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Influence of Public Men!

Dr. W. W. Folwell of the state university appears to have made Chicago sit up and take notice when he argued before the university of that city for less learning and more manners and culture in our colleges. Dr. Folwell took it upon himself to doubt whether the big colleges were doing as much in this direction as the small colleges, the select schools, or even the common schools of a generation ago.

If they are not, it would seem to be a matter of duty for the faculties of the universities to learn why. Is it because manners generally have declined or because the inculcation of manners and taste have become subsidiary in the colleges themselves? If the latter, then the problem is a local one and one which each college may handle for itself. If the former, it becomes a broader national problem, but one which the colleges may aid to solve in sending forth graduates who will influence the general community by their example.

It must be admitted, while there is more of kindliness, more of charity and fraternity in the world today than there ever was, that there is less care taken in its expression. The grand gentleman has almost disappeared, the grand lady exists only in oil paintings. Whether it is worth while to try to revive these types is the question. It would not be if we were obliged to take the form without the substance. We cannot ignore the historical fact that the grand gentleman of the past was often also the libertine of his day. His manners helped him to accomplish his wicked ambitions where more solid attractions failed him. The world gladly parted with the Beau Brummels of this kind, however much it may mourn the decay of the De Coverleys.

Dr. Folwell makes one point which is of great interest when he declares that the influence of public men who practice certain vices and habits neutralizes all teaching of family, school and church. We have not been in the habit of canvassing the personality of candidates for public offices except where their character was too flagrant to be ignored, and even then we have done it in a gingerly manner, feeling always that it was a boomerang to attack a man as personally unfit by reason of his bad manners, his evil habits and his blasphemous use of English. But we have here the testimony of an educator, soldier, lawyer and public officer that the influence of such men neutralizes the teaching of the three greatest educative forces in the land. Can we afford to turn over the public positions to men whose personal influence is going to be bad merely that they may transact a little public business which can be taken care of by almost any citizen of average intelligence and education?

The Mexican, Cuban and Wisconsin revolutions are causing some excitement.

Bankers and Speculation.

The best thing that could happen for the continued prosperity of the country would be the rigorous application of the law to the bankers who prove faithless to their trust. The terrors of a prison are a deterrent when held up before the eyes of men who are intelligent, educated, who have rolled in wealth and been pets of society. The narrow cell and the hard labor can be pictured in more revolting colors to that individual than they can be to the hobo. The picture ought to be painted.

It does not follow because the country is prosperous that every crazy speculation will pull thru. There is no form of investment which is more certain of returns than real estate, and yet both Stensland and Hipple went down on real estate speculations. The reason was that they were speculating with other people's money, and hence operated recklessly. Had they been spending their own earned capital they would have gone slower and made their investigations more thoro. The banker has no right to do with other people's money what he would not do with his own. He has no right to do with other people's money many things that he might do with his own. He might take chances with his own money, but he has no right to take them with the funds for which he is a trustee. There are enough clear investments in the country for all of our bankers. They have no need to rush into speculation. This is so patent that it ought to be prima facie evidence of a fraudulent intent when a banker is found using the money of depositors outside of the well-worn path of conservative investment.

Mr. Gompers will have to step lively in Maine to dodge the Cannonaiding that is going on there.

Bishop McCabe's Break.

Bishop C. C. McCabe of the Methodist church created a slight ripple on the surface by coming out strongly against the International policyholders' committee of which he was a member, and declaring for the administration ticket. Bishop McCabe admits that he did not change his mind about the matter until President Peabody of the Mutual Life visited him at his home in Evanston. The bishop appears then to have discovered that the policyholdres' appeal was all wrong, that he had not been consulted about issuing it, and that the administration ticket was the best anyway.

In reply to the bishop's plea that he was not consulted, it is shown that twenty of the committee met and drew up the appeal. Bishop McCabe and two other members were the only absentees. Immediately the document was forwarded by mail to the bishop, who held it for two weeks before it was published, and made no objection to any statement in it or to his name being used in connection with it. Then he was "visited in his home" by President Peabody and switched to the other side of the controversy. Many people besides bishops switch after an opportune call, and it is not to be wondered at that there is considerable human nature even in high dignitaries.

