

Why Roosevelt Opposes Taft

AN INTERVIEW WITH THE COLONEL REVIEWING THE PRESIDENT'S ACTS

By Henry Beach Needham



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JUDGED by his record, is Mr. Taft progressive?"

This question I put to Colonel Roosevelt. His answer:

"Mr. Taft was nominated for president in 1908 because of his outspoken indorsement of progressive policies. Opposed to these policies—and to Mr. Taft—were the Reactionaries, Messrs. Aldrich, Cannon, Penrose, Guggenheim, Keeling, Gallinger, Tawney, Cox, Patrick Calhoun and Lorimer. Without a single exception these men are supporting Mr. Taft today—supporting him openly and with every political trick at their command. They are entirely in accord with his record in the presidency.

"Have Aldrich, Cannon, Guggenheim and Co. become converted to progressive principles, or are they satisfied

the extent of approving of their course when they made an alliance with Tammany Hall in order to save the Cannon machine from temporary defeat. Not satisfied with the injury he had worked to the Progressive cause, Mr. Taft went still farther. At Cannon's behest he withdrew the patronage from the Insurgents to punish them for their opposition. This charge does not rest on mere rumor, but is a matter of record, proved beyond all question by the bald acknowledgment in the letter written by Norton, who was Mr. Taft's secretary.

If when bound by every consideration of patriotism, gratitude and loyalty to support the Progressive leaders and the Progressive cause Mr. Taft would turn from his friends right after election, it is unutterably silly not to expect that, whatever he may now promise in his campaign for reelection, if nominated and elected through the influence and money of a combination of the most reactionary bosses he would be more of a Reactionary than ever—once the votes were counted. This Mr. Roosevelt believes.

In this campaign there has been some talk about gratitude. The Standard Dictionary defines gratitude as "appreciation of favors received." Applying this definition to the present situation—President Roosevelt took Mr. Taft into his cabinet and made him secretary of war. He offered Secretary Taft a place on the United States Supreme Court. More than any other man in the country he aided in Mr. Taft's nomination and election to the presidency. Then Colonel Roosevelt left the country, for one reason—and a big reason with him—that no trouble-making critic could have the slightest ground to say that there was interference with the new President in the work he had assigned himself to do. By whom, therefore, were the "favors" received? Certainly not by Mr. Roosevelt.

The Colonel's Unprecedented Reception in Chicago

THE statements in this article were made to me by Colonel Roosevelt on March twenty-ninth, when we were traveling across Minnesota, and on April fifth, when Mr. Roosevelt was journeying from the South to invade Cannon's bailiwick. At Chicago, on the twenty-seventh, there had been an extraordinary public demonstration. People fought to see The Colonel. Fifteen thousand loud-lunged supporters of Mr. Roosevelt tried to get into the Auditorium to hear their leader speak. The doors were

thrown open at 6:53 o'clock, ticket takers and ushers were swept aside, and in seven minutes the hall was full to overflowing—and the police locked the doors. In common with thousands of others I could not gain admittance to the Auditorium. Holders of box seats, men wearing press badges, political leaders and politicians in leading strings—all of us were left at the post. One local newspaper man, conveying a distinguished person, loudly invoked the power of the press.

"I'm Mr. — of the Examiner," he said, "and I've got to get in!" Whereupon the big man in front of him growled: "I'm the Chief of Police and I can't get in!"

There were at least six thousand persons about Wicker Park Hall and five thousand more at Northwest Hall, where The Colonel spoke after the Auditorium meeting. All told it was "the largest crowd that ever welcomed a candidate in Chicago," according to the Tribune. As for the demonstrations at St. Paul and

with Mr. Taft's post-election attitude toward these principles? Have the Reactionaries become Progressives or has Mr. Taft turned Reactionary? I leave it to the people to judge.

"Throughout my term of office the Administration acted for the benefit of the people and against special privilege not only in every instance where there was statutory authority for such action, but wherever there was no statutory prohibition against executive action. The present Administration has acted for special privilege whenever there was found the slightest authority in law, or in construction of law, so to do, and has acted for the people in those cases only where it was explicitly commanded by statute so to act. I gave the people the benefit of the doubt. This Administration has given the benefit of the doubt against the people.

