FULL TEXT OF BRYAN'S AND ROOSEVELT'S SPEECHES

(Continued from First Page.)

the breast of every child born into the world; the nearer we approach to this ideal, the better is our civilization. Those who complain of existing conditions cannot be put aside as disturbers of the peace. To seek a remedy for every abuse of government is more patriotic than to profit by bad systems and then frown down all criticism.

There should be no antagonism between those engaged in the various occupations, and there will be none when all recognize the mutual obligations which are due between citizens. Our desire should be not to separate the people into warring factions, but to develop wider acquaintance and greater sympathy with each other.

MASSES VS. CLASSES.

The enmity which the poor sometimes feel toward the rich and the contempt which the rich sometimes manifest toward the poor would be avoided if each knew the other better and both were content to be guided by the strict rules of justice.

The court of arbitration is one of the certainties of the future, and when it is secured and perfected we shall wonder why its coming was delayed so long.—BRYAN.

The extremes of society are really not as far apart as they appear. Those who work for wages to-day may, under a good government, be employers in a few years, and the sons of those who are employers to-day may, in a short time, be day laborers.

Since no one can save posterity from the evil 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 integrity.

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 individual horizon, increases his capacity 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 misery. 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 is increased; human life is protected in proportion as happiness is promoted.

Why should the man who eats at a well supplied table forget the man whose toil furnishes the food? Why should the man who warms himself by the fire

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forget the man whose labor in the forest or in the mine brings forth the fuel? Why should the man clad in 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 first in point of time and in point of importance. Shall the rosebud, blooming in beauty and shedding its fragrance on the air, despise the roots of the bush because they come into actual contact with the soil?

JUSTICE TO LABOR.

Destroy the bud and leave the roots and a second bud will appear, as beautiful and as fragrant as the first; but destroy the roots, and bud and bush will perish.

How can the wage-earners secure that share of the earth's bounties and the government's protection which he deserves?

The associations formed by workingmen have been productive of much good.

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 resulting organization not only enables him to contend for his rights upon terms more nearly equal, but it stimulates him to study and understand the conditions which surround him.

The labor organization has been foremost in advocating the reforms which have already been secured.

LONG STEP FORWARD.

Several years ago the secret ballot was demanded by the wage-earners for their own protection. That ballot has been obtained, and through its operations those who toil for individuals or corporations are able to protect their political rights and to use the ballot according to their own judgments. This a long step in advance.

The laboring man favors direct legislation wherever practicable, for the same reason that he favors the election of Senators by popular vote.—BRYAN.

The labor organizations have done much to lessen the evils of child labor. No one can visit the factories where children are employed without contemplating the crime which is being perpetrated upon posterity.

If there is any temporary economic advantage in the employment of children of tender age it is insignificant when measured against the permanent injury done to the 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 given 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.

FOR SHORTER HOURS.

Since the hours occupied in eating and travel cannot be encroached upon, every hour added to the day's labor must be taken from the time for 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 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 prolonged contest between labor and capital brings interruptions to business and peculiar loss to those who are in no way responsible for the disagreement, society in general is even more interested than employers or employees.

The desire for justice is so universal that the public can be depended upon to support the finding of an impartial board of arbitration as certainly as it can to support the successful contestant in a lawsuit.

The court of arbitration is one of the certainties of the future, and when it is secured and perfected we shall wonder why its coming was delayed so long.

The blacklist, by means of which employers combine to deprive the discharged workman of reemployment, is one of the more recent menaces to the laboring man. The independence of the wage-earner decreases as the difficulty of obtaining employment increases, and the skilled workman, whose life has been spent in acquiring efficiency in a certain trade or occupation, becomes practically the chattel of the employer if every opportunity to make use of his experience is closed by agreement between employers.

The laboring man is also interested in legislation prohibiting Oriental immigration. It is unfair to the American workman, who 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 having his occupation given to an Oriental laborer, often brought in by contract, who has no permanent interest in our government.

ASIATIC DANGERS.

