SEPTEMBER 13, 1912

MR. BRYAN'S SINCERITY

Editorial in Baltimore Sun: Discussion of Mr. Bryan and the part he played in the Baltimore convention still rages.

Some with whom the wish is father to the thought, or who hope to make him such by assuming that he is, say that the Nebraskan left the convention a disgraced and discredited and disappointed man. He betrayed his friend Clark and he tried to betray his friend Wilson, they argue. He never was sincerely for the latter, they hold, but worked convention tells. all the time to bring about a situation which would cause the nomination of himself.

Those who want to believe that will doubtless keep on doing so. It is a thing that can not be disproved any more than it can be proved. You can not dig into a man's mind to find what causes him to say and to do this or that thing. A man's motives are unknown to himself alone and can only be guessed by others. But this much is certain, that Bryan's whole course in the convention is explainable on the theory that he was absolutely sincere in all that he did, sincere and patriotic, and those who wish to believe in his sincerity and patriotism, and his wisdom too, will not be made doubters by anything which he did at Baltimore.

As to his behavior with reference to Mr. Clark, the facts are very simple. He withdrew his support from Mr. Clark, but not until Mr. Clark had withdrawn his support from the people in their fight against tion made by James N. Miller of things. But when I came into conthe bosses. The more you think of it the more admirable, considered simply as a strategic move, appears Mr. Bryan's action in making an issue of the selection of Parker for that he, Stubbs, received 1,216 fewer temporary chairman.

That move separated the sheep from the goats. It showed who stood with the bosses and who against them. Woodrow Wilson is the amateur in politics and Clark the experienced hand, but Wilson showed here a greater political sense than did the speaker of the house, for he realized that the line of battle was forming. Mr. Clark, as we have said before, made no corrupt alliance with the bosses, but he failed to appreciate the fact that his support of their candidate for temporary chairman, in itself, ranged himself with them in the public mind. Had he joined with Bryan and Wilson in their fight on Parker the outcome of the that "a majority" of the people who of public opinion. Where opinion balloting for president might have been different. As it was, he became an impossibility as a presidential candidate the moment the temporary chairman was selected. So much for Mr. Bryan's attitude toward Mr. Clark. As far as his attitude toward Mr. Wilson is concerned, this much can be said: that if his one object after the elimination of Mr. Clark had been to secure Mr. Wilson's nomination, he could not have worked more effectively to that end than he did. His assault on Morgan, Ryan and Belmont did at least two things: it made Bryan himself impossible as a candidate and it likewise eliminated Harmon, Underwood and any other candidate who would have been especially acceptable to nor to do "the manly and proper Tammany and Wall street. It left thing." Such a call to the firing line really, alone of all the available of duty should be superfluous. The candidates, Woodrow Wilson. Mr. Bryan's actions on that afternoon when his enemies were throwing at. him questions intended to force him to declare whether or not he would "bolt" the party also worked in Wilson's interest. So did his declara-tion, which many thought spelled treason to the New Jersey man, that than one-third of the republican vothe would accept certain compromise candidates whom he named. Mr. Bryan is too shrewd a politcian not such arguments, however fair and used outside the municipalities. to have known that none of the logical they may be. mediocrities whom he mentioned

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them must inevitably have directed | county tickets by his candidacy. He attention to himself, and it is easy to believe that he appreciated how quickly the spectre of himself once thing for him to do would be to more as the nominee would turn the thoughts of his enemies back to Wilson. In all of his acts in the convention Mr. Bryan had to remember that he must keep ever in sight of his foes the possibility both of his bolting and his becoming an active candidate for the nomination-without really meaning to do either. How well he did that the history of the

He was the big figure of the convention. He dominated the proceedings. In his valedictory utterance there he made a profound impression with his words:

"I have never advocated a man Kansas City Journal. except with gladness, and I have never opposed a man except in sadness. If I have enemies in this country, those who are my enemies have a monopoly of hatred. There is not one single human being for whom I feel a hatred, nor is there one American citizen, in my own party or in any other, that I would oppose for anything except I believed that in not opposing him I was surrendering the interests of my country, which I hold above any person."

To those who wish to believe in the literal truth of this declaration. nothing which he did at Baltimore should interpose an objection.

"LET THE PEOPLE RULE"

That was a most sensible sugges-Wichita, a veteran of the civil war tact with candid, honest, public and a republican of nearly half a spirited men who could speak (with century's standing, calling the attention of Governor Stubbs to the fact votes for United States senator in the recent primaries than his opponent, Charles Curtis, and telling the minority candidate to vindicate his reiterated doctrine of majority rule by retiring from the contest instead of seeking to force himself upon the people by a technicality. But the good advice will not be heeded.

