

icans. Mr. Bryan was doubtless a wrong-headed leader in many respects, but the extraordinary tide of emotion which enabled him to bid for victory in 1896 was not an unreal tide, because for the moment it spent itself in channels which led to nowhere. The forces to which he appealed were not reasoned convictions about bimetallism, but keenly felt social discontent and dim, yet glorious apprehensions of social hope. In the last eight years an unparalleled industrial prosperity has taken, perhaps, the cruelest edge off the discontent, but has not removed it. The increment of prosperity has been very unequally shared between the masses and the few. The latter have not only skimmed unprecedented wealth; they have massed it in aggregates which render it at once more conspicuous in men's eyes and more tyrannously influential over their lives and liberties. The virgin soil of the new world, which has given the clearest arena for the victrories of wealth, has also made its supremacy appear more nakedly than elsewhere. The personal habits of the rich and the not-rich classes further promote an antagonism. Luxury of that wanton and soulless kind whose display is the most irritating of all because of its dog-in-the-manger appearance to all who could use the wealth better, has nowhere gone further than among some rich Americans, and the ubiquitous American reporter is always there to herald its vanities from one end of the country to the other. On the other hand, the American middle and working classes are on a higher average plane of education than perhaps any other. Not merely have they the intelligence to assert themselves; they have developed on a very wide scale the habit of conceiving and following new ideals of justice and humanitarianism. The conflict between such opposite forces is certain to come, and the crudities so manifest in the composition of each will not deaden its shock, but complicate it. In the present election scarcely a breath of it can be heard or felt. Nevertheless there are some recognitions of its lurking menace. Such is the cautious and honeyed, although meaningless, lip-homage lavished by both parties upon labor unions.

A GREAT INDIAN.

Chief Joseph, of the Nez Perces, died Sept. 21, 1904, on the Colville Reservation in the State of Washington. The following estimate of his abilities and character is taken from an article which appeared in the Chicago Chronicle of Oct. 9.

With the passing of Chief Joseph there ended the life of one of mankind's most

honorable and worthy members. He was a man whose life's motto seemed to be, "Never wrong a friend; never forget the good that comes from true friendship." In Indian life, and in the life of the heroic, no man would provide a better example than Joseph. His resolve made in early life never to be a slave of another was lived up to until death claimed him. While others of the Nez Perces succumbed and became residents of the reservation set aside for them, Joseph and perhaps 125 of his followers continued to live in the tents of their ancestors, hunted and fished and came and went. It was beside his tepee that he died. He had a nice home, but seldom slept in it. In the forests and in his camp the habit of Joseph was to wear the blankets of his ancestors. This rule he broke only when he went to see the white father in Washington, and he did it much as a token of respect to the great men in the east whose guest he expected to become. As a rule he could not sleep in a house.

Every inch a leader and strong man, Joseph was always admired by strong men. It was the strength of Gen. Nelson A. Miles that largely led him to admire Gen. Miles. In turn, Miles, who is a strong man, always expressed a liking for Joseph. Once when a reporter called to interview Joseph he sat silent, as was his custom when confronted by strangers, until a picture of Gen. Miles was produced. Then he brightened and talked. As an outcome of the Indian wars of 1877, when he first came into contact with the fighting ability of Gen. O. O. Howard and Gen. Miles, he formed this judgment of the two generals, a judgment that he often expressed: "Miles is a fighter and Howard a Bible warrior." It was Gen. Miles who headed him off and outgeneraled him after the 1,500-mile chase following the battle with Gen. Howard's troops.

It is interesting to note that Chief Joseph was a teetotaler all his life. He would not even drink a mild wine. Only once in a great while would he smoke a cigar or a pipe. He never drank tea or coffee. Water was his drink and he said that was good enough for any man. He regretted that his people abused intoxicating liquors and always preached temperance to them.

The Nez Perces were noted for the beauty of their women and the valor of their men. When white men first went into the Rocky mountains the tribe was powerful and populous and its people inhabited the valleys of the Snake, the Salmon and the Clearwater, westward from the Bitter Root mountains. Their men were brave, their women were virtuous and their country had no superior

in all the famed valleys of the region. They were superior in many respects to most of the other tribes that roved through the northwestern country or made their homes among the mountains. Confident in their prowess and proud of their distinction, they were the undisputed masters of their realm.

Of this people Joseph was a worthy chieftain; strong, alert, intelligent, albeit haughty and disdainful at times, he was the idol of the younger element of his people and their acknowledged leader. When he led his people out of the valley that had been their home for generations, it was not to give battle to the whites, but to find a new home for his tribe, which believed that it had been treacherously dealt with by the agents of the Federal government and wrongfully deprived of the valley to which it was so strongly attached by tradition and association. The battles that occurred in this march, which has become historically famous, were not of Joseph's seeking; he had not crossed the mountains to fight the whites, but when it became necessary he and his warriors fought as Indians never fought before and never have since.

Men who had participated in the civil war and later in the wars with the Indians and in the middle west and south have given their testimony that the battle of the Big Hole was the most hotly contested field that they ever fought upon. These veterans say that they never saw such cool and determined fighting maintained so long at short range by any Indians as was carried on by these unseasoned warriors under Joseph.

And when Joseph's fight in the Big Hole was ended he took up his march down the valley, encumbered with his wounded and his women and children, heading for the British possessions, where he hoped he might find a home for his people and receive that just treatment that he felt had been denied him in this country. The history of that march is even more remarkable than the story of the battle. From a military viewpoint, this retreat is remarkable, as its course all the way lay through an enemy's country, and it was accomplished with less annoyance to the people of the State than would have resulted from a similar march by a hostile white foe. As long as he could, Joseph paid for the horses and provisions that he secured. When he could no longer do this, he took his supplies as any commander would have done. But no brutality marked the course of the Nez Perces in retreat.

