AGAIN URGES AN ANTI-TRUST BILL

(Continued From First Page.)

sinister visionary who strives to arouse this feeling of class consciousness in our working people does a foul and evil thing, for he is no true American; he is no self-respecting citizen of this republic; he forfeits his right to stand with manly self-reliance on a footing of entire equality with all other citizens; who bows to envy and greed, who erects this doctrine of class hatred into a shibboleth, who substitutes loyalty to men of a particular status, whether rich or poor, for loyalty to the eternal and immutable principles of righteousness which bid us treat each man on his worth as a man without regard to his wealth or his poverty. But evil though the influence of these demagogues and visionaries is, it is no worse in its consequence than the influence exercised by the man of great wealth or the man of power and position in the industrial world who by his lack of sympathy with and lack of understanding of, still more by an exhibition of uncompromising hostility to the millions of our working people, tends to unite them against their fellow Americans who are better off in this world's goods. It is a bad thing to teach our workingmen that men of means who have the largest proportion of the substantial comforts of life are necessarily greedy, grasping and cold-hearted and that they unjustly demand and appropriate more than their share of the substance of the many. Stern condemnation should be visited upon demagogues and visionaries who teach this untruth, and even sterner upon those capitalists who are in truth grasping and greedy and brutally disregardful of the rights of others and who, by their actions, teach the dreadful lesson far more effectively than any mere preacher of unrest.

Strengthen Anti-Trust Law.

A class grievance left too long without remedy breeds "class consciousness," and therefore class resentment, the strengthening of the anti-trust law is demanded upon both moral and economic grounds. Our purpose in strengthening it is to secure more effective control by the National Government over the use of the vast masses of individuals and especially of corporate wealth, which at the present time monopolizes most of the interstate business of the country, and we believe the control can be best exercised by preventing abuses rather than merely by trying to destroy them when they have already grown. In the higher sense of the word, the movement for thorough control of the business use of this great wealth is conservative. We are trying to steer a safe middle course which alone can save us from a plutocratic class government on the one hand or a socialistic class government on the other, either of which would be fraught with disaster to our free institutions, state and National. We are trying to avoid alike the evils which would flow from Government ownership of the public utilities by which interstate commerce is chiefly carried on and the evils which flow from the riot and chaos of unrestricted individualism.

There is grave danger to our free institutions in the corrupting influence exercised by great wealth suddenly concentrated in the hands of the few. We should in a sane manner try to remedy this danger, in spite of the sullen opposition of these men and with the full purpose to protect them in all their rights at the very time that we require them to deal rightfully with others.

When, with steam and electricity, modern business conditions went through the astounding revolution which in this country began over half a century ago, there was at first much hesitation as to what particular governmental agency should be used to grapple with the new conditions. At almost the same time, about 20 years since, the effort was made to control combinations by regulating them through the Interstate Commerce Commission and to abolish them by means of the anti-trust act, the two remedies therefore being in part mutually incompatible. The interstate commerce law has produced admirable results, especially since it was strengthened by the Hepburn law two years ago. The anti-trust law, though it worked some good because it is better than anarchy or absence of complete regulation, nevertheless has proved, in many respects, not merely inadequate, but mischievous.

National Incorporation Law.

Twenty years ago the misuse of corporate power had produced almost every conceivable form of abuse and had worked the gravest injury to business morality and the public conscience. For a long time Federal regulation of interstate commerce had been purely negative. The National judiciary merely acting in isolated cases to restrain the state from exercising a power which was clearly unconstitutional as well as unwise for them to exercise, but which, nevertheless, the National Government failed to exercise. Thus the corporations monopolizing commerce made the law for themselves, state power and common law being inadequate to accomplish any effective legislation and the National power not having yet been put forth. The result was mischievous in the extreme, and only short-sighted and utter failure to appreciate the grossness of the evils in which the lack of regulation gave rise can give expression to those who now want to abolish the anti-trust law outright, or to amend it, simply condemning "unreasonable" combinations.

