The Commoner.

in another state ought not to be sufficient to carry the case from the state to the federal court. Here too, an appeal from the supreme court of the state is always possible if any constitutional rights have been violated.

The movement inaugurated by the attorneys general of the various states is not only a very important one, but it is also a very significant one; it shows that the democratic position on this subject is so clearly a righteous position that republicans as well as democrats accept it as soon as they see the opposite principle acted upon. The federal courts have furnished the object lessons, and the people have been apt pupils; they have at once confronted the danger involved in the overriding of state laws and in the destruction of the state courts, and they respond with earnestness to the democratic appeal in behalf of the right of the state to protect the people in matters which are local.

"HELPLESS"

In his speech at St. I ouis, Mr. Roosevelt intimated that unless control over corporations were surrendered to the federa. government "we, the ninety millions of people of this country, will be left helpless to control the huge corporations which now domineer in our industrial life and that they (the corporations) will have the authority of the courts to work their desires unchecked."

Did the president's hearers overlook the fact that although the interstate commerce commission law was put upon the statute books twenty years ago no practical relief has come to the people from that provision?

In 1887 the people were suffering so much because of railroad imposition that an interstate commerce commission was created with the purpose of giving that commission control over the railroads, so far as interstate commerce is concerned. Little by little the life has been interpreted out of that law and during all these years the interstate commerce commission has been the laughing stock of men who made serthrough the state governments.

Even after the legislation of 1907 no substantial results have come through this federal commission and while the people have obtained some benefits the president's hearers must have known that those benefits have come largely through the state government.

It is significant that in his efforts to centralize in the federal power all authority over the railroads of the country the president has the cordial support of every railroad trust magnate in the land.

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HOW WILL THEY EXPLAIN?

The Newspaper Publishers' Association has formulated a demand that wood pulp and print paper be put upon the free list, declaring that the wood pulp and paper trust is taking advantage of the tariff to rob the publishers of the country. The truth of this declaration can not be denied. But how will the members of the association who advocate a "standpat" tariff policy explain to their readers who are suffering from similar exactions at the hands of the clothing trust, the cordage trust, the harvester trust, the anthracite and bituminous coal trusts, the meat trust, and a score of other trusts, all of which are barricaded behind the walls of the tariff? Why should newspaper publishers who advocate a tariff on the necessaries of life consumed by the general public, object to a tariff on the necessaries of the publishing concerns? A lot of "standpat" organ publishers will either have to do a lot of explaining to curious and inquisitive readers, or else resort to that very ancient dodge of "silent contempt."

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WHY NOT SUBMIT IT TO THE PEOPLE?

In his speech at St. Louis Mr. Roosevelt said: "There are difficulties arising from our dual form of government. If they prove to be insuperable resort must be had to the power of amendment."

Mr. Roosevelt would exercise this "power of amendment" through "the spirit of broad interpretation" which he says "can be found in the constitution as it is."

Surely the interpretation will be just as broad as the corporations want it to be, wherever the corporations control the court.

But if, as Mr. Roosevelt said in the same speech, "the constitution is unchanged and unchangeable save by amendment in due form," and if public interests require, as he says they do, material change in the manner of exercising control over these corporations, why not under-

take the change in due form and with the people's consent rather than through "the spirit of broad interpretation?"

Certainly Mr. Reosevelt recognizes the advantages of having so radical a change brought about through the people's consent rather than through "the spirit of broad interpretation," which would mean, in this instance, that the men who happen to occupy positions on the bench would so interpret the law as to destroy our dual system of government. It would centralize all power over corporations at Washington and please, beyond all measure, not only every railroad trust magnate but the very gentleman who owes his remarkable popularity to the impression that he is seriously bent upon protecting the public from the exactions of these same magnates. Why not submit the question to the people, Mr. President? You have said on several occasions that public sentiment could be depended upon and that it would invariably crystalize in the right direction. Why not put this theory to the test and in the testing give the American people an opportunity to vote upon the proposition upon which Mr. Roosevelt and the railroad magnates are just now so harmonious?

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"UNCHANGED AND UNCHANGEABLE"

In his address at St. Louis Mr. Roosevelt said: "The constitution is unchanged and unchangeable save by amendment in due form. But the conditions to which it is to be applied have undergone a change which is almost a transformation, with the result that many subjects formerly under the control of the states have come under the control of the nation."

But that is not true if the constitution is "unchangeable save by amendment in due form." Never in the history of the country was the wisdom of our system of government so justified as it is today.

If there has been any change in conditions it is that change which makes it necessary for the people to consider our system of government in a practical way and for the very protection of their homes where heretofore they have regarded it as a mere theoretical proposition proper subject for the discussion of statesmen but not to be dwelt upon by the rank and file.

