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Portland, Saturday, August 10, 1912.

COLONEL ROOSEVELT'S RESPONSIBILITY.

"Suppose," says a voluble contemporary, commenting on the frequent statement by persons in the vicinity of a Roosevelt party, "suppose Colonel Roosevelt should die or quit. How foolish to assume that the forces behind this great uprising of the people would abandon the effort to restore control of the government to the people. Lincoln was assassinated; but the Republican party did not die, nor did freedom perish from the earth."

Likely enough, likely enough. But if Colonel Roosevelt were to suspend his political activities, and the crown once more party stand? What direction would it take? What would become of the leadership army that follows the flag of its general wherever he commands that it shall go?

Colonel Roosevelt presented the nomination of a conservative candidate as he had it in his power to impose the warring elements and unite the divided party under the leadership of another progressive. He could not rise to the height that required of him any act of self-protection. He could not named the candidate, as Bryan did at Baltimore, and he could have framed the platform, as Bryan did. But he preferred to take all or nothing, and to sacrifice all others but himself. He was willing to retard and stop wholly the inevitable sweep, and to delay or defeat a certain triumph, of the conservative movement within the Republican party, solely because it did not mean a personal victory for him.

That is all. Colonel Roosevelt is solely responsible for the revolt from the Republican party. If happily he might see the light and go to Africa, or to the west, or to a nomination that means nothing but ultimate defeat, the Progressive party would immediately dissolve into its individual units, and they would return to the Republican party, and carry to completion the remarkable work well done and so nearly successful until the unfortunate Presidential Roosevelt campaign intervened.

WILSON'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

To one whose ears have rung for years with the impassioned demands of Democratic orators that we strike down the robber tariff and take away from the manufacturer every dollar of plunder he extorts from the people, Woodrow Wilson's plan of revision, as explained in his speech of acceptance, is a weak, innocuous remedy. Though he accuses the Republicans of having built up the tariff to establish monopoly and foster special privilege, he would not compel these interests immediately to stop grafting on the people's pockets, so sudden a reduction of tariff to business. He would withdraw the tariff stimulant gradually, a little every year, as the drunkard's daily allowance of whisky is reduced until he becomes sober. To compel the "robber barons" to make full restitution at once would be too great a shock to them; therefore, the process must be spread over a term of years.

Wilson suggests that we begin the work of revision with those "schedules which have been most obviously used to give competition and to raise prices," then to those which which give opportunity for monopoly until special favors are absolutely withdrawn. Having done this by a gradual process, he would last of all begin to think about revenue. The implication is that, while he was rooting out protection, he would make the revenue sufficient to meet the tax that would be taken; therefore, the process must be spread over a term of years.

SOCIALISM AND SINGLE TAX.

We think Mr. C. W. Barzee too modest in disclaiming, as will be noted in a letter he has written to The Oregonian, any right to the title "socialist single tax leader." Mr. Barzee gives the honorable mention to which he objects largely because of his local activity as both socialist and single taxer. Moreover, the complete title was chosen because all socialist leaders are not single taxers. We have particularly in mind as a representative of the latter class one of the best-known socialists, nationally, that we know in America, Victor Berger, Representative in Congress from Wisconsin, in a speech delivered in the House, June 14, 1911, repudiated single tax. Speaking of the revolution he feared might take place as the outgrowth of present industrial conditions, Mr. Berger said (Congressional Record, Vol. 47, p. 20):

"Remedies have been proposed. Single tax, more silver dollars, greenbacks, and a dozen other remedies have been offered. All of them are alike, that they deal with the effects of competition, and with the effect of the machine on the workman. The annual rental of the land has been occupied by the skyscraper would be all, or nearly all, taken under single tax along with the annual rental value of land held out of use."

When a National socialist leader like Representative Berger rejects single tax, the mantle of leadership among those socialists who approve it is quite likely to fall on the lesser fry in the party.

We are unable to read single tax into the socialist party plank which Mr. Barzee quotes. The plank declares for the "collective ownership of land wherever practicable." The single taxer would not have just short of collective ownership. The plank also approves the "appropriation by taxation of the annual rental of all land held for speculation or exploitation." Single tax makes no distinction between lands held for speculation or exploitation and lands devoted to legitimate uses.

The annual rental value of the land occupied by the skyscraper would be all, or nearly all, taken under single tax along with the annual rental value of land held out of use.

The graduated tax features of the single tax amendment proposed in Oregon do not, moreover, apply equally to the land that is graduated to legitimate uses. The annual rental of the land owned by the big landowner who put his holdings to profitable use is of value exceeding \$10,000 in one county. On the other hand, the graduated tax would not apply to the speculator who had lands or natural resources scattered throughout the state

in values of less than \$10,000 in each county. An exploiter might own \$340,000 worth of vacant, unused land in Oregon, hold it at prohibitive prices and pay nothing under the graduated tax schedule. Yet an enterprising citizen who owned \$340,000 worth of land in one county might pay a use profit of \$350 annually in graduated taxes. We think that a socialist who approves his party's platform ought to have difficulty in conscientiously supporting a measure that would favor one land speculator against another, and in some instances impose a burden on the land improver that is not to be imposed on an exploiter holding land of equal value.

