

## WARRING FACTIONS.

### BIG BATTLE GOING ON IN REPUBLICAN PARTY.

**Leaders Are Working at Cross Purposes—The Honest Element, the Dishonest Element and the Ignorant Element to Struggle for Mastery.**

Will President Roosevelt rule Congress or will the legislative department of the government be independent of the executive.

This is an important question as the outcome of much momentous legislation depends upon the answer. The revision of the tariff is at stake, for President Roosevelt having declared for a continuance of the policy of the late executive which includes reciprocity in its full meaning, not only the reciprocity of the French and other treaties, but a general lowering of the tariff or even free trade upon trust production that are sold cheaper to the foreigners than they are to our own people.

Nearly all the Republican leaders in Congress have declared against tariff revision, but this was before President McKinley made his notable speech at Buffalo advising the opposite course. If he had not been stricken down by the bullet of the assassin he would doubtless have brought the majority of his party to this reform. Can President Roosevelt do as much, will he ever attempt it? That a large element, probably the majority of the republican party, are opposed to any meddling with the tariff, even to the ratification of the reciprocity treaties is certain, this same faction are controlled by the trusts and nothing but the fear of defeat by the people will change their trust prepossession and inclination. The leader of this trust faction is Mark Hanna and his declarations on trusts and the tariff are well known.

The New York Commercial speaking for this element of the republican party says: "We are inclined to a belief that it is not easy—not practical anyway—to get at a consensus of republican sentiment in this subject before another Congressional election. If it were to be precipitated in Congress next December, the result would be in our opinion that an acrimonious debate would be stretched over the entire session with no settlement of the question at the end, but a most deplorable unsettling of business for the better part of a year.

Let the republican Congressional conventions in 1902 determine approximately how the republican masses feel on this question of "tinkering in the tariff"—then republican law-makers could proceed more intelligently in the matter. This procrastination of course means that the trusts think that with a united effort they can control the election next year of a majority of the fifty-eighth Congress and in any event as that Congress will not meet until December, 1903, and any legislation of this character would not be possible until the summer of 1904, they would have a long pull at the tariff that they are so loath to let loose from.

### THE REAL AIDS TO ANARCHY.

It is well to note that in all this rampant rubbish that some of the republican newspapers are using to prove that so-called "yellow journalism" is responsible for anarchism in the country, that those that are the loudest and most blatant have the most unsavory reputations and are the outspoken organs of organized political robbery. Some of these are controlled by the trusts and all are controlled by the plutocrats who thus hope to throw discredit on every newspaper that has dared to say one word against their monopolies. Others have been worsted in the keen business competition with the so-called "yellow journals" and in trying to inflame public opinion against them they hope to get even. Of these the New York Sun is the most striking example and that most conservative of newspapers the Staats Zeitung says: "If the question must be discussed what causes and elements are working into the hands of anarchism we do not hesitate a moment to denounce the Sun and its followers as the most dangerous of these elements. Their nauseating cynicism, their derision of all nobler sentiments, their support of all most corrupted elements, now on this side and now on the other, their continuous performance in vilifying workingmen on the one hand and their unlimited advocacy of capitalism based on the principle of "might is right" on the other—these are methods of warfare which allied to calumny, distortion of the truth, aye, even barefaced untruthfulness, breed hatred among the classes, act as irritants and conjure up blind fury against their own pompous insolence. We are convinced that a single one of these contemptible articles on the problems of labor, as they are to be found frequently in the Sun does more mischief than all the stuff thus sharply criticized by the Sun, that other papers are emitting for the "benefit of anarchism."

### CHINA AND THE PHILIPPINES.

The Boxer uprising completely upset all the carefully laid plans for the exploiting of the Chinese Empire. The buildings of railroads and the opening of coal and iron mines will have to be deferred to another generation. This opens up another question that will soon have to be settled, namely, the continued occupation of the Philippines. These islands were supposed to be the key to China and the proposed exploiters of that Empire were the power that forced the extraordinary change of front on the part of the late administration in its final dealings with Spain. As the protocol shows

there was no intention of annexing the Philippines when that instrument was signed. Their purchase was an after thought. There being but small hope that the Chinese will allow our exploiting syndicate to invest its money in China, will the continued occupation of the Philippine islands pay for the great cost it now is and will be in the future? Are the people of the United States willing to be taxed nearly \$100,000,000 a year for the sake of holding on to these islands.

