

men who, like Mr. Watson, want to see it destroyed.

Mr. Bryan is not a candidate for any office; he has no plans looking to any nomination for any office. He is satisfied to do the work that he is now doing. If he is ever nominated for any office it will be with a full knowledge of his views and because those who nominate him believe him more available for the work in hand than any one else. He does not desire and would not accept a nomination on any other terms. He has urged the democratic party to adopt such of the reforms advocated by the populist party as he believed to be for the good of the country; he will urge the democratic party to adopt any good reforms suggested by any other party, and he will urge the democratic party to help the republican party to do anything good that it proposes. In other words, he is anxious that the democratic party shall be a positive force for good and that it shall make its influence felt upon the right side of every question without stopping to ask what other party favors the position taken. The republican party is not a reform party; its leaders are the beneficiaries of special privilege and class legislation. The democratic, chastened by defeat, offers the best means of securing remedial legislation and populists ought to encourage it rather than abuse it.

A Multitude of Advisers

Mr. Bryan is in receipt of a great deal of advice just at this time, and he welcomes it, although to follow it all, he would have to do a great many contradictory things, for he is advised to take both sides of nearly every question. The latest letter is signed by one who subscribes himself, "Very sincerely your friend, John Doe." It concludes:

"Four years from now will be your opportunity to become president. Don't spoil it. You can be elected then if the voters are not scattered and confused by too many issues. The republican press cannot say anything they have not said about you and the issue—don't give them a new club to beat you with; the old club is nearly worn out and will not hurt you much in the future. Get elected, then go after anything you want and we'll help you. But get elected. I expect Roosevelt and the G. O. P. to make this easy for you if you do not spoil your own chances by failing to concentrate your efforts and your friends' efforts in a way that will be most effective."

The earlier part of the letter was devoted to the discussion of one of the new questions which was included in a recent Commoner editorial. A large majority of letters come from those who are anxious to have the party do some particular thing that they want done, although many letters come from persons who are anxious that the party shall not do some particular thing that the writers do not want done. These communications are useful because they show the trend of public opinion, and throw light upon the subjects discussed, and yet as each writer thinks the matter out for himself and reaches a conclusion which to him seems the correct one, Mr. Bryan, taking the arguments offered, must, so far as his own course is concerned, follow his judgment. He has no power to influence the democratic party except by argument, and it would be futile for him to try to make his own position to suit the opinions of others. He cannot assume that he will ever be a candidate for anything again; much less can he shape his opinions with a view to winning popularity. The man who tries to make himself popular is the very one who is apt to make mistakes, for when he lays aside the true rule for the measuring of his conduct he is liable to fall into all sorts of errors. The rule which every man should follow, whether in public or in private life, is to do what he believes to be right, applying to every question those fundamental principles which he has found to be sound. If each one will think for himself and then give expression to his views, the responsibilities and the rewards of leadership will fall to the most deserving.

The democratic party has passed through a crisis in its existence; it is emerging from an overwhelming defeat. The first thing for a democrat to learn is the cause of the defeat, and the second is to attempt to plan a wiser course in the future. There will be no national convention for nearly four years, and no man or group of men is authorized to speak for the party. In this situation it is not only right, but the duty of every member of the party to have an opinion and to express it. More than that, it is right

for every member of the party to place his opinion with the arguments that support it before as many of his fellows as possible.

The letters received by Mr. Bryan since the election show that democrats are thinking, and democratic thinking is going to result in democratic acting. Democratic acting will result in strengthening the democratic position. What the party needs just now is not a large number of men anxious for office and willing to regulate their views by their ambitions, but a multitude of honest, earnest, courageous democrats who will think upon public questions and give their thoughts to the public regardless of the effect upon themselves. It will be time enough to write the platform when the convention meets, but the time is always opportune for the discussion of public questions and for the exchange of views. It will be time enough to select a presidential candidate when the convention approaches. The party can make the selection more wisely if every democrat who is worthy to be mentioned in connection with the office will take up the conscientious study of pending questions and bravely present the remedies that commend themselves to him. The views of these men can be compared and the party can intrust the standard to the one most accurately reflecting the sentiment of the party. Ambition is good if it spurs a man to serve his country faithfully. It is bad when it makes cowards of men and renders them more anxious to receive honors from their party than to give assistance to it.

Mr. Bryan cannot call his friends together, secure their advice and then make his conduct conform to their views. He could not even call a conference of democratic leaders, because to do so he would have to assume authority to select the conference, and he would necessarily overlook a great many worthy to be invited. He must do in the future as he has done in the past, namely, take the position that he believes to be correct, give his reasons and then abide the consequences. He appreciates the earnest solicitude of friends and he values their advice insofar as it points the way to a right conclusion, but friends are powerless to lift from him the responsibility which he must bear, just as he cannot relieve his friends of the responsibility which they must bear.

That "Unprecedented Victory"

As the smoke of battle clears away and the returns are analyzed the republican victory gives to the members of that party less and less cause for rejoicing. At first it was declared to be "the greatest victory ever won by a presidential candidate," but the Democratic Watchman of Bellefonte, Pa., points out that in magnitude it is really the ninth victory rather than the first.