When at last Joseph surrendered to Gen. Miles it was because of the suf-

fering among the women and children of his tribe, who, deprived of proper food and exposed to the chill of winter, were sick and dying. His surrender was complete; when he yielded it was with the promise that he would fight no more, and this promise he faithfully observed. In his later days, Joseph was not a disturber; he remembered his promise and he kept it; he kept it, indeed, better than many a paroled white would have done; it was lived up to in spirit as well as in letter; not only did he refrain from any attempt to make trouble himself, but his counsels were always for peace. He realized the hopelessness of a struggle with the whites and he adopted the course that seemed to him wisest.

Not all the Nez Perces engaged in the campaign with Joseph. A portion of the tribe, who were known as the "non-treaty Nez Perces," were the ones who followed Joseph, Looking Glass and White Bird on their march out of the Wallowa valley into the Bitter Root. These Indians believed truly that they had been wronged by the government agents, their chief grievance being against Gen. Howard, toward whom Joseph cherished an Indian's hatred to the day of his death.

It was the old story of a treaty obtained by questionable methods; by promises made only to be broken and by pledges given that were not intended for fulfillment. Joseph and his associates always averred that they had not been consulted in the framing of the treaty which ceded to the government the valley to which they were so strongly attached, the beautiful basin of the Wallowa, which had been the home and hunting ground of their tribe for so long. When they discovered that their rights to this land had been signed away, unknown to them, they resented the deceit and resolved that they would not submit.

But, whatever the opinion held as to the justice of the course of Joseph and as to the righteousness of his cause, there can be but one opinion regarding the man himself, whose life went out last week on his reservation home—he was the whitest Indian that ever lived.

THE REIGN OF GRAFT.

A portion of an article entitled: "The Reign of Graft and the Remedy," written for the September Arena, by Hon. Robert Baker, member of congress from the Sixth New York district.

Society should give more thought to the underlying cause of graft than to finding new obstacles to its continuance or new penalties for those who practice

it. It may be well to first ask whether its prevalence is generally recognized. To assume that it is confined to the dealings of contractors with department officials is to overlook its larger and more profitable field of operation.

Before citing some of the more flagrant instances it would be well to first ask: What is graft? In the last analysis it is the obtaining of something for nothing—through collusion.

A hint of the extent to which graft has even permeated the commercial world is indicated in the case of a buyer for a large Washington department store, who, last winter, exhibited to her friends a magnificent array of "presents" received from business houses from whom she regularly bought goods for her employers. They were all of considerable pecuniary value, while she frankly said that the donors all understood she could buy wherever she pleased. It is immaterial whether the "presents" were bribes or blackmail; either the donors or her employers were "grafted." And yet she would have waxed indignant if anyone had suggested either alternative.

A few years ago we heard much of how the wholesale dry goods merchants in New York were harried by the police when they occupied the sidewalks with their packing cases, unless they submitted to "blackmail." It certainly was blackmail for the police to collect this tribute, but those who were admittedly occupying public property without paying the city for the privilege were the real grafters; they merely divided with the police the value of monopolizing the city's streets.

There is no more reason why cases of boots and shoes, dry goods, hardware, machinery; why furniture, fruits and vegetables should be allowed for hours to occupy sidewalks to the obstruction of pedestrians, than that he who sells meals should have his restaurant on the sidewalk, or that the barber, doctor or lawyer should have their offices there. The virtuous indignation of these merchants was not due to a high conception of civic duty—against some one obtaining something for nothing, against graft per se—but was due to their no longer being permitted to retain all the value of the privileges they were preempting.

At the very time when these merchants were crying out against police blackmail, and were giving more or less open countenance to the movement to overthrow the city government, one of the wealthiest dry goods merchants made strenuous efforts to privately induce the one member of the administration who was standing like adamant in

opposition to colossal schemes of public spoliation to withdraw his opposition to a piece of wholesale graft—the abatement of the assessment for the Elm street widening. Had this high city official yielded to these blandishments this millionaire and his fellow property owners along that thoroughfare would have "grafted" the city to the extent of some \$2,000,000, probably ten times the amount that the police had obtained from the merchants who monopolized the city's sidewalks during all the years that they had bribed the police for that privilege.

In denouncing "graft" let us maintain some sense of proportion. Let our demand for punishment "fit the crime." While expressing hostility to the methods shown to have existed in the contracting department of the post office, and venting our indignation on the petty contractors and bureau chiefs, who have defrauded the people of some hundreds of thousands of dollars, let us reserve some of our condemnation for those greater criminals who through collusion with higher officials and party chiefs have taken from the treasury millions every year in excessive mail transportation payments. The graft to the railroads in the \$39,000,000 appropriated for inland railroad mail transportation is many times the total of the pickings of bureau chiefs and petty contractors. Some \$6,000,000 are also appropriated for rental of mail cars at a cost equal to the original cost of the car, many being over 20 years old and in the opinion of the railway mail clerks a constant menace to their lives.

What is it but graft, when Congressmen and Senators accept (where they do not solicit) passes and telegraph-franks—some not only asking for themselves, but constantly applying for them for friends? Their conduct is different only in degree from that of the purchasing-agent of a department who divides with the contractor the increased price charged for his goods—each uses his official position to get something for nothing. The Congressman may try to delude himself with the idea that the railroad-pass or telegraph-frank is given him as a "courtesy," but we may be sure that the railroad or telegraph company fully realizes its subtle influence even where it is not openly issued as a bribe. It must be remembered that it is not only in affirmative legislation that a legislator can render a great service to railroads and other special-privilege corporations; the statu quo is frequently as serviceable to them as legislation openly in their interest. When the ablest Judge of the Supreme