

vent the train from moving or prevent the train from being stopped if it ever got started. (See S. Doc. No. 438, 56th Cong., 1st sess.) Every useful thing has been opposed in its day and generation.

Lord Macauley once said: "Not only in politics, but in literature, in art, in science, in surgery and mechanics, in navigation and agriculture—nay, even in mathematics—we find this distinction. Everywhere there is a class of men who cling with fondness to whatever is ancient and who, even when convinced by overpowering reasons that innovation would be beneficial, consent to it with many misgivings and forebodings. We find also everywhere another class of men, sanguine in hope, bold in speculation, always pressing forward, quick to discern the imperfections of whatever exists, disposed to think lightly of the risks and inconveniences which attend improvements, and disposed to give every change of credit for being an improvement. In the sentiments of both classes there is something to approve. But of both the best specimens will be found not far from the common frontier. The extreme section of one class consists of bigoted dotards; the extreme section of the other consists of shallow and reckless empirics."

Lloyd-George, one of the strongest statesmen of the day, in supporting his bill, noted that the public-school system when first inaugurated in America created a widespread protest from taxpayers similar to the present protests in England against the insurance bill.

The struggle for social justice for the people who perform physical labor has been even greater and more stubbornly resisted. As late as the year 1800 men were severely punished in England for organizing guilds or labor unions, and the condition of the working class was little better than that of slaves. It was not until 1875, in England, that the laws against the trades-unions were repealed. In the early days of our own government nearly all the work was performed either by slaves or indentured servants, and wages amounted to an average of \$1 per day. Heartless writers referred to the laboring classes as the "living machines which wealth possesses."

When Eli Moore, the first member of a labor union to be elected to the congress of the United States, was about to take his seat in the Twenty-fourth congress there was a movement set on foot to try to prevent his being seated. Contumely, scorn, and derision were heaped upon him by the reactionaries of that day, who believed that the liberties of the republic were in danger because a member of the labor union had been elected to congress. But the stubborn courage of Eli Moore, his superlative eloquence, biting sarcasm, and wonderfully piercing analysis convinced the nation that no mistake had been made in sending a member of a labor union to congress, and so strikingly did this journeyman printer, this organizer of labor unions, this so-called "agitator" and "demagogue" distinguish himself for patriotism, learning and ability, that he became a confidential adviser of the administration of President James K. Polk. I mention these circumstances so that those who are supporting this contest in behalf of a larger human liberty will not become discouraged, but will become encouraged, when they reflect how much more intensely heated was the opposition to these reforms in the days gone by. He is wasting his time who believes he can stop or stay these forward movements in their progress. The movement, especially in behalf of those who perform physical labor, for a greater share of freedom, for the right to enjoy a part of the creation of their hands and of their own toil, will inevitably live,

for it is as broad based as the world itself and as deep as humanity.

Independent voting is now a protest against the machine politician in public affairs, and the great power of the people has written itself in much advanced legislation in the past few years, for we have restricted illegal combinations of capital and we are now engaged in the struggle to conserve the natural rights of men and women.

There is a growing sentiment against private ownership of public utilities, and the people demand the right to elect United States senators by popular vote. Markets and the mere piling up of yellow metal are beginning to be a secondary consideration. There is something more in the world than food and raiment. "Man can not live by bread alone." Hence natural justice demands that the labor of men and women shall be rewarded not only with sufficient food, clothing, and shelter, but also with independence, books, paintings, music, and flowers; with leisure time to spend with the family; with leisure time within which to cultivate the idealistic, aesthetic, and spiritual side of life; for, as R. D. Owen once well said, "There is a corner even in our workaday souls where the ideal lurks."

We are now realizing that the law-breaker is a human being, and that the lash, the horrors of subterranean dungeons, starvation, and other evidences of vengeance are of no avail. Under the old system—

"the man went crushed in spirit, broken in body, hopeless in soul, to the grim confines of the penitentiary, perhaps to emerge a marked man, branded with society's scarlet scar of disgrace, a hunted and hated thing forever after, or perhaps never again to come forth, but wasting away in want and discomfort, doomed to die the death of a neglected outcast."

Under the Arizona system, with the wise, humane, and Christian treatment instituted by Governor Hunt, the erring brother will emerge from prison reclaimed instead of ruined.

The great lesson yet to be learned by nations is the lesson of distribution. The earth can produce a hundred thousand times as much as is required for the comfort, convenience, and luxury of those who live upon it, and it might as well be understood here and now as elsewhere that this question of distribution of commodities must be settled, and it is not to be settled by a little timely patting on the back. It is not wise, it is not statesmanlike, to kick down the thermometer because it registers hot or cold weather not to our comfort. It is not wise, it is not statesmanlike, to destroy the barometer because it registers a coming storm. The heaping of all the wealth in the hands of the few, the unlawful speculations and gambling in food prices, have the effect of increasing the cost of living to a shocking degree. The heaping of all wealth in the hands of the few has the effect of reducing the multitude to poverty. With all our great wealth, the figure of want stalks amongst us, and thousands each year are destroyed by the Moloch of poverty. In New York City on December 17, 1912, a distinguished American statesman delivered an address and made use of the following words:

"God knows the poor suffer enough in this country. We must move for the emancipation of the poor, and that emancipation will not come without our own emancipation from the error of our mind as to what constitutes prosperity.