Power should unquestionably be lodged somewhere in the executive branch of the Government to prevent combinations which will not further the public interest, but it must always be remembered that as regards the great wealthy combinations through which most of the interstate business of the country is done, the burden of proof should be on them to show that they have a right to exist. No judicial tribunal has the knowledge of the experience to determine in the first place whether a given combination is advisable or necessary in the interest of the public. Somebody, whether a commission or a bureau under the Department of Commerce and Labor, should be given this power. My personal belief is that ultimately we shall have to adopt a National incorporation law, though I am well aware that this may be impossible at present. Over the actions of the executive body the power is placed, and the courts should possess merely a power of review, analogous to that obtaining in connection with the work of the Interstate Commerce Commission at present. To secure this would not be a leap in the dark; it would be merely to carry still further the theory of effective governmental control of corporations which was responsible for the creation of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and for the enlargement of its powers and for the creation of a Bureau of Corporations. The interstate commerce legislation has worked admirably. It has benefited the public; it has benefited honestly managed and economically conducted railroads, and in view of the fact that the country's business has enormously increased, this legislation has shown, by the way it enabled the Federal Government to correct the most pronounced of the great and varied abuses which existed in the business world for 20 years, but the many abuses that still remain emphasize the need of further and more thorough-going legislation.

Dual Control Impossible.

The Bureau of Corporations has amply justified its creation. In other words, it is clear that the principles employed to remedy the great evils in the business world have worked well, and they can now be employed to correct the evils that further commercial growth has brought more prominently to the surface. The power and scope of the Interstate Commerce Commission, and of any similar body, such as the Bureau of Corporations, which has to deal with the matter in hand, should be greatly enlarged, so as to meet the requirements of the present day. The decisions of the Supreme Court in Minnesota and North Carolina demonstrate how impossible is a dual control of National commerce. The states cannot control it. All they can do is to control intrastate commerce, and this is but a small fraction of the business carried through each state. Actual experience has shown that the effort at state control is sure to be nullified in one way or another, sooner or later. The Nation alone can act with effectiveness and wisdom; it should have the control both of the business and of the agent by which the business is done. To separate this control must result in great absurdity. This means that we must rely on the Nation to prevent the commercial abuses that now exist and the others that are sure to arise unless some efficient governmental body has adequate power of control over them. At present the failure of the Congress to utilize and exercise the great powers conferred on it as regards interstate commerce, leaves this commerce to be regulated, not by the state, nor yet by the Nation, but by the occasionally and necessarily inadequate and one-sided action of the Federal judiciary. However upright and able a court is, it cannot act constructively; it can only act negatively or decisively as an agency of the Government, and this means that the courts are and must always be unable to deal effectively with a problem like the political, which requires constructive action. A court can decide what is guilt, but it has no power to make better what it thus finds to be faulty.

Nation Should Have Power.

There should be an efficient executive body, clothed with power enough to correct abuses and able to work out the complex problems that this great country has developed. It is not sufficient objection to say that such a body may be guilty of unwisdom or abuses. Any governmental body, whether a court or a commission, whether executive, legislative or judicial, if given power enough to enable it to do effective work for good, must also inevitably receive enough power to make it possibly effective for evil. Therefore, it is clear that (unless a National incorporation law can be enacted) that body or bodies in the executive service should be given power to pass upon any combination or agreement in relation to interstate commerce, and every such combination and agreement not thus approved should be treated as in violation of law and prosecuted accordingly. The issuance of the security of any combination in interstate business should be under the supervision of the National Government. A strong effort has been made to have labor organizations completely exempted from any of the operations of the law, whether or not their acts are in restraint of trade. Such exemption would make the bill unconstitutional, and Congress has no more right to pass a bill without regard to whether it is constitutional than the courts have a right to declare unconstitutional a law which Congress has solemnly ratified. The responsibility is as great on the one side as on the other, and abuse of power by the legislature in one direction is equally to be condemned with an abuse of power by the courts in the other direction. It is not possible wholly to exempt labor organizations from the workings of this law, and they who insist upon totally excepting them are merely providing that their status shall be kept wholly unchanged and that they shall continue to be exposed to the action which they now dread.

Warning to Labor Unions.

