

The Oregonian

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PORTLAND, WEDNESDAY, NOV. 11, 1908.

FIVE ACTS, OR SIX?

Admirable for ingenuity, and at the same time for simplicity and efficiency, are the various steps by which we have arrived at the will of the people of Oregon. If the "will" is at cross purposes with itself—so that a state having but a small population gives 23,000 majority for Taft for President, yet in the result is "pledged" to Chamberlain for Senator, why, that is not a bad thing. It shows that the same time how ingenious and how efficient, this method of arriving at the will of the people is.

Oregon has thrown in the election just held about one-fifth part of the vote of New York—about 23,000 in fifteen. Oregon Taft has 23,000 majority—which is the same as he had 275,000 in New York. Now if New York, with this vast majority for Taft, should have voted Murphy for the Senate, by the striking Republican majority of the Legislature, we should have the same situation in New York as in Oregon, and in Oregon as in New York.

It would be "the will of the people." Yet there is an opinion that the will of the people may be judged with, or the declarations of political platforms. In Oregon the first step was Statement One. The second step was registration of Democrats as Republicans. The third step was encouragement of Republicans to run for the Legislature, on Statement One, promising them the Democratic vote; and encouragement of a Republican candidate for the Senate, on Statement One, promising them the Democratic vote.

It is a five-act drama. It suffices, says Horace, that the drama be not continued, and that over and over, but the management of the theater has a programme which includes a sixth act. It wants a Legislature, five-sixths of whose members are Republicans, to elect Chamberlain in the fall of 1909, for Taft over Bryan in the fall of 1909, between them. Thus we are to arrive at the will of the people.

Political science, under democracy, has for its object the will of the people. Here you have it! Success for Dr. Hill will carry this method triumphantly into future elections. One party and then the other will use it. We can get Mr. Gearin for Senator next time, or some other able Democrat, just as well and as smoothly as we get Mr. Chamberlain now.

Mr. James J. Hill, always an interesting talker, has some remarks which well-informed men on most topics, not infrequently overshoots the mark when talking on large subjects and in generalities. An incident of this nature was noticeable at Tacoma, Monday night, when he made the somewhat startling prediction that six years hence would witness the end of wheat exportation from this country. According to Mr. Hill, the consumption of wheat in the United States will increase so rapidly that, in the brief period mentioned, it will have overtaken the production. The annual production of wheat in this country for the past five years has averaged very close to 700,000,000 bushels, the crop of 1906 exceeding that figure by 25,000,000 bushels. Comparing the ten years' average ending with 1908 with that ending in 1898, there is a material increase shown in the yield.

his prediction. The average yield of wheat in the United States at the present time is less than fifteen bushels per acre. In Great Britain it is thirty bushels per acre. Long before the country ceases to be an exporter of wheat improved methods of soil cultivation will materially increase the yield of the cereal.

If this improvement should reach the degree of perfection attained in Great Britain, a yield of 700,000,000 bushels per annum, the same acreage as is now in crop here would turn out nearly 1,500,000,000 bushels, an amount sufficient to feed a population more than twice as great as that which now lives in the United States. This is coming when the consumption of wheat will overtake the production, but it will not be within the next six years, nor within a dozen years.

Mr. Gompers continues to have a great deal to say about the laws and the court decisions on the subject of injunctions, yet he says little, because he carefully avoids all precise statement of his own position and contention. He launches into indignant speech about alleged denial of freedom of speech and freedom of the press, which he asserts are denied to him and his associates, but he studiously refrains from saying that what he really wants is unrestrained freedom for the boycott, both by speech and press, that he may injure or destroy, if possible, any business that he cannot bring down by other means. He wants besides no restriction upon "picketing," or upon intrusion on the premises where a boycott has been declared, and holds that the right to do business in a particular place or in any place is not a property right, but is a privilege.

It is to be settled as a principle, we believe, by the laws, and the courts, that it is not settled already, that the right to do business in peace, and without molestation, is a law of the land. Also that the right of free speech and of free press cannot include the right to employ them for injurious or destructive purposes. But the Gompers claim goes further. It not only contends for the right of the direct boycott, but for boycott of those who do not join in the boycott. That is, when any man or establishment is boycotted, he shall not deal with that man, or establishment upon pain of being boycotted themselves. So that the right to speak and to print against a man and his business, and the right to surround the place with pickets and make a strike, will come to be a law, together, perhaps will create a disturbance, certainly will obstruct the man's business and probably break it up (for this is the intent), together with the right to call unfair and declare a boycott of those who do not join in the primary boycott, are the rights for which Mr. Gompers contends, and for denial of which by the laws and courts of the land he denounces the laws and courts and all who do not join him in denouncing them.

This is kept up in full stream and flow ever since the election, and the telegraphic reports continue to be burdened with it; which is the reason why this further statement is made at the present time about a matter that has been over and over, during a campaign of five months, but just now ended.

A NEW EDITOR. The story that the Outlook has engaged Mr. Roosevelt for one of its editors recalls the fable of the six robbers who invited an eagle to join them in a picnic. It was a lovely picnic for the eagle. So far as acquaintance with literature goes, Mr. Mable, of the Outlook staff, knows incomparably more than Mr. Roosevelt, and his writings possess a limp meekness which the President cannot hope to compete with. As for Dr. Lynn Abbott, his remarks are so full of errors and political creeds seem to harmonize pretty well with the Rooseveltian doctrine, but then they would harmonize with anything. Dr. Abbott's courage sometimes marches at even pace with his intellect, but not often.

