

The Scranton Tribune

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LIVY R. RICHARD, Editor
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SCRANTON, SEPTEMBER 4, 1900.

REPUBLICAN NOMINATIONS.

National. President—WILLIAM HENRY TAFT. Vice-President—THEODORE ROOSEVELT.
State. Congressmen at Large—GALUSHA A. GROV, ROBERT H. FORDRICH, Auditor General—E. B. HARRISBERGH.

Id. Hung Chang has succeeded in inducing the powers to watch each other, but it is likely that they will still keep an eye on the old man.

The Lesson of Labor Day.

THE IMPOSING pageantry made by the organized labor of our city and valley yesterday was a source of genuine gratification to all classes of our population and a magnificent testimonial to the substantial prosperity prevailing in this region.

Yesterday's parade was a token of what labor can do for itself and for the community by peaceful improvement of its opportunities. These well-clad men who marched through our streets and later distributed themselves and their families among our parks and other places of innocent recreation were not seers bound down by inexorable conditions to a lot devoid of hope, but substantial American freemen, owners of homes, patrons of savings institutions, active participants in all the affairs of government and heirs to opportunities for self-education and self-advancement the like of which is not to be found in any other country in the world.

The inspiring spectacle of yesterday was the exhibit of labor at peace with itself and with the world. It was a marshaling of the forces of orderly industry which won the respect and admiring recognition of every beholder. Very different is the spectacle when labor is in the throes of war. Then in the home hunger and tears and in the streets unrest if not violence constitute the ominous background. Is there cause sufficient to hazard the transition from yesterday's happy exhibit to the privations and perils of a general strike? Are the preparations such as to insure more gain than loss? Is the time auspicious for the terrible appeal to force? Let labor take counsel of wisdom and prudence before it embarks on the voyage which hitherto has invariably ended in shipwreck.

The opinion of Mr. Rockhill as an expert upon Chinese affairs is worthy of the consideration of every nation.

Roosevelt and Bryan.

WE TRUST that every reader of these words will take the pains to read attentively the two speeches made at Chicago yesterday, one by Colonel Bryan, the other by Colonel Roosevelt. For the benefit of all, we reproduce these speeches in full viewers in this issue and consider that they typify the contrasts between the two authors.

Mr. Bryan's speech from beginning to end is an adroit example of personal special pleading. It plays ingeniously upon the prevalent streak of socialism amongst many workmen; delicately fans the idea that they are a class suffering from peculiar and special abuses; implies that capital is in some fell conspiracy to do them political harm; rehearses the stock arguments in favor of the Bryanized Demo-populist party platform, and throughout suggests the artful devices of an angler for votes.

speech you feel that he would have said the same things in the same direct, manly way had there been no contest for votes in which both he and Bryan have a personal as well as a general interest. That is the great difference between the two men.

Notwithstanding the allegation that the race trouble in the South is caused by the had negroes, the burden of real evidence goes to prove that it is the ambitious colored men in nearly every instance that are obliged to leave the country. The South is willing that the negro who is content to pose as the bearer of burden shall remain; his antipathy is directed wholly against the negro with an ambition to rise in life.

A Fair Test.

A FAIR TEST of the economic condition of any country is to be had in the statistics of its business failures. It is interesting to apply this test to the United States under Democratic and under Republican rule.

The records of Bradstreet's mercantile agency show that for the first six months of 1892 the business failures of the country were 5,531, with liabilities of \$56,535,211. In November of that year the Democratic party was voted into power, and in March, 1893, took charge of the country's finances.

The first six months of that year showed failures of 8,225 in number, with liabilities of \$70,000,000. All through the Democratic free trade Wilson bill administration the number of failures steadily increased until the first six months of 1896, when they reached the high water mark, viz: 7,092, with liabilities of \$105,535,938. In November of that year McKinley prospered; was voted in, and the number of failures steadily declined, until the first six months of 1899 show only 4,880 failures, with liabilities of \$60,654,295, the smallest number reported for eighteen years.

Table with columns for Eastern States, Western States, Northwestern States, Middle States, Southern States, and Pacific States. Lists states and their respective failure statistics.