Obviously an organization not formed for profit should not be required to furnish statistics in any way as complete as those furnished by organizations for profit. Moreover, so far as labor is engaged in protection only, its claims to be exempted from the anti-trust law are sound. This would substantially cover the right of laborers to combine, to strike peaceably and to enter into trade agreements with the employers. But when labor undertakes in a wrongful manner to prevent the distribution and sale of products of labor, as by certain forms of the boycott, it has left the fold of protection and its action may plainly be in restraint of interstate trade, and must necessarily be subject to inquiry, exactly as in the case of any other combination for the same purpose, so as to determine whether such action is contrary to sound public policy. The heartiest encouragement should be given to wageworkers to form labor unions and to enter into agreement with their employers, and their right to strike, so long as they act peaceably, must be preserved.

The measures I advocate are in the interest of both decent corporations and law-abiding labor unions. They are, moreover, pre-eminently in the interest of the public, for in my judgment the American public have definitely made up their mind that the day of the reign of the great law-defying corporations is over, and that from this time on the mighty combinations of capital necessary for the transaction of business under modern conditions, while encouraged so long as they act honestly and in the interest of the general public are to be subjected to careful supervision and regulation of a kind so effective as to insure their acting in the interest of the people as a whole.

Allegations are often made to the effect that there is no great need for laws looking to the more effective control of the great corporations, on the ground that they will do their work well without such control. I call your attention to the accompanying copy of a report just submitted by Mr. Nathan Matthews, chairman of the finance committee to the Mayor and City Council of Boston, Mass., relating to certain evil practices of various corporations which have been bidders for furnishing to the city iron and steel. The report shows there have been extensive combinations formed among the various corporations which have served the City of Boston, including, for instance, a carefully planned combination, embracing practically all the firms and corporations engaged in structural steel work in New England. This combination included substantially all the local concerns and many of the larger corporations in the United States that are engaged in manufacturing or furnishing structural steel for any part of New England; it affected the states, the cities and towns, the railroads and street railways and all persons having occasion to use iron or steel for any purpose in that section of the country. As regards the City of Boston, the combination resulted in parceling the work by bids plainly dishonest and supported by false affirmations. In its conclusion the commission recommends as follows:

Quotes Commission's Report.

"Comment on the moral meaning of these methods and transactions would seem superfluous, but as they were defended at the public hearings of the commission and asserted to be common and entirely proper incidents of business life, and as those practices have been resorted to by some of the largest industrial corporations that the world has ever known, the commission deems it proper to record its own opinion.

"The commission dislikes to believe that these practices are as alleged established by the general custom of the business community, and this defense itself if unchallenged amounts to a grave accusation against the honesty of present business methods, to answer an invitation for bids for public or private work by sending in what purport to be genuine bids, but what in reality are collusive figures, purposely made higher than the bid which is known to be submitted by one of the supposed competitors, is an act of plain dishonesty; to support these misrepresentations by false affirmations in writing that the bids are submitted in good faith, and without fraud, collusion or connection with any other bidder, is a positive and deliberate fraud; the successful bidder in the competition is guilty of obtaining money by false pretenses; and the others have made themselves parties to a conspiracy clearly unlawful at the common law.

"Whereas in the case of the 'Boston agreement' a number of the most important manufacturers and dealers in structural steel in this country, including the American Bridge Company, one of the constituent companies of the United States Steel Corporation, have combined together for the purpose of raising prices by means of collusive bids and false representations, their conduct is not only repugnant to common honesty, but is plainly obnoxious to the Federal statute known as the Sherman anti-trust law.

"The Commission believes that an example should be made of these men and that the members of the 'Boston agreement,' or at least those who in October and November, 1905, entered in the fraudulent competitions for the Cove-street draw span and the Brookline-street bridge, should be brought before a Federal grand jury for violation of the act of Congress of July 2, 1890. The three years' limitation for participation in these transactions has not elapsed, and the evidence obtained by the Commission is such that there should be no difficulty in the Government securing a conviction in this case."

I have submitted this case to the Department of Justice for thorough investigation, and for action if action shall prove practicable.

Striving to Minimize Abuses.

