have Johnson's full and true sentiment—protection is robbery.

And for this also are we indebted to Mr. Bryan. As reported by the sub-committee the platform in its tariff plank was a timid, apologetic and indefinite promise of gradual revision. As it stands it is for tariff for revenue in immediate purpose and for free trade in principle.

The value of these general statements of fundamental economic principle has but little necessary relation to the possibility of electing the Democratic candidates this year. That is a matter of small moment in comparison with the fact that the Democratic party in 1904, by unanimous action of its national committee on resolutions, and the unanimous vote of its national convention, has declared as part of the party creed, not perfunctorily but clearly and with definite aim, some of the most vital principles of democratic government. To these declarations all future conventions can be referred as to Democratic landmarks, and be effectively urged to conform. With so much gained—recognition of the natural law of competition, demand for a "rev-

enue only" tariff, and denunciation of protection as robbery—it is not too much to hope that a rapid even if fluctuating pace will soon be set by the Democratic party in the direction of adjusting to these general principles the appropriate and logical matters of detail which relate them to current public affairs.

No analysis of the St. Louis platform would be complete without considering the contest over the money standard plank and Mr. Bryan's conceded victory regarding it. The sub-committee inserted a plank declaring that—

The addition to the world's stock of money metals of \$2,000,000,000 in eight years, of which the United States has been able to obtain \$700,000,000, has settled the question of the monetary standard of this country and removed it from the field of politics.

This plank was, upon Mr. Bryan's motion in the resolutions committee, struck out by a vote of 35 to 15, and the platform was adopted by the convention with that plank omitted. The convention therefore left the gold standard question an open one to be dealt with freely in the future.

Nor is this situation of suspense at all changed by Judge Parker's dispatch and the convention's reply. That correspondence amounts to nothing more than that either a gold standard man or a bimetalist may properly be a candidate on the platform, because the platform is silent upon the money question, taking sides neither with the silver men nor with the gold men. Thus the financial question is not necessarily abandoned; it is merely suspended to be revived or not as circumstances demand. Whatever one's opinion on the merits of this question may be, no fair man should regret the refusal of the party to declare any disturbing question settled.

EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE.

ST. LOUIS.

St. Louis, July 10.—The Democratic national convention closed with the early hours this morning. It was an historic convention.—a convention that is likely, somewhat after the example of the Charleston convention of 1860, to go down into history as the culminating death spasm of a worn out party regime.

The historic personages of this historic convention, measured by the standards of momentary success, were Parker and Davis, its presidential candidates; David B. Hill, its political manager and boss, and August Belmont, its financial adviser and guarantor of Wall street campaign funds. But its only historic name, in the exalted and nobly enduring sense, was that of William J. Bryan.

Labeled "a political corpse" by both the Republican and the Democratic organs when he came upon the ground; sneered at by these hirelings of plutocracy, because no brass bands escorted him from the railroad station to his hotel, for he rode there unostentatiously in a cab; jeered at because no Hills nor Belmonts, no bosses and no parasites, no place hunters nor place givers waited upon him at his rooms, but only men who were solicitous for good government instead of "good pickings"—coming thus to a convention hopelessly packed against all that he stood for in Democratic politics, Mr. Bryan departed, not master of the convention, yet master of the situation. He looms up to-day taller than his tallest enemy, the trusted popular leader of American democracy, trusted now as well for his powers of statesmanship as for his gifts of oratory and his fidelity to conscience.

All the convention managers were outclassed by Bryan in everything but chicane and toadyism, where he has no standing at all. In oratory he soared so high above their best that they confessed their lack of a speaker to meet him in debate. In diplomacy he rose so far superior to the greatest among them that they were able to outdo him in their own resolutions committee and their own packed convention only by compromising with him in apparent good faith and then with apparent bad faith allowing if not causing their candidate to stultify the compromise after the convention had nominated him upon it. Bryan's was the only voice among national leaders to be heard above the din of "band-wagon" shouters and "pie-counter" hustlers. While they were shouting for their party right or wrong, and its success no matter how ignoble, he was pleading for the country before party, for principle before policy. While they held their packed and mind-bound delegates in leash, he moved the unfettered and really more representative body of spectators, not with glittering word-structures but with a vitally eloquent because honest and intelligent appeal to common sense perceptions of what is right. If they were greater as manipulators and bosses, he was a towering giant among them as a leader of plain men and honest thought. Those were true words of the New York World in its editorial of the 9th, when, in retracting what in its unmodified hatred of Bryan it had said of his passing "from the leadership of the Democratic party," it declared: "Mr. Bryan

has not passed; he seems to be stronger than ever."

William J. Bryan is indeed stronger than ever. Others have control of the party machinery, he has the confidence of the masses. While they are dicker-ing with Wall street for campaign funds and with political hucksters for purchasable votes, he stands forth a clearer and grander as well as stronger figure than ever, the acknowledged political champion of democracy against plutocracy, and the political leader of the democratic Democrats.

The first day's session of the convention I reported last week (p. 215). The first session of the second day, the 7th, was uneventful. Nothing occurred but a repetition of the unpleasant indications among Southern delegates and spectators of anxiety to nationalize race issues. Considering these indications in connection with the notorious fact that the Parker interests rested upon a combination of Wall street financiers and Southern delegates, it was difficult to avoid a suspicion that the slave oligarchy of the '50's had escaped from the tomb of dead issues and made a coalition with the "frenzied finance" of today. Emphasis was given to this suspicion during an interval in the proceedings of the next day, the 8th, when Richard Pearson Hobson, the ex-naval officer of Merrimac fame, responded to an invitation to make a speech from the platform. Under this sanction by the managers of the convention he coupled Cleveland's plutocratic performance in suppressing the Debs strike at Chicago by military power and regardless of law (p. 195) with the Negro hating policy which has become almost as rampant in plutocratic circles at the North as it is anywhere at the South.

It is part of the plutocratic policy of contempt for "the lower classes." Negro hatred is not race hatred at bottom; it is class hatred. Plutocracy holds the working classes of all colors and races in contempt. When white workingmen, through education or wealth or both, "break into" the "upper" class, they bring with them no label of their "low" origin, and in a generation or two it is forgotten. But Negroes, no matter how wealthy and polished they may become, carry upon their faces, in the color of their skin, the evidence of their "menial" class, and can never escape it. It is this and this alone that makes the Negro question a race question. Plutocracy, North and South, would keep the working class "in its place," as a menial class; but in the South the working class is composed for the most part of Negroes, and the Southern working class is consequently pictured to "upper" class imaginations as the Negro class. Thus the labor question takes on in the South the form of a race question. It is no more a race question in fact than the question of peasant equality in Europe is a race question.

Mr. Hobson brought together in his speech at the convention, these two aspects of plutocratic contempt for laboring classes. He praised Cleveland for putting down the railroad strike in Chicago in 1894 by invading the State of Illinois with Federal troops (under the advice of a lawyer who represented professionally at the same time both the railroads that were resisting the strike and the Cleveland administration), on pretense of suppressing an insurrection which it is proved by the testimony of his own adherents did not occur until after the troops arrived. Passing from that felicitous allusion, Hobson connected it with expressions implying, if they meant anything, that it is the mission of the Democratic party to hold Negroes in subjection to the whites as a menial class economically and politically. His assertion that "intelligence must govern," plainly meaning, in the light of the context, that whites must govern Negroes, was somewhat of an anti-climax on the lips of a man who exhibits a degree of intelligence by no means superior to that of almost any Negro who has had approximately equal educational opportunities.

But leaving Hobson's speech of the 8th, which was important only because it had in some sense the indorsement of the convention that nominated Parker, I shall return to the regular order of events on the 7th.

At the morning session a report came from the committee on rules and order of business. As this committee had reported in favor of admitting delegates from Porto Rico, on the ground that the Supreme Court has held it to be part of the territory of the United States, but against admitting delegates from the Philippines on the ground that the Supreme Court has not so decided as to them, and the policy of the Democratic party rejects that view of their relations to this country, a question was raised. It was proposed to treat both alike, either by refusing to admit the Porto Rico delegates or by admitting the Philippine delegates. But the report of the committee was sustained, and the Porto Rico delegates only were admitted. One of them, A. M. Molina, returned the thanks of the delegation to the convention in a brief speech from the platform, which was appreciatively received.

Soon afterward the convention adjourned for recess. Upon its reassembling in the afternoon the committee on credentials reported. This committee had found in favor of seating the delegates from the Philippine islands, but that part of its report was ruled out of order by the temporary chairman, John Sharp Williams, who held that a country which is not a part of the United States cannot be represented in a Democratic convention to nominate a President of the United States.