Table with columns for Territories and a Summary. Lists territories and their failure statistics, followed by a total summary for the United States.

It will be noted that the liabilities of those failing in the first six months of the two years compared are as follows:

Table showing liabilities for Eastern States, Middle States, Western States, Northwestern States, Southern States, Pacific States, and Territories for the years 1892 and 1899.

It will be noted that the liabilities of those failing in the Middle States in the first six months of 1899 were \$3,615,207 less than they were in 1892. In the Western States they were \$2,367,048 less. In the Northwestern States they were \$7,158,119 less. In the Southern States they were \$8,945,103 less. In the Pacific States there were \$2,248,476 less. In the territories they were \$351,534 less, a grand total of \$45,471,723 less in 1899. Only in the Eastern States were there more failures this year than in 1892. In the latter there was an epidemic of over-capitalization directly due to the prosperity inaugurated by the McKinley administration and in the nature of things some of the inflated got pinched. The condition of general business throughout the Eastern States, outside of speculative centers, was never more satisfactory than it is today.

Roosevelt and Bryan at Chicago

(Continued from Page 1.)

each knew the other better and both were expected to be guided by the strict rules of justice. The extremes of society are really not so far apart as they appear. Those who work wages today have under good government been employed in a few years, and the same of those who are employed today may in a short time be day laborers. Since no one can be positively from the effects of a bad law, all should strive for legislation which will protect each citizen in his rights and in the enjoyment of the fruits of his own genius, his own industry and his own energy.

It is of advantage to the rich as well as to the poor that the children of all have an opportunity to secure an education; for education widens the industry, makes him more capable for usefulness; multiplies his enjoyments and makes him in every way more serviceable to society. Victor Hugo has described the mob as the human race in one of its lowest and most degrading conditions. Those who are well-to-do have a selfish interest, and should feel a moral concern, in removing despair from every human breast. As misery is lessened the security of property, the security of business, is protected in proportion as happiness is promoted.

Why should the man who eats at a well-supplied table forget that man who will not eat? Why should the man who wears himself in the forest or in the mine bring forth the fruit? Why should the man who has the best products of the loom, forget the man whose calloused hands make fine clothing possible? Both the consumer and the producer are necessary, but of the two the producer comes in point of time and in point of importance. Shall the reward, blooming in beauty and shedding its fragrance on the air, despise the roots of its growth? Shall the bird, in contact with the soil? Destroy the bird and leave the roots and a second bird will appear as beautiful and as fragrant as the first; but destroy the roots and the bird will disappear. How can the wage earner secure that share of the earth's bounty and the government's protection which he deserves? The associations among the workmen have been productive of much good.

The Labor Organization. The labor organization as we now find it is the product of industrial conditions. The individual found himself at a disadvantage when dealing with the corporate employer, and the organization not only enabled him to stand on his rights upon terms more nearly equal, but it stimulated him to study and understand the conditions which surrounded him.

The labor organization has been formed in accordance with the reforms which have already been secured. Several years ago the secret ballot was demanded by the wage earners for their own protection. That ballot has been obtained, and through its operation those who tell for individuals or corporations are able to protect their political rights and to use the ballots according to their own judgments. This is a long step in the right direction.

The labor organization has done much to lessen the evils of child labor. No one can visit the factories where children are employed without contemplating the possibility of their being fattened upon poverty. If there is any temporary economic advantage in the employment of children of tender age, it is insignificant when measured against the permanent damage to present and future generations. To rob a child of its school days is bad enough, but to bend its back by a load for which only the adult is fitted is even worse.

The labor organization has also contributed toward the shortening of the hours of toil, and it should not cease its efforts until the eight-hour day is secured. Approximately one-third of the twenty-four hours must be given to sleep; if another third of the day is devoted to manual labor, only eight hours are left for eating, for going to and from the place of work, for the reading of current news, for mental improvement, recreation, social intercourse and domestic life. Since the hours occupied in eating and traveling cannot be reduced, every hour added to the day's labor must be taken from some time devoted to intellectual development, recreation and the family.