In giving his reasons for coming out for the administration ticket, Bishop McCabe admitted that his main reasons were that many of the administration trustees were good men and good Methodists. The latter argument naturally had more weight with the bishop than it would have with a business man. The business man does not care whether a trustee is a good Methodist or a good Catholic, so long as he is a good trustee.

But in this case something more is required than the ability to be a good trustee. The man must be a good trustee who is elected in the best way. He must not be a benevolent despot willed to the people. Bishop McCabe misses the whole point of the insurance controversy in going off on a tangent about the goodness of this or that man. It is a system which is on trial. The men who are now trustees may be all good men, but they are not the choice of the members of either the New York Life or the Mutual Life. Good men who get into office in a bad way should be rebuked by their bishops, not soothed and supported in their assumption of regal rights over the lives and property of other people.

The last session of the Kansas legislature took up what was called "the cemetery graft" and authorized the secretary of the state horticultural society to investigate the matter. This official has now reported that the larger cemeteries are "mostly grafts," and that exorbitant charges are made for interments. It is shown that in the case of most cemeteries cheap lands are purchased and cut up into lots that are sold at the highest prices the public will stand. It is pointed out that people usually buy cemetery lots at a time when their dead are awaiting burial, and when they will "not quibble or dicker, and the cemetery people profit by it." At Topeka it was found that the cemetery company was selling land at $20,000 an acre. The secretary makes a plea for publicly owned cemeteries.

The Williams people are making the argument against Jones that the other candidates for republican nomination are against him. This is pure assertion, as candidates are usually rather inclined to stick to their own knitting and decline to declare themselves. But so far as they have talked there are more candidates who are out-and-out Jones men than there are Williams men.

Dr. Williams not only declines to make any promises with regard to the lid, but announces publicly that he will make none; that the people must take their chances with him for mayor. Why should they take an uncertainty like that when they can get a certainty, unless they prefer the prospect that the saloons shall be opened Sunday and all night as they used to be?

Kansas is having quite a time with her crop. W. P. Davenport has brought into the office of the Mangum Star ears of corn measuring fifteen inches from the first to the last grain while Ned Brown of Sheridan complains that his melons have grown up higher than the house and crowded the cows out of the pasture.

Directors who really direct can never assume that any business man alive can do no wrong. Even if the head of the company is perfect and can make no mistakes, it is a good lesson in business for directors to look over his work.

"Wist ye not that summer's dying when the sunflowers bloom," asks Emily Bird McDuff, poetess laureatess of Atchison, Kan. Wist ye not, Em, that this is the time to come to Minnesota and enjoy some weather?

Government of, for and by the Boston & Maine railroad is the issue in New Hampshire. Yet the candidates are labeled republican and democrat, as usual.

What a farce!

Secretary Taft was introduced to an audience at Bath, Me., last night as "the probable successor of President Roosevelt." The heavy secretary did not "shy" when the matter was mentioned.

St. Louis county is justly celebrating because it has an assessed valuation second only to Hennepin, and because of its rich ore properties, it has the highest uer capita valuation in the state, $975. The Duluth newspapers are proclaiming that the city and county must be given greater consideration hereafter in matters of legislation. Aggregations of wealth have their rights, of course, but representation in our government is still based on men, and not on dollars.

"I am going home," says Mayor McClellan, "to fight for decency in politics," but not for the opening of the ballot boxes, that it may be ascertained who was legally elected mayor of New York.

It was unfortunate that the Jam of Navangar had never been heard of by the American paragrapher until he died, but at that his memory is likely to be preserved.

London physicians are now saying that people should try to get all the sleep they can. This is true in neighborhoods where phonographs are kept.

Bryan received a hearty welcome at Lincoln. Stensland's home town, Chicago, is also preparing to receive the financier with open gates.

Mr. Bryan is quite apt to declare for government ownership of the verbs and nouns while the state spells the adjectives and prepositions.

The Lexington, Ky., mule deserves a monument. It kicked an automobile so hard that the smell was lost in the next county.

Those two horny-handed sons of toil, Mr. Gompers and Speaker Cannon, are on each other's trail in the wilds of Maine.

