

firm of Morgan was just beginning to dominate the financial affairs of the country. The recent investigation by the Pujo committee more than confirmed the fears he expressed and justified the assertions he made in the early nineties.

#### RESPONSIBILITIES OF IMPERIALISM

Of great importance today is the uncompromising opposition Mr. Bryan has always manifested to anything that savored of imperialism. He believes that its fruits are deadly to the spirit of American institutions. As secretary of state he will not lack for opportunity to put into practice the virtue of fair dealing with weaker nations which he has so often and so eloquently preached in his famous speech on "Naboth's Vineyard," in which he says:

"The Bible tells us that Ahab, the king, wanted the vineyard of Naboth and was sorely grieved because the owner thereof refused to part with the inheritance of his fathers. Then followed a plot, and false charges were preferred against Naboth to furnish an excuse for getting rid of him. 'Thou shalt not covet!' 'Thou shalt not bear false witness!' 'Thou shalt not kill!' Three commandments broken, and still a fourth, 'Thou shalt not steal!' to be broken in order to get a little piece of ground! And what was the result? When the king went forth to take possession Elijah, that brave old prophet of the bygone days, met him and pronounced against him the sentence of the Almighty. Neither his own exalted position nor the lowly station of his victim could save him from the avenging hand of outraged justice. His case was tried in a court where neither wealth, nor rank, nor power could shield the aggressor."

Mr. Bryan believes that the question is not what the United States can do but what it ought to do; that this nation can do whatever it desires to do, but must accept responsibility for what it does.

#### NOT A TROUBLE BREEDER

The charge that Mr. Bryan has been a disturber of peace in the democratic party is no longer made, because peace has at last come by the general acceptance of the reforms which the progressives have been demanding. Mr. Bryan's contention has been that the rank and file of the democratic party has been progressive beyond all question and that there can never be peace in a party unless its whole policy and organization are in harmony with the will of the majority. His fight has been to keep a minority of the party, powerful in wealth and supported by special privilege, from dominating the mass of the party. Although frequently charged with making assaults upon democratic leaders, there are really but very few men whom he has personally attacked during a quarter of a century of public life, and then only when they were attempting something that he regarded as inimical to the reforms which he—as the leader of the party and the spokesman of the rank and file—was urging.

Harmony now reigns within the democratic party, and if the day of heart-burning is not altogether past there is at least a sincere and businesslike co-operation among all the leaders. No two executives of any great corporation in this country pull together better than the president and his secretary of state. As Mr. Wilson said the other night, "Dere ain't a-go'in' to be no friction."

#### BRYAN AS A BUSINESS MAN

Not only is the president keenly alive to Mr. Bryan's sterling worth, but he realizes fully that the charge that Mr. Bryan is unfriendly to the business interests of the country is untrue. This charge has always been resented by Mr. Bryan, who has insisted year in and year out that the term "business man" was too honorable a term to be monopolized by the comparatively few engaged in big business; too respectable a term to be dragged into disgrace by the predatory interests that would fain hide behind the men at the head of legitimate if smaller enterprises.

Nothing in Mr. Bryan's life or environment would tend to prejudice him against the successful man in business or in the professions. Mr. Bryan's father was a lawyer, a judge, a state senator, a member of the constitutional convention of Illinois of 1870 and a candidate for congress in the unfortunate Greeley campaign. Mr. Bryan spent his boyhood on a five-hundred-acre farm and was sent to academy, college and law school. His social life—albeit society has no special attraction for him—has been spent among the educated and the well-to-do, and he himself has succeeded as a business man being

the proprietor as well as the editor of The Commoner, which for some twelve years has had a circulation of more than one hundred thousand copies.

While devoting but a part of his time to remunerative work, he has accumulated a fortune that approximates \$200,000. Not a large fortune as fortunes go in New York, but a life competency that makes him financially independent; not a large fortune, but considerably more than the average of those known as successful business men outside of the great financial centers. As a further evidence of his lack of prejudice against honest business it may not be amiss to recall that he chose for his life companion the daughter of a successful business man.

When Mr. Bryan first went to congress he was—next to the smooth-faced, boyish Bailey—the youngest member of the house; when he first secured the nomination for president he was the youngest man ever named as a candidate for that office. His youth has flown. Experience has taught him caution. He has found, as have others, that advancing years bring conservatism of language; still, he is yet young enough to fight and to fight vigorously for the right as he sees it.

## California, Japan and the Administration

After the telegram sent by Secretary of State Bryan to Governor Johnson of California, which telegram was published in last week's issue of The Commoner, President Wilson held a conference with the California congressmen and then sent the following telegram to Governor Johnson and to the presiding officers in the California legislature:

"I speak upon the assumption, which I am sure is well founded, that the people of California do not desire their representatives—and that their representatives do not wish or intend—in any circumstances to embarrass the government of the United States in its dealings with a nation with whom it has most earnestly and cordially sought to maintain relations of genuine friendship and good will, and that least of all do they desire to do anything that might impair treaty obligations or cast a doubt upon the honor and good faith of the nation and its government.