For the reasons given we respectfully insist that Mr. Barzee is a socialist since and regretfully assert that he is an unwise leader also.

SOME REMARKS ON SINCERITY.

The Oregonian is not disposed to enter into any formal discussion with the skeptic Mr. Bordeaux as to its sincerity; but, nevertheless, resists an inclination to consign his letter to the overflowing waste basket, and prints it as the revelation of one ardent Democratic mind. For Mr. Bordeaux permits us to know that he is for Champ Clark and the houn' dawg, and again—very much again—Bryan. Moreover, as a Democrat and a faithful, if not admiring, reader of The Oregonian, he has no use for Roosevelt, and is inclined to resort to bad language whenever he sees the Colonel's name in print, which is quite often.

Too often, indeed. That is the crux of our indignant correspondent's complaint. He cannot pick up a newspaper but he finds the name, or initials, or initials of Roosevelt staring him in the face, and causing the gasping and protesting newspaper editors to put him on the first page, and the admiring public to wonder what he will do next. Suppress him? You might as well try to suppress the seasons, or Niagara, or Old Faithful geysers.

Yet Roosevelt complains in his speeches about the conspiracy of the newspapers to ignore him. The New York World made a brief summary of the Roosevelt items that appeared one day in the New York papers, and it found that the Colonel had more articles and news items in the papers, two times over, than all other Presidential candidates combined.

Certainly we are sincere. Does Mr. Bordeaux think a person or a journal, chased by day and haunted at night by a big Bull Moose, can be anything but sincere?

CANADA FEELS HER OATS.

Prosperity and the deference with which her statesmen are treated in England are inflating Canada's national consciousness until she is becoming positively bumptious. Having given surprising proof of this national pride in the form of rejecting reciprocity with the United States, she is now asserting herself in the affairs of the British Empire. To the suggestion that Canada contribute a few dread-noughts to the British navy, Premier Borden replies that Canada will not assume a share in the burdens of the empire unless she has a voice in the imperial government. Canada follows this up by instigating a protest against the Panama Canal bill from the mother country, because Canadian shipping would be hard hit by the exemption from tolls of American coastwise vessels.

Canada's interest in the empire is partly sentimental, partly mercenary. The Dominion has little but sentimental interest in the probable consequences of war between the mother country and Germany. Direct attack by Germany on Canada will not excite her, and she would suffer little, compared with England, by interruption of trade relations, in the event of German success at sea. The United States could be trusted to prevent German annexation of any part of Canada, and thus Canada is secure, while the mother country or Germany reaps the waves.

MISSISSIPPI.

You may look in vain through the Roosevelt confession of faith and you will find no confession that involves a Roosevelt explanation of his position on the following live issues: The thirty-term president and the Roosevelt cabinet contract with the people not again to become a candidate for the Presidency.

The fourteenth and fifteenth amendments to the Constitution of the United States emancipating the negro, making him a citizen and giving him equal rights with the white.

Presidential preference primary laws for white men only.

The Roosevelt conspiracy to take over the Republican candidates for elector and to deprive Republicans of an opportunity in many states even to vote for their own candidates.

The bogus Roosevelt contests before the late Republican National Convention.

The deal with McHarg and the Southern delegations.

The source of the Roosevelt campaign funds.

The Roosevelt partnership with George W. Perkins, the steel trust and the harvester trust.

The Roosevelt alliance with Boss Finl and every other boss who will take the Roosevelt oath of allegiance.

The Roosevelt breach with La Follette after an express invitation to La Follette to enter the Presidential race.

The one-man domination of the National Progressive Convention and the preceding state conventions.

The Roosevelt plan to bludgeon all progressives and all progressive candidates in the various states, however distinguished their position, however conspicuous their service to the cause, and however active they may have heretofore been in promoting the political interests of Colonel Roosevelt, unless they shall leave the Republican party and join with him in the effort to destroy it.

The former Roosevelt sayings on woman suffrage, initiative, judicial recall and the like.

The seven and one-half years of successful effort as President to avoid action on the tariff.

Specific endorsement of Canadian reciprocity in 1910 and repudiation of the same reciprocity in 1912.

Others might be mentioned; but these are sufficient to indicate where Colonel Roosevelt was, and where he is, or says he is, today.

NEW YORK'S POLICE SCANDAL.

New York's latest and greatest police scandal will serve to open fully the eyes of the country to the unusual possibilities of a partnership in any great city between police authorities and denizens of the underworld. In municipal politics the police department has always been the vulnerable point in the various systems, however unprincipled and howsoever frequent and charges of corruption have frequently not been proved.

But here is a case where the evidence of a corrupt partnership of far-reaching proportions is incontrovertible. Here, too, is shown the partnership of police and criminals in its flower. Not even the Black Hand or the Comorra seem to have methods more drastic or more abandoned than those of New York's police "system." The taking of millions of corrupt tribute came to a climax in the murder of a man who threatened to kill the police chief who was laying the golden eggs. Every bit of evidence goes to show that this murder was inspired by police officials, and carried out under supervision of corrupt police officers, and that the police permitted the assassins to escape.

