

assuredly Bondaref deserves the eulogy pronounced upon him by Tolstol.

The third reason given in support of the theory of bread-labor is that it closes the gulf between the various classes of society and brings people into sympathy with each other. Tolstol declares (and can the truth of the declaration be doubted?) that lack of sympathy between man and man is the tap root of most, if not all, of our social troubles. If there existed everywhere fellowship, friendly interest and a genuine brotherly love, men would not cheat each other, they would not steal from each other, they would not oppress each other, they would not do injustice to each other. Neither would they be indifferent to each other's welfare, or to the welfare of each other's children. It is not sufficient that one's ancestors should have toiled; it is not even sufficient that one should have himself toiled at some time in his life. Some of the worst taskmasters have been men with a recollection of former servitude. It is necessary that there shall be such a constant and permanent acquaintanceship with labor that one may be able to understand its fatigues and thus appreciate the necessity for rest and recreation.

Tolstol regards love as the great instructor. He insists that love will guide the mind aright. He criticises those who devote themselves to entertaining the rich while the poor die of hunger, and in the presentation of this criticism uses language which shows his aptness in the use of illustrations. He says:

"As the spring cannot question where its waters are to flow—upwards, splashing the grass and the leaves of the trees, or downwards to the roots of the grass and trees—so a believer in the teaching of truth cannot ask what he must do first—whether to teach people, defend them, amuse them, supply them with the pleasures of life, or save them from perishing of want. And just as water from a spring flows along the surface and fills ponds and gives drink to animals and men, only after it has soaked the ground, so a believer in the teaching of truth can serve less urgent human demands only after he has satisfied the primary demand: has helped to feed men, and to save them from perishing in their struggle against want. A man following the teaching of truth and love not in words, but in deeds, cannot mistake where first to direct his efforts. A man who sees the meaning of his life in service to others can never make such a blunder as to begin to serve hungry and naked humanity by forging cannon, manufacturing elegant ornaments, or playing the violin or the piano."

He concludes his essay with an eloquent appeal for human brotherhood. No one can read this appeal without catching a glimpse of the spirit of Tolstol, and when this spirit is understood it is easy to understand how Tolstol has touched the heart of the world. He says:

"Go to the bottom—to what seems to you the bottom, but is really the top—take your place beside those who produce food for the hungry and clothes for the naked, and do not be afraid; it will not be worse, but better in all respects. Take your place in the ranks, set to work with your weak, unskilled hands at the primary work which feeds the hungry and clothes the naked: at bread-labor, the struggle with nature; and you will feel, for the first time, firm ground beneath your feet, will feel that you are at home, that you are free and stand firmly, and have reached the end of your journey. And you will feel those complete, unpoisoned joys which can be found nowhere else—not secured by any doors nor screened by any curtains.

"You will know joys you have never known before; you will for the first time know those strong, plain men, your brothers, who from a distance have fed you until now; and to your surprise you will find in them such qualities as you have never known; such modesty, such kindness to yourself as you will feel you have not deserved.

"Instead of the contempt or scorn you expected, you will meet with such kindness, such gratitude and respect for having—after living on them and despising them all your life—at last recollected yourself, and with unskilled hands tried to help them.

"You will see what seemed to you like an island on which you were saved from the sea that threatened to engulf you, was a marsh in which you were sinking; and that the sea you feared, was dry land on which you will walk firmly, quietly and happily; as must be the case, for from a deception (into which you did not enter of your own wish, but into which you were led) you will es-

cape to the truth, and from the evasion of God's purpose you will pass to its performance."

### Government Paper vs. Notes.

Some of the gold bug papers are disturbed because the Nebraska platform, recently adopted at Omaha, favors government paper "issued without the intervention of national banks." These papers declare that this is more populistic than the Chicago platform. The Nebraska plank on the money question is in line with the historic policy of the party. The Chicago platform said:

"We therefore denounce the issuance of notes intended to circulate as money by national banks as in derogation of the constitution, and we demand that all paper which is made a legal tender for public and private debts, or which is receivable for dues to the United States, shall be issued by the government of the United States, and shall be redeemable in coin."

The Nebraska platform indorses the Kansas City platform and the Kansas City platform indorses the Chicago platform. The Nebraska platform on the question of paper money is therefore entirely in harmony with the Kansas City and Chicago platforms, and is also in harmony with earlier platforms of the party. The democratic platform of 1840 said:

"Resolved, That congress has no power to charter a United States bank; that we believe such an institution one of deadly hostility to the best interests of the country, dangerous to our republican institutions, and the liberties of the people, and calculated to place the business of the country within the control of a concentrated money power and above the laws and the will of the people."

This platform was reaffirmed in 1844, 1848, 1852, and 1856. A great many democrats have been deceived by the reorganizers into believing that the opposition to the Kansas City platform was merely an opposition to the silver plank. The fact is that the silver plank, while it presented the paramount issue in 1896, was only a part of a larger issue, namely, the money question. If you ask a gold bug what objection he has to the Kansas City platform, he tells you that the increased production of gold has made the free coinage of silver unnecessary, and yet while giving this excuse he is just as much against the greenback as he is against free silver. Now, the issue between government paper and bank notes is not affected by the increased production of gold. If the gold bug insisted that the increased production of gold made the greenback unnecessary, his argument would at least be consistent with his argument against silver, but the volume of national bank notes has increased since 1836 so that while he is objecting to the issue of government paper he is willing to have more bank notes issued.