If the Asiatics come here, work for a few years, live on a lower scale, and then carry home the net proceeds of their toil, the drain upon our money supply will be similar to that caused by the absentee landlordism in other countries.

The political objections to Oriental labor are scarcely less weighty than the economic one. Race prejudice cannot be disregarded, and we have seen how, in every industrial depression, race animosities result in riot and bloodshed.

Labor should not cease its efforts until the eight-hour day is secured. Ample time should be given to eat, to read and for social intercourse.—BRYAN.

We cannot afford to bring into this country those who cannot amalgamate with our people.

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 to feel its effects, the principle which underlies government by injunction is so far-reaching that no one can hope to escape ultimately.

JUDGES USURP POWER.

The thing forbidden by an injunction would, without the injunction, be either legal or illegal. If it would be legal, the judge usurps the function of the legislature when he forbids it. If it would be illegal the injunction of the court is unnecessary, for any one who violates the law can, upon conviction, be made to suffer the penalties prescribed for such violation.

The meanest thief and the most brutal murderer are entitled to trial by jury, why should this right be denied the laboring man?

Those who oppose government by injunction are not in favor of lawlessness; they are, on the contrary, the best friends of law and order.

Those deny the right of any man to violate the law in an effort to advance his own interest, but they insist that it is inconsistent with our ideas of government and dangerous to all classes to invest any judge with the three-fold power—first, to make the law; second, to bring accusation against those charged with the violation of the laws, and, third, to sit in judgment upon the case.

Government by injunction is so indefensible that the anti-injunction bill indorsed by the Chicago platform passed the Senate without a yea and nay vote being demanded, and since that time no party platform has specifically indorsed government by injunction, and no prominent member of any party has entered upon a defense of the system; and yet corporate influence is so strong that it has thus far been impossible to secure any remedial legislation.

If the Asiatics come here, work for a few years, live on a lower scale, and then carry home the net proceeds of their toil, the drain upon our money supply will be similar to that caused by the absentee landlordism in other countries.—BRYAN.

The fact that United States Senators are elected by legislatures rather than by the people directly lessens the laboring man's influence in securing Federal legislation.

SENATE SEATS BOUGHT.

When the action of a political convention must be submitted to the voters for ratification at the polls, the convention is constrained to nominate a candidate acceptable to the people, but when a Senator is chosen by a Legislature the individual voter is far less considered. Even when direct bribery is not employed, the indirect influence which corporations can exert is resorted to, and, more frequently still, money is secretly used to add legislative candidates in close districts. Such obligations are usually repaid in the caucus, and, as a rule, the majority in the caucus controls the party which has the selection of the Senator.

If this question was submitted to the voters the majority in favor of the election of Senators by direct vote of the people would be overwhelming, and yet partisanship has delayed the adoption of this amendment. The people submit to policies which they do not like rather than secure improvement by a change in party affiliations.

The laboring man favors direct legislation wherever practicable for the same reason that he favors the election of Senators by popular vote.

Direct legislation brings the government closer to the voter. There is more virtue in the people than ever finds expression through their representatives. To hold that a representative can act for the people better than they can act 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 combined wisdom of a majority of the people.

VOTERS SHOULD DECIDE.

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 personal interests at variance with the interests of his constituency. Corruption in municipal, State and Federal governments is due to the misrepresentation of the people by public servants who use their positions for private advantage. The people should have an opportunity to vote on public questions when those questions can be submitted without too great inconvenience or expense.

But the laboring man is even more interested in the proposition to establish a Labor Bureau, with a Cabinet officer at its head. Such a bureau would keep the Executive in constant touch with the wage-earners of the country, and open the way to the redress of their present and future grievances.

If labor is given a place in the President's official household, the man selected will necessarily be a worthy and trusted representative of the people for whom he speaks, and his presence at Cabinet meetings will give to those who toil for their daily bread assurance that their interests will be properly guarded.

GOV. ROOSEVELT.

LABOR AGAINST GOLD.

