

either side wins, the one may be trusted to go back upon its forwardness, and the other to go ahead with its backwardness. Neither is all backward, to be sure; for each pledged itself to direct nominations. But both did it grudgingly, the Republicans under Roosevelt's whip, and the Democrats under pressure from the Progressive Democracy (p. 658). So there is no choice on that score except as to which will keep its pledge.

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When platforms fail, candidates may sometimes serve instead; but not so this year in New York. It must be remembered of course that the Democrats were at a tactical disadvantage when Gaynor headed off their nomination. Thomas M. Osborne is a good and strong man, capable of making a courageously progressive record in the State capitol as he did in the Auburn city hall and on the up-State public utilities commission; but the people of the State as a mass don't know it yet and probably could not have been shown in a six weeks' campaign. Congressman Sulzer has progressive tendencies and has been courageous in Congress even to defiance of Tammany Hall; he is impregnable in his district, but in the State at large, astute politicians on both sides might as easily have put him out of the running at the polls as those on his own side did at the convention. The only other candidate the Democrats had (except driftwood and the one they nominated) was Edward M. Shepard. Mr. Shepard is a genuine Democrat of great ability, and not only of gubernatorial but of Presidential size. Save for one point of political weakness he would probably have been nominated and elected Governor this year, leading the truly progressive elements of both parties; and as the progressive statesman he doubtless would then have proved himself to be, he might well have been the successful progressive leader in the next Presidential campaign. But that one point of political weakness was raised against him and it was fatal at the convention as we are obliged to confess we think it would have been at the election. The time has gone by when any man, however genuinely public spirited he may be, and as we believe Edward M. Shepard really is—the time has gone by when even such a man can command at the same time the steady employment of a client like the Pennsylvania Railroad and the political confidence of the people. In view of Mr. Shepard's political and personal character as well as his ability, this is to be regretted; but it is a fact which in present day politics must be reckoned with. So Dix was nominated; and a very respectable plutocratic Democrat is Mr. Dix.

When Dix, the Democratic nominee, is compared with Stimson, the Republican, what choice is there on the score of candidates? Stimson is a graduate from Elihu Root's law office. His sole claim upon public confidence is his prosecution for a large fee of certain sugar trust crimes which resulted in the conviction of "men higher up" who were in fact "low down," and the recovery of "swag" obtained criminally and a trifle in comparison with the "swag" that is obtained by trusts through the operation of laws to the perpetuation of which Mr. Stimson is pledged by his platform. A Tweed regime prosecutor could have done as much, and would if the criminal had been persona non grata at Tammany Hall.

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The progressives of both parties in Wisconsin, Kansas, California, Oregon, Washington, Maine, and all the other States in which progress means something worth while, may well bless their stars this year that they are not living in New York. Nor in New Jersey. Nor yet in Ohio.

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The Meaker Candidacy in Massachusetts.

An opportunity to vote for a progressive candidate for Congress about whose fidelity and ability there seems to be no doubt and whose campaign speeches ring clear and true, is afforded in the Seventh Massachusetts district, which includes Chelsea, Everett, Lynn, Malden, Melrose, Nahant (the home of Senator Lodge), Revere, Saugus, Stoneham and Wakefield. We allude to the Independent candidate, W. Lathrop Meaker. The chairman of his campaign committee is Edwin Thatcher Clark, of Melrose; its treasurer is Ernest E. Brazier, of 14 Roberts street, Malden. Both are worthy citizens, bearing the burden of a hopeful progressive campaign under financial difficulties. As to their candidate, in every direction from which we hear of him we find him thoroughly well vouched for, and from his speeches he is evidently genuine in both heart and head. "It so happens," he said in a campaign speech at Lynn, wherein he advocated the Initiative, Referendum, and Recall, direct nominations, and a reduction of the tariff, and argued that the earth and all of its riches should be made the common property of all—"it so happens that just at the present this great issue of the equal right of all to the earth on which we live is presenting itself to the people with remarkable force under two different heads, one called Conservation, the other Taxation. The only logical and effective conclusion of all this