The only other question of importance

in connection with the credentials was the Illinois contest (pp. 170, 177) against John P. Hopkins, which now came up for consideration upon a minority report submitted by Mr. Bryan. The committee had reported in favor of the Hopkins delegation; Mr. Bryan's minority report asserted that the Hopkins delegation had been foisted by force and fraud upon the Democracy of the State of Illinois. The convention decided against the minority report, upon the call of States, all the Parker delegates standing solidly by the acts of the fraudulent managers of the Illinois convention. In figures the vote was 299 for Bryan's minority report and 647 against it.

That action was immediately preceded by the most exciting episode of the convention up to this time. Bryan's reception of the day before (p. 215) had astonished all who believed him politically dead. But when he appeared in his place this afternoon, the reception he received was long sustained and thrilling in its enthusiasm. When it had lasted 15 minutes the Parker delegates, seeking to turn it to account for themselves, paraded with a Parker banner. At first they scored, for the shouts and cheers ran higher than before. But this was because most of the audience were still shouting for Bryan, not having noticed the Parker banner. As knowledge of the deception spread through the great hall, where some 14,000 people were gathered, the cheering subsided, and in less than five minutes more it was over. When Bryan appeared upon the platform to read the minority report of the committee on credentials, the cheering was renewed, but he succeeded with some effort in stilling this demonstration so as to be heard.

This minority report was a lengthy document, setting out circumstantially, on the basis of affidavits, the facts, undisputed except by the unverified word of the officers of the Illinois convention, that Hopkins had arbitrarily governed that convention; that he had seated its temporary chairman without a roll call; that the temporary chairman had gavelled himself into the permanent chair without a roll call; that roll calls had been denied throughout the convention except at the end on instructions for Hearst; that minority reports of committees had been thrown into the waste basket as "merely advisory," and that the only redress of the defrauded delegates—fully two-thirds of those elected at the primaries—was either to make a riot or to appeal to the national convention.

In speaking in support of his minority report, Mr. Bryan first showed his power in the convention. His speech on this question was a marvel of electric but restrained oratory and convincing debate. Bourke Cockran was urged to reply but refused, giving as one of his reasons that Bryan was right. His speech had but one dominant

note, but that was a ringing note for a Democratic convention. "If there is one Democratic principle more fundamental than another," he said, "it is the right of a majority to rule. If you destroy the binding force of that principle there is nothing that can hold a party together." But "in the State of Illinois the majority was not allowed to rule." Elaborating this point with an illustration both apt and stinging, Bryan said of Hopkins and his abettors:

My friends, the evidence shows that no band of train robbers ever planned a robbery upon a train more deliberately or with less conscience than they did. And these men who planned it and who carried it out have the audacity, the impudence and the insolence to say that because they certify that what they did was regular you cannot go behind their certificate. If that is good law in a Democratic convention, it ought to be good doctrine in a court; and if it is good doctrine in a court, then the only thing that train robbers have to do in the future is to make a report of their transactions over their own signatures. I repeat, that after they have committed their crime, all that train robbers will have to do is to certify over their own signatures that it was a voluntary collection, taken up for religious purposes, and deny you the right to go behind their certificate.

In reply to the weak responses made to his opening speech Mr. Bryan described Mr. Hopkins, the prime mover in this Illinois conspiracy, and Mr. Cable, one of its beneficiaries as delegate at large, as having been promoters of the bolting Palmer-Buckner ticket of 1896, and as having then "kept the path hot between their headquarters and the Republican headquarters."

Both speeches were strong in every sense, argumentatively as well as oratorically. They would have carried any unfettered, free-minded tribunal. They did convince the judgment and command the sympathy of the spectators, the great majority of whom were in the building on tickets and passes supplied by Bryan's bitterest political enemies. But they could not carry a majority of the delegates. These were "adamant," as one pluto-Democratic paper put it. George A. Schilling gave a better explanation. "It was a time," said he, "when 'train robbers' had to stand together."

The net result of the convention's decision was in effect a notification to majorities of all Democratic State conventions hereafter, that if little cliques of political conspirators attempt by force and fraud to override their will, the only remedy is riot and bloodshed then and there; for the national convention, if it follows this precedent, will recognize the clique of conspirators when they merely certify to their own regularity, no matter if every duly elected delegate swears, as two-thirds of the delegates to this Illinois convention did, to their irregularity and lawlessness.

Bryan's minority report will appear in the records of the St. Louis convention as a damning indictment of the good faith of the committee on credentials

and as a stern rebuke to the Parker delegates through whose votes that committee was sustained.

After this exciting episode permanent organization was effected, Champ Clark being elected chairman. In introducing him the temporary chairman made a strong democratic speech, one which, but for his narrow, bigoted, belittling "white man's" speech of the day before, would raise him high in the estimation of democratic-Democrats. I reproduce it for what it may be worth, with the suggestion that if Mr. Williams meant what it implies he could not have meant all that he said the day before, unless he experienced conversion over night:

I have the honor of presenting to you as your permanent chairman a man who, when it comes to tariff legislation, is a Democrat; who, when it comes to trust legislation, is a Democrat; who, when it comes to the great principle of equal opportunities and equal burdens for all the sons and daughters of men, is a Democrat; a man who is a Democrat in the narrow, American, partisan sense, and a man who, beyond all that, is a democrat in the world sense of believing in equal rights all over the surface of God's earth, for all of God's children, and special privileges to none of them.

Mr. Clark's speech of acceptance was disappointing. Though a better speech as a whole than was Williams's of the day before, it fell below the level of a statesmanlike performance. It was only a stump speech—somewhat superior to that of Williams. Both were pert and fippant, lacking in dignity and lacking in power. Neither is comparable, considering the purpose of all, and the solemn occasions of delivery, with Root's keynote speech in the Republican convention at Chicago.

Nothing important was done on Friday, the 8th, except as Hobson's "raw" speech was important, until the evening session, which began at 8 o'clock. The difficulty of agreeing upon a platform had kept the resolutions committee out until that time. But at last a unanimous report came in. Bryan had secured modifications which made the platform on the whole the best a Democratic convention has ever adopted. Even the race question plank is acceptable, considering the spirit of race intolerance which pervaded the place and demanded expression.

As to the tariff, the platform's denunciation of protection as a robbery of the masses for the benefit of the few is the squarest deliverance on that question the Democrats have yet made. In spite of Champ Clark's protest that the party is not a free trade party, and that the free traders in it are only as atheists in the Republican party, this is an outright declaration for free trade. No party can denounce protection as robbery and then deny it is a free trade party, without either stultifying itself or approving robbery.

The principal contest in committee, however, had been a give-and-take compromise between Mr. Bryan, representing the Democratic Democracy, and Mr. Hill, representing the plutocratic Democracy in general and Judge Parker's candidacy in particular. Under this compromise the gold standard question, the income tax question, the greenback retirement question, the asset bank currency question, and several others were left out of the platform. This was done in the interest of harmony, for the purpose of presenting a united front to the Republican enemy; and by means of this compromise between Mr. Bryan and Judge Parker's representative, harmony was achieved. The platform so reported was quickly adopted with enthusiasm by the convention, although no one heard it, so weakly did Senator Daniels, the chairman of the committee, read it. Then the nominations for President began.

The building was packed, probably not less than 16,000 persons being within its walls. Alabama gave way to New York, and Mr. Martin W. Littleton, a New York elector in 1896 on the bolting Palmer-Buckner ticket, presented Judge Parker's name in florid but unsubstantial rhetoric, vastly more suggestive of a bright senior's oration at a college commencement than a thoughtful statesman's speech in a national deliberative body. He denounced the Chicago and the Kansas City platforms, as was appropriate in view of his record, but he refrained from arguing against them, and he never once rose above the plane of "band wagon" politics. At the close of his speech, when he named his candidate, there was a Parker demonstration of shouting and cheering lasting 32 minutes—from 9:28 to 10 o'clock.

When California was reached in the roll call, Hearst was nominated. Thereupon came the Hearst demonstration of shouting and cheering, which lasted 37 minutes—from 10:34 to 11:11.

Gray was nominated by Delaware, Miles by Kansas, Olney by Massachusetts, Wall by Wisconsin, and John Sharp Williams by North Dakota.

There had been an entire collapse of sentiment for Cleveland. Until three days before the convention the arriving delegates were strenuously urged by letter, telegram and personal approach, to center upon the ex-President; but it soon became clear that David B. Hill held this convention in the hollow of his hand, and after that the Cleveland diversion was abandoned as hopeless.

Next to Parker and Hearst the important candidate was Cockrell. He was nominated by Missouri, and the demonstration that followed rivaled those for Parker and Hearst. In one respect it was the most impressive demonstration of all, for in an instant, as it almost seemed, every one in the great hall was waving an American flag. Thousands of flags had somehow suddenly come into

being. The demonstration lasted 28 minutes—from 1:35 in the morning to 2:03.

