

COLONEL TAKES RADICAL STAND

(Continued from Page One.)

not come to this way of thinking from closest study or as a mere matter of theory; I have been forced to it by a long experience with the actual conditions of our political life.

The Courts and the People.

Under this head Mr. Roosevelt strongly emphasizes the necessity of the sovereign people preserving a check on every branch of public service. Under this head Mr. Roosevelt reiterates his now well-known views regarding the courts. "The American people, and not the courts, are to determine their own fundamental policies." This does not mean that the people are to interfere in cases which involve merely questions of justice between individuals except that "means should be devised for making it easier than at present to get rid of an incompetent judge." But when a judicial decision involves an interpretation of what the people mean by the constitutions which they have framed and laws passed by the people are nullified because the courts say those laws are contrary to the people's will as expressed in their constitution, there must be a "reference to the people of the public effect of such decisions under forms securing full deliberation," to the end that the people may rectify this alleged defect in their constitution by a popular vote having all the force of a constitutional amendment. "Our purpose is not to impugn the courts, but to emancipate them from a position whenever they stand finally in the way of justice. . . . I am well aware that every upholder of privilege, every hired agent or beneficiary of the special interests, including many well meaning reformers, will denounce all this as 'socialism' or 'anarchy'—the same terms they used in the past in denouncing the movements to control the railways and to control public utilities. As a matter of fact, the propositions I make constitute neither anarchy nor socialism, but on the contrary, a corrective for socialism and an antidote to anarchy."

Constructive Control of the Trusts.

In addition to punishment for wrong-doing by the trusts, the imperative demand is effective and complete regulation. The views of President Van Hise, of the University of Wisconsin, in his scientific work on the regulation are in harmony with the program of the national progressives. "The present conditions of business cannot be accepted as satisfactory." The reason for this is explained, in Mr. Roosevelt's opinion, by the fact that "those dealing with the subject have attempted to divide into two camps, each as unwise as the other." One camp has fixed its attention only on the need for prosperity—"prosperity to the big men on top, trusting to their mercy to let something leak through to the mass of their countrymen below, which, in effect, means that there should be no attempt to regulate the ferocious scramble in which greed and cunning reap the largest rewards." The other camp has so fixed its attention upon the injustices of the distribution of prosperity, "omitting all consideration of having something to distribute, and advocates action which, it is true, would abolish most of the inequalities of the distribution of prosperity, by only the

unfortunately simple process of abolishing the prosperity itself." The tendency of those now in control of the republican party is to give special privileges to "big business," and to correct the evils of such a course when they become crying, by sporadic lawsuits under the anti-trust law. The tendency of the democrats, judged both by their record in congress and by the democratic platform, is to abolish all business of any size or efficiency, on the ground that all business is badness, and littleness and weakness a sign of virtue. "What is needed is action directly the reverse of that thus confusedly indicated."

There should be applied to all industrial concerns engaged in interstate commerce in which there is either monopoly or control of the market the principle already adopted "in regulating transportation concerns engaged in such commerce. The anti-trust law should be kept on the statute-book to be invoked against every big concern tending to monopoly or guilty of anti-social practices. At the same time a national industrial commission should be created which should have complete power to regulate and control all the great industrial concerns engaged in interstate business—which practically means all of them in this country. This commission should exercise over these industrial concerns like powers to those exercised over the railways by the interstate commerce commission and over the national banks by the controller of the currency, and additional powers if found necessary."