Mr. Gompers, the chief executive of the Federation of Labor, has, 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 bank currency that it is not necessary to discuss the questions at this time.

The laboring man has abundant reasons to fear the trusts. Mr. Charles R. Flint, in a speech delivered in Boston more than a year ago in defence of the trusts, frankly asserts that one of the advantages of these combinations is that in case of local strike or fire the work goes on elsewhere, thus preventing serious loss." Is it possible that the wage-earner can fail to see how completely the trust places the employee at the mercy of the employer?

Monarchy itself is sometimes hinted at as a possible refuge from the power of the people. In my present position I could scarcely be justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism.—BRYAN.

The resolutions adopted by various labor organizations a condemnation of militarism and imperialism fully one in making a brief reference to those questions. No class contributes more than the labor class in proportion to its members to the rank and file of the army; no class contributes more in proportion to its numbers to the expense of the army, and no class is more menaced by the existence of a large army.

Most of the countries in Europe which maintain large military establishments collect an income tax, which adjusts the burden of the government to the income of the citizen.

WRONG TAX SYSTEM.

Here our Federal taxes are largely collected upon consumption, and while they are income taxes in the sense that they must be paid out of the incomes of the people, yet the exactions are not proportionate to the incomes.

The taxes upon consumption bear heavily upon the poor and lightest upon 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 ready means of correcting all abuses, the government will not need to be supported by a large permanent army for every citizen will be ready to defend such a government from attack.

The only domestic use for a large standing army is to suppress by force that discontent which should be cured by legislation.

To support a permanent army of 100,000 men requires approximately one-half as much as money as is annually expended for education in the United States.

How much cheaper it is to uplift people by the gentle and peaceful process of intellectual development than to blow them up with powder and dynamite.

Imperialism involves a departure from principles which were universally accepted in this country until within two years.

ALL MEN ARE EQUAL.

To know that all men are created equal one needs not the wisdom of a stage or the learning of the schools. It was declared to be a self-evident truth. It was evident to those who pledged their lives to the maintenance of the Declaration of Independence, and it is evident still to those who are not blinded by the clamour of wealth and the glittering promises of a colonial system.

If all men are created equal and endowed with inalienable rights, it follows as a logical and necessary sequence that governments were instituted for 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.

Do not allow yourself to be deceived by those who question the capacity of this people or that people for self-government.

Macaulay, in his essay on John Milton, points out the folly of attempting to prepare people for self-government by denying them the right to participate in their own government. He said:

FREEDOM A RIGHT.

"Many politicians of our time are in the habit of laying it down as a self-evident proposition that no people ought to be free until they are fit to use their freedom. The maxim is worthy of the fool in the old story who resolved not to go into the water till he had learned to swim. If men are to wait for liberty till they become wise and good in slavery, they may indeed wait forever."

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 deliberately 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 justified were I to omit raising a warning voice against this approach of returning despotism. It is not to be expected for a moment that a general argument should be made in favor of popular institutions, but there is one point with its connections not so hackneyed as most others, to which I ask brief attention.

"It is the effort to place capital on an equal footing, if not above, labor in the structure of the government. * * *

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty; none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not rightfully earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them till all of liberty shall be lost."

The warning is even more needed now than it was forty years ago. The Army and Navy Journal is already justifying the colonial idea, 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 subjects according to his own pleasure.

PROGRESS OF AMERICA.

The United States Investor, published at Boston, in its issue of July says:

"Only a blind person can fail to see that remarkable transformations of one kind or another are in progress of the race, hence the folly of asserting that the policy of this country, which is destined to play such a leading part in the affairs of the future, is still governed for the most part by political maxims uttered more than a hundred years ago."

The greatest evil which now confronts the republic is the claim raised by a certain faction for a settlement of our problems of state by just such a method as we have been deprecating.

