WILLIAMS SOUNDS SLOGAN OF THE DEMOCRACY OF THE FUTURE

Takes Republican Utterances and Late Platform for His Text.

SHELLS THE ENEMY'S CAMP

Indicates What Democrats Will Do When They Come Into Power.

(By Associated Press.)

ST. LOUIS, MO., July 6.—In the midst of thunderous applause and interruptions of various sorts, John Sharp Williams, temporary chairman of the convention, to-day delivered a notable address, which sounds the keynote of the Democracy of the future. Mr. Williams said in part:

This is an appropriate place and time for a Democratic convention. The place is St. Louis, the chief city of the most populous State carved out of the Louisiana territory, acquired by the father of Democracy. The time is the centennial anniversary celebration of the acquisition of that territory, a vast area of contiguous territory, whose possession was necessary for self-defense, and which was fitted in climate and soil for home-making by the sons and daughters of the republic—the anniversary of real and not pseudo expansion—an expansion of our population, our industrial life and our free institutions over uninhabited lands, or lands sparsely settled by savages, whose tribal independence we recognized by treating with them, or settled in spots by white men easily and willingly assimilated; not a so-called expansion by mere superimposed force of our flag and our military authority. The Democratic party afterwards guided the country to further expansion of this real, free character in the acquisition of Florida, the admission of Texas as a State and the acquisition from Mexico of a magnificent far West fit to be made States in the Union and governed under the Constitution.

The Republican Convention.

The most important quadrennial event in the world is the election by the American people of their chief executive. Before the great elevation takes place, at which all men are supposed to arrive at a choice by ways of honesty and intelligence—would to God they did—at least two minor elections of a different character are held. There have always been two great parties, which since the first national political conventions have elected delegates to conventions for the purpose of selecting a candidate and promulgating a platform. One of these parties has gone through its party election of delegates, has selected a candidate and announced a platform. It was one of the quietest and "most unanimous" occasions that the muses of history have recorded. Everything seemed to have been fixed beforehand. There are some conveniences at a convention of that sort. One of them is that the temporary chairman knows six or nine months beforehand that he is going to be temporary chairman. He also knows what he is wanted to say, compared with what he wants to say; I could appreciate that I assure you. The permanent chairman also knows what is expected of him for half a year beforehand. The platform comes ready written—no discussion about it—and is perhaps revised by the candidate himself, who has also been agreed upon.

The address of the temporary chairman of the Republican National Convention was in one sense historical. It dealt much in history at any rate, most of it ancient history and a great deal of it bad history. There was a labored argument to prove that the party of Roosevelt must by something like evolutionary process act as the party of Lincoln and McKinley. This was necessary in order to disguise the palpable fact that it is not so acting. Not without reason, then, this labored argument by this great and ingenious lawyer. It was to draw away attention from Roosevelttsm and its volcanic, eruptive and reckless character by dwelling upon the fact that at some period of its history the Republican party has been "a party which did things," and did them safely. The orator hoped to prove (he doubtlessly lose sight of the fact that it is now in both of its legislative branches a party of passivity, of nonaction, of obstruction to reform; in a word, a party whose only sacred precept is the Shibboleth "maketh them known, one of them to the other"—a Shibboleth drawn from the gambler's table, "stand pat," a precept born of cowardice and fear to move.

Mutual Admiration Society.

I shall not pay undue attention to the temporary chairman of the Republican convention. After interrogating in the light of reason a few utterances, I shall pass on to the authoritative voice of his party, which is its platform, for proof of the fact that Mr. Root knew how to pay a debt. The country has not yet forgotten when Mr. Roosevelt paid a glowing tribute to his Cabinet, which wound up with the sentiment, "And the greatest of these is Root." But let me read first what the President did say of the junior member of that mutual admiration society. I find it in the American Review of Reviews from the pen of Walter Wellman: "Ordinarily the President of the United States is not to be interviewed. But there are exceptions to all rules. When I asked President Roosevelt for an expression of his opinion of the character and public services of Elihu Root, who, within a few weeks is to retire from the secretaryship of war, the President replied: 'I am very glad to do that. In John Hay I have a great Secretary of State. In Philander Knox, I have a great Attorney-General. In other Cabinet posts I have great men. Elihu Root could take any of these places and fill it as well as the man who is now there. And, in addition, he is what probably none of those gentlemen could be—a great Secretary of War. Elihu Root is the ablest man I have known in our governmental service. I will go further. He is the greatest man that has appeared in the public life of any country, in any position, on either side of the ocean in my time.'"