The commission "should have free access to the books of each corporation and power to find out exactly how it treats its employees, its rivals, and the general public. . . . Any corporation voluntarily coming under the commission should not be prosecuted under the anti-trust law as long as it obeys in good faith the orders of the commission. The commission would be able to interpret in advance to any honest man asking the interpretation what he may do and what he may not do in carrying on a legitimate business. . . . When corporations not submitting themselves to the regulation of the commission or clearly evading or violating its orders are prosecuted under the anti-trust law and convicted, the commission should have the duty of seeing "that the decree of the court is put into effect completely." Only in this way can there be avoided "such gross scandals as those attendant upon the present administration's prosecution of the Standard Oil and the Tobacco Trust," a prosecution which has merely resulted in increased prices to the public, injury to the small competitor, and actual financial loss to the trusts themselves. "The progressive proposal is definite, it is practicable. We promise nothing that we cannot carry out, we promise nothing which will jeopardize honest business. . . . Our proposal is to help honest business activity, however extensive, and to see that it is rewarded with fair return, so that there may be no oppression either of business men or of the common people. We propose to make a 'worth while' for our business agencies for use in international trade; for it is to the interest of our whole people that we should do well in international business. But we propose to make those business agencies do complete justice to our own people." Where these concerns deal with the necessities of life, the commission should not shrink, if the necessity is proved, from going to the extent of exercising regulatory control over the conditions that create or determine monopoly prices."

It is imperative to the welfare of our people that we enlarge and extend our foreign commerce. We are pre-eminently fitted to do this because as a people we have developed high skill in the art of manufacturing; our business men are strong executives, strong organizers. In every way possible our federal government should co-operate in this important matter. Any one who has had opportunity to study and observe first-hand Germany's course in this respect must realize that their policy of co-operation between government and business has in comparatively few years made them a leading competitor for the commerce of the world. It should be remembered that they are doing this on a national scale and with large units of business, while the democrats would have us believe that we should do it with small units of business, which would be controlled, not by the national government, but by 49 conflicting state sovereignties. Such a policy is utterly out of keeping with the progress of the times and gives our great commercial rival in Europe energy for international markets—golden opportunities of which they are rapidly taking advantage.

Justice to Wage-Workers.

Referring to the opening sentence of his address, namely, "that we are now in the midst of a great economic revolution," Mr. Roosevelt presents an advanced and comprehensive plan to insure the rights and better conditions for labor. He gives it the paramount place in his speech. "The first charge upon the industrial statesmanship of the day," he said, "is to prevent human waste. The dead weight of our change and depleted craftsmanship of crippled workers and workers suffering from trade diseases, of casual labor, of insecure old age, and of household depletion due to industrial conditions are, like our depleted soils, our gashed mountain-sides and flooded river bottoms, so many strains upon the national structure, draining the reserve strength of all industries, and showing beyond all peradventure the public element and public concern in industrial health." He proposed several specific methods for preserving and improving "our human resources, and therefore our labor power." Wage scales and other labor data should be made public; all deaths, injuries, and disease due to industrial operation should be made public; all deaths, injuries, and disease due to industrial operation should be reported to the authorities; wage commissions should be established in the nation and states to determine the minimum wage scale in different industries; the federal government should investigate all industries with a view to establishing standards of sanitation and safety; there should be mine and factory inspection according to standards fixed by interstate agreement or by the federal government; national and state legislation should establish standards of compensation for industrial accident and death; and for disease clearly due to industrial conditions; for the adoption by law of a fair standard of compensation for casualties resulting fatally which shall clearly fix the minimum compensation; in all cases, the monetary equivalent of a living wage varies according to local conditions, but should be sufficiently high to make morality possible; and to provide for education, recreation, proper care of children, maintenance during sickness, and reasonable saving for old age—excessive hours of labor should be prohibited for all wage-workers, and night labor

of women and children should be forbidden; one day of rest in seven should be provided by law; continuous 24-hour labor should be divided into three shifts of eight hours by law; tenement-house manufacture should be entirely prohibited, and labor camps should be subject to governmental sanitary regulation; all industrial enterprises employing women and children should be specially subject to government inspection and regulation; insurance funds against sickness, accident, invalidism, and old age should be established by a charge either in whole or in part upon the industries; the suffrage should be granted to women, if for no other reason, to enable workingwomen to combine for their own protection by the use of the ballot. "As a people we can afford to let any group of citizens or any individual citizen labor under conditions which are injurious to the common welfare. Industry, therefore, must submit to such public regulation as will make it a means of life and health, not of death or inefficiency."

The Farmer.