Considerably more than a century ago a certain notable declaration was made in this country to the effect that all men ought to be free and independent. This is merely a generalization of the French school of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists. It is a dream absolutely lacking foundation in history and incapable of syllogistic justification. It was, however, a handy phrase for us to employ when asserting our right to break away from the mother country; it suited the exigencies of our situation. In 1776 admirable, though in itself but a bit of sublimated demagogism.

The declaration was a serviceable means to the end that was at that time desired. To bring forward this declaration in this year 1900 in connection with our treatment of the Filipinos and Cubans is as gross an absurdity as ever was practised. To do so is to offer an insult to the intelligence of the people who first subscribed to the Declaration in question.

INJUSTICE TO COLONIES.

But why quote from newspapers as to what may be done hereafter in the presence of a law already enacted which makes subjects out of Porto Ricans, withdraws from them the guaranties 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.

ROOSEVELT'S SPEECH.

Text of the Labor Day Address Made by the Republican Vice-Presidential Nominee.

CHICAGO, Sept. 3.—Gov. Theodore Roosevelt, of New York, the Republican nominee for Vice-President of the United States, made the following address on Labor day:

"By far the greatest problem, the most far-reaching in its stupendous importance, is that problem, or rather that group of problems, which we have grown to speak of as the labor question. It must be always a peculiar privilege for any thoughtful public man to address a body of men predominantly composed of wage workers, for the foundation of our whole social structure rests upon the material and moral well being, the intelligence, the foresight, the sanity the sense of duty and the wholesome patriotism of the wage worker.

"This is doubly the case now, for in addition to each man's individual action, you have learned the great lesson of acting in combination. It would be impossible to overestimate the far-reaching influence of and on the whole the amount of good done through your association.

WILLIAM J. BRYAN.
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AGAINST DEMAGOGY.

"In addressing you the one thing that I wish to avoid is any mere glittering generality, any mere high-sounding phraseology, and, above all, any appeal whatsoever made in a demagogic spirit, or in a spirit of mere emotionalism. When we come to dealing with our social and industrial needs, remedies, rights and wrongs a ton of oratory is not worth an ounce of hard-headed, kindly common sense.

There is no need of envying the idle. Ordinarily, we can afford to treat them with impatient contempt for when they fail to do their duty they fail to get from life the highest and keenest pleasure that life can give.—ROOSEVELT.

"The fundamental law of healthy political life in this great republic is that each man shall in deed and not merely in word be treated strictly on his worth as a man; that each shall do full justice to his fellow, and in return shall exact full justice from him. Each group of men has its special interests, and yet the higher, the broader and deeper interests are those which apply to all men alike, for the spirit of brotherhood in American citizenship, when rightly understood and rightly applied, is more important than aught else.

GIVE EACH HIS DUE.

"Let us scrupulously guard the special interests of the wage-worker, the farmer, the manufacturer and the merchant, giving to each man his due and also seeing that he does not wrong his fellows; but let us keep ever clearly before our minds the great fact that where the deepest chords are touched the interests of all are alike and must be guarded alike.

"We must beware of any attempt to make hatred in any form the basis of action. Most emphatically each of us needs to stand up for his own rights; all men and all groups of men are bound to retain their self-respect, and demanding the same respect from others to see that they are not injured, and that they have secured to them the fullest liberty of thought and action. But to feed fat a grudge against others, while it may or may not harm them, is sure in the long run to do infinite harm to the man himself.

The one fact which all of us need to keep steadily before our eyes is the need that performance should square with promise if good work is to be done, whether in the industrial or in the political world.—ROOSEVELT.

"The more a healthy American sees of one's fellow-Americans the greater grows his conviction that our chief troubles come from mutual misunderstanding, from failure to appreciate one another's point of view. In other words, the great need is fellow feeling, sympathy, brotherhood, and all this naturally comes by association. It is, therefore, of vital importance that there should be such association.

SAME RED BLOOD.

"The most serious disadvantage to city life is the tendency of each man to keep isolated in his own little set, and to look upon the vast majority of his fellow-citizens indifferently, so that he soon comes to forget that they have the same red blood, the same love and hate, the same likes and dislikes, the same desire for good and the same perpetual tendency, ever needing to be checked and corrected, to lapse from good into evil.

