

the citizen against the arbitrary power of government in the hands of caste and privilege, these prohibitions have been turned by the courts from safeguards against political and social privilege into barriers against political and social justice and advancement. Our purpose is not to impugn the courts, but to emancipate them from a position where they stand in the way of social justice; and to emancipate the people, in an orderly way, from the iniquity of enforced submission to a doctrine which would turn constitutional provisions which were intended to favor social justice and advancement into prohibitions against such justice and advancement.

"We in America have peculiar need thus to make the acts of the courts subject to the people, because owing to causes which I need not now discuss, the courts have here grown to occupy a position unknown in any other country, a position of superiority over both the legislature and the executive. Just at this time, when we have begun in this country to move toward social and industrial betterment and true industrial democracy, this attitude on the part of the courts is of grave portent, because privilege has entrenched itself in many courts, just as it formerly entrenched itself in many legislative bodies and in many executive offices.

"I am well aware that every upholder of privilege, every hired agent or beneficiary of the special interests, including many well-meaning parlor reformers, will denounce all this as "socialism," or "anarchy"—the same terms they used in the past in denouncing the movements to control the railways and to control public utilities. As a matter of fact, the propositions I make constitute neither anarchy nor socialism, but, on the contrary, a corrective to socialism and an antidote to anarchy."

The colonel made a plea for social and industrial justice to the wage-workers. They are entitled, he said, to safe and sanitary conditions of labor, to the aid of the government so that from tool-users they become part tool-owners. He favored minimum wage commissions, declaring that wages are subnormal if they fail to provide a living for those who devote their time and energy to industrial occupations upon a standard high enough to make morality possible, to provide for education and recreation, to care for immature members of the family, to maintain the family during periods of sickness and to permit of reasonable savings for old age. He took strong ground against night labor for women and children, the seven-day working week, twelve-hour day and in excess of forty-eight hours a week for women. He insisted that old age and accident insurance are needed, and the burden should be borne by employe and employer and perhaps the public at large.

Mr. Roosevelt declared in favor of woman suffrage, and suggested that in conservative states where there is genuine doubt how the women stand on the matter it should be left to a vote of the women. If the women could vote they would strengthen the hands of those endeavoring to deal in efficient fashion with existing evils.

He insisted that the abandonment of the country life commission was a severe blow to the interests of the people, and that everything possible should be done to better the economic condition of the farmer and also to increase the social value of the life of the farmer, the farmer's wife and their children. Everything possible should be done to make life in the country profitable so as to be attractive from the economic standpoint and also to give an outlet among farming people for those forms of activity which now tend to make life in the cities especially

desirable for ambitious men and women. He had a number of plans to propose for co-operation between the government and farmer to this end, insisting that it is entirely possible to give an increased income to the farm while reducing to the consumer the price of the articles raised on the farm.

"The present conditions of business can not be accepted as satisfactory," he said. "There are too many who do not prosper enough, and of the few who prosper greatly there are certainly some whose prosperity does not mean well for the country. Rational progressives, no matter how radical, are well aware that nothing the government can do will make some men prosper, and we heartily approve the prosperity, no matter how great, of any man, if it comes as an incident to rendering service to the community; but we wish to shape conditions so that a great number of the small men who are decent, industrious, and energetic shall be able to succeed, and so that the big man who is dishonest shall not be allowed to succeed at all.

"Our aim is to control business, not to strangle it—and, above all, not to continue a policy of make-believe strangle toward big concerns that do evil, and constant menace toward both big and little concerns that do well. Our aim is to promote prosperity, and then see to its proper division. We do not believe that any good comes to any one by a policy which means destruction of prosperity; for in such cases it is not possible to divide it because of the very obvious fact that there is nothing to divide. We wish to control big business so as to secure among other things good wages for the wage-worker and reasonable prices for the consumers.

"Wherever in any business the prosperity of the business man is obtained by lowering the wages of his workmen and charging an excessive price to the consumers we wish to interfere and stop such practices. We will not submit to that kind of prosperity any more than we will submit to prosperity obtained by swindling investors or getting unfair advantages over business rivals. But it is obvious that unless the business is prosperous the wage-workers employed therein will be badly paid and the consumers badly served. Therefore not merely as a matter of justice to the business man, but from the standpoint of the self-interest of the wage-worker and the consumer we desire that business shall prosper; but it should be so supervised as to make prosperity also take the shape and reasonable prices to the consumer, while investors and business rivals are insured just treatment, and the farmer, the man who tills the soil, is protected as sedulously as the wage worker himself.

"Unfortunately, those dealing with the subject have tended to divide into two camps, each as unwise as the other. One camp has fixed its eyes only on the need of prosperity, loudly announcing that our attention must be confined to securing it in bulk, and that the division must be left to take care of itself. This is merely the plan, already tested and found wanting, of giving prosperity to the big men on top, and trusting to their mercy to let something leak through to the mass of their countrymen below—which, in effect, means that there shall be no attempt to regulate the ferocious scramble in which greed and cunning reap the largest rewards. The other set has fixed its eyes purely on the injustices of distribution, omitting all consideration of the need of having something to distribute, and advocates action which, it is true, would abolish most of the inequalities of the distribution of prosperity, but only by the unfortunately simple process of abolishing the prosperity

itself. This means merely that conditions are to be evened, not up, but down, so that all shall stand on a common level, where nobody has any prosperity at all. The task of the wise radical must be to refuse to be misled by either set of false advisors; he must both favor and promote the agencies that make for prosperity, and at the same time see to it that these agencies are so used as to be primarily of service to the average man.

