

Your reference to R— is amusing. What a remarkable woman she must be! I have scarcely exchanged ten sentences on politics with her for two years, but she is accused of giving me my politics. I have noticed that many Republicans think as I do on these principles. I wonder if they get their politics from R—. Wonderful woman! But then, you never give me credit for any original thinking when I do not agree with you. Never mind; I love and honor you just the same.

The "Interests" brought on a panic last Fall in good, prosperous Republican times—a panic so serious that it has shaken the confidence of the people in our financiers as never before, and shown the utter inefficiency of our banking institutions, and left a deficit in the national treasury. This fact only strengthens my argument that it makes no difference about times, whichever party is in power. The "Interests" are to blame, and they are supporting the party and candidate this year which they think, if elected, will be least injurious to them—Taft.

I have briefly outlined my position politically, and reasons for taking it. I shall vote as I learned to vote when I began to think for myself—independently.

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POLITICAL MORALITY AND THE AMERICAN TARIFF.

Principal Parts of the Address of Franklin Pierce of New York, Before the International Free Trade Congress at London, August 4-7.

I am gratified to meet with earnest men from all parts of the world gathered to counsel together on the freedom of trade and the peace of the world. While I appreciate the great honor of addressing you, I can but lament that the subject upon which you have asked me to speak involves a grievous condition of affairs in my country. . . .

The alliance between our captains of industry and politicians for private gain is a standing menace to political morality. We have deliberately given to our legislators the power by Congressional enactment of transferring through protective tariffs millions of dollars from the hands of the people to the pockets of a few industrial leaders. By restricting foreign competition these colossal combinations have been permitted to spring up and to become stronger than Congress and the President, and more persistent than any general public opinion. They are growing more and more powerful every day to fight for their advancement. The protected monopoly strikes down the small manufacturer, turns tens of thousands of independent dealers into mere workmen, creates a king of feudal state with the whole country dependent upon it, and seeks to add millions to its already acquired millions through tariff acts, ship subsidies, and other special legislation. Behind every tariff

law will be found nothing but private interests, clinging like parasites to the Government, constantly urging their claims, and seeking by discreditable means to interest senators and representatives in the passage of their measures. . . .

The approved method of procuring tariff legislation is by contributions on the part of the trusts to the campaign committees of both political parties, in cases where there is doubt as to which party will win. In national campaigns, in State campaigns, and even in municipal contests, about every protected trust, for the purpose of winning the favor of the politicians, opens its bank balance to one or both of the parties. The Republican manager says to the manufacturer, "Protection has made you rich; Free Trade will make you poor. The Democrats are Free Traders; if they win in the city or in the State, they will be just so much stronger in the nation, and they will give you Free Trade. If we win, we will continue to give you Protection and special legislation. This is the condition; come down with your cash." They do come down with their cash, and the control of the tariff question and of other special legislation, touching the welfare of every man, woman, and child in our country, is placed in the hands of political leaders and United States senators who have received this money under the pledge to return to the giver such legislation as he desires. . . .

It is estimated that about \$5,000,000, was contributed by manufacturers and bankers to the Republican party in the Presidential campaign of 1896. . . . In 1900, and again in 1904, corruption funds amounting to millions of dollars were gathered by the Republican party from the manufacturers and from stockholders in manufacturing corporations. . . . In the campaign of 1904, President Roosevelt selected as the campaign manager, George B. Cortelyou, the Secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor in the National Government. The law creating that department of the Government conferred upon its head extensive powers of investigation into the affairs of every manufacturing company engaged in interstate commerce in the United States. Because of his official position, Mr. Cortelyou had procured wide information as to the secrets of the great manufacturing combinations. Surely no man in the country was better fitted to procure campaign contributions from the monopolists than Mr. Cortelyou, the inquisitor of their business. Mr. Cortelyou has been for some time the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States in President Roosevelt's Cabinet. In the autumn of last year, in the midst of the financial panic, he deposited large amounts of Government money with New York City national banks. The men connected with these banks and with Wall Street are also largely interested in industrial undertakings

and industrial stocks. So wisely did Mr. Cortelyou parcel out the moneys of the Government with the banks that in return therefor he was promised the aid of Wall Street for the Presidency. When the matter came to the attention of the President he promptly destroyed this presidential boom of his secretary. The support of the men who had pledged themselves to Mr. Cortelyou was transferred, it is said, to Mr. Taft. . . .

