VOL. XI

BOISE, IDAHO, JULY 1, 1910

NO. 31.

Roosevelt's Napoleonic Democracy

(The Commoner.)

Theodore Roosevelt talks of democracy as if he were a demo-Theodore Roosevert talks of democracy as if he were a democrat. Probably he thinks he is one. But his democracy, like the democracy of Napoleon Bonaparte whom he ominously resembles in personal characteristics and unaccountable popularity, is of that spurious kind which evolves empires and breeds despots. It is the exact reverse of the American ideal. His speech in Egypt, and his suppopularity one at Guildhall, London, which have been attributed. plementary one at Guildhall, London, which have been attributed to shirtsleeve manners, are worse than that; they are rightly denounced by the Sacramento Bee as un-American. The Bee calls them "blashemy upon the lips of an American citizen," for stultifying the elemental and primary declaration of America's great proclamation of universal liberty," that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. And so interpreted, those speeches are justified by the Outlook, a magazine with which Mr. Roosevelt is editorially connected and which faithfully reflects his Napoleonic democracy. In its issue of June 18, the Outlook asserts its belief that "the statement in the Declaration of Independence that govenments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed

The fact that Mr. Roosevelt is a contributing editor to the Outlook, would not be enough in itself to make him responsible for this categorical denial of American democracy. Nor can it be urged that he may have contributed the Outlook editorial from which we quote; the author of that editorial is evidently more candid or we quote; the author of that editorial is evidently more candid or less sophisticated than Mr. Roosevelt. But this number of the Outlook appears to have been edited with the distinct purpose of exploiting and justifying Mr. Roosevelt's type of democracy. The purpose is so evident that nothing short of a repudiation of the blunt dimax we quote can make even the most friendly reader suppose that it misrepresents Mr. Roosevelt's views. An indiscreet generalization of it may be, but not an inaccurate one. In the same issue of the Outlook a paper on "the spirit of democracy" figures prominently. This is by Dr. Lyman Abbott, the editor in chief, who finds that there is now a new American democracy, child of two conflicting American democracies of the Nineteenth century—the idealistic of Hebrew and Puritan ancestry through New England, and the materialistic from Rome and France through Virginia,—which is now struggling with the contradictory characteristics it inherits from its Also in this issue of the Outlook there is a stenographic report of an extemporaneous speech by Mr. Roosevelt at Christiana, report of an extemporaneous speech by Mr. Roosevert at Christania, Norway—edited by him for publication but hitherto unpublished—in which, expounding "the colonial policy" of the United States, he defends the subjugation of the Philippines in terms that would have delighted George II and Lord North had they been uttered with reference to the American colonies. Then there is the editorial climax, which may or may not have had Mr. Roosevelt's sanc ion, but which seems to be a correct generalization of his views "We believe that the statement in the Declaration of Independence that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed is false.

The unsoundness of that belief as a political principle may be put aside; to argue against it as a principle might be called "academic" by the Outlook, and "sentimental," or "foolish," or "indecent," by Mr. Roosevelt. Nor would it be worth while to quote the words of Abraham Lincoln and his compeers who founded the Republican party, or the fathers of the Republic itself, who, as Lincoln and the Republic itself, who, as Lincoln and the Republic itself, who as Lincoln and the Republic itself. colon said, conceived it in liberty and dedicated it to the proposition that all are created equal. To hark back to those men might be challenged as an appeal from the youthful American democracy of the Nineteenth the Twentieth century to the dead democracy of the Nineteenth. But waiving all such "sentimental" and "academic" considerations, it behooves the American people to consider the possibilities under present circumstances of Mr. Roosevelt's democracy as generalized

by the Outlook, with reference to their own safety.