At St. Louis the gold bugs will oppose the Kansas City platform on the ground that it brings up the silver question, but they will be unwilling to state the party's position on the question of greenbacks versus bank notes for the reason that they are in favor of a bank currency issued by the banks and controlled by the banks, while the democratic voters prefer the greenback to the bank note. If the national bank note is issued we must either have a perpetual debt for it to rest upon, or we must have some other basis, and the other basis is the asset basis. No one who is acquainted with the situation doubts for a moment that the asset currency is sure to come if the national bank note is continued. The democratic party, therefore, must take a position upon this subject or stand convicted of secretly participating in the scheme of the financiers to turn the note issuing function of the government over to the banks. Jefferson declared that banks of issue were more dangerous than standing armies, and Jackson, according to Thomas Benton, saved the country when he destroyed the bank conspiracy.

The responsibility of framing the next national platform for the democratic party rests upon the delegates appointed to the St. Louis convention, and they must either meet this question boldly or dodge it, and dodging would be virtually taking the side of the banks, for they work by stealth and never submit to the people any question in which their interests are involved.

The fight at St. Louis will expose the hollow pretense put forward by the opponents of the Kansas City platform. When the resolution committee meets, the representatives from the various states will find that the reorganizers are against the spirit of the Kansas City platform and against every needed reform. The issue is not so

much between silver and gold as between honesty and dishonesty—between square dealing and deception.

### Senator Knox.

The press dispatches announce that Attorney General Knox has been selected to succeed Senator Quay. His selection was brought about by a conference between the heads of the various corporate interests of Pennsylvania, Frick, of the steel trust, and Cassatt, of the Pennsylvania railroad, being the most conspicuous figures. When he was agreed upon the matter was presented to President Roosevelt, and he consented to Mr. Knox's retirement, saying that he would be useful in the senate in the preparation of legislation on the trust question. The fact that he was urged by Frick and Cassatt makes it plain that he is to be put in the senate as a representative of the trusts, just as he has been their representative in the cabinet, and the fact that President Roosevelt is glad to have him there is further evidence (if any further evidence were needed) that the president has no intention of interfering with the trusts. The corporations control Pennsylvania. Some one has described the Pennsylvania legislature as a body of men loaned by the Pennsylvania Railroad company to the Standard Oil company when not needed by the railroad company. Quay was the political representative of these influences and the selection of Mr. Knox as his successor is a confession that Mr. Knox is and has been, as frequently charged, merely the representative of corporate interests in the cabinet. It is strange that the ordinary man—farmer, merchant, or mechanic—can fail to understand the significance of the bargains that are made between the great corporations and public officials. It is strange that they are so slow in finding out that no remedial legislation is possible so long as the corporations control the senate.

Will the appointment of Mr. Knox by the trusts strengthen the democratic position in the coming campaign? That depends. If the democrats will adopt a sound platform and nominate a candidate free from the taint of corporation control, the Knox incident can be turned to advantage. But with an August Belmont candidate on the ticket, the democrats would not be able to say anything against the trusts without exciting a smile of derision. Republican mistakes can only be taken advantage of by an honest and straightforward campaign in the interests of the people, and that is just the kind of a campaign which the reorganizers do not want. What trust representative will President Roosevelt select as Mr. Knox's successor? It is probable that Mr. Knox will retain his position in the cabinet until after the election and thus save the president the embarrassment of selecting a new attorney general during the campaign.

### Daniels Not In Contempt.

Hon. Josephus Daniels, the North Carolina member of the national committee and editor of the News and Observer, who was recently fined for contempt by United States Judge Pernell, has been released upon habeas corpus. Mr. Daniels criticised the action of Judge Pernell in appointing receivers for the North Carolina railroad. The appointment was overruled by Chief Justice Fuller, but Judge Pernell fined Daniels \$2,000 for contempt, and upon refusal of the editor to pay the fine sent him to jail. Judge Pritchard tried the case and released Mr. Daniels, saying that there was nothing in the statutes to warrant his arrest.

Mr. Daniels is to be congratulated upon his victory, and deserves also the gratitude of the profession for insisting upon his right to criticise the judge. Judges, like other public servants, are open to criticism, and as all questions must ultimately be settled by the courts, it is especially necessary that the judges themselves shall be tried at the bar of public opinion. No judge need fear criticism if he has done right, and no judge should be shielded from criticism if he has done wrong.

### Conscience As a Prosecutor.

After all, the conscience is the prosecutor from whom the criminal cannot escape. This truth has been verified over and over again. The most recent case is that of Tascott. He died recently in the Klondike country and a person present at his death makes public his last words. A prospector found him alone in a mining shack. He was safe from the officers of the law, but his conscience had kept him company for fifteen years and had been persistent in its punishment. Rec-