The labor organization has been a consistent and persistent advocate of the doctrine of arbitration, although it is difficult to see why the burden of this reform should be thrown upon the laboring man. Surely, if the employer, if he would take a comprehensive view of his own interests, would be as much benefited by arbitration as the employee, and because every professional contract, every contract for the interruption of business and pecuniary loss to those who are in no way responsible for the disagreement, society in general is even more interested than employees in the securing of a basis for justice in an universal that the public can be depended upon to support the finding of an impartial board of arbitration as certainly as it can be depended upon to support the finding of a law court. The court of arbitration is one of the necessities of the future, and when it is secured and perfected, we shall wonder why its coming was delayed to this point.

Mercer of the Black List. The black list, by means of which employers endeavor to deprive the free workman of employment, is one of the more recent misdeeds to the laboring man. The independence of the wage earner, the difficulty of obtaining employment, the loss of the workman whose life has been spent in acquiring efficiency in a certain trade or occupation, because practice, the charter of the employer if every opportunity to make use of his services is closed by agreement between employers.

The laboring man is also interested in legislation prohibiting conscription. It is unfair to the American workman, as it is the foundation of the nation's wealth in time of peace and its defense in time of war, to subject him to the danger of being conscripted and given to an oriental laborer, often brought in by contract, who has no permanent interest in our government. If the Asiatic come here, work for a few years, live on the land, and then carry home the net proceeds of their toil, the drain upon our money supply will be similar to that caused by immigration in other countries. The political character of conscription is so nearly so weighty that the economic ones. Race prejudice cannot be disregarded, and we have seen how, in every industrial depression, conscriptionist needs in that and elsewhere. We cannot afford to bring into this country those who cannot amalgamate with our people.

The Injunction Evil. The attempt to use the injunction of a court to deprive the laboring man of trial by jury should alarm all our people, for while the wage earner is the first and best friend of the principle which underlies government by injunction is so far-reaching that no one can hope to evade it. The thing forbidden by an injunction would without the laboring man be either legal or illegal. If it would be legal, the judge would suffer the penalties prescribed for each violation. The moment that the most loyal and honest member of our people is asked to violate the law can, upon conviction, be made to suffer the penalties prescribed for each violation. The moment that the most loyal and honest member of our people is asked to violate the law can, upon conviction, be made to suffer the penalties prescribed for each violation.

The Greatest Evil. Only a blind person can fail to see that transformations of one kind or another are in store for our race; hence the folly of asserting that the policy of the laboring man is a matter of course. It is already justifying its existence and declaring that fate has decreed for us a destiny in which an imperial executive free from the restraints of a written constitution, will govern us according to his own pleasure. The United States Investor's Review, published at Boston, in its issue of July 28, says:

Only a blind person can fail to see that transformations of one kind or another are in store for our race; hence the folly of asserting that the policy of the laboring man is a matter of course. It is already justifying its existence and declaring that fate has decreed for us a destiny in which an imperial executive free from the restraints of a written constitution, will govern us according to his own pleasure. The declaration was a veritable means to the end that was at that time desired. To bring forward this declaration in the year 1896, in connection with our treatment of the Philippines and the Outains, is as gross an absurdity as ever was practiced. To do so is to offer an insult to the intelligence of the people who first subscribed to the declaration in question.

party which has the selection of the senator. If this question was submitted to the voters, the sense of the constitution, and asserts the power of the president and congress to govern them without their consent and tax them without representation—a power as unlimited and tyrannical as was ever asserted or exercised by any ruler in all the history of the human race. This doctrine has not yet been approved by the people; it furnishes the supreme question of the present campaign. In the presence of these perils the laboring man has a responsibility commensurate with his opportunity. Without a large percentage of the laboring vote no party can win an election in the United States. The men who work for wages can, by throwing their votes on the one side or the other, determine the policy of this country. They need not march in parades; they need not adorn themselves with the insignia of any party, but on election day their silent ballots can shape the destiny of this nation, and either bring the government back to its ancient landmarks or turn it into the pathway followed by empires of the old world.