"Prosperity does not exist for a nation unless it pervades it. And the amount of wealth in a nation is much less important than the accessibility of the wealth. The more people you make accessible to the more energy you call forth."

Mr. President, nothing wiser,

truer, or more profound has been uttered recently, and I need not inform the senate who made that statement, for senators will perceive at once from the beauty of its diction and the correctness of its philosophy that it is the statement of Governor Woodrow Wilson.

General Knox, one of the first if not the first man who called George Washington "the Father of his Country," said in one of his reports as secretary of war to President Washington:

"It is the wisdom of political establishments to make the wealth of individuals subservient to the general good and not to suffer it to corrupt or attain undue indulgence."

Writing further, he said that—

"Certain people solicitous to be exonerated from their proportion of public duty will exclaim against the proposed arrangement as an intolerable hardship but it ought to be thoroughly impressed that while wealth and society have their charms, they also have their indispensable obligations."

So, Mr. President, when we contemplate the infinite affluence and opulence of our nation, and then remember that the eyes of millions of our countrymen "are sad with wakefulness and tears" because of the oppressions and hidden injustices caused by an improper and an unequal distribution of this wealth, when we see giant trusts, grasping combinations, and enmattered monopoly madly and wildly struggling for more millions we must admit that the noblest service in which the public man may engage, the most courageous service the patriot may perform, and the most useful work which the humanitarian may do is to try to apply a remedy. This reform is a part, and a part only, of the great work yet to be done to insure complete liberty to all persons. That this evil will be abolished in the fullness of time let no one doubt, for liberty has made her difficult but glorious way over thrones of tyrants, over injustice, over monarchs, and monopolies. She has been wounded at times, but has flown an eagle's flight, with "an eye that never winks and a wing that never tires." Her progress has sometimes been impeded by men who hold out delusive promises obviously incapable of fulfillment. Her progress has possibly been aided at times by cold and passionless conservatism, but aided much more by the ardent, fervent, and impetuous impulses of the human heart, for the spirit of liberty brooks no delay. She does not deal in diplomacy, policies, nor stratagems, nor does she deal with metaphysical subtleties. She is not proficient in the ignoble art of flattery.

The "conservative temperament" has rendered some service in advancing and preserving liberty under the law, but enthusiasm, enterprise, vehemence, experiment, and adventure have rendered services much more valuable, as they are the attributes that have carried the standards of progress and human happiness into the domain of ignorance, superstition, and injustice, and the noble enthusiasm of men and women of humanitarian impulse will in the years—the centuries—to come carry the standards of liberty yet farther and higher until shall come that day—

"When the war drums throb no longer and the battle flags are furled in the parliament of man, the federation of the world."

That day when no more men shall be hewn down by the sword of war; that day when in all this earth there shall be found no people oppressed, when no longer shall men and women die in a land of plenty for want of bread, and all shall have "the right to live by no man's leave underneath the law."

I thank the senate for its attention.

## Washington News

A dispatch to the Louisville Courier-Journal, says: A drastic provision, admittedly aimed at the powder trust, is contained in the fortification appropriations bill, drawn under the direction of Representative Swager Sherley, which was reported to the house. The provision cuts the maximum price to be paid for powder to 7 cents per pound.

A modification of the Burnett immigration bill was agreed to in a conference between the two houses. As agreed on, immigrants will have to read their own language in some cases.

A dispatch to the Louisville Courier-Journal says: Attorney General Wickersham officially discontinued the investigation of his department into the affairs of the "telephone trust" and advised the interstate commerce commission that in his opinion regulation would serve the public better than the dissolution of the company.

Articles of incorporation for the so-called "Rockefeller Foundation" to administer a philanthropic fund of \$100,000,000 to be donated by John D. Rockefeller were passed by the house, 152 to 65, after desultory opposition. The measure now goes to the senate.

Late figures indicate the next senate will have 50 democrats and 46 republicans, including insurgents.

A Havana dispatch, carried by the United Press, says: United States Minister Beaupre presented to President Gomez a note from the state department, couched in strong and unequivocal language, in which the United States demanded the immediate ratification by Cuba of the Guantanamo naval station treaty. The note also registered a vigorous protest against the alleged revolutionary agitation of many government officials, including the Cuban vice president and the speaker of the house.

Illegal traffic in postage stamps aggregating several million dollars annually has been reported by Postmaster General Hitchcock.

The money trust committee has decided that it will examine William Rockefeller.

Democratic senators held a caucus and decided it would be unwise and inexpedient to use the capitol building for a public reception on inauguration day.

Representative Stanley of Kentucky, offered a resolution before the

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