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ANNIVERSARY OF THE BIRTH OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON

ADDRESS

OF

HON. ROBERT L. OWEN

OF OKLAHOMA

DELIVERED IN NEW YORK CITY

APRIL 13, 1908

PRINTED IN THE
CONGRESSIONAL RECORD
JUNE 25, 1910



WASHINGTON

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UNIVERSITY OF THE STATE OF
THOMAS JEFFERSON

ADDRESS

BON ROBERT L. OWEN

OF CHILANNA

PRINTED BY NEW YORK CITY

MAY 12 1910

PRINTED BY THE

COLUMBIAN UNIVERSITY

MAY 12 1910



WASHINGTON

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ADDRESS
OF
HON. ROBERT L. OWEN.

AN ADDRESS BY ROBERT L. OWEN IN NEW YORK ON THE ANNIVERSARY OF
THE BIRTHDAY OF THOMAS JEFFERSON, APRIL 13, 1908.

MR. PRESIDENT AND GENTLEMEN OF THE NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC CLUB: It has been one hundred and sixty-five years since the birth of Thomas Jefferson—the patron saint of the Democracy. In the centuries to come the dignity and the value of this great intelligence and of this great heart will rise higher and higher in the estimation of man, for the birth of no man since the birth of Christ has been so serviceable to his fellow-men.

We do well annually to assemble and burn incense on the altar in his memory—the man who taught religious liberty and the first to write it in the statutes of Virginia; the man who taught freedom of speech; who put an end to entailed estates, overthrew the law of primogeniture, and in 1777 introduced in the Virginia assembly the first bill providing universal education and the first bill to forbid dueling; who established the University of Virginia; the man who condemned monopoly and slavery, and pointed out their dangerous tendencies; the man, above all other things, who loved his fellow-men and trusted them, and regarded them as his brothers and worthy to govern themselves; the man who stood firmly for a strict construction of the Constitution, who maintained the reserved rights of the States and of the people of the States; a man whose ideas of government were so sound and so true that within a few short years his doctrines—opposition to slavery excepted—were established in the hearts and minds of all of the people of the United States, so that there was in effect only one party in the decade following his presidency.

OKLAHOMA.

You Eastern sons of the National Democracy may fancy that Oklahoma is a long way off and has but few ties with Thomas Jefferson, but I call your attention to the fact that the purest Jeffersonian democracy upon the continent is in the heart of Oklahoma—all of the teachings of Thomas Jefferson are vitally active in the constitution of Oklahoma. Oklahoma is more indebted to Thomas Jefferson than is New York, because Thomas Jefferson, in the Louisiana Purchase, acquired by purchase the very soil of Oklahoma, and made many republics where one empire had controlled. The people who first settled Oklahoma carried with them the liveliest memories of Thomas Jefferson. Among the first settlers of Oklahoma was my Indian grandfather, a leader of the Cherokees, who carried with him as a precious memory a silver medal, which I now show you, given to him by Thomas Jefferson. On the one side is a medallion of Jefferson and the inscription, "Th. Jefferson, President of the U. S., A. D. 1801," and on the other side, embossed, are two hands in friendly grasp, with the legend "Peace and friendship."

In the most beautiful part of the Cherokee Nation I have a country place named for the residence of Thomas Jefferson, and called Monticello. At this country place the great-great-granddaughter of Thomas Jefferson gave birth to two of his descendants, Adalaide and Pattie Morris.

Oklahoma has many ties binding that great Commonwealth to Thomas Jefferson, but chief of all are the intellectual and spiritual ties, drawn from the soul of Thomas Jefferson, establishing great principles of government necessary to the welfare and the happiness of man.

RELIGIOUS FREEDOM.

The great doctrine of religious freedom taught by Jefferson is found recorded in the Oklahoma bill of rights, section 5:

"SEC. 5. No public money or property shall ever be appropriated, applied, donated, or used, directly or indirectly, for the use, benefit, or support of any sect, church, denomination, or system of religion, or for the use, benefit, or support of any priest, preacher, minister, or other religious teacher or dignitary, or sectarian institution as such."

The right of free speech is written in the same bill of rights, section 22, as follows:

"SEC. 22. Every person may freely speak, write, or publish his sentiments on all subjects, being responsible for the abuse of that right; and no law shall be passed to restrain or abridge the liberty of speech or of the press. In all criminal prosecutions for libel, the truth of the matter alleged to be libelous may be given in evidence to the jury, and if it shall appear to the jury that the matter charged as libelous be true, and was written or published with good motives and for justifiable ends, the party shall be acquitted."