It is an unenterprising government vessel that does not stub its foot on Hawaii.

GRAND ARMY BOUQUETS

Lakefield (Minn.) Standard—Minneapolis certainly did itself proud by its splendid treatment of the old veterans.

Wadena (Minn.) Journal—Minneapolis certainly did herself proud in entertaining the national G. A. R. encampment.

Huron (S. D.) World—Minneapolis did herself proud in entertaining those men who are entitled to the highest honor that can be bestowed upon them.

Hatton (N. D.) Press—Minneapolis certainly kept up her former good reputation as an entertaining city during the G. A. R. encampment. And they had lots to look after, too.

Clear Lake (Wis.) Star—The great G. A. R. encampment at Minneapolis was an enormous affair, and the city of Minneapolis did herself proud in the way she cared for the great crowd.

Houston (Minn.) Signal—The old veterans appreciate the kindness shown them by the residents of the twin cities, and down deep in their hearts utter a silent prayer of thanks.

Tower City (N. D.) Topics—Never before have the heroes of the civil war been so well cared for as at this encampment. Everything that could promote their comfort and entertainment was promptly and generously forthcoming.

Granite Falls (Minn.) Journal—Minneapolis has the honor of having provided for one of the very best G. A. R. encampments ever held. Nothing was left undone that might in any way contribute to the comfort of the old soldiers.

Elbow Lake (Minn.) Herald—Minneapolis is the greatest convention city in the country. The manner in which the great G. A. R. convention was handled, the hospitality and generosity of the citizens of Minneapolis, have elicited much praise.

Tower City (N. D.) Topics—The old soldiers and others who attended the G. A. R. encampment in Minneapolis are well pleased with the trip. The old soldiers particularly speak very highly of the treatment they received from the Minneapolis people.

Renville (Minn.) Farmer—In the matter of entertaining the old veterans Minneapolis did herself proud. That city is always equal to the occasion, however large the crowd, and will again come up smiling in a few days, entertaining the crowds that will attend the best state fair in the country. It is a continuous performance with Minne.

Faribault (Minn.) Republican—When the encampment was held in Minneapolis twenty-two years ago, it was then said that it was the best managed and most enjoyable occasion of any of the eighteen encampments that had preceded it, but the one held last week "takes the cake" and will be regarded as the pattern by which to take the measure of all future Grand Army encampments for all time to come.

Rice Lake (Wis.) Chronotype—The veterans of this city who attended the G. A. R. encampment at Minneapolis are, without exception, loud in their praise for the preparation which that city had made. Judge M. P. Barry, one of the old vets of this city, in conversation with a Chronotype reporter stated among other things that he had talked with a great many old veterans and all agreed that of all the encampments of the Grand Army there had been none for which such thoro and careful preparations had been made.

Wabasha (Minn.) Standard—As a veteran saw it: First of all I will express my admiration of the complete arrangements for the safety and comfort of the vets that the city had adopted. Every courtesy was shown, which seemed to have been appreciated by the vets, by their good behavior. The writer of this, an ex-member of the Minnesota First regiment, had a very agreeable time with his old comrades, and would like to express his deep gratitude to Mr. Brackett, a Minneapolis gentleman, who kept open house for our regiment, with plenty to eat and entertainment, all of this at his own individual expense.

THIS DATE IN HISTORY

SEPT. 6

1492—Columbus sailed from the Canary islands on voyage of discovery.

1578—Francis Drake entered Pacific ocean thru Straits of Magellan.

1645—New Netherlands colony observed Thanksgiving for restoration of peace with the Indians.

1781—Fort Griswold taken by the British under Arnold.

1814—American and British land and water forces engaged in battle of Lake Champlain.

1842—M. E. Ingalls, president of Big Four railroad, born.

1861—General Grant took possession of Paducah, Ky.

1871—The mare Goldsmith Maid trotted mile in 2:17 at Milwaukee.

1876—Lafayette statue unveiled in Union square, New York city.

1889—Death of Jefferson Davis.

1901—President McKinley shot down by an assassin at Buffalo exposition.

1905—New York legislative investigation of life insurance companies began.