The proposed civil government will more than eat up all the revenues of the islands and if the same extravagance is continued in the future, and there can hardly help being more of it, as in the past, the people of the country will have to pay a large part of the bill for even the civil government. Then there is the army of occupation to be provided for; at the lowest estimate this will cost \$50,000,000 a year. The building of dockyards and the increased navy will largely increase the above amount. The islands must be fortified to protect the navy yard and arsenal and these bills will be a continuous drain on the United States. Will it pay, even looking years into the future?

### ARE THEY FRIGHTENED?

Nearly the whole of the daily press of the country have seemed to be united in suppressing the facts about the trusts, combines, and monopolies, but under the stress of the election this fall the Columbus, Ohio, State Journal appears to have become frightened at the unanimity of the people in wishing the trusts controlled and says in an editorial: "The public is witness to another deluge of watered stock whose only hope of dividend lies in the ability of the manipulators to maintain a monopoly in all iron and steel products with all that monopoly makes possible.

"The new company swells the total capitalization of its constituent companies from about \$757,000,000 to \$1,100,000,000, or over 45 per cent. This would be monstrous enough if it came at the first flood of water, but it is water upon water.

"Nobodies pretend to believe that the Carnegie company was worth \$320,000,000 and yet it went into the combine at \$510,000,000. It is notorious that the other seven companies whose aggregate capitalization is about \$437,000,000, represented an actual investment of not to exceed one-third that amount. Even with the high price of their product during the last two years they were unable to earn enough to give their stock a market value in the aggregate of 75 per cent of its aggregate par valuation. Yet about \$100,000,000 more water is poured into the outrageous over capitalization that already existed."

This coming from a leading republican newspaper of the state where Hanna rules the roost shows that they see the retribution that is sure to come and that the trust load is even too heavy for the well greased Ohio machine.

The republicans of Kentucky certainly do take the cake, if this tale that the Nebraska Independent tells about them is a true one: "When a republican gets a federal office there is no stopping him. Down in Kentucky one of them wanted a postoffice that was held by a woman whose dead husband had been a prominent democrat. All the patrons of the office, both republicans and democrats, were in favor of the woman retaining it. Not one of them would sign a petition for the applicant. One would suppose that the office seeker would have given up, but he did no such thing. He finally married the woman and then she resigned and he got the office.

United States Senator Clark of Montana, the only democrat that is a multi-millionaire, is having a tussle with the railroad trust or that part of it represented by Harrison, Gould and their clique. He is trying to build an independent line from Salt Lake City to the Pacific, this would afford great relief to the people of that territory from the almost unbearable extortions of the railroad trust. The whole railroad trust is fighting him wherever he has interests in Montana, in Wall street and elsewhere, but Clark is a persistent fighter and the prospect seems favorable that he will succeed in getting his railroad completed.

One of the doctors who attended the late President, when asked about the deceptive bulletins, said: "We are under martial law and have to do as we are told," and the facts are that Secretary Root, who was in full control, had these bulletins issued in the interest of the Wall street financiers who were afraid if the whole truth about the condition of the President was known, that a financial panic would be precipitated, which with a little time they hoped to avert. As it was the banks had to call on the United States treasury for help.

With new oil wells in Texas, California, Tennessee and Wyoming the price of oil would naturally decline, for we have J. Pierpont Morgan's word for it that supply and demand regulate prices. Perhaps it may with the steel trust and would with the oil trust if rebates and special privileges were abolished.

The high protective tariff breeds frauds and smuggling and the enormous robbery of the government by the silk importations in New York are doubtless but one of a hundred, if the whole business was investigated.

