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or selfish ambition, they would have escaped, I think not only the threats which had been uttered against them, but possibly the homilies which have so generously enriched the president's speeches. So few in number as to suggest the mere stroke of the lash of party discipline, such as was administered at Chicago, they have survived because they are making an effort to stand for the sober judgment and the alert conscience of the American public throughout our borders.

"If that is not so, how does it come to pass that their adversaries, with one accord, accuse them of courting popular favor at the expense of the harmony of the party? How does it come to pass that the president, in his New York speech, deplors the results of demagogic appeals to the passions of a people already greatly aroused on the subject of purity and honesty in the administration of the government?"

"How does it happen that a fairly intelligent hypocrite sets about to win the popular favor by disowning the leadership which has taken possession of the party to which he belongs?"

Senator Dolliver quoted from an interview with the president, in which Mr. Taft calls the progressives political sycophants, and declares their motives to be entirely selfish. Then he said:

"Well, I will give the president or anybody else full leave to inquire into all the horrible details of my desire to find out what the public will is, and, as well as I can give expression to it, if he will let me hold a sort of inquisition on the motives of these amiable gentlemen in the two houses of congress and on the outside of both houses whom he has seemed at least to be following with great confidence, under the very harmful delusion that he is their leader.

He Illustrates "Regularity"

"It is a sign of new times when men are caught in the act of seeking public favor by refusing to tag after a leadership in full control of the organization of the political party to which they belong. It was not always so.

"Mr Walter Bagehot, in that very remarkable

little book called 'Physics and Politics,' relates a story brought back by an early traveler to the Fiji Islands, who says that on one occasion he saw a whole tribe walking barefoot in single file, their chieftain at the head, over a rough and difficult mountain path, when suddenly the chieftain's foot slipped and he sprawled awkwardly upon the ground. Thereupon each member of the tribe as they approached the place of the accident fell down in like manner, as in duty and tribal ceremonial bound, except one man, who did not understand, and was accordingly pounded to death by his fellows because he had been disrespectful to the chief."

Continuing, Senator Dolliver said:

"The history of the brutal and sordid control of the effort of the last session of congress to revise the tariff law in accordance with the party platform, and as sanctioned by the American public, was only the forerunner of other undertakings apparently about to be successful—some of them—to use every department of our government, not even sparing the highest offices, as mere playthings, to be tossed about by the mystic bands that have grown so bold and arrogant in their pretensions that they do not pretend even any longer to conceal their skill.

"Nobody can understand how the effort to amend the interstate commerce law in accordance with the party platform approved by the party candidate, was smothered practically to death in forty pages of printed matter, issuing from what quarter God only knows. It is impossible to understand that unless you also understand how the effort of the last session to revise the tariff laws on lines definitely set by party pledges was lifted bodily out of the hands of congress and made a mere vehicle for the interchange of mutual benefits in which the public got no share.

Believes in Majority Rule

"I am aware that it is sought to constrain independent expressions of opinion in these days by an appeal to the principle of majority government, a principle in accordance with which it is thought proper for individuals to surrender their own views and accept the views of a majority.

"There never was a more faithful friend of the doctrine of majorities than I am. It is our form of government. I accept it everywhere. I have never advised anybody to vote against the party ticket simply because he did not like the boss. I have always supposed it to be my duty, when the city in which I live was boss ridden, to enter the arena and fight for the overthrow of a bad party leadership instead of acquiescing in it and afterward overthrow the party of which it was the only tangible expression. I believe in the doctrine of party majorities applied to all popular assemblies.

"Further than that, a legislative assembly ought to be governed by discussions and by reason and by principles. It is a parody on our form of government to say of a body like this that it shall be governed, not by a majority of its members, but by a majority of the majority party of its membership. There are many who carry the doctrine even further. They say that the majority of the party majority ought to be dominated by a majority of the committee. In other words, they deliberately propose to apply to popular institutions the doctrine upon which the Rock Island railroad was founded—the recent foundation—whereby its men took up a property worth, say, \$50,000,000 and by buying half the stock confided it to a holding company and released \$25,000,000 of their capital, and then providing that half of the holding company should dominate that, they released the other half.

