

be among us in private or public life those unwilling to listen and to learn from the truth when spoken fairly and meant constructively. He who gives criticism of this kind, even when it runs counter to prejudice or conviction does a public service and leaves things better than he found them. The destructive critic is of another temper. He builds nothing up. He tears only down. Of him it is true as the ancient proverb said, which being translated runs:

"Out of nothing, nothing comes."

Of him another old saying is also true:

"A voice, and nothing else."

This type of mind, which in private life we call the faultfinder or the scold, and to which we apply the word of "nagging," can always find that upon which to fasten its fangs. Living in a world of men and not of angels there will always be given by human weakness that upon which these prowlers may pounce. I refuse to believe, however, that these little men, whose better purpose it would be to walk about seeking for themselves dishonorable graves, represent any large element of any great party in our country. If they do represent any considerable portion of any great organization, so much the worse for that organization. For this American people is of a constructive sort. It sets its face forward. It will not be drawn back and it will shake with scorn from off its skirts those who throw mud at it from behind.

I wait, therefore, for the early abandonment of this negative and feeble policy on the part even of those good men who may have been misled temporarily into this misbehavior. I look to them for better things and things which will more certainly accompany political salvation. For the American public knows that it has had at the hands of the present administration affirmative and constructive service, and as it sees the days of prosperity returning and the mills reopening and the miner and the farmer busier and more prosperous than before, it will say to these prophets of evil, "What have you to offer better than the foundation on which these things are build-ed?" It will have small patience with the howl of the wolves beside the track that has long since been traveled. It will look for the constructive services of men instead.

It is hardly necessary for me to tell you the history of the last two years, and yet it may be wise for our encouragement to look back over them and see what the facts have been. They fall into two separate groups, viz., the facts concerning the administration and the facts concerning the position of the United States at home and abroad. I shall not attempt any detailed review of recent political history. Suffice to say that three times in succession has the country chosen a democratic house of representatives to do its work. Two of these are passed and one will assemble. Two of them received a mandate from the people to undo the tariff wrong perpetrated in the Payne law, which the public justly felt to be a breach of faith. So far as the democratic house of representatives could so do in the Sixty-second congress it obeyed the people's instructions. In the Sixty-third congress it carried them out with the aid of a democratic senate and president. On that record it fearlessly stands. It does not apologize for it. It does not excuse it. The record is one of which it is proud, and standing thereon it confidently looks for the coming of the better business days that have already dawned.

It was with this record before it that again the people elected a third democratic house of representatives and a senate in which the democratic majority was increased. Here rises up some little soul to say, "Look how the democratic majority in the house of representatives was reduced!" True, my friend, but look farther still and see what took place at similar periods in our past history, and you will find that the condition in the congress about to assemble is not such compared with former similar times as to give anything of encouragement to the foes of the democratic party.

PARTY HAS KEPT PLEDGE

Our party has kept its faith. It has not been given orders by the people to revise the tariff downward only to answer by revising it upward. One thing at least no one dares say about the tariff law, namely, that it was prepared by anybody in his own interest. The beneficiaries, if there be such, of that law did not draw it for their own benefit. Never was there a measure of the kind more free from personal taint, more purely intended for public as distinguished from private purposes. I believe, and men of all parties confirm me in the belief, that upon the

whole, the country through, manufacturers are well content with the tariff as it stands. I do not believe, and in this I am confirmed by manufacturers the land over, of all parties, that it is any material factor in depressing business conditions. Upon it has been fastened by hostile hands everything of evil that from any cause can occur in this broad land. But these attachments, which it was hoped would weight the legislation down, have been shaken off. Those who hoped to profit by its ill success have charged it with failure; but like the Phoenix it has risen from what were alleged to be its ashes to confound its enemies.

Here and there a voice is lifted in language once familiar but now archaic to speak in phrases once mighty, but now weak, of the pauper labor of Europe and of the flooding of our markets with this, and that, and the other thing. To all we turn a deaf ear, for we have regained something of industrial self-respect. We are no longer willing to admit national incompetence. We cower no more behind the tariff wall but are reaching out toward willing hands, which in turn are extended to us from every quarter of the globe. We have copied in practice the fine motto of the Australian commonwealth and are saying everywhere, "Advance, America." We no longer wish to shut our people in. We seek rather to send our money and our goods out to those who have need of both and find them best of all in our favored land.

THE PANIC OF 1907

I recall that not many years ago under the reign of Theodore and with the Dingley tariff in full force and vigor, for it had lasted ten years, that something serious happened. It was in October of 1907 when a great bank failed. Others were threatened and men and women stood in long lines upon the city streets seeking to save their savings from what they feared would be general wreck. That was the time when the business barometer sank lower than it ever since has done. The early months of 1908 represented the lowest point of business inaction since the century opened.

