

government are more responsive than others to the public will, but our government can be controlled by the people, from the organic law which we call the constitution to the statute and the court's decree.

A long step toward the elevation of labor to its proper position in the nation's deliberations is to be found in the establishment of a Department of Labor, with a cabinet officer at its head. The wage-earners deserve this recognition, and the executive is entitled to the assistance which such an official could render him. I regard the inauguration of this reform as the opening of a new era in which those who toil will have a voice in the deliberations of the President's council chamber.

The labor organization has been seriously handicapped by the fact that it has been—and I am not sure that it has not been done unwittingly—yoked up with the industrial combinations known as trusts. The proneness of trust defenders to use the labor organization as an excuse for combinations in restraint of trade has aroused the suspicion that they have been classed together for the purpose of shielding the combinations of capital. As the result of eighteen years of anti-trust legislation, only one man has been given a penal sentence for violating the federal law on this subject, and that man was a member of a labor organization rather than a trust magnate. The laboring man is justified in his demand that a distinction shall be drawn between the labor organizations and the industrial monopoly.

The trust and the labor organization cannot be described in the same language. The trust magnates have used their power to amass swollen fortunes, while no one will say that the labor organization has as yet secured for its members more than their share of the profits arising from their work. But there are fundamental differences. The trust is a combination of dollars; the labor organization is an association of human beings. In a trust a few men attempt to control the product of others; in a labor organization, the members unite for the protection of that which is their own, namely, their own labor, which, being necessary to their existence, is a part of them. The trust deals with dead matter; the labor organization with life and with intellectual and moral forces. No impartial student of the subject will deny the right of the laboring man to exemption from the operation of the existing anti-trust law.

If the labor organization needs to be regulated by law, let it be regulated by a law which deals with man as man, and not by a law that was aimed to prevent the cornering of a commodity or the forestalling of the market."

"According to the Declaration of Independence, governments are instituted among men to secure to them the enjoyment of their inalienable rights. Among these inalienable rights, three are specifically enumerated—life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. The second and third, however, are really parts of the first, for life means nothing to the individual if it is confined to mere animal existence. Man is distinguished from the brute in that the latter merely eats and sleeps and dies, while the former has illimitable possibilities inherent in him."

Liberty is necessary for the realization of man's possibilities. His conscience must be left free that he may fix for himself the relation between himself and his God. His mind must be left free that he may devise and plan for himself, for his family and for his fellows. His speech must be free that he may give to the world the results of his investigations and present to others the ideal which he is trying to realize in his work. His pen must be free that he may scatter seed thoughts to the uttermost parts of the earth and leave to posterity a record of his work. He finds in government the cheapest, as well as the surest, protection of this liberty, to be, to think, to speak, to act.

And what constitutes the pursuit of happiness? Man

must have home and friends—family and society. He must have food or he will starve. He must have clothing and shelter; he must have books, he must have instruments with which to work. He must provide during the period of strength for the years when age dulls his energies and benumbs his hands. He may have ambition, he may have willingness to work and an environment that spurs him on; but the government may encourage or it may discourage his efforts. Government may bid him hope or leave him to despair.

When I visited the valley of Jordan I learned that it is fertile and productive, and yet, instead of being cultivated like the valley of the Nile, vast stretches of territory lie untilled. Why? I was told that under the reign of the Sultan the toiler is not protected in the enjoyment of the fruits of his toil. If the farmer plants and tends his crop, the roving Bedouins will sweep down from the hills at harvest time and carry away the fruits of his industry.

If the government does not assure to the individual the enjoyment of the result of his effort there is no stimulus to industry.

We have the best government on earth. It gives the largest liberty, the greatest hope and the most encouragement to the citizens, and yet, even in this country, it is always necessary to be on the watch to keep the instrumentalities of government from being turned to private gain. One of the great problems of today is to secure an equitable distribution of the proceeds of toil. The material wealth of this country is largely a joint product; in factories few people work alone, and on the farm a certain amount of co-operation is necessary. Where men work together, the army organization applies to some degree; that is, some direct, others are directed. The difficulty has been to divide the results fairly between the captains of industry and the privates in the ranks. As the dividing is done largely by the captains, it is not unnatural that they should magnify their part and appropriate too large a share; neither is it unnatural that there should be complaint on the part of the toilers who think that their recompense is insufficient.

The labor question, therefore, as it presents itself at this time, is chiefly a question of distribution, and the legislation asked for is legislation which will secure to each that to which his services entitle him. As legislation is secured through the ballot every one should use the ballot to obtain the legislation necessary. The democratic platform presents the ideal toward which the Democratic party is striving, namely, justice in the distribution of reward. The Democratic party proclaims, that each individual should receive from society a reward for his toil commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society, and unless some other party can do the work better, the Democratic party ought to have the support of all, whether they belong to the wage-earning class or occupy positions in which they direct the efforts of others. If an officer in the industrial army were sure that his children and his children's children would inherit his position, he might feel possibly indifferent as to those under his command, but the children of those who, today, work for wages may employ the children of those who, in this generation, are employers. This uncertainty as to future generations, as well as our sense of justice, should lead us to make the government as nearly perfect as possible, for a good government is the best legacy that a parent can leave to his child. Riches may take the wings of the morning and fly away, but government is permanent, and we cannot serve posterity better than by contributing to the perfection of the government, that each child born into the world may feel that it has here an opportunity for the most complete development, and a chance to secure, through service, the largest possible happiness and honor."

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