Surely such a state of affairs is such that calls for further legislation, not merely for the material benefit such legislation would secure, but above all, because this Federal action should be part, and a large part, of the campaign to waken our people as a whole to a lively and effective condemnation of the low standard of morality implied in such conduct on the part of the great business concerns. The first duty of every man is to provide a livelihood for himself and for those dependent upon him; it is from every standpoint desirable that each of our citizens should endeavor by hard work and honorable methods to secure for himself and them a competence as will carry with it the opportunity to enjoy in reasonable fashion the comforts and refinements of life; and, furthermore, the man of great ability, who obtains a fortune in upright fashion, inevitably in so doing confers a benefit upon humanity as a whole and is entitled to reward, to respect and to admiration. But among the many kinds of evil, social, industrial and political, which it is our duty as a Nation sternly to combat, there is none at the same time more base and more dangerous than the greed which treats the plain and simple rules of honesty with cynical contempt if they interfere with amassing a profit, and we cannot be held guiltless if we condone such action. The man who preaches hatred of wealth honestly acquired, who inculcates envy and jealousy and slanderous ill-will towards those of his fellows who by thrift, energy and industry have become men of means, is a menace to the community. But his counterpart in evil is to be found in that particular kind of multi-millionare who is almost the least enviable and is certainly one of the least admirable of all of our citizens a man whom it has been well said that his face has grown hard and cruel while his body has grown soft; whose son is a fool, and his daughter a foreign "Princess," whose nominal pleasures are at best those of a tasteless and extravagant luxury and whose real delight, whose real life work, is the accumulation and use of power in its most sordid and least elevating form. In the chaos of an absolutely unrestricted commercial individualism under modern conditions, this is a type that becomes prominent as inevitably as the marauder baron became prominent in the physical chaos in the dark ages.

We are striving for legislation to minimize the abuses which give this type its flourishing prominence, partly for the sake of what can be accomplished by legislation makes our participation in a great and stern moral development bring our ideal into measurable accord.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT.

The White House, April 27, 1908.

Methods Employed by Combine.

In the report of the Mayor and City Council of Boston, subjoined to the message, the alleged methods employed in the alleged collusion are considered under three heads — combinations among boilermakers, combinations among contractors for fire-proofing and combinations between corporations and firms engaged in the manufacturing or supply of structural steel.

Under the first heading, the committee charges that "some one familiar with the operations of the schoolhouse department would furnish each person invited the name of other persons to whom invitations had been extended. The concerns selected would then arrange between themselves as to who should do the work, as to the price to be fixed, and as to the division of the profits."

The report names two companies as the corporations found to be guilty of collusive practices in bidding for fire-proofing contracts and says:

"Those companies combined for the purpose of parceling out the work. Contract for contract was generally conceded, although in some cases money was paid as the price of abstaining from competition. This resulted in high prices to the customer and exactions were thus obtained from all sorts and conditions of men and corporations."

The portion devoted to corporations in the structural steel trade deals with what is termed the Boston agreement, and the charge is made that "in order to preserve the appearance of competition and to insure the success of the scheme of collusion, the parties to the agreement would arrange the bids to be submitted in progressive scale above the prearranged bid of the concern to which the work had been allotted."

The members of the agreement did not hesitate to make false affirmations in writing that the bids were made in good faith, without fraud, collusion or connection with any other bidder.

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POINTED QUOTATIONS FROM THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE ON ANTI-TRUST LEGISLATION

It is unwise stubbornly to refuse to provide against the repetition of the abuses which have caused the present unrest. In a democracy like ours it is idle to expect permanently to thwart the determination of the great body of our citizens.

The process of injunction in labor troubles as well as where state laws are involved, should be used sparingly . . . for its reckless use tends to make honest men desire so to hamper its execution as to destroy its usefulness.

As a class grievance left too long without remedy breeds "class consciousness," and therefore class resentment, the strengthening of the anti-trust law is demanded upon both moral and economic grounds.

In the higher sense of the word, the movement for thorough control of the business use of this great wealth is conservative. We are trying to steer a safe middle course, which alone can save us from a plutocratic class government on one hand, or a socialistic class government on the other, either of which would be fraught with disaster to our free institutions.

