

everything so strenuously that his own campaign became a bow-legged one, and, among a large class of people, excited both derision and contempt.

To say that the National campaign was managed with an astonishing blindness to real public sentiment is putting it mildly. Begun by a policy of waiting, of silence, of nervelessness, and inaction, the campaign on the Democratic side wound up in a blaze of panic-stricken activity—an activity which did not convince and which was not commenced until every man had made up his mind which way he was going to vote. Many believe that this activity injured rather than helped the Democratic electoral ticket.

In our own State a most remarkable moonlight hunting trip was indulged in. The much-vaunted activity of the State Committee and the "splendid organization, not equalled since the days of Tilden," was the purest moonshine and possessed a far flimsier substance than the Milky Way. There was more activity every day in the small Union County headquarters than the writer could ever see at the headquarters of the State Committee. Yet there was some activity in the latter place. The irrepressible Naar held forth from day to day and all buttoned their pocketbooks as his notes swelled on the breeze. To the onlooker it was Naar's campaign and not Parker's.

This sound trouncing should at least teach the Democrats a lesson. And this lesson is that the party cannot temporize with its secret enemies and hope for any act of success. The party cannot become the reactionary political organization of the country. The Republican party is already impregnably established in that position and unless the Democratic party can take the reverse stand, there is no logical excuse for its existence. In its generic sense democracy stands for the furtherance of freedom, of equal rights and of justice to all. Therefore unless the party is willing to come out into the open and stand for these things, it will sooner or later die, and it should die. But if it will so stand, then it will live and sooner or later reap a deserving victory.

Let all believers in compromise, restrictive tariffs, unequal legislation and the conserving of monopoly go into the Republican party, where they belong. Let all believers in equal liberty and of freedom come into the Democratic party and cooperate with those who will now take the helm. Then, and then only, will we have a clean-cut fight against the iniquitous and debauching influence of false Republican

doctrines, and in the interest of social justice and true morality.

JOHN MOODY.
Cranford, November 10, 1904.

UNCLE SAM'S LETTERS TO JOHN BULL.

HE BRINGS ANDREW JACKSON INTO THE WHITE HOUSE.

Printed from the Original Manuscript.

Dear John: Next mornin' I went up to the white house agin to the cabinet meetin'. There was clearly no dream about it, for there they were. By the new invention of graftin' a live dead man onto a dead live man, Andrew Jackson was in Roosevelt's place, John A. Rawlins was secretary of war and John P. Altgeld attorney general.

There was a full board, for the secretaries had quit electioneerin' and come in off the road.

"Pshaw!" says one. "No use makin' any more speeches. Parker would be better than this. Hades has arrived." They looked grim and determined.

"The first thing to tackle," said Old Hickory, "is this coal famine."

One of the cabinet turned pale and sprang to his feet.

"Your excellency!" says he.

"Your what?" says Jackson.

"Mr. President, I hope that this administration will do nothin' unconstitutional; that it will not disturb the balance of the respective departments, nor engage in trade, and that it will hew to the old lines."

"That reminds me," said Old Hickory, "of somethin' I was goin' to say. All you boys will be required to sell out all corporation stocks in ten days, and file a certificate to that effect or your resignations."

"But, Mr. President, that is an outrage."

"It will keep us from trampin' on each other's toes," said Jackson; "and besides that, you don't have to serve. The government pays you a good salary, and I want your interest in the business. Anybody not drawin' his salary will raise his right hand."

Altgeld remarked here, with a twinkle of his dark blue eye, that he hadn't drawn his yet, but he allowed to as soon as he could get around to it—said he wasn't fortunate enough to have any stocks.

"It's no reflection on anybody," said Jackson. "We are just settin' an example to the judiciary. And mind this, too: Speculations of all kinds by cabinet members are barred. Now let's get to business. A coal famine when coal is plenty, or a food famine in a condition of plenty, is a state of war and intolerable, so it seems to me. I don't

know what the attorney general thinks."

"You can have my portfolio any time, Mr. President; but so long as I hold it I shall never cease to protest against all action on unconstitutional lines—all anarchy, socialism, free silver—"

"What do you say, Altgeld?"

"Oh, constitutional lines by all means," says Altgeld with a grim smile. "We don't want to follow Republican precedents. Stacks of fine things can be done on constitutional lines. The plutes won't like 'em any better on that account."

"We have the supreme court and the interstate commerce commission," says the irate member.

"What do you say, Sam?"

"Well, Andy," said I, "I'll tell you how it strikes me: Supreme courts and interstate commerce commissions and alpeen glaciers are all right in their way, and they do move; but they're slow, Andy, slow. They work in cycles and eons of time; and I want meat for breakfast and coal to cook it with, and so I've been a-thinkin' how I can get coal to burn, or sell at any price I please, or give a bushel to a poor woman if the notion struck me, without havin' my own coal cut off by Baer; and I guess I've got the right notion. 'The night is the night, if the boys are the boys.' I'll tell you that yarn when I have time. Fact is, I'm gettin' mighty tired of the promises of political parties. I'd like to have a little performance by the men adrawin' my salaries."

Good-by, John. I'll tell you more next letter.

UNCLE SAM.

THE RIGHTS AND DUTIES OF AMERICAN CITIZENS AT THE POLLS.

A portion of a sermon delivered by the Rev. Thomas P. Byrnes, at the People's Church, Kalamazoo, Mich., November 6, 1904, as reported in the Kalamazoo Evening Telegraph.

"And Jesus answering said unto them. Render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's."—Mark xii:17.

In this text Jesus proclaims our duty to government, and our responsibility in sustaining the temporal power. As we approach our national election day, these words come home to us with religious sanction, and remind us of our duties as citizens of the great republic.

