

in sympathy with his friends; and these great interests, anxious that he should make no mistake, that he should appoint a safe man, a man with whom they (the trusts and monopolies) would be safe, present to him the attorney and confidential adviser of Pullman, the man who advised Pullman during the great Pullman strike. And another element presents Governor Griggs, of New Jersey. And who stands sponsor for Griggs? The Associated Press informs us that Griggs was likely to be appointed, as the railroad interests and Vice President Hobart were pressing for his appointment. Hobart, who occupies the dual position of president of the Joint Traffic Association of the Railroads and Vice President of the people! Hobart, who acted as lobbyist for the Standard Oil Company and the railroads against the passage of the Free Pipe Bill by the New Jersey Legislature! And Hobart and the railroad interests press for the appointment of Griggs, and McKinley, like a puppet in their hands, appointed Griggs; appointed him, not to protect the people in their rights, but to protect the monopolies and trusts in their robbery of the people. Think of it, fellow citizens! Think of it, Americans! The government of this great Republic organized in the interests of the trusts and monopolies, and against the rights of the people! But how is this robbery of the people perpetrated? Let me tell you? A monopoly or a trust creates no wealth. Wealth can only be created by the labor of men's hands; by the application of brain and muscle upon the resources of nature. A monopoly creates no wealth. A monopoly is a scheme to absorb the wealth created by other men's labor. To illustrate. All of the men, women and children in America that work, work, and as a result of that labor for one year a certain enormous amount of wealth is created. Now mark, the trusts and monopolies created none of this wealth. It was the labor of the people that created it. But, if under this system of combination, the Standard Oil Company can come in, and scoop out of this pile of wealth, that the people have created, forty or fifty millions of dollars worth of this wealth more than a fair competitive profit; and, if the railroads of the country, under this scheme of Joint Traffic Associations; if the Sugar Trust, the Beef Trust, the White Lead Trust, the great Steel Combine, and every one of the trusts that now control the resources of the country, can come in and take from this pile of wealth, which the people have produced, from one to two hundred millions more, annually, than a fair competitive profit, I say to you, that, by the time these trusts have taken what they are able to take under this system there is nothing left for the people and the people who produce this wealth are becoming poorer and poorer as the years roll round, and all the magnificent wealth and resources of the country are being absorbed by a few men.

The men who control the highways of the Republic have got up a combine or trust in the anthracite coal of the land. In 1882, a committee was appointed by Congress to investigate this coal trust. This committee reported, "That the combine had raised the price of coal \$1.25 and \$1.35 a ton, and that the extortion" (now mark my words: I use the exact words of the committee ("the extortion was

considerably more than a dollar a ton, or from \$40,000,000 to \$41,000,000 a year." Now, mark, forty-one millions of the wealth produced by the people in one year swept from them into the capacious maw of this coal combine at one fell swoop. The committee further reported that, "from 1873 to 1886, two hundred millions more than a fair market price was taken from the public by this combination," (see Report of Committee of Congress, 1893, pp. 3, 4, 6.) and the judicial department of the government, under both Cleveland and McKinley's administrations, were and are organized to make the people stand it. How many millions more are being taken from the people, above a fair profit, by the Bituminous Coal Combine, a combination organized by the men who control the highways of the Republic, and the government, organized to make the people stand it?

The Standard Oil Company, which owes its power to the rebates given it by the men who control the highways of the Republic, today is squeezing, bankrupting and impoverishing the oil producers of Pennsylvania, in order to pay a forty per cent. dividend upon a three-time watered stock. The wealth produced by the people is being absorbed by the monopolies and combines, and the monopolies and combines have been created and maintained by the favors granted to them by the men who control the highways of the Republic.

You give me the highways over which you must go to the markets, and let me fix the charges of transportation, and I can make you my slave.

The highways are being gradually organized into one mighty and stupendous trust. The Rothschilds, through J. P. Morgan & Co., of New York City, have already absorbed, and have under their control, over 50,000 miles, or nearly one-third of the highways of the Republic. Traffic Associations, organized to fix the rates, and prohibit competition between the railways, now control the freight and passenger rates on nearly all of the 176,461 miles of the highways of the Republic, and this gigantic combination is run in sympathy with the monopolies, trusts and combines that are sapping the wealth produced by the people. Aye, and destroying that great principle of equality which was once the pride and boast of American citizenship. This system is creating classes. It is creating millionaires on one end of society, and paupers upon the other end of society. Where is this evil to end? Is this system to go on, until it can be said of America as of ancient Rome, as she tottered to her fall, that six per cent. of her citizenship owned all the wealth, and ninety-four per cent. of her citizenship had been turned into a cowering, cringing, dependent population. Patriotism gone. No property rights to defend, and a government that they despised.

Mr. President, we are going the same way that Rome went, and it is our duty to find the remedy and apply it.

The officers of these railways of the Republic represent a capitalization of \$10,506,365,412. They have grown so great that they threaten and defy the Inter-State Commerce Commission. Yes, and the Courts themselves. Aye, and the politicians cover before them. They can make or unmake, politically, almost any man. They are gradually packing

the United States Courts and the Inter-State Commerce Commission with men whom they have moulded to their will. THESE ARE SERIOUS CHARGES, fellow citizens, BUT THEY ARE TRUE.

