

approve the course he has decided to follow. During the last week Mr. Roosevelt has discussed his plans with a number of senators and representatives and with persons interested in large financial deals. He has been encouraged to abandon all efforts to conciliate Wall street, and he has decided to do so.

If the president will not only institute suits to "prevent gigantic combinations of railroad lines," but will look after combinations "formed to control food, fuel, clothing products," the products of the mines, especially iron and steel; and to that end, if he will not only recommend "radical laws," but will at once commence to enforce the laws now on the statute book, the trusts will very soon disappear, and a discussion of tariff legislation can be resumed without talking about trusts.

We hope the correspondent of the World is correct, and that the president "intends to cut loose from Wall street." Two days after election (Thursday, November 6) prices began to fall in Wall street. They fell so much that some thought we were going to have a money panic. But it was only a "shearing of the lambs," by the banks. It was notice to the speculators that prices could not go any higher; and when they cannot go higher, they must go lower. There is no such thing as stand-still in Wall street. They make money there by pushing things up and down.

The recent election has settled one thing with regard to the tariff—we are to have a revision. If the democrats had carried the day and elected a democratic congress, we would have had a revision; but it would have been along the line of tariff-for-revenue-only. But, now, that the republicans have carried the day, we will have a revision along the lines of protection. It is better that we should have a revision along the lines of protection, and whether it is better or not, the people have so decreed by giving the republicans control of the lower house of congress until the next presidential election. The work will not be taken up until the winter of 1903-4 and the people will have an opportunity of passing on the revision in the election of 1904, so that the indications are now that the tariff will be the paramount issue in 1904, with perhaps the Fowler bill thrown in, although I don't believe that it is possible to concentrate the public mind upon the currency until we have had another money panic. If the democrats could be induced to let the republicans make the tariff as they please and a money panic should follow, then the republicans could not say that it was because the democrats had passed another Wilson bill and inaugurated free trade or tariff-for-revenue-only.

It is impossible to expect that the democrats will allow protection to be continued without a protest and a bitter fight and therefore tariff legislation will be the paramount issue, until all the old democrats like Grover Cleveland & Co. are dead.

One thing is quite certain, namely—Roosevelt will smash the trusts, and then the democrats will have nothing to talk about, except "robber tariffs." They can't invent anything new; and, if they can't have negro slavery restored, they must have free trade or

tariff-for-revenue-only, as its twin sister. JNO. S. DE HART.
Jersey City, N. J.

STAND FIRM

Bernard Noon Adjures Populists to Maintain Their Party Organization and be Ready for the Fray

Editor Independent: I am more than pleased with the articles appearing in The Independent since I have been a subscriber to your paper, and especially do I subscribe to and give my hearty approval and unqualified indorsement to those articles appearing in your issue of November 13, 1902, touching upon the question of the future of the democratic and populist parties. I have read so much, and heard so much during the last year of the death of both parties, that it is somewhat reassuring to see some one willing to still champion the cause of each, or rather of both—for in truth and in fact their mission is the same, their purpose one—as The Independent is doing, and I wish to congratulate you on the stand you are taking.

One would think to read the editorials in our republican dailies—and in some of our dailies classing themselves as democratic, too,—and to hear the remarks of prominent men who should be given credit for better sense, that both the democratic and populist parties are dead and buried, and that the shouts and exultations of the victorious republicans were but the requiems for the dead.

We are told on every hand that the democratic party is without an issue. That it has nothing to offer to the people. That it has made its last stand and is now without a leader. That the populist party is in the same boat, and that the two are going down together.

These prophets seem to think that because we were defeated in 1896 and again in 1900, and again in 1902, that all is lost. That the principles upon which we stood, and for which we fought in 1896 and in 1900 have perished with defeat, and will never again be before the American people. They take it for granted that the millions who voted for Bryan in those two memorable elections will now give up in despair, or admit that they were wrong, and forever hereafter vote the republican ticket. It is surprising the number of men who take this view of matters, and still more surprising the number of intelligent men who look on it in that light.