Some of the gibbering idiots who the trusts employ to edit their newspapers are claiming that to criticize or cartoon the trusts is breeding anarchy.

## REPUBLICAN RULE.

### HAS BOUGHT A COSTLY BRAND OF PROSPERITY.

**The Good Times Being Enjoyed Mainly by the People Who Were Never in Want—Wage Earners No Better Off Than They Were Under Clevelandism.**

The Republican party has so many sins of commission and omission to answer for that it is hardly possible to enumerate them all, but it is well to bear in mind some of them, especially as it is constantly with pharisaical airs denouncing others in platforms and on the stump.

It has defied and violated the anti-trust law and has allowed capital to combine and its chosen servant, the attorney general of the United States, whose duty it is to see that such laws are executed, has taken no steps to do so.

Through the protective tariff it has given the trusts a monopoly, thus allowing wealth to accumulate in the hands of the few until the power that accompanies money is greater than the power of the people.

By the lack of enforcement of laws, both federal and state, those vast monopolies called trusts and corporations generally refuse and do not pay their share of the taxes, either state or federal, thus throwing the burden of protecting those immense interests upon the middle class, the farmer and the wage-working and poor.

Under its fostering care the banks and trust companies have grown so great and their profits so enormous that even more than one hundred per cent dividend has been paid by some of them, and this was in a great measure made possible by the manipulation of United States bonds and the use without interest of the money loaned to them by the United States treasury.

Under Republican rule the striking wage-worker has been denied a trial by jury, by introducing a system of issuing injunctions by which the courts forbid them to do what the law does not prohibit and when they have ignored the injunctions have imprisoned them for no crime. If a thing can be legally done by a workman, the judge has no right to forbid by injunction. If he has committed a crime, he should be arrested and given a trial by jury.

Under Republican rule railroads have been allowed to violate law and go into combinations that leave whole cities, communities and states at their mercy. One can be favored and another depressed.

Under Republican rule the nation has been forced to abandon the foundation principles upon which the government was founded, and an empire has been made out of a free republic, in which class distinction are more clearly marked than in any monarchy of the old world. These are part of the things and only part that the Republican party has done, and has left undone.

### OUR BOASTED PROSPERITY.

That vast wealth is being accumulated by banks, trusts and individuals is apparent to every one, that the railroads and corporations are paying large dividends and laying up reserves is evident from the statements they issue and the great advance in the price of their stocks. The newspapers and public men are loud in their boasts of this class prosperity, and those of the Republican persuasion are trying to make us all believe we are equally prosperous.

An article in the Pilgrim Magazine, after noting this, says: In the face of such a clamorous celebration of the national wealth it has been difficult for individuals to secure a hearing long enough to say they are not getting their share of it. If a Kansas or Nebraska farmer sees his corn shriveling under the hot winds, he has only to pick up the paper to read that Secretary Wilson, ex-Secretary Vanderlip—every officeholder and supporter of the administration—says that the damage to corn has been greatly exaggerated. If a farmer in Ohio, Michigan, or the far northwest notes that the operations of the woolen trust have forced down the price of wool to a point at which it is scarce worth clipping, he can still read in the newspapers of farmers buying automobiles with their surplus gains and desiring populism as all rich men should. The emblematic food dinner pall looms so big that it makes many a man ashamed to speak of his empty cupboard, while with the biggest per capita circulation of money the country has ever seen, a man is obviously himself alone to blame if his share has not correspondingly increased. It is so flattering to know that Mr. Rockefeller and you made over \$10,000,000 last year, you naturally hesitate to identify your share as the \$600.

Probably never in the history of the world has so much money been made by a few men as in the last year. Perhaps never did the men who made so much money give so little useful service in return.

In earlier ages of our industrial life a man has worked a lifetime to create a business, adding a little to his plant as events justified it, extending his trade, and heartily content if after enjoying a comfortable income as the fruits of his industry himself, he was able to leave a sound, remunerative business to his family. But that is not the ideal of business life today; the men who are making the most money and notoriety out of the steel business, for example, never saw the inside of a mill. Where the old-time manufacturer built up his own mill or factory, working in it and understanding its every detail, these men by juggling slips of paper called stock and bonds, consoli-

date a number of mills and elect themselves to position of enormous profit and power.