For the American citizen to "render to Caesar the things that are Caesar's" means that on next Tuesday he ought to cast an intelligent, conscientious and patriotic vote for the men and the measures that in his judgment will conduce to the public welfare, and the true progress of our nation for the next four years.

This reminds us that we have both duties and rights, as citizens of this great country, called upon as we are from time to time to exercise the suffrage of a free people. Let us speak of the duties as the first in order, and as the first in importance in a democracy like ours.

Our first duty is to cast an intelligent vote. This means that we ought to be open in mind, free in spirit, and investigate to the best of our ability the men who, as candidates on the different tickets, ask for our votes, and to examine to the best of our ability the different policies and issues that are before the people for endorsement.

This attitude requires independence, self-reliance and courage, a fearlessness in the presence of the party boss, and a personality that can resist the tyranny of party dictation.

In a democracy the ballot should represent real conviction and be the expression of the intellectual and moral desires of the voter. Such a voter discards as base ethics the political war-cry of "my party, right or wrong," and puts in its place, "to vote for the best men and measures, is always the first duty of a patriot."

Even that party loyalty that says that "I can make the curves my party can make," may only mean that I can degenerate in moral tone as fast as my party can, and that I willingly become a partner in its crimes and political corruption.

It is the duty of the voter to cast an honest vote. This means that a man should vote in the interest of the public good. There are some vicious things which a man can do which only injure himself, but because our ballot is a social function a man cannot cast a vicious ballot without to that extent injuring his friends, his neighbors and his country. This principle condemns as a dangerous element in our political life both the briber and the bribed.

As the aim of an election in a democracy is to find out the opinion and conviction of the voter upon the issues at stake, so the effort to influence the voter by bribery, is an effort to destroy the fundamental purpose of the franchise. It may be assumed that a man who will sell his vote is not a man of real and strong political convictions, but in so far as he has convictions he is bought and bribed to depart from them, so bribery to this extent defeats the purpose and virtue of the ballot.

No party man, or political worker, will bribe a man to vote the way he intended to vote, so if he is bribed at

all, he must be bribed to depart from his real convictions such as they are, and it is this that constitutes the viciousness of bribery.

But if we are duty bound to cast an intelligent and honest ballot at every election, we also have the right to a free ballot, and an untrammelled suffrage.

In theory every American citizen in this republic is a sovereign, and this ought to be the case in practice as well as in theory.

We have no tribunal elected or self-appointed in this country who are supposed to sit in judgment on their fellowmen and decide how they shall vote.

This is left to the judgment and conscience of each citizen. Nevertheless, this principle is often forgotten, and in the strong desire for party victory, and because of the great principles and prizes at stake, the temptation is often powerful to force, browbeat, intimidate, crack the party whip, hold the club of social ostracism, and even the fear of loss of position and bread and butter, over voters and force them against their will and convictions to vote a given way.

This is all wrong in every instance, and is destructive of the very foundations of a republic.

Every American citizen should have the right to vote on all occasions as his judgment and conscience dictate.

Every American citizen should have the right to not only vote as he thinks, but he should have the right to make public his political preferences and convictions, without endangering his position, his bread and butter, or being subjected to social ostracism. A man should have the right to vote for the minor parties, and propagate by legitimate methods even radical political measures without being persecuted, or socially and politically boycotted.

This is a fundamental political principle in this country, and the most un-American elements we have in our political society are those who strike at this principle, and who by force and illegitimate pressure lead voters to depart from their real convictions and sentiments on election day.

There are many considerations appropriate to be discussed in a pre-election sermon, but it is my conviction that a free ballot, honestly and intelligently cast by the millions of American voters next Tuesday, will best insure the prosperity, greatness and moral soundness of this nation for many years to come.

DEMOCRACY VS. PLUTOCRACY— THE ELECTION'S LESSON.

The leading editorial in Mr. Bryan's *Commoner* for Nov. 11, 1904.

The Democratic party has met with an overwhelming defeat in the national election. As yet the returns are not sufficiently complete to permit analysis, and it is impossible to say whether the result is due to an actual increase in the number of Republican votes or to a falling off in the Democratic vote. This phase of the subject will be dealt with next week when the returns are all in. The questions for consideration at this time are, what lesson does the election teach, and, what of the future? The defeat of Judge Parker should not be considered a personal one. He did as well as he could under the circumstances; he was the victim of unfavorable conditions and of a mistaken party policy. He grew in popularity as the campaign progressed, and expressed himself more and more strongly upon the trust question, but could not overcome the heavy odds against him. The so-called conservative Democrats charged the defeats of 1896 and 1900 to the party's position on the money question and insisted that a victory could be won by dropping the coinage question entirely. The convention accepted this theory, and the platform made no reference to the money question, but Judge Parker felt that it was his duty to announce his personal adherence to the gold standard. His gold telegram, as it was called, while embarrassing to the Democrats of the West and South, was applauded by the eastern press. He had the cordial indorsement of Mr. Cleveland, who certified that the party had returned to "safety and sanity;" he had the support of the Democratic papers which bolted in 1896, and he also had the aid of nearly all of those who were prominent in the campaigns of 1896 and 1900, and yet his defeat is apparently greater than the party suffered in either of those years.

It is unquestionable also that Judge Parker's defeat was not local but general—the returns from the eastern states being as disappointing as the returns from the west. The reorganizers were in complete control of the party; they planned the campaign and carried it on according to their own views, and the verdict against their plan is a unanimous one. Surely silver cannot be blamed for this defeat, for the campaign was run on a gold basis; neither can the defeat be charged to emphatic condemnation of the trusts, for the trusts were not assailed as vigorously this year as they were four years ago. It is evident that the campaign did not