Minnesota Politics

Democratic Campaign Plans Not Yet Formulated—Bryan Indorsement a Handicap—Distribution of the Ticket—Republican Committee Tomorrow.

Plans for the democratic campaign are in very indefinite shape as yet. Nothing was done before the convention, except to secure rooms for headquarters, which have not been used. The actual headquarters so far are in Frank A. Day's room at the capitol. Since the convention the governor and his official family have been so busy meeting state fair visitors that nothing has been done in regard to the campaign. The executive committee will probably meet next week, complete the organization and agree on plans for the opening of the campaign. The press bureau has been in action for some time.

Governor Johnson's speech in Minneapolis Monday night will be his first as a candidate in this campaign, and in that sense will be his opening. The main speech of the evening, however, is to be given by Mayor Dunne of Chicago, and it will be a municipal ownership occasion. The governor will make his set speech defining the issues from his standpoint, a few days later.

Many democrats were disappointed because Governor Johnson did not make more of an address to the convention. They had expected some keynotes there which they could take home with them and start things with in their localities. The talk was not up to the governor's usual standard, and quite disappointed his friends. Since it failed to meet expectations, it proved a damper on the enthusiasm of the occasion.

The convention could not very well escape the indorsement of Bryan, and it was hard to head off an indorsement of Bryan's new panacea, the government and state ownership of railroads. This indorsement, however, gives more of a partizan character to the convention and the ticket, and will make it harder for Johnson to get republican votes. It is probably true, as estimated, that the linking of Bryan and Johnson has cost the candidate 5,000 republican votes.

In making up the ticket, the democrats ignored the first and eighth districts, two strongholds of republicanism. The second district is represented by Schafer for railroad commissioner; the third by Johnson for governor, the fourth by Kane for attorney general, the fifth by Wheaton for clerk of the supreme court, the sixth by Magnusson for secretary of state, the seventh by Aarness for auditor and Evans for treasurer, and the ninth by Pendergast for lieutenant governor. The nationality representation includes Johnson and Magnusson for the Swedes, Aarness for the Norwegians, Kane for the Irish and Schafer for the Germans. However, as none of the candidates but Johnson have any hope of election, the distribution does not cut much figure, except as a satisfaction to local and nationality pride.

The Fergus Falls Journal says:

A. L. Cole, our nominee for governor, makes an excellent suggestion in an interview when he says that a law should be passed which will make an order of the railway commissioners fixing a rate effective until it has been proven unreasonable in the courts. A bill providing for such a law was prepared by the committee which investigated railroad rates at the last session of the legislature and after the time for introducing bills was up. Governor Johnson sent a special message to the legislature requesting its introduction. The bill was introduced and promptly passed by the house and went into the senate, where it was referred to the senate railway committee (Hawkins, chairman), and that was the last that was seen of it. Governor Johnson and Governor Cole may advocate such a law until they are black in the face, but it will do no good until the people of Minnesota will elect a state senate which will not kill all remedial railroad legislation. The railroad committee in the last senate killed every bill of any value which came before it and if the same senators are returned the legislature might just as well never assemble, if one of its objects is to pass any railway legislation which will have a tendency to save shippers at a cost to the railways.

The republican state committee will hold its first meeting since the organization, Friday morning. They will meet at 9:30 at the headquarters in the Globe building, St. Paul. The session will be executive, and will consider a number of questions connected with the conduct of the campaign.

A. L. Cole's headquarters at the fair are a popular resort for the politicians. The first day, Tuesday, not many called at the tent, because they couldn't find it. It was posted in an out of the way place. Wednesday it was moved to a central location, and since then Mr. Cole has had many callers.

—Charles B. Cheney.

AMUSEMENTS

Wonderland.

Wonderland is getting even larger crowds this week than it did during the G. A. R. encampment. The infant incubator institute broke its record Tuesday for attendance, both for this season and last, and other attractions have had a correspondingly large patronage. The four De Novas, two men and two women, who are high-class aerial acrobats, have been added to the list of free open-air acts at the park, making their appearance yesterday. Their casting and return act is concededly the best ever seen at the park. Wonderland is open at 11 o'clock in the morning this week for the accommodation of state fair visitors.