### FREE TRADE IS DEATH TO TRUSTS.

The Protective Tariff League has taken a great deal of pleasure in trying to magnify the number and importance of trade combinations in free trade England, thus trying to show that it is not the protection given the trusts in the United States that is one of the main causes of their monopoly, as in free trade England trusts are likewise numerous. Even this prop of the League has now tumbled down, for the few combines that have been formed in England have with one exception all failed or are practically bankrupt.

Commenting on this state of affairs the Boston Transcript says: "The cause of this decline is not far to seek. In the first place the free-trade policy of the United Kingdom subjects these combines to the competition of the whole world, and now that over-production in the textile industries is seriously threatened, even if it has not actually arrived, they can no longer maintain monopoly prices. When many of the younger men associated with the private firms as junior partners or simply as salaried managers and servants, have been cast adrift in the efforts of the combines to secure economy and have started business on their own account, only as a rule, in a moderate way, but with the most modern machinery and careful attention to every detail, which more than counterbalances any supposed cheapening of production on an immense scale, and their competition is already being keenly felt."

This shows that if our trusts here are shorn of the protection they enjoy under the present tariff, many of them would find it impossible to maintain the enormous profits they are now making, for competition would compel them to sell as cheaply as the foreign product could be sold here. It is also possible that in some lines of production similar competition will start up, as in England, from those who have been let out of business when the trusts were organized and again give them a chance to earn a living at work they have been used to.

As the tariff is so high on most of these trust productions that it has been prohibitive in nearly every case, there will be no loss of revenue to the government as there is none now paid, as the trusts is protected from competition by the 50 or 60 per cent or even higher duty that the custom house would demand.

### ANARCHIST AND ARCHISTS.

There are some newspapers in the United States that would be greatly offended if they were styled anarchists and yet they are attempting to destroy all that they do not believe in and that is as much the teachings of anarchism as the miserable fulminations of Herr Most. The Inter Ocean and the Brooklyn Eagle are examples of this, one styling itself Republican and the latter calling itself Democratic—God save the mark.

The Eagle says: "We are glad we never wrote a yellow editorial to the effect that law is a bloody shame, that a man who works with his hands should rightly be killed by a man who works with his mouth, that sweat of law is better than sweat of brow." Commenting on this the Nebraska Independent says it is glad that it never had any sympathy with a man like the one, who under the present circumstances would write like that. He is one of those who never did a day's work causing the "sweat of the brow" in all his life, and he never saw an editorial of the kind that he deprecates. What is more probable he is a patronizer of such papers as Herr Most publishes. It was there, and there only, that such writings have appeared, that this journalistic skunk would have his readers believe that such doctrines have been taught by all those who have not believed in the gold standard banks running this government, and hides his venom behind such statements as the above. He rightfully belongs to the same class of degenerates as the one who assassinated the president.

### NO RULER IN THIS COUNTRY.

In speaking of the President of the United States many newspapers and nearly all the preachers call him the ruler of the country. This is a great mistake. Under our Democratic Republican form of government there can be no rulers, the officers elected are the servants of the people and not their ruler, or are we advanced so far towards imperialism that our officials have in a measure usurped power that the constitution does not give and assume to rule? Under our new colonial government in the Philippines the army is the ruler, though the farce is being enacted of a civil government, and the governor-general is a ruler with despotic power, which the military execute, the power being derived from the President. That is imperialism. Ruling other people in that way may accustom the people of the United States to a despotic form of government that in the end they may submit themselves to be ruled, but as long as grass grows and water runs there will be a Democracy to resist such usurpation. We want no ruler in this country, we must have honest servants of the people to carry out the work, for the time, for which they have been elected.

