

does not excuse me from publishing my opinion and doing what I consider my duty as a citizen.

Incidentally, while making his preference a personal one he said that he supports "the general Republican position on the tariff and the currency," and has "always been a Republican."

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Immediately upon the publication of Mr. Rockefeller's statement, President Roosevelt denounced it as a trick and published the following:

At the White House the announcement of Mr. Rockefeller through the press agent of the Standard Oil Company was regarded with some amusement, in view of what the Administration has done to the Standard Oil Company and of the bitter hatred borne by the Standard Oil Company to the Administration. It is a perfectly palpable and obvious trick on the part of the Standard Oil People to try to damage Taft—a trick so palpable that it can deceive no one.

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No reference was made by the President to a similar declaration by Andrew Carnegie, published on the same day with Mr. Rockefeller's, in which Mr. Carnegie urged Bryan's defeat and Taft's election for similar reasons, but in more vigorous language.

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Mr. Bryan criticized both statements in a statement issued from Toledo on the 30th. He said:

There are several things about this statement that deserve attention. The first clause says, "if for no other reason." But there is another reason. He is for Mr. Taft because Mr. Taft is for him. He is for Mr. Taft because Mr. Taft is in sympathy with the trusts. Mr. Taft has been making speeches for many weeks, and he has not yet dwelt upon the iniquities of the trust or pointed out the injustice done to the American people by them. No wonder Mr. Rockefeller is for Mr. Taft. Again, Mr. Rockefeller says Mr. Taft's election will make for law and order. This is false. Mr. Rockefeller's corporation is the most notorious lawbreaker in the United States, and he is for Mr. Taft because he does not want the law enforced. If he thought that Mr. Taft would enforce the law against the Standard Oil Company and favored the enactment of more stringent laws against the Standard Oil Company, as I do, he would not be for Mr. Taft. Mr. Rockefeller also says that Mr. Taft's election will make for stability of business. What kind of business? Stability in the trust business is what he means. He thinks that Mr. Taft's election will enable the trusts to get a tighter strangle grasp upon the American people, and put their extortion upon a more permanent foundation. The Democrats have reason to be grateful to Mr. Rockefeller for tearing the mask off the Republican campaign and revealing the duplicity that has characterized it. The Republican party cannot serve two masters. Its real master has now stepped forth and asserted his claim to the party's services. No Republican need be deceived any longer as to the indissoluble bond that binds the Republican organiza-

tion to the predatory interests of the country. It will be noticed that this statement comes out too late to be used by the weekly newspapers or circulated among the masses, but in time to be used in the business centers to influence those business men who look to the big financiers for advice. Mr. Carnegie also has come out for Mr. Taft. Mr. Carnegie holds the largest block of steel bonds of any man in the United States. And he comes out with Mr. Rockefeller. And it was that Steel Trust that went to the White House and got permission from the President to absorb a rival, and the Steel Trust is today supporting Mr. Taft, as it helped to secure his nomination.

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Mr. Bryan's Final Appeal.

On the eve of election, October 31, Mr. Bryan issued an address to the public in which he defined the leading issues, saying in substance that—the Democratic party attempts to inaugurate an era of honesty in politics by compelling the publication of campaign contributions before the election. It seeks to bring the Government nearer to the people by securing the election of United States Senators by direct vote. It seeks to restore competition through legislation which will make a private monopoly impossible. It seeks to reconcile labor and capital by legislation which will bring employer and employe together in friendly co-operation and to this end it proposes the creation of a Department of Labor, with a Secretary of Labor in the cabinet; an amendment to the antitrust law which will exclude the labor organization from the operation of that law; the limitation of the writ of injunction so that it will not be issued in a labor dispute unless conditions are such as would justify an injunction even if there were no labor dispute, and trial by jury in cases of indirect contempt. It seeks to secure legislation which will create a guaranty fund sufficient to insure all depositors against loss. It seeks to secure a reduction of the tariff by gradual steps until the tariff laws will no longer be made in the interest of the few and at the expense of the rest of the people. The Democratic party appeals to the awakened conscience of the Nation and the sense of justice in the human heart and to the growing desire for brotherhood. With a Democratic victory for the National ticket, with a Democratic Congress, and with the moral force of a popular verdict, I believe we can compel the Senate to yield to the expressed will of the people and permit the passage of the more urgent of the reforms. The Democratic party offers the only prospect of remedial legislation, and, while it does not go as far as some reformers would like to go, a Democratic victory will secure as much of reform as is now attainable.