Thousands of contributions from manufacturers are made to the National Campaign Committee of the Republican party in each national campaign. In the last Congress, a Bill was introduced requiring the chairman of the National Campaign Committees to disclose to the public the names of the contributors to their funds and the several amounts given, and to make this disclosure before the election so that the people might know to what extent money was being used in the campaign, but this measure was defeated. Again, in the recent National Convention of the Republican party at Chicago, a proposed plank in the platform favoring such a law was voted down by a vote of 880 to 94. The same convention nominated James S. Sherman, a member of the House of Representatives for many years from the State of New York, for the office of Vice-President of the United States. For many years Mr. Sherman has been the chairman of the Republican Congressional Committee and as chairman was the collector of the campaign tribute of manufacturers to Congressional elections. While in the House of Representatives he has for many years been a member of the Committee on Rules. This committee is omnipotent in the control of legislation, being able to prevent the passage of any measure in the House. Occupying this position of power, he was able to ward off legislation unfavorable to contributors of campaign funds, and now he has been rewarded with a nomination to the second office in honor which can be conferred upon a citizen of our country. . . .

We allow the trusts to finance our political campaigns, and then permit their existence and abuses to become an excuse on the part of our President and his party for the exercise of arbitrary government to suppress them. The source of the trust could be easily destroyed by removing the tariff, but that would stop contributions to campaign disbursements, so our politicians continue the tariff, and then as a remedy prescribe penal statutes, interstate-commerce commissions, administrative tribunals, and other similar measures. Because such action is apparently directed against the monopolies the people approve it, and arbitrary government has gone forward in recent years by leaps and bounds. We are even told by our President that the power of the Federal Government—a power delegated by the people and which can be changed legally only through a Constitutional

amendment by the people—may be increased when deemed necessary “through executive action and through judicial interpretation and construction” of the Constitution. Never before in human history, I believe, has the head of a constitutional government, who had sworn to protect, preserve and defend its written fundamental provisions, openly advised their subversion through “executive action and through judicial interpretation.” . . .

Americans look with aversion on the Russian bureaucracy, but they fail to observe that in recent years they are drifting toward just such absolute government at home. We are a republic in the Occident ruled largely by commissions, and an empire in the Orient ruled by military power. From year to year we have been adopting precisely the same methods of bureaucratic government that have long existed in Russia and Prussia. . . . Leslie M. Shaw, the late Secretary of the treasury of the United States, in a speech in Chicago on May 22 of the present year said: “A few months ago the largest capitalized corporation on the globe sent its representative to the chief executive of the United States asking permission to take over its principal competitor. It is concurrently reported that permission was granted, and so far as I know the American people approve.” Mr. Shaw referred to a well known fact in our country. The Trust Company of America in the financial panic of last autumn, while facing a run of its depositors, applied to J. Pierpont Morgan, of the United States Steel Corporation, for assistance. At that time this Trust Company was the owner of a controlling interest in the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company, about the only large competitor in America of the United States Steel Corporation. Mr. Morgan made it a condition of extending aid to the Trust Company that it should sell its interest in the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company to the United States Steel Corporation. This combination was in direct violation of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. The United States Steel Corporation therefore applied to the President, and he gave his permission that the combination be made—the exercise of a power which no other chief executive in the world outside of Russia would dare to assume. . . .