"In this contest neither Mr. Taft's personal interests, nor mine, nor those of any one man must control. The interests of the people are paramount. This Administration has not been true to its pre-election promises. With their unerring instinct the representatives of special privilege, such as those whom I have named, recognize this fact and now flock to the support of the President.

"In his speech at Philadelphia, President Taft called himself a Progressive, and this raised the question as to what a Progressive is. Is more involved than any man's say-so as to himself? A well-meaning man may vaguely think of himself as a Progressive without having the faintest conception of what a Progressive really is. Vision and intensity of conviction are essential to the makeup of any man who aspires to lead the forward movement, and wholly useless as substitutes are mildly good intentions. Mr. Taft was an admirable lieutenant as secretary of war, but as president he has unfortunately come under the influence of the gentlemen I have named, and of others like them. However good the President's intentions, I believe that his actions have shown that he is entitled to the support of precisely these men."

Mr. Taft's Quick Change

MR. ROOSEVELT believes that this remarkable change of front took place directly Mr. Taft was inaugurated president. Mr. Roosevelt, who was heartily in sympathy with the Insurgents of the House in their fight to overthrow Cannonism, had promised these Progressives a letter in support of their cause; but before the inaugural ceremonies he found that Mr. Taft was dead against the men for whom he had expressed loyalty during the campaign. This "about-face" was clearly shown in the contest to democratize the House rules. The President openly aided Cannon and Tawney, and Aldrich their backer, and upheld these Reactionaries to



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Minneapolis one of the Eastern newspaper correspondents declared that they "beat Chicago." But all of the correspondents did not take this view of it. Apparently the New York newspaper men were predisposed to make light of these outpourings of people. "Curiosity" was the reiterated word of the metropolitan scribes. Then may all worthy political leaders be the object of such "curiosity"! I have traveled with Mr. Bryan; with Colonel Roosevelt at other times in this country and abroad; I have jogged about with Mr. Taft; and if, in this recent trip, the demonstrations were due to mere "curiosity," surely the native concealed his guiding motive well. At the least I should call it "curiosity vociferens." There was never a voice raised in disapproval, and the cheers had the ring of those days when even Standpatters agreed that Theodore Roosevelt was the most popular man in America. Altogether this welcome from the Middle West and this acknowledgment of leadership was more than enough to turn a man's head—to give him a gorgeous jag of gladness. Of course Mr. Roosevelt was pleased; but each morning before the day's happenings had begun The Colonel came to the breakfast table perceptibly pleased, ready for sixteen hours of joyous living, and invariably attired in his fighting clothes.

This garb was laid aside, however, when I had this interview. Then Colonel Roosevelt was markedly earnest and dispassionate. He discarded his rapid-fire conversational method and spoke slowly and carefully. He was evidently searching always for just the right word as he talked of the most delicate subject in the campaign—talked about Mr. Taft. And he spoke reluctantly. Some may suppose that The Colonel is seething with impatience to attack Mr. Taft. Nothing could be farther from the truth. And in everything that The Colonel said there was always a sharp distinction in his speech, as doubtless in his thought, between Mr. Taft the man and Mr. Taft the public servant.

The Colonel Slow to Condemn Mr. Taft

I RECALL the first long talk I had with The Colonel after his return from Africa. It was on the railroad journey from Naples to Rome. I wanted a big story—had traveled far to get it. The Progressive friends of Mr. Roosevelt were convinced that President Taft was not making good; that he had deserted them and had contracted a close partnership with the Reactionaries. The Ballinger affair was at its height. It seemed to me that on a showing of these facts Colonel Roosevelt would express his disapproval of the course of his successor in no uncertain terms. The Colonel did nothing of the kind. He listened, but he made no comment. If there was any bitterness in his heart toward Mr. Taft he concealed it from me. He looked his disappointment, but he talked hopefully of the future. Instead of criticising the President he said that he would take no man's testimony, not even that of his own sworn friends, but would judge for himself after a careful examination of Mr. Taft's record.

