

that the plutocratic Democratic leaders of the South have been buncoed. The agents of the trusts had assured them that they would furnish the funds to elect "a safe and sane" man. But it is said in spite of Lawson's story that they have concluded Mr. Roosevelt is "safe" enough for them. I am informed that the campaign lags because of lack of funds in the Democratic exchequer. That this is due to the failure of the trusts to respond is supposed to be corroborated by the editorial columns of the pluto-Democratic press, and the change that has come over Mr. Parker himself.

In my letter of last week I said that there was no enthusiasm among the Socialists. But Debs addressed two immense meetings here last Sunday. The first was held in the Academy of Music, on Fourteenth street, adjoining Tammany Hall. The capacity of this auditorium is about 2,500. The price of admission tickets ranged from 10 to 50 cents. After the three galleries, the orchestra and orchestra circle were packed and stage crowded to the limit, hundreds clamored at the box office, or as near as they could get to it, with money in hand to buy tickets, and were refused. The second meeting was held in the Majestic theater, in Brooklyn, at night, the price of admission being the same, and the house was packed to the limit, while hundreds were turned away. I was able to get on the stage at both meetings, through the courtesy of the managers, and was in a position to look into the faces of both audiences. Here were gathered thousands of earnest, well-dressed men and women, who gave evidence of a high degree of intelligence as they applauded the strong points of the speaker. It was an encouraging sign, at least, to look into these earnest and intelligent faces, and know that here were thousands that had passed from the thralldom of the political boss, men who you knew by their honest, earnest faces could never again be coerced or corrupted into voting against their convictions. It is my judgment, after witnessing these meetings, that the Socialist vote will be a surprise to the bosses of both the old political parties.

Debs made inspiring speeches, but was quite weak in his economic reasoning, absolutely ignoring the land as one of the factors in the production of wealth. He probably included it in the "machinery and tools of production," or may have inadvertently overlooked it. His audience gave evidence of being in accord with him on every proposition.

Results of the greatest interest to students of taxation methods are following the application of the new law in New York city. This law, besides compelling from the assessors the separate valuation of land distinct from

the value of buildings or other improvements, also commands the detailed official publication of the result of the assessments. Following the example first set by the tax commission two years ago in assessing all real estate at its full value, the assessors under the new conditions are realizing a nearer approach to equality before the law than has ever before, perhaps, been attained in urban taxation in the United States. Such inequalities and seeming discrimination as still exist, evidenced in some instances by a higher assessment upon land that is built upon than upon neighboring vacant land of similar area, must yield to the inevitable demand for equality that will follow the publication of the detailed assessment by districts. The placing of this beneficent law on the statute books of the Empire State is due to the intelligent and persistent efforts of one of the most brilliant young members of the New York bar, whose office is located in the very center of the great financial district of the city. That the law is beneficent is pretty generally conceded.

Mr. Charles O'Connor, Messeny, vice president and manager of the Franklin Society, of this city, a society that deals heavily in real estate, told me this morning that New York's new taxation methods have borne hard and heavy upon the vacant land speculator, as is seen in the almost feverish anxiety of holders of large tracts in the outskirts of the city to get their holdings on the market either in bulk or sub-divided for homeseekers. Take for instance the section of Jamaica, in Queen's Borough, where scores of new houses have been built during the last 18 months upon land that for years was held out of the market by thrifty farmers banking upon the increasing needs of a steadily increasing population.

"It's an outrageous law," said one of these speculators, after he had sold his 30 acres of land at \$2,500 an acre. "Them fellows would have ruined me if I hadn't sold out," he added, referring to the tax assessors, who had raised the valuation of his property from \$400 to \$2,000. This land was quickly sub-divided by speculators of another and better kind, who, after making street improvements, offered it in parcels to home seekers for immediate use. Under the new dispensation the speculator in vacant land must unload quickly, for fear that taxes and interest will eat up his speculative profit. And this leads to more houses built, more labor employed and larger public revenues."

D. S. LUTHER.

I have always thought that all men should be free, but if any should be slaves, it should be, first those who desire it for themselves, and secondly those who desire it for others.—Abraham Lincoln.

## NEWS

Week ending Thursday, Oct. 27.

The sensational political event of the week is Thomas W. Lawson's charge that Judge Parker's candidacy originated in and is corruptly promoted by what is known as "the Standard Oil crowd."

