OCTOBER 11, 1907

in other lands enjoy, they have a just claim to still better conditions.

They are now endeavoring to secure the eight-hour day and they are entitled to it; they have not secured their share of the benefits which the improved machine has brought to the world. The productive power of man has been vastly increased, and it is only fair that those who operate the machine should have more leisure to prepare themselves for the responsibilities of their more advanced position. The home has claims upon the breadwinner; society needs him and the government has .. right to expect his intelligent co-operation. He can not fill the position to which he is entitled, or discharge the duties which devolve upon him, if his entire time is occupied by labor, sleep, eating and traveling to and from his work.

It is not a sufficient answer to his demand to say that some of the leisure hours will be misused. Those who are so exercised by the fear that the wage earner may not wisely employ the time given him by shorter hours are not, as a rule, disturbed by the fact that the leisure classes waste a good deal of time. Until shorter working hours are secured there is no way of determining what use will be made of them; when they are secured, the same influences that have already improved the ideals and the condition of those who toil may be counted upon to put the extra hours to a use which will be elevating.

A second need of the laboring man today is protection from the writ of injunction under which he is denied the right of trial by jury. While this is not resorted to in many cases and while comparatively few have personally felt the harshness of the wrif, it is a menace to all. The jury is so sacred an institution that its protection can not be denied to any thief, no matter how often he has been convicted; it is surprising that it can be denied to a laboring man without arousing instant and universal protest.

But the greatest need of the laboring man in this country at this time is arbitration, for this would enable him to secure the shorter hours for which he contends and would prevent the strikes which have brought the writ of injunction into use. There is no more reason why the laboring man should be left to enforce his contentions by an idleness that throws the burden upon himself and his family than there would be for a return to the wager of battle as a means of settling lawsuits. While improved machinery has increased the number of workers and raised the grade of their employment it has also brought about conditions under which the superintendent is so far removed from the individual worker that the personal relationship is greatly weakened. Justice must, therefore, be secured by a resort to some impartial court. It is not necessary that the finding of the board shall be binding upon the parties to the dispute. If there is compulsory investigation at the request of either party public opinion may be relied upon to enforce the conclusion reached by the arbitrators. The president has recently called attention to the importance of this subject, and, as the democratic party has in three national platforms urged the importance of arbitration, there is reason to hope that it is near at hand. But the needs before mentioned, viz., a shorter day, arbitration and protection from gov-" ernment by injunction, are but means to an end, and the end sought is the more equitable distribution of the wealth produced. There has been a wonderful increase in the production in every department of labor; the strength of the human arm has been multiplied many times-in some occupations many hundred times-by the introduction of machinery, but the man at the machine does not secure his share of the product. The economic problem of today is the re-adjustment of rewards. Prince Bismarck, in addressing an agricultural audience, once said that it was necessary for the farmers to stand together and protect themselves from the "drones of society who produce nothing but laws." The same may be said of the wage earners of the cities. The wealth producers of America, on the farm and in the factory, create the nation's wealth in time of peace and defend the nation's flag in time of war, and yet they do not enjoy the same degree of prosperity as the non-producing class. The laws have permitted the creation of an exploiting element, and this element has grown rich at the expense of the general public.

The Commoner.

in this country; there is constant passage from one occupation to another and from one grade of labor to a higher or lower grade. The son of the wage earner of today may be a lawyer of position or minister of the gospel; the son of the professional man or merchant may become an artisan or a farmer, and any one in any of the occupations or professions may aspire to the highest position in the state. Some one has said that there are not usually more than three generations between shirt sleeves and shirt sleeves-the first generation making the money, the second generation spending it and the third generation returning to manual labor. In such a country, and under such conditions, each person has a family interest in obliterating distinctions of rank and class and in establishing intimate and friendly relations between all.

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"ALREADY HERE?"

In his St. Louis speech Mr. Roosevelt said: "My plea is not to BRING ABOUT a condition of centralization; it is that the government shall recognize a condition of centralization in a field where it ALREADY EXISTS."

Mr. Roosevelt is mistaken. Whatever practical relief the people have obtained, has come either directly through the state or through the state's initiative. Mr. Roosevelt tells the people that they have already surrendered the power over these great corporations, but Mr. Roosevelt and his party are yet to hear from the people on this question and the American democracy will cheerfully meet them upon that line of battle in the great contest of 1908.

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A HINT TO CLEVELAND

'the Chicago Record-Herald says: "We can not afford to lose an inch of the ground we have wrested from irrelevant partisanship and spoils in the strenuous fight for good municipal government."

And that is about the view the people of Cleveland, Ohio, will take when they are asked to replace Tom L. Johnson, a faithful and capable mayor, with a gentleman who has not manifested any particular concern in municipal reform, but who is a candidate for mayor in order that the interests of a particular political machine may be advanced.