I shall not associate myself with dealers in abuse by saying who or what caused these things to be. I simply remind you that the winter of 1907-1908 was a hard one; that men were out of work and currency was hard to get and banks resorted to all sorts of expedients throughout the land in order to keep things moving, and remind you at the same time that a republican president was in power and vigorously if not wisely using his power, and that the high protective tariff whose apostles claim for it power to bring and to maintain prosperity was then in existence and apparently unthreatened.

We speak, however, of those evil days not to make partisan charges out of them—though they form an interesting background against which to project statements of prosperity based on the tariff—but to remind you that those evil days have forever passed away.

For long years the money system of our land had had great and unknown weaknesses. Let us not minimize the attempts which were made in good faith by men of all parties to set things right. Give them credit for all of thought and knowledge which they contributed to the problem. This one thing remains true: Nothing was done about it until the democratic administration came into power. Then, and only then, it was taken up, and against the opposition of some who now admit it to be good, the thing was settled, and settled well. Today you and I know, and we never knew it before until the federal reserve law was passed, that not only has there been released into the channels of trade vast sums unnecessarily held back as reserves, but that through the establishment of the federal reserve system the power of panic has been destroyed. The basis of the fear that produces panic has been taken away. Men know that they can get cash if they have credit, and the foundation of credit has been made sure and the way to credit has been made simple.

Look and see how many are there of our partisan opponents that venture to rise in public and denounce the federal reserve law. It is admitted on all hands, if not in words at least in silence, by our adversaries that this thing has been done well. On it with confidence rest the operations of some of the very men who cry loudest in criticism of our policies.

HONEST BUSINESS NOT HIT

Aye, but business legislation. Well, let us face the question of business legislation boldly, for concerning it there is naught we have to fear. We have made plainer the way of the honest business man; our opponents themselves being witnesses, the Clayton law and the federal

trade commission law are good. They put no obstacle in the path of any honorable man. They make his road more plain. They give him a forum in which he may be heard. They give him a point on which with more confidence he may lean. What is there in this legislation that our opponents would like to have taken away? It is either in its spirit or its substance that they wish it changed. To which does their criticism extend? Is the spirit of the law wrong? If so, what spirit should be substituted? Shall it be a spirit which says that unfair competition shall continue or that the restraints against excesses (which it is well known have prevailed) shall be removed? Taken at large, is it their wish that the interlocking directorates shall be restored as they were? Do they desire that there shall not be a forum like the federal trade commission which shall hear and consider without litigation the pleas of business men? The answer to the criticisms that are made in the direct question, what would you do? or what would you leave undone?

Let us revert for the moment to the question of spirit and deal with it frankly as regards not only the legislation but the executive acts that have occurred. Let us take for example the investigations that have been made and their result. When this was written three such were before the public. None of them was original in thought or purpose with the administration. Each of them arose either from the invitation or the attack of our adversaries. All were undertaken in the spirit of equity and calm and truthfulness. The reports arising from them are notable for the presence of fairness and for the absence of adjectives. Here and now let me frankly say that we have been much indebted to the courtesy of manufacturers, who in a broad and kindly spirit have opened the way to the knowledge of their own individual industries. There is not one of them today who has complained or who in my judgment can complain that his confidence has been betrayed. They have been invited to show if they desire in what respect the confidential data relating to their own establishments or the inferences taken therefrom are at fault, and none has yet arisen to respond to this invitation.

On the contrary, we hear that money is appropriated for closer research into their own industries; that new equipment is replacing the old, and men of all parties in press and in industry have come to me with commendation for the candid and courteous work that has been so quietly and constructively done, and to express their regret at the hasty and baseless attacks that certain individuals to their own regret have prematurely made.

NOT AFRAID OF TRUTH

I do not believe that American manufacturers when their confidence is respected are afraid of the truth. There could be no more serious condemnation passed upon any industry than to say it was so afraid. No man among us but admits he has much to learn. A wise friend handed me long ago a motto, which is hung in my own home. It reads: "Every man I meet is my master in some point, and in this I learn of him." The spirit of that motto, the author of which was a trained and successful business man, is, I believe, the spirit in which the mass of our American manufacturers are ready to meet the problems of today. Some there are who by partisan persuasion may have put themselves in false positions, from which it is difficult to extricate themselves, but even these men in their quiet thought do not desire to be unfair. They wish to know in their better moments whether their methods or their equipment are good or not. They are entitled to have that knowledge but they are entitled to have it in a spirit of confidence and not of attack; in a spirit of courtesy and not of criticism; in a spirit of helpfulness and not of injury, and there is no man that can truthfully say that the problems have received treatment save in these better ways.

The best way, however, in which to show one's spirit is by deeds. Has the democratic party been content in the department of commerce to do the same practical work or business as its predecessor, or has it done less, or more? The total annual sum which the republican party saw fit to appropriate for the promotion of our foreign trade was \$60,000, less than many a department store expends for its advertising. In the current fiscal year this will be more than three times as great. In the next fiscal year it will be over four times greater. If to spend much more than ever was spent before to advance our trade is an evidence of indifference, then we are guilty, for we have done just that thing. Nay, we have done more. An entirely new force in the foreign field