Replying in the November issue of Everybody's Magazine to a correspondent who had addressed him with reference to his series of articles in that magazine on Frenzied Finance (p. 177), Mr. Lawson condemned President Roosevelt for countenancing "so bad a man as Addicks," saying that "if this were an ordinary national election," one "where both the leading parties stood as they usually do, for honest Americanisms, but of different brand, Theodore Roosevelt should be defeated for this one act alone." In a subsequent newspaper interview, he also said of Roosevelt's candidacy that it is supported by the Pierpont Morgan interests. It was in continuance, however, of his letter in the November Everybody's at page 71, that he made his accusation regarding Judge Parker and the Standard Oil "crowd."

On that point Mr. Lawson said:

Theodore Roosevelt, while President of the United States, refused to allow "Standard Oil" to run him, and "Standard Oil" got hotter and hotter; but, not daring to rage openly, how they did spit fire "on the quiet!" If I have listened once, I have twenty times while Mr. Rogers raved at "that—" well, I won't use his exact language, it wouldn't be respectful to our President. At last, as in all such cases, there came an absolutely-not-to-be-borne trampling on "Standard Oil" dignity, and Theodore Roosevelt was on the "System's" blacklist until eternity. Mr. Rogers called me to New York in connection with some other business. I found him in a terribly excited mood. "What do you think that fellow Roosevelt has done now? Young John Rockefeller telegraphed him to give an audience to Archibald on the trust matter. Roosevelt saw he had us and played some of his dirty politics. He sent for the manager of the Western Associated Press and had him agree to publish the telegram in the West, keeping it out of the East, and to publish it as having been sent by Mr. Rockefeller instead of that unthinking boy, and, of course, you have seen it in the papers;

it's everywhere how he kicked 'Standard Oil' out of the White House. That is his last insult to us, and we will defeat him at any cost." From that time on Mr. Rogers's able brain was working day and night, first to get John Hay to run against Roosevelt, next Root, then Uncle Mark Hanna; but owing to one of those complicated entanglements that old Dame Fate now and then reels out of her crochet basket to the bewilderment of slick mortals, his efforts went for naught, and he was compelled to fall back on a more dangerous and expensive plan. He laid out on his campaign table the "most available" (what worlds of eel-skin political plety those two words cover!) Democrats, and it didn't take him long to make his selection of a man who would, if President of the United States, allow those who put him there to "run the shop." When his selection was made he called in his faithful hired man, Senator "Pat" McCarren, of Brooklyn, N. Y., and gave his orders, the same kind of orders as he gives for the purchase of an oil well, or the knocking in the head of a business rival, or the setting up of an Amalgamated knock-down-and-drag-out—"Go here!" "Go there!" "Buy this!" "Sell that!" "Billy Sheehan to captain that company, and Dave Hill to dig that mine!" In short order the venture was all covered to its finality, and there has never been a slip of a cog or the unengearing of a wheel that was not foreseen and provided for. To try to balk a part of his game I posted Bryan in advance of the St. Louis convention, and we all know how he upset their plans in the committee, but we also know it took the pressure of one finger on the button at 26 Broadway and the gold telegram episode to put things back into the smooth-running groove. We all know of the kick-up in New York city between McCarren and the Tammany leader, but a pressure of a thumb on another button at 26 Broadway, and the hated antagonists found it possible to live in the same world without flying at each other's throats. Everybody marvelled at the ease with which the various rivalries in Democratic politics in New York State were subdued to make unanimous Judge Herrick's nomination for Governor. I could give you, had I the space, a thousand and one of the marvels which this "System" is performing in the present campaign, and which will have for their finish the sudden purchase of a few doubtful States a few days before election, and—the annihilation of Theodore Roosevelt and his ambitions, and—hell for the American people.

Four days after the publication of these statements in New York, at Esopus on the 24th, Judge Parker made a speech in which he criticized the trusts and their activities in politics. Explaining

that many years had passed since his active participation in politics, he said that a startling change for the worse had taken place—

a change that has introduced debasing and corrupt methods, which threaten the integrity of our government, leaving it perhaps a republic in form, but not a republic in substance; no longer a government of the people, by the people, for the people, but a government whose officers are practically chosen by a handful of corporate managers, who levy upon the assets of the stockholders whom they represent such sums of money as they deem requisite to place the conduct of the government in such hands as they consider best for their private interests.