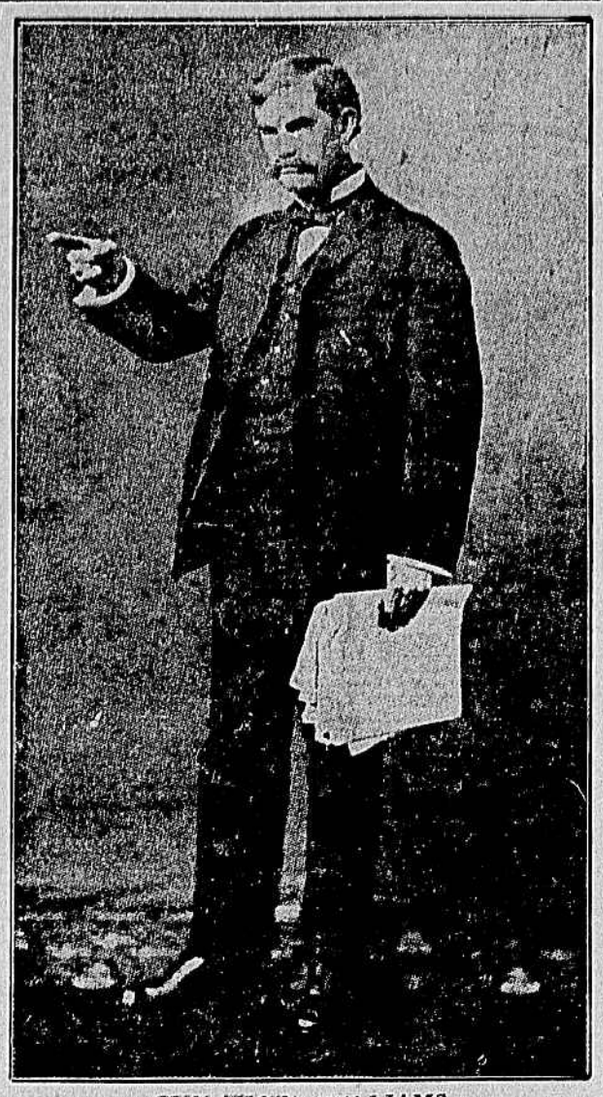
"This is praise indeed," adds Wellman. "Well, what of it? I have never heard that Secretary Root has denied the soft impeachment—praise, indeed. Yes. And what praise in return could be adequate in repayment? In this wonderful mutual admiration society of "me, too, Teddy, and me, too, Elihu," is the return rhapsody of Mr. Root's peroration at all extravagant—considered from the standpoint of repayment, of course?"

Identity of Cerebration.

Is it any wonder that he was the man selected by the candidate to "lay it on strong"? A man of ability, too, Mr. Root. He had defended Tweed. Why not defend the Republican party in its hour of non-action, passivity, negation and mere obstruction? Indeed, he and the President have had minds so much alike that they have been suspected of "unconscious identity of cerebration" of thinking the same thoughts in the same words.

I have heard that in October, 1902, Mr. Root made a political speech in Cooper Union, New York, in which he used this language:

"If a tariff law has on the whole worked well, and if business has prospered under it and is prospering, it is better to endure some slight inconveniences and inequalities for a time than to incur the uncertainty and disturbance of business which necessarily results from the process of making changes. The mere fact that a different rate of duty would be better than the rate fixed in the statute does not settle the question whether the change should be made now or should be deferred. Every tariff deals with duties on a vast number of articles and involves a vast number of interests often conflicting, and whenever the law is taken up by Congress for consideration with reference to one change every schedule in that law is going to find some one urging a change in that schedule; and all the business interests of the country are going to be left during a long continued discussion in a state of uncertainty as to what will be the outcome of duties upon the things they are producing, and, therefore, in uncertainty as to what competition from abroad they will be obliged to meet."



JOHN SHARP WILLIAMS,
Making His Speech as Temporary Chairman.

What Roosevelt Said.

And I have heard that the President in his political tour through the West in the spring of 1903 made a speech, in which he used this language:

"If a tariff has on the whole worked well, and if business has prospered under it and is promising, it may be better to endure some inconveniences and inequalities for a time than by making changes to risk causing a disturbance and perhaps paralysis in the industries and business of the country. The fact that the change in a given rate of duty may be thought desirable does not settle the question whether it is advisable to make the change immediately. Every tariff deals with duties on thousands of articles arranged in hundreds of paragraphs and in many schedules. These duties affect a vast number of interests, which are often conflicting. If necessary for our welfare, then, of course, Congress must consider the question of changing the law as a whole or changing any given rates of duty, but we must remember that whenever even a single schedule is considered some interests will appear to demand a change in almost every schedule in the law; and when it comes to upsetting the schedules generally the effect upon the country would be ruinous."