Following its assertion of the falsity of the Declaration of Independence in so far as that document assigns the just powers of government to the consent of the governed, the Out look adopts as "always, everywhere and eternally true" the "principle embodied in the Declaration that government exist for the benefit of the governed." Accordingly it reasons that "whether the Filipinos consent or do not consent to the government exist or the respectively over them is not sent or do not consent to the government exercised over them is not the fundamental question;" that "the fundamental question is whether that government is exercised over them for their benefit." Although the particular application is to the Philippines the principle is generalized by the Out look as "always, everywhere and eternally true." Manifestly, then, with reference to American citizens themselves, the democracy of Roosevelt, as expounded by the Outlook selves, the democracy of Roosevelt, as expounded by the Outlook and evident from his own recent speeches, rests fundamentally upon the monarchical principle. Whether the American people "do or do not consent to the government exercised over them is not the fundamental question," but "the fundamental question is whether that government is exercised over them for their benefit." whether that government is exercised over them for their benefit. This is Roosevelt's democracy, as it is the Outlook's as it is the Emporer William's, as it was Napoleon's.

The sultanic impudence of Roosevelt's assumption in this respect would surpass belief if the man himself had left room for a But its danger is the prime consideration. Declaring that he will lead his country to higher levels of democracy, and in his superlative egotism believing it no doubt, he beckons it on toward the Potter's field of every republic in history that came under the influence of a personage like himself. He would tear away the very basis of this December 1997. of this Republic, the rock-bottom principle it rests upon, which is not that a British monarch might not govern us better for our own benefit than we can govern ourselves, but that it is our right to govern ourselves. He would twist the principle of government to which the founders of this Republic do with weaker peoples, the logic of his position would justify his doing with us if he had the opportunity that the historic wreckers of republics have had. Would the Constitution stay in hand? Read from his Christiania speech in the issue of the the issue of the Outlook already referred to, with reference to the San Domingo treaty: "I found considerable difficulty in getting the United States Senate to ratify the treaty, but I went ahead any-bow and executed it until it was ratified." This was supremely dictatorial for latorial, for under the Constitution a treaty is not a treaty until it is ratified by the Senate. He might as lawfully have enforced a bill under consideration by Congress, before Congress enacted it. But, says this Napoleonic democrat, "the opposition was a purely factious proposition." opposition, representing the smallest kind of politics with a leaven of even baser motive." If such a man, with the army and the navy at his command, encouraged by the kind of idolatrous popularity that raised Nanolaco. Taised Napoleon to an absolute dictatorship upon an imperial throne Were obsessed with the notion that a benevolent dictator could govern the American people beter "for their benefit" than they govern themselves, with the selves, with their Lorimers, and Tammanys, and Harts, and Busses

and socialists ,and anarchises, their labor unions, their trusts, their plutocrats, their bothersome State lines, their corrupt legislatures, their dilatory courts and their foolish sentimentaliststheir dilatory courts and their foolish sentimentalists—if such a man so tempted and so equipped, were to resolve upon becoming a dictator "for the common good," is it so certain that American citizenship would be safe? Suppose he did find considerable difficulty in getting Congress to agree with him. Might he not "go ahead anyhow," until they did agree? And wouldn't he find his warrant in what would seem to him in those circumstances to be "a purely facetious opposition, representing the smallest kind of politics," and may be "with a leaven of even baser motive"?

Yet there is good reason to fear that in the name and behalf of democracy, and with the support of masses of genuine democrats

democracy, and with the support of masses of genuine democrats in all parties, Theodore Roosevelt may again be called out of private life to a term as President, and this time under circumstances more favorable thon our country has ever before experienced for a Napoleonic personality to seize upon Napoleonic power. We trust the alternative of Roosevelt or Taft will not occur at the next Presidential election. But if it should, better King Log than King Stork. Though Taft slumbers while plutocrats intrench themselves, taxation under popular control would serve at any time as a weapon to pierce even the thickest fortifications of "vested rights." But if a Napoleonic character like Roosevelt once seized the government to administer it according to his own notions of what is for "the benefit of the governed." the damage would be irreparable. No doctrine of the governed," the damage would be irreparable. No doctrine more dangerous to popular liberty has ever been formulated than this of the Roosevelt cult, that "just governments exist for the benefit of the governed," when that otherwise true doctrine is iso-

lated from the balancing principle that "governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed."

Exposing the Grafters

(Daily Oklahoman.)

What the American people need at this time is a few more Sen-

This republic is critically ill from two maligant diseases GRAFT AND SPECIAL PRIVILEGE.

