

ROOSEVELT'S SUDDEN CONVERSION.

No Message in Behalf of People's Cause in Seven and a Half Years T. R. Was President.

By WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

Solomon says that the borrower is servant unto the lender. If this applies to one who borrows ideas Mr. Roosevelt does not recognize the obligation, for he has not only borrowed from the Democratic party a few public men but he has shown himself strangely ungrateful for the ideas taken. Of course it will not be contended that an idea can be patented. It is the only thing, in fact, that is not subject to monopoly.

Even Mr. Perkins, with all his fondness for the trust, would not contend that a monopoly in ideas could be formed and made subject to regulation by a bureau appointed by the president. Mr. Roosevelt, however, has won his popularity by the advocacy of things previously advocated by the Democrats, and still he is all the while assailing the Democrats bitterly and has shown toward them a hostility that is hard to explain.

To show the extent of his borrowing, let me enumerate some of the things which he now advocates that were advocated by the Democrats at an earlier date.

Shall the People Rule?

Take his paramount issue of the present campaign—namely, the rule of the people. The platform adopted by the Democratic national convention at Denver four years ago contained the following:

"Shall the people rule? is the overwhelming issue which manifests itself in all the questions now under discussion."

Here is the very phrase which he employs, and it is not only declared to be an issue, but the overwhelming issue. It was dwelt upon by the candidates and by other speakers during the campaign, so that Mr. Roosevelt, then president, may be assumed to have had notice of it. He not only refused to admit that it was the paramount issue, but he displayed extraordinary activity in urging upon the country Mr. Taft, whom he has since declared to be the agent of bosses and the enemy of popular government.

It would seem that he ought to make some slight acknowledgment of his indebtedness to the Democratic party for suggesting this issue to him. At least, he might put the issue in quotation marks.

He is now advocating the direct election of senators, but if he ever expressed himself in favor of this reform earlier than two years ago the fact has escaped my observation, and I have not only watched carefully, but waited anxiously, for some favorable expression from him.

Long Fight For Popular Election of Senators.

The Democratic party began the fight for the popular election of senators twenty years ago this summer, when a Democratic house of representatives at Washington passed for the first time a resolution submitting the necessary amendment. Since that time a similar resolution has been passed by the house in five other congresses—first, in 1894 by another Democratic house; then, after two congresses had elapsed, by three Republican houses, and, last, by the present Democratic house. During the twenty years the reform has been endorsed in three Democratic platforms, the platforms of 1900, 1904 and 1908, and it has been endorsed by the legislatures of nearly two-thirds of the states. Mr. Roosevelt must have known of the effort which was being made by the people to secure the popular election of senators, and yet he took no part in the fight. During this time he was president for seven and one-half years, and it is quite certain that a ringing message from him would have brought victory to the people's cause, but no message came. Four years ago the convention which he controlled and which nominated Mr. Taft rejected, by a vote of seven to one, a resolution endorsing this reform.

Still Mr. Roosevelt did not say anything. He neither rebuked the Republican convention nor endorsed the strong plank which was included in the Denver platform. Even Mr. Taft went so far during the campaign of 1908 as to say that PERSONALLY he was inclined to favor the popular election of senators by the people, but Mr. Roosevelt did not even indicate an intention in that direction. Now, when the reform is practically secured—the amendment being before the states for ratification—he declares himself in favor of it. Would it not be fair for him to indicate in some way his appreciation of the long continued fight waged by the Democrats in behalf of this reform before he espoused it?

T. R. and the Income Tax.

Mr. Roosevelt is in favor of an income tax. How long since? His first endorsement of it was during his second term, and then it was suggested as a means of limiting swollen fortunes and not as a means of raising revenue. The Democratic party included an income tax provision in the Wilson law of 1904. When this provision was declared unconstitutional by the supreme court by a majority of one the Democratic party renewed the fight and has contended for the income tax in three national campaigns. In 1908 the Democratic platform demanded the submission of an amendment specifically authorizing an income tax—the very amendment now before the states for ratification.

