The Commoner.

by pointing out that the commandment "Thou shalt not steal" is openly and notoriously violated in the stock market and in the grain pit by those who profess to believe in the Bible and have respect for its teachings.

If time permitted I would call attention to the adulteration of food which sometimes involves a violation of the commandment against killing as well as the commandment against theft

But law finds its foundations in morals, and back of wrong doing is a false conception of life. I have not exhausted the field of illustration; I have not applied my text in all the multitude of ways in which it can be applied, but I shall conclude the discussion for this time by calling attention to the fundamental conception of life that more than anything else is responsible for the various forms of larceny to which I have referred. In our haste to make money we have cultivated the impression that life is to be measured by its income and that men are worthy of respect in proportion as they have accumulated. If I were delivering a religious address I would insist that life should be measured by its overflow rather than by its income. would insist that it is what we put into the world and not what we take out of it that determines the success of a life. But for the present I shall content myself with presenting an economic standard rather than a religious one and say that the only economic rule for accumulation is that one shall draw from society in proportion as he contributes to the welfare of society. Forms of government, methods of administration and legislation all should have for their object the securing to each citizen of the rightful and legitimate rewards for his toil. Society cannot say to a man that he must as a matter of religious duty give more to society than he takes from society, nor can it without violation of individual rights say to a man that he must give to society more than he gets from society. The citizen owes a certain obligation to the government, and the government owes a certain obligation to the citizen, and these obligations are equally binding. The government can have no favorites; it can not put the burdens upon some and offer the rewards to others. The best government is that which furnishes to each citizen the most perfect security against every arm uplifted for his injury and which, insofar as it enters upon a cooperative work, distributes with equity both the burdens and the benefits of that cooperation. Perfection is not to be expected in government but the desire for perfection ought to control the citizen in his civic work as it controls him in his own life. Jefferson taught this conception of government when he insisted upon the maxim "equal rights to all and special privileges to none." Lincoln had this purpose of government in mind when he said at Gettysburg that those who assembled there should resolve that "a government of the people, by the people and for the people should not perish from the earth," and Jackson gave expression to the same thought when he said in one of his messages:

"Distinctions in society will always exist under every just government. Equality of talents, of education or of wealth, cannot be produced by human institutions. In the full enjoyment of the gifts of Heaven and the fruits of superior industry, economy and virtue, every man is equally entitled to protection by law.

"But when the laws undertake to add to those natural and just advantages artificial distinctions—to grant titles, gratuities and exclusive privileges—to make the rich richer and the potent more powerful—the humble members of society—the farmers, mechanics and the laborers—who have neither the time nor the means of securing like favors for themselves, have a right to complain of the injustice of their government."

The "swollen fortunes" against which the president justly inveighs, almost without exception find their source in special privileges and governmental favoritism which legalize injustice; it is not strange that the "humble members of society" complain, but it is strange that conscience does not more often restrain the "rich" and the "potent" from asking for such unfair advantages.

The nearer we can make government conform to the divine plan, the nearer we shall approach justice, and according to the divine plan the reward should be proportioned to the industry and the intelligence with which one labors. With the great mass of mankind this must remain the only basis of rewards, and those who in the pulpit, on the platform, through the press and in legislative halls assist in the creation of public opinion should labor in season

and out of season to present an ideal of life that will make each individual as anxious to render faithful service to society as he is to draw an adequate compensation from society. The commandment "Thou shalt not steal" will not have the weight that it ought to have among men until it is so construed as to bring the feeling of guilt and shame to those who draw from the common store more than they add in service. If we can but create a sentiment that will make men ashamed not only of wrong doing but of idleness as well and fill them with an earnest desire to make generous return to society for all the blessings that society confers, it will be easier to prevent these varieties of larceny which are so difficult to define and which the officers of the law find it hard to detect and punish.

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Washington Letter

Washington, D. C. February 3.—New York has thirty-nine electoral votes. This is the fact known of all men in politics and reiterated day after day by the New York World in its daily editorial of attack on Mr. Bryan. But those electoral votes have not for many years past been cast for a real democrat. In 1904, notwithstanding the promises of the World, they were denied to Judge Parker and given to Theodore Roosevelt. In 1900, notwithstanding the half-hearted support of the World which knifed the democratic ticket, as it always will knife any democratic ticket headed by a man not under the Pulitzer thumb, they were given to McKinley. In 1896, with the World frankly in opposition to the democratic party, Mr. Mc-Kinley got those votes. A very noisy and a very mendacious sheet is the World. It talks much about the thirty-nine electoral votes of New York, but it seems to be unable to deliver them to the democratic party, whether it selects, accepts or bolts the candidate of that party. The World thunders promises but has never fulfilled one. It menaces treachery, and in that line of political endeavor has been singularly successful.

