

## DEFINING THE ISSUE

Governor Wilson is rendering splendid service when he defines as clearly as he does the trust issue now before the country. He says:

"I have been reading recently some parts of several of the messages which Mr. Roosevelt sent to congress, in which he adverted to this peculiar matter when explanation concerning it was under consideration, and in almost every instance he says that the trusts have come about through the natural development of the business conditions in the United States; that it is a mistake to try to oppose the processes by which they have been built up and that therefore the only thing we can do is to accept them as inevitable arrangements and make the best of it by regulation.

"Big business is necessary and natural. The development of business upon a great scale is inevitable and, let me add, desirable. But that is a very different matter from the development of the trusts, because the trusts have not grown. They have been manufactured, and they have been manufactured not by natural processes, but by the will, the deliberate planning and will of men who were more powerful than their neighbors in the business world. I deny the claim that the trusts are inevitable. I want to urge upon every voter in this commonwealth to reject all rhetorical assertions and get down to the hardpan of thinking.

"In this zone of industry we have independent concerns, in many instances running upon veritable capital by efficiency and economy, and we also have great giants carrying, staggering under tanks of water, not based upon the efficiency, not based upon economic principles at all, not based upon the natural and inevitable processes of business, but based upon the deliberate combination of power, to see to it that competition may not be necessary and monopoly may be secured.

"Let me tell you, these gentlemen, when they cite instances across the water, are speaking in ignorance of the actual conditions across the water. There is a steel trust in Germany, but the trust is only at the bottom and not at the top. The trust is a sort of pool for the sale of the cruder forms of iron and steel, and the manufactured forms bought from this trust are manufactured by independent concerns which actively compete with one another. And already they are feeling the disadvantage, the smothering disadvantage of having to go for all their crude material to the trust at the center.

"They get their crude stuff when the men who make the crude stuff get ready to send it to them. It isn't a matter of their markets. Their markets may be crying for the manufactured product, but they have got to wait. Their convenience is subordinated to monopoly.

"I want to leave you with this thought, that no party except the democratic party ever proposes emancipation from the special favors of the tariff and the special control of the trust."

Governor Wilson is right. Legitimate corporations should BE REGULATED, but trusts should be prevented. He emphasizes a very important truth, namely, that a private monopoly is not an economic development but merely the outgrowth of powers exercised through law-made corporations.

He also speaks truly and strongly when he says that the democratic party is the only party that "proposes emancipation from the special favors of the tariff and the special control of the trusts."

His blows are telling ones.

## THE TRUST ECONOMICALLY WRONG

Louis D. Brandeis of Boston is using the pages of Collier's Weekly to combat the economic failures which are being put forth in defense of the Perkins-Roosevelt platform of accepting the trust as a permanent economic advance. This is Mr. Brandeis' summing up:

"First—No conspicuous American trust owes its existence to the desire for increased efficiency. 'Expected economies from combination' figure largely in promoters' prospectuses; but they have never been a compelling motive in the formation of any trust. On the contrary, the purpose of combining has often been to curb efficiency or even to preserve inefficiency, thus frustrating the natural law of survival of the fittest.

"Second—No conspicuously profitable trust owes its profits largely to superior efficiency. Some trusts have been very efficient, as have some independent concerns; but conspicuous profits have been secured mainly through control of the market—through the power of monopoly to fix prices—through this exercise of the taxing power.

"Third—No conspicuous trust has been effi-

cient enough to maintain long as against the independents its proportion of the business of the country without continuing to buy up, from time to time, its successful competitors.

"These three propositions are, also, true of most of the lesser trusts. If there is any exception, the explanation will, doubtless, be found in extraordinary ability on the part of the managers or unusual trade conditions.

"And this further proposition may be added: 'Fourth—Most of the trusts which did not secure monopolistic position have failed to show marked success or efficiency, as compared with independent competing concerns.'"

## ROOSEVELT ON THE TARIFF

It is only two years since Mr. Roosevelt presided at a republican convention in New York and without protest allowed the following indorsement of Mr. Taft and the Payne-Aldrich bill:

September 28, 1910—"We enthusiastically indorse the patriotic and statesmanlike leadership of William Howard Taft and declare our pride in the achievements of his first eighteen months as president of the United States. Each succeeding month since his inauguration has confirmed the nation in its high estimate of his greatness of character, intellectual ability, study, common sense, extraordinary patience and perseverance, broad and statesmanlike comprehension of public questions and unfaltering and unwavering adherence to public duty.

"The Payne tariff law reduced the average rate of all duties 11 per cent by increasing the duties on some luxuries and articles not of ordinary use, making, however, no increase on any common food product, it turned a national deficit into a surplus."

What relief can we look for from oppressive tariff taxation if Mr. Roosevelt is elected.

## A BULL MOOSE AT BAY

For a while after his nomination Mr. Roosevelt plunged around, charging everything in sight but he has at last commenced to show signs of pain—the arrows of the enemy have pierced the skin. He is explaining Mr. Perkins' support, the Harriman letter, the swallowing up of the Tennessee Coal and Iron company, and his inactivity on the trust question. His explanations do not explain but the fact that he is now on the defensive shows that he feels that he is losing ground. The rank and file of the new party are honest, earnest men and they can not, when they understand the program, indorse the Perkins-Roosevelt scheme to make trusts permanent. That may be good for Mr. Perkins' children, but it would not be good for the children of the rest of us.

