

government there is a tendency either in one direction or the other. If we may represent self government as the day, and arbitrary and irresponsible government as the night, then most governments would represent the twilight. The twilight that precedes the dawn gradually brightens into day. The twilight that precedes the night ends in darkness. It is very important, therefore, that the tendency of a government shall be towards the light. In using the twilight I recognize that it is not a perfect illustration because the dawn always grows brighter while the shades of night always grow darker. Possibly it would be more accurate to describe the contest between democracy and centralization, as like a game of football, in which the government may be carried this way or that way according as it is in the hands of one side or the other, the ultimate goals being at opposite ends of the field. In monarchies the fight for self government is often made for some particular reform, without avowing the final purpose and without discussing fundamental principles, and so in republics those who attempt to restrict the power of the people, often, if not always, make their fight under some mask. In this country opposition to the rule of the people usually takes the form of the advocacy of legislation which removes authority from a point near to the people to some point more remote from them. This tendency to remove authority from the locality to a center farther away may be described as centralization. If the principles upon which self government rests are sound then, the people can best govern where they are best acquainted with the machinery of the government and with the propositions upon which they are to act. Every attempt to take authority away from the community and vest it in some power outside of the community contains a certain amount of infidelity to the democratic theory of government. Usually there is some partisan reason which furnishes the justification, but no partisan reason can remove a fundamental objection. In some states the police control of the larger cities is taken out of the hands of the people living in those cities and deposited with the governor of the state. No matter on what theory this is done it is not consistent with confidence in the capacity of the people for self government, and it is certain to be used as a precedent for a further weakening of the power of the people to control their own affairs.

"Just now public attention is being directed to the encroachments of great corporations upon the rights of the people and the discussion of remedies reveals the fact that among those who really desire to effectively restrain corporations there are two distinct classes—those who desire to enlarge the scope of the federal government and those who desire to preserve the integrity and authority of the several states. I invite your attention to this subject because it is likely to be the rock upon which honest reformers will split unless there is a clear understanding of the situation. The Jeffersonian democrat would not take from the federal government any power necessary to the performance of its legitimate duties, but he recognizes that the consolidation of all the government at Washington would be a menace to the safety of the nation and would endanger the perpetuity of the republic. He believes in the preservation of the power of both state and federal governments, recognizing in the constitutional division of those powers the strength of free government. The advocate of centralization is always optimistic when the dangers to centralization are pointed out. He is not afraid that any harm can come to the American people, and yet no enthusiastic advocate of centralization can talk long without betraying his distrust of the people. Instead of accepting the theory that the people should think for themselves and then select representatives to carry out those thoughts, he believes that representatives are selected to think for the people and he does not hesitate to build barriers between the government and the voters. While the advocate of centralization is urging legislation which obliterates state lines and removes the government from the control of the voters, the monopolist may on the other hand, hide behind the democratic theory of self government and use this theory to prevent national legislation which may be necessary. The democrat who believes in democratic principles and who wants to preserve the dual character of our government must be on his guard against both.

"There are certain things which the locality can do for itself, and there are certain things which only the federal government can do—

neither the federal government nor the local government should be sacrificed to the other.

"The investigation of the large life insurance companies has led to the discussion of national remedies and the advocates of centralization are likely to seize upon this agitation as an excuse for legislation which will take the business of life insurance out of the hands of the various states. The democrats should draw a distinction between federal legislation which is supplemental to state legislation and that form of federal legislation which would substitute a national for a state remedy. No national charter should be granted to an insurance company and no federal supervision should interfere with the exercise of the power now vested in the states to supervise companies doing business in such states.

"So in devising a remedy for the trusts, the democratic party should resolutely oppose any and every attempt to authorize a national incorporation or chartering trading or manufacturing enterprises. Congress has control over interstate commerce and it is the only body that can deal effectively and efficiently with interstate commerce, but to control interstate commerce it is not necessary that it should create corporations or over-ride state laws. The democratic national platform of 1900 proposed a national remedy for the trusts entirely consistent with the preservation of state remedies. It suggested a license system—the license to permit a corporation to do business outside of the state of its origin upon compliance with the conditions of the license, but the license would not permit it to do business in any other state except upon compliance with the conditions provided by the state. In other words, it would be such a license as is now granted for the sale of liquor. When a federal license is issued for the sale of liquor, it does not carry with it any immunity from the laws of the state in which the licensee lives. The same reasoning should be applied to the insurance question and to all other questions which involve remedial legislation.