The first nominating speech to rise above the "pie-counter" level was Clarence S. Darrow's. In behalf of Illinois, Mr. Darrow seconded the nomination of Hearst. He sized-up the convention for the Wall street annex it was trying to make itself, and spoke accordingly, to the great satisfaction of most of the audience, but to the dismay of the "band wagon" contingent and the anger of the insiders.

When Nebraska was first called Bryan rose, but only to announce that Nebraska had changed places with Wisconsin. Yet it was full five minutes before he could be heard to say this, so demonstrative were the spectators.

Nebraska was called in due time, in Wisconsin's place. Nebraska sent Bryan to the platform. The hour was 3:53 in the morning. Such a reception as this vast audience—still numbering not less than 10,000 people—gave to Bryan then, no speaker, no delegate, no personage at all except Bryan himself had been honored with.

He had been two nights without sleep; he was hoarse and tired; his enemies called him a "back number;" the bargain-bound leaders glowered; there was no hope of moving the shackled delegates as to their votes no matter how favorably they might respond with their applause; everything was against him and nothing in his favor save the confidence of the people, who were better represented by the spectators than by the delegations. Yet he delivered an historic speech—the only historic speech to which that convention had listened. It was the general opinion that this was the greatest speech that even Bryan himself had ever delivered. Every word was audible. Every phrase fitted exactly into place. Every sentence expressed its thought sharply, and every thought was uplifting.

He had come to lay down the commission his party had given him in 1896 and renewed in 1900, and his report was summed up in a superb but modest paraphrase of St. Paul's memorable words: "You may dispute whether I have fought a good fight; you may dispute whether I have finished my course; but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith."

At first he pictured the military spirit of the Republican party, which the whole convention condemned and for the suppression of which they were united in purpose. Then he reminded them of the platform upon which all had agreed, waiving their differences in order to make this united fight against militarism. But a platform is not enough, he proceeded. We must have a candidate who fits the platform. Who shall he be? He himself had none to urge. Should the convention nominate Hearst, more distinctly than any other the labor candidate, Nebraska would support him.

Should it nominate Wall, who stands with the East on the gold question and with the West on other questions, Nebraska would support him. Should it nominate Pattison of Pennsylvania, Nebraska would support him. Only Parker and Olney were omitted. And while Nebraska had commissioned him to second the nomination of Cockrell, as he did, yet Nebraska made no demands. It only asked that Democrats shall not be forced to choose between Republican militarism and Democratic plutocracy; that a pilot be chosen who "will guide the Democratic ship away from the Scylla of militarism without wrecking her in the Charbybdis of commercialism." The greatest of all issues, he said, greater than the silver issue, or the tariff issue, or the trust issue, is the issue of plutocracy versus democracy.

At the most impressive part of Mr. Bryan's speech, the Saturday's dawn began to flood the place, and when he closed the new day had fully come. His speech had lasted from 3:53 to 4:38. At its close there came for 10 minutes the most spontaneous and enthusiastic demonstration of the convention.

At 5:41 in the morning Parker's nomination was made unanimous and the thousands who had sat or stood in the Coliseum hall for nearly 10 consecutive hours began to throng the street. Nothing now remained but to nominate a candidate for Vice President and that was postponed until 2 o'clock in the afternoon.

Despite his defeat on the candidate, Bryan's supporters were happier than Parker's. Both sides felt that Bryan had scored a triumph on the platform, and that in his speech he had made it clear to the country that Parker's defeat will be a defeat for which he and his friends are not responsible. It will be the defeat of the plutocratic-Democrats and not of the democratic-Democrats. And both sides realized that Bryan's speeches were the only ones of the convention at all worthy of the occasion. They all knew, moreover, that he had outgeneraled his more numerous adversaries. The "dead candidate" had become again the living leader of the people.

But Parker had a surprise in store. He had remained silent about his convictions on every political question all through the campaign he was making through Hill and Belmont for the nomination. No one could discover what his views were, if he had any. No one knows yet except on a single question, and that question he himself solemnly asserts is permanently settled, while the convention as solemnly assures him it is not an issue. Why he should have raised it, then, is a mystery. But he has raised it, and in such a manner as to leave room for but one inference—an inference of bad faith.

While he had been strenuously silent,

Hill had represented him; in committee Hill assured his colleagues that he was ignorant of Parker's opinion on this very question; in committee Hill asserted that Parker had told him he would accept the platform of the convention; in committee Hill agreed, with Belmont's approval (both of them Parker's authorized agents in procuring his nomination) to certain compromises in order to secure harmony, Bryan accepting the compromises with the same object in view. These compromises included an understanding that the money question—the one question that stood in the way of harmony, should not be allowed to enter into the campaign. To that agreement Judge Parker was as much a party as Hill, and in honor as well as for harmony's sake, he was bound not to bring the discordant money question into the campaign. The time for him to speak, if he thought it necessary to speak, was before his nomination, not afterward, and through instructions to his managers in advance of the confirmation of the compromise, not by a public declaration after the compromise had been confirmed by the convention.

Bryan's words, when he came from a sick bed at 10 o'clock Saturday night to meet this new trick of plutocracy, were peculiarly apt, though excessively mild: "It was a manly thing in Judge Parker to express his opinion before the convention adjourned, but it would have been a manlier thing had he spoken before the convention met."

This speech was dramatic. At first Bryan's words were inaudible from his physical weakness. Then his voice gathered volume, and soon its notes filled the hall and every syllable came distinctly. Be manly, be honest, take the people into your confidence, was the dominant note of this speech. If you want to declare for the gold standard, do so by amending the platform. "I will offer no objection except to vote against it." But don't resort to the subterfuge of interpreting the platform by the reply you are proposing (a reply which they adopted) to make to Judge Parker's dispatch.

The reply was as cowardly as the dispatch was tricky. No sensible man will accept Parker's byplay as an indication of independence, courage and sincerity, as his supporters would have it. As Gen. James B. Weaver wittily said, replying to some of Parker's eulogists: "It is an optical illusion to suppose Parker to be a foot higher than yesterday; the illusion is caused by the fact that the convention has sunk three feet lower." Under all the circumstances the inference is strong that Judge Parker (whether of his own motion or under the advice of Belmont makes no difference), sought in this manner to secure the benefits while evading the obligations of the compromise his political managers had made for him.

It is inconceivable that Judge Park-

er should have rashly courted unpopularity for himself and his ticket. But his sensational dispatch, and his choice of Davis (the plutocratic West Virginia Democrat, whose son-in-law is the plutocratic West Virginia Republican, Stephen B. Elkins) for running mate might imply indifference to popular disapproval. They certainly confirm all that Mr. Bryan implied about the plutocratic policy of Parkerism.

Bryan made one more speech. It was in reply to the speeches that followed his previous one, and for the purpose of offering an amendment to the dispatch to be sent to Judge Parker. In this he protested that he had done his utmost to bring harmony and that if harmony were jeopardized the fault lay at the door of others. John Sharp Williams responded with a bitter personal attack upon Bryan, declaring that Bryan had presented the spectacle throughout the convention of a man pleading for harmony when his had been the only voice of discord. It was manifestly a false and malicious accusation, but Williams had bargained himself away to the money-changers, and this last stab went with the bargain as "lanyap."

Mr. Bryan's fight was over. He had placed the democratic Democrats fairly before the country and could do no more without weakly yielding to the malicious efforts to make him "bolt." So he rose once more, but for a moment, and withdrawing his amendment said:

Our delegation will vote for the candidate for Vice President that New York wants. We are not going to do one thing to mar the harmony of the convention.

It was said in good faith and in good faith it was carried out. But the convention could hardly have missed the irony, whether intended or not, of this submissive climax. To Bryan himself it must have seemed that if serious suggestion and careful argument, coupled with appeals for calm deliberation in securing harmony, were to be denounced as wanton discords, it were better, without further ceremony, to refer all the remaining business of the convention to the Parker leaders and let them make harmony after their own models and upon their own responsibility.