"If only our people can be thrown together where they act on a common ground with the same motives and have the same objects, we need not have such fear of their failing to acquire a general respect for one another, and with such respect there must finally come fair play for all.

"The first time I ever labored alongside of and was thrown into intimate companionship with men who were mighty men of their hands, was in the cattle country of the northwest. I soon grew to have an immense liking and respect for my associates, and as I knew them, and did not know similar workers in other parts of the country, it seemed to me that the ranch owner was a great deal better than any eastern business man and that the cow-puncher stood on a corresponding latitude compared to any of his brethren in the East.

HE LOVES LABOR.

"Well, after a little while I got thrown into close relations with the farmers, and it did not take long before I had moved them up alongside of my beloved men, and made up my mind that they really formed the backbone of the land. Then, because of certain circumstances, I was thrown into intimate contact with railroad men, and I gradually came to the conclusion that these railroad men were about the finest citizens there were anywhere around.

"Then, in the course of some official work I was thrown into close contact with a number of carpenters, blacksmiths and men in the building trades—that is, skilled mechanics of a high order—and it was not long before I had them on the same pedestal with the others. By that time it began to dawn upon me that the difference was not in the men, but in my own point of view, and that if any man is thrown into contact with any large body of his fellow citizens it is apt to be the man's own fault if he does not grow to feel for them a very hearty regard, and, moreover, grow to understand that on the great questions that lie at the root of human well-being he and they feel alike.

"Our prime need as a nation is that every American should understand and work with his fellow citizens, getting in touch with them, so that by actual contact he may learn that fundamentally he and they have the same interests, needs and aspirations.

WORK TOGETHER.

"Of course different sections of the community have different needs. The gravest questions that are before us, the questions that are for all time, affect us all alike. But there are separate needs which affect separate groups of men, just as there are separate needs which affect each individual man. It is just as unwise to forget the one fact as it is to forget the other.

"The specialization of our modern industrial life, its high development and complex character, means a corresponding specialization in needs and interests. While we should, so long as we can safely do so, give to each individual the largest possible liberty, a liberty which necessarily includes initiative and responsibility, yet we must not hesitate to interfere whenever it is clearly seen that harm comes from excessive individualism. We cannot afford to be simplistic one way or the other.

"In the country districts the surroundings are such that man can usually work out his own fate by himself to the best advantage. In our cities, or where men congregate in masses, it is often necessary to work in combination, that is, through associations; and here it is that we see the great good conferred by labor organizations, by trades unions. Of course, if managed unwisely the very power of such a union or organization makes it capable of doing much harm; but on the whole it would be hard to overestimate the good these organizations have done in the past, and still harder to estimate the good they can do in the future if handled with resolution, forethought, honesty and sanity.

WHERE STATE STEPS IN.

"It is not possible to lay down a hard and fast rule, logically perfect, as to when the State shall and when the individual shall be left unhampered and unhelped.

"We have exactly the same right to regulate the conditions of life and work in factories and tenement-houses that we have to regulate fire-escapes and the like in other houses. In certain communities the existence of a thoroughly efficient department of factory inspection is just as essential as the establishment of a fire department.

"How far we shall go in regulating the hours of labor or the liabilities of employers is a matter of expediency, and each case must be determined on its own merits, exactly as it is a matter of expediency to determine what so-called 'public utilities' the community shall itself own and what ones it shall leave to private or corporate ownership, securing to itself merely the right to regulate. Sometimes one course is expedient, sometimes the other.

"In my own State during the last half dozen years we have made a number of notable strides in labor legislation, and, with very few exceptions, the laws have worked well. This is, of course, partly because we have not tried to do too much and have proceeded cautiously, feeling our way, while always advancing, yet taking each step in advance only when we were satisfied that the step already taken was in the right direction. To invite reaction by unregulated zeal is never wise, and is sometimes fatal.