President Roosevelt will have 345 electoral votes and Judge Parker will have 141. While the president secures more than two-thirds of the electoral college he does not secure anything like two-thirds of the popular vote, and seven former presidents have had a larger proportionate vote in the electoral college than President Roosevelt will receive.

Jefferson in his second election received 162 votes to 14 cast for Mr. Pinckney, and yet President Roosevelt in his books speaks very disparagingly of Jefferson.

In 1820 Monroe at his second election received 231 electoral votes, while only a single one was cast for his only opponent, John Quincy Adams. Jackson in his second race had 219 votes to 49 for Clay. In 1840 Harrison defeated Van Buren by a vote of 234 to 60 in the electoral college. In 1852 Pierce carried every state in the union but four, and received 254 to 42 cast for General Scott. Lincoln in 1864 received 212 votes to 21 cast for McClellan, while Grant in 1868 received 214 electoral votes to 80 cast for Seymour. In 1872 Grant had 268; Greeley had but 42.

Thus it will be seen that Jefferson, Monroe, Jackson, Harrison, Pierce, Lincoln and Grant all secured a larger proportion of the electoral votes than Roosevelt, Grant having won such a victory twice.

An analysis of the popular vote does not increase republican confidence. While President Roosevelt received about 500,000 more votes than McKinley received in 1900, his gain is not half so great as the democratic loss. If the election had been caused by a turning of democrats to the republican party it would give the republicans more hope for the future, but while Parker's vote is something like 1,500,000 less than the democratic vote of four years ago, it is evident that more

than half of the 1,150,000 either stayed at home or voted for some other than Roosevelt.

In 1892 the total democratic vote was 5,556,533, the republican vote 5,175,577, the populist vote 1,040,902, the prohibition vote 264,060, and the socialist labor vote 21,164, making a total of about 12,000,000.

In 1896 the republican vote was 7,106,779, or nearly two millions more than in 1892. The democratic vote was 6,502,925, an increase of nearly a million over the democratic vote in 1892, but it must be remembered that this included the populist vote—the populists having endorsed the democratic candidate. The Palmer and Buckner ticket received 133,424, the prohibitionists 132,009, the socialist labor ticket 36,274 and the nationalist ticket 13,969. This made a total vote of about 13,900,000. This phenomenal increase has never been satisfactorily explained.

In 1900 the republican ticket polled 7,208,244—an increase of about 100,000 over the republican vote of 1896. The democratic ticket received 6,358,789—a loss of about 150,000; the prohibitionists polled 209,936, the socialist labor candidate 49,639, the middle of the road populists 50,378, and the socialist democratic ticket 85,971. The total vote in 1900 was 13,969,700, which was practically the same as the total vote four years before.

While the republican gain this year is in the neighborhood of 500,000, the democratic loss, nearly 1,500,000, is so great that it will probably more than offset any increase in the vote given to other candidates, so that the total vote this year may be less than it was four years ago. At any rate it will not be materially greater. The total vote is thus about what it was eight years ago, notwithstanding the increase in population. The total vote of the two leading parties combined is some 650,000 less than it was four years ago, while the socialist vote may reach 600,000. The populist vote will be greater than it was four years ago but not nearly so large as was expected.

The returns show that there is no strong trend of sentiment toward the republican party. The increase in the republican vote, while more than it was four years ago, is not to be compared with the increase between 1892 and 1896. A considerable percentage of the recent increase can be traced to the natural increase in the population and a still larger percentage is made up of votes that can not be called republican but which, like many of the votes cast for the republican ticket, were a protest against the democratic party rather than an endorsement of the republican party.

The rapid growth of the socialist party is conclusive proof that the democratic party has been too conservative to satisfy the reform element of the country. When in 1896 the democratic party took a strong stand in favor of remedial legislation it largely increased its vote, while the populist party, then the leading radical party, cast practically all of its vote with the democrats.

In 1900, when economic reforms were not so prominent a part of the democratic platform, the democratic vote fell off a little, and the falling off was just about equal to the combined vote of the socialist democratic party and the middle of the road populists. This year, when the democratic party became conservative and failed to meet the demand for reform, the party's vote fell off about 1,500,000 while the increase in the vote of the socialist democrats and the populists will amount to six or seven hundred thousand.

The lesson to be drawn from the returns is both obvious and emphatic. In proportion as the democratic party espouses the cause of the masses it is strong; in proportion as it is timid and hesitating it is weak. It is not necessary that the democratic party should advocate all of the measures advocated by other parties, but it is necessary that it shall take a positive and emphatic stand against the plutocratic tendencies of the times, and it must fearlessly defend the rights and interests of the common people.

One more campaign on so-called "conservative" lines would still further demoralize the party, but there is no danger that it will make again soon the mistake that it made this year. The heart of the democratic party is sound. The political conditions which prevailed just prior to the democratic convention were abnormal and unusual. A great many honest democrats, anxious to make all the progress possible, believed it wise to attempt the conciliation of the so-called business "interests," but more properly described as the interests of the large corporations. The attempt was made; it proved unsuccessful; it will not be repeated. The democrats who favor reform will be put in control of the democratic