

run the government itself. The very men who would suffer the most from the enforcement of law are the ones who seem to be most troubled. They are not afraid that I will encourage lawlessness, but they know that, if I am elected, the trusts will not select the attorney general."

Mr. Roosevelt said: "There is a widespread belief among our people that under the methods of making tariff which have hitherto obtained the special interests are too influential. Probably this is true of both the big interests and the little interests. These methods have put a premium on selfishness, and naturally the selfish big interests have got more than the selfish small interests."

The democratic national platform for 1908 said: "We welcome the belated promise of tariff reform now offered by the republican party in tardy recognition of the righteousness of the democratic position on this question; but the people can not safely entrust the execution of this important work to a party which is so deeply obligated to the highly protected interests as is the republican party. We call attention to the significant fact that the promised relief was postponed until after the coming election—an election to succeed in which the republican party must have the same support from the beneficiaries of the high protective tariff as it has always heretofore received from them; and to the further fact that during years of uninterrupted power, no action whatever has been taken by the republican congress to correct the admittedly existing tariff iniquities."

Mr. Roosevelt said: "Therefore I believe in a graduated income tax on big fortunes, and in another tax, which is far more easily collected and far more effective, a graduated inheritance tax on big fortunes, properly safeguarded against evasion and increasing rapidly in amount with the size of the estate."

The democratic national platform for 1908 said: "We favor an income tax as part of our revenue system, and we urge the submission of a constitutional amendment specifically authorizing congress to levy and collect a tax upon individual and corporate incomes to the end that wealth may bear its proportionate share of the burdens of the federal government." In 1894 Mr. Bryan closed the debate on the income tax in the house of representatives and democratic speeches, editorials and platforms have been filled with demands for the income tax.

Mr. Roosevelt said: "The natural resources must be used for the benefit of all our people and not monopolized for the benefit of the few. That is one of the fundamental reasons why the special interests must be driven out of politics."

The democratic national platform for 1908 said: "The establishment of rules and regulations, if any such are necessary, in relation to free grazing lands upon the public lands outside of forest or other reservations, until the same shall eventually be disposed of, should be left to the people of the states respectively in which lands may be situated. We repeat the demand for internal development and for the conservation of our natural resources, contained in previous platforms, the enforcement of which Mr. Roosevelt has vainly sought from a reluctant party; and to that end, we insist upon the preservation, protection and replacement of needed forests, the preservation of the public domain for homeseekers, the protection of the national resources in timber, coal, iron and oil against monopolistic control, the development of our waterways for navigation and every other useful purpose, including the irrigation of arid lands, the reclamation of swamp lands, the clarification of streams, the development of water power and the preservation of electric power generated by this natural force from the control of monopoly, and to such end we urge the exercise of all powers, national, state and municipal, both separately and in co-operation. We insist upon a policy of administration of our forest reserves which shall relieve it of the abuses which have arisen thereunder and which shall, as far as practicable, conform to the police regulations of the several states where they are located, which shall enable homesteaders as of right to occupy and acquire title to all portions thereof which are especially adapted to agriculture and which shall furnish a system of timber sales available as well to the private citizen as to the larger manufacturer and consumer."

Mr. Roosevelt said: "There must remain no neutral ground to serve as a refuge for lawbreakers, and especially for lawbreakers of great wealth, who can hire the vulpine legal cunning which will teach them how to avoid both jurisdictions. It is a misfortune when the national legislature fails to do its duty in providing a national remedy, so that the only national activity is the purely negative activity of

the judiciary in forbidding the state to exercise power in the premises."

In his address before the governors' conference at the White House, Mr. Bryan said: "I am a strict constructionist, if that means to believe that federal government is one of delegated powers and that constitutional limitations should be carefully observed. I am jealous of any encroachment upon the rights of the state, believing that the states are as indestructible as the union is indissoluble. It is, however, entirely consistent with this theory to believe, as I do believe, that it is just as imperative that the general government shall discharge the duties delegated to it, as it is that the states shall exercise the powers reserved to them. There is no twilight zone between the nation and the state, in which exploiting interests can take refuge from both, and my observation is that most—not all, but most—of the contentions over the line between nation and state are traceable to predatory corporations which are trying to shield themselves from deserved punishment, or endeavoring to prevent needed restraining legislation."

Mr. Roosevelt said: "We are face to face with new conceptions of the relations of property to human welfare, chiefly because certain advocates of the rights of property as against the rights of men have been pushing their claims too far. The man who wrongly holds that every human right is secondary to his profit must now give way to the advocates of human welfare, who rightly maintains that every man holds his property subject to the general right of the community to regulate its use to whatever degree the public welfare may require it."