Verily, "two souls with but a single thought; two speeches that read like one."

And that single thought so harmoniously expressed is not to force a single special interest to take its lips from the public breast for fear the public, finding them unnecessary, might shake them all off.

It is not, therefore, to be wondered at that the peroration of the "greatest of these" was a sort of deification of him who had dubbed him "greatest of these." It was almost as natural as self-appreciation. It was only altruism after all. What a magnificent piece of humor is this unbounded adulation of our fellow-citizen in the White House by "the chief of these." How humorous to praise so highly our fellow-citizen in the White House, who in the long line of great men who have filled the seat he now occupies has himself found only about three in his opinion worthy of anything like unstinted praise? George Washington, Abraham Lincoln and himself. Verily, the other humorists will have to retire from business "The chief of these" is Mr. Root.

Where, Oh Where.

The temporary chairman said, speaking of the Republican party: "Through it more than any other party the moral sentiment of the American people finds expression." God save us! Where? Going back to ancient history in the Credit Mobilier? In the long saturnalia of Southern reconstruction, or in recent history in the Postoffice Department? In the public lands bureau? In the full sway of bosses, formerly cursed so bitterly and now taken so fondly to his bosom by the President? In the pitiable telegram inquiring just when the patriotic and unassisted revolution "of fifty or one hundred men" was slated to come off unexpectedly in Panama? In the celebrated order of "Hell Roaring Jake" Smith, prescribing ten as the age above which children were to be killed in one of the islands of the Philippines? In the universal honeycombing of our national life with the corruption of legislation-bought special privileges? Time fails me to ask where. What has ancient history to do with present iniquities anyhow?

Mr. Root says: "Offenders have been relentlessly prosecuted and sternly punished." Isn't this remarkable "thundering in the index"? When compared with actual Republican accomplishments, especially when compared with the refusal of a Republican House of Representatives to make culprits face even so much as a congressional investigation; when compared with the absolute and constant refusal of the Republican speaker to recognize anybody for the purpose of making a motion even of that character? If there ever was a determination fully entertained and finally carried out, it was the determination of the Republican administration and the Republican legislative body to see to it that nobody should investigate alleged culprits in the Postoffice Department except their colleagues in the executive branch of the government.

A Curious Boast.

There follows something, however, which will be taken seriously. The Secretary boasts that the per capita of circulation of money among the people in the United States increased from $23.14 in March, 1897, to $31.02 in May last, and that the credit for that and the consequent prosperity following it was due to the Republican party. What a curious boast this is for those lately denying so strenuously that the quantity of money had anything to do with the value of money, of the price of other things as measured in money, or with an ascending scale of prices or with national prosperity. This was all denied but yesterday. Now it is asserted that the volume of metallic money has been immensely increased, that it has brought prosperity, and that it has all been due to Republican legislation. Due to what act of Congress passed by them? Was Republican legislation operative in South Africa and the Klondike, and did it cause the discoveries of gold there? Did it cause the new inventions for the more profitable extraction of gold to the world's stock of money metals in the last eight years? Was it Republican legislation which made the immense crops of cotton, wheat, corn, etc., which enabled these United States to draw more than their pro rata share of the world's stock of money metals, thereby increasing their own stock of gold by $700,000,000? What partnership is this between God, human industry and ingenuity, and the Republican party, of which the Republican party is the self-assertive senior member? What monumental affrontery is this which enables them to boast of the benefits of the increased volume of standard metallic money and consequent prosperity by the operation of "the quantitative theory of money," which theory they found no language strong enough to deny and ridicule but yesterday?

The temporary chairman next boasted that the Republican party had by a manipulation which he described of the currency and certificate denomination made it so difficult to get gold out of the treasury in exchange for other forms of money, that practically it cannot be done at all to any large extent, and hence that the danger of "an endless chain" thereby produced is ended. If so, is this not keeping the gold redemption promise "to the ear, but breaking it to the hope"? The ex-Secretary then boasts that the Secretary of the Treasury can and does contract and expand the country's currency at his will, and illustrates this by the occurrences which happened in 1902, which he quotes. Remember, he boasts that this is a fact. If so, what a magnificent power it is. It is almost as great as that lately wielded by the ex-Secretary of War himself, when he was ex-officio emperor of the Philippine archipelago, when as he himself subsequently said in a public address, questions affecting the interests and lives of millions of people had to be decided by him upon not much more than a moment's notice and entirely within his own discretion. What do the men who believe that the government ought to go out of the banking business and the men who believe that the banks ought to go out of the governing business, think of this remarkable, this boastful assertion that one man in the United States can and does contract and expand the currency which furnishes the life blood of commerce at his own sweet will?

Root's Ingenious Mind.