Mr. Roosevelt's candidate, Mr. Taft, declared during the campaign that an

amendment was not necessary. Mr. Roosevelt never made an argument in favor of the amendment or in favor of the principle embodied in it. The amendment has now been ratified by thirty-four states; but, so far as I know, Mr. Roosevelt has never made a speech in favor of its ratification nor, since the submission of the amendment, made a speech urging an income tax as a part of our fiscal system. It would not require any great stretch of generosity on his part to credit the Democratic party with priority in the advocacy of this reform.

Not Always For Railroad Regulation.

Mr. Roosevelt is now an advocate of railroad regulation. When did he commence? The Democratic party in its platforms of 1896, 1900 and 1904 demanded an extension of the powers of the interstate commerce commission. Up to 1904 Mr. Roosevelt never discussed the subject of railroad regulation officially or in public speech, so far as I have been able to find. Although nominated without opposition in the convention of 1904, his platform contained no promise of railroad regulation. By its attitude on the railroad question the Democratic party alienated the support of those railway officials who counted themselves Democrats, and Mr. Roosevelt, both in 1900, when he was a candidate for vice president, and in 1904, when he was a candidate for president, had the benefit of the support of those ex-Democrats. It was in 1904 that he wrote his famous letter to Mr. Harriman and in the state of New York profited by the campaign fund that Mr. Harriman raised.

When after 1904 Mr. Roosevelt took up the subject of railroad regulation he found more hearty support among the Democrats in the senate and house than among the Republicans, so that he has reason to know that the Democratic party has for a long time planted itself boldly upon the people's side on the subject of railroad regulation.

Under the circumstances we might expect some complimentary reference to our party's attitude instead of anathemas.

T. R.'s Complete Somersault.

On the subject of publicity as to campaign contributions he has not only adopted the Democratic position, but he has been compelled to turn a complete somersault in order to do so. In 1908 the Democratic platform demanded the publication before election of the names of individual contributors and the amounts contributed. Mr. Roosevelt at that time endorsed Mr. Taft's contention that the publication should be deferred until after the election, and even went so far as to give reasons for believing that it would be improper to make the publication before the election. Two years later he declared in favor of publicity before and after the election, landing on the Democratic side shortly before the law was enacted carrying out the Democratic platform on this subject. Here, surely, he ought to praise the Democratic party for the pioneer work it has done in purifying politics.

Here are a few of the things which bear the Democratic brand, and with all of his experience on the plains he will not be able to "work the brand over" so as to make it look like "T. R."

REPUBLICAN HOPE RESTS IN WILSON.

Gov. Burke Declares For Democrat and Gives His Reasons.

By JOHN BURKE, Governor of North Dakota. The election of Governor Wilson is the only thing that can save the Republican party. Four years of President Taft has split it in two. We have no reason to believe that he will be any different or that his second administration, if he is re-elected, will be any more satisfactory to the people than his first. His re-election will mean the division of the Republican party into many warring factions, which can only result in final dissolution of all.

The end will come quicker and just as certain if Roosevelt is elected, for he is no longer a Republican, but is the leader of a new party, at war with the Republican party, as it is with the Democratic party. On the other hand, if Wilson is elected the Roosevelt party will perish; the Republicans will reorganize their party, purge it of the baneful influence of corporate power and greed and make it again the grand old party it was in the days of Lincoln.

Louis D. Brandeis performed a real public service when he quoted the records to show that George W. Perkins is and always has been an enemy of union labor.

Wonder if Emerson was gazing upon a moose calf when several decades ago he wrote:

I am the owner of the sphere, Of the seven stars and the solar year.

The constitutional amendments—five in number—being advertised throughout the state, will not be voted on in November. These amendments, before they will be voted on by the people, must be ratified by the next legislature. If the next legislature acts favorably on the amendments, the questions then will come before the people to vote yes or no at the election in 1913.

Farmers in Sugar Valley are losing hogs from cholera, the disease having appeared in several sections.

BIG FAVORS IN RETURN.

Frick, Gould and Morgan Gave \$100,000 Each—Corporations Gave 73 1/2 Per Cent of Entire Amount Received.

John D. Archbold's statement that the Standard Oil company contributed \$100,000 to Mr. Roosevelt's campaign fund in 1904 was confirmed by George R. Sheldon, who succeeded Cornelius N. Bliss as treasurer of the Republican national committee.