Democrats who are active in politics, however democratic they may be, and however outraged, will doubtless support this ticket, in order to retain party standing. They are not to be blamed for that. It would be folly for an active man in Democratic politics to abandon the party now. His active opposition as a bolter would be more acceptable to the bosses than his ineffective support within the party. Moreover, the pendulum which now swings toward plutocracy in the Democratic party has swung so far that

the return swing is near at hand, and those who are in place to catch it as it swings back should not lose their advantage of position. But it is a fair wager that active party men will find it a difficult task to secure the aid of their friends for this Presidential ticket of the plutocratic Democracy. Indications are not lacking that no inconsiderable army of Democratic voters will leave August Belmont and the Standard Oil crowd who made the Parker-Davis ticket to their own devices to elect it. With the Populist party offering a good democratic ticket, and a superior democratic platform; with the Socialist party confronting better propaganda opportunities than it has ever had; with the Prohibition party moving with renewed vigor into the campaign, there are ways in which unfettered democratic Democrats can protest against the sale of their party to the votaries of "frenzied finance." Even Roosevelt may not be so objectionable to them, when contrasted with Parker. In those circumstances, organization Democrats who are hunting honest votes instead of campaign funds, will find their place as workers for Parker in the campaign no sinecure, however earnest they may be.

One fact became evident, after Parker's dispatch arrived. The Parker faction was anxious to force Bryan to bolt. They would be happier now if he had bolted. They know full well that a formal bolt would serve them better and democratic Democracy less than any other single event.

L. F. P.

NEWS

Week ending Thursday, July 14.

The event of the week is the action of the national Democratic convention at St. Louis, which effected a temporary organization on the 6th with John Sharp Williams, of Mississippi, as temporary chairman (p. 215), and after disposing of contests, completed its permanent organization on the 7th, with Champ Clark, of Missouri, as permanent chairman.

At the evening session of the 8th, the platform, over which the committee on resolutions had been in conflict for two days, was reported to the convention unanimously by Senator Daniel, of Virginia, the chairman of the committee. It was immediately adopted as reported, and is in substance as follows:

It declares "devotion to the essential

principles of the Democratic faith," which are impressive of the necessity, particularly at this time, of "reform and the rescue of the administration of government from the headstrong, arbitrary and spasmodic methods which distract business by uncertainty, and pervade the public mind with dread, distrust and perturbation." Applying these principles to the living issues of the day, the platform demands "freedom of the press, of conscience and of speech—equality before the law of all citizens; right of trial by jury—freedom of the person defended by the writ of habeas corpus; liberty of personal contract untrammelled by supplementary laws; supremacy of the civil over military authority; a well disciplined militia; the separation of church and state; economy in expenditures, low taxes, that labor may be lightly burdened; prompt and sacred fulfillment of public and private obligations; fidelity to treaties; peace and friendship with all nations; entangling alliances with none; absolute acquiescence in the will of the majority, the vital principle of republics." Becoming more specific, it declares on the subject of labor for—

the enactment and administration of laws giving labor and capital impartially their just rights. Capital and labor ought not to be enemies. Each is necessary to the other. Each has its rights, but the rights of labor are certainly no less "vested," no less "sacred," and no less "unalienable" than the rights of capital.

Regarding the labor and military disturbances in Colorado, the platform reads:

Constitutional guarantees are violated whenever any citizen is denied the right to labor, acquire and enjoy property, or reside where interest or inclination may determine. Any denial thereof by individuals, organizations or governments should be summarily rebuked and punished. We deny the right of any Executive to disregard or suspend any constitutional privilege or limitation. Obedience to the laws and respect for their requirements are alike the supreme duty of the citizen and the official. The military should be used only to support and to maintain the law. We unqualifiedly condemn its employment for the summary banishment of citizens without trial or for the control of elections.

On "government by injunction" this is the declaration:

We approve the measure which passed the United States Senate in 1896, but which a Republican Congress has ever since refused to enact, relating to contempts in Federal courts, and providing for trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt.

The platform favors liberal appropriations for waterways; opposes "the Republican policy of starving home development in order to feed the greed for conquest and the appetite for national 'prestige' and display of strength." demands economy in expenditures, honesty in the public service, investigation of maladministration; condemns refusal of Republicans in Con-

gress to prohibit Executive contracts with convicted trusts; and favors—

the nomination and election of a President imbued with the principles of the Constitution, who will set his face sternly against Executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions, whether that usurpation be veiled under the guise of executive construction of existing laws or whether it take refuge in the tyrant's plea of necessity or superior wisdom.

While favoring an "open door for the world's commerce in the Orient, without an unnecessary entanglement in Oriental and European affairs, and without arbitrary, unlimited, irresponsible, and absolute government anywhere within our jurisdiction," the platform—

opposes as fervently as did George Washington himself, an indefinite, irresponsible, discretionary and vague absolutism and a policy of colonial exploitation, no matter where or by whom invoked or exercised; we believe with Thomas Jefferson and John Adams, that no government has a right to make one set of laws for those "at home" and another and a different set of laws, absolute in their character, for those "in the colonies." All men under the American flag are entitled to the protection of the institutions whose emblem the flag is; if they are inherently unfit for those institutions, then they are inherently unfit to be members of the American body politic. Wherever there may exist a people incapable of being governed under American laws, in consonance with the American Constitution, that people ought not to be part of the American domain.

Following is the specific plank with reference to Philippine independence:

We insist that we ought to do for the Filipinos what we have done already for the Cubans, and it is our duty to make that promise now; and upon suitable guarantees of protection to citizens of our own and other countries resident there at the time of our withdrawal, set the Filipino people upon their feet, free and independent to work out their own destiny.

On the subject of Republican tariff legislation the platform declares:

The Democratic party has been, and will continue to be, the consistent opponent of that class of tariff legislation by which certain interests have been permitted, through Congressional favor, to draw a heavy tribute from the American people. This monstrous perversion of those equal opportunities, which our political institutions were established to secure, has caused what may once have been infant industries to become the greatest combinations of capital that the world has ever known. These special favorites of the government have through trust methods, been converted into monopolies, thus bringing to an end domestic competition, which was the only alleged check upon the extravagant profits made possible by the protective system. These industrial combinations, by the financial assistance they can give, now control the policy of the Republican party.

This is put forth as the Democratic doctrine and policy on the subject of tariffs:

We denounce protection as a robbery of the many to enrich the few, and we favor a tariff limited to the needs of the government, economically administered and so levied as not to discriminate against any industry, class or section, to the end that the burdens of taxation shall be distributed

as equally as possible. We favor a revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of the masses and for the common weal, and not by the friends of its abuses, its extortions and its discriminations, keeping in view the ultimate ends of "equality of burdens and equality of opportunities," and the constitutional purpose of raising a revenue by taxation—to-wit: the support of the Federal government in all its integrity and virility, but in simplicity.

The trust question in itself is dealt with as follows:

We recognize that the gigantic trusts and combinations designed to enable capital to secure more than its just share of the joint products of capital and labor, and which have been fostered and promoted under Republican rule, are a menace to beneficial competition and an obstacle to permanent business prosperity. A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable. Individual equality of opportunity and free competition are essential to a healthy and permanent commercial prosperity, and any trust, combination or monopoly tending to destroy these by controlling production, restricting competition or fixing prices should be prohibited and punished by law. We especially denounce rebates and discrimination by transportation companies as the most potent agency in promoting and strengthening these unlawful conspiracies against trade. We demand an enlargement of the powers of the inter-State commerce commission, to the end that the traveling public and shippers of this country may have prompt and adequate relief for the abuses to which they are subjected in the matter of transportation. We demand a strict enforcement of existing civil and criminal statutes against all such trusts, combinations and monopolies; and we demand the enactment of such further legislation as may be necessary to effectually suppress them. Any trust or unlawful combination engaged in inter-State commerce which is monopolizing any branch of business or production should not be permitted to transact business outside of the State of its origin. Whenever it shall be established in any court of competent jurisdiction that such monopolization exists, such prohibition should be enforced through comprehensive laws to be enacted on the subject.

The irrigation law is approved as a Democratic measure; construction of the Panama canal speedily and economically is promised; the "just and lawful protection of our citizens at home and abroad . . . whether native born or naturalized, and without distinction of race or creed" is insisted upon; the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people is favored; likewise the admission of Oklahoma, the Indian Territory, Arizona and New Mexico as States, and the establishment of a territorial government for Alaska and Porto Rico; for territorial offices, the appointment of bona fide residents is supported; the extermination of polygamy within the jurisdiction of the United States, and the complete separation of church and state in political affairs are demanded; the ship subsidy is denounced and the "upbuilding of a merchant marine without new or additional burdens upon the people and without bounties from the public treasury" is favored; liberal trade arrangements with Canada and other countries is advocated; the Monroe doctrine is reasserted; reduction of

the army is urged; generous pensions by law, and "not by an arbitrary Executive order," are favored; the party is pledged "to the principles of civil service reform," and their "honest, just and impartial enforcement is demanded," the Republican party being denounced for its continuous and sinister encroachments upon the spirit and operation of civil service rules, whereby it has arbitrarily dispensed with examinations for office in the interest of favorites and employed all manner of devices to overreach and set aside the principles upon which the civil service was established." The plank on the race question is as follows:

The race question has brought countless woes to this country. The common wisdom of the American people should see to it that it brings no more. To revive the dead and hateful race and sectional animosities in any part of our common country means confusion, distraction of business and the reopening of wounds now happily healed. North, South, East and West have but recently stood together in line of battle from the walls of Peking to the hills of Santiago, and as sharers of a common glory and a common destiny we should share fraternally the common burdens. We therefore deprecate and condemn the Bourbon-like, selfish and narrow spirit of the recent Republican convention at Chicago, which sought to kindle anew the embers of racial and sectional strife, and we appeal from it to the sober common sense and patriotic spirit of the American people.