These gentlemen reckon without their hosts. It is true that the democratic party is badly disorganized at present, and that the populist party has lost ground in recent years. There are causes for these things. But that such is the fact does not prove that all is lost. Neither party has yet abandoned the great issues that it contended for in 1896 and 1900, and until it does it will not have met with final and lasting defeat. The rank and file, the six millions of men who supported Bryan in 1896 and 1900, have not changed their minds, and their ideas of government remain the same as they were at that time. Defeat in one or two battles does not necessarily end a war, and victory is sometimes more destructive than a defeat. The election of Cleveland in 1892 was perhaps the worst defeat ever suffered by the democratic party, and came very near ending in its final overthrow and downfall. The party of Jefferson was saved in the Chicago convention by Bryan and the most splendid independent political organization in the history of America built up under his leadership, and was defeated only by the treason of a certain faction of the democratic party under the leadership of the man whom it had twice placed in the presidency, and three times honored with its nomination to that high office. And in 1902 it has met defeat mainly because the influence of that same man has so largely dominated in many of our state conventions. The work of the reorganizers has destroyed all harmony in the democratic ranks, and today we are further from victory than ever before in the history of the party. Democracy can never hope to win a battle on a platform not acceptable to the masses of its followers, and one whose every line and word carries with it a pledge of insincerity.

Let the reorganizers control in the next national democratic convention, and with Hill, or some other equally unfit candidate presented to the people, the democratic party will meet the worst defeat it has ever known in its history, and it is doubtful if it would ever again appear before the people in a national campaign. Let the reorganizers control that convention, and it is more than probable that the democratic party will be forever buried in the election following. It is doubt-

ful if even the solid south could be carried by the reorganizers. Until the democratic party in national convention assembled, abandons the principles of the Chicago and Kansas City platforms, that party is not dead. But from the day and the hour that it betrays its trust—that of securing to the American people a government of all, and for all—it is dead, and buried beyond all hope.

Now, it is a fact which all must admit that the growth of the populist party was retarded and stopped by the adoption of nearly all its principles by the democratic convention at Chicago. In fact, the democratic party by that action almost wholly absorbed the people's party following. Many men, like myself, who believed in the teachings of the populist party, could not see their way clear to leave the democratic party when it offered some hope of success, to join the populist ranks to fight for the same principles, when it offered no hope of success. Today we stand on the same ground. We do not wish to leave the democratic organization—which is large, and strong, and with great prestige—so long as it remains true to its teachings, to join an organization, smaller, weaker and without prestige outside of a few states where prestige counts for little in the great fight of American politics.

But we stand where we stood two years ago, and six years ago. Our fight is for principle, not office, and when our party abandons that principle, as many predict that it will do in 1904, then we are willing to join hands with the populists and fight for the rights of the whole people, and not for the privileges of a certain few, favored by circumstances which they had nothing to do with creating. To join hands and come into the populist party and fight for "a government of the people, by the people, and for the people," a government which guarantees "equal rights to all and special privileges to none." It is impossible for the democratic party to accomplish anything while it is burdened by the weight of the reorganizers, and it may be that it will be impossible to rid the party of them; and if such be the case, then it is better that the democratic party sink beneath the waves of the popular indignation of the American people, and disappear forever from the political map of the United States, taking with it in death and oblivion those who are now working towards its destruction. But while there is life there is hope, and we who oppose the reorganizers, still hope that we may be able to control our next national convention. We are not yet willing to abandon the fight. There is one more last stand that we will make before we abandon the old party that has stood the test of one hundred years, to fate and the reorganizers.

But if death be in store for the democratic party and we are compelled to abandon its organization, because it has sacrificed all to the vain promise of success, its principles will still live, and we can fight for them as vigorously under the populist banner as we ever have under democratic colors. It is true we might meet with temporary losses, but they would be but transitory, and the populist party would soon become the great and enduring party of the masses, destined to accomplish all that for which Jefferson plead in all his life's work—the true theory of all government.

What then is the duty of populists? Not to abandon their party organization at this time. Not to give up in despair because the democratic organization has absorbed its members. Democracy's sky is none too bright, is none too clear. Clouds which threaten its destruction are now overspreading the sky, and the rumble of the terrible thunders of disruption are plainly heard in the distance. If that storm breaks on us in 1904, there will be no haven but populism in which those who are fighting for the right can find a refuge.

Populists! Keep up your party organization! It has served a useful purpose in the past, and may serve a greater in the future. We are passing today through a condition which is rapidly plunging us into a revolution. Populism may yet be the only bulwark to sustain our government and stand between it and its destroyers. You have begun a good work. Do not abandon it now when the dark hours of adversity are upon it. Stand by your guns. Be true to your colors. The darkest hour is just before dawn. Your party can stand defeat, so long as it contends for the right, and places principle above temporary success. The same issues that brought your party into existence and for which you fought so well for the last dozen years are still before the American people, and will stay before the American people until they are settled for all time. You have a duty to perform

—a sacred trust to fulfil. Will you abandon it now when it needs your support most?

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