"So they propose literally to release what little intellectual character there is in the government of the United States by establishing this system of party majorities until at length one man is delegated to say to this assembly what it shall do, and those who fail to fall in with that theory of government are not only put out of the fold of the party, but they are accused of treason against the fundamental principles of popular institutions."

Dr. Cook and Aldrich

Senator Dolliver analyzed the cotton and wool schedules of the tariff law, revealing, as he went along, the fraud and injustice and jugglery by which they are made to accord protection to the manufacturers so high that the burdens imposed upon the general public become so many legislative outrages.

He pointed out how the president had aided in the effort to deceive the public as to the true character of the law, quoting from his various speeches manifest absurdities, which he

frankly proclaimed had been placed in the president's mouth by those who are trying to bolster up the very iniquities which should make the law odious. He said:

"The truth is that last year witnessed two events of world-wide interest and significance—the discovery of the North Pole by Dr. Cook and the revision of the American tariff downward by the senator from Rhode Island (Mr. Aldrich), each of them in itself a unique hoax and both of them unhappily introduced to the favor of the American public by the highest official congratulations."

He quoted from the president's speeches some of the absurdities he had pointed out, and said:

"If it were not possible to entirely disconnect the president from that medley of inventions and trace them to those who were responsible for searching them out, it would be difficult for a man of my temperament to get past this point in my discourse without appearing at least to disturb the harmony of the occasion; but, fortunately, it is entirely possible to altogether disassociate the president from them. These are vagrant children, introduced into the president's intellectual household by interested parties, and his harboring of them is more in the nature of a misfortune than a fault.

"The extract which I have read from the Winona speech exhibits all the vices of palace car preparation and all the difficulties of condensing into four or five lines what took several hours of rather difficult discussion here on the floor of the senate during the debate, even to explain to anybody."

He quoted the president as saying: "The house and senate took evidence," and said:

"Who told him that? The house took evidence though the chairman of the finance committee boasted on this floor that he had never read it, notwithstanding the fact that it was printed in books; but the senate took no evidence, for if it did, it was of that wireless kind (laughter), taken in secret and the fact denied on this floor by the chairman of the committee.

"The house did take evidence, and I have it right here. They took the evidence of people representing the Arkwright club, representing the cotton mills of New Bedford, Mass., and representing the textile industrial organizations, the wage-working population of textile New England. And what was the testimony? The wage workers testified that they were satisfied, prosperous and contented, and asked congress to make no change in the law. Mr. Ross, of the New Bedford mills, made the same request in plain terms, and Mr. Lippitt, who represented all the other cotton mills of New England, again and again asked the committee to make no change in the schedule applicable to the cotton cloths.

"Now, with all these facts within easy reach, I intend to talk plainly, because I am face to face with people who are talking plainly to me; it is discouraging to all friends of fair dealing in the United States to have these brethren pass up to the president of the United States, to be used for public instruction, a statistical table which represents him as saying that the cotton duties have not been increased except upon certain grades, to the amount of \$41,246,000.30 when, if he had had the table with him, a mere glance at it would have shown that that closely calculated \$41,000,000 did not refer to cotton cloths at all; that the only thing it purported to refer to was cotton stocking, valued at from \$1 to \$2 per dozen pairs—from 8 to 20 cents a pair—annually consumed in the United States to the amount of \$41,000,000.

"Yet these gentlemen, whose duty to the president and to the republican party was to give him the facts to lay before the people, allowed him to go to New York and state to a great audience, mainly of merchants, that the increases on the cotton schedule were applicable to \$41,000,000 of merchandise which could properly be described as luxuries."

Discussing the wool schedule, he quoted from President Taft's Winona speech the statement that allied interests represented in congress made it impossible to lower the schedules. Then he said:

"Who are the people who represent the mills and the pastures and that hold up congress in both houses and threaten to beat any legislation at all unless an outrage contrived forty-two years ago is perpetrated world without end? Are they insurgents? Did any of you ever study what an insurgent is?"

"Is a man who holds congress up by a threat and wins congress' vote on a bluff a patriot because he represents his own interests, and is a man to be derided and despised because he