

andidate, it must be expected that differences of judgment will often result in the selection of a candidate acceptable to a majority but not the first choice of a minority. This is not sufficient to justify a man in leaving his party if the candidate is himself worthy of support and on the whole preferable to the candidate of any other party.

Aside from these general principles which govern members of parties, there is another rule that has to be considered. Whether a man feels it his duty to leave his party or not, depends somewhat upon his judgment as to the party's future. If he has confidence in the good purpose of a majority of his party, he is more inclined to excuse a mistake than he is if he believes the party has outlived its usefulness. A party cannot be held together for any great length of time after the members of the party have made up their minds that the party has entered upon a permanent decline. While a party has hope, even though its progress is small, men will cling to it; when hope is gone the party disintegrates rapidly.

Men may leave a party temporarily with an expectation of returning to it, or they may simply refuse to vote at all, thereby expressing dissatisfaction without indicating any intention to join another party, or they may refuse to support a particular candidate on the ground that he is personally unfit and on the ground that his election would not strengthen the party's position or advance the principles of the party.

Applying these principles to the last campaign, we find that a few left the democratic party because they had either changed themselves or had become discouraged by continued democratic defeat. Some of these went to the republican party, some to the populist party, and some to the socialist party. A much greater number left the party temporarily, voting some other ticket as a protest against the action of the St. Louis convention. Some of those who voted the socialist ticket did so, not because of any intention to ally themselves permanently with the socialist party, but to signify their desire to have the democratic party more radical than it was in the last campaign. Some voted the populist ticket because Mr. Watson represented some of the reforms for which the democratic party has been contending. Some voted the republican ticket either to emphasize their rebuke of the democratic party or because they had faith that Mr. Roosevelt would initiate some reforms.

The great majority of the democrats, however, voted the ticket, and the editor of The Commoner was one of this number. About 80 per cent of the voting strength of the democratic party was cast for the democratic candidate, and a considerable majority of the democratic votes was cast in the republican states of the north. Those who voted the ticket did not by so doing express themselves as satisfied with the platform or the ticket. They, many of them, simply declared that they had faith in the future usefulness of the party and believed that Judge Parker, if elected, would secure certain reforms—reforms important enough to justify support at the polls. The editor of The Commoner had occasion to make his position known both through the papers and on the stump. Judge Parker opposed imperialism, which alone justified the support of those who believe imperialism to be a menace to this country. He stood for a reduction of the army, which also gave him a claim to the support of those who fear imperialism. Judge Parker was opposed to the spirit of war which characterizes those who, like the president, are deluded with the belief that the spirit of peace can be promoted by rivalry in the building of war ships.

While on some economic questions there was not as much difference between the candidates as there ought to have been, still the democratic platform was in every respect better than the republican platform wherever it touched upon economic questions. The editor of The Commoner reserved until the convention acted his decision in regard to the support of the ticket, but when the convention concluded its work he had no doubt as to his duty. The platform was much better than he had expected the convention to adopt, and it was apparent from the action of those in attendance upon the convention that, while they yielded to the tempting promises held out by the eastern democrats, they were sound in heart and purpose. He felt when the convention closed—and the conviction has been increased during the months that have elapsed since the convention—that he can be of more service to his country acting with the millions of democrats who desire to make the party the exponent of an earnest democratic sentiment and the champion of positive and aggressive reforms, than he could by allying himself with any other party.

The election returns show that in spite of the

strong reasons for the support of the democratic ticket a good many democrats—something like 20 per cent—refused to countenance the attempt at conservatism. Those who urge conservatism defended their position entirely by arguments based upon the prospect of success. The overwhelming defeat which met this concession to conservatism ends the experiment.

The radical element of the party has been reinforced since the election by those who were willing to risk the attempt to secure a part of the democratic creed by abandoning a part. And even the conservatives have been compelled to admit the fallacy of their own reasoning. The president has very much strengthened the radical element of the democratic party by espousing some of the reforms upon which the conservative democrats were weakest, and the growing public sentiment in favor of reform is educating democrats who were right in their sympathies but uninformed upon some of the problems to be met. The democratic party has an important work to do, and its future is brighter than at any time since 1892. It was necessary to go through the struggle which in 1896 put the democratic party upon advanced ground. The temporary retreat made by the party in 1904 has taught a salutary lesson—a lesson which probably could not be taught in any other way.

Ever since 1896 the radical element of the party was blamed for the party defeat. It was unreasonable to blame the radical element when under its leadership the party polled nearly a million more votes than it had ever polled before, and did this in two successive campaigns. Under conservative leadership the party fell off a million and a quarter votes, and this slump in the vote has taught what reason and logic should have taught. Experience is a dear teacher but, as someone has said, many will not learn in any other school.