WHAT NEW YORK DOES.

"In New York our action has been along two lines. In the first place we determined that as an employer of labor the State should set a good example to other employers. We do not intend to permit the people's money to be squandered or to tolerate any work that is not of the best. But we think that while rigidly insisting upon good work we should see that there is fair play in return.

"Accordingly, we have adopted an eight-hour law for the State employes and for all contractors who do State work, and we have also adopted a law requiring that the fair market rate of wages shall be given. I am glad to say that both measures have so far on the whole worked well. Of course, there have been individual difficulties, mostly where the work is intermittent, as, for instance, among lock tenders on the canals, where it is very difficult to define what eight hours' work means. But on the whole the result has been good.

"The practical experiment of working men for eight hours has been advantageous to the State. Poor work is always dear, whether poorly paid or not, and good work is always well worth having, and as a mere question of expediency, aside even from the question of humanity, we find that we can obtain the best work by paying fair wages and permitting the work to go on only for a reasonable time.

"The other side of our labor legislation has been that affecting the wage workers who do not work for the State. Here we have acted in three different ways: Through the Bureau of Labor Statistics, through the Board of Mediation and Arbitration and through the Department of Factory Inspection.

SUCCESS OF MEDIATION.

"During the last two years the Board of Mediation and Arbitration has been especially successful. Not only have they succeeded in settling many strikes after they were started, but they have succeeded in preventing a much larger number of strikes before they got fairly under way. Where possible, it is always better to mediate before the strike begins, than to try to arbitrate when the fight is on and both sides have grown stubborn and bitter.

"The Bureau of Labor Statistics has done more than merely gather the statistics, for by keeping in close touch with all the leading labor interests it has kept them informed on countless matters that were really of vital concern to them. Incidentally, one pleasing feature of the work of this Bureau has been the steady upward tendency shown during the last four years both in the amount of wages received and in the quantity and steadiness of employment. No other man has benefited so much as the wage worker by the growth in prosperity during these years.

"The Factory Inspection Department deals chiefly, of course, with conditions in great cities. One very important phase of its work during the last two years has been the enforcement of the Anti-Sweat Shop law, which is primarily designed to do away with the tenement-house factory.

HELPING CITY POOR.

"The conditions of life in some of the congested tenement-house districts, notably in New York City, had become such as to demand action by the State. As with other reforms, in order to make it stable and permanent, it had to be gradual. It proceeded by evolution, not revolution. But progress has been steady, and wherever needed it has been radical. Much remains to be done, but the condition of the dwellers in the congested districts has been markedly improved, to the great benefit not only of themselves but of the whole community.

You men here in the West have built up this country not by seeking to avoid work but by doing it well; not by flinching from every difficulty, but by triumphing over each as it arose and making out of it a stepping-stone to further triumph.—ROOSEVELT.

"A word on the general question. In the first place, in addressing an audience like this I do not have to say that the law of life is work, and that work in itself so far from being any hardship, is a blessing, provided always it is carried on under conditions which preserve a man's self-respect, and which allow him to develop his own character and rear his children so that he and they, as well as the whole community of which he and they are part, may steadily move onward and upward.

"The idler, rich or poor, is at best a useless, and is generally a noxious member of the community. To whom much has been given from him much is rightfully expected, and a heavy burden of responsibility rests upon the man of means to justify by his actions the social conditions which have rendered it possible for him or his forefathers to accumulate and to keep the property he enjoys. He is not to be excused if he does not render full measure of service to the State and to the community at large.

"There are many ways in which this service can be rendered: in art, in literature, in philanthropy, as a statesman or as a soldier; but in some way he is in honor bound to render it, so that benefit may accrue to his brethren who have been less favored by fortune than he has been.

"In short, he must work and work not only for himself but for others. If he does not work he fails not only in his duty to the rest of the community but he fails signally in his duty to himself. There is no need of envying the idle. Ordinarily, we can afford to treat them with impatient contempt; for when they fail to do their duty they fail to get from life the highest and keenest pleasure that life can give.