The temporary chairman then told the country that the act to expedite hearings of the trust cases, namely, the act of February 11, 1903, was "Republican legislation." He forgot to say that every Democrat voted for it, and yet that is my recollection. I have never known a more ingenious mind that of ex-Secretary Root. His ingenuity is never so marvelous as when its power is illustrated by the things which he forgets to mention. Verily, he is the "root of all evil" when it comes to making "the worst appear the better side of reason."

The ex-Secretary then tells us in a burst of eloquence that "the fatal 14th of September, 1901, marked no change of policy"; that when the kindly and fraternal soul of McKinley wended its way from the earth he left behind him no break—his policy was continued in spirit by his successor."

Who is there in America with common sense who does not know better? The changed spirit of the policy of the administration with regard to reciprocity with foreign nations, with regard to local self-government in the South and in twenty respects which it would take too much time to particularize will suggest themselves to your mind at once.

The Republican Platform.

But to go into the authoritative utterance of the Republican party in convention assembled. The platform, like the temporary chairman's speech, deals chiefly in the boast that the Republican party is responsible for everything good which has happened. It also deals much in ancient history. It did well to go back fifty years ago. The present Republican party needs a running start of fully fifty years to enable the imagination of the American people to jump over its present obstructiveness and its evasion of live issues, which lie in its pathway to success in this year of 1904. The platform, in speaking of the access of the Republican party to power after Mr. Cleveland's second administration had expired, uses this language: "We then found the country, after four years of Democratic rule, in evil plight, oppressed with misfortunes and doubtful of the future. Public credit had been lowered, revenues were declining, the debt was growing, the administration's attitude toward Spain was feeble and mortifying, its standard of values was threatened and uncertain. Labor was unemployed. Business was sunk in the depression which succeeded the panic of 1893. Hopes was faint and confidence was gone."

A Paraphrase.

Suppose I paraphrase that utterance by saying that "when Mr. Cleveland succeeded to the presidency in March, 1893, after four years of Republican administration under Mr. Harrison, the Democratic party found the country, after a long period of public misrule and extravagance, in evil plight, oppressed with misfortune and doubtful of the future.

"Public credit had been lowered, revenues were declining." The outgoing administration was preparing and had prepared to issue bonds. A government deficit was confessed. The panic, which had devastated the world, was relentlessly approaching our shores. A long saturnalia of extravagance, public and private, and of reckless speculation had been already followed by depression. Corn was burned for fuel in Kansas and elsewhere in the West in 1890, and after. Cotton was at or below the price of production. The acute reaction, which we call panic, was inevitably approaching, even before Mr. Cleveland was elected. "Business was sunk in the depression," which preceded the panic of 1893. "Labor was unemployed," or poorly remunerated in factory or field, especially in the latter. Indeed, business depression, especially in agriculture and the lack of adequate remuneration for labor, taken together with the high prices of manufactures under the McKinley act. "High prices especially accentuated to public realization by the contrasting starvation prices of agricultural products, which had begun to prevail in 1890 and had continued more or less persistently since," these constituted the chief industrial reasons in the public mind for turning Mr. Harrison and the Republicans out and putting Mr. Cleveland and the Democrats in.

To go on with the paraphrase: "Under Harrison's administration for three years hope was faint and confidence gone. The "plight of the people" was so desperate that, like drowning men, they were "catching at straws." Many nostrums were being suggested. Agrarianism and State Socialism in the shape of subtreasury and other scheme were rife from 1890 and thence on. "The two old parties," as they were called, were blamed for it, all but the one in power was blamed most, hence the out of power got in. Men advocating these nostrums in the state of public desperation, then existing, counted their audiences throughout the suffering West and depressed South, no longer by numbers, but by the acre.

The Truth of It.

Who will deny the historical truth of a single sentence of the paraphrase? Why pretend to have forgotten all this? Why not be honest with the people, as men ought to be? It is true that after the election of Mr. Cleveland the chronic business depression continued.

It is true that it became acute; in a word, reached the banks—and then the fright or panic of 1893 came, which was not a local or American condition, but one which existed from where Vienna now lies on the Danube to where Beunos Ayres commands its bay, one whose foundations had been laid long before it reached us almost last among the nations. Then with the panic upon us more nostrums of a national character were suggested to cure an evil of world character. One of them, as you will remember, was the repeal of the purchasing clause of the Sherman act. This nostrum was suggested by wise men, and it was administered to the patient. It did no good, of course. The panic went on, went on until when? It went on until the boil upon the body commercial having burst the poison of speculation, boom values and credit operations was released from the system. It went on until agriculture, the basic industry, revived. In the midst of the panic all the wise men, and chief among them, the Republican leaders, told us that "It was lack of confidence in the money of the country" that had brought on the panic. The Democratic administration, with a sufficient number of votes of both parties in the two houses behind it took that view of the situation and demanded and secured the passage of the act repealing the purchasing clause of the Sherman act, thereby for the first time practically establishing the gold standard in the United States. Without either free or limited coinage of standard silver money, the country was immediately after the passage of that act actually as it has been since, and as it is now, and as it is destined to remain for a length of time beyond my power to prophesy, on a gold basis.