That was two years ago. As Contributing Editor he has seized every opportunity to praise the President's action where he could do so conscientiously. The first-year record of the President, Mr. Roosevelt has not alluded to in *The Outlook*. Indeed he has passed over many current happenings in Mr. Taft's sphere of action which did not meet with his approval. His editorial criticisms have related to the most important of public policies, notably certain parts of the peace treaties, in which Mr. Roosevelt's position was sustained by the United States Senate.



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Mr. Roosevelt's attitude regarding Mr. Taft can be summed up in few words. He was most reluctant to oppose the President, even to criticise him. He kept hoping that Mr. Taft would alter his course and become sufficiently progressive so that the party could go forward with him. Failing that, Mr. Roosevelt hoped that some leader other than himself would come forward on whom Progressives could unite and who could be nominated. When Progressives throughout the country convinced Colonel Roosevelt that he alone could command their general support he agreed to accept the nomination if it was tendered to him. But he rested the matter entirely with the people. They were to decide—and no one else. Or, to quote his own words:

"The issue is whether the American people are fit and able to govern themselves, or whether they are to be governed by those machine politicians whose alliance with the worst form of business has resulted in nine-tenths of the corruption and scandal of American life.

"If the people decide the present contest the way I think they ought not to do, I will think they are unwise, but will have nothing to say. But if they decide against us as the result of the juggling of their rights by the bosses, then I will have a good deal to say.

"President Taft," continued The Colonel, "accuses me of favoring 'soapbox primaries.' I reply that I'd rather have a soapbox primary any day than a payroll primary—it's cleaner."

Mr. Taft coined the unhappy phrase, "soapbox primaries," in Boston, where he spoke at the same banquet table with "Pat" Calhoun, sometime indicted in San Francisco. Mr. Calhoun also denounced the recall, expressing the fear that it would endanger the liberties of the people! Before this harmony dinner—in his Toledo speech—the President severely criticised the principles that Mr. Roosevelt has advocated in this campaign—and will continue to advocate. Under this criticism The Colonel grew restive. Meanwhile the "payroll" conventions of the Southern states were rushing through their instructions for Taft. Then out came the steam roller in Indiana, followed by the farcical so-called primary in New York. And Colonel Roosevelt began to speak his mind.

"We have heard a good deal of talk recently by our opponents—headed, I am sorry to say, by the President himself—against what he calls 'the impulsive judgment of the people,'" said The Colonel. "I should like to point out

an amusing incident of our opponents' inconsistency. Most of the Southern states are under the dominion of the officeholders, and wherever this was the case our opponents took good care to secure an exceedingly impulsive judgment by these patronage-controlled Southern states long in advance of the action of the states where there is a real Republican party, and where, when given the chance, the Republicans can express their own will as to who should be the nominee for president. Indeed it was ultra-impulsive, for they would not even wait until the usual times for holding conventions, but put them as far in advance as they possibly could.

"Of course in nothing that we have proposed have we asked for impulsive judgment; but for my part I should far rather trust to the impulsiveness of the people than to the tricky deliberation of the bosses!"

The New York primary contest, declared Mr. Roosevelt, "was not merely a farce, but a criminal farce. The results are in no shape or way representative of the Republican party and have no binding force whatever on the Republican party. Yet Mr. Taft congratulated the men who were guilty of this conduct!"

What was done in New York is substantially what was done in Indiana and also in Colorado. Outside of Denver, in spite of every species of trickery and foul play, we carried a majority of the delegates. But in Denver itself we were beaten by the most outrageous methods by the Guggenheim-Evans machine.

"You are familiar with Judge Ben Lindsey's book, *The Beast and the Jungle*," said The Colonel, warming up to the subject. "Now you look into the career of a man like Phil Stewart, who made the fight for us in Colorado, and remember Lindsey who, although not in the Republican party, has stood with us in this contest, and compare them with the records of Messrs. Guggenheim and Evans—then judge for yourself which side represents the cause of the plain people, which side represents the cause of decency and honesty in political and business life. There has never been a clearer line-up in the history of this country than the present line-up."

Aldrich, Cannon and Co. Against the Field

THE line-up Colonel Roosevelt has given with names and dates at the beginning of this interview. It is the Aldriches, the Cannons, the Guggenheims and the Lorimers against the field. With the anti-Progressives it is a campaign of apology for an apologist.