An indictment of the Republican Administration, with several specifications, closes with the following:

It ordered assault upon some monopolies, but, paralyzed by its first victory, it hung out the flag of truce and cried out that it would not "run amuck"—leaving its future purposes beclouded by its vacillations.

The harmony clause with which the platform ends, consists of this appeal to the country:

Conducting the campaign upon this declaration of our principles and purposes, we invoke for our candidates the support not only of our great and time honored organization, but also the active assistance of all of our fellow citizens who, disregarding past differences, desire the perpetuation of our constitutional government as framed and established by the fathers of the Republic.

In the preparation of this platform in committee one of the points of controversy was the tariff plank. The sub-committee had reported a weaker plank than the one adopted. Their report was overruled by the whole committee and a tariff plank proposed by Mr. Bryan was substituted by a vote of 27 to 23. This is the tariff plank now in the platform. Mr. Bryan also succeeded in inserting his trust plank.

An income tax plank proposed by Mr. Bryan was objected to by Senator Hill as likely to defeat

the ticket in New York State. A proposition by Senator Bailey to drop both the income tax plank and the gold standard plank, the latter adopted by the sub-committee by 8 to 3, was met by Senator Hill with this statement:

The income tax plank is not of so much importance as this money plank. I am not willing to trade one off against the other. We in New York do not want the income tax plank, but we can get along with it if we can have the declaration in favor of the gold standard.

In the course of this committee speech Mr. Hill referred to Judge Parker, describing him as a disinterested man who was not trying to impose his personal views on the convention, and saying:

He told me a short time ago that he was entirely willing to leave the platform to the wisdom of the convention.

This controversy was ended by Mr. Bryan's withdrawing his income tax plank, whereupon the committee struck out the gold standard plank by a vote of 35 to 15. Consequently no money question appears in the platform.

After the platform had been adopted by the convention and Judge Parker had been nominated, and while the convention was considering candidates for Vice President, the latter proceeding was interrupted on the 9th by the submission of the following dispatch from Judge Parker:

Hon. W. F. Sheehan, Hotel Jefferson, St. Louis: I regard the gold standard as firmly and irrevocably established, and shall act accordingly, if the action of the convention of to-day shall be ratified by the people. As the platform is silent on the subject my views should be made known to the convention, and if they are proved to be unsatisfactory to the majority I request you to decline the nomination for me at once, so that another may be nominated before adjournment. A. B. Parker.

Following a debate in which Mr. Bryan participated, urging that if the convention wished to alter the attitude of the party to accommodate Judge Parker's views as now expressed by him, it should do so candidly by amending the platform, instead of indirectly by telegraphic correspondence, the con-

vention authorized by vote of 774 to 191 the following response:

The platform adopted by this convention is silent on the question of the monetary standard because it is not regarded by us as a possible issue in the campaign and only campaign issues were mentioned in the platform. Therefore there is nothing in the views expressed by you in the telegram just received which would preclude a man entertaining them from accepting a nomination on said platform.

Mr. Bryan moved an amendment, but withdrew it under the circumstances described in Editorial Correspondence in another column of this issue of *The Public*. His amendment was as follows:

But as you will, if elected, be called upon to act on certain phases of the money question, we would like to know whether you favor reducing the volume of silver dollars, whether you favor an asset currency, a branch national bank, or whether you prefer national bank currency to United States notes?

The candidates chosen, were Alton Brooks Parker, of New York, nominated for President of the United States at 5:41 on the morning of the 9th, receiving on the first ballot 658 to 339, a vote which was at once made unanimous; and Henry G. Davis of West Virginia, nominated for Vice President of the United States, at 1:10 o'clock on the 10th, receiving 646 to 316, a vote which also was at once made unanimous. The convention adjourned at 1:31 o'clock on the 10th.

Much interest was felt after the convention in the course Mr. Bryan would pursue. He relieved the suspense on the 13th by giving out in advance a statement to appear in this week's *Commoner*. It contains the following assurances:

I shall vote for Parker and Davis, the nominees of the Democratic national convention, and shall do so for the following reasons:

First—Because the Democratic ticket stands for opposition to imperialism, while the Republican ticket stands for an imperialistic policy. On this question—which was the paramount issue in 1900, and which must remain an important issue so long as an attempt is made to hold colonies under the American flag—the convention was unanimous, the platform emphatic, and I have

no doubt that the candidates will carry out the platform.

Second—Mr. Roosevelt is injecting the race issue into American politics, and this issue, if it becomes national, will make it impossible to consider economic questions that demand solution. The election of the Democratic ticket will put a quietus on this attempt and permit the race question to work itself out without the bitterness which Mr. Roosevelt's conduct engendered.

Third—Mr. Roosevelt stands for the spirit of war. His friends present him as a man of blood and iron. He believes in strenuousness and inculcates a love for warlike things. The Democratic ticket stands for peace, for reason and for arbitration, rather than for force, conquest, and bluster.

Fourth—The Democratic platform declares in favor of the reduction of the standing army, and as this plank was unanimously adopted, there is reason to believe that Democratic success on this subject would bring some advantage to the people.

For these four reasons I feel justified in supporting the ticket, but shall not misrepresent the situation, or appeal for votes for the ticket upon false grounds. A Democratic victory will mean very little if any progress on economic questions so long as the party is under the control of the Wall street element.

In concluding this statement Mr. Bryan further says:

As soon as the election is over I shall, with the help of those who believe as I do, undertake to organize for the campaign of 1908, the object being to marshal the friends of popular government within the Democratic party to the support of a radical and progressive policy to make the Democratic party an efficient means in the hands of the people for securing relief from the plutocratic element that controls the Republican party and for the time being is in control of the Democratic party.

Hardly had the echoes of the political convention died away when the country awoke to a realization of the outbreak of a great national labor strike, due apparently to the fact that opportunities for work are scarce and wages extremely low. This is a strike by the Amalgamated Meat Cutters and Butcher Workmen of North America against the great packing houses of Chicago, St. Paul, Sioux City, South Omaha, St. Joseph, East St. Louis, Kansas City, Fort Worth and New York. Two questions are involved. For one thing the employes demand more regular and uniform hours, asserting that in some departments it is the custom to work them as long as 15 hours one day and lay them

off the next after two hours. The other demand is that the wages of unskilled labor shall be fixed at 18½ cents an hour. It is over the latter demand especially that the strike appears to have broken out, the packers having notified the union a week or more ago that they would not pay more than 17½ cents. Before entering upon the strike, however, its leaders formulated the following demands:

A uniform wage scale for all packing houses in the West.

A minimum scale for unskilled laborers of 18½ cents an hour.

Contracts to be drawn up at the same time to cover every department in the packing houses such contracts to expire in June, each year.

The minimum scale at all packing centers to be raised to the highest scale now paid at any plant.

Working conditions to be regulated so that employes shall work ten hours a day as far as possible.

To these the packers have replied offering to pay 17½ cents an hour as a minimum wage to unskilled workmen in the killing, cutting, beef loading and casing departments, the working conditions to remain as at present; as to all other unskilled departments they propose that there be no wage agreement. They also ask that the wages and conditions now prevailing in skilled departments shall continue. This proposition was rejected on referendum vote by the union; and, upon being notified thereof, the combined packers sent a reply to the union embodying the following:

The principal demand which has been presented by you is for a substantial increase in the wages of unskilled labor. As can be readily verified, there has been no such increase in unskilled labor in any branch of industry in the United States, but on the contrary the prevailing conditions are such that there has been a decrease in such wages. We cannot concede the demands you have made. The strike you foreshadow will surely cause much suffering to innocent parties and inflict great damage on the public. In view of these facts the undersigned hereby offer to submit the whole matter to arbitration.

The arbitration offer was refused and the strike was called to begin July 12 at noon. President Donnelly, of the union, officially admonishing his subordinate officers as follows:

You are hereby requested to instruct

all strikers when leaving the packing companies' premises to take along all their tools, molest no person or property and abide strictly within the laws of our country. Strict observance of above will be appreciated.