And the principle of universal education is there adopted (Art. XIII):

"(SECTION 1. The legislature shall establish and maintain a system of free public schools wherein all the children of the State may be educated.

"(SEC. 2. The legislature shall provide for the establishment and support of institutions for the care and education of the deaf, dumb, and blind of the State."

"ART. XXI. Educational, reformatory, and penal institutions and those for the benefit of the insane, blind, deaf, and mute, and such other institutions as the public good may require, shall be established and supported by the State in such manner as may be prescribed by law."

NO SLAVERY.

Thomas Jefferson was strongly opposed to slavery, as he indicated in many ways.

In his letter to E. Rutledge (1787) he stated:

"This abomination must have an end. And there is a superior bench reserved in heaven for those who hasten it."

In the proposed Virginia constitution he submitted:

"No person hereafter coming into this country shall be held within the same in slavery under any pretext whatever." (June, 1776.)

And also the following:

"The general assembly (of Virginia) shall not have power to * * * permit the introduction of any more slaves to reside in this State, or the continuance of slavery beyond the generation which shall be living on the 31st day of December, 1800; all persons born after that date being hereby declared free."

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In commenting on the deplorable results of slavery, Thomas Jefferson said:

"The whole commerce between master and slave is a perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submissions on the other. Our children see this, and learn to imitate it; for man is an imitative animal. This quality is the germ of education in man; from his cradle to his grave he is learning to do what he sees others do."

And he also said:

"Can the liberties of a nation be thought secure when we have removed their only firm basis, a conviction in the minds of the people that these liberties are of the gift of God? That they are not to be violated, but with his wrath? Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice can not sleep forever; that considering numbers, nature and natural means only, a revolution of the wheel of fortune, an exchange of situation is among possible events; that it may become probable by supernatural interference! The Almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest."

My fellow-citizens, I comment upon these doctrines of the patron saint of the Democracy, because it was a failure on the part of the Democratic party to develop and observe this one teaching of Jefferson, which resulted in the retirement of that party from national control during the last half century.

I have always thought that it was a providential thing for the poor ignorant blacks of Africa that they should have been brought in contact with the civilized races, even though it was through slavery, because it led to their gradual improvement from savage life. Ultimately, however, it was the unhappy influence of slavery which caused the original Democratic party to go to defeat in 1860. Thousands and hundreds of thousands of men, who, previously to that time, had been Jeffersonian Democrats, felt that Jefferson's opinion with regard to slavery was right; that the continuance of slavery was equally harmful both to master and slave, and, under the leadership of Abraham Lincoln, they first set their faces against the extension of slavery to the Territories of the United States. Abraham Lincoln, in his speech at Ottawa, Ill., on August 2, 1858, in reply to Douglas, said:

"I will say here while upon this subject that I have no purpose, either directly or indirectly, to interfere with the institution of slavery in the States where it exists. I believe that I have not the lawful right to do so and I have no inclination to do so."

But, as the contention proceeded, those original Jeffersonian Democrats who opposed slavery became more and more resolved against it, until such men, under the new name of the Republican party, determined upon the complete abolishment of slavery in this country.

The same spirit of American liberty which determined that the slavery of the black man under the forms of law should not exist in this country will stand against the enslavement of white men by monopolies under a more artful form of law. Organized gigantic monopolies have invaded every field, controlling the volume and rate of wages paid to labor, and controlling the purchasing power of the wages of labor when paid.

Lincoln was opposed to the extension of the slavery of black men, and before his term of office was out he already was foreseeing the danger of the enslavement of white men. He foresaw the danger to the humbler toiling citizen of arrogant organized capital, and in his first message to Congress pointed it out.

Among other things he said:

"Labor is prior to, and independent of, capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration. Capital has its rights, which are as worthy of protection as any other rights.

"No men living are more worthy to be trusted than those who toil up from poverty—none less inclined to take or touch aught which they have not honestly earned. Let them beware of surrendering a political power which they already possess, and which, if surrendered, will surely be used to close the door of advancement against such as they, and to fix new disabilities and burdens upon them, till all of liberty shall be lost."

The monopoly of various industries by skillfully organized capital has such control now that laborers by thousands and hundreds of thousands and millions are dependent for employment on those whose policy and interest may be served by the discharge of these laborers. The giant corporations deem it judicious, in cases, to restrict the output in order to raise the price, and thus dismiss labor at one door and raise the price to the laborer as consumer at the other door—deny him wages with one hand and raise prices on him with the other. Monopoly means ultimate mastery on the one side and slavery on the other. Monopoly means mastery of the one man and coequal servitude of the other man.