Now for the issues. First I asked about the tariff. Mr. Roosevelt believes that Mr. Taft was right in his position before election, but that he reversed himself immediately after election, and during the "tariff revision" session confined his efforts to backing up Aldrich, Cannon, Tawney and Co. Then in Tawney's district he praised the Payne-Aldrich Law as the best tariff measure ever enacted—and Tawney was beaten for renomination.

Mr. Roosevelt believes that the President failed in his attempt to get the right kind of tariff bill at the particular time when it could have been wrested from Congress, and when it was too late that he went in with the Reactionary leaders to secure a tariff board of such limited powers as to cause the people to regard it with suspicion; that the President has consulted the tariff board when he wished to find excuse for executive disapproval of tariff legislation, but did not consult the board when he introduced his Reciprocity Bill at the expense of the farmers—in fact, disregarded the board's findings.

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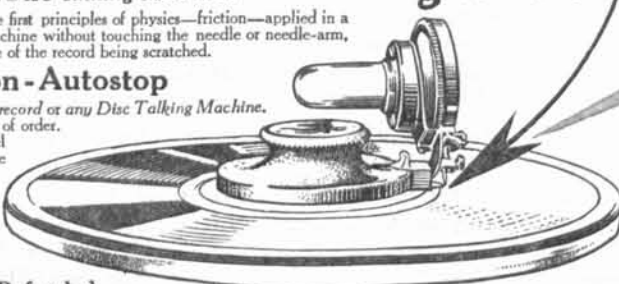
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Why Roosevelt Opposes Taft

(Continued from Page 4)

Except in those cases where the President has overridden the board or paid no attention to it, Mr. Roosevelt believes that Mr. Taft has used these experts solely to defeat tariff changes; that the board has not been used by the President to promote tariff revision in accordance with his pre-election promises and with the platform pledges of the Republican party.

"What is your position today on the tariff, Colonel Roosevelt?" I asked.

"My position today is identical with my position of two years ago, as set forth in the congressional campaign, particularly in my speech at Sioux City, Iowa. I stand squarely on the Republican platform of 1908, but I believe in an honest interpretation of those tariff pledges and in legislative action strictly in accord with the party's campaign promises. All I need to add to what I have publicly said about tariff revision is this: that I believe tariff benefits should not stop at the front office, but that those benefits should go on through the entire establishment to the profit of every wageworker. And it is high time that the consumer, as well as the special interest, was considered in the making of a tariff law."

"Before you left the presidency your name had become identified with certain governmental policies—the regulation of railroads, pure food, conservation, and the betterment of country life, for example. These policies your successor gave solemn pledge that he would carry out. Has Mr. Taft kept the faith?"

"Let the record speak for itself." Mr. Roosevelt spoke deliberately as if considering every word. "Take railroad regulation," he continued. "The one bit of progressive legislation in the last Congress was the Railroad Rate Bill, amendatory of the Interstate Commerce Act of 1906. As submitted for congressional action by the President's attorney-general, Mr. Wickensham, this was a thoroughly mischievous and improper measure which, if enacted into law, would have undone most of the work of the last twenty years, for it legalized railroad monopoly without providing any additional safeguards in the matter of control. The Administration bill was championed by Senator Aldrich and put through the committee unchanged. It was entirely reconstructed—rewritten, in fact—on the floor of the Senate by the Progressive senators, who successfully met the violent opposition of the Reactionaries—champions of the Administration's bill."

Mr. Taft and Pure Food

"When the Railroad Rate Bill went to the President, only one of the essential features of the plan initiated by Mr. Taft remained. This was the provision for the Commerce Court. But the creation of the Commerce Court was a step backward, not a step forward. It is the only provision of the bill that in practice has worked badly. It has tended, in effect, to nullify or to retard the expert findings of the Interstate Commerce Commission. In its recent decision on the first case appealed from the Commerce Court, the United States Supreme Court reversed the Commerce Court and upheld the Interstate Commerce Commission. The decision of the Commerce Court, had it been affirmed, would have rendered worthless the commission's entire system of gathering railroad data and would have put a premium on rebating. Justices Lurton and Lamar, appointed in this Administration, dissented from the majority opinion of the Supreme Court."