The strike began accordingly on the 12th, nearly 50,000 butchers quitting work. In some instances they struck before the noon hour, others waited until they heard the sound of the 12 o'clock whistle, while a number continued at work until they had finished the task of "cleaning up." The companies involved are Armour & Co., Swift & Co., Morris & Co., the National Packing Co., Cudahy Co. and the Schwarzschild & Sulzberger Co.

Advocates of municipal street car ownership in Chicago (p. 193) are encouraged by the action of the city council on the 11th with reference to certain franchises not affected by the 99-year grant, some of which have expired and others of which are about to expire. This action was expressed in a resolution, presented by the committee on local transportation and adopted by the council. It is in substance as follows:

The Mayor is directed to notify the Chicago Passenger Railway and the Chicago Union Traction Company to vacate and remove the tracks in Adams street, from Clark street to a point 500 feet west of Desplaines street; in Desplaines street, from Adams street to the south line of Harrison street; in Harrison street, from the east line of Desplaines street to the west line of Western avenue; in Western avenue, from the north line of Harrison street to the south line of Twelfth street; and in Twelfth street, from the east line of Western avenue to Crawford avenue, within ninety days of the passage of the resolution.

The corporation counsel is instructed to institute such legal proceedings and take such other steps as may in his opinion be necessary to effectuate the purpose of this resolution.

And the Mayor is directed to invite proposals for the installation of a system of street railways on the same streets now occupied by the Chicago Union Traction Company as lessee of the Chicago Passenger Railway Company, and also for the extension of said system upon the several other streets now occupied by said companies at such time or times as the grants upon such streets shall expire, and upon such other streets as may be advisable for the completion of a connected system of track. The proposals are to be invited on several plans, for which terms,

conditions and specifications will be furnished by the city. The city will require the deposit of a certified check for such sum as may be determined on with such proposal, and reserve the right to reject any or all bids. The proposals, when received, must be reported to the city council for its action.

News of the Russian-Japanese war (p. 217) relates principally this week to a successful movement of the Japanese in the direction of Newchwang. After severe fighting on the 8th they forced the Russians to evacuate Kaichow, in the line of this movement, on the 9th. Unverified Russian reports tell of heavy losses of life by the Japanese in front of Port Arthur on the land side. It is also rumored that the Japanese were repulsed on the 12th, with great loss, in a battle above Kaichow.

NEWS NOTES.

—Samuel M. Jones, Mayor of Toledo, died at that city on the 12th.

—Paul Kruger, President of the conquered and subjugated republic of the Transvaal, died at Clarens, Switzerland, on the 14th.

—The Rev. Dr. Silas C. Swallow, of Pennsylvania, has accepted the nomination for President on the Prohibition ticket (p. 215).

—In a railroad collision near Glenwood, Cook Co., Ill., on the 13th, a picnic excursion party of Sunday school children suffered severely. Over 20 persons were killed and 100 wounded.

—Floods have been raging in Kansas and Oklahoma. Ten thousand people were driven from their homes in Kansas City, Kan., and on the 8th appeals for aid were sent to the Federal government.

—The National Negro Liberty party, composed entirely of Negroes, assembled in convention at St. Louis, nominated on the 7th William T. Scott, of East St. Louis, Ill., and W. C. Payne, of Warrenton, Va., for President and Vice-President, respectively, of the United States.

—General Don Jose Toral y Velasquez, known to Americans during the Spanish war as commander of the Spanish garrison at Santiago when that place surrendered to the United States forces, died at Madrid, July 10, at an asylum for the insane. He had lost his reason through brooding over his capitulation.

—Porfirio Diaz was reelected President of Mexico, for six years, on the 11th. Ramon Corral was elected Vice-President. As the Constitution does not provide for the election of a Vice-President except when an acting president is need-

ed, the election of Corral is taken to mean that President Diaz will soon leave the active work of the office to Corral, remaining only nominally at the head of the government.

—Rt. Rev. Frederick Dan Huntington, Episcopal bishop of the Central Diocese of New York, died at his summer home at Hadley, Mass., on the 11th, aged 85 years. A son, Dr. George P. Huntington, Professor of Hebrew at Dartmouth College, died at Hanover, N. H., of slow fever, only a few hours after receiving the intelligence of the death of his father. Another son is the Rev. J. O. S. Huntington, Superior of the Order of the Holy Cross.

PRESS OPINIONS.

THE DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

Johnstown (Pa.) Democrat (Dem.), July 8.—It was really indecent for the Bryan corpse to sit up like that.

Chicago Daily News (Ind.), July 13.—Judge Parker does not care who writes the platforms just so he can edit them before they are sent to the printer.

Hearst's Chicago Examiner (Dem.), July 11.—Judge Parker could have met in advance the insinuations that he is too friendly to the "money power" had he accompanied his gold telegram with a plea for the income tax.

Chicago Evening Post (Rep.), July 12.—The "reply" was a piece of buncombe and of very impudent buncombe. The gentleman who framed it and the delegates who voted to send it to the candidate were guilty of conscious and deliberate hypocrisy.

Kansas City World (Ind.), July 11.—Most men die with their theories. Bryan has survived them. With every idea for which he had contended, discarded and discredited, he was still the idol of the Democracy. His was the only voice that called order out of tumult, that calmed the passions and appealed to the heart, if not to the judgment. Few men have retained so many of the elements of leadership when the ideals that made them leaders were relegated to the scrap heap.

Chicago Chronicle (Rep.), July 11.—An issue which is so full of life that the democratic attitude thereon cannot be put into words by a convention having a conservative majority of more than two-thirds can hardly be said to have been disposed of honestly when it is characterized in effect as dead so far as this campaign is concerned. This issue cannot pass away so long as the Democratic party is dominated to any extent by William J. Bryan. Live issues cannot be dodged. They must be met.

Dubuque Telegraph-Herald (Dem.), July 6.—Harper's Weekly breathes this thanksgiving: "Thank God and August Belmont. Mr. Bryan is down and out." God is entitled to greater thanks that he reared in Bryan a man to give battle to Belmont and the criminal, pernicious policies to which he stands committed. If Mr. Bryan is in truth down and out, then we should remember that God has promised to let the devil loose awhile and later to bind him. Mr. Belmont evidently has been let loose.

Chicago Record-Herald (Ind. Rep.), July 9.—In the contrast both of cause and of persons the Nebraskan shows to such great advantage that he should receive a tribute of respect even from those who have differed from him most widely in the past upon political principles. We believe, moreover, that his cleanliness of character, his fine moral qualities, his purity of purpose, his political zeal and his unrivaled gifts as an orator absolutely preclude the idea that he has ceased to be a force in our public life.

Omaha World-Herald (Dem.), July 10.—No man ever went into a national convention against such odds and accomplished so much. His was the towering figure among them all. Mr. Bryan is still a giant. And it was as a giant, with his full grandeur manifested, though with his strength fine-

ly controlled, that he stood before the convention early on Saturday morning, vindicating his own cause and pleading with the delegates that they should name a candidate worthy of the platform. Mr. Bryan came out of the convention a greater man than he went into it.

Cleveland Waechter und Anzeiger (Ger.), July 11.—Upon such a platform a candidate with any kind of views on the money question, even a straight gold man like Parker, could stand. So Parker could be nominated without compromising himself, and he was nominated. As soon as the convention had taken this irrevocable step, a gun was held to its head in the shape of the Parker telegram. The trick worked. The convention would gladly have done otherwise, but could not. The enthusiasm which a party thus surprised into bowing to Wall street will be able to awaken in the campaign can be imagined. It will be an enthusiasm below zero.

Milwaukee Daily News (Dem.), July 11.—To Mr. Bryan the party owes no small debt for insisting upon a platform direct in its utterances. It was Bryan and his influence that prevented the "anything to win" politicians from foisting a cowardly makeshift upon the convention as the party's platform. The evasive tariff and trust planks that the Eastern delegates originally favored would have stirred no enthusiasm and by their cowardly evasions would have disheartened the men that will be called upon to lead the party's cause. If Judge Parker should be elected President of the United States he will have Mr. Bryan to thank for giving him a platform upon which success is possible.

MISCELLANY

AN AUSTRALIAN SONG OF THE FUTURE.

Upon the western slope they stood
And saw a wide expanse of plain,
As far as eye could stretch or see
Go rolling, westward endlessly;
The native grasses, tall as grain,
Were waved and rippled in the breeze;
From boughs of blossom-laden trees
The parrots answered back again.
They saw the land that it was good,
A land of fatness all untrod,
And gave their silent thanks to God.

But times are changed, and changes rung
From old to new—the olden days,
The old bush life and all its ways
Are passing from us all unsung.
The freedom and the hopeful sense
Of toil that brought due recompense,
Of room for all, has passed away,
And lies forgotten with the dead.