Sheriff North of Alabama, who defied his negro prisoner at the risk of his life, has done the noblest deed for the South and is entitled to the thanks of the people of the whole country. Lynching is a remnant of barbarism and must be stayed.

## Commoner Comment.

Extracts From W. J. Bryan's Paper.

### Dolliver on Anarchy.

Senator Dolliver of Iowa made a speech at the Memorial Services held in Chicago on Sunday, September 23d. In the course of his remarks he took occasion to discuss two phases of the question of anarchy, or rather two remedies. Some seem to think that anarchy cannot be suppressed without limiting the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. It is refreshing to find one so eminent in the republican party as Mr. Dolliver challenging this dangerous doctrine. He says:

"A government like ours is always slow to move, and often awkward in its motions, but it can be trusted to find effective remedies for conditions like these, at least after they become intolerable. But these remedies, in order to become effective, must not evade the sense of justice which is universal, nor the traditions of civil liberty, which we have inherited from our fathers. The bill of rights written in the English language, stands for too many centuries of sacrifice, too many battlefields satisfied by blood, too many hopes of mankind reaching toward the ages to come, to be mutilated in the least in order to meet the case of a handful of miscreants whose names nobody can pronounce.

Anarchy can be overcome without impairing the liberties of the people or trenching upon those rights which are essential to the republic. His suggestions go further than temporary suppression of anarchy. He deals with some of the causes which lead up to and develop the spirit of anarchy. He says:

"It ought not to be forgotten that conspirators, working out their nefarious plans in secret, in the dens and caves of the earth, enjoy an unconscious co-operation and side partnership with every lawless influence abroad in the world. Legislators who betray the commonwealth, judges who poison the fountains of justice, city governments which come to terms with crime—all these are regular contributors to the campaign fund of anarchy."

There is food for thought in what Senator Dolliver says. Lawlessness in high places breeds lawlessness among less conspicuous individuals, and it will be difficult to teach the humbler members of society respect for law and government if there are men or corporations so great that they can with impunity defy the law and the authority of the government.

The senator also refers to the burnings which have taken place in several sections of the union and declares that they do not contribute to the safety of society. Lynch law is either a reflection upon the government or it is an indication of unrestrained passion upon the part of the mob. If the government is efficiently administered there is no occasion to resort to lynch law, and if it is not efficiently administered it is better to reform the government than to set aside its authority.

But when the mob, not satisfied with taking the life of the victim, adds torture, it betrays a brutality that shames our civilization. The assaults upon women which have been the cause of most of the burnings, are indescribably wicked, but it is enough that the guilty party should atone for the deed with his life. The taking of a human life, even in the enforcement of the laws of society, is a grave and serious thing.

To torture a human being to death amid shouts of revenge is debasing and cannot but result injuriously to society. The assassination of the president will bring about a discussion of lawlessness and lead to an investigation of the influences which lead to lawlessness.

Senator Dolliver has gone deeper into the subject than many of the republican editors who have sought to hide their own responsibility behind columns of partisan abuse. He is to be congratulated upon the courage which he has manifested and the breadth of view he has shown.

There is much talk now about so amending the immigration laws as to exclude anarchists, and it is hoped that this will be done. The law should be strict on this point and the immigrant should be compelled to assert his belief, not only in some form of government, but his belief in our form of government. And, while he is swearing, it would not hurt him to declare that he accepts the Declaration of Independence as his political creed.

Mr. Hearst's papers—the New York Journal, the Chicago American, and the San Francisco Examiner—have, since the assassination been made objects of attack by all the republican papers. From the manner in which Mr. Hearst is returning the fire it is evident that he intends to continue his crusade against monopolistic wealth and entrenched privilege.

The men who advocated lynch law in the case of Czolgosz should ponder well on the outcome of the assassin's trial. The assassin was given a fair trial and the spectacle is one calculated to increase respect for law and order. A lynch would have been an incentive to anarchy.

"It seems utterly impossible for the republican papers to tell the truth about Mr. Bryan."—Fulton, (Mo.), Telegraph.

No, not impossible; only highly improbable.