"I therefore appeal with the utmost confidence to the people, the governor and the legislature of California to act in the matter now under consideration in a manner that can not from any point of view be fairly challenged or called in question.

"If they deem it necessary to exclude all aliens who have not declared their intentions to become citizens from the privileges of land ownership, they can do so along lines already followed in the laws of many of the other states and of many foreign countries, including Japan herself.

"Insidious discrimination will inevitably draw in question the treaty obligations of the government of the United States. I register my very earnest and respectful protest against discrimination in this case, not only because I deem it my duty to do so as the chief executive of the nation, but also, and the more readily, because I believe the people and the legislative authorities of California will generously respond the moment the matter is frankly presented to them as a question of national policy and of national honor. If they have ignored this point of view, it is, I am sure, because they did not realize what and how much was involved."

Governor Johnson sent the following reply to President Wilson's message:

Mr. President, Washington, D. C.: Immediately on receipt of your telegram of this date, it was transmitted to both houses of our legislature. I think I may assure you that it is the desire of the majority of members of the legislature to do nothing in the matter of alien land bills that will be embarrassing to our own government or offensive to anyone. It is the desire of these legislators specifically to provide in any act that nothing therein shall be construed as affecting or impairing any rights covered by treaty, although from the legal standpoint this is deemed unnecessary. If any act be passed it will be general in character, relating to those who are ineligible to citizenship, and the language employed will be that which has its precedent and sanction in statutes which now exist on the subject. I speak, I think, for the majority of the senate of California; certainly I do for the voting power of the state when I convey to you our purpose to cooperate fully and heartily with the national government

Mr. Bryan has made more speeches and addressed more people than any other man in the United States. Contrary to the general belief, he is not an emotional orator, except as Demosthenes and Cicero were emotional orators—and curiously enough in profile Mr. Bryan bears a remarkable resemblance to a bust of Cicero in the British museum. Both in public speaking and in private conversation he is essentially argumentative. It is true that, here and there, among the solid rows of argument he strews a few flowers of rhetoric, a touch of humor, or more rarely an appeal to sentiment.

Mr. Bryan's speech on "Dreamers" must rank among the finest productions of American humorists. After Beveridge and Cannon and Cummins and others had called him a dreamer he reminded them with inimitable skill that the Bible tells of dreamers and that among the most conspicuous was Joseph. How his brothers saw him coming from afar and said, "Behold, the dreamer cometh!" How they plotted to kill him, but sold him to the merchants who carried him into Egypt, and when time went on and a famine came and the brethren had to go down to Egypt to buy corn they found the dreamer there—and the dreamer had the corn.

and do only that which admittedly is within our province, without intended or insidious discrimination.

HIRAM W. JOHNSON.

On April 23rd President Wilson sent to Governor Johnson the following telegram: "Thank you for your patriotic telegram. We find it so difficult from this distance to understand fully the situation with regard to the sentiment and circumstances lying back of the pending proposition concerning the ownership of land in the state that I venture to inquire whether it would be agreeable to you and the legislature to have the secretary of state visit Sacramento for the purpose of counseling with you and the members of the legislature and cooperating with you and them in the framing of a law which would meet the views of the people of the state and yet leave untouched international obligations of the United States."

The president's second telegram was addressed to the president of the senate and the speaker of the house of assembly at Sacramento, and was identical with that sent to Governor Johnson, with the exception of the first sentence.

Governor Johnson replied to the president as follows: "I shall be pleased at all times to consult with the secretary of state, and it will be entirely agreeable to me to have the secretary visit Sacramento as suggested in your telegram."

Mr. Bryan also received a personal message inviting him to be the guest of the governor and Mrs. Johnson, which he accepted in the following dispatch:

Hon. Hiram W. Johnson, Sacramento, Cal.: Your kind invitation received and appreciated. It will give me pleasure to be your guest. Please convey to the legislature my thanks for the resolutions adopted. Will leave Washington via Pennsylvania railroad 6:45 Thursday evening. Leave Chicago via Northwestern railroad 8:30 Friday evening, and arrive at Sacramento 4:45 Monday afternoon. W. J. BRYAN.

Mr. Bryan left Washington at 6:45 o'clock on the evening of April 25th. The following is from the Washington report made by the Associated Press: "I go hopefully, yet with a realization of the responsibility involved," said the secretary as he left the White House after a final conference with President Wilson. The president had explained earlier in the day during his conference with the newspaper men that the purpose of Mr. Bryan's visit was to take counsel with the California authorities as to the best way to avoid international difficulty. The president let it be known that he considered the attitude of the Japanese government proper and friendly and that there had been no note of antagonism, despite reports to the contrary, the position of the Tokio government having been one of respectful urgency that no discrimination be made against their people. Inquiries as to just what Japan would consider a discrimination brought forth the intimation from the president that with the eligibility of the Japanese to citizenship still a debatable question, it would be difficult to define just what would be construed as a discrimination.

Mr. Bryan himself declared later that he went with no specific instructions, but simply with the general idea that discrimination aimed directly