

duce their autocratic government to recognize their rights. But there is no excuse for the American who, refusing to make intelligent use of the liberties he possesses to right his wrongs, resorts to dynamite. If Labor is ever to remedy the evils under which we live and toil, it must do so by intelligent reasoning. It can never succeed by brute force. The little paper ballot falls as noiselessly as snowflakes on a grassy lawn, but it expresses the will of a freeman more eloquently than the roar of cannon. The intelligent use of it is Labor's only hope. In the proper use of the ballot the workers are invincible.

G. W. AVERY.



'WITHOUT ANY VERY GREAT CONSCIOUS MORAL TURPITUDE.'

Denver, Colo.

The above phrase is quoted from this apology by Mr. Roosevelt in his "Murder Is Murder" article, an apology for men engaged in Big Business:

We are not here dealing with any of the kinds of offenses incidental to the sudden and sweeping changes brought about by modern industrial conditions into which capitalists and labor men are sometimes drawn without any very great conscious moral turpitude on their part.

Observe how carefully modified is "moral turpitude."

To see the "offenses into which capitalists are drawn" without any very great "conscious" moral turpitude on their part is easy. Doubtless the tragedy of the Triangle Shirt-waist factory in New York is one of these "offenses." The bursting of a dam in Pennsylvania, the explosion of a mine in Tennessee, the numerous railroad accidents all over the country, the frequent disasters in Colorado mines where men perish by scores—were these in Mr. Roosevelt's mind when he wrote of "offenses without any very great conscious moral turpitude" on the part of the offenders?

Such offenses are capitalistic, but what offenses are "the labor men" guilty of that can be excused on the ground that they lack consciousness of moral turpitude?

Legally considered, to destroy human lives without "conscious moral turpitude" is not murder; but for Mr. Roosevelt to touch the matter so jauntily in one sentence and in the next froth at the mouth over the McNamara case is one of the signs of the times that he who runs may read. What else can we expect of one who has lauded and magnified the "Captains of Industry" so persistently and vociferously? Material progress has been glorified to the setting aside of all that makes for human brotherhood, and by none more than the writer of "Murder Is Murder." If class hatred is the result who is to blame?

CELIA BALDWIN WHITEHEAD.



CLEVELAND TRACTION.

New York City.

As a stockholder in the Cleveland Railway Company I have received a proxy to be made out in favor of "John J. Stanley, L. C. Hanna or _____." I find myself in doubt as to what to do about this, and there must be others of your readers who are

in the same predicament. I do not know whether by signing this proxy I shall be strengthening the hands of those in sympathy with Tom L. Johnson's ideas or those opposed to them. Could you not in time (the meeting takes place January 30th) give us a pointer?

FRED J. MILLER.

[The persons named above as proxies will be opposed to Tom L. Johnson's ideas if a question arises at the meeting. Proxies to Charles W. Stage (Cleveland, Ohio) would be used in support of those ideas.—Editors of The Public.]

NEWS NARRATIVE

The figures in brackets at the ends of paragraphs refer to volumes and pages of The Public for earlier information on the same subject.

Week ending Tuesday, January 9, 1912.

Senator La Follette's Speaking Tour.

Senator La Follette spoke at Chicago on the 3d. Here he was questioned, in the midst of his speech, about ex-President Roosevelt. He replied that in the last four years of the Roosevelt administration more trusts were formed than under all preceding administrations, a total of 10,020 plants having been merged in trusts, with a total capitalization of \$31,672,180,754; but that more legal proceedings had been instituted against trusts in the same period. Senator La Follette also criticized the Aldrich central reserve scheme. [See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 1169.]



In speaking at Joliet, Illinois, on the 4th, he directed attention to the difference in the judicial application of the Sherman anti-trust law to commercial trusts and to labor organizations, and made this a basis in part for an argument for the recall of judges. His words on this point were:

There is one class of so-called restraints of trade that was not intended, or at least not understood, to come under the prohibition of the Sherman anti-trust law. These are labor organizations. It is a curious fact about the enforcement of the law that, while the courts have carefully protected investors in trusts against loss of values, the only instance where the extreme penalty of three-fold damages has been imposed is in the case of a labor organization. A law which treats investors as innocent if they form a trust, and guilty if they form a labor union, does not command the respect, nor appeal to the sense of justice, of the American people.