"And the people's law—The Pure Food and Drugs Act—has that been enforced primarily in the interests of its intended beneficiaries—every man, woman and child?"

"Doctor Wiley's resignation," said Mr. Roosevelt, "answers that question. As he says in print, he resigned because 'the situation had become intolerable,' because 'the fundamental principles of The Pure Food and Drugs Act had, one by one, been paralyzed and discredited.'"

"I regard the pure-food law, with the meat-inspection act, as one of the great achievements of my Administration. It was my earnest endeavor to enforce that law with fairness to food manufacturers, but without favor to those engaged in misbranding or adulterating foods and drugs.

Soon after its passage the National Wholesale Liquor Dealers' Association, venders of imitation whisky, who had defeated the pure-food bill in the Senate on more than one occasion, sought to break down the administration of the law and secure unwarranted license to perpetrate their misrepresentations on the public.

"They concentrated their attack on a general clause of the act that applied as much to coffee and to tea, for example, as to whisky. Attorney-General Bonaparte's clear and unanswerable legal opinion in this matter seemed to me to settle the controversy beyond cavil. But Mr. Taft reversed the Bonaparte ruling and substituted an opinion of his own which gave the imitation-whisky interests all that they had ever demanded. Under this new and strained construction of a beneficent law it would be possible to mix coffee and chicory and call the mixture 'blended coffee,' or to mix tea and willow leaves and call it 'blended tea.'"

Old Trusts in New Clothes

"Doctor Wiley 'vindicated' and allowed to resign; Solicitor McCabe, who has tried in every way to break down the pure-food law kept on the job—isn't this practically a repetition of the Ballinger affair?"

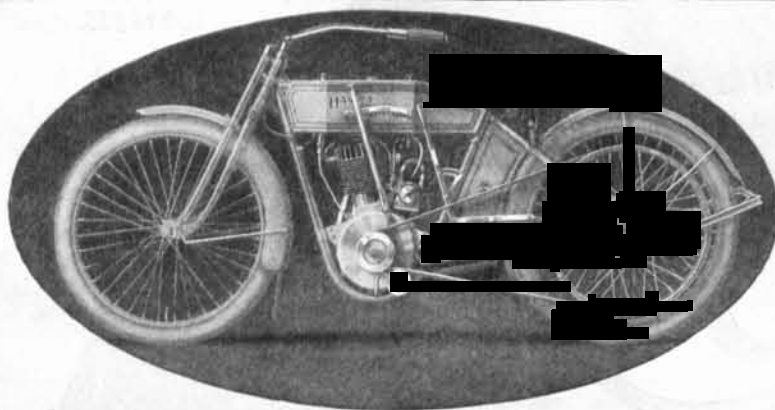
"Precisely," said Colonel Roosevelt. "Mr. Ballinger, as secretary of the interior under this Administration, did all he could to destroy a great public policy. Yet he was vindicated by Mr. Taft and retained in office until he voluntarily resigned. Gifford Pinchot, a peculiarly fine type of public servant who, more than any one man, initiated the conservation policy of the preceding Administration, was dismissed from office."

"And your Country Life Commission also was dismissed?"

"Dismissed, although its members were giving their valuable services without compensation," said Mr. Roosevelt. "In an effort for the betterment of country life—farm life—I appointed the commission, with Dr. L. H. Bailey, of Cornell University, as chairman. A splendid piece of work, an admirable public service, was done by this commission. In its report that I transmitted to Congress, the general condition of farming life in the open country was analyzed and its larger problems pointed out. The report indicated ways in which the Government, national and state, could show the people how to solve some of these problems. I recommended that a small appropriation be made for the expenses to finish the task which was well under way, but I did not recommend any appropriation for the services of the commissioners. Mr. Taft took the position that he could not accept the services of 'unpaid advisers' or consult with them. In reaching this conclusion the President accepted the advice of Aldrich, Cannon, Tawney and Co., whose guiding purpose was to discredit in every possible way the work of the preceding Administration. The President disbanded the commission, and the careful and expert investigation performed by the country life commissioners purely as a public service was practically thrown away. And Aldrich, Cannon, Tawney and Co. were substituted as 'unpaid advisers.'"