The infection of these diseases has been communicated to legis ative bodies, high and low, and to a multitude of our offices of public

It is the poison that threatens to overthrow government by, of and for the people.

It is the poison that is eating at the foundation of society.

It is not new ,for it has been long known and long neglected.

As a nation we have been as secretive relative to our ailment as the cancer victim.

This timidity has prevented proper treatment until recent ex-sures have shown advancement of the disease that is alarming. Senator Gore has come forward with the suggestion that surgi-

cal treatment is indicated, and forwith applied the knife.

His theory is a practical one. He believes that the only way to

stop graft is to stop it.

Not only has Senator Gore served the Indians in exposing the grafters who would prey upon them—he has performed a great service for his state and for his nation.

This will become apparent later on, for we doubt not that a thorough investigation of his charges will follow.

It will mean that one or more men who have worn the toga of United States senator, and some statesmen now serving in congress, will be exposed.

Vilest corruption reeks in the halls of congress. It has been reeking there for years. It is no new discovery. The people have known it for years. A peculiar sense of honor holds the nation to

This false notion has been the encouragement of graft and special

Much ado has been made over the recent revelation that a member of the United States senate was elected by means of bribery. The surprise was altogether simulated. The people of this country know that there has not been a senate in the last thirty years that several of its members have not held their seats by virtue of purchase

The real surprise is in the fact that it was exposed.

It was embarassing and humilitating to Senator Gore that he was aproached with an offer of bribery, but he had the courage to proclaim the attempt and thereby defeat the plan of the grafters, for

Here is a democrat, one believing that dishonesty in public places should be uprooted and one who, having the courage of his convicwhich glory be!

The people of this country are hoping that every man connected with the Indian land graft will be shelled from the woods, whether they live in Nebraska, Kansas, Oklahoma or Texas, whether their rank in social and public life is high or low.

Neither fine raiment nor exalted station should protect a thief, whether such by act or intent.

Lat Senator Fore's initiative be the opening run for a grant time.

Let Senator Gore's initiative be the opening gun for a grand roundup of the grafters and special privilege looters who have besmutted our national honor, and let the hunting cry be-

"Get the gratters!

What matters it that the dodging coyotes yell "Democrat!" and "Insurgent!" Let the chase continue until dishonest men are driven from public offices and until special privilege seekers will be

generally regarded the criminals that they are.

Senator Gore has started the good work, and the people should rally to his support.

Not on His Record

It is noticeable that Governor Brady is making no plea for re-election on his record. He would be damned by faint praise if his press bureau would start anything in this line. The Alaska-Yukon exposition fiasco, the Carey Act scandal, the maintenance of a political machine to perpetuate his administration are all in the record and machine to perpetuate his administration are all in the record and would make mighty interesting reading interpolated among the protestations of reform and homilies on civic virtues that are being made the basis of the governor's bid for public favor.—Wallace Times.

Wallace Times: It took a united republican party backed by all the splendid machinery of the state organization to produce a majority for Governor James H. Brady at the last election and how he is expected to win in the coming campaign with a divided party and a personal instead of a party machine is not to be figured out.

The Boise Citizen 8 months for 50 cents.

Proposed Sale of Timber Lands

(Lewiston Tribune.)

The state government of Idaho will be called upon to render a highly important decision and to put its own capacity to deal fitly with the public business to a severe test, in acting upon the application of the Potlatch Lumber company to purchase 24,000 acres of land in order to avoid the time limit on the removal of the timber on the same land, purchased in 1902 and expiring after 20 years, in 1922. The company offers \$10 per acre for the land, which is the minimum at which it can be sold. The company also asks that its proposition be discussed freely and fully and suggests that the \$10 is merely tentative, to serve as a basis for negotiation, in case its offer is not considered adequate or satisfactory. It therefore devolves on the state adimnistration, not on the press or on individuals, to take steps to determine whether the offer is fair, or what would be a fair offer, and why. The state has a right to expect that the administra-tion will deal with the people at least as candidly as the timber com-pany has done and submit its views to the public for discussion after it has put itself in a position to make intelligent and reliable estimates and recommendations in the premises. The method of the company in thus inviting a scrutiny and analysis of its purpose is one to be commended, and gives it a better standing at the beginning than a similar proposition recently made in secret and carried successfully through the Brice City court had a secret and carried successfully through the Brice City court had a secret and carried successfully through the Brice City court had a secret and carried successfully through the Brice City court had a secret and carried successfully through the Brice City court had a secret and carried successfully through the Brice City court had a secret and carried successfully through the Brice City court had a secret and carried successfully through the secret and carried successful through the secret and carried successfully through the secret and carried successful through the secret and carried successful through the secret and carried successfully through the secret and carried successful through the secre fully through the Boise City court, before the public had a particle of inkling as to what was transpiring. The state administration has a long way to go before it can remove the cloud resting upon it from that attempted transaction alone, but in the vastly larger one now pending it can do something to demonstrate, not only its desire to do right but its ability to know what is right.

