

know what a team means when I see it; and I know what the captain of a team must have if he is going to win. So it is no idle figure with me.

Now, what is their duty? You say, "Hasn't this congress carried out a great program?" Yes, it has carried out a great program. It has had the most remarkable record of any congress since the civil war has had, and I say since the civil war because I have not had time to think about those before the civil war.

HALF THE WORLD ON FIRE

But we are living at an extraordinary moment. The world has never been in the condition that it is in now, my friends. Half the world is on fire. Only America among the great powers of the world is free to govern her own life; and all the world is looking to America to serve its economic need, and while this is happening, what is going on?

Do you know, gentlemen, that the ocean freight rates have gone up in some instances to ten times their ordinary figure? And that the farmers of the United States, those who raise grain and those who raise cotton—these things that are absolutely necessary to the world as well as to ourselves—can not get any profit out of the great prices that they are willing to pay for these things on the other side of the sea because the whole profit is eaten up by the extortionate charges for ocean carriage?

In the midst of this the democrats propose a temporary measure of relief in a shipping bill.

The merchants and the farmers of this country must have ships to carry their goods, and just at the present moment there is no other way of getting them than through the instrumentality that is suggested in the shipping bill; and I hear it said in Washington on all hands that the republicans in the United States senate mean to talk enough to make the passage of that bill impossible.

These self-styled friends of business, these men who say the democratic party does not know what to do for business, are saying that the democrats shall do nothing for business.

CHALLENGES HIS OPPONENTS

I challenge them to show their right to stand in the way of the release of American products to the rest of the world. Who commissioned them, a minority, a lessening minority? For they will be in a greater minority in the next senate than in this.

You know it is the peculiarity of that great body that it has rules of procedure which make it possible for a minority to defy the nation, and these gentlemen are now seeking to defy the nation and prevent the release of American products to the suffering world, which needs them more than it ever needed them before. Their credentials as friends of business and friends of America will be badly discredited if they succeed.

If I were speaking for a selfish, partisan point of view, I could wish nothing better than that they could show their true colors as partisans and succeed. But I am not quite so malevolent as that. Some of them are misguided; some of them are blind; most of them are ignorant. I would rather pray for them than abuse them. But the great voice of America ought to make them understand what they are said to be attempting now. I have to say "are said to be attempting" because they do not come and tell me they are attempting them. I do not know why, I would express my opinion of them in parliamentary language, but I would express, I hope, no less plainly because couched in the terms of courtesy. This country is bursting its jacket, and they are seeing to it that the jacket is not only kept tight, but is riveted with steel.

The democratic party does know how to serve business in this country, and its future program is a program of service. We have cleared the decks. We have laid the lines now upon which business that was to do the country harm shall be stopped, and an economic control which was intolerable shall be broken up. We have emancipated America, but America must do something with her freedom.

BILLS TO AID BUSINESS

There are great bills pending in the United States senate just now, that have been passed by the house of representatives, which are intended as constructive measures in behalf of business—one great measure which will make available the enormous water powers of this country for the industry of it; another bill which will unlock the resources of the public domain which the republicans desire to save locked up so that nobody could use them.

The reason I say the republicans have not had

a new idea in thirty years is that they have not known how to do anything except sit on the lid. Now, if you can release the steam so that it will drive great industries it is not necessary to sit on the lid.

TO USE GREAT RESOURCES

What we are trying to do in the great conservation bill is to carry out for the first time in the history of the United States a system by which the great resources of this country can be used instead of being set aside so that no man can get at them. I shall watch with a great deal of interest what the self-styled friends of business try to do to those bills.

Do not misunderstand me. There are some men on that side of the chamber who understand the value of these things and are standing valiantly by them, but they are a small minority.

REAL FRIENDS OF AMERICA

The majority that is standing by them is on our side of the chamber, and they are the friends of America. But there are other things which we have to do. Sometimes when I look abroad, my friends, and see the great mass of struggling humanity on that great continent, it goes very much to my heart to see how many men are at a disadvantage and are without guides and helpers.

Don't you think it would be a pretty good idea for the democratic party to undertake a systematic method of helping the workingmen of America? There is a very simple way in which they can help the workingmen.

If you were simply to establish a great federal employment bureau, it would do a vast deal; by the federal agencies which spread over this country men could be directed to those parts of the country, to those undertakings, to those tasks, where they could find profitable employment.

LABOR NEEDS GUIDANCE

The labor of this country needs to be guided from opportunity to opportunity. We proved it the other day.

We were told that in two states of the Union 30,000 men were needed to gather the crops. We suggested in a cabinet meeting that the department of labor should have printed information about this in such form that it could be posted up in the postoffices all over the United States; and that the department of labor should get in touch with the labor departments of states, so that notices could go out from them.

