

proper development to meet the rapidly growing requirements of the country for increased and improved facilities of transportation. We cannot postpone action in this matter without leaving the railroads exposed to many serious handicaps and hazards; and the prosperity of the railroads and the prosperity of the country are inseparably connected. Upon this question those who are chiefly responsible for the actual management and operation of the railroads have spoken very plainly and very earnestly, with a purpose we ought to be quick to accept. It will be one step, and a very important one, toward the necessary separation of the business of production from the business of transportation.

The business of the country awaits also, has long awaited and has suffered because it could not obtain further and more explicit legislative definition of the policy and meaning of the existing anti-trust law. Nothing hampers business like uncertainty. Nothing daunts or discourages it like the necessity to take chances, to run the risk of falling under the condemnation of the law before it can make sure just what the law is. Surely we are sufficiently familiar with the actual processes and methods of monopoly and of the many hurtful restraints of trade to make definition possible, at any rate up to the limits of what experience has disclosed. These practices, being now abundantly disclosed, can be explicitly and item by item forbidden by statute in such terms as will practically eliminate uncertainty, the law itself and the penalty being made equally plain.

And the business men of the country desire something more than that the menace of legal process in these matters be made explicit and intelligible. They desire the advice, the definite guidance and information which can be supplied by an administrative body, an interstate trade commission. The opinion of the country would instantly approve of such a commission. It would not wish to see it empowered to make terms with monopoly or in any sort to assume control of business, as if the government made itself responsible. It demands such a commission only as an indispensable instrument of information and publicity, as a clearing-house for the facts by which both the public mind and the managers of great business undertakings should be guided, and as an instrumentality for doing justice to business where the processes of the courts or the natural forces of correction outside the courts are inadequate to adjust the remedy to the wrong in a way that will meet all the equities and circumstances of the case.

Producing industries, for example, which have passed the point up to which combination may be consistent with the public interest and the public freedom of trade, cannot always be dissected into their component units as readily as railroad companies or similar organizations can be. Their dissolution by ordinary legal process may oftentimes involve financial consequences likely to overwhelm the security market and bring upon it breakdown and confusion. There ought to be an administrative commission capable of directing and shaping such corrective processes, not only in aid of the courts but also by independent suggestion, if necessary.

PUNISHMENTS SHOULD FALL UPON INDIVIDUALS

Inasmuch as our object and the spirit of our action in these matters is to meet business half way in its processes of self-correction and disturb its legitimate course as little as possible, we ought to see to it, and the judgment of practical and sagacious men of affairs everywhere would applaud us if we did see to it, that penalties and punishments should fall, not upon business itself, to its confusion and interruption, but upon the individuals who use the instrumentalities of business to do things which public policy and sound business practice condemn. Every act of business is done at the command or upon the initiative of some ascertainable person or group of persons. These should be held individually responsible and the punishment should fall upon them, not upon the business organization of which they make illegal use. It should be one of the main objects of our legislation to divest such persons of their corporate cloak and deal with them as with those who do not represent their corporations, but merely by deliberate intention break the law. Business men the country through would, I am sure, applaud us if we were to take effectual steps to see that the officers and directors of great business bodies were prevented from bringing them and the business of the country into disrepute and danger.

Other questions remain which will need very

thoughtful and practical treatment. Enterprises, in these modern days of great individual fortunes, are oftentimes interlocked, not by being under the control of the same directors, but by the fact that the greater part of their corporate stock is owned by a single person or group of persons who are in some way intimately related in interest. We are agreed, I take it, that holding companies should be prohibited, but what of the controlling private ownership of individuals or actually cooperative groups of individuals? Shall the private owners of capital stock be suffered to be themselves in effect holding companies? We do not wish, I suppose, to forbid the purchase of stocks by any person who pleases to buy them in such quantities as he can afford, or in any way arbitrarily to limit the sale of stocks to bona fide purchasers. Shall we require the owners of stock, when their voting power in several companies which ought to be independent of one another would constitute actual control, to make election in which of them they will exercise their right to vote? This question I venture for your consideration.

MORE CHANCE FOR INDIVIDUALS TO BRING SUIT

There is another matter in which imperative considerations of justice and fair play suggest thoughtful remedial action. Not only do many of the combinations effected or sought to be effected in the industrial world work an injustice upon the public in general; they also directly and seriously injure the individuals who are put out of business in one unfair way or another by the many dislodging and exterminating forces of combination. I hope that we shall agree in giving private individuals who claim to have been injured by these processes the right to found their suits for redress upon the facts and judgments proved and entered in suits by the government where the government has upon its own initiative sued the combinations complained of and won its suit, and that the statute of limitations shall be suffered to run against such litigants only from the date of the conclusion of the government's action. It is not fair that the private litigant should be obliged to set up and establish again the facts which the government has proved. He cannot afford, he has not the power, to make use of such processes of inquiry as the government has command of. Thus shall individual justice be done while the processes of business are rectified and squared with the general conscience.