Foyer Chat.

"The Sign of the Cross," Wilson Barrett's world-renowned drama, will be the attraction at the Metropolitan Sept. 9, 10, 11, 12.

Edwin Arden, the star of the successful drama of western life, "Told in the Hills," will be the attraction at the Metropolitan for four nights and Saturday matinee, beginning Thursday night, Sept. 13. The cast will include such well-known people as Julia Dean, Louise Galloway, Edna Dorman, Walter Greene, Edward Ellis, Harry Cashman, James Bevins, Roy Fairchild and nearly twenty others. Seats go on sale Monday morning.

Emily Wait, the sweet singer at the Unique family theater, is making a big hit with the state fair crowds this week.

T. Daniel Frawley, whose excellent company has already won a high place in the esteem of playgoers at the Lyceum, will next week appear in his celebrated impersonation of Lord Algy in the brilliant English comedy of "Lord and Lady Algy." This week, the fascinating detective play, "Sherlock Holmes."

"In Old Kentucky" is breaking all records at the Bijou, and the popularity of this remarkable drama seems to be greater than ever. Miss Marie Quinn, a newcomer to the play, is seen in the role of Madge, the mountain heroine. A popular-priced matinee will be given Saturday.

There are all kinds of comedy on the bill of modern vaudeville with which the Orpheum theater is entertaining its crowded houses each afternoon and evening this week. The headline feature is the old-time minstrel show done in new attire by Tim McMahon's nine minstrel maids. Then there are Macart's dogs and monkeys and baboons; Bryan and Nadine—the clown and the comedienne; Carlin and Otto, German comedians, and Tim McMahon and Edith Chappelle.

ROOSEVELT IS THE ISSUE, DECLARES SECRETARY TAFT

Election of Democrats or Labor's Choice Means Disapproval of Wise Administration of Republican President and Rejection of Vast Results.

Bath, Me., Sept. 6.—Firing telling broadsides into the arguments of Samuel Gompers, who seeks to array the members of the American Federation of Labor against candidates who have won his displeasure and declaring that it behooves the nation to return a republican congress in view of the vast good accomplished by the party under the leadership of President Roosevelt, Secretary of War William H. Taft held the attention of a vast audience in a speech delivered here last night in behalf of the candidacy of Representative Littlefield, whom Gompers has chosen as the subject of his political experiment.

President Roosevelt with his acts, and the wonderful results achieved by support of his recommendations in the interests of the people, are the issue of the present campaign, declared Secretary Taft.

"Do we approve the course of Theodore Roosevelt as presiedent of the United States or do we disapprove it?" asked Mr. Taft. Thunderous applause rent the hall, showing implicit confidence in the nation's chief executive, and appreciation of labors in behalf of the nation.

Results Are Shown.

The railroad legislation enacted at the recent session of congress, the effective war on the trusts that has brought the powerful Standard Oil company to its knees, begging a cessation of the war against its notorious practices, were cited as sufficient reasons for trust in the president and indorsement of his policies by the re-election of republican candidates for congress. The useless and vehement denunciations of trust evils without definite remedies of a practical kind, the practice of democrats, was set forth in contrast of the battle being waged under the guidance of the president that is fast curbing this evil. To give democracy power in congress would result in confusion and the estopping of the war, temporarily at least, and the loss of much that already has been accomplished.

The prosperity of the nation under the wise administration of a republican president and congress was a potent argument of the secretary. The indisputable increase in the earnings of labor since 1900, proved by figures of the census bureau, were arrayed against the indefinite plea of Gompers to defeat men whom he had marked for slaughter.

Republicans for Revision.

"Speaking my individual opinion," said Mr. Taft, "I believe that since the passage of the Dingley bill there has been a change in the conditions of the country making it just and wise to revise the schedules of the existing tariff. The sentiment in favor of a revision of the tariff is growing in the republican party, and in the near future the members of the party will doubtless agree on a reasonable plan. But the work of the present session, which was pressing in its urgency, could never have been accomplished if there had been introduced into congress and the councils of the party the heated discussions certain to arise over the question of revision of the tariff."