Direct Legislation. Direct legislation brings the government nearer to the voter. There is more virtue in the people than ever finds expression through their representatives. To hold that a representative can legislate for the people better than they can for themselves, is to assert that he is as much interested in the people as they are in themselves, and that his wisdom is greater than the wisdom of the majority of the people. Neither proposition is sound. Most, if not all, of the evils complained of in government, are traceable to the fact that the representative of the people has permitted his interests at variance with interests of his constituency. Corruption in municipal, state and federal governments is due to the misrepresentation of the people by public servants. Those who are elected to public office should have an opportunity to vote on public questions which will establish a permanent record of their great inconvenience and expense. But the laboring man is even interested in the proposition to establish a labor bureau with a cabinet officer and while labor would keep the executive in constant touch with the wage earners of the country, and upon the way to the reform of their present and future grievances, it leaves in great measure to the representative of the household, the man selected will necessarily be a worthy and trusted representative of the people for whom he speaks, and his presence at the polls will give him a keen interest in their daily bread, assurance that their interests will be properly guarded.

Mr. Gompers, the chief executive of the Federation of Labor, writes in his correspondence with the secretary of the treasury, so ably presented the laboring man's reasons for opposing a gold standard and a national currency that it is not necessary to discuss those questions at this time.

The laboring man has abundant reason to fear the trusts. Charles R. Flint is a specimen of the trusts, frankly asserts that one of the advantages of these combinations is that "in case of a gold standard and a national currency, the trusts, which are in the hands of a few individuals, thus preventing serious loss. It is possible that any wage-earner can fall to see how completely the trusts place the employe at the mercy of the employer."

Labor and Militarism. The resolutions adopted by various labor organizations in condemnation of militarism and imperialism justify me in making a brief reference to those questions. No class contributes more to the laboring class, in proportion to its numbers, than the army; no class is more incensed by the existence of a large army. Most of the countries in Europe which maintain large military establishments, those which are the most advanced in the world, are the most backward in the progress of the income of the citizen. Here our federal taxes are largely collected upon consumption and while laborers are in the hands of the people, yet the exactions are proportionate to the income. The taxes upon consumption, whether in the form of a tax on the rich and are, in fact, graded income taxes. The per cent. collected decreasing as the income increases.

If this nation adheres to the doctrine that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, and the people have an easy and peaceful way of correcting all abuses, the government must not be supported by a large permanent army for every citizen will be ready to defend such a government from attack. The only way to suppress by force the discontent which should be cured by legislation.

To support a permanent army of 300,000 men requires an expenditure of \$100,000,000 annually. It is annually expended for education in the United States. How much cheaper it is to uplift people by the gentle and peaceful process of instruction than to blow them up with powder and dynamite!

Imperialism involves a departure from principles which were universally accepted in this country. It is a departure from the principle that all men are created equal and endowed with the wisdom of a sage or the learning of the schools. It was declared to be a self-evident truth that it is the duty of the people to protect their lives to the maintenance of the Declaration of Independence, and it is evident still to those who are not blinded by the glamour of wealth and the glittering promises of a colonial system. If all men are created equal and endowed with the wisdom of a sage or the learning of the schools, it follows as a logical and a necessary sequence that governments were instituted to protect the welfare of all and derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. On the preservation of this doctrine our hopes depend; if it is abandoned there is no foundation upon which a government like ours can be constructed. To not allow ourselves to be deceived by those who question the capacity of this country, in his essay on John Milton, points out the necessity of preparing people for self-government. He said:

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that the people are to be free, and they are to be free by their freedom. The maxim is worthy the fool of the old story who resolved not to get into the water until he had learned to swim. It is not so with liberty until they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever."

What Lincoln Said. When I say that those who distrust the capacity of the people for self-government tend directly toward monarchy, I am only repeating what Lincoln has so often and so wisely declared in his first annual message. He said:

"Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justly charged with raising a warning against the approach of returning despotism. It is not needed nor fitting here that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions. In fact, there is one point upon which my connections not so harkened as most others, to which I ask brief attention. It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing with the laboring man, in the structure of government. No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch the money of another man than those who have been educated in the habits of industry which they already possess and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to give them facilities for raising a standing army against the approach of returning despotism. 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