My personal belief is that ultimately we shall have to adopt a National corporation law, though I am well aware that this may be impossible at present.

The Bureau of Corporations has amply justified its creation . . . The power and scope of the Interstate Commission and of any similar body, such as the Bureau of Corporations, . . . should be greatly enlarged, so as to meet the requirements of the present day.

Every far-sighted patriot should protest, first of all, against the growth in this country of that evil thing which is called "class consciousness." The demagogue, the sinister visionary who tries to arouse this feeling of class consciousness, does a foul and evil thing.

But among the many kinds of evil, social, industrial and political, which it is our duty as a Nation sternly to combat, there is none at the same time more base and more dangerous than the greed which treats the plain and simple rules of honesty with cynical contempt if they interfere with amassing a profit. . . .

The man who preaches hatred of wealth honestly acquired . . . is a menace to the community. But his counterpart in evil is to be found in that particular kind of multi-millionaire . . . of whom it has been well said that his face has grown hard and cruel while his body has grown soft; whose son is a fool and his daughter a foreign "princess" . . .

Timber Has Always Been A MONEY MAKER

Our stock is being taken up with surprising rapidity. The millionaire, the merchant, the doctor, the lawyer, the mechanic, are all buying it. Why not you? And do it now. We want to hear the hum of the wheels of our mill within a few months, then the shipping of our lumber, and then the income. Will you be one of the lucky ones to share in the profits? $100 invested now will give you a life income.

I can positively convince you that there is no better investment on the present market than the one here offered.

Think of it! Four billion feet of high-priced, hardwood, merchantable timber, located on the Coast, accessible and easily logged, on good, wide, tidewater rivers.

The market for every foot of this vast tract is already established, and the profits will be enormous. Ten million feet per year can be sold in the immediate vicinity of our plant. This one market guarantees a net profit of 30 per cent on the entire investment, and represents but a small proportion of our output.

This large tract of timber is located on the Pacific Coast, where we have the best shipping facilities to any port in the world available.

The timber consists principally of the highest-priced woods used in the manufacture of pianos, hotel fixtures, shipbuilding, railroad and electric cars, house and office trimmings, furniture, and many other indispensable wood commodities.

The woods comprise **MAHOGANY, LIGNUM VITAE, EBONY, CEDAR, ROSEWOOD, OAK, RUBBER, BALSAM, COPOEBA, COCOABOLA.**

The net price of this valuable tract of timber is less than **20¢ PER THOUSAND FEET,** and most of it finds a ready market at prices ranging from **$100** to **$400** per thousand.

The **LIGNUM VITAE** is in great demand, and marketable at more than $1000 per thousand feet.

The Board of Directors of the Northwestern Exploration & Development Co., which controls this timber, has authorized me to sell a limited number of shares of its stock at **20¢** per share (par value $1.00), for the purpose of installing a plant of sufficient size to meet the demands of the market.

I have on exhibition at my office samples of wood (highly polished), cut from this tract; also cruisers' reports and other data, which will convince at once the most skeptical of the wonderful money-making resources of this enterprise.

Call or write and secure subscription blanks. Do not delay, or you may miss the opportunity of a lifetime.

I have received numerous requests for evening appointments from persons interested in this investment. During the balance of this week, my office will be open from 7:00 until 9:00 P. M.

GEO. W. DOUGLAS

318 Worcester Building **PORTLAND, OREGON**

SMALL BOY'S FUN COSLTY

Starts $10,000 Blaze in Order to See Excitement.

SAN FRANCISCO, April 27.—The desire to see his father come dashing up in the big red touring car of Chief Shaughnessy caused little Emmet Roebling, aged 7, to start a fire in the barber shop of W. F. Jansen, 1372 Ellis street, this afternoon, which spread to three buildings and did damage that will approximate $10,000.

William Roebling, the boy's father, is acting Chief of the Fire Department and all for the excitement of a real fire and for the purpose of seeing the big red automobile with its siren whistle, which the father drives, the boy started the blaze.

Besides the destruction of the barber shop, three flats adjoining were gutted.

Arkansas Is for Taft.