BRING JOBS AND MEN TOGETHER

What was the result? Those 30,000 men were found and were sent to the places where they got profitable employment. I do not know any one thing that has happened in my administration that made me feel happier than that—that the job and the man had been brought together.

It will not cost a great deal of money and it will do a great deal of service if the United States were to undertake to do such things systematically and all the year 'round; and I for my part hope that it will do that. If I were writing an additional plank for a democratic platform I would put that in.

COURTS IN U. S. LAG BEHIND

And there is another thing that needs very much to be done. I am not one of those who doubt either the industry or the learning or the integrity of the courts of the United States, but I do know that they have a very antiquated way of doing business. I do know that the United States in its judicial procedure is many decades behind every other civilized government in the world; and I say that it is an immediate and an imperative call upon us to rectify that because the speediness of justice, the inexpensiveness of justice, the ready access of justice is the greater part of justice itself.

JUSTICE MAY BE LACKING

If you have to be rich to get justice, because of the cost of the very process itself, then there is no justice at all. So I say there is another direction in which we ought to be very quick to see the signs of the times and to help those who need to be helped.

And then there is something else. The democrats have heard the republicans talking about the scientific way in which to handle a tariff, though the republicans have never given any exhibition of a knowledge of how to handle it scientifically. If it is scientific to put additional profits into the hands of those who are already getting the greater part of the profits, then they have been exceedingly scientific.

SCIENCE OF PRIVILEGE

It has been the science of selfishness; it has been the science of privilege. That kind of sci-

ence I do not care to know anything about, except enough to stop it. But if by scientific treatment of the tariff they mean adjustment to the actual conditions of America and the world, then I am with them; and I want to call their attention, for though they voted for it they apparently had not noticed it, to the fact that the bill which creates the new trade commission does that very thing.

We were at pains to see that it was put in there. That commission is authorized and empowered to inquire into and report to congress, not only upon all the conditions of trade in this country, but upon the conditions of trade, the cost of manufacture, the cost of transportation—all the things that enter into the question of the tariff—in foreign countries as well as in the United States, and into all those questions of foreign combinations which affect international trade between Europe and the United States.

POINTS LESSON TO CLASS

It has the full powers which will guide congress in the scientific treatment of questions of international trade. Being by profession a schoolmaster, I am glad to point that out to the class of uninstructed republicans, though I have not always taught in the primary grade.

At every turn the things that the progressive republicans have proposed that were practicable the democrats either have done or are immediately proposing to do. If that is not our bill of particulars to satisfy the independent voters of the country, I would like to have one produced. There are things that the progressive program contained which we, being constitutional lawyers, happened to know can not be done by the congress of the United States.

QUESTIONS FOR STATES

That is a detail which they seem to have overlooked. But so far as they can be done by state legislatures, I for one, speaking for one democrat, am heartily in favor of their being done. Because democrats do not congregate merely in Washington. They congregate also in the state capitols and they congregate there in very influential numbers and with very influential organizations.

Just before I came away from Washington I was going over some of the figures of the last elections, the elections of November last. The official returns have not all come in yet.

SHOWS DEMOCRATIC VICTORY

I do not know why they are so slow in getting to us, but so far as they have come in they have given me this useful information, that taking the states where senators were elected and where senators were not elected, taking the election of governors and where governors were not elected, taking the returns for the state legislatures or for the congressional delegates, the democrats, reckoning state by state, would, if it had been a presidential year, have had a majority of about eighty in the electoral college.

Fortunately or unfortunately, this is not a presidential year; but the thing is significant to me for this reason.

A great many people have been speaking of the democratic party as a minority party. Well, if it is not so much of a minority party as the republican, and as between the minorities I think we can claim to belong to the larger minority.

INDEPENDENT VOTER BOSS

The moral of that is merely what I have already been pointing out to you, that neither party in its regular membership has a majority. I do not want to make the independent voter too proud of himself, but I have got to admit that he is our boss; and I am bound to admit that the things that he wants are, so far as I have seen them mentioned, things that I want.

I am not an independent voter, but I hope I can claim to be an independent person, and, I want to say this distinctly, I do not love any party any longer than it continues to serve the immediate and pressing needs of America.

NATION ABOVE PARTY

I have been bred in the democratic party; I love the democratic party, but I love America a great deal more than I love the democratic party; and when the democratic party thinks that it is an end in itself, then I rise up and dissent.

It is a means to an end, and its power depends, and ought to depend, upon its showing that it knows what America needs, and is ready to give it what it needs. That is the reason I say to the independent voter, you have got us in the palm of your hand.

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