MR. CANNON IN ERROR. Speaker Cannon is reported to have expressed strong opposition to the Panama Canal. At a banquet given by the Chicago Engineers' Club a few days ago he is quoted as saying that "this is not a time for the expenditure of a large sum of money for completion of the Panama Canal." If Mr. Cannon had made a close study of the economic problems involved in canal construction, he would have been obliged to admit that this was exactly the proper time for the "expenditure of a large sum of money" on that most important work. Laying aside all question as to the prospect for immediate returns, the Panama Canal, when completed, it is certainly most necessary that the enormous investment already made be not placed in jeopardy by cessation of work at this most critical time.

worthless if it were permitted to remain idle for even a few years. Of less importance, but in degree almost equal, is the reported objection to reforestation. He is said to question the right of the Nation to "exercise police power to prevent the destruction of forests," and as with the Panama Canal, to desire that the work of repairing the loss through vandalism be passed on to posterity, although by so doing it is apparent to all that it will be a bald and treeless country on which posterity will be obliged to begin operations.

DEMOCRATIC PROSPECTS. To the observer of current affairs the Democratic party presents a curious phenomenon. It is neither fish nor flesh, neither radical nor reactionary. It contains a radical wing in the direction of revolutionary reform; but with it is a reactionary wing which dreads reform, even the mildest, worse than Mr. Cannon himself, if that is possible. Between these two wings reigns bitter and apparently unappeasable hatred. There is an outward show of reconciliation which was patched up between them, but it was atrociously deceptive. The friends of Judge Parker in the East must have cast thousands of votes for Taft. Nobody would be surprised to learn through Mr. Hearst's columns that the Republican caucus mysteriously, that Mr. Parker himself so far forgot party allegiance as to vote for the hated foe. Add to this state of facts the undeniable truth that Tammany must have betrayed Bryan on political grounds, and the picture of political disloyalty which seems to have become chronic in the Democratic party. In 1904 the same tactics were played against Judge Parker by the Western Democrats. In two preceding elections Bryan had suffered from the East as he has again this fall.

Can the discordant factions of the Democratic party ever be united? If they held any principles in common there would be some hope that they might, but in the present case, it is doubtful whether there is a single political doctrine which all the members of the party believe in. The old dogma of state rights which used to be their common shibboleth, has come to mean less than nothing. The great New York organs of so-called "Democracy" are found shrieking loudly for state rights today, and more loudly against them tomorrow. When the rate bill was before Congress, the New York Times attacked the bill with a vehemence and a bitterness which the other newspapers of the country looked on with such placid contentment as did the Times. The old slogan of "state rights" has become nothing more than a pawn in the great game of corporation politics.

Some men make even a jest and farce of their use of the election franchise. In the second ward of Corvallis one man voted for two Republicans, and another for two Democrats. Another voted for the four Democratic electors, then crossed the names out and wrote "Bryan and Kern" at the bottom of the ticket.

There is a natural law reigning in the political world which in its own good time settles difficulties of this nature. Men are attracted in spite of themselves to religious and political parties which represent their real feelings and beliefs. The conservative Democrats have vastly more in common with the Republicans than they have with the Bryanites. It is natural to expect, then, that they will gravitate toward the Republican party before a great election comes. The only obstacle of any importance to this union is the tariff, and that is not a very serious one. The reactionary Democrats and the standard Republicans agree pretty well about protection. Their economic interest in this matter is the same. The barrier between them is therefore largely imaginary, merely a thing of names and empty formulas, and we may expect to see it swept away before many yet.

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made an instrument for schemes of private gain. This much is agreed. But the notion that business is as unalterable as the notion that government should be separated from property, or have no care for property. Politics must be concerned with business, and business must take an interest in politics. Their separation is impossible. Burke said that the idea of government divorced from the duty of conservation of property was a monstrous thing.

NINE QUERIES FOR SOLID NINE. Dr. Foulkes Wants to Know Some Things From Councilmen. PORTLAND, Nov. 10.—(To the Editor.)—May I be permitted space in The Oregonian to address an open letter containing nine questions to the nine members of our City Council who supported the Bushlight ordinance? Of these nine gentlemen may I have the privilege of inquiring: 1.—If you can see no difference between a "restaurant" as legally defined in the statutes of the City of Portland, and an "eating-house," subject to every possible legal definition, do you imagine that the general public is equally at fault? 2.—If you are so strenuously opposed to "class legislation," why did you vote to repeal the Cellars ordinance outright, instead of insisting about the bush with this eating-house ordinance? 3.—Is it not true that while you are anxious to see that the "little fellows" are not discriminated against, you are in fact discriminating against the public saloon (your party) serving one of the biggest and most selfish fellows of all—the liquor interest? 4.—If you people understand your purposes when you say "We are deadly opposed to women in all saloons," and then support an ordinance making it legally possible for her to be present in practically every saloon in the city? 5.—Do you imagine that the real issue can be clouded by the misquoting and maligning of those who openly oppose you, and who have been so far from turned off your trail, after somebody else? 6.—In your earnest desire that no branch of the liquor traffic should suffer, have you given sufficient or even equal thought to the welfare of the women of this city, which welfare, in the words of the Mayor, vetting your ordinance, "is the most important and the most discriminating between the rights of those engaged in making profit from the sale of such intoxicants." 7.—Your lachrymose concern for the farmer who comes to town with his wife and only two bits in his pocket, and who, therefore, cannot afford to pay a full meal with his better, either to eat or to drink, sense? 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