"No advocate of centralization should be permitted to impair the power of the various states over business done within their borders under the pretense that it is necessary to transfer the power to the national capitol, and no democrat should oppose necessary federal legislation when the powers of the several states are properly safe-guarded. It is possible to preserve in full force the power of both the federal government and the state government. It is only necessary that the legitimate functions of the two governments shall be clearly recognized and their spheres duly respected. I have mentioned only the question of insurance and the trust question, but there are many subjects which involve the issue between democracy and centralization.

"It is natural that the democratic party should advocate the election of senators by a direct vote of the people for this reform would remove a barrier erected between the people and their representatives in the senate. This provision of the constitution was a compromise between those who trusted the people and those who still doubted the capacity of the people for self government. There is no longer reason for doubt, and experiences show that the United States senate has become the bulwark of corporate interests. It can not be brought into sympathetic touch with the people until the method of election is so changed as to make the members of the senate responsible directly to the people.

"The initiative and the referendum are growing in popular favor because they increase the control of the people over their own affairs and make the government more responsive to the popular will.

"It should be the purpose and constant effort of the democratic party to bring the government into harmony with those who live under it and to make it reflect more and more their intelligence, virtue and patriotism. In proportion as the democratic party trusts the people and protects them it will win the confidence and support of the people and no one can doubt the final triumph of such a party without doubting the correctness and growth of the principles of free government."

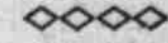


LET THE FOREIGNER PAY IT

The people of San Francisco asked for the removal of the protective tariff on building material, claiming that it was necessary in order to enable them to rebuild the stricken city. Congressman Kahn, republican, was in favor of it, but the republican party did not dare allow it. It would have afforded such a striking object

lesson of the iniquities of the tariff that the people would have insisted upon revision, regardless of its effects upon the treasury of the republican national committee.

But why should Congressman Kahn, or any other republican, favor the abrogation of the tariff insofar as it relates to building material imported for the rebuilding of San Francisco? Wouldn't it be merely a concession to the foreigner who now, if republican theories are correct, pays the tax?

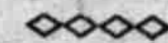


NATURE FAKIRS

While the president is denouncing nature fakirs he still clings to Alexander Hamilton, the greatest nature fakir to be found among American statesmen. Hamilton thought that the average man was a dangerous beast and that only the "well born" could be trusted with power. He put property rights above human rights and wanted the United States senate patterned after the House of Lords. He thought that democracy had to be strained through several official sieves before it could be used. To him the government was safest when it was farthest from the people. The trouble was he never got near enough to the people to get acquainted with their ambitions, habits and methods of thought. He distrusted the people because he did not know them.

The president has taken Hamilton for his guide and has naturally fallen into the same mistakes. He wants to do something for the people, but it does not occur to him that the people can act for themselves better than any one can act for them. If the president had Jefferson's faith in the people he would advocate the election of senators by the people, but in all of his many speeches he has never once suggested this reform, although three republican houses have voted for it and something like half the republican states have demanded it. Why does the president ignore it? For the same reason that he recommends national incorporation, namely, because he accepts Hamilton's ideas of a centralized government. He pictures the government as a benevolent despot generously guarding the people's interests while Jefferson regarded the government as a thing made by the people for themselves—a thing not only made by the people for themselves but a thing controlled by the people in their own interest.

It is the more strange that the president should subscribe to the doctrines of Hamilton when it is remembered that his popularity has been greatest among the masses. He ought to be willing to trust the judgment of those who trust him. If he will make a close study of the animal, man—the common man—he will find that he is the surest defender of human rights, the safest custodian of property rights and the real bulwark of the state. "The proper study of mankind is man" and Jefferson was the highest authority on man. If the president would sit at his feet he would avoid the dangers into which Hamilton will lead him.



NO "INVIDIOUS COMPARISON"

In his address at Portland, Ore., Secretary Taft said: "Now, without any invidious comparisons, the difference between President Roosevelt and other reformers is that when he speaks he speaks as a man with the power and the will to act, and when he speaks of the regulation of the railways and their supervision, so that they shall offer equal opportunities and bring about no unjust discrimination in favor of combinations of wealth, he passes that up to congress, and he thus makes good. He does not have a new platform every month for breakfast, but when he makes an announcement of a platform he makes it with a sense of responsibility that it is to be put into legislation and into government."

What was the resemblance between the Roosevelt "platform" wherein the trust magnates were called "captains of industry" and the "platform" that referred to them as "undesirable citizens?"

What resemblance between the "platform" that referred to the democratic resolutions adopted at Chicago as "anarchy" and the "platform" in which Federal Judge Humphrey was publicly reprimanded for his decision in the beef trust case?

What resemblance between the "platform," otherwise known as Secretary Taft's free trade order, providing that Panama canal supplies be purchased abroad in order to avoid trust exactions, and the "platform" which provided for