

The Keystone of the Republic,

(Continued from Page 13.) the increasing power of corporations, said:

"At the time of the anti-slavery agitation I was not sure whether we should come out of the struggle with one republic or two; but republics I knew we should still be. I am so confident, indeed, that we shall come out of this storm as a republic unless the labor movement succeeds. . . . Unless there is a power in your movement, industrially and politically, the last knell of democratic liberty in this Union is struck."

Jefferson, Lincoln and Phillips—they were alarmists, as prophets, apostles, martyrs and reformers ever have been! And were they alive today to see the malign maturity of these monopolistic institutions whose infancy, even disturbed them, I am persuaded that in weightier and more eloquent words than mine they would seize the opportunities of this great day to warn the people against those artificial, soulless creatures which have no creed but the multiplication table and no policy but that of reaping other men's harvests. In words that would burn they would point out to us how the corporations are pre-empting all fields of business, how they are controlling and corrupting our instruments of government, and how, worst of all, they are perverting intelligence at its fountain heads by controlling most of our great universities, journals and magazines; and with all these facts, and more, before the public they would call upon the people to arise and array themselves at the polls that a government of the people and by the people might not perish from the earth!

Grant me the indulgence of one other thought. The doctrine of equality adopted by the fathers contemplated an equality of the burdens of government.

It is a somewhat singular fact that the greatest struggles of modern history, at least, have grown directly out of questions of taxation. The French revolution, Cromwell's rebellion and our own war of independence all started at that point of abuse where some men sought to lay their own burdens upon other men's shoulders. Taille and octroi in France, ship money in England, and the stamp act in America—these were the things that kindled the indignation and sharpened the weapons of the commons in three of the greatest revolutions known to history.

At a hasty glance such a provocation seems entirely out of proportion to the consequences; and we are somewhat humiliated to think that the bloody fields and heroic sacrifices of the world's democracy should spring from some small money matters which in their nature could not inflict any great and sudden harm upon any individual. But such a notion disappears upon more prolonged and intelligent inquiry. Read the speeches and letters of the fathers, go over the ground surveyed by Franklin Quincy, Hancock, Jefferson and two Adams and you will soon see that the question of taxation is not a merely material one, but one that touches at some point of contact every other question of human life—law, liberty, progress, even religion; for an abused taxation means, eventually, that other abuse—the abuse of some men eating their bread in the sweat of other men's faces. It means the collection of money from the least competent of citizens to be spent upon the enterprises and vanities of the least needy. It means the rending of the seamless robe of the republic, the separation of the people into taxpayers and tax-eaters. It means plutocrats on one side and proletarians on the other, increasing arrogance here

and increasing misery there, until at length the upper tens and the lower millions collide, with the event that either the cause of liberty is lost or is preserved, only, at a most shocking sacrifice.

Hence the fathers were exceeding careful upon the subject of taxation—so careful and jealous that they incorporated into the constitution of the United States everything which the conditions then existing suggested as necessary to prevent that ancient, villainous vice, that common ruse of affluent selfishness—tax-dodging. They wrote into the supreme law of the Union that all bills for revenues should originate in the house, the popular branch of the national legislature, and the one most quickly responsive to the people's wishes. They provided that all duties, imports and excises should be uniform throughout the United States and that no capitation, or other direct tax, should be laid upon the states except according to numbers. And there the constitution builders stopped feeling reasonably sure that they had secured equity in taxation beyond all peril. And there, my fellow citizens, their acumen failed: They did not foresee modern capitalism. They did not anticipate the multi-millionaires whose prodigious fortunes are concealed in evasive parchments and papers; and, most of all, they did not foresee a supreme court capable of reversing itself over night and of striking out of the statutes the most equitable system of taxation now possible, the income tax.

And so today we are under a system of taxation which shifts the chief burdens of taxation upon the common people and which allows the holders of vast wealth to escape that fair and equal burden of the costs of government which not only justice, but the safety of republican institutions demand!

My fellow citizens, I have not exhausted the subject; but consideration for you requires me to pause here. Beyond all reasonable doubt the equilibrium of our government has been seriously disturbed; and influences now at work are increasingly multiplying the disorders of the republic from day today. Something must be done and that speedily—or the time will quickly arrive when all remedies will be ineffectual and our children, if not ourselves, will live to witness the final destruction of all those lofty concepts of liberty which for a century and a quarter past have gladdened Americans and sent the inspiration of hope into all quarters of the world.

Let the American commons arouse themselves! They have always been the most loyal and effective guards of freedom in every crisis of our history! Let them arouse themselves and with that peaceful, but potent instrument, the ballot, let them maintain those institutions of freedom which the fathers purchased at ineffable cost! Let them expurgate from official circles, at least, every vestige of pretentious aristocracy! Let them wipe from the statute books every grant of special privilege! Let them own and operate, through their government, every variety of public utility in the nature of a monopoly. Let them decapitate the trust-breeding bank trust and amputate the robber tariff. Let them force the abandonment of all schemes of foreign conquest and reduce our military establishment to a standard comporting with the character of a free and peaceful republic. Let them install a progressive income tax that will set our nascent money oligarchy in the way of a swift decline; and, in order to accomplish these great ends, let them sharpen, furnish and secure the most effectual weapon of such reform, the ballot, by establishing in every integer of government, from the township up, the rule of the initiative and

referendum! Let the American commons do these things, speedily and effectually, and in a hundred Independence Days to come an intelligent and increasing patriotism will drink again from the ancient fountains and rise up refreshed!

Lipton as a Smoker.

In his early days Sir Thomas Lipton denied himself almost every pleasure except that of amassing a fortune. Calling one day on a consul on business matters, he was offered a cigar by the official.

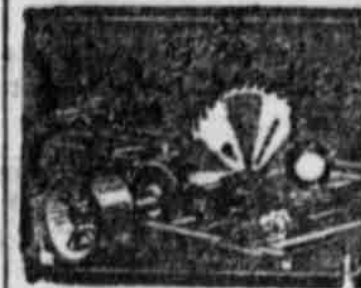
"No, thank you," said Sir Thomas (then Mr.) Lipton. "Although I am the biggest smoker in England, I never smoke cigars."

"What do you smoke?" was the surprised query.

"Bacon," was the prompt reply.—San Francisco Wasp.

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