Mr. White, national committeeman, has a great deal to say about the "minority republicans" and what they should do in the way of taking seats in the rear. That is supposed to be good progressive doctrine. The progressives base the whole Roosevelt case on the claim that Roosevelt was "fairly nominated" at Chicago; voted on the rival claims of Roosevelt and Taft in the primaries had actual genuine representative govdeclared for the former; that Taft ernment, as I believe there is in Virhad a numerical majority only by "overriding the wishes" of the people they are not necessary. Each state who had expressed their prefernce for somebody else. But what about the technical numerical majority of Governor Stubbs in the matter of legislative districts, as distinguished from a substantial repudiation by the people at large? If Taft should have "retired" because on the face of the returns from sundry "primary states" he was a minority candidate, why ought not Stubbs to retire as the undisputed minority candidate for United States senator from Kansas. Mr. Miller calls upon the govergovernor always does the proper and find that even in Oregon literally no manly thing-when it suits his convenience or his interest. But when it does not, it avails nothing to point out to him that only two or every three republicans in the state voted They are as devoted to the idea of at the primary and that less than one of these two-that is to say, less ers of the state-voted for Stubbs. The governor's mind is open to no

knows that as well as anybody, and, of course, the right and consistent gracefully retire from the contest, now that he has been given a 1,216 adverse majority hint that he is not wanted. He might run as the candidate of some other party-he really belongs to the progressive organization, that is bitterly opposed to the "rotten husk" republican party. How anybody with self-respect who preaches the "rule of the people" can persist in being the candidate of a party that has repudiated him by a majority vote may puzzle some but not this Kansas governor. Retire? Of course Stubbs will retire-when he is forced to but not before .--

A FRANK STATEMENT

Columbia (S. C.) State: Here is a letter written by Woodrow Wilson to his friend, Prof. R. N. Dabney, of the University of Virginia:

"My Dear Heath: We did not have a chance when I was with you to have our talk out about the initiative, referendum and recall; it may be worth while, therefore, in view of the importance of the subject, for me to summarize somewhat more formally what I said to you in scraps.

"In the first place, with regard to my own state of mind, I surrendered to the facts, as every candid man must. My whole prepossession-my whole reasoning-was against these regard, for example, to Oregon) from personal observation and experience, they floored me flat with their narration of what had actually happened. I found in the men who advocated these things, who had put them into operation, and who had accomplished things by them, not critics or opponents of representative government. but men who were eager to restore it where it had been lost, and who had taken—successfully taken these means to recover for the people what they had unquestionably lostcontrol of their own affairs.

"In short, they were not trying to change our institutions. The initiative, referendum and recall were to their eyes (as they are to mine) merely means to an end-that end being the restoration of the control already controls, where there is now ginia and in the south in general, must judge for itself. I do not see how it could be made a subject of national policy. The people will, in my opinion, demand these measures only where they are manifestly necessary to take legislation and the control of administrative action away from special, hopelessly intrenched interests. "The recall of judges I am absolutely against, and always have been. It is a remedy for a symptom, not for a disease-the disease being the control of the system by influences which general opinion has ceased to control. "It is interesting me very much to one thought of these new methods of action as a substitute for representative institutions, but only as a means of stimulation and control. our representative institutions as we are-and are bent upon realizing these ideals in practice. That is their conscious object.



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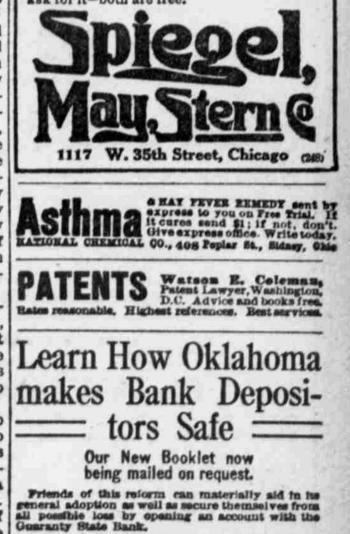
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Mr. Stubbs does not need to be use on a state officer. It is merely could possibly have secured the told that he is endangering the suc- 'a gun behind the door.' Faithfully nomination, that the suggestion of cess of the republican legislative and yours,

"As for the recall, it is seldom do not remember an instance of its WOODROW WILSON."



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