"It is utterly hopeless to attempt to control the trusts merely by the anti-trust law, or by any law the same in principle, no matter what the modifications may be in detail. In the first place these great corporations can not possibly be controlled merely by a succession of lawsuits. The administrative branch of the government must exercise such control. The preposterous failure of the commerce court has shown that only damage comes from the effort to substitute judicial for administrative control of great corporations."

Mr. Roosevelt favored a national commission to deal with abuses of the trusts and to interpret in advance so that any honest man may know what he can do. He appealed to business men to support this program as the only one which promises complete justice.

The tariff, he said, should be reconstructed in the interests of the whole people, and no duty should be permitted to stand unless the workers receive their full share of its benefits. He favored a permanent commission.

Mr. Roosevelt dissected the question of the high cost of living at length. He didn't think the tariff had much to do with it; he thought the trusts could be brought to book under his commission plan, and that wiser business methods that lessened the cost of getting the products of the farm to the consumer would prove an effective help. As to the democratic plan he scornfully said:

"There is no more curious delusion than that the democratic platform is a progressive platform. The democratic platform, representing the best thought of the acknowledged democratic leaders at Baltimore, is purely retrogressive and reactionary. There is no progress in it. It represents an effort to go back; to put this nation of a hundred millions, existing under modern conditions, back to where it was as a nation of twenty-five millions in the days of the stage-coach and canal-boat. Such an attitude is Toryism, not progressivism."

Mr. Roosevelt favored a currency reform that would give soundness and elasticity and a system safeguarded from Wall street. He declared conservation was a great issue, and that the nation should develop Alaska. He insisted on fortifying the Panama canal and upbuilding the navy.

In conclusion he said:

"Now, friends, this is my confession of faith. I have made it rather long because I wish you to know just what my deepest convictions are on the great questions of today, so that if you choose to make me your standard-bearer in the fight you shall make your choice understanding exactly how I feel—and if, after hearing me, you think you ought to choose some one else, I shall loyally abide by your choice. The convictions to which I have come have not been arrived at as the result of study in the closet or the library, but from the knowledge I have gained through hard experience during the many years in which, under many and varied conditions, I have striven and toiled with men. I believe in a larger use of the governmental power to help remedy industrial wrongs, because it has been borne in on me by actual experience that without the exercise of such power

many of the wrongs will go unremedied.

"I believe in a larger opportunity for the people themselves directly to participate in government and to control their governmental agents, because long experience has taught me that without such control many of their agents will represent them badly. By actual experience in office I have found that, as a rule, I could secure the triumph of the causes in which I most believed, not from the politicians and the men who claim an exceptional right to speak in business and government, but by going over their heads and appealing directly to the people themselves. I am not under the slightest delusion as to any power that during my political career I have at any time possessed. Whatever of power I at any time had, I obtained from the people. I could exercise it only so long as, and to the extent that, the people not merely believed in me, but heartily backed me up.

"Whatever I did as president I was able to do only because I had the backing of the people. When on any point I did not have that backing, when on any point I differed from the people, it mattered not whether I was right or whether I was wrong, my power vanished. I tried my best to lead the people, to advise them, to tell them what I thought was right; if necessary, I never hesitated to tell them what I thought they ought to hear, even though I thought it would be unpleasant for them to hear it; but I recognized that my task was to try to lead them and not to drive them, to take them into my confidence, to try to show them that I was right, and then loyally and in good faith to accept their decision.

"I will do anything for the people except what my conscience tells me is wrong, and that I can do for no man and no set of men; I hold that a man can not serve the people well unless he serves his conscience; but I hold also that where his conscience bids him refuse to do what the people desire, he should not try to continue in office against their will. Our government system should be so shaped that the public servant, when he can not conscientiously carry out the wishes of the people, shall at their desire leave his office and not misrepresent them in office; and I hold that the public servant can by so doing, better than in any other way, serve both them and his conscience.

"Surely there never was a fight better worth making than the one in which we are engaged. It little matters what befalls any one of us who for the time being stand in the forefront of the battle. I hope we shall win, and I believe that if we can wake the people to what the fight really means we shall win. But win or lose, we shall not falter. Whatever fate may at the moment overtake any of us, the movement itself will not stop. Our cause is based on the eternal principles of righteousness; and even though we who now lead may for the time fail, in the end the cause itself shall triumph.

"Six weeks ago, here in Chicago, I spoke to the honest representatives of a convention which was not dominated by honest men; a convention wherein sat, alas, a majority of men who, with sneering indifference to every principle of right, so acted as to bring to a shameful end a party which had been founded over a half a century ago by men in whose souls burned the fire of lofty endeavor.

"We stand at Armageddon, and we battle for the Lord."

Theodore Roosevelt was nominated for president on the third day. He was placed in nomination by William A. Pendergast of New York. Jane Addams was among the large number seconding the nomination. Colonel T. P. Lloyd of Florida, a