If there is any change in conditions it is that those artificial persons created by the law and for the benefit of the public now seek, through the very destruction of the American system of government, to become the veritable masters of the people.

And in their efforts to take from the people the power over the corporations and centralize that power at the national capitol these trust magnates find their most ardent spokesman in the president of the United States.

Plainly Mr. Roosevelt has no adequate conception of the subject with which he assumes to deal else at the very moment when he is winning his popularity by certain proceedings against great corporations he would not advocate a plan which would make the people helpless for the future in the presence of corporate imposition.

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THE HAGUE COURT

The Hague peace conference has not accomplished as much as the friends of peace had hoped. The nations represented wanted peace but each one was anxious that it should be seeured without any sacrifice on its own part. Some of the nations wanted to discontinue the use of navies in the collection of private debts. and this would have been a long step in advance, but other nations objected on the theory that they might want to collect the debts due some of their citizens. Various propositions were presented, and some of them received con siderable support, but the final outcome is a disappointment, It is hard to secure peace by agreement when so many nations are to be consulted and so many conflicting interests are to be harmonized. The peace movement will make progress but that progress is not as rapid as it ought to be.

But why should the United States wait for an agreement with other nations? It has it within its sphere to promote peace at once. It can announce its own policy and thus set an example to other nations. This example may not be followed at once but it will give the friends of peace in other nations something to work for and an argument to use. For instance, our nation could announce—and it should do so—its determination not to use the navy for the collection of private debts. This would be

a beginning. Other nations would, one after another, follow its example, and a public opinion would be formed which would in time compel all nations to abstain from wars for the collection of private debts.

There is another thing which our nation should do, and it should do it at once, namely, announce its willingness to enter into an agreement providing for the submission to an impartial tribunal, before the commencement of hostilities and the declaration of war, of all disputes which defy diplomatic settlement. If it will announce such a policy, it will find a number of other nations willing to make such an agreement, and these will set the pattern for the rest of the world. The failure of The Hague conference to accomplish what it ought to have accomplished gives our nation an opportunity to lead the way and become the dominating factor in the promotion of peace.

WHY?

In his speech at Keokuk Mr. Roosevelt said:
"At intervals * * * the appeal has been made
to me not to enforce the law against certain
wrongdoers of great wealth because to do so
would interfere with the business prosperity of
the country. * * * It would be not merely
wrong but infamous to fail to do all that can
be done to secure the punishment of those
wrong-doers whose deeds are peculiarly reprehensible because they are not committed under
the stress of want. * * * Perhaps I am most
anxious to get at the politician who is corrupt;
* * * but assuredly I shall not spare his
brother corruptionist who shows himself a
swindler in business life."

This is well said. But why so many words without some serious action? If Mr. Roosevelt "shall not spare the corruptionist who shows himself a swindler in business life" why has he neglected to make serious efforts to put some of these wealthy rogues behind the bars?

THE LABOR ORGANIZATION

The labor organization has been an important factor in the laboring man's progress. It has shortened hours; it has increased wages; it has improved sanitary conditions; it has secured the passage of laws for the prevention of child labor; it was largely instrumental in introducing the secret ballot, and it has in a hundred ways made its impress upon industry, government and society. That it has made mistakes is true, but what organization composed of human beings is free from mistakes? Have the officials of the labor organization sometimes been corrupted? It would be strange if they had not, for high government officials have sometimes been convicted of dishonesty and even ministers of the gospel have occasionally fallen from grace.

The labor organization has helped those outside of it as well as those inside. To test it, take a case where a labor organization has secured an advance in wages and ask the employer why he pays union and non-union men the same wages, and he will tell you that the non-union men will not work for less than he pays the union men. And yet there are some who wonder why members of the union, who pay their dues to the organization and contribute to the support of their brothers on a strike, should object to sharing in the victory with those who not only refuse to bear the burdens, but sometimes endeavor to defeat the

Improved methods of transpoltation have greatly benefited the laborer by making it easier for him to move to better fields. Supply and demand have been brought nearer together and employment has been made steadier. While the steam railroads have been facilitating the distribution of labor over large areas, street car service in the cities has shortened the distance between the home and the factory and permitted the workingman to be at home for a longer time.

The spirit of brotherhood is growing and no class is likely to feel its influence more than the laboring class. It has already acted powerfully in bringing laboring men into sympathy with each other and it will ultimately bring harmony between the employer and the employes.

But as civilization is a continuing development so there must be continual advancement among all the elements that contribute to that civilization, and the laboring men are still struggling to secure a larger reward and a higher position for themselves and their descendants. Notwithstanding the fact that they enjoy in America more than their brethren