Not only did the Standard Oil company give \$100,000 to elect Mr. Roosevelt president, but J. Pierpont Morgan & Co. gave \$100,000. H. C. Frick gave \$100,000 and George Gould gave another \$100,000. Mr. Sheldon testified that 73 1/2 per cent of Mr. Roosevelt's total campaign fund was contributed by corporations.

Naturally these people gave their money freely to the Roosevelt campaign fund.

Testifying that he had contributed \$150,000 to the Roosevelt campaign fund in 1904 because he was "especially interested," Mr. J. P. Morgan added, "The only interest we had was in the welfare of the public."

Mr. Morgan emphasized his devotion to Mr. Roosevelt's political fortunes by the further statement that J. P. Morgan & Co.'s usual contribution to Republican campaign funds was only \$100,000; that he never heard of any donation by his firm to the Democrats; that when Mr. Taft was a candidate in 1908 the sum subscribed was \$30,000 and that this year neither he nor his banking house had subscribed a dollar.

How It Was All Done.

To grasp these pregnant facts we have only to recall a little modern history. In 1904 Mr. Roosevelt had his bureau of corporations in working order. Mr. Cortelyou, lately in control of it as secretary of commerce and labor, had been made chairman of the national Republican committee. He and Cornelius N. Bliss, treasurer, were collecting money. As George R. Sheldon, Mr. Bliss' successor, says, 73 1/2 per cent of the funds received came from the menaced corporations.

If we do not find in these disclosures a sufficient explanation of J. P. Morgan & Co.'s "special interest" in Mr. Roosevelt's election, it is possible that later events may reveal it.

Mr. Roosevelt never prosecuted J. P. Morgan & Co.'s steel trust. He emphatically stopped the proceedings instituted by others against J. P. Morgan & Co.'s harvester trust. When the panic of 1907 was at its height he turned the resources of the treasury over to J. P. Morgan & Co., who used them and made money and reputation by the process. He met Gary and Frick, representing J. P. Morgan & Co.'s steel trust, before breakfast one morning and licensed them. In violation of law, to absorb the Tennessee Coal and Iron company, thus giving J. P. Morgan & Co.'s steel trust a monopoly of high grade iron ore. He put Mr. Bacon, a partner of J. P. Morgan & Co., into the state department and the diplomatic service. He made Herbert Satterlee, J. P. Morgan's son-in-law, assistant secretary of the navy. In a letter to Attorney General Bonaparte he testified feelingly to the virtues of the "Morgan interests which have been so friendly to us." Never before was the "public welfare" so cheaply protected.

Extent of Morgan interests. The "Morgan interests" are not confined to J. P. Morgan & Co. by any means. The Morgan interests comprehend life insurance companies, banks and trust companies, railroads and manufacturing enterprises. If the parent house increased its regular Republican contribution in 1904 because of its "special interest" we may easily imagine that the policy was widely imitated by affiliated corporations and individuals. Perhaps in this almost unexampled favor by the Morgan interests we shall find an explanation of the Roosevelt administration's hostility to the Standard Oil interests, which have not always agreed with J. P. Morgan & Co. concerning "the welfare of the public."

It may be that the senate committee will be able to throw more light on this point, but it can hardly add anything to the scandal of the Morgan-Roosevelt alliance. It was Mr. Roosevelt who opened up to J. P. Morgan & Co. the possibilities of government by big business. It was Mr. Roosevelt who persuaded J. P. Morgan & Co. to plunge deeply into politics. It was Mr. Roosevelt who, consulting "the public welfare," registered the decrees of J. P. Morgan & Co. in the White House. Not until Mr. Roosevelt had lost control of the Republican machinery and the law providing for publicity of campaign contributions had gone into effect did J. P. Morgan & Co. disappear from the list of regular contributors to the colossal corruption funds of the Republican party. Are J. P. Morgan & Co. now operating politically under cover of their recent partner, George W. Perkins?—New York World.

What a blessing our big crops are going to be to our country and the whole world during the coming year. And our business people declare that the prospects for big business undertakings were never better than they are at the present moment.

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