"Do you still think that in the widely advertised 'breaking up of the trusts' by the Government the big combinations have merely 'changed their clothes'?"

"That is precisely it," said Colonel Roosevelt. "Nothing of real worth was accomplished in the suits against the Tobacco Trust and Standard Oil. The average citizen can determine for himself whether or not sound public policy was furthered by the attorney-general, representing the Administration, when he acquiesced in the decisions in their final form. I shall not try to apportion the responsibility for the utter failure of these suits. The net result has been that the Tobacco Trust and the Standard Oil Trust materially increased the value of their stock, and that there has been no diminution of their power to control markets. According to the press reports the market price of Standard Oil stock has increased more than two hundred million dollars from the time of the Supreme Court's decision, and the price of oil has gone up during the same period. In Wall Street, I am told, the only difference noticeable is that speculators



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would certainly take at least two years from the time of the election of the legislature that passed the act. Now, only four months elapse between the nomination and election of a man as president to fill for four years the most important office in the land. If Mr. Taft's language correctly describes the action of the electorate, then he himself and all other presidents have been elected by 'the fitful impulse of a temporary majority.' If Mr. Taft is right it was 'the fitful impulse of a temporary majority' that founded this nation.

"If, after two years of sober thought, the people of a state decide that women and children shall be protected in industry, or men protected from excessive hours of labor under unhygienic conditions, or wageworkers compensated when they lose life or limb in the service of others, then their decision forthwith becomes—in the words of Mr. Taft—a 'whim,' an exercise of 'the grossest tyranny,' and the 'laying of the ax to the foot of the tree of freedom!'"

To interpolate: Before the Roosevelt party arrived at the Twin Cities a few of the Progressive leaders of Minnesota urged Colonel Roosevelt to "go light" on the judiciary question; to clear up the false impression of his Columbus speech created by the press through—call it—unfriendly selection of excerpts; to praise the bench of Minnesota—and let it go at that. The Colonel only smiled. Toward the close of his Minneapolis speech, instead of "going light," Colonel Roosevelt cut loose. He discussed the Reactionary judiciary and the recall of judicial decisions with particular emphasis, with "punch," with sarcastic references to certain court decisions and to "our opponents." It proved to be, by long odds, the most applauded part of his speech. When I returned to Chicago and talked with a conservative lawyer, one of the acknowledged leaders of the patent bar of the state, he said of Mr. Roosevelt's proposal regarding the courts: "For every vote it costs him it will gain him ten votes."

The Tyrannies of Minorities

"Colonel Roosevelt, what is the great issue in this campaign?"

"There are two issues—one, the duty to get social and industrial justice; two, the right of the people to rule," said The Colonel earnestly. "Are the American people fit to govern themselves, to rule themselves, to control themselves, and can we get social and industrial justice thereby?"

"I believe the people are fit to rule. Mr. Taft does not. I believe that the majority of the plain people of the United States will, day in and day out, make fewer mistakes in governing themselves than any smaller class or body of men, no matter what their training, will make in trying to govern them. I believe that the American people are, as a whole, capable of self-control and of learning by their mistakes. Mr. Taft pays only lip-loyalty to this doctrine. In his speech to the New York Bar Association the President said:

"There are those of us who do not believe that all people are fitted for popular government. The fact is, we know they are not. Some of us do not dare say so, but I do." And that Mr. Taft was referring to the American people is shown by the context of his speech, for he added: 'We are called upon now, we of the bar, to say whether we are going to protect the institution of the judiciary and continue it independent of the majority, or of all the people.' Remember that this is simply a plea to stand by the Reactionary courts and against the people in such cases as I have named. It is a plea to put a legislative formula above justice to the oppressed.

"Mr. Taft is very much afraid of the tyranny of majorities. I have scant patience with such timidity. Wherever there is tyranny of the majority I shall protest against it; but today we are suffering from the tyranny of minorities. It is a small minority that is grabbing our coal deposits, our water powers and our harbor fronts. A small minority is battering on the sale of adulterated foods and drugs. It is a small minority that lies behind monopolies and trusts. It is a small minority that stands behind the present law of master and servant, the sweatshops, and the whole calendar of social and industrial injustice. The only tyrannies from which men, women and children are suffering in real life are the tyrannies of minorities.