In his speech, delivered at Madison Square, New York, in 1906, Mr. Bryan said: "The democratic party is not the enemy of property or of property rights; it is, on the contrary, the best defender of both, because it defends human rights, and human rights are the only foundation upon which property and property rights can rest securely. The democratic party does not menace a single dollar legitimately accumulated; on the contrary, it insists upon the protection of rich and poor alike in the enjoyment of that which they have honestly earned. The democratic party does not discourage thrift, but on the contrary stimulates each individual to the highest endeavor by assuring him that he will not be deprived of the fruits of his toil. If we can but repeal the laws which enable men to reap where they have not sown—laws which enable them to garner into their overflowing barns the harvests that belong to others—no one will be able to accumulate enough to make his fortune dangerous to the country. Special privilege and the use of the taxing power for private gain—these are the twin pillars upon which plutocracy rests. To take away these supports and to elevate the beneficiaries of special legislation to the plane of honest effort ought to be the purpose of our party. And who can suffer injury by just taxation, impartial laws and the application of the Jeffersonian doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none? Only those whose accumulations are stained with dishonesty and whose immoral methods have given them a distorted view of business, of society and government. Accumulating by conscious frauds more money than they can use upon themselves, wisely distribute or safely leave to their children, these denounce as public enemies all who question their methods or throw a light upon their crimes."

Mr. Roosevelt said: "I am far from underestimating the importance of dividends, but I rank dividends below human character. I know well that the reformers must not bring upon the people economic ruin, or the reforms themselves will go down in the ruin. But we must be ready to face temporary disaster whether or not brought on by those who will war against us to the knife. Those who oppose all reform will do well to remember that ruin in its worst form is inevitable if our national life brings us nothing better than swollen fortunes for the few and the triumph in both politics and business of a sordid and selfish materialism."

In a Commoner editorial Mr. Bryan said: "The people have nothing to fear from open enemies. The man who boldly proclaims a principle, no matter what it may be, can do but little injury. No amount of intellect, learning or eloquence can make him dangerous. As Jefferson has expressed it, 'Error of opinion may be tolerated where reason is left free to combat it.' Truth grows in the open field; the sunshine nourishes and strengthens it. It is secret influence which is constantly corrupting government and securing special privileges for the few at the expense of the many. The man who

advocates a thing which he believes to be good for the people as a whole has no reason to conceal his purpose; but the man who tries to secure an advantage which he knows to be beneficial to some class or combination but hurtful to the public, naturally and necessarily employs stealth. Would the directors of a railroad company adopt and publish a resolution designating their favorite candidate for the legislature, congress, the senate or the bench? Would they candidly set forth why they wanted him and what they expected of him after they got him? And yet it is well known that railroads often take an active part in the selection of public officials. Would the directors of a trust adopt and publish a resolution naming the presidential candidate they would support and announcing the contribution they would make to the campaign fund? And yet it is certain that the trusts have in the past interested themselves in campaigns. Eternal vigilance is the price of protection against bad laws and misrule as well as the price of liberty. Since laws are made, construed and enforced by public officials, it is necessary that great care should be exercised in the selection of them in order that they, when selected, shall guard the interests of the whole people and not be the mere agents of some corporation."

Mr. Roosevelt said: "One of the fundamental necessities in a representative government such as ours is to make certain that the men to whom the people delegate their power shall serve the people by whom they are elected, and not the special interests."

In a Commoner editorial Mr. Bryan said: "There is an issue more fundamental than either the trust issue, or the tariff issue, or the railroad issue, and it is involved in all of these issues, and this larger and more fundamental issue is this: Shall the government be administered by the people in the interest of the whole people, or shall it be administered for the benefit of a few and by those whom the few, through coercion and the corruption of politics, elevate to power,—Shall the people rule is an issue which all people can understand. Shall this be a people's government or a government of syndicates, by syndicates and for syndicates? This is a question that demands attention. The trusts have made the government a government of a few, and for a few, just as the beneficiaries of the tariff have subordinated the welfare of eighty millions of people to the pecuniary interests of a comparatively few who are engaged in protected industries. The paramount issue, therefore, is the protection of all of the people who desire equal rights from the few who demand special privileges, and this issue is presented in every question which is before the public or is likely to come before the public."

"ROOSEVELT'S POLICIES"

The San Francisco Star prints the following: Sixteen years ago William Jennings Bryan mildly criticised a certain decision of the supreme court. "The interests" forthwith dubbed Bryan a vilifier of the courts and a dangerous man.

On Monday, Theodore Roosevelt, speaking at Denver, took occasion to point to a number of "unfortunate decisions," and to enter protest more strenuous and more positive than any criticism that ever Bryan uttered.

Roosevelt, a little more radical and a little less sound, has on this important question landed exactly where Bryan was a decade and a half ago. In his Denver speech, Roosevelt took up the decision in the Knight sugar trust case. Of the case the ex-president said:

"In that the supreme court of the United States, under cover of what a man whose interest is chiefly in sane constructive stewardship can only call a highly technical legal subtlety, handed down a decision which rendered it exceedingly difficult for the nation effectively to control the use of masses of corporate capital in interstate business, as the nation obviously was the sole power that could exercise this control (for it was quite beyond the power of any one state). This was really a decision rendering it exceedingly difficult for the people to devise any method of controlling and regulating the business use of great capital in interstate commerce. It was a decision nominally against national rights, but really against popular rights."

Roosevelt was scarcely less caustic in his criticism of the New York bakeshop case. The decision in this case declared unconstitutional the New York law requiring bakeshops to maintain hygienic conditions. After showing that New York state alone could deal with this problem, and that the unhygienic conditions told against the bakeshop workers as well as against