"The country life commission should be revived with greatly increased power; its abandonment was a severe blow to our people. The welfare of the farmer is a basic need of this nation." The country school should be brought in touch with country life. For this reason the progressive approach of cooperation with the farmer to make the farm more productive. Co-operative associations of farmers both for the production and the selling of agricultural products should be encouraged. "So long as the farmer leaves co-operative with their profit-sharing to the city plutocrats, so long will the foundations of wealth be undermined and the efforts of enlightenment be impossible in the country communities."

The Tariff.

On the tariff he says: "I believe in a protective tariff, but I believe in it as a principle approached from a standpoint of the interests of the whole people, and not as a favorite individual's." He believes the American people favor the principle of a protective tariff, but are in rebellion against the wrong-doing and unjust application of that policy and the abuses in past legislation. "It is not merely the tariff that should be revised, but the method of tariff making and of tariff administration. . . . The first step should be the creation of a permanent commission of non-partisan experts of 'ample powers' to secure 'exact and reliable information.' . . . The present tariff board is entirely inadequate in point of powers reposed in it and scope of work undertaken." The tariff commission in Germany affords a splendid model. This commission must scientifically determine "the differences in the cost of production here and abroad," the effect on "prices to the consumer," insure full justice to the pay envelope of the wage earner. The commission must not attempt to encroach on the tariff making power of congress. It shall report with full publicity and promptly. The tariff shall be revised schedule by schedule in the order suggested by the commission incident to former general revisions. The effect will be to wipe out the "log-rolling and vote-trading" secured by special interests in the past. "Only by this means can the tariff be taken out of politics." "The substitution of a tariff for revenue only as proposed by the democratic platform would plunge this country into the most widespread industrial depression we have ever seen." The revision shall be downward and not upward and secure a square deal not merely to the manufacturer, but to the wage worker and to the general consumer.

The High Cost of Living.

"The cost of living," says Mr. Roosevelt, "has risen during the last few years out of all proportion to the increase of most wages." What is first necessary is "fearless, intelligent and searching inquiry into the whole subject, made absolutely by a non-partisan body of experts with no prejudice to warp their minds, no private object to serve, who shall recommend any necessary remedy heedless of what interest may be hurt thereby, and caring only for the interests of the people as a whole." The republicans promise such an inquiry, but their rank dishonesty of action at the Chicago convention "makes their every promise worthless." It is hopeless to turn to the democratic party for relief, because, first, the democratic party "affects to find the entire high cost of living in the tariff," ignoring the patent fact that the problem is world-wide, equally pressing in freetrade lands and in highly protected Germany. Moreover, if the democrats are sincere, they must take all duties off the products of the farmer, and we "certainly cannot afford to have the farmer struck down." Various elements, economic, political, and social, are pointed out by Mr. Roosevelt as contributing to the high cost of living. But effective legislation regarding it can only be framed on a comprehensive scale after a thorough, scientific, and prompt inquiry.

The Currency.

Mr. Roosevelt declares that our present bank currency based on government bonds is unscientific, and urges the adoption of a system which shall provide "elasticity in the credit and currency necessary for the conduct of business, free from recurring panics." The control of such a system should be in the hands of the government, and must be free from "manipulation by Wall street or the large interests."

Conservation.

Under this head Mr. Roosevelt reaffirms his well known policy on the conservation and reclamation of national resources. We must conserve our soil, our forests, our mines, not only for our own benefit but for the benefit of our children and descendants. "The public should not alienate its fee in the water power which will be of incalculable value as a source of power in the immediate future," and "we should undertake the complete development and control of the Mississippi as a national work, just as we have undertaken the work of building the Panama canal."

Alaska.