Protesting then that he meant no criticism of individual contributions to legitimate campaign expenses, nor of the accumulation of property and its just protection, Judge Parker indicated as the objects of his criticism that class of enterprises, some of which, having unduly thrived through favoritism and been permitted by statute to indirectly levy tribute on the people, have in the course of time—

become so rich and strong that they can and do contribute vast sums when it is made clear that it will advantage them; and they contribute upon the promise, direct or implied, that they shall be permitted to continue to tax the people for their own benefit. Upon such promises contributions have been not infrequently made in such large measure as to induce and procure colonization, repeating and bribery in doubtful States. This has built up a class of voters known to local leaders as 'floaters,' a class so numerous that party canvassers allot to them in their canvass books a separate column headed with that name. This condition is recognized by party workers, local, State and national. They are no longer shocked by it. It has become so prevalent that they are becoming hardened to it. They sometimes wonder where it is to end, but under the stress of a campaign they postpone consideration until the next election. I am persuaded the time to begin the fight against those who would control the results of election contests for their private corporate interests as distinguished from the public interest should begin now, and whatever the result of the election may be it should be continued until the evil is checked. The excessively protected interests, which formerly poured out their treasure in order to continue existing and procure the passage of new laws permitting its further accumulation, have been joined by the combinations popularly called trusts. Their plan is to perpetuate the present Administration. Such of the combinations or trusts as do

not profit by the aid of the tariff secure their profits by the exercise of monopolies. Hence their officers are opposed to the enforcement of law as against them. When such forces unite to furnish the money which they are promised will control the election their purpose is as clear as noonday; it is to buy the election, to purchase four years more of profit by tariff or four years more of extortion from the public by means of monopoly. Political contributions by corporations and trusts mean corruption. They cannot be honest. Merely business interests are moved by merely business considerations. A corporation will subscribe to a political party only because the corporation expects that party, through its control of public officers, executive or legislative, to do something for the benefit of the corporation or to refrain from doing something to its injury. No other motive can be imagined. In the nature of things no other motive can exist. The relations established mean the expectation, if not agreement, actual or implied, that government action is to be influenced by and for corporation interests. No sophistry can give any other aspect to the transaction in the minds of reasonable men.

The scheme of our government opposes favoritism, but in its administration there has been much of it. Indeed, it has been growing with such rapidity in recent years that those few who have enjoyed favors contributed either directly by statute or indirectly by the nonprosecution of violations of law, represent, control and are possessed of many hundreds of millions of dollars. These interests have decided to attempt to continue the present administration in power. Their representatives scolded about the President for some months and thus contributed their part toward the effort which was assiduously made to satisfy the country that the trusts were opposed to their present administration. Whether there were real difficulties between these great powers and the administration, difficulties which have since been settled to the satisfaction of all parties concerned, or whether there were no difficulties to be compromised and adjusted, their action being but a play to deceive the voters, the fact remains that the trusts are not now opposed to the continuance of the present administration. On the contrary, it is common knowledge that they have determined to furnish such a sum of money to the Republican national committee as it is hoped will secure the 'floaters' in the doubtful States for the Republican ticket. Such an attempt constitutes both a menace and a challenge to every patriotic and law-abiding person in this country; a challenge which ought to be accepted. The question ought to be settled now whether the 'floaters' and illegal combinations can together control an election in this country. Such a contest means on one side vast sums of money and every man with an itch

ing palm. It ought to array every honest, independent and patriotic citizen on the other side."

Following immediately upon Judge Parker's speech, which is supposed to have been intended as an indirect denial of Lawson's accusation, there appeared the subjoined official denial by the board of directors of the Standard Oil company:

In view of the many false and misleading statements from various sources, the directors of the Standard Oil company deem it advisable to state to the company's shareholders and the public that neither now nor at any time has the Standard Oil company, or any of its constituent companies, been interested in any business not directly related with and necessary to the petroleum trade. It would be almost impossible to designate in this denial the different classes of business with which irresponsible parties have coupled the Standard Oil company's name, but it may not be amiss to specify copper, steel, banks, railroads and gas (other than natural gas) as being most prominently mentioned. With none of these affairs has the Standard Oil company been at any time connected. Individual members of the Standard Oil company have been and are interested as individuals in various enterprises, but this is entirely outside of the business of the Standard Oil company, which is oil alone, unaffected by other interests in which its stockholders may invest. Neither is it true that Standard Oil company, Mr. John D. Rockefeller or any officer of the Standard Oil company has taken part in securing the nomination of any candidate for office, as is so positively stated. Furthermore, it is entirely untrue that there is any "Standard Oil party" banded together for speculation in stocks, as is so commonly charged. The name of Standard Oil company is frequently used by designing persons in the manipulation of the stock market, but its use is unwarranted. The Standard Oil company departs from its usual custom in making this denial for the reason that the statements being made at this time by newspapers, magazines and sensational public speakers appear to be unusually mendacious, and may, to a great extent, mislead the public.

