

good men have abandoned politics in disgust. Under the initiative and referendum their interest would be rekindled. When they understood that their votes would have direct influence for or against certain measures of legislation they would become devoted to politics and therefore to the public welfare.

The educational value of the system would be inestimable. A minority could force the general public to consider some measure which might seem the hobby of a school or faction. If the measure proved too radical it would be defeated, but under any circumstances the voters would derive great benefit from a real "campaign of education."

The majority would still rule, but the minority would not be submerged. While true democracy requires that the majority shall rule, there is always grave danger in giving the minority too little power. In this respect the initiative and referendum would have a corrective influence. A minority is frequently the saving element in society, and a system which permits the minority to make itself heard cannot but improve political conditions in any democracy. In the long run, of course, a democracy must place its faith in the wisdom of the majority, and it will go well with that nation which adopts the system best fitted to keep the majority enlightened. "We need never fear an error which reason is free to combat," said Jefferson, and the American people should not fear a system which will give reason a free field and error no favor.

#### WHY RUSSIA MUST HAVE PEACE

By wireless telegraph, M. Witte, the czar's chief peace plenipotentiary, dispatched from an ocean liner a message of greeting to the president and the American people, and winged its flight with a preliminary "bluff" for the consumption of two nervous Japanese diplomats who awaited anxiously the arrival of this wise and wily Muscovite. M. Witte argued that Russia could not and would not accept harsh terms of peace, and demonstrated his point by showing that in reality Russia has not been defeated out Manchuria way. True, not a single victory has been achieved by land, and Russia's navy has been swept from the seas, but what of that? Russia is still great and strong, and Japan must beware.

But little Japan did not fear Russia's mythical "greatness and strength" when the war began, and now that the myth is apparent to all the world little Japan will enjoy a hearty laugh at the expense of M. Witte. The Japanese realize that they hold the whip hand and that the Bear must dance to suit them, or retire to its lair and sulk in sullen impotence. M. Witte has hinted that Russia will not concede all that Japan asks, and the puny czar has waved a toy sword about his head and has declared that he will not make a disgraceful peace.

In reply to these mock heroics, Japan will simply and quietly ask, what will you do? This is the question that confronts Russia if it refuses to accept peace on Japan's terms. Deprived of a navy, Russia could never keep Vladivostok open to its own or the world's commerce. Without a port on the Pacific, Russia's chief motive for empire in eastern Asia would be gone. If the war is to continue, what can Russia hope to gain? Admitting that the military power of Russia is superior to that of Japan, and that in a year or two Russia might place in the field a force large enough to expel the Japanese from Manchuria, what advantage would this be to Russia? Access to the sea and to the commerce of the sea would still be denied. Russia cannot build a great navy—such a navy as can dispute with Japan control of the sea—in less than twenty years. The war might continue for a long time in a state of deadlock, but Japan would always have the advantage. Its commerce would increase in a better ratio to its debts than would the commerce of Russia to its debts. Even now Russia is breaking down because denied funds by the world's financial institutions. Japan's credit is excellent and will constantly improve. What hope, therefore, exists for Russia?

M. Witte sees no hope in war, but he seems to have a faint hope that he can secure some arrangement which will make Russia and Japan allies. When he arrived in this country M. Witte said: "I need hardly point out that it is my ardent desire that the two chivalrous foes, who first become acquainted on the field of battle, may have found in each other's sterling qualities motives powerful enough to cultivate that acquaintanceship until it ripens into lasting friendship." Undoubtedly an alliance which would make Russia the dominant land power and Japan the dominant sea power in the Orient would have great advantages for both nations. If Japan should grant Russia an ice-free port on the Pacific and Russia should turn over the destinies of China to Japan, the history of the east for many centuries would be under the guidance and

control of these two world-powers. But England stands in the way. English statesmanship was first to recognize the might of the Japanese, first to see the advantage of an alliance, and it is not likely that Russia will be able to offer inducements big enough to lure Japan away from England.

At no time in the last two centuries has Russia been in such a discouraging predicament. M. Witte knows this well, and when he says that Russia is anxious for peace, he but faintly describes the situation.

#### SAD DAYS FOR TARIFF TORIES

The way of the standpatter is hard, and is getting harder as the treasury deficit grows and the advocates of reciprocity become more clamorous and insistent. These be sad days for your tariff tory. Beset on all sides by the flaming shafts of reason, he seeks shelter from an intolerable situation. Uncle Joe Cannon thinks that perhaps he has found a temporary refuge where the battered and beaten standpatters may rest a while, bind up their wounds and prepare for happier times.

Uncle Joe is not altogether daunted by a deficit of nearly \$40,000,000. The deficit for the fiscal year ending June 30 was \$24,500,000. This was sufficient to cause widespread alarm, but during the first month of the current fiscal year the deficit has been increased by \$14,000,000, which is more than one-half of the entire deficit for last year. But Uncle Joe is unafraid. Administrations may come and go; Cleveland, the stout tariff reformer, may be succeeded by McKinley, whose last speech was for reciprocity, and McKinley may give place to Roosevelt, but the tariff wall must be maintained and guarded against those wild Tartars who seek to break through it and destroy the tyrant Trusts. Uncle Joe would be economical. He has raised his voice to exhort all standpatters that only by economy can the protective tariff be saved. If the trusts are still to enjoy the full benefit of a tariff system, if they are still to rob the people of many millions annually, if there is to be no halt in the steady march by which the rich grow richer and the poor become more impoverished, the government must cut down its expenses. There must be economy in all departments. Not only must the wasteful extravagance of recent years be curtailed, but the government must pinch every dollar like a miser so that the trusts may not suffer the least loss of revenue.

But a year from now Uncle Joe Cannon will realize how difficult it is to conduct an imperialistic government economically. For a long time the people of this country have practiced economy that they might pay tariff taxes to protected trusts for the necessities of life, but now that the United States has become a world-power there are great deeds to do that will require vast sums of money. The Panama canal must be constructed; a great navy must be built and supported; the army must be maintained at home and in our colonies, and 85,000,000 people must be ministered to by the general government.

The government will find it almost as difficult to economize as do the people in these days of trust prices. True, the government will have an advantage. It can buy its supplies abroad, while the people must buy at home. But economy will not solve the tariff question, nor save the face of the standpatter.

Standpatter is merely a nickname for the supporter of trusts and vested interests that thrive by the divine right of special privilege. The favored shipper with a free pass in one pocket and a rebate in another is a standpatter; the senator who sells his soul to the corporation that he may enjoy the ease and plenty his mediocre ability could not otherwise obtain is a standpatter; the lawyer who for a princely fee pilots the piratical crafts of high finance through legal channels to safety is a standpatter; the subsidized newspaper man who wields a facile and trenchant pen in defense of every dishonest cause that aids the schemes of trust magnates and financiers is a standpatter. And all the rout of standpatters with which the nation is infested will rally to the support of Uncle Joe.

The farmers of Nebraska will never enjoy what Attorney General Norris Brown calls a "free harvest" until the maximum freight rate law is enforced.

Sergius Witte has arrived in the United States to make peace with Wall street. If he succeeds the war with Japan may continue.

The Great Northern and Northern Pacific railways are having an up-Hill time of it.