The difficulty of a wise and just revision was cited in refutation of the announcements by reckless democratic spellbinders of a speedy adjustment of the trouble, in return for a vote.

His intimate knowledge of the Philippines made Mr. Taft's treatment of the Philippine tariff most important, and is quoted here together with the part of his speech following:

The Philippine Tariff.

There is one important measure considered by the present congress to which I must refer. It passed the house and is now pending in the senate. The bill provides that all goods coming into the United States from the Philippine islands, which are the product and manufacture of the Philippine islands, shall come in free, except sugar, tobacco and rice, and these articles shall pay a duty of 25 per cent until 1909, when they shall come in free, and that thereafter all goods and products of the United States shall be introduced free into the Philippine islands. In other words, this is a bill to give to the people of the Philippine islands the benefit of the markets of the United States, and the people of the United States the benefit of the free markets of the Philippines.

It is intended to build up the business of the Philippine isulands, encourage production and exportation by offering to the producers of those islands a market in which the profit of dealing is likely to develop their resources. The bill passed the house of representatives by a vote of 250 to 71 and received the support of a large part of both the republican and democratic members. In the committee of the senate having charge of the bill, however, it encountered the opposition of both republicans and democrats. This opposition was based chiefly on the ground that the sugar, tobacco and rice interests of this country would be affected injuriously by the development of the sugar, tobacco and rice interests of the Philippine islands.

No Harm in Competition.

I am very hopeful that at the next session of congress, the facts with respect to this issue will come to be better known to both the republican and democratic members of the senate, and that they will understand what the truth is, that any business likely to be developed in the Philippine islands is so hampered by natural conditions, by the insufficiency of labor, by the lack of capital and by the uncertainties of tropical agriculture, that neither the sugar nor tobacco nor the rice interests of this country, enormous as they are compared with those interests in the Philippines, will be affected in the slightest by Philippine competition.

We in this country have to import more than half the sugar which we consume now, and if we were to let in the Philippine sugar it would not constitute more than one-tenth of that which now comes over the tariff wall. The conditions with respect to tobacco are very much the same, and in regard to rice, the fact is that it is being imported into the Philippines rather than being exported.

We are engaged in the Philippine islands in a great altruistic work. We were brought into control of those islands without our design, and we find upon our hands and in our trust a people unfitted for self-government, but who have the elements in them justifying the belief that with proper assistance and training, they can develop into a self-governing people. We are a great, strong, prosperous nation. The expense attendant upon our helping these people to their feet is one which we can afford to bear. It is a white man's burden that we must assume. There is, in my judgment, no more important piece of legislation to help on that people and bring about a confidence on their part that we are doing everything we can to help them, than the passage of this Philippine tariff bill.

It may be that the opposition in the senate this coming year will be so great as to delay the passage of the bill, but but the American people are determined to do the fair and just thing by their wards of the Pacific, and they will do it ultimately thru their representatives in congress.

The Present Campaign.

This campaign involves not only the election of a house of representatives, but also the election of one-third of the senate of the United States. The senate has been made a frequent subject of discussion and pointed to with scorn as the defender of special interests against the public weal. It is noteworthy that to the proper formation of all these measures which have redounded so much to the credit of Mr. Roosevelt's administration, the Senate has contributed a wealth of ability and legislative experience, and that instead of defeating or narrowing measures supposed to be inimical to corporate interests, it made the chief legislative act of this congress—the railroad rate bill—more comprehensive and effective by its amendments.

There has been nothing more cruel and unjust in the history of politics than the recent attempt by magazine articles to destroy the reputation of some of the greatest and ablest men in the senate, who have devoted their lives to the public service, and who have elevated and dignified it, by attributing to them corrupt motives for their legislative ccurse and by charges of the vaguest and most unsatisfactory character which it is impossible for them to answer, and which they must leave to a grateful public to spurn and reject as unfounded, in the light of their honorable lives. Such charges are not made merely out of a malicious desire to injure the particular senators, but they are made cunningly and viciously to further the impression that most men now prominent in public life are corrupt, or are under corrupt influences, and thus to stir up and inflame the passions of the ignorant and the unfortunate against the existing order.