## A SUDDEN SILENCE

When charged by the friends of Mr. Taft with having arbitrarily put a stop to the proposed prosecution of the harvester trust, Theodore Roosevelt replied that at the cabinet meeting in which the matter was discussed, Mr. Taft acquiesced in the president's plan and gave it support. Going further into details Mr. Roosevelt gave the date of the cabinet meeting and mentioned other subjects that were discussed. Then came the information that not only did Mr. Taft not acquiesce in the plan, and did not commend the stand taken by the president, but was, in fact, not even in Washington on the date mentioned, nor during several weeks before and after.

After which revelation Mr. Roosevelt suddenly found something else to talk about.

## MR. PERKINS' CHILDREN

The cartoonist can find an excellent theme in Mr. Roosevelt's innocent explanation that Mr. Perkins political activity is due to the latter's interest in his children. What a picture—Mr. Roosevelt carefully guarding the interests of the trust magnate's children, each child a stock holder by inheritance, but his back turned to the children of those who are the victims of the trusts! Under which flag, the flag of the trust magnate, or the flag of those who believe in equal rights to all and special privileges to none?

## WOODROW WILSON'S GREAT VICTORY

Governor Woodrow Wilson won a sweeping victory in the New Jersey primaries in his fight against the proposed nomination as United States senator of James Smith, jr. An Associated Press dispatch says that Representative Hughes, the Wilson candidate for senator received a plurality of 20,000. All honor to Governor Wilson for his splendid campaign against the system and its bosses.

## GOOD TIDINGS

Dr. Charles W. Elliot, former president of Harvard, has returned from a trip around the world with the opinion that for one reason or another neither the classes or the masses in foreign lands are partial to the idea of disarmament. The principles of peace are really growing among men as individuals. In China and Japan for instance, he noticed a strong and general desire for peace. Dr. Elliot says: "I look for a greater and grander work for The Hague tribunal from year to year, and I would be willing to prophesy that countless lives, wide-spread misery, and unknown millions of money will be saved the world by the application of the grand principles of arbitration.

"I would not be willing to come out and state broadly that the nations are taking seriously the idea of universal peace. There is a strong sentiment for it everywhere, of course, but such a sentiment is as old as the hills, and has been found more or less in all times and climes. \* \* \* Men individually all over the world do less fighting today than at any other time in the history of the world, and they have a greater and more abiding respect for the institutions of peace, the courts and legislative bodies than they ever had. This is perhaps largely because of a natural growth toward a better civilization and a higher Christianity, and not so much due to any special peace propaganda. \* \* \* Some of the leaders in various countries are sincerely devoted to the splendid principle of arbitration, and are opposed to war on various unselfish grounds, but I fear that the time is not yet here when the truly strong men—the men who are in power or who may be in power tomorrow—are unequivocally on the side of reason and humanity as opposed to the sword and savagery."

It is true, however, that the "truly strong men" do not always recognize revolutions even when they are at hand. Nor is progress entirely dependent upon them. The fact that the arbitration idea is growing in favor is an index to the advancement of the principles of peace.

Dr. Elliot's statement with respect to Japanese feeling toward Americans ought to be reproduced in every American newspaper. On this point he says:

"It is criminal for politicians, newspapers or others to give voice or lend ear to statements to the contrary. Japanese statesmen are not ordinarily willing to speak of a possible war between their country and the United States, so very absurd do they regard the idea to be. In spite of the treaty, offensive and defensive to a degree, between Great Britain and Japan, there can be no question but that the Mikado's empire, government, and people, is actuated in all things by even a friendlier feeling for us than for Great Britain. Remember, I am not saying that England or the English are disliked—that would be an untruth—but I am simply using the comparison to indicate the degree of good-will in which the American government and people are held.

"Two days before leaving Japan I was received by the emperor. \* \* \* He spoke in the friendliest terms of the United States."

## A LUCID INTERVAL

Editorial from Henry Watterson's Courier-Journal November 5, 1908: "The result shows that we oversized the spiritual and undersized the material in the hearts and minds of the people. They were deaf alike to precedents, to reason and to eloquence; for nothing could surpass, as nothing has ever equalled, the personal canvass of Mr. Bryan; its wondrous lucidity and power of statement; its splendid intellectual and physical endurance; its unanswerable argument. Nor did Ignatius of Loyola sweep through a world of incarnate evil bearing the Cross of Jesus to triumph with greater force of inspiration and truth than did the heroic son of Nebraska traverse a land gaping with curiosity, but too busy over its work and play to consider any danger to the immortal soul of its constitutional fabric.

"There is something yet better than being president of the United States, and that is the real sense of duty done. Tilden will live in history, when Hayes is forgotten, or execrated. History will say of Bryan that in three great popular movements, clouded sometimes by errors of judgment and obstructed always by corruption—as we know by insurmountable corruption—he led sublimely; that he set before his countrymen the standards alike of God and Truth; and that he went down beaten with clean hands and high repute, carrying with him the homage of patriotic men."