"Mr. Taft has correctly stated the issue between him and the Progressives," continued Colonel Roosevelt. "We stand for



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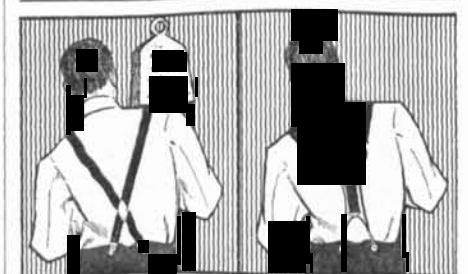
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the right of the people to rule, and we stand for this as a real and living fact, and not as a juggling formula ingeniously devised so as not to find expression in fact.

"Subscribing to the opposite view, Mr. Taft has paraphrased Lincoln's great statement that 'This is a government of the people, for the people and by the people,' proposing as a substitute that we should act on the theory that this is a government of the people, for the people, by a representative part—or class—of the people. Now it is dangerous work for any man, even for a president, to try to improve on Lincoln's doctrine of popular sovereignty and popular rights. In actual practice, Mr. Taft's theory of government of the people, not by the people, but by a representative part of the people, means simply government of the people, by the bosses, for the special interests!

"Mr. Taft's present adherents—Reactionaries like Messrs. Aldrich, Cannon, Penrose, Gallinger, Guggenheim and Lorimer—are precisely the men who, under the President's theory of government, would be, as they to a certain degree already are, the 'representative part' of the people that governs the rest of the people, and that does not really represent them at all, but misrepresents them.

"It is of little matter in this contest whether any one man fails or succeeds; but the cause shall not fail, for it is the cause of mankind. When I plead for the crippled brakeman on a railroad, for the overworked girl in a factory, for the stunted child toiling in inhuman labor, for all who work excessively or in unhealthy surroundings, for the family dwelling in the squalor of a noisome tenement, for the worn-out farmer in regions where the farms are worn out also; when I protest against the unfair profits of unscrupulous and conscienceless men or against the greedy exploitation of the helpless by the beneficiaries of privilege I am not only fighting for the weak, I am fighting also for the strong. This country will not be a good place for any of us if it is not a reasonably good place for all of us."

There was an interruption—the usual interruption. The train slowed down and stopped, and a great crowd—the railroad official said four thousand—surged round the tail end of the special like navvies about a paycar. There were loud shouts for "Teddy" and scattering calls for "Roosevelt," and then a roar as The Colonel stepped out on the platform. Again—"curiosities vociferans." It was Youngstown, Ohio, where Mr. Taft made what he regarded as one of his notable speeches in the campaign of 1908.

When the train pulled out it wasn't the rebel yell that we heard, but it was surely a rebellious yell. This crowd was against somebody, but seemingly for Mr. Roosevelt. As he reentered the car—smiling, of course—The Colonel picked up a biography of Charles Fox and paused to remark:

"Four years ago, on Mr. Taft's then record, I supported him and the Reactionaries opposed him. Both sides acted correctly according to their then knowledge. After three and a half years' experience of Mr. Taft as President, I oppose him and the Reactionaries support him. Again both sides are acting correctly in view of the knowledge gained during these three and a half years. The line-up is clear—based upon the record."

Naughty! Naughty!

IN THE days before juvenile courts, Judge Rix, a police magistrate of San Francisco, took a paternal interest in all youthful offenders, fitting reproofs to their offenses and tempering justice to their years. One morning he observed an undersized, palefaced lad crouching in the prisoners' dock. The judge deliberately adjusted his spectacles and glared over them at the delinquent.

"Young feller!" he bellowed in the tone he usually assumed to strike terror to the heart of the offender, "stand up!" The boy dragged himself to his feet. "What you in for?" The prisoner hung his head in shame. "What's the charge?" the judge asked of the clerk.

"Murder!" whispered that official. "He chopped his father all to pieces with an ax."

The judge, taken aback by the enormity of the crime, turned to the boy again, shook his head in sorrow and said gravely: "Look here, young feller, you ain't acted right!"

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