I was not one of those who thought the legislation adopted wise, but wise or unwise the result is an accomplished fact, "plain, palpable and obvious" to all men who have common sense, and like many another step in history it is beyond recall or hope of recall. This accomplished fact was the fact of a gold basis accomplished then not by the Republican party, but by the dogged persistency and indomitable will of Grover Cleveland, aided, it is true, by Republican legislators, who thought they saw in it the final disruption of the Democratic party. That was in the main their motive. Now they would "steal his thunder" and this Republican platform boasts that it was the Republican party which established the gold basis. Moreover, they would now put their words and their votes of 1893, and tell us that the panic was not brought about, as they then said, by "lack of confidence in our money and too much silver," but, forsooth, by a tariff act which was not passed until more than a year after, to-wit: In 1894, when the panic, that is the acute and fright stage of depression, was virtually over.

Must Eliminate Poison.

Do not misunderstand me. A panic, of course, is not succeeded all at once by the golden hues of prosperity. Industrial depression must follow it for a while as depression must precede it. So depression continued until when? As I have said, when the boil bursts and the poison is eliminated from the body commercial the flesh begins to heal. It cannot begin to heal one minute earlier. The process of recovery was aided by many for us fortuitous circumstances. The first of these was famine in India—no Indian wheat to compete in the American market with ours. Simultaneously with an immense American crop of wheat and no crops elsewhere. Wheat rose from about 48 to about 70 cents in a few weeks during the Bryan-McKinley campaign, while Cleveland was yet President. There is not a man within the sound of my voice who does not remember that. With seventy cent wheat farmers could pay the retailers the debts due them and the retailers could buy more goods; the retailers, with empty shelves or shelves becoming empty by sales, could order from the jobbers; the jobbers who had been overstocked were enabled then to order from the factories. When the factories got orders then they had a reason for making goods, and they proceeded to make them, and then the wheels of industry went round. The farmer in the wheat country with seventy cent wheat could pay "the baker, the butcher and the candlestick maker," and then they could pay others and they in turn could buy more goods. This endless chain of human relationship in the world of commerce is no mysterious thing to anybody except a platform making politician.

"But wheat going up had another effect. When wheat went up during the campaign, while silver bullion went down, there was thereby furnished a seeming object lesson of the inaccuracy of the contention of Mr. Bryan and his followers, of whom I was one, that there was necessarily a connection in price between the two. Western and border State farmers in the wheat belt who had originally been Republicans anyhow and who had gone off from the Republican party because of their belief in this very theory began to leave the Bryan column and join the McKinley column, first by the dozen, then by the score, then by hundreds and then in shoals. Thus it came about that Mr. McKinley was elected because wheat went up and because the going up of wheat and the consequent increased demand for other things leading to higher prices and a better volume of trade promised to their minds prosperity without free silver. A greater falsehood was never uttered than that wheat, or anything else, went up because Mr. McKinley was elected. Things had struck rock bottom and had begun to revive before Mr. McKinley was elected, and the first index of that fact was the rise in the price of wheat, followed by the rise in price of our agricultural products sympathetically with it. Then came the immense increase of gold output that kept prices up here and elsewhere.

"Not only is the boast that Mr. McKinley's election was responsible for high prices not true, but it is a very dangerous falsehood. The Populists first taught the people in certain sections of this country that prosperity was chiefly dependent on government. Some men preach the doctrine with the hope that during periods of prosperity the average man will let even an extravagant, dishonest and unjust government, in which he is interested, continue uninterrupted. This is the chief, if not the sole, hope of the Republican party to-day. Let the Republican party beware and let all men who love their country beware of carrying this doctrine of government created prosperity any further. If the idea is once firmly imbedded in the human mind there will be no saving its teachers from the wrath to come—State socialism.

The Spanish War.

"I quote again from the Republican platform: 'We refused to palter longer with the miseries of Cuba,' and declared war against Spain. Bad history again. Democrats demanded the recognition of belligerent rights and independence for Cuba day in and day out. The Republican speaker constantly refused them even as much as parliamentary recognition. The Republican President was thoroughly out of sympathy with their wishes. Finally treachery and cruelty unprecedented led to the blowing up of the Maine and her crew.