"In Alaska the government has an opportunity of starting in what is almost a fresh field, to work out various problems by actual experiment." It should at once contract, own, and operate all the railways Alaska, it should keep the forest all coal fields and allow them to be operated by lease with the condition in the lease that non-use shall operate as a forfeiture; a system of land taxation should

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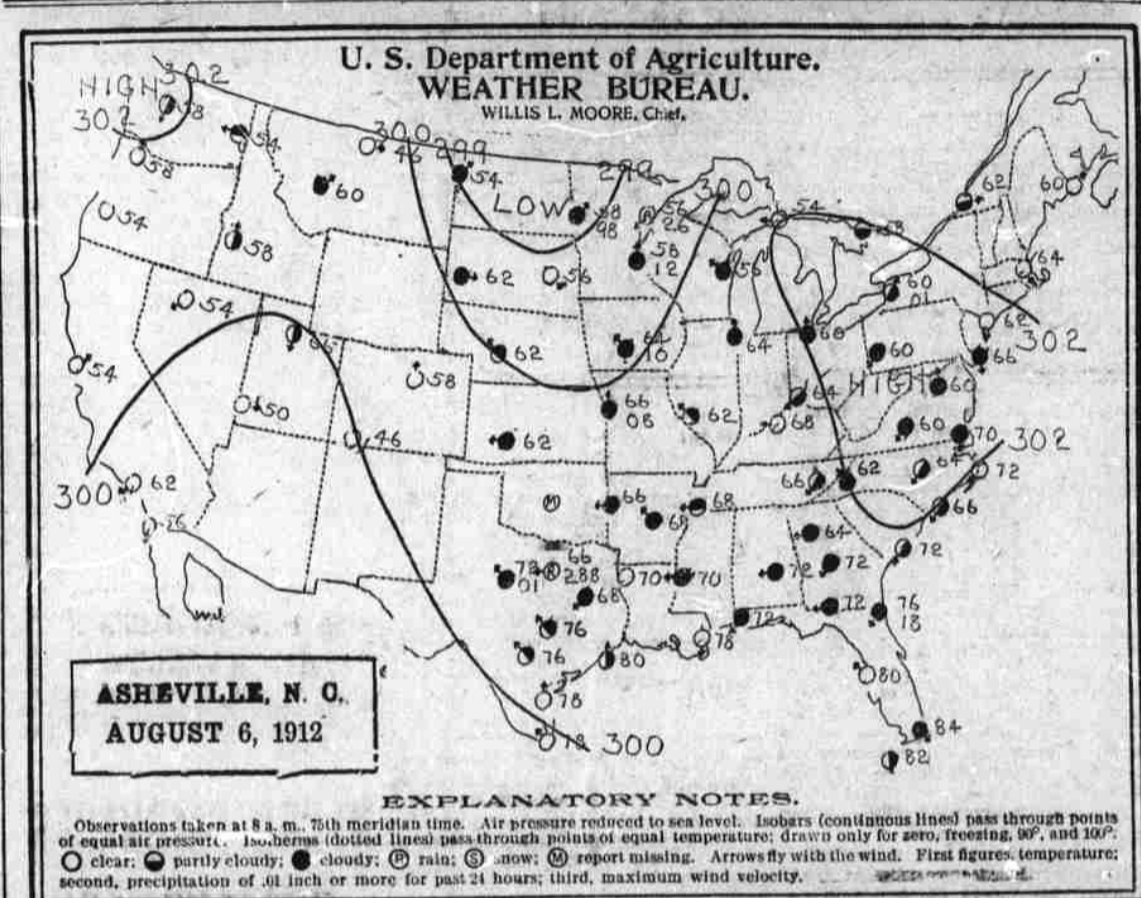
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THE WEATHER

TEMPERATURE	Lowest last night	Highest yesterday
Asheville	58	72
Atlanta City	58	74
Augusta	58	80
Birmingham	66	82
Brownsville	74	94
Charleston	68	78
Galveston	80	84
Helena	60	78
Huron	54	56
Jacksonville	74	82
Key West	80	88
Knoxville	62	82
Mobile	70	86
Montgomery	68	82
New Orleans	76	86
New York	58	74
Oklahoma	—	76
Savannah	68	78
Tampa	74	84
Washington	74	76
Wilmington	60	78

Normal for this date: Temperature 72. Precipitation .18 inch.
Forecasts until 8 p. m. Wednesday for Asheville and vicinity:
Probably fair tonight and Wednesday, not much change in temperature.
For North Carolina: Probably fair

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