The Supreme Court of the United States reversed its own decision, in order to do the bidding of this power, when they decided that the income tax law was unconstitutional.

Bear with me while I give you some facts that will satisfy you that the men who control the highways of the Republic are riding rough shod the Constitution and the laws, and that they are using the highways of the Republic to create and maintain trusts, monopolies and combines, in defiance of the Constitution, and in defiance of the laws.

In 1873, the people of Pennsylvania adopted a constitution which provided that no railroad or common carrier should mine or manufacture articles for transportation over their lines. This provision of the Constitution has been disobeyed and defied, both in the bituminous and anthracite coal regions. The railroad companies have defiantly gone on, acquiring hundreds of thousands of acres of coal lands.

In 1878, Congress passed the Inter-State Commerce Law, and created an Inter-State Commerce Commission. The Commission decided that the rates that railroads charged on coal for outside shippers was unjust and unreasonable, and ordered them to be reduced. This decision has remained unenforced, and cannot be enforced. The railroad officials treat the Commission with the same contempt that they regard the Constitution of Pennsylvania. For two years after the decision of the Commission, Congress (in 1893, by its Committee) found the rates to be fifty per cent. per ton higher than those which the Commission had declared to be unjust and inequitable. [These facts will be found in the Cox Case, before the Inter-State Commerce Commission, Congress of 1893, page 183.] The Inter-State Commerce Commission provides for the imprisonment in the penitentiary of those guilty of the crimes it covers. But no railway president has ever been tried under its provisions. In the matter of the "Big Four" Beef Combine, of Chicago, the committee of the Fifty-first Congress, whose report is numbered 829, 1890, page 2, found that it had its origin in the evening arrangements, in 1873, by the railroads with preferred shippers, on the ostensible ground that these shippers could equalize or even the cattle traffic of the roads. They received \$15 on every car load of cattle shipped from the West to New York, no matter by whom shipped. This enabled the eveners to monopolize the cattle traffic, and when they had completed the monopoly, they organized the Dressed Beef Combination. The report of the Committee shows that under the influence of this combine, the price of cattle had gone steadily down to the producers of cattle; that in 1884 the best grade of beef cattle sold at Chicago for \$7.15 per hundred pounds. In January, 1889, they had gone down to \$5.40 per hundred pounds. Northwestern range and Texas cattle sold in January, 1884, at \$5.60, and in January, of 1889, at \$3.75. Texas and Indian cattle sold in 1884 at \$4.75, and in 1889 at \$2.50. By virtue of the control of railroad rates, by the "Big Four" Combine,

they dictated who should, and who should not, do the business of the country. The butcher who would not do their bidding, and handle their meat, was denied transportation over the highways of the country. [These facts you will find set forth in the testimony before the Committee of Congress on Meat Products, United States Senate, 1890, pp. 464, 465.] It was further shown that the profits of one of the companies composing the "Big Four," was twenty-nine per cent. upon its capital stock, and it was not the biggest of these companies either. This Beef Combine forces the producers of cattle, hogs and sheep, to take a small price for them, and they force the consumers of meat to pay a big price for it, and thereby take from the people hundreds of millions of dollars worth of the wealth produced by their labor. And the government is organized in such a manner as to force the people to submit to the rule of the meat trust.

And now I want to quote you some facts, to show you that it was the favors granted it by the men who controlled the highways of the Republic, that created and has maintained the Standard Oil Company.

In 1879, the New York Assembly appointed a committee, known as the Hepburn Committee, to investigate the trusts and the management of the railroads. A Cleveland refiner testified before the committee. He said to the committee, "that upon his application to the Erie and New York Central Railroad for freight rates, he got no satisfaction at all. A representative of the New York Central Railroad told him that he was too good a friend of his to advise him to have anything further to do with the oil trade." He says, "Do you pretend to say that you won't carry for me at as cheap a rate as you will for anybody else?" The freight agent answered, "I am but human." This refiner testified further that he got no satisfaction except, "You had better sell." "Better get clear." (kind of sub rosa) "Better sell out." "No help for it." He was finally forced to sell to the parties of the Standard Oil Company, as he says, at fifty cents on the dollar. He told the Legislature that he would not have sold if he could have got a fair show with the railway. [See Report of the Hepburn Committee, pages 2525, 2527, 2535.] The old South Improvement Company contract, by which the railways gave to the parties of the Standard Oil Company exclusive control of the oil trade, is a matter of ancient history.

In 1878, the Standard Oil Company purchased the pipe lines of the Empire Transportation Company. After that time, the Pennsylvania Railroad became the tool of the Standard Oil Company. From 1872 up to this time, there were a few of the independent refiners who had been shipping over the Pennsylvania Railroad, but now the Pennsylvania railroad sent word to the independent shippers that they could not give them equal rates any longer. The Pennsylvania railroad was the highway over which these independent refiners must go to market or not go at all. The Independents asked to be heard, and so the Third Vice President of the Pennsylvania Railroad, Mr. Cossett, met them, and this conversation took place. The Independents told him that they were the largest shippers of petroleum over the Pennsylvania Railroad. He acknowledged that,