The stunted children come and go
In squalid lanes and alleys black;
We follow but the beaten track
Of other nations, and we grow
In wealth for some—for many woe.
—A. B. Patterson, in Land and Labour.

THE HISTORIC SPEECH OF WILLIAM J. BRYAN AT THE ST. LOUIS CONVENTION.

Delivered in the early morning hours of Saturday, July 9, 1904. As reported in the Chicago Evening Post of July 9. Mr. Bryan rose to speak at 3:53 o'clock a. m., and closed in great exhaustion at 4:38. The speech began in the night; as it progressed the light of dawn came in through the windows; and it closed in the full day.

Gentlemen of the Convention: Two nights without sleep, and a cold, make it difficult for me to make myself heard. I trust that it will be easier in a moment, but as I desire to speak to the delegates

rather than to the visitors, I hope that they at least can hear.

Eight years ago a Democratic convention placed in my hands the standard of the party and gave me the commission as its candidate. Four years later that commission was renewed. I come tonight to this Democratic convention to return the commission and to say that you may dispute whether I fought a good fight; you may dispute whether I finished my course, but you cannot deny that I have kept the faith. (Cheers.)

As your candidate I did all I could to bring success to the party. As a private citizen to-day I am more interested in Democratic success than I ever was when I was a candidate. (Cheers.) The reasons that made the election of a Democrat desirable were stronger in 1900 than in 1896; and the reasons that make the election of the Democratic candidate desirable are stronger in 1904 than they were in 1900.

The gentleman who presented New York's candidate dwelt upon the danger of militarism, and he did not overstate the dangers. Let me quote the most remarkable passage that ever occurred or that was ever found in the speech of nomination of any candidate for President. Gov. Black, of New York, in presenting the name of Theodore Roosevelt to the Republican convention, used these words:

The fate of nations is still decided by their wars. You may talk of orderly tribunals and learned referees. You may sing in your schools the gentle praises of the quiet life. You may strike from your books the last note of every martial anthem, and yet out in the smoke and thunder will always be the tramp of horses and the silent, rigid, upturned faces. Men may prophesy and women pray, but peace will come here to abide here forever on this earth only when the dreams of childhood are the accepted charts to guide the destinies of men. Events are numberless and mighty, and no man can tell which wire runs around the world. The nation basking to-day in the quiet of contentment and repose may still be on a deadly circuit, and to-morrow writhing in the toils of war. This is the time when great figures must be kept in front. If the pressure is great the material to resist it must be granite and iron.

This is a eulogy of war. This is a declaration that the time hoped for, prayed for, of perpetual peace will never come. This is eulogizing the doctrine to brute force and giving denial to the hopes of the race. And this President, a candidate for reelection, is presented as the embodiment of that ideal, the granite and the iron, to represent the new idea of militarism. Do you say you want to defeat the military idea? Friends of the South, are you trying to defeat the military idea?

Let me tell you that none of you, North, East or South, more fears the triumph of that idea than I do. If this is the doctrine that our nation is to stand for, it is retrogression, not progression; it is the lowering of the ideals of the nation; it is the turning backward to the age of force. More than this, it is a challenge to the Christian civilization of the world, and nothing less. (Loud applause.)

Twenty-seven hundred years ago a prophet foretold the coming of One Who was to be called the Prince of Peace. Two thousand years ago He came upon the earth, and the song that was sung at His birth was "Peace on earth, good will toward men." (Loud cheering and applause.) For 2,000 years this doctrine of peace has been growing. It has been taking hold upon the hearts of men.

For this doctrine of peace millions have given their lives. For this doctrine of peace thousands have crossed oceans and given their lives among savage tribes and among foreign nations. This doctrine of peace, the foundation of Christian civilization, has been the growing hope of the world.

And now the ex-governor of the greatest State of the nation presents for the office of President of the greatest republic of all history a man who is granite and iron, and who represents not the doctrine of peace, but the doctrine that the destinies of nations are still settled by their wars. (Loud applause.) Will you of New York present a graver indictment against President Roosevelt than that? Will you of the South present a graver indictment against President Roosevelt than that? I do not ask what is the character of the man; he may have every virtue. He may be exemplary in every way, but if the President shares the idea of the man who nominated him; if the President believes with his sponsor at Chicago that wars must settle the destinies of nations, that peace is but a dream, that women may pray for it, that men may prophesy about it, that all these talks of orderly tribunals and all this are but empty sounds; if he believes these things he is a dangerous man for our country and the world. (Prolonged cheering and applause.)

I believe he ought to be defeated; I believe he can be defeated, and if the Democratic party does what it ought to do I believe he will be defeated.

How can you defeat him? I tried to defeat the Republican party as your candidate. I failed, you say? Yes, I did. I received a million more votes than any Democrat had ever received before, and yet I failed. Why did I fail? Because there were some who had affiliated with

the Democratic party who thought my election dangerous to the country, and they left and helped to elect my opponent. That is why I failed.

I have no words of criticism for them. (Applause.) I have always believed, I believe to-night, I shall always believe. I hope, that a man's duty to his country is higher than his duty to his party. I hope it will always be true that men of all parties will have the moral courage to leave their parties when they believe that to stay with their parties will be to injure their country. The success of your government depends upon the independence and the moral courage of its citizenship.

But, my friends, if I failed with six millions and a half to defeat the Republican party, can those who defeated me succeed in defeating the Republican party? If under the leadership of those who were loyal in 1896—(applause)—we failed, shall we succeed under the leadership of those who were not loyal in 1896? (Applause.)

If we are going to have some other god besides this war god that is presented to us by Gov. Black, what kind of a god is it to be? Must we choose between a god of war and a god of gold? Is there no choice between them? If there is anything that compares in hatefulness with militarism it is plutocracy, and I insist that the Democratic party ought not to be compelled to choose between militarism on one side and plutocracy on the other side. (Applause.)

We came here and agreed upon a platform. We were in session 16 hours last night, if you can put 16 hours into a night. We entered the committee-room at eight last evening, and left it at 12 today. But, my friends, I never spent 16 hours to better purpose in my life—(cheers)—because I helped to bring the party together, so we could have a unanimous platform to go before the country on in this campaign. (Applause.)

How did we get it? It was not all that I would have desired. It was not all that your Eastern Democrats desired. We had to surrender some things that we wanted in the platform. They had to surrender some things they wanted in the platform. But by mutual concession and mutual surrender we agreed upon a platform and we stand on that platform. (Great cheering.)

But, my friends, we need more than a platform. (Applause.) We have to nominate a ticket, and that is the work of this convention. Had you come to this convention instructed for any man to the extent of a majority, I not only would not have asked you to disregard your instructions, I would not if I could

have prevented it, permitted you to disregard your instructions. (Applause.)

I believe in the right of the people to rule. I believe in the right of the people to instruct their delegates, and when a delegate is instructed, it is binding upon him. But, my friends, not a majority came instructed for any candidate. That means that you were left upon your responsibility to select a candidate, and a grave responsibility it is. Grave is the responsibility resting upon these delegates in this convention. I have not come to ask anything of this convention. Nebraska asks nothing but to be permitted to fight the battles of Democracy. (Cheers.)

Some of you have called me a dictator. It was false. You know it was false. (Cheers.) How have I tried to dictate? I have suggested that I thought certain things ought to be done. Have not you exercised the same privilege? Why have I not a right to suggest? (Applause.) (A voice: "You have.")

Because I was your candidate, am I now estopped to ever make suggestions? (Cries of "No, No.") Why, sir, if that condition went with a nomination for the Presidency, no man worthy to be President would ever accept a nomination—(applause)—for the right of a man to have an opinion and to express it is more important and sacred than the holding of any office, however high.

I have my opinions about the platform. I made my suggestions. Not all of them were received. I would like to have seen the Kansas City platform reaffirmed. (Applause.) I am not ashamed of that platform. I believe in it now, as I believed in it when I was running upon it; then, I was your candidate, but the people in the Democratic party did not agree with me, and their will was supreme.

When they veto my suggestions I have to accept. There is no other court which I can appeal to. I have not attempted to dictate about candidates. I have not asked the Democrats of this nation to nominate any particular man. I have said that there were many in every State willing to be President; and I have said that out of six millions and a half who voted for me in both campaigns, we ought to be able to find at least one good man for President. (Loud applause.)

I have made these suggestions only in a general way. I am here to-night as a delegate from Nebraska. I have not confidence enough in my own opinion to tell you that I can pick out the man and say that this man must be nominated or we shall lose. I have, I think, a reasonable faith in my own opinions; at least I have this faith, that I would rather accept my own and stand by them if I be-

lieved them right, than accept anybody else's if I believed them wrong. (Loud applause.)