"Public opinion would no longer be restrained. 'Remember the Maine' became a battle cry. It was not the miseries of Cuba at all that led the Republican party to fall into line with the public demand and fight Spain. Hearing the echo of that cry of 'Remember the Maine' and amidst the universal excitement and anger, the Republican speaker and the President both stood out of the way, as well they might, and the former advised armed intervention. It is unpatriotic to pretend that even this long delayed as it was was in any proper sense a Republican measure. Democrats voted for it as fully as Republicans. Democrats enthusiastically and unanimously gave the President of the United States $50,000,000 to spend in his discretion. They did this and voted for the act of intervention, not because it was a Republican President or it a Republican measure, but because the American government was at last pursuing an American policy, a policy which had always been Democratic.

"Then the platform advances these words: 'We fought a quick, victorious war with Spain.' Bad history again. Americans fought it. It would be invidious to state the politics of heroes, but it seems to me that I have heard that Dewey was a Democrat, that Schley was a Democrat, that Miles was a Democrat, and it seems to me, too, that I have heard that a Republican administration snubbed the first, tried to disgrace the second and insulted the third. It seems, too, that I have heard from men in the fighting line that Joe Wheeler was as much in evidence at Santiago as the President himself. It seems to me that I have heard that Hobson, who did a futile, but brave act, was a Democrat. It seems to me that I have heard young Bagley, of North Carolina, the first offering of the war upon the altar of a common country, was a Democrat.

"I quote from the platform again: 'We set Cuba free.' Bad history once more. But for Democratic senators and representatives demanding and voting for a proviso to the act of intervention to the effect that the people of Cuba 'were, and of right ought to be, free and independent,' and pledging our faith that we would wage no 'war of conquest or territorial acquisition,' but would withdraw our troops after pacification, the Republican administration would doubtless be furnishing to the world to-day in the case of Cuba a companion piece to the picture which has been exhibited in the Philippines.

The Negro Plank.

Mr. Williams continued with his dissection of the Republican policy, touching upon trusts and different other features of the late platform. In conclusion he said:

"The Republican platform, to sum it all up, obeys the precept to 'stand pat' in every respect except one, and that is a respect in which well enough might very well have been left alone. That is the plank in which this language is used: 'We favor such congressional action as shall determine whether by special discrimination the elective franchise in any State has been unconstitutionally limited,' followed by the promise made, in that event, to reduce Southern representation in the House of Representatives and in the electoral college. The pledge is to reduce representation, if it is, for the suffrage has been 'unconstitutionally limited.' The only 'unconstitutional limitation' would be in violation of the Fifteenth amendment 'because of race, color or previous condition of servitude.' 'Unconstitutionally limited!' the adverb 'unconstitutionally' is useless and fools nobody, especially when one remembers that the author of the phrase, or at least the voice that read it, was the author of the old 'force bill.'

"Whether or not the suffrage 'unconstitutionally limited' is a matter for the courts to determine, and a report of a Republican Committee on Elections in the last Congress so confesses it. If a man be 'unconstitutionally' denied the suffrage, then, after a determination to that effect, he can vote—that is his remedy, and the right remedy. Having voted, of course, there could be no reduction of representation on this account. But all this deceives nobody, as I said. The real object of the Republican party, insofar as that plank is concerned, however, specious the phraseology it is clothed, to reduce Southern representation, without reducing that of Massachusetts and Connecticut or other States wherever in the South the negroes are disfranchised, not as such, but because of ignorance, by an educational qualification, or because of any other right reason, in any other constitutional way. Disfranchisement of a negro in Mississippi for ignorance is a horrible thing; disfranchisement of a white man for ignorance in Massachusetts or Connecticut is part of New England's 'higher education.'

"Let not the business interest of the country deceive itself; let those controlling it prepare for Roosevelt is elected on this platform, for another period of uncertainty, unrest, business disturbances and race war in the Southern States instead of that pace and prosperity which both races now enjoy and which has been rendered possible only by home rule and by white supremacy. Let not the South deceive itself either. If the Republican party were sincere in its proposition to reduce Southern representation on the ground of disfranchisement or pretended unconstitutional limitation itself, it would be company that proposition with another, to-wit: The proposition to repeal the Fifteenth amendment.

"Their duplicity is shown in this: They wish to maintain the Fifteenth amendment, which forbids the negro, for racial reasons, from being disfranchised, and yet on the pretense that he is for racial reasons disfranchised, they would have the negro not counted as a basis of representation in the Southern States, where he chiefly resides. It is not the white man, as a white man, who is injured by a recurrence to the tendency or force bills days—he can and will always maintain himself—his business, commerce, manufacturing, agriculture and the negro himself. Commercially and industrially the white men of the South will not be much more injured by this sort of agitation than Northern people will be. The mercantile class would be the first to suffer, but as they owe debts to the North and buy from the North, and as nearly everything they sell is manufactured in the North, they would not be alone in their suffering.