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CORPORATIONS MAY CHOOSE

At St. Louis Mr. Roosevelt said: "The chief economic question of the day in this country is to provide a sovereign for the great corporations engaged in interstate business; that is for the railroads and the interstate industrial corporations." to say, but if it does, there is already an immense amount of material on hand for its discussion.

St. Louis Republic—The Nebraska democratic platform is good enough to win on. Its declarations against centralization, monopolies and robber tariff were expected of a convention which indorsed Nebraska's foremost citizen.

Democrat-Chronicle, Des Moines, Ia.—There is nothing wild-eyed about any of this platform (the Nebraska platform). Republicans will have hard work convincing themselves that there is a single plank in it that is not good. We endorse unequivocally every word of it and will do all that lies in our power to shape it into the national platform and then into legislation.

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HERE IS A PLAN

If Mr. Roosevelt should conclude to submit his centralization proposition to the American people rather than trust it to what he calls "the spirit of broad interpretation"—which means that the courts would interpret the very life out of our system of government—he will find the issue well stated—so far as his opponents are concerned—in the memorial address to congress by the attorneys general in session at St. Louis. That memorial follows:

Whereas, The efficient administration as well as the preservation of our dual system of government requires that each sovereignty be permitted to exercise its function as defined by the federal constitution unhampered by the other; therefore be it

Resolved, By the convention of attorneys general of the several states here assembled, that we earnestly recommend to the favorable consideration of the president and the congress of the United States the epactment of a federal law providing that no circuit court of the United States or any judge exercising powers of such circuit courts shall have jurisdiction in any case brought to restrain any officers of a state or any administrative board or a state from instituting in a state court any suit or other appropriate proceeding to enforce the laws of such state or to enforce any order, made by such administrative board, but allowing any person or corporation asserting in any such action in a state court any right arising under the constitution or any laws of the United States to have the decision for the highest court of such state reviewed by the supreme court of the United States as now provided by law.

We also recommend that suits in federal circuit courts by persons interested in corporations to restrain such corporations from obeying the laws of states in which they are doing business be prohibited.

The settlement of labor questions should not be left to the laboring men alone, for the whole society is interested in every question which concerns those who are engaged in manual labor. There are no fixed classes and castes And whether the president means it or not he declares in favor of permitting these great corporations to choose the king under whom they shall serve.

Mr. Roosevelt's strongest supporters in the effort to take all power from the state and centralize it at Washington will be the railroad and trust magnates who have for so many years imposed upon the people.

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DID NOT BUY IMMUNITY

Commenting upon the fact that Mr. Harriman and others raised a campaign fund of \$260,-000 for New York during the 1904 campaign, the Wall Street Journal says: "Perhaps the contributors to that fund believed they were buying something. It is quite evident, however, that they did not get anything. They certainly secured no immunity against government prosecution."

But is that fact a compliment to the administration which profited by their contributions? Why, then, did they give up their money?

THE NEBRASKA PLATFORM

The New York Evening Post-The Nebraska democratic platform, which Mr. Bryan himself is supposed to have drafted, expresses the "While we favor the issue most felicitously: exercise by the general government of all its constitutional authority for the prevention of monopoly and for the regulation of interstate commerce, we insist that federal remedies shall be added to, and not substituted for, state remedies." Neither parties nor individuals have taken sides on this question consistently, yet the question of state and federal functions has really been fundamental to most of the political activity of the present presidential term. That it will be the issue of chief popular interest in the canvass of next year we are not prepared

The position taken by Mr. Roosevelt and the railroad trust magnates who, on this proposition, are his ardent supporters might be stated in paraphrase as follows:

To the American People:

Whereas there are "insuperable difficulties arising from our dual form of government" and "resort must be had to the power of amendment," and

Whereas, "the chief economic question of the day in this country is to provide a sovereign for the great corporations engaged in interstate business; that is for the railroads and the interstate industrial corporations."

Resolved, That we earnestly recommend to the American people an amendment to the constitution whereby the various states of the union surrender control over the railroads and interstate industrial corporations such control to be vested exclusively in the federal government, and

Resolved, That no judge of any state court shall have jurisdiction in any case brought against any railroad or interstate industrial corporation or officer thereof, and

Resolved, That the legislature of each of the states be and it is hereby debarred from making any laws to which the railroad or interstate industrial corporation must conform in doing business in that state.

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DEATH CALLS AGAIN

This time it is Judge James P. Tarvin, of Covington, Ky., who is summoned to test the realities of the unknown world. Among all of Mr. Bryan's friends none were more loyal. He was the same in victory or defeat—constant, courageous, true. Democracy can ill afford to lose a champion so able, so earnest and so unswerving. Peace to his ashes: sympathy to those to whom his death brings bereavement.