Nebraska is not here asking for the nomination of any man. We now have a platform on which we all can stand. (Loud applause and cheering.) Now, give us a ticket behind which all of us can stand. (Prolonged cheers.)

You can go into any State you please and get him. I have not as much faith as some have in the value of a locality. I have never been a great stickler for nominating candidates from doubtful States on the theory that their personal popularity would elect them.

I have had so much faith in the virtue of Democratic principles that I thought a Democrat ought to vote for a good man from any other State before he would vote for a bad man from his own State. (Applause.)

I do not believe much in this doctrine of State pride, and I have found that when people come with a candidate and tell us first that we must carry a certain State, and that that man is the only one who could carry the State, they do not put up a bond to deliver the goods if they are accepted. (Applause.) And, anyhow, a State that is so uncertain that only one Democrat in the nation can carry it cannot be relied upon in a great crisis. (Applause.)

Now we have our platform. Select your candidate. If it is the choice or the wish of this convention that the standard should be placed in the hands of the gentleman presented by California; the man who, though he has money, pleads the cause of the people; the man who is the best beloved, I think I can safely say, among laboring men of all the candidates proposed; the one who more than any other represents opposition to the trust question—if you want to place the standard in his hands and make Hearst the candidate of this convention, Nebraska will be with you in the fight. (Cheers.)

But, my friends, Nebraska does not make any request. If you think that the gentleman from Wisconsin, who, though faithful in both campaigns, was not with us on the money question—if you think Mr. Wall, agreeing with the East on the gold question and with the West on other questions, would draw the party together—if you want to place the standard in his hands, Nebraska will be with you and contribute her part. (Cheers.)

If you prefer an Eastern man and find some one who will give both elements of the party something to believe in, something to trust in, something to hope for, we are willing to join you with him. My friends, it is not always that every available man is mentioned. There is in the

State of Pennsylvania a man whom I mention, without consulting his delegation, without consent of the man himself; an Eastern man who voted fifth us in both campaigns, but against us on the money question, and, I believe, in sympathy with the people; a man twice governor of a great State (cheers); a man who only two years ago, when a candidate again, carried the great State of Pennsylvania outside of the two great cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburg. If you Eastern Democrats who have insisted that your objection to me was my belief in free silver—if you Democrats are willing to take a gold man, I am willing to let you have your way on that question in this man, for I will trust his honesty on all questions. (Applause.)

I only mention these candidates as illustrations. I came here to second the nomination of a man, and I come to second his nomination not because I can assert to you that he is more available than any other person who might be named, but because I love the man and because on the platform we have adopted I don't think there is any good reason why every Democrat in the East might not vote for this man. I come to second the nomination of Senator Cockrell of Missouri. (Long continued applause, followed by cheers.)

He is the Nestor of the Senate. He is experienced in public affairs. He is known; he has a record. He can be measured by it; and my friends, I would be willing to write my indorsement on his back and send him out to the world, willing to guarantee everything he did. (Loud applause.) They say that he comes from the South. What if he does? I do not share the feeling that some people have that the Democratic party cannot take a candidate from the South.

They say he was in the Confederate army. What if he was? I do not share the belief of those who say we cannot nominate an ex-Confederate. (Prolonged cheering and applause.) My friends, that war, that cruel war, was 40 years ago. Its issues are settled; its wounds are healed. The participants are friends. We have got another war on now, and those who know what the war between plutocracy and democracy means will not ask where a man stood 40 years ago; they will ask: Where does he stand to-day in this war?

My friends, I believe that the great issue in this country to-day is plutocracy versus democracy. You have said that I had just one idea, the silver idea. Well, awhile back, they said I had only one, but then it was the tariff idea. There is an issue greater than the silver issue, the tariff issue, the trust issue.

It is the issue between plutocracy and democracy; whether this is to be a government of the people, by the people and for the people, administered by officers chosen by the people, administered in behalf of the people. It is either this, or it is to be a rule of the moneyed element of the country for their own interest alone. The issue has been growing. I want you as Democrats here assembled to help us meet this question.

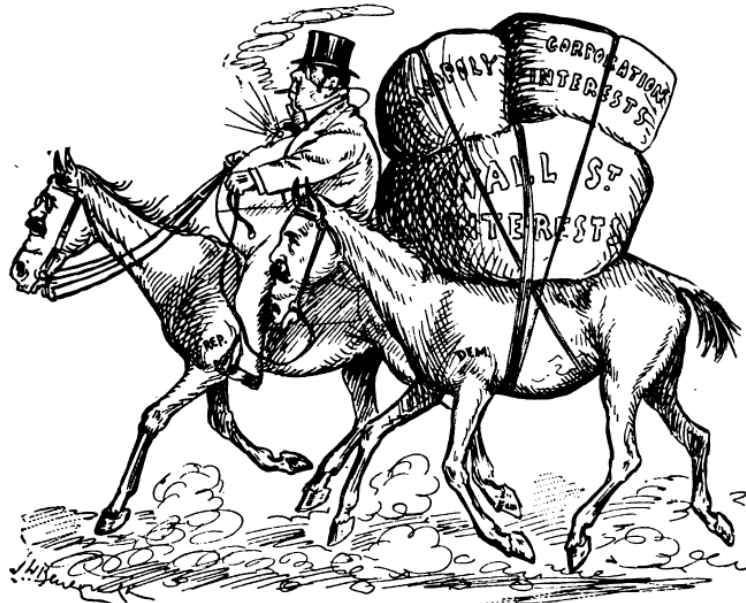
You tell me the Republican candidate stands for militarism. Yes, but he also stands for plutocracy. You tell me he delights in war. But there is another objection to him, and that is that he does not enforce the law against a big criminal as he does against a little criminal. Laws are being violated to-day, and these laws must be enforced. The people must understand that we are to have equal rights for all and special privileges to none. (Applause.)

We have had the debauchment of elections. It was stated the other day that in the little State of Delaware \$256,000 was spent in the State on one day just before the election of 1896. Some say that we must have a great campaign fund, and go out and bid against the Republicans. My friends; I want to warn you that if the Democratic party is to save this nation, it must not save it by purchase, but by principle. Every time we resort to purchase we cultivate the spirit of barter, and the price will constantly increase and elections will go to the highest bidder.

If the Democratic party is to save this country, it must appeal to the conscience of the country. It must point out the dangers to the republic, and if the party will nominate a man, I care not from what part he comes, who is not the candidate of a faction, who is not the candidate of an element, but the candidate of a party, the party will stand by him and will drive the Republican party from power and save this country. (Applause.)

My friends, I believe that you could take a man from any Southern State who would go out and make a fight that would appeal to Democrats, all Democrats who love Democratic principles, and to Republicans who begin to fear for their nation's welfare—take such a man, and I believe that he would poll a million more votes than the candidate of any faction whose selection would be regarded as a triumph of a part of the party over the rest of the party. (Applause.)

I simply submit it for your consideration. I am here to discharge a duty



Plutocracy in the Saddle; or, The Ridden Horse and the Led.

that I owed to the party. I knew before I came to this convention that a majority of the delegates would not agree with me in my financial views. I knew that there would be among the delegates many who did not vote for me when I sorely needed their help. I was not objecting to the majority against me, nor to the presence of those who went away and came back. But, my friends, I came, not because I thought I would be delighted to be in the minority in our opinion, but because I owed a duty to the 6,000,000 brave, loyal men who sacrificed for me. (Cheers.)

I came to get them as good a platform as I could. I have helped them to get a good platform. (Applause.) I came to help get as good a candidate as I can; and I hope that he will be one who can draw the factions together, who can give to us who believe in aggressive, positive, Democratic reform something to hope for, and to those who have differed from us on the main question—that he can give them something to hope for, too. And I close with an appeal that I make from my heart to the hearts of those who hear me: Give us a pilot who will guide the Democratic ship from militarism, the Scylla of militarism, without wrecking her in the Charybdis of commercialism. (Great demonstration.)

PERIODICALS.

Sophie Kropotkin, in the Nineteenth Century, praises European publishers for

their excellent cheap editions of standard authors. "Perhaps the greatest successes in this direction," she says, "have been attained in Russia. Cheap editions of good books, both by Russian authors and as translations, began to come out in that country about 45 years ago; and I must here say that this excellent tendency was due to a great extent to the Russian women. At present Russian classics are circulating in numbers of cheap editions." J. H. D.

The leading article in the June Atlantic, entitled the Great Delusion of our Time, ought to be widely read. It is far away from and above the ordinary magazine article. In this day of the unco wise the author's clever and earnest word in praise of "fools" is most refreshing, and gives us hope that the present slavery to an idea of science that is without moral perception may in good time pass away. J. H. D.

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