conservation agitation is to have the government own, and either operate or lease, not merely these resources which are unclaimed, but all of them;" and "all attempts to equalize taxation must ultimately result in the taxation of land values only, which will not only place the burden of all government expenses where it should be, but will, at the same time, make it unprofitable to hold land out of use for speculation." As the Boston Common pointedly said in its issue of August 20th, "voters who think as Mr. Meaker thinks, ought to work for his election; voters who may not accept all his ideas, but who are sick unto disgust of rubber-stamp representation in the interest of monopoly and high prices, could do worse than to elect him." We should add that they could do a great deal worse by re-electing Congressman Roberts, who is on record for pretty much every Congressional iniquity of Cannonism.

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Newspaper War in Chicago.

A cut-rate war between the morning newspapers of Chicago is now "on for certain." The Tribune started it with a reduction from two cents to one; but the Record-Herald got wind of this in time to "follow suit" in the same day's issue; and then the Inter Ocean reluctantly but gamely "saw the drop" and "covered" it. Hearst's Examiner, having always been a penny paper, couldn't go a point better. So there the four are, selling their papers for much less than the cost of paper stock. They hope to "even up" with increased advertising patronage from increased circulation; but the news dealers must laboriously handle the papers at a lower profit for each delivery, and without any possibility of "evening up" except at the cost of greater work.

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The mystery shrouding the Tribune (p. 914) continues. At any moment it may jump back into its old time plutocratic rut, and there is a holding of breath. To this mystery has now been added another. Has Victor Lawson's Evening News dropped its preparations for a penny morning paper and undertaken to back Kohlsaas's Record-Herald in the "penny-or-your-life" contest with the Tribune? or is Kohlsaas fighting in his own armor against all comers, and riding for another fall?

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The "Hall-Mark" Not Enough.

Gifford Pinchot wisely warned his audience of the St. Andrew's Brotherhood at Nashville last

week, to beware of mere "hall-mark" Insurgency. His warning cannot be too often quoted:

In one way the Insurgent cause is threatened by its own success. Now that most open-minded men see the speedy triumph of the progressive policies, and because direct attacks upon them usually fail, the hope of the reactionaries is to join the movement and try from within to emasculate it or steer it to disaster. The soft pedal is still the most dangerous enemy of progress. Already there are signs in plenty that reactionaries are trying to dominate the progressive movement. Already the conversions without conviction have begun. Political deathbed conversions, performed in public by politicians whose leadership is dwindling, may fairly be regarded with suspicion. Like certain flowers, these gentlemen turn their faces to the rising sun, but their roots are held fast by the same soil as before. I would make it perfectly easy for all men to join the Progressive ranks. But I would keep the newly converted old-style leaders in the ranks and under observation till they had won a right to Progressive leadership by something more substantial than declamation alone.

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Suspicious Insurgency.

By no means is it probable that Mr. Pinchot has President Taft personally in his thought when he speaks of "political deathbed conversions performed in public by politicians whose leadership is dwindling" as "fairly to be regarded with suspicion." But if Mr. Taft doesn't try on the cap to see if it fits, he is more obtuse than even his amiable whitewashing of Ballinger in his notorious condemnation of Glavis (pp. 460, 466, 817) would imply. For Mr. Taft, after fighting the Progressives of his own party with executive spoils until they had beaten him, whereupon he offered a fair divide in the future, has announced himself as a Progressive—and with the same wearisome cameratic smile.

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Death of Dr. Beeler.

Among the earliest Ohio disciples of Henry George was Samuel L. Beeler, of Hamilton, whose death occurred on the 24th at the age of 68. Dr. Beeler was a volunteer soldier on the Union side in the Civil War. He enlisted while hardly more than a boy, at the very beginning of the war, and remained in the service until disabled with a shattered knee at the first battle of Winchester. Subsequently he became a physician, but passed most of the remainder of his life in business as a druggist. He got to be a convert to the doctrines of "Progress and Poverty" in the early '80's, and through the remaining quarter century or more of his life, with tireless persistence but quietly and with wise judgment he