

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 plank 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