DUTIES OF LABOR.

"To do our duty; that is the summing up of the whole matter. We must do our duty by ourselves and we must do our duty by our neighbors. Every good citizen, whatever his condition, owes his first service to those who are nearest to him, who are dependent upon him, to his wife and children; next he owes his duty to his fellow citizens; and this is the duty he must perform both to his individual neighbor and to the State, which is simply a form of expression for all his neighbors combined.

"He must keep his self-respect and exact the respect of others. It is eminently wise and proper to strive for such leisure in our lives as will give a chance for self-improvement; but woe to the man who seeks, or trains up his children to seek, idleness instead of the chance to do good work. No worse wrong can be done by a man to his children than to teach them to go through life endeavoring to shirk difficulties instead of meeting them and overcoming them.

"You men here in the West have built up this country not by seeking to avoid work, but by doing it well; not by flinching from every difficulty, but by triumphing over each as it arose and making out of it a stepping stone to further triumph.

"We must all learn the two lessons—the lesson of self-help and the lesson of giving help to and receiving help from our brother. There is not a man of us who does not sometimes slip, who does not sometimes need a helping hand; and woe to him who, when the chance comes, fails to stretch out that helping hand. Yet, though each man can and ought thus to be helped at times, he is lost beyond redemption if he becomes so dependent upon outside help that he feels that his own exertions are secondary.

"Any man at times will stumble, and it is then our duty to lift him up and set him on his feet again; but no man can be permanently carried, for if he expects to be carried, he shows that he is not worth carrying.

SEES VAST PROBLEMS.

"Before us loom industrial problems vast in their importance and their complexity. The last half century has been one of extraordinary social and industrial development. The changes have been far-reaching, some of them for good and some of them for evil. It is not given to the wisest of us to see into the future with absolute clearness. No man can be certain that he has found the entire solution of this infinitely great and intricate problem, and yet each man of us if he would do his duty must strive manfully so far as in him lies to help bring about that solution.

"It is not as yet possible to say what shall be the exact limit of influence allowed the State or what limit shall be set to that right of individual initiative so dear to the hearts of the American people. All we can say is that the need has been shown on the one hand for action by the people in their collective capacity through the State in many matters; that in other matters much can be done by associations of different groups of individuals, as in trades unions and similar organizations, and that in other matters it remains now as true as ever that final success will be for the man who trusts in the struggle only to his cool head, his brave heart and his strong right arm. There are spheres in which the State can properly act and spheres in which a comparatively free field must be given to individual initiative.

MAKE A STANDARD.

"Though the conditions of life have grown so puzzling in their complexity, though the changes have been so vast, yet we may remain absolutely sure of one thing—that now, as ever in the past, and as it ever will be in the future, there can be no substitute for the elemental virtues, for the elemental qualities to which we allude when we speak of a man as not only a good man but as emphatically a man.

"We can build up the standard of individual citizenship and individual well-being; we can raise the national standard and make it what it can and shall be only as each of us steadfastly keeping in mind that there can be no substitute for the world-old, humdrum, commonplace qualities of truth, justice and courage, thrift, industry, common sense and genuine sympathy with and fellow-feeling for others.

"The nation is the aggregate of the individuals composing it, and each individual American ever raises the nation higher when he so conducts himself as to wrong no man, as to suffer no wrong from others, and as to show both his sturdy capacity for self-help and his readiness to extend a helping hand to the neighbor sinking under a burden too heavy for him to bear.

"The one fact which all of us need to keep steadily before our eyes is the need that performance should square with promise if good work is to be done, whether in the industrial or in the political world. Nothing does more to prompt mental dishonesty and moral insincerity than the habit either of promising the impossible or of demanding the performance of the impossible, or finally of failing to keep a promise that has been made; and it makes not the slightest difference whether it is a promise made on the stump or off the stump.