HOT SPRINGS, Ark., April 27.—At the Republican State Convention tomorrow it is practically certain that the delegates elected will be instructed to vote for the nomination of Secretary of War Taft as long as his name is before the National Convention.

Spectacles $1.00 at Metzger's.

TRIAL DEVOID OF FEATURES

Hyde-Benson Land-Fraud Case Progressing Slowly.

WASHINGTON, April 27.—The Hyde-Benson-Dimond-Schneider alleged land-fraud trial is progressing slowly, today's session being devoid of interesting features. The day was occupied principally in the cross-examination of B. F. Allen, formerly of the Forestry Service. Attorney Worthington, for the defense, directed his questions principally to show that the news of the proposed creation of forest reserves was made public and not confined to the knowledge of a few private parties, as the Government attorneys had endeavored to prove.

Fugitive Cashier Caught.

LOS ANGELES, Cal., April 27.—Fred Lubbe, alias W. W. Williams, was arrested this afternoon for the alleged embezzlement of $14,500 from the First National Bank of Dillsboro, Ind. Lubbe had been acting as cashier of the bank since August 8, 1907, and up to the time of the embezzlement, which occurred January 7, 1908. Detectives here had been searching for Lubbe for the last three weeks, and located him Saturday, acting as a waiter in a restaurant.

Most children eat too much, overtax the digestion, get thin, weak, languid, stop growing—that's malnutrition or non-digestion of food.

Scott's Emulsion

has helped countless thousands in this condition. It is both nourishment and medicine—a most powerful aid to digestion.

A small dose three times a day will work wonders, but be sure to get SCOTT'S.

A large sample will be sent free upon receipt of this advertisement and your address.

SCOTT & BOWNE, 409 Pearl St., N.Y.

All Druggists

There is nothing in the world that will stop pains or arrest the progress of disease as quickly as RADWAY'S READY RELIEF. Cures and prevents Coughs, Colds,

"GRIP,"

Sore Throat, Influenza, Pneumonia, Rheumatism, Neuralgia, Headache, Toothache, Asthma, Difficult Breathing.

RADWAY'S READY RELIEF,

A successful household Remedy for 60 years.

(Guaranteed under the U. S. "Pure Drugs Law.")

RADWAY & CO., NEW YORK.
Sold by all Druggists.

GREAT NORTHERN BULLETIN

Eastern Excursion Rates

May 4, 18; June 5, 6, 19, 20; July 6, 7, 22, 23; August 6, 7, 21, 22.

Chicago and return............$72.50
St. Louis and return..........$67.50
St. Paul, Minneapolis, Duluth, Superior, Winnipeg, Port Arthur and Sioux City and return........................$60.00

2—TRAINS DAILY—2

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For tickets and sleeping-car reservations call on or address H. Dickson, C. P. and T. A., 122 Third St., Portland, Or. Tel. Main 680, A 2286.

Frank A. Munsey on the Business and Political Situation

IN the May Number of Munsey's Magazine, Mr. Munsey has an article on the panic and the causes that brought it about. He says some things and says them straight from the shoulder. He hands it out good and hard to Wall Street and to the Grand Dukes who have been running things in this country with a high hand—running them as the Grand Dukes of Russia have run things over there. The title of the article is—

There isn't money enough in the world today to do the world's work

Mr. Munsey takes emphatic issue with Wall Street and the followers of Wall Street who hold the President responsible for the panic. It is not his purpose in the discussion to acquit Mr. Roosevelt of blame, but rather to get at the facts, as the facts are necessary to intelligent progress in the recovery of our business activities.

"If these facts," Mr. Munsey says, "acquit the President, he is, as a matter of common honesty, entitled to the acquittal." What we want to know, and should know, is the truth. And the basic purpose with Mr. Munsey has been to lay bare the truth.

Mr. Munsey in this article clears away a vast amount of the distorted and awfully befogged ideas about this financial crash. The article is clear, convincing, forceful. It is not a dry, ponderous handling of the subject, but is swift and dramatic in expression, with all the sweep and picturesqueness of a novel. You cannot afford to miss reading it. No one who has any interest in the vital things of the day can afford to miss reading it.

In the May Number of Munsey's Magazine

On all News Stands—10 Cents