Frye and Littlefield.

Your own able senators have thus far, I believe, escaped such attacks, but their prominence, ability and distinguished service do not assure them immunity. Senator Frye, that warhorse of republicanism, is before his constituents for return to the senate. Maine will certainly honor itself again by continuing him in the seat in which he has served his state and country so long with marked fidelity and usefulness.

I have come into this district at the request of Mr. Littlefield to take part in his canvass for congress. He is a legislator of ability, honesty and courage, with high ideals and clear perception. In his defeat the public and the republican party would lose a most useful representative.

Mr. Littlefield believes what he believes with earnestness, and does not hesitate to state his reasons with force and candor. He is a type of the men whom this great state has been in the habit of sending to both houses of congress; men who by their force and character and experience have given to this state and the people of this state much more influence in national councils than the number of its people or the extent of its business interests and wealth would justify.

Whether in the house or the senate, if a bill is to be passed, the question how the representatives of Maine will vote on it, what they will say in opposition to it, or in defense of it, what influence they will bring to bear with their fellows for its passage or defeat, have always had to be considered by those interested either to favor or oppose the measure. The people of Maine have secured this, first by care in selecting their representatives, and second by continuing them in office after they have acquired experience, and this sometimes even tho upon particular measures in the independence of their views, they may differ from the majority of their constituents. Mr. Littlefield is a stanch republican. Sometimes he has not favored measures which the administration hoped might pass, but generally he is counted as one of the effective supporters of its policy. He has been a strong and efficient supporter of Mr. Roosevelt's policy to curb the misuse of corporate wealth and railway discrimination. He does not masquerade as a republican and act as a democrat. Nothing could be further from the truth than that the administration would be gratified by his defeat. On the contrary, it feels the liveliest interest in and desire for his success.

Labor's Complaint.

Mr. Littlefield, together with Mr. Cannon and some other congressmen, have incurred the pronounced political opposition of the American Federation of Labor and of Mr. Gompers, because in the discharge of their congressional duties, they have opposed the passage of a bill which is very urgently pressed for passage by the American Federation of Labor. I venture to ask your attention to the issues which are thus raised.

The first section of the bill in effect denies to any person engaged in business the right to an injunction against those who propose unlawfully to injure his business in labor disputes.

Mr. Gompers and the supporters of this bill contend that an injunction can not properly issue in any such case of threatened injury because the business rights about to be unlawfully injured are not property rights and an injunction can only issue to protect property rights. They say that the inferior federal courts by issuing injunctions in such cases have usurped powers not given them, and that this section merely limits their jurisdiction as it was limited before the usurpation.

The supreme court of the United States, in an opinion concurred in by all the members of the court, has decided that an injunction may issue against an unlawful interference with property rights or rights of a pecuniary nature, whenever a suit and judgment for damages after the commission of the injury and unlawful acts would not be an adequate remedy for the injured party. A judgment for damages in such cases and under such circumstances would certainly not be an adequate remedy, and the supporters of the bill before the congressional committee did not contend that it would be.

Injury to Business.

The exact and only question at issue therefore in determining whether the first section of Mr. Gomper's bill should be enacted into law is whether an unlawful injury to a going commercial, manufacturing or transportation business is an injury or interference with either a right of property or a right of a pecuniary nature. This question would seem to answer itself in the affirmative. The good will of a business which is really the thing of value a man has in the custom he has built up by his business, is so much of a property right, that it is frequently bought and sold. Indeed a man's business has been frequently protected by injunctions against unfair and fraudulent competition. Even it be conceded that a property right is to be limited to one growing out of ownership of tangible property, certainly a right in a going business is a right of a pecuniary nature.

I am willing to submit to the considerate judgment of laymen whether in this matter the courts are not correct in holding that unlawful injuries to business are injuries to a pecuniary right. If they are correct, then this section should not become law, because it would simply make a privileged class of laborers who break the law by injuring others and would give them an immunity from an effective remedy that lawbreakers of no other class enjoy.

Federal Courts Sustained.

