

# The Public

A National Journal of Fundamental Democracy &  
A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making

LOUIS F. POST, EDITOR  
ALICE THACHER POST, MANAGING EDITOR

ADVISORY AND CONTRIBUTING EDITORS

JAMES H. DILLARD, Louisiana  
WILLIAM LLOYD GARRISON, Massachusetts  
L. F. C. GARVIN, Rhode Island  
HENRY P. RING, Texas  
WILLIAM H. FLEMING, Georgia  
HERBERT S. BIGELOW, Ohio  
FREDERIC C. HOWE, Ohio  
MRS. HARRIET TAYLOR UPTON, Ohio  
BRAND WHITLOCK, Ohio

HENRY GEORGE, JR., New York  
ROBERT BAKER, New York  
BOLTON HALL, New York  
FRANCIS I. DU PONT, Delaware  
HERBERT QUICK, Iowa  
MRS. LONA INGHAM ROBINSON, Iowa  
S. A. STOCKWELL, Minnesota  
WILLIAM P. HILL, Missouri  
C. E. S. WOOD, Oregon

JOHN Z. WHITE, Illinois  
R. F. PETTIGREW, South Dakota  
LEWIS H. BERENS, England  
J. W. S. CALLIE, England  
JOSEPH FELS, England  
JOHN PAUL, Scotland  
MAX HIRSCH, Australia  
GEORGE FOWLDS, New Zealand

Vol. XI

CHICAGO, FRIDAY, JUNE 26, 1908.

No. 534

Published by Louis F. Post  
Ellsworth Building, 357 Dearborn Street, Chicago.

Single Copy, Five Cents      Yearly Subscription      Dollar  
Entered as Second-Class Matter April 16, 1898, at the Post Office at  
Chicago, Illinois, under Act of March 3, 1879.

## EDITORIAL

### CONTENTS.

EDITORIAL:	
The Taft Candidacy.....	289
The Republican Labor Plank.....	290
Republican Protection.....	291
Our Foreign Trade.....	291
The Distribution of Wealth.....	291
Senator Burrows and American Wealth.....	292
The Negro and the Republican Party.....	292
Press Censorship.....	292
The Church and Socialism.....	293
Back in the Game.....	293
The Police and the Golden Rule.....	293
Labor Injunctions (Louisa Dana Harding).....	294
EDITORIAL CORRESPONDENCE:	
Emma Goldman in Oregon (C. E. S. Wood).....	295
NEWS NARRATIVE:	
The Republican Convention.....	296
Democratic Presidential Politics.....	298
Labor in Politics in Illinois.....	299
The Traction Situation in Cleveland.....	299
The Filipinos Ask for Independence.....	300
Peace with the Yaquis Deferred.....	300
Civil War in Persia.....	300
Political Trials in Russia.....	300
Another Woman Suffrage Parade in London.....	300
An Advance in the Treatment of Criminals.....	301
News Notes.....	301
Press Opinions.....	302
RELATED THINGS:	
The Rebel (Victor Robinson).....	303
Wholesale and Retail (G. T. E.).....	303
Our Faith Contrasted with Our Life (W. L. Garrison.).....	303
The Public Ownership of Railroads (Erik Oberg).....	304
Mary's Little Farm.....	307
BOOKS:	
Lloyd's Last Book.....	307
Books Received.....	308
Periodicals.....	308

### The Taft Candidacy.

When the Republican convention nominated Mr. Taft for the Presidency, upon the platform which it adopted, including the deliberate omissions as well as the specific declarations of that platform, it went a long way toward establishing plainly in public apprehension the real issue in American politics.

+

Mr. Taft is neither a plutocrat nor a democratic pretender. He is an honest aristocrat. A better representative of the aristocratic ideal could hardly be found anywhere in American public life. To him there appears to be an upper class and a lower class, a directing class and a working class, a guardian class and a class of wards. Are we considering the independence of the Philippines? The Filipinos should have independence as soon as they are fitted for it, and meanwhile we who are already fitted for it must help these backward ones up toward our own level. Noblesse oblige! Are we considering labor questions? Workingmen should be encouraged to improve their lot, and there should be paternal legislation to ameliorate their condition without menacing "vested rights." Noblesse oblige! Secure the upper classes in their privileges, and they will care for the lower classes who have no privileges. Noblesse oblige! Such is the philosophy which Mr. Taft represents. The antithesis of democracy, it

proposes patronage from above instead of growth from within.