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Cleveland Traction Situation.

Developments of the traction situation in Cleveland since the date of our last report (p. 729), as disclosed by the Cleveland papers, bring the controversy down to and including November 1.

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On the 26th, there was a meeting of the Mu-

municipal company with creditors holding claims aggregating \$125,000, at which Mayor Johnson explained the situation as affecting creditors. He said that all claims against the Municipal would be of less value than otherwise, if a receiver were appointed, because the property would revert to the control of the old monopoly interests, and it would then be a question whether any of the debts of the Municipal would be paid. He declared that if the representatives of these old interests did not keep their agreement to restore the status quo of last Spring in consequence of the defeat of the settlement by the referendum vote, he would not keep his, but would stand upon the lease to the Municipal which leases to it all property rights involved. In this he was supported by Mr. Goff, who represented the old interests in the settlement. It appeared that the strength of his position depends upon preventing a receivership, which would carry the lease with it. Meanwhile creditors' suits for a receivership had been instituted in the Federal courts; and the Municipal company has been holding all receipts and guarding the money, pending action by the courts, because the old interests refuse to allow the funds in bank to be checked out.

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On the 27th the good faith agreement of last Spring to which Mayor Johnson alludes, was published. It is as follows:

If for any reason the plan herein outlined is not carried through to final completion, in a manner satisfactory to both Mr. Johnson and Mr. Goff, all papers are to be returned to the parties from whom the same have been received, and each of the railway companies herein named, and the city, shall take such further action and execute such further papers as may be necessary to fully restore all parties to their rights and position as they existed prior to the execution and delivery of the first paper in this plan of procedure.

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On the 28th the Central Trust Company of New York began suit in the Federal court for a receiver of both the Municipal (the lessee company) and the Cleveland Railway (the owning and lessor company) on the basis of mortgages held by it upon the old monopoly company amounting to \$8,276,000, and the Federal judge, Tayler, issued a restraining order in the suit prohibiting both companies from paying out any money except for expenses of operation. Hearing was set for the 2d of November. Another meeting of the Municipal with creditors was held on the 28th, at which a committee of creditors was appointed.

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On the 29th Mr. Goff announced his unwillingness to act further as one of the voting trustees of the Municipal (p. 708) unless the Municipal

would assent to a receivership in the Central Trust Co.'s suit, and the Mayor would express his willingness to renew negotiations for a settlement upon broad and fair lines. Mayor Johnson replied as follows:

In reply to your letter of Oct. 29, permit me to say that I have repeatedly expressed in the most public manner, and I now reiterate my willingness as mayor to again take up at once with the representatives of the Cleveland Railway Co. the consideration upon broad and fair lines of an equitable settlement of the traction question.

Your letter makes as a condition of your remaining upon the board of trustees that the traction company consent to the appointment of a receiver in the suit pending in the Federal court. The object of the application for a receiver is to forfeit the lease, to grasp the Forest City property, to destroy 3-cent fare and to defraud the creditors and others whose obligations from the traction company rest for their protection upon the honor of the engagements made between you and me.

The written agreement made between you and me as mediators in good faith sought a settlement for the street railway question. The interests of individuals, both creditors and owners, corporations and the public, were affected and their positions changed by their reliance upon the good faith of the arrangement made by us. I regard myself as bound by an obligation, which I neither can nor desire to escape, to restore the entire situation as it was on the 27th day of April.

By this I mean not merely a restoration of the property rights and their protection from impairment, due to their reliance upon the arrangement made by us, but also the restoration of the public to a position in which it will not be at the mercy of a monopoly street railroad interest with all competition destroyed, and nothing to protect the public interest against its aggressions. This restoration and preservation I am pledged with you to bring about.

So long, however, as the old Cleveland Electric interests seek to repudiate this obligation, and to gain the enormous advantage of our settlement, accruing to them from the destruction of competition, by arraying their friends against the public interest and resorting to coercive technical legal proceedings, to be faithful to my trust I must resist them at every point.

In consequence, Mr. Goff resigned, although he commended Mayor Johnson warmly for the frank manner in which he had expressed his willingness to take up the consideration of settlement of the franchise question on broad and fair lines, and expressed the hope that the directors of the Cleveland Railway would confer with the Mayor in the same spirit.