But usurpation of power is not confined to the President; it is apparent in all the branches of Government, and especially in the growth of the power of administrative tribunals. . . . Let me give you one startling instance of the exercise of such arbitrary power. A Chinaman by the name of Ju Toy, in the year 1903, was a passenger on the steamship *Dorick*, returning from China to San Francisco. The immigration officers of San Francisco detained him as a person not allowed to enter our country under our laws. Ju Toy declared that he had been a citizen of the United

States for many years and that the Commission had no right to deport him to China. Now observe the kind of hearing he had. The rules of the Immigration Bureau require its officers to prevent communication between a Chinese immigrant and anyone aside from the immigration officers. They conduct a private examination to determine whether he has the right to land, the head of the Commission designating the only witnesses who may be present upon the examination. After such a hearing without counsel Ju Toy was held by the Commissioner of Immigration as not entitled to admission. He took an appeal from this decision to the Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, and the decision was affirmed. Then Ju Toy procured a writ of habeas corpus from a Federal District Judge alleging that he was a citizen of the United States, that he had gone to China on a visit, and the other facts connected with his detention. The district Judge granted the writ of habeas corpus, and upon the return thereof the Court refused to dismiss the writ, but appointed a referee to take the testimony. Thereafter the referee reported that Ju Toy was a citizen of the United States, and this decision was confirmed by the Court. Upon appeal to the Supreme Court of the United States it was held by a majority of that Court that the decision of the administrative tribunals, the Commissioner of Immigration, and the Secretary of the Treasury was conclusive upon Ju Toy, that a mistake in their decision could not be remedied in the Courts, and that Ju Toy, although a citizen of the United States, must be returned to China. . . .

The trust magnates own the mines and minerals; they own a considerable part of the remaining forest lands; they control the great railway systems; they control the majority of manufacturing, and hold the franchises of the cities. Through these acquisitions they have become the rulers of our Republic without holding any office whatever. But the people are slow to see the danger of such vast and irresponsible power exercised by a few men, because they plot in secret and mine and countermine our public life. Eventually, if they are not stopped, they will reduce the American people to servitude. . . .

The right of commercial intercourse between nations derives its force from the laws of nature. Gathered from all parts of the world, let us hope for the approach of the day when Government will cease to obstruct the action of these natural laws, when armies and navies shall be dispersed, and peace shall for ever reign among the children of men. It probably will not come in our day; it may not come in a century, but still let us hope and work that it may eventually come.

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We live under a political republic and under an industrial despotism.—New Castle (Pa.) Free Press.

PROTECTING THE FRENCHMAN AGAINST THE YANKEE.

For The Public.

The Machine Tool builders of France are asking for a very much higher duty to protect the French workmen against the competition of America and Germany, claiming that without it they cannot build tools at a profit, owing to the cheapness of American tools due to our advanced shop methods.

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An appeal comes o'er the water,
With a most familiar sound
That we hear at home so often
When election's coming round.

In France the great tool builders
To the makers of laws now pray
For a higher duty on things they make,
To keep our tools away.

"Protect us against the Yankee
With his mighty, ingenious plants;
For we can't compete with his products
Here in our beautiful France.

"Protect us, oh, only protect us
With a tariff wall high and long,
Till our infant industries grow apace,
And become like theirs, so strong.

"And then you'll see our prices
Drop even lower than theirs;
But we must protect our workmen
From competing with their wares."

Now this strikes me as funny
When so often we hear, perchance,
The plea to protect our workmen
From the pauper labor of France;

While the employers of that labor,
With tears in their voice and eyes,
Complain that our tools are cheaper.
I wonder who 'tis that lies?

Oh! when will our high-priced workers
Look around and understand
That high prices are made by tariffs,
Wage, by supply and demand?

See that the talk of protection,
Is not for them or theirs,
But to fill the employer's pocket
With high prices on his wares;

And that spite of our higher wages,
We can sell our tools in France,
And need not the high wall duty
To protect our large tool plants?

Oh! when will you see, you workers?
Why will you the answer shirk?
Wage depends not on tariff,
But on how many men need work.