With the friendliest of feeling toward the Potlatch Lumber

company and towards other investors in the state, and with the purpose to help and encourage them, not thwart and stigmatise them, the Tribune believes the transaction is expressly forbidden and some other means must be found for getting around a bad situation, which the removal clause probably is. The confusion arises in whether the general grants to the state for institutional purposes—included in which are these timber lands—are to be treated the same as common school grants. The constitution provides that no "school" lands shall ever be sold for less than \$10 an acre. The supreme court holds that "school" lands in this relation mean all the endowment lands. The same section of the constitution provides that not to exceed 25 section of "school" lands shall be sold in any one year and not to exceed 160 acres to any one individual, company or corpora-tion. We believe the intention is the same in both instances as to "school" lands comprising similar endowment agents, and that the supreme court will so hold, else it would probably have to recede from its previously established principle in the \$10 per acre relation. from its previously established principle in the \$10 per acre relation. We further believe that the proposed sale by the state to a corporation of a large body of land, whether timber agricultural, grazing or otherwise, is not only essentially prohibited by the fundamental law of this state, but of other states as well and by the established rules of all christendom. The accidence of the present situation, as offering a means of receding from an awkward dilemma all round, ought not to be allowed to serve as a cloak for escaping from the wise and necessary prohibition of vast landed estates in corporate hands, to the exclusion of individual occupation and opportunity.

exclusion of individual occupation and opportunity. Of course, the Tribune may be entirely wrong as to the meaning of the constitution and the court's interpretation thereof. That is as it may be. Any uncertainty as to that can doubtless be cleared up by it may be. Any uncertainty as to that can doubtless be cleared up by the administration in allowing its previously unconsummated sale to go up for review, or some other similar case, while meantime ascertaining the reasonable value of the logged off lands which would revert to the state in lieu of the proposed \$10 per acre sale, and other data bearing on the subject, not merely the price per acre figure, but the larger economic bearing on the welfare of the state of the various possible methods of disposing of these lands.

Mayor Gaynor's Platform

(Boston Globe.)

Those who think of Mayor Gaynor as a probable candidate for president ,will find in his address to the students of St. John's college, Annapolis, Md., the planks of a party platform, althought he did not

tion whereby some think we may be saved.

He evidently believes in the quantitive theory of money, and thus is consistent with the Judge Gaynor of 1896, who supported

High prices, as a result of an increased output of gold, he sult of natural causes, may be good instead of bad. High prices, uncaused by monopolies, mean prospertiy; low prices mean hard

The foregoing planks do not make a very radical platform. Neither do they make an ultra-conservative one. A party looking for a life-raft might hunt a long time before finding anything better.

Sit Tight on the Lid

Wallace Times: The Latah democrats have started a movement that will meet with the hearty support of many citizens of the state regardless of party affiliations. It is a movement demanding an investigation into the affairs of the present administration with an attempt to throw some light on the frauds alleged by the governor and other state officials to exist in the state land department the attempt to probe which it is alleged to have been suppressed by Governor Brady. It will be remembered that Governor Brady suddenly quit and lost all interest in probing into the affair. He anounced that it was a closed incident and the people of the state in a large measure agree with him. It is a closed incident, closed too tight with too many interested officials sitting on the lid.