There is a suspicion that important facts in the significant murder of

Herman Rosenthal, a New York gambler, at 2 P. M. on the night of July 16 he was summoned from a cafe in a brilliantly-lit section of the city and shot down by four thugs who leaped into a big gray automobile and were whirled away. The police in the vicinity were slow in responding. They reported in the wrong number of the auto. It developed that the victim, earlier in the night, had appeared before the District Attorney and given evidence showing the denials of the police. Charles Becker had been receiving large sums from gamblers and other vicious classes of New York's underworld. Rosenthal is accredited with the boast that he would put Lieutenant Becker in prison for ten years even if he had to take the same dose himself.

Suspicion that Rosenthal was a victim of a corrupt police circle was clinched when Jack Rose, gambler and accomplice in the murder, confessed. The sum of \$2,400,000 per year is the sum paid for police protection by the police, according to the figures. Later, when it became apparent that police protection could benefit them no longer, other denizens of the world that preyed added facts and figures to the Rose confession. The net of evidence was drawn so tightly about the Police Bureau that the district indicted in connection with the Rosenthal murder and placed under arrest.

Now that the charges that there was a partnership have been pretty well established, a general cleaning up of the department is well under way. It is likely that the difficulty will be ferreted out and punished. Such a "system" cannot flourish in any American community, once the facts are proved.

The huge sums paid in tribute to the police point to the immense profit being obtained by the police. They emphasize the possibilities for profitable co-operation between criminals and those who are paid by the

state. A Philadelphia chef has been arrested for cruelty to a lobster. Coquettish young women will do well to take warning.

A man of 72 seeking marriage with a woman one-third his age would better first take out "hornswoogie" insurance.

Chicago traction employees have sent an ultimatum on the end of a live wire.

MODERN TRUST IS HERE TO STAY.

Crude Competition Gone With the Wind.—It is a fact that the Democratic hold so much hope and promise in their platform, it is well to note the findings of the Democratic members of the committee appointed to investigate the machinations of the steel trust. To advance their theory at the present time, that the duty of the government is to destroy the trusts of this country is to invite their political suicide as a party.

A modern well-conducted trust is, in the opinion of the critics, the fundamental idea of modernism in government. Much fact is found in the fact that J. P. Morgan has, through manipulation, secured partial control of some \$3,000,000,000. The sum is so staggering, the interests so vast, that to say that individual action can do anything of the kind is a ridiculous individual action is so momentous, its results so great.

Amongst so much wealth, with the limitations of the trusts, the advocates and the perfecting of so many agencies, Morgan has long ago lost his identity. Call it socialism, if you like, but the fact is, that it is a finished product of the steel trust and to attempt to re-establish crude competition is to take a step backward.

Dissolution, destruction in the case of the government is to destroy the trust. Crude competition (for there can be no other kind under modern conditions) must go along with the hand of the government in the hand of the trust. The hand press, and the hand churn. They are all products of a past day and must make way for a new condition. The same law that governed the passing of the hand press also governed the coming of the trust. If one was tireless, slow in its results, the other is necessary in perfecting invention, establishing a system, creating harmonious results. Society must learn to adjust itself to this militant change and give to its earnest consideration. The modern trust spells far excellence of production, manufacture, system, distribution.

To segregate the carrying agencies of the steel interests from the interests themselves would mean the shattering of a cog in the wheel of commercial progress. The railroads controlled by the trusts hold the same relation to the government as the delivery wagons of a department store hold to the store itself. Why is the advocate of regulative control of a trust any more socialistic than the advocate of "letting the government alone"?

The centralization of vast industries under one governing body spells elimination of waste, perfection of manufacture, strictly scientific management, controlling them and better working conditions. As the steel trust committee says, the searchlight of publicity is the greatest governing agency of the corporation. When Roosevelt allowed the Tennessee Coal and Iron Company to be absorbed by the steel trust, he merely recognized the force of human progress. This is government in evolution. His action differed not one whit from the actions of Galileo, Gutenberg, Fulton and Hargrave in their efforts to improve the world.

The progress of man's invention substituted factory work for family activity, just so does the trust idea show the futurity of individual action. The cry "destruction of trusts" is the cry for a more universal, more complete and legislative action alone is the remedy.

The lowering of sociological conditions of the employees of the trusts, an incident in the making of trusts, do not give you credit when you fail to give credit to the accepted echo of representatives of our party in Congress.

Had Murphy immediately voted the New York delegation for Wilson after Bryan's Janus-faced play, Wilson would have been the better man for the office. He would have been shown up clearly, as I think he is to be, a hypocrite of the "tailor-made" type. Sometimes these so-called "progressive" men make a paper as well written a paper as yours. To be sure, you can see that he loses nothing by so much advertising. And with The Oregonian making a deal, words of the double-headed spokesman, Review-Chronicle pumping more hot air into the Bull Moose over here, and they will get the benefit.

However, an man in no way trying to tell you what to do in the conduct of "The Oregonian." I must do as all others do, read it and say to myself, "The fact is, the truth is, that you are not alone with the Bull Moose have plenty of money and have very smooth and cunning ways to get results."

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