I have laid the case before you, no doubt as it lies in your own mind, as it lies in the thought of the country. What must every candid man say of the suggestions I have laid before you, of the plain obligations of which I have reminded you? That these are new things for which the country is not prepared? No; but that they are old things, now familiar, and must of course be undertaken if we are to square our laws with the thought and desire of the country. Until these things are done, conscientious business men the country over will be unsatisfied. They are in these things our mentors and colleagues. We are now about to write the additional articles of our constitution of peace, the peace that is honor and freedom and prosperity.

The real reason why Wall street is willing to rebuild its business structure upon the lines laid down by Mr. Wilson is that it knows he is earnest and that he means what he says. Nobody ever accused Wall street of not being able to tell a hawk from a handsaw.

GOOD TEAM WORK

The democratic floor leader, Senator Kern of Indiana, and the president pro tempore, Senator Clarke, of Arkansas, have, by their excellent team work in the senate strongly supported and greatly aided the administration in securing the prompt passage of the tariff and banking and currency laws. The senate has demonstrated its willingness to effectively carry out the pledges made to the people in the Baltimore platform and the thanks of the country are due the democratic leadership for a wide-awake and progressive policy that will enable our party to retain and deserve the public confidence.

Editor Pindell of Peoria, after being vindicated by receiving confirmation of his appointment to the post of ambassador to Russia, declined because he did not wish to embarrass the administration at St. Petersburg. It was a manly thing to do, and justifies the confidence displayed by the president in urging his appointment in spite of the obstacles interposed.

WOULD BENEFIT MONOPOLY

The president's attitude towards the exemption of American coastwise vessels from Panama canal tolls is definitely set forth in the following Associated Press report giving publicity to a letter written by the president to William L. Marbury of Baltimore:

Baltimore, Feb. 6.—President Wilson, in a letter to William L. Marbury of this city, which will be published in the Baltimore Sun tomorrow, says that the exemption of American coastwise ships from Panama canal tolls "constitutes a very mistaken policy from every point of view" and "benefits for the present, at any rate, only a monopoly."

The president also pays high tribute to Secretary of State Bryan. The letter follows:

"White House, Washington, Feb. 5, 1914.—My Dear Mr. Marbury: I have your letter of January 30 with regard to the question of canal tolls. My opinion is very clear. The exemption constitutes a very mistaken policy from every point of view. It is economically unjust; as a matter of fact, it benefits for the present at any rate, only a monopoly, and it seems to me to be in clear violation of the terms of the Hay-Pauncefote treaty. There is of course, much honest difference of opinion as to the last point, as there is no doubt as to the others but it is at least doubtful, and if the promises we make in such matters are debatable, I for one do not care to debate them. I think the country would prefer to let no question arise as to its whole-hearted purpose to redeem its promises in the light of any reasonable construction of them rather than debate a point of honor.

"Your reference to the secretary of state shows how comprehensively you have looked on during the last few months. Not only have Mr. Bryan's character, his justice, his sincerity, his transparent integrity, his Christian principle, made a deep impression on all with whom he has dealt, but his tact in dealing with men of many sorts, his capacity for business, his mastery of the principles of each matter he has been called upon to deal with, have cleared away many a difficulty and have given to the policy of the state department a definiteness and dignity that are very admirable. I need not say with what pleasure and profit I myself have taken from close association with Mr. Bryan or how thoroughly he has seemed to all of us who are associated with him here to deserve not only our confidence, but our affectionate admiration. Sincerely yours, WOODROW WILSON."

SULLIVAN, SENATOR? NO!

The press dispatches say that Roger Sullivan of Chicago has announced his candidacy for the United States senate. If he entertains any such ambition it is well that the democrats of Illinois should know it in time to thwart his purpose, for it is unthinkable that he should be chosen for a seat in the United States senate by any American commonwealth. If he had any conception of the dignity of the office or of the duties devolving upon a United States senator, he would not aspire to the place. If he is ever seriously accused of having qualifications for the office, he can prove an alibi. He is just the kind of man whose election is impossible if put to popular vote. He is to the democratic party what Senator Lorimer was to the republican party, and it is inconceivable that the democratic party of the great state of Illinois would deliberately choose such a man and call upon itself the odium which was forced upon the republican party by the disgraceful action of a legislature.

There is no danger of Mr. Sullivan's being elected to the United States senate, for his nomination, if such a thing is possible, can not possibly result in election, but his nomination would defeat the congressional ticket. Every congressman who is anxious to return to Washington ought to exert himself to prevent Mr. Sullivan's nomination; and every democrat who desires the president's policies upheld should arouse himself to make Mr. Sullivan's defeat at the primaries a certainty. The senate is now a democratic body, as progressive as the house; let no backward step be taken in any state.

For years it was replied, whenever anybody talked of stopping lobbying at Washington, that it was an impossible task. Yet one blast of investigation dynamite set off from the White House at the beginning of the special tariff session last summer ended it. Doing impossible tasks is one of Mr. Wilson's specialties.