That the inferior federal courts are right in maintaining their jurisdiction to issue injunctions in such cases has been decided by Mr. Justice Harlan and the court of appeals of the seventh circuit, and by every state supreme court (and there have been five or six) which has been called upon to decide the question. There is no authority in this country the other way except magazine articles and one or two dissenting opinions. We have, therefore, a consensus of opinion on this subject by judges, whether appointed or elected, whether holding for life or for a term of years. If the view is wrong, it is easy to test it by an appeal to the supreme court of the United States, but altho the opportunities have been many, this course has not been adopted.

Leaving now the legal issue, why should not such a threatened injury be stopped by injunction? Why is it not better in such cases that a court should decide in advance what the rights of the parties are upon the facts as shown and enforce its views, than to allow the wrong to be committed? This certainly tends to preserve law and order. If, as in such cases, there is no adequate remedy for the injured person by legal proceedings, after the injury, the temptation is for him "to take the law into his own hands," as the phrase is, and then we have a civil war. This is what happened between the miners and the corporations in Colorado when the state was disgraced by the lawless proceedings of capital and labor and its public officials alike. If private wrongs of this character can be brought into court promptly, as in case of an injunction suit, it not only promotes justice to the parties directly interested, but it is also of the greatest benefit to the community at large, which is not so much interested in which of the two contestants wins as it is in having the dispute peaceably and quickly settled.

Value of Labor Organizations.

We live in an age of organization. The value to the public of organization of capital I have already discussed. Labor must organize because otherwise in its legitimate controversies with capital, in the fixing of its proportion of the joint product of labor and capital, it would be helpless. After a long time, perhaps, the economic law of supply and demand fixes wages, but in the not short periods of transition, the organization of labor has certainly raised and maintained wages, and it has secured other great benefits to its members. But the power of such organizations and combinations, like those of capital, is sometimes abused and develops evils that must be restrained. The injunction has been found to be an appropriate remedy for the evils arising from organization and combinations whether of labor or capital. This is shown by the fact that congress in the statutes against trusts and railway rate discriminations has expressly given remedy by injunction against the illegal combinations and discriminations.

But it is urged with good ground that injunctions have sometimes issued from federal and other courts in labor disputes in which lawful acts of defendants were enjoined. It is no reason for taking away a jurisdiction from a court that it sometimes commits error—courts of appeals are created to remedy errors. In one instance at least an appeal was taken by the labor defendants and the lower court's injunction was modified. In another case, in a federal court, the judge himself was asked to reconsider the form of his injunction granted ex parte, which he did, found that it was in error, the injunction was modified, the strike went on and the men won. It is said, however, that an injunction unjustly broad may break up a lawful strike before an appeal can be perfected. This may be true in some instances, but if an appeal in such a case is prosecuted to a higher court and the error corrected, inferior courts will not again make the mistake.

President Roosevelt's Remedy.

Errors in the scope of restraining orders have been committed at times, it is said, because issued hastily at the instance of lawyers for the employer and without notice to the persons to be enjoined. This fact was called to the attention of President Roosevelt. He, therefore, recommended to congress, in pursuance of the request of the heads of some of the most conservative and best-conducted labor unions in this country, that an amendment be adopted returning to the practice that formerly prevailed in courts of the United States, under a statute now repealed, of issuing preliminary injunctions only after notice to the defendants. This would certainly prevent hasty or undue action, and at the same time not destroy a valuable remedy for the redress of private and public wrongs.

Mr. Gompers and the American Federation of Labor spurned the president's recommendation, and the Gilbert bill introduced in pursuance of the recomendation, and demanded from the president and congress a complete abolition of the injunction in such cases. The president declined to recommend such action and said that he would invoke the remedy of injunction as quickly against unlawful acs of workingmen as against unlawful acts of capitalists. Now Mr. Gompers is seeking to defeat Mr. Littlefield for taking the same view of this matter as Mr. Roosevelt.

Legalizes Blacklisting.

The second section of the Gompers bill provides in effect that no act in respect to labor matters by a combination of two or more persons shall be regarded as unlawful, either criminally or civilly, if the same act committed by one person is not unlawful. This section is intended, and will have the effect, to legalize boycotts and blacklisting. The principle which this section seeks to set aside is that upon which

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