Senator La Follette's speeches on the 5th were at Springfield and East St. Louis, with short ones at many intermediate points. In Springfield, demanding that "corrupt leadership" be driven out

of the Republican party, he spoke in this fashion of Senator Aldrich, the principal sponsor for the central reserve banking scheme:

Nelson W. Aldrich in all the years of his service in the United States Senate has never served the people, and never has he failed to represent the special interests. He does not represent the Republican party in the nation any more than does Senator Lorimer represent the Republican party in Illinois.



In his speech at Danville, Illinois, on the 6th, Senator La Follette described the panic of 1907 as having been manufactured by Big Business leaders, and in reply to a question, admitted that President Roosevelt, under the scare of this panic, helped put through the Tennessee coal and iron deal. As reported in the Chicago Inter-Ocean by Charles N. Wheeler, the circumstances were as follows:

Senator La Follette had been flaying the "money trust" for half an hour. He had been telling how, in his opinion, the Morgan and Standard Oil groups had been using the money in their banks to corner the industries of the nation. He had been giving his version of what Mr. Morgan and his friends had done to Banker Morse and Mr. Heinze in the copper deals in the effort to smash them and put them out of business. Then he stopped, looked at his audience for a short time, as if weighing carefully each word he was about to utter, and began: "Then there was the Tennessee Coal & Iron case." "Didn't Teddy help, too?" interrupted a gray-haired man in the front seat. La Follette stopped as if hit in the face. He hesitated only a moment. Then he walked to the front of the stage, placed one foot on the outer rail in front of the footlights, struck a dramatic pose, shot his right arm out and said deliberately in a sort of conversational tone: "Yes, Teddy did. But," he shouted, throwing both arms above his head, "I know what they told Teddy." This startling declaration not only caused a sensation out in the large crowd, but precipitated a commotion among the newspaper men. A dozen interpretations were volunteered. To some it meant a declaration of war between Mr. Roosevelt and Mr. La Follette. But the truth is that so far as La Follette is concerned no affront was intended for Colonel Roosevelt. It was just the emotional outburst of the moment, although let out with a full realization, apparently, of the importance of the words. It amounted, no doubt, to the inference that Roosevelt was a fool when he agreed to the absorption of the big Tennessee company by the United States Steel Corporation, and undoubtedly there will be some gnashing of teeth at Oyster Bay when the full significance of the words are carried to the former President's retreat. After the demonstration had died down Senator La Follette . . . proceeded to give an array of figures to prove, according to his logic, that there was no legitimate reason for the depression of 1907. . . . "No, my countrymen, there was no legitimate panic in 1907. It was manufactured and used for the very pur-

poses to which it was put, and as soon as they gobbled up the properties they were after they called it off."



Senator La Follette's tour came to an end at Richmond, Indiana, on the 6th, whence he returned to Washington.



Progressive Republicans of Illinois.

The State conference of the Progressive Republicans of Illinois at Springfield on the 5th, over which Fred S. Wilbur of East St. Louis presided, pledged support to Robert M. La Follette for President, Walter Clyde Jones for Governor, and Hugh S. Magill for United States Senator. [See The Public, vol. xiv, p. 1147.]



Presidential Preparations by the Democratic Party.

At Washington, on the 8th, the Democratic National Committee met for the purpose of deciding upon the time and place for the Presidential nominating convention. Early in the proceedings, William J. Bryan, holding the proxy of P. L. Hall of Nebraska, moved acceptance of the credentials of James Weatherby as a member upon appointment by the State committee of Alabama to fill the Alabama vacancy caused by death. Roger Sullivan of Illinois and others raised the point of order that no motion was necessary, the power to fill a vacancy lying with the State committee, and Chairman Mack sustained it. Upon this ruling Mr. Bryan said: "Recognizing that this particular case does not amount to anything but that it will affect a later case, I appeal from the decision of the chair and ask permission to make a statement." Thereupon J. W. Coughlin moved a secret session and the subsequent proceedings were behind closed doors. The statement is understood, however, to have related to James M. Guffey, the Pennsylvania "boss" who had been appointed by a State committee to fill the Pennsylvania vacancy and whose seat was contested by A. Mitchell Palmer, on the basis of the recent turnover in the Democratic politics of Pennsylvania.* Mr. Bryan's efforts to exclude Mr. Guffey were defeated by a vote variously reported as 30 to 13, 34 to 13 and 30 to 18. On the following day, the 9th, Baltimore was chosen by the committee as the place and June 25 as the date for holding the national convention.



In the evening of the day on which the National Committee met, a Democratic demonstration of national interest was made, also at Washington, in celebration of Jackson's birthday. There

*See The Public, volume xiv, page 775.