

The Public

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A Weekly Narrative of History in the Making**

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EDITORIAL

Newton D. Baker.

The logical successor of Tom L. Johnson has been nominated as the Democratic candidate for Mayor of Cleveland. Newton D. Baker has Johnson's ideals for "a city set on a hill." He is filled with the enthusiasms that inspired Johnson. He grasps the fundamental principles of democracy that guided Johnson. He has the abilities, the temperament, the training and the experience to equip him for leadership in carrying out Johnson's civic policies sanely and progressively; and in every respect he possessed Johnson's confidence to the uttermost.

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Tom L. Johnson was too much of a democrat to impose post mortem obligations of political leadership upon his followers. He knew that as political conditions change methods also must change, and that individuals useful at one stage may become useless or inimical at another. The people at any given time must be free to judge—free from even the influence of a departed personality. This is democracy. But Tom L. Johnson's confidence in Newton D. Baker as personal friend, as professional adviser, as political lieutenant, was steadfast to the last moment of his life; and the Democratic voters of Cleveland have now registered their confidence in the man in whom Johnson confided. Though Baker was not the only one of Johnson's trusted lieutenants, he was that one of them to whom the other trusted ones

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turned for leadership when Johnson's leadership was over. They knew, as did all who understood Tom L. Johnson, that *if* circumstances had demanded that Johnson name his own successor, he would have named Newton D. Baker. What is more, they knew Baker as the man whom in those circumstances Johnson ought to have named.



Though inspired by the same ideals as Tom L. Johnson, Newton D. Baker was not and is not a blind follower. In taking up the work from which Johnson has been called away, he takes it up as his own duty and not as another's. He is a man who as leader will lead upon his own initiative, who as a builder will build upon his own responsibility. Though his face turn often and lovingly toward the shrine of the lost leader at whose side he loyally stood in many a hot battle against Privilege, it will be, as indeed that leader would have had it, not to worship the memory of a mortal, but to draw stimulus anew for the service of a cause. A majority of the Democratic voters of Cleveland knew what the occasion demanded when they nominated Newton D. Baker to succeed Tom L. Johnson; we must wait to see, yet of the result there ought to be no room for doubt, if a majority of all the voters of Cleveland will be as wise.



Those Beggars in Velvet.

A New England mill owner and administrator fell into conversation with his neighbor recently on the subject of tariff reduction. The mill owner declared that if any part of the extremely high protection enjoyed by his mills were reduced, wages must be cut. But the neighbor by a few questions elicited that the mills were paying considerably above 15 per cent on their capital, and that the capital had been expanded 16-fold by the simple device of issuing to stockholders new stock in lieu of surplus dividends—so great for many years had been the profits under high protection, and a wage scale never higher than the condition of the labor market forced the mills to pay. In other words, this mill owner felt that he and his fellow stockholders were entitled to huge dividends upon stock chiefly representing accumulated profits, and that if any one must suffer from the loss of government coddling it should be the wage earners, though all along they have received no penny of the advantage from such protection.



One might be tempted to call this mill owner a liar and a thief, a sturdy beggar and a selfish

rogue. But we must not be too severe with individuals. Let us realize that good men may persuade themselves that they are entitled to tax their neighbors by grace of legislation obtained at the hands of the political party they have helped to keep in power through large contributions. We must be considerate also of wage-earners, whose fortunes are in the hands of such mill owners. Easy enough it may be for them to permit themselves to be deluded into supporting the policy of protection and to be terrified into the belief that their very existence depends upon its continuance. But how can any man not directly engaged in a protected industry, as owner or worker,—how can he be aware of such facts as those cited above, yet continue to advocate protection?



The Congressional Balance Sheet.

In the Commoner of September 1, William J. Bryan makes what he calls a balance sheet of the record of the Democratic party at the special session of Congress which closed last month. We here translate this balance from literary into book-keeping form:

DR.

Making Underwood chairman of Committee on Ways and Means. ("He is not a thorough-going tariff reformer and his environment is against progressive Democracy . . . Has led to a surrender of the Democratic doctrine of free wool and to the surrender to the Senate of the honor of introducing the bill reducing the tariff on iron and steel").....	1
Not putting wool on the free list. ("The tariff on wool is the keystone of the protectionist arch . . . Every speaker on the tariff will be confronted by the tariff on wool if he attempts to attack the principle of protection, and he must criticize Congress, or, if he defends Congress, he must do so at the expense of party principle")	1
Adjourning without submission of the amendment for election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people.....	1
Not passing an anti-trust bill. ("The decision of the Supreme Court in the Standard Oil and tobacco cases so impaired the present anti-trust law that additional legislation is imperatively necessary")	1
Allowing secret caucus.....	1
Balance to credit of future sessions.....	4
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Election of Champ Clark as speaker ("a great improvement over Speaker Cannon").....	1
Transfer of committee appointments from Speaker to party caucus, each party selecting its own quota ("a step in advance").....	1
Carried forward	2