"This would be the entering wedge to a new period of "Southern reconstruction." It is the beginning over of the old scheme, revived for political advantage, to retain as a Republican asset the solid negro vote in Indiana, Illinois, New Jersey and like-conditioned States—this time without price in money paid—by disturbing all over the South land peace and order, by demoralizing reviving industries, unsettling business and labor, disintegrating society and as a remote effect, if successful, hybridizing the race there and Africanizing its civilization. That is the ultimate significance of it all, if, indeed, it be not merely "a voice in the wilderness" crying out empty promises to the negro voters in the South. I wish I could only believe it was that. I would believe it but for the opinionated and superstrenuous character "of the man in the White House."

How small in comparison would be the immediate and ultimate significance of a mere partisan victory either way compared with the necessary and natural results of this revival agitation.

In keeping with all this consider the negro Santo Bambino scene in the Republican National Convention; the wild adoration of "My little Alabama coon," or was it Georgia coon? Why wait thus prearranged and by whom? Why were the two little white girls placed on the same platform with the little negro boy to march around with him carrying flags? Who pretends that it was accidental? What was the pretended lesson to be taught? What is the subtle, symbolical meaning of it all? Is it a meaning which any white Republican dares to put in words? Or is it a meaning to be guessed at and to be left to negro orators, speaking to negro audiencies, to put in words such as are adapted to negro race, traits, tendencies and longings?

What Democracy Will Do.

But enough about the other party. Some things about ourselves—one thing the country can rely upon; the Democracy will nominate for President a man trained in the ways of the Constitution, who will not usurp legislative or judicial functions, who will not recklessly violate international usages, even with the weakest nation no matter how tempting the profit to be reaped by it, who will keep people guessing about what he is going to do or say next; it will nominate him upon a platform ignoring dead issues and dealing with every present live interest in tones certain and unmistakable, favoring economy of administration, enforcement of honesty in the public service, a wise and business-like revision and reduction of tariff by the friends of the masses and by the commonweal, and not by tariff beneficiaries and their representatives alone, a reduction which shall aim at equality of burdens and equality of opportunities and whose ultimate object shall be to raise a revenue by taxation to support the Federal government in virility, but in simplicity—an object to be reached in a business-like, conservative and common sense way, with due regard to existing conditions; and by steps constituting in themselves an object lesson for their own justification and for the justification of further reform. It will not falter when it comes to declaring for a reduction of tariff taxation on trust produced articles to the point where foreign competition may enter the American market, when combines, seeking monopoly, raise their prices to the American consumer to the point of extortion, nor will it falter in declaring for reduction where American concerns habitually charge American consumer higher prices than those charged foreigners for identical articles. It will come out flatfoot for amicable rather than retaliatory trade relations with the other nations of the world, and especially for generous reciprocity with Canada. It will denounce the heedless and reckless utterances of the candidate of the Republican party for President, in his letter to ex-Secretary Root, upon the second anniversary of Cuban independence. It will announce in no mistakable way that we have no duty of any sort to 'intervene in' the international affairs of other countries, because they 'do not conduct themselves well' or because they do no know how to act with decency in industrial and political matters, or because they 'do not keep order,' or because they 'do not pay their obligations.' We will announce unmistakably to the world and to the nations of Europe that we will not make of the army and navy of the United States a constabulary for the collection of their debts from the governments or peoples of South and Central America, where there is 'brutal wrong-doing or impotency which results in a general loosening of the ties of civilized society' the American people will regret it and will extend every aid in the way of enlightenment and example to the people thus 'living in darkness,' but they decline to administer the affairs of such people, or to take upon the United States Treasury the burden of their internal reformation. A Democratic administration will find in our treatment of Cuba an example of American courage, justice and magnanimity, an example to be imitated as soon as it can be wisely and safely done in the Philippines, utilitarily leaving them, and giving them the promise now thus to leave them, free and independent, to work out their own destiny in accordance with their own race traits, tendencies and capabilities. The Democracy, in my opinion, believes that the white man will have trouble enough to maintain in its full integrity the white man's civilization in all parts of his own country, and it is neither his duty nor his right to superimpose his civilization by force upon the brown man in the brown man's country. A Democratic President, such as he whom we shall nominate, will devote himself to the faithful executon of the laws of the United States as laid down in statutes, without executive construction or usurpation, whether under the pretext of necessity or under the pretext of superior wisdom, and will leave to the legislative branch of the government the duty of making and unmaking and amending laws."

