

lative bodies is undermining the confidence of the people in representative government." It is promoting radical socialism and developing elements of criminal anarchy.

The people desire many things which they are entitled to receive, which have been promised to them, and which have been withheld or at least not delivered by their public servants, who in reality make themselves the masters of the people when trusted with power.

The people want lower prices and the reduction of the tariff. Why don't they get it? They were promised reduction, but they got a higher tariff and higher prices than before.

The people want the control of monopoly and the reduction of the high prices of monopoly. Why don't they get it? All parties promise it, yet Moody's Manual shows that the gigantic monopolies have rapidly grown until their stocks and bonds comprise a third of the national wealth. They aggregate over thirty thousand millions of dollars. Moody's Manual for 1907, page 2330, gives over 1,000 companies absorbed or merged by or into other companies for 1907, and these conditions grow worse each year. Organized monopoly controls the meat market; controls the selling price of beef, mutton, pork, fowls and every variety of meat.

Organized monopoly controls the prices of all bakery products and candies and preserves; controls the prices of all canned goods and tropical fruits; controls the price of sugar and salt and spices. Monopolies control everything that goes on the table, as food, as tableware, china and glassware, and the price of the table itself; controls the price of everything that enters the house, the furniture, the carpets, the draperies; controls the price of everything worn upon the back of man, of woolen goods, of linen goods, of silk goods, of cotton goods, of leather goods. They control the price of all materials of which buildings are constructed—lumber, iron and steel, cement, brick, plaster, marble, granite, stone, tile, slate, and asphalt. They control paper and stationery goods, iron, copper and steel and metals and goods made of these materials. They control dairy products; they control railways and steamship lines, telegraph, telephone and express companies. They control everything needed by man, from the cradle which receives the baby, and the toys with which a child plays, to the casket and the ceremonies of the grave.

They have raised prices 50 per cent higher than the markets of the world, and their apologists, the political allies of commercial monopoly and their intellectual mercenaries, fill the public press with solemn argument about the quantitative theory of money and the increase of gold as explaining and justifying high prices.

The whole world is staggering under the high prices of monopoly, and the people of the United States are afflicted with prices 50 per cent higher than those paid by the balance of mankind. The people ask for bread and they get a stone. They ask for lower prices and they get a senatorial investigation as to the cause of high prices, and the cause of high prices when ascertained by this unnecessary and absurd research will unquestionably be used as a special plea and as an apology and pretext for denying the reasonable demand of the American people for the restraint of monopoly and the lowering of prices.

The people demand a fair price for their crude products, for their cattle and hogs and sheep and the corn and hay and grass fed into these domestic animals and marketed. The beef trust artificially fixes the price of what they produce, without competition, at an unfair price, and no remedy is afforded. The tobacco trust fixes the price of their tobacco, and is stirring up the night riders' rebellion with its ignorant, criminal, and pitiful protests, by stealing the value of the labor of the tobacco raiser by artificial prices and no relief is given. Gamblers in the market places undertake to force prices of wheat, corn, oats and cotton back and forth for gambling purposes and no relief.

Is it any wonder the people abandon the farm and find a worse condition in the grinding competition of labor in our great cities, where monopoly again fixes the price of labor? Is it any wonder labor makes violent efforts to protect itself and to protect the wives and children, who look to them for protection?

The people have been promised the control of monopoly. Why do they not get it? Are the people in control of government, or are the trusts in control? Do the people really rule?

The people desire an employers' liability act—eight hours of labor and one day of rest in seven and sanitary housing for labor. Why do they not get it? Is the demand unreasonable? Has not the condition at Pittsburg, the center of the great system of American protec-

tion, been fully set forth by the highest authority, by the trained experts of the Russell Sage foundation?

Did they not point out twelve hours of labor seven days in the week as the usual rule, impure water, impure food, unsanitary housing, sick women and children? Does not the recent report of the department of commerce and labor of the Bethlehem company confirm it? Why is there no relief from these hideous conditions of American life?

The part which the United States steel corporation has played in promoting political campaigns is an open secret and furnishes one of the obvious reasons why relief is not afforded.

The people would like publicity of campaign contributions, and a thorough-going corrupt practices act. Why do they not get it?

Who is interested in maintaining the corrupt practices? Do not the people desire it stopped?

Who opposes publicity of campaign contributions? Do not the people wish publicity of campaign contributions and effective control of the use of money in campaigns?

The people desire to control gambling in agricultural products. Who is concerned in maintaining this evil system of gambling in wheat and corn and oats and rye and cotton? Do the people desire this gambling to continue, and would it continue under the rule of the people?

Oh, it is said, Mr. President, that the people do not know what they want nor how to govern themselves directly, but only by representatives.

I emphatically deny it. The demonstration in Oregon is a final answer to such shallow pretenses. I confess for the most part they are an unorganized mob in politics; that for many years they have trusted political parties managed by machine methods; that they do not select candidates or issues; but Oregon and Oklahoma point a new and safe way to correct this deficiency.