\*

And as with Mr. Taft the candidate, so with his platform. In spirit and letter it is the platform of a party that contemplates privileges for the few and protection for the many. Like its candidate, this party as it now clearly declares itself, would go down among the people and do them good and regulate their lives; preserving intact the while the vested privileges which make such condescension possible. If there is now left in the Republican party as an organization the slightest spark of the old Lincolnian doctrine of democracy, that the masses must redeem themselves, and that they will do so if unburdened with the privileges of "upper" classes, it appears neither in the character of the candidate nor in the spirit of the platform.

\*

This is not to be deprecated. On the contrary, let us sincerely hope that a candidate and a platform so frankly aristocratic will draw to the support of the Republican party, with enthusiastic approval, all voters who are honestly hostile to the democratic spirit. There is nothing in either platform or candidate to complicate the issue. If we are to go as a nation in the direction of the aristocratic ideal, we could not do so with greater confidence in the personal integrity of a leader than under the candidacy of Mr. Taft, commissioned by such a platform as his. The party might have nominated a demagogue or a plutagogue—a candidate without sincerity, or one who stands for the supremacy of the Big Business which respects no one's rights. It has done neither. It has given us a fair-minded patrician, to whom the judiciously guarded rights of plebians are as sacred, narrow, though they be, as the expansive privileges of his own class.

\*

Thereby the Republican party has relieved the pending political contest of all diverting influences. Aristocracy has through it thrown down the gauntlet to democracy. Here is the man and here the platform which the aristocratic spirit thrusts into the arena. Both are free from guile. There is no wickedness and no hypocrisy. Shall our government be aristocratic in the truest sense, or democratic in the truest sense? Shall government of all by an upper class, yet for the good of all in their several stations, as that class sees the good of each to be, supersede government of all by all and for all? This is the welcome issue

which the Republican nomination and platform, so frankly representative of the spirit of aristocracy, precipitates. It is an issue which gives promise of a campaign of vital principle frankly declared, in place of the campaigns preceding it, with their masquerades of principle and their fury of personalities.

\*   \*

### The Republican Labor Plank.

One of the planks of the Republican platform, the plank on labor injunctions, is denounced by many as deceptive. We do not read it so. It is one of the fairest declarations in the whole document. It could not possibly have been any more frank without disregarding every principle of diplomacy in the formulation of public declarations.

\*

What the convention meant, and what Mr. Taft stands for on this subject, is the utilization of the autocratic process of injunction for the protection of employers in the hiring of workmen in the cheapest market. Labor injunctions are utilized for the purpose of defining offenses against property in particular cases, without the intervention of the legislature; they are utilized for the purpose of defining as property the right to make any kind of contracts of hire that a glutted labor market affords; their violation is tested by mere affidavits, and without living witnesses or the benefits of cross-examination, and before the injunction-issuing judge and without the intervention of a jury; the punishment is as absolutely in the discretion of the judge as is the finding of fact. The writ itself is a survival of the autocratic power of the king, acting through his chancellor. It was manifestly intended by the Republican leaders to preserve this autocratic power in cases of labor strikes, and that is precisely what the Republican platform, with almost brutal frankness, demands.

\*

It declares against any modification of the process of injunction; and while it expresses belief in the desirability of a notice before the process issues, except in emergent cases, it thereby merely re-declares the law as it exists. The evil of injunctions in labor cases is not that they are issued without notice. Neither is it that prompt hearings are denied. The substantial evil is that they create judge-made law; that under them convictions of crime are secured indirectly without a jury; that the testimony is by affidavit, and that there is no opportunity to cross-examine witnesses. The innovation of labor injunctions—for these