Experience has shown that the democratic party must be a progressive party if it is to maintain its position, and unless all signs fail, it will enter the next campaign with an honest platform, dealing candidly with all the questions before the public and appealing to the conscience of the country. The editor of The Commoner is in a better position to assist in the next campaign because of the position which he took in the last campaign. And just so long as he follows the course that promises the maximum of usefulness he satisfies his own conscience and can accept without complaint the kindly criticism of friends and the unfair criticism of enemies.

### Governing Others

The Christian Advocate of Nashville, Tenn., has a three-column article entitled "The Facts in the Case," in answer to The Commoner's criticism which appeared a few weeks ago under the head of "The Religious Argument." The Advocate disclaims that it attempted to enter the field of political discussion and insists that it only dealt with facts. In its reply, however, it wanders far from the question of fact, and enters the same defense of imperialism that the czar presents in defense of his autocratic rule. No king ever insisted upon governing his subjects without their consent except on the theory that he was doing it for their good, and no nation ever administered a colony except on the same theory.

The position of the Christian Advocate is summed up in the closing paragraph. After saying that the people of the United States are not tyrants and will not tolerate tyrannical treatment of the Filipinos, it declares:

"The day has arrived in the history of nations for it to be shown that one people can govern another to that other's advantage."

This is what every tyrannical nation in history has been trying to show, and it has always been able to show it to the satisfaction of the rulers, but not to the satisfaction of those governed without their consent. The Advocate says:

"When the Filipinos are convinced that we are seeking their good they will be satisfied, and a little responsibility will not hurt us."

That is the delusion with which the tax payers have been fed in every instance, and the exploiters have been perfectly willing that their country should assume responsibility.

The Commoner has criticised the Christian Advocate because of its influential position in the religious world and because the editor of The Commoner felt sure that the editor of the Christian Advocate had inadvertently adopted the arguments of the imperialists. The closing paragraph of the last editorial, however, shows that the Advocate boldly espouses the doctrine that "one people may govern another to that other's advantage." As this is directly contrary to our theory of gov-

ernment, it is not necessary to carry the controversy any farther. No one can believe in the doctrine of self-government as set forth in the Declaration of Independence and at the same time assert that "the day has arrived in the history of nations for it to be shown that one people may govern another to that other's advantage."

### Mail Contracts

It is strange that President Roosevelt has overlooked the padded mail carrying contracts. Former Senator Pettigrew of South Dakota is authority for the statement that on its present contracts the government pays the railroads each year \$40,000,000 for carrying the mails, while the same lines carry the same amount of express on the same trains for less than \$4,000,000. Senator Pettigrew says:

The New York Central railway for carrying the United States mail from New York to Chicago over its main lines receives each year 3½ per cent of the value of those lines as well as of all rolling stock and terminals in New York, Chicago and other cities.

Yet when I moved, after proving these facts, that this compensation be cut down 20, and afterwards 10 per cent, I was voted down in committee of the senate.

Mr. Roosevelt has been slow to move against the trusts because he "does not desire to unnecessarily disturb the business interests." He proceeds in a leisurely way to carry out his views as to some other necessary reforms because he "does not desire to be hasty." It would seem, however, that when the railroads are robbing the people on the mail carrying contracts the "business interests of the country" would not suffer if Mr. Roosevelt would immediately and actually become strenuous in a demand that the people be protected from the continuation of this steal.

### Growing in Favor

The Commoner's special subscription offer appears to be growing in favor. Every day many letters, showing the great interest those who believe in the principles supported by The Commoner, have in the effort to increase The Commoner's circulation, are received.

A prominent citizen of Fayette, Mo., writes:

"It gives me much pleasure to present to The Commoner eighteen new subscribers and one renewal. May the campaign of education which you are conducting continue with ever increasing interest, until the people from a sense of duty, defy expediency, and demand that principle, and not money, shall be the test of public office. Find enclosed \$11.80 to cover cost of club."

According to the terms of the special subscription offer, cards, each good for one year's subscription to The Commoner will be furnished in lots of five, at the rate of \$3 per lot. This places the yearly subscription rate at 60 cents.

Anyone ordering these cards may sell them for \$1.00 each, thus earning a commission of \$2.00 on each lot sold, or he may sell them at the cost price and find compensation in the fact that he has contributed to the educational campaign.

These cards may be paid for when ordered, or they may be ordered and remittance made after they have been sold. A coupon is printed below for the convenience of those who desire to participate in this effort to increase The Commoner's circulation.

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#### Application for Subscription Cards

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If you believe the paper is doing a work that merits encouragement, fill out the above coupon and mail it to The Commoner, Lincoln, Neb.