The people wish the gambling in stocks and bonds to be terminated. Why does the senate not act? Why does not the congress act and forbid the mails to the most gigantic and wicked gambling scheme the world has ever known—a gigantic sponge, which absorbs by stealth and craft hundreds of millions annually from foolish gambling citizens, misled by false appeals to their avarice, cupidity, and speculative weaknesses, derisively called "the lambs," who pass in an unbroken stream to slaughter on the fascinating altars of mammon.

Why are the reserves of the national banks not used exclusively for commerce, but used instead as an agency of stock gambling and over-certification of checks as a chief auxiliary?

Why is there no control of over-capitalization of the overissue of stocks and bonds of corporations, another means by which the people are defrauded?

Why is there no effective control of railroad, passenger, and freight rates after twenty years of agitation? Do the people want reasonable railroad rates, or do the people conduct the government of the United States?

The present discussion of railroad freight rates on the floor of the senate and on the floor of the house is almost entirely in vain, because the jury is not an impartial jury, but a jury that, most unfortunately, under machine rule, can not be free from the influence of the enormous power of the railroads in politics. The debate is well-nigh useless, and for this reason will amount to nothing in the way of substantial relief to the American people.

Why is there no adequate control of the discrimination of railways against individuals, or discriminations in favor of one community against another?

The people are opposed to these discriminations, but their representatives who are in power do not adequately represent the reasonable desires of the people.

Why is there no physical valuation of railways as a basis of honest freight and passenger rates?

Why is there no parcels post? Would it serve the interest of the people and protect the deficit of the postoffice department? Undoubtedly. But the great express companies have such political power with the dominant representatives of the people that the dominant representatives do not justly represent the people, but represent instead those who contribute money secretly to campaign funds.

Why do we not have a national development of good roads, co-operating with every state and county in the union?

The people undoubtedly want it and undoubtedly need it.

Why do we not have a systematic development of our national waterways? The people want that, but the recent rivers and harbors

bill, appropriating fifty-two millions, spent many millions on local projects with political prestige, but without a thoroughgoing national design.

The people desired a pure food and drug act, and it took a long time to get it, and its administration now is made almost impossible by the influences over government of self-promoting commercial interests.

Why is equality of opportunity being rapidly destroyed and absorbed by corporate growth and power without any protection of the young men and people of the land? Do the people want equality of opportunity?

The people universally desire an income tax. It was defeated in the supreme court by a fallacious argument, which I have heretofore pointed out, and will probably be defeated as a constitutional amendment, because of machine rule and the influence of private interest with machine rule, which is more potential than the public welfare.

Why do the people not get a progressive inheritance tax on the gigantic fortunes of America? The people want it. Every nation in Europe has it, even under monarchies.

Finally, Mr. President, why do we not have election of senators by direct vote of the people? Nine-tenths of the people want it, and the senate of the United States defeats it. Do the people rule? Some of the republican leaders say, "Yes; the people rule through the republican party." My answer is, Mr. President, that if the people ruled through the republican party, they would have long since answered their own prayers and demands favorably and not denied themselves their own petitions.

Mr. President, the evils which have crept into our government have grown up naturally under the convention system, not through the faults of any particular man. The system of delegated government affords too open and abundant opportunity for commercialism and for mere self-seeking political ambition.

In some cases delegated government, even under a machine form, is perfectly upright, perfectly honest, and serves the cause of the people excellently well, but the mechanism of government by the delegate plan affords too great temptations for the alliance of commercialism and political ambition. An ordinary state convention, under the machine-rule plan, is composed of delegates delegated from county conventions; the county conventions consist of delegates delegated from the ward primary; the ward primary consists of a ward boss, a bouncer or two, and a crowd of strikers who do not represent the actual membership of the party voters of that ward, so that when a senator is nominated by a state convention he is often three degrees removed from the people, and is the choice of a machine and does not really feel fully his duty to the inarticulate mass.

It will be better for this country when senators and members of congress and state legislators and municipal legislators are chosen by the direct vote of the people and when the people have the right of recall by the nomination of a successor to their public servants. The people will never abuse their power.

The great political need in the United States is the establishment of the direct rule of the people, the overthrow of machine politics, the overthrow of corrupt or unwise use of money, intimidation, coercion, bribery; the overthrow of the various crafty corporate and political devices which have heretofore succeeded in nullifying the will of the people.

The great issue is to restore the direct rule of the people as members of parties and within both parties, and to abate the malign influence of machine methods.

The great issue is to enable the members of the republican party to control it, to provide a mechanism by which the members of the republican party, for example, can really nominate their own candidates for public office and for party office, and then require their elected representatives to represent the people who elect them and make effective the will of the party members who have nominated and elected them.

The great issue is to enable the members of the democratic party to directly nominate their own candidates, both in the party itself and for public office, and then require such public servants so nominated and elected to represent the people who nominated and elected them under penalty of the recall or under the safeguards of the initiative and referendum.

All they have, all the people have, is the power to defeat on election day a bad candidate, and thus they exercise some influence over nominations. The people do not in reality rule.

The people appear to rule through the present machinery of party government, but they

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