Some days ago the World printed an utterly false statement concerning a letter Mr. Bryan was said to have written, declaring that he would retire from the presidential canvas if there was any considerable opposition to him. A prompt denial was sent to the World, which it failed to print, but on the contrary devoted a column and half editorial to discussing the alleged statement. Yesterday the same paper printed an alleged poll of members of the New York assembly, showing as it was intended to show a large minority against Mr. Bryan. With two competent New York political writers I went over the list and picked out at least eight men, credited as anti-Bryan, who are almost fanatical in their devotion to him. It really seems as though the headline "Can the New York World Tell the Truth" deserves to be kept standing in the office of every democratic newspaper.

The administration has wisely determined not to antagonize Governor Hughes in New York, basing its position upon the belief that the governor of a state is entitled to the delegation from that state without federal interference. At least this is what the spokesmen of the administration say. Yet one is inclined to wonder why the governor of a state possesses political privileges which exceed those of a vice president or a senator. If the administration thinks it improper to oppose Mr. Hughes in New York, why should President Roosevelt permit a fight on Senator Foraker in Ohio, or Senator LaFollette in Wisconsin? It is fair to say that no fight has been made upon Speaker Cannon in Illinois, possibly because the administration forces were too wise. Cannon is in a position to fight back. With his control of the house of representatives, with his absolute ownership of the Illinois delegation, "Uncle Joe" is in a position of independence. The time is past when it appeared that he might be nominated. There never was a time when there was a chance of his election. Honest and square as he is, he stands as a type of the reactionaries, and no reactionary will be elected on either ticketif he is properly identified. Secretary Taft will be put forward by the republicans as their progressive candidate; before the campaign is over they will be compelled to show whether he has given anything except mere lip service to the so-called progressive policies of Roosevelt. And whether, as a matter of fact, in his relations

to labor, to the tariff and to progressive legislation generally, he has not shown himself to be a leader of the reactionaries.

The willingness with which the friends of Secretary Taft and the secretary himself have accepted the Hughes candidacy in New York and conceded to him the state indicates that it is not their purpose to look for the nomination of Taft on the first ballot, as was the plan a month ago, but to wait until the favorite sons have been voted for and slip the secretary in as second choice—if one can speak of slipping in so large and impressive a statesman. Already these votes in the convention are certain to be cast against Taft on the first ballot:

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This is, of course, by no means a dominant force in the convention. But it is an important force because the states which are certain to be against Taft in the convention, are states for which the republican and democratic parties will be wrestling in the election. Pennsylvania, of course, is an absolutely certain republican state. But with that one exception, all those in the anti-Taft column are doubtful. Moreover there are certain states not enumerated above, the delegations from which are quite likely to be either split or hostile to the president's pet. Ohio itself, with its forty-six electoral votes, is likely to give only a part of them to Secretary Taft. Michigan has already elected two anti-Taft delegates, California, notwithstanding the influence of the fleet, is in doubt. When the republican convention comes to meet there will be in it as pretty a fight for the nomination as has been seen in any national covention for twelve years past. Undoubtedly the chances are strongly in favor of Secretary Taft's nomination. He has the incalculable advantage of having back of him the moral influence of the president of the United States, and the immoral influence of Theodore Roosevelt, who is able to give orders to every federal officeholder throughout the United States. This will help Secretary Taft in his ambition for the nomination, but it may lead to certain embarrassments when he comes before the people.

WILLIS J. ABBOT.

DR. A. W. RILEY

Dr. A. W. Riley died recently at his home in Omaha. Dr. Riley was one of Nebraska's best beloved citizens, one of its able and painstaking physicians, one of its noblest men, one of its best democrats. A very large number of men who had the privilege of Dr. Riley's acquaintance and who had become the beneficiaries of his loving kindness will feel a keen sense of loss when they learn of the death of this good man.

CRUEL CREATURES

The Columbia (S. C.) State throws a little light upon the advice being given these days to the democratic party by republican editors and politicians when it says: "If we democrats do not listen to the advice of our friends the republicans it is not difficult to see what will become of us. What is the use of republican statesmen and republican papers working with us day in and day out if we are to learn nothing from them? O ye hard hearts, ye cruel men of the democratic party. Can you see the good republicans weep their eyes out over your errors and do nothing to dry their tears!"

♦♦♦♦ WHAT ABOUT 1896?

Fighting instructions to delegates to the republican national convention the St. Louis Globe Democrat (rep.) says: "The Globe-Democrat has always been opposed to the instruction of delegates before the meeting of a convention. We hold, and have always held, that to fetter delegates in behalf of one candidate, and especially by machine methods, is demoralizingly wrong."

If memory is not at fault the Globe-Democrat was an ardent supporter of Mr. McKinley and saw no evil in the proposition that delegations be instructed for the Ohio leader. And it would appear that the "machine methods" to which the Globe-Democrat now objects are mere copies of the machine methods made famous by the late Mark Hanna.