The fact that Kitchener always dwells at length on the Boer casualties is no sign there are no British casualties.

### Senator Cockrell's Position.

Senator Cockrell of Missouri is one of the many democrats whose position on public questions has been misrepresented by the republican and gold democratic papers which attempt so persistently to create the impression that the gold standard has been accepted by the American people. The senator takes occasion to correct certain statements that were attributed to him, and says:

"I never said the silver question was dead. On the contrary, I said I believed in bimetallism as firmly as ever, but it was now impossible, in a practical sense, to make it a vital or living issue, as long as we were having a constant increase in the volume of money, the main object we had in advocating bimetallism, and which increase had established our principle, that an increase in the volume of money would tend to restore prosperity and revive business, and proved we were right. Notwithstanding the increased production of gold, still I do not believe that gold will prove sufficient in production and volume to meet the demands of the world's business. When that time comes bimetallism will again by a practical issue, and I shall be for it at 16 to 1, the only practical ratio in my judgment. I shall oppose in the future, as I have in the past, all attempts to demonize the silver dollar, or to take away its legal tender, or to transfer the issue of our paper currency to the national banks, or to cancel the greenbacks."

### President Roosevelt on Trusts.

In his speech at Minneapolis Labor Day, President Roosevelt said: "More and more it is evident that the state, and if necessary the nation, has got to possess the right of supervision and control as regards the great corporations which are its creatures, particularly as regards the great business combinations which derive a portion of their importance from the existence of some monopolistic tendency."

Mr. Roosevelt was then vice-president and as such had little influence in shaping the policy of his party. He is now president and in a position to give force and effect to his views on the trust question. As the chief executive it is his duty to enforce the law as he finds it. If the present attorney-general is not willing to carry out his instructions he can demand his resignation and appoint a new attorney-general. He can give no excuse for a failure to enforce the law. When he was exercising authority in New York City he took the position that a law ought either to be enforced or repealed. It is to be hoped that he will take the same position now.

Not only is he in control of the executive branch of the government, but he has a senate, house and supreme court in political harmony with him! If existing laws are not sufficient, he has the power of recommendation and can propose measures sufficiently severe to give the people the protection which he admits to be needed. It will be interesting to watch the new president and see whether the hostility to trusts manifested by him when he was laying his plans to capture the next republican convention is increased or lessened by the responsibilities of the office to which he aspired.

The London Daily Mail says that J. Pierpont Morgan is finding some difficulty in getting the famous painting, "Duchess of Devonshire," into the United States. As the reputed price paid was one hundred and fifty thousand dollars, the tariff on it would be about thirty thousand. Mr. Morgan ought not to be afraid of a little tax like that. He did what he could to elect the republican ticket in '96 and 1900, and double that rate is collected on the clothing and food used by the people.

The Kansas City Journal says: "It is nevertheless true that the kind of speeches Mr. Bryan and many other orators have been making about the country for the last four or five years have a tendency to promote anarchistic thought and sentiment." According to the Journal it is all right for the republicans to commit a wrong but improper for the democrats to call attention to it.

The republican papers that were so quick to spread reports misrepresenting Chancellor Andrews' views on lying and anarchy are slow to publish his denials. Instead of excusing or defending either, he denounced both.

After Czolgosz is condemned and executed (the sooner the better) it might be proper to ask the governor of Indiana to surrender the man who is under indictment for aiding in the assassination of Gov. Goebel.

Miss Anthony says Mrs. Nation should have tried other and better ways of putting down whiskey. Miss Anthony, however, did not mean that as it sounds.

Admiral Howison might have saved himself a great deal of trouble by learning before hand the difference between Hackett and public opinion.

If an effort is made to prevent the criticisms of public officials Mr. Quay would seem to be the proper person to champion the measure in the senate.

Many rules for the pronunciation of the name of the president's assassin are going the rounds. The final pronunciation will be "d-e-a-d."

In discussing ways and means for the eradication of anarchy due attention should be given the causes which tend to promote anarchy.