TAMMANY NOT IN IT

(Continued from First Page.)

it out, that if the Platform and the Credentials Committee reports are not contested at length, the convention may proceed to nominate a candidate. It is the general impression to-night among the Parker people that there will not be much of a fight. William Sheehan said:

"It is quite possible that we will proceed to nominate to-morrow afternoon of night."

Senator Hill said:

"If our work is cleared up to that point, I do not know why we should not go on and nominate."

Some of the other State leaders, however, disagreed with this.

Parker Strength Grows.

The steady growth of Parker's strength has continued unchecked throughout to-day and to-night. In the face of the developments in the convention, no one can be found to stand for any definite statement that the New Yorker will meet with opposition of a serious character when the convention is polled for first place on the ticket. Delegations that have wavered in the balance have succumbed to the Parker tide with few exceptions and these are not expected to withstand the almost assured results of the vote as it proceeds, but will change to the Parker column before the roll-call is finished.

It was reported late to-night that a final anti-Parker conference had been called for at an unknown place of meeting, but the New Yorker's managers, confident that they have the whole situation thoroughly in hand, were not disturbed by this conference or its possible results.

For second place on the ticket it can hardly be said that speculation to-night centers on any one man. A half-dozen names are on the tongues of the crowds that gather in the lobbies and various headquarters, but the general sentiment is that this matter should be left to ripen until after the head of the ticket has been formally named.

Charles F. Murphy, of New York, surrounded by Charles A. Towne, Bourke Cockran and others, to-night made this statement:

"It has been alleged that I concede the nomination of Judge Parker. I do not. I stand just where I have stood for the past few days. I have not changed my opinions or my attitude."

SNAP SHOTS DELEGATES

(Continued from First Page.)

structed for Parker, and when Judge Cocko was asked to state why Georgia was instructed for Parker, he answered: "God only knows, young man; God only knows."

When this is all over and those of the delegates who survive the heat are starting for home, Thomas Taggart intends taking a party of boon companions to hotel at French Lick Springs to talk about it. This rumor got abroad as all good things somewhere do, and there has every since been a tremendous, but quiet, scramble to get into the Taggart band wagon. "Of course, I don't like to ask Tom to count me in," said a national committeeman from the Eatt, "but I think it will be a great idea if he would just invite the National Committee and cut out the other fellows.

"You don't suppose any rational hotel man would have those forty-five Indians in his hotel at once, do you?" asked a Connecticut delegate. "Why, Taggart has only two house detectives."

John P. O'Brien, private secretary to Mayor McClellan, of New York, sat in the Tyrolean Alps, on the Pike, with a party of Tammany men, who know a good thing when they find it, and looked lovingly around at the glittering spectacle.

"This reminds me of the Buffalo Exposition," said O'Brien. "It's so different. When they had that show in my town I was a news reporter, and I had to hie to the grounds and over the grounds and across the grounds forty times a day to find out things that fool editors thought they wanted to know. Now," and he raised his lemonade and gazed into its clear depths, "I am here with Tammany nominating for the President of the United States the man whom I have the honor to serve as private secretary. And all in three years."

"Did you say nominating, John?" asked a Parker man, who had been attracted by the fresh smell of the lemons and had joined the party. "Well," said O'Brien, "we are at least going through the motions with dignity."

David B. Hill—"The end of the first session of the convention has not changed my belief that Judge Parker will be our candidate for President. The demonstration for Cleveland meant nothing. It is possible that we shall proceed to place candidates in nomination for the Presidency to-morrow, unless the sessions of the Committee on Resolutions are prolonged. The platform will be one on which every Democrat will be glad to stand on, I am sure. Whether there shall be a gold plank, the convention must determine."

Charles F. Murphy—"The report alleged to have been circulated by August Belmont that Tammany had withdrawn from the position it has assumed in reference to the nomination of Judge Parker, is absolutely untrue. Our attitude is unchanged. It is the same as we maintained at the Albany convention."

James Smith, Jr., of New Jersey—"New Jersey has not declared for Parker or any other candidate. I believe the sentiment expressed through the demonstration at to-day's convention showed that if Mr. Cleveland would permit his name to go before the convention, he would be nominated. We are awaiting to-morrow's developments before deciding what to do."

Pigeons' Fourth.

At least one crime against nature was not committed in New York or New Jersey yesterday; there was no slaughter of live pigeons in either State by petty sportsmen with popguns and sordid ambitions.—New York Press, 5th.

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Miss Nellie Curtain.

MISS NELLIE CURTAIN, 646 Pearl Street, St. Paul, Minn., head saleswoman in a department store, writes:

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