"Remember that there are two sides to the wrong thus committed. There is first the wrong of failing to keep a promise made, and in the next place there is the wrong of demanding the impossible and therefore forcing or permitting weak or unscrupulous men to make a promise which they either know or should know cannot be kept.

"No small part of our troubles in dealing with many of the greatest social questions such as the so-called labor question, the trust question and others like them, arise from these two attitudes. We can do a great deal when we undertake soberly to do the possible. When we undertake to do the impossible we too often fail to do anything at all.

"The success of the law for the taxation of franchises recently enacted in New York State, a measure which has resulted in putting upon the assessment books nearly $200,000,000 worth of property which had theretofore escaped taxation, is an illustration of how much can be accomplished when effort is made along sane and sober lines, with care not to promise the impossible, but to make performance square with promise and with insistence on the fact that honesty is never one sided and that in dealing with corporations it is necessary both to do to them and to exact from them full and complete justice.

"The success of this effort made in a resolute but also a temperate and reasonable spirit shows what can be done when such a problem is approached in a sound and healthy manner. It offers a striking contrast to the complete breakdown of the species of crude and violent anti-trust legislation which has been so often attempted and which has always failed because of its very crudeness and violence to make any impression upon the real and dangerous evils which have excited just popular resentment.

NOT A PREACHER.

"I thank you for listening to me. I have come here to-day not to preach to you, but partly to tell you how these matters look and seem to me, and partly to set forth certain facts which seem to me to show the essential community that there is among all of us who strive in good faith to do our duty as American citizens.

"No man can do his duty who does not work, and the work may take many different shapes, mental and physical; but of this you can rest assured that this work can be done well for the nation only when each of us approaches his separate task not only with the determination to do it, but with the knowledge that his fellow when he in his turn does his task has fundamentally the same rights and the same duties, and that while each must work for himself yet each must also work for the common welfare of all.

"On the whole, we shall all go up or go down together. Some may go up or go down further than others, but disregarding special exceptions the rule is that all must have to share in common something of whatever adversity or whatever prosperity is in store for the nation as a whole. In the long run each section of the community will rise or fail as the community rises or falls.

IF HARD TIMES COME.

"If hard times come to the nation, whether as the result of natural causes or because they are invited by our own folly, all of us will suffer. Certain of us will suffer more and others less, but all will suffer somewhat. If, on the other hand, Providence and our own energy and good sense bring prosperity to us all, all share in that prosperity.

"We will not all share alike, but something each one of us will get. Let us strive to make the conditions of life such that as nearly as possible each man shall receive the share to which he is honestly entitled and no more, and let us remember at the same time that our efforts must be to build up rather than to strike down, and that we can best help ourselves not at the expense of others, but by heartily working with them for the common good of each and all."

FRIENDS HELP.

St. Paul Park Incident.

"After drinking a cup and a half of coffee once a day I always felt languid and dull, having no ambition to get to my morning's duties. Then in about an hour or so a weak, nervous derangement of the heart and stomach would come over me with such force I would frequently have to lie down.

"At other times I had severe headaches; stomach finally became affected and digestion so impaired that I had serious chronic dyspepsia and constipation. Mrs. H. A. Hober, for many years State President of the W. C. T. U., a personal friend, told me she had been greatly benefited by quitting coffee and using Postum Food Coffee; she was troubled for years with asthma. She said it was no cross to quit coffee when she found she could have as delicious an article as Postum Food Coffee.

"Another lady, Mrs. Mary Baker, of Red Wing, Minn., had been troubled with chronic dyspepsia for years and found immediate relief on ceasing coffee and beginning Postum Food Coffee twice a day. She was wholly cured. Mrs. Judge Stocker, of Minneapolis, told me that Postum Food Coffee was a godsend to her, her heart trouble having been relieved after leaving off coffee and taking Postum Food Coffee.

"So many such cases came to my notice that I concluded coffee was the cause of my trouble, and I quit and took up Postum. I am more than pleased to say that my days of trouble have disappeared. I am well and happy." Mrs. Mary Harrington, St. Paul Park, Minn.