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On the 30th Mayor Johnson offered to give up the claims of the Municipal company in order to secure traction peace, saying:

I am willing to treat immediately with representatives of the Cleveland Railway Co. to end the war, and the directors of the Municipal Traction Co. are

behind me. Any settlement reached must eliminate private profit, except for a legitimate return on investment. Good service must be provided for, and fares must be reduced as fast as increased profits will permit. There will be no quibbling on our part. We will insist on two things only: The protection of the people and the creditors. The first move should be made by the Cleveland Railway Co. directors. We are ready to meet their representatives at any time.

On the other hand, I shall never consent to ignominious surrender to the appointment of a receiver. That would mean the forfeiture of the lease, and would take away our power to fight for the rights of the people in settling the war. Such surrender would jeopardize the interests of creditors, and would rob the people of all fruits of their eight years' battle for better street railway terms. Enemies of the Municipal Traction Co. are trying to stampede the town for the purpose of getting the most favorable terms possible in a new franchise to a private street railway corporation. They are trying to make the people anxious to give a franchise quickly; a franchise with terms so liberal that people are likely to regret their haste in future years. They are trying to make the people think they are in a hurry to give up 3-cent fare and get back to 5-cent fare. A stampede now would mean disaster to the people's interests. In order to get peace with favorable terms, we must not throw away our ammunition and rush off the field headlong. We should have peace, but it must be peace with honor and with the people's interests safeguarded.

To this the directors of the Cleveland Railway Company replied that they were "ready to take up at once the discussion of the terms of a new street railway grant with representatives of the public in an entirely candid and frank manner," suggesting that "discussions shall be open to the public." Their statement was met by Mayor Johnson with the declaration that it "sounds all right as far as it goes," and an expression of his wish that "they would name a committee authorized to act." Also on the 30th the experts of the committee of creditors of the Municipal reported that the assets of the Municipal are \$1,587,259.22, and its liabilities \$1,166,011.22,—an excess of assets over liabilities of \$421,248.

On the 31st the directors of the Cleveland Railway exposed anew their bad faith by refusing to confer in accordance with their offer stated above. Mayor Johnson had called a meeting of the city council for initiating the proposed conference, but none of the Cleveland Railway representatives appeared. The president, however, Horace Andrews, who was president also of the old monopoly company, gave out a statement in which he declined to negotiate unless the Municipal company would first turn over to his company all the property it now holds under its lease. The council adopted the following resolution:

That the council does hereby express its willingness to meet at any time to take up with the Cleve-

land Railway Co. and all others interested, the settlement of the traction question upon lines as broad as the adequate protection of the public interest will permit.

This was passed at the suggestion of Mayor Johnson, who preceded his suggestion with the declaration that—

We will surrender no advantage we have; we will fight technicality with technicality, and we will hold on, and they know in their hearts that they can't take this railroad away. They know that they have lost this battle, and when the question is really settled, they have fought against their own interest in killing that franchise. When they come in again, they will come with a clean sheet of paper, and we will make a trade with them on the best terms for the people that we can make; but we will make those terms in possession of this property, and they will be the ones that will have to sue for peace. Now, I recommend that you meet them half way, and don't surrender your advantage. I hope we will pass a resolution here, being ready to meet them at any time.

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On the 2d of November, Sunday having intervened, the receivership suit in behalf of the Central Trust Company came on for hearing before Judge Tayler. Mr. Goff's law partner—Mr. Tolles—having withdrawn from Mayor Johnson's side of the case, because as a lawyer he represented hostile interests, his place was taken by Samuel B. Clarke and Bronson Winthrop, of New York. After one day's proceedings, the hearing went over to the 4th, the day after the Presidential election.

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The Russian Parliament Reconvenes.

The autumn session of the third Douma (pp. 370, 470), the lower house of the Russian Parliament, opened on the morning of the 28th; and the Council of the Empire, the upper house, began its sittings on the afternoon of the same day. This is the first Douma to reach its second session, and something is hoped for from it. The calendar for the session includes besides the budget, a new university statute, and laws in regard to religious freedom and local self-government; and also, most important of all, two measures connected with the agrarian problem (vol. x, p. 250), described in the dispatches, one as relating to reform of the local courts among the peasants, the other as arranging for the dissolution of communes and the transfer of lands to individual ownership, which was introduced as a temporary measure between the first and second Doumas (vol. ix, pp. 824, 926; see also in same vol. pp. 219, 256, 441, 511, 560, 634).

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For those who see Truth and would follow her; for those who recognize Justice and would stand her, success is not the only thing. Success!