Mr. Lawson responded on the 26th to the Standard Oil company's statement, reiterating his original accusation. He declares the nomination of Parker was secured by Senator McCarren, and that McCarren for years has been in the employ of Standard Oil, assertions for which he names H. H. Rogers as his authority. Describ-

ing the directors' meeting at which the Standard Oil statement was adopted, Mr. Lawson says:

Yesterday "Standard Oil" had a meeting. There probably never was one held before to which the other "Standard Oil" men went with such uncertain dread as yesterday. I keep closely in touch with 26 Broadway. I used to for gain, but I do now for safety. The word was passed before yesterday's meeting 'John D.' is furious, and something is going to drop. A few of the active men were so scared they slipped into the market and out of their stocks. John D. Rockefeller did all the talking that broke 40 years of silence. Bolled down, it would read: "The people are aroused as never before. Bank deposits are being withdrawn throughout the country, and insurance policy-holders are panic stricken. Some one in this building is responsible for it. It is not I. I have been deceived, whether intentionally or unintentionally is of no choice, but I see and hear enough to convince me there has been done in the name of "Standard Oil" that which I am in ignorance of, and I propose to tell the people it is not this company or John D. Rockefeller who has done it," and he dictated the statement that this morning startled the business world.

Mr. Lawson adds:

Notwithstanding the resolution passed by the Standard Oil company yesterday, I now repeat all that I have stated in regard to those people's operations in business and in connection with the present campaign.

Prior to his speech on that episode of the campaign, Judge Parker had made a speech, on the 22d, in opposition to the protective policy and in favor of gradual tariff reduction. On the 23d a dispatch from Gov. Wright, of the Philippines, in answer to Judge Parker's speech of the 15th (p. 456), was given out at Washington. On the 21st ex-President Cleveland re-entered the Democratic party with a speech for Parker at Carnegie Hall, New York. His reception was enthusiastic, the initial applause lasting for 13 minutes. Wm. J. Bryan returned to the stump in Indiana (p. 456) on the 25th, after a speaking tour of Ohio in which he spoke for Parker at 21 different places.

A unique political situation is presented in the 21st Congressional district of Ohio, the district formerly represented by Mayor Johnson of Cleveland. Mr. Johnson's successor was Theodore E.

Burton, who has been reelected since 1894. Although a Republican, Mr. Burton has opposed the ship subsidy measures and otherwise made himself acceptable to Democrats. The Democratic convention nominated Edmund G. Vail, a radical Democrat, as Mr. Burton's adversary; but Mr. Vail declined and intimated his intention of voting for Burton. Several delegates to the Democratic convention thereupon proposed to nominate Burton himself in Vail's place. Mayor Johnson advised against this course, but suggested that no nomination be made, a suggestion which was adopted. Mr. Burton's is therefore the only important Congressional candidacy in the district and Mayor Johnson among other leading Democrats has announced his intention of voting for him.

Pursuant to instructions (p. 458), the legislative committee of the Chicago Federation appeared before the school management committee of the school board on the 24th with their request that literature in behalf of the "public policy" propositions to be voted on at the coming election be distributed through the public schools in the same manner in which the board has decided to distribute Civic Federation literature in support of the proposed charter amendment also to be voted on at that time. The president of the board advocated a secret session for consideration of the subject, but this was voted down. After a long discussion the committee decided to reject the petition, the voting standing three to five. The minority, composed of the Rev. R. A. White, Mr. O'Ryan and Mrs. Keogh, took the ground that inasmuch as the board had set the precedent of using the schools for electioneering on the charter it could not refuse to use them similarly in electioneering on other questions of public local concern. This has had the effect of influencing the board to rescind its action regarding the charter, which it did on the 26th. The influence to that end is reported to have been strengthened by threats of the Federation of Labor, the Referendum League and other civil bodies not only to apply to the courts but to urge parents to keep their children out of school on the day designated as "Charter Day."