NO MONOPOLY.

Thomas Jefferson vigorously opposed monopoly of every kind except as a reward for literature and invention. He opposed monopoly in land.

He pointed out the terrible effects of monopoly of land in France in 1785 as follows:

"The property of France is absolutely concentrated in a very few hands, having revenues of from half a million of guineas a year downwards. These employ the flower of the country as servants, some of them having as many of 200 domestics, not laboring. They employ also a great number of manufacturers and tradesmen and, lastly, the class of laboring husbandmen. But, after all, there comes the most numerous of all the classes—that is, the poor, who can not find work. I asked myself what could be the reason that so many should be permitted to beg who are willing to work in a country where there is a very considerable proportion of uncultivated lands. Those lands are undistributed only for the sake of game. It should seem, then, that it must be because of the enormous wealth of the proprietors, which places them above attention to the increase of their revenues by permitting these lands to be labored."

And if you will remember, gentlemen of the National Democratic Club, you will recall that when this condition of monopoly reached a certain point the finest qualities of monopolists were suddenly overthrown and sent to the guillotine by the commonest kind of people in one of the bloodiest revolutions known to history. The French revolution that overthrew this great monopoly had the good result of dividing up the lands of France into small holdings, which has made France one of the wealthiest and most powerful nations on earth, showing a power of recuperation after the Franco-Prussian war that was the astonishment of the world.

I think that, perhaps, few men realize the extreme danger created by monopoly to the welfare and happiness of the people and to the

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stability of the country. The slavery of monopoly is not new in history.

I recall a wonderful story of a monopoly recorded in Holy Writ that was once established in the most fertile valley in the world, the valley of the Nile.

It was in the reign of a king named Pharaoh. He had a commercial adviser of great sagacity, a man sold as a slave into Egypt, named Joseph, of Hebrew extraction.

Under the advice of Joseph, Pharaoh and his captains stored all of the surplus corn of Egypt during the seven years of plenty, and thereafter during the seven years of drouth they had one of the richest monopolies known to history.

The price of corn "went up."

There was a "bull movement" on corn.

The bears were not "in it."

The price of corn went "sky high."

And, first of all, Pharaoh and his captains took all of the money of the Egyptians in exchange for corn, and next they took all their jewelry in exchange for corn, and then—

"They brought their cattle unto Joseph; and Joseph gave them bread in exchange for horses and for the flocks and for the cattle of the herds and for the asses, and he fed them with bread for all their cattle for that year," and the second year,

"Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh;" "for the Egyptians sold every man his field because the famine prevailed over them; so the land became Pharaoh's."

And when the people had sold all of their property and land to Pharaoh in exchange for corn, they said, "Let us and our children work for you for corn, and Pharaoh, being a benevolent man," kindly permitted them to do so.

And on these mild terms Pharaoh allowed them to have a portion of the corn which they had raised with their own hands, because Pharaoh was a benevolent man and had a sagacious adviser of fine commercial instinct.

Then Joseph said unto the people, "Behold, I have bought you this day, and all your land, for Pharaoh: lo, here is seed for you, and ye shall sow the land."

"And it shall come to pass in the increase, that ye shall give the fifth part unto Pharaoh, and four parts shall be your own, for seed of the field, and for your food, and for them of your households, and for food for your little ones."

"And they said, thou has saved our lives;" and so it came to pass that Pharaoh was the savior of the country.

And Joseph and Pharaoh have not been the only monopolists who have been called by their captives "the saviors of the country." I well recall a recent scene in which certain great men of enormous business sagacity are reputed, during certain recent years of plenty, to have laid up for use enormous values in cash and cash credits, and to have stored or made subject to control nearly all of the available cash and cash credits in New York—to have been piling it up for several years on a bull market, and finally, when they had stored most of the available cash in Egypt, there was a repetition of the days of Pharaoh—and the famine came and the price of cash went up—there was a bull movement on cash or a bear movement on stocks and bonds, and the price of cash went sky high, and first of all Pharaoh and his captains took over Morse and Heintz and allied interests, and then they took

over Tennessee Coal and Iron and other properties too numerous to mention, and still the price of cash went up. On October 24, 1907, the price of cash was out of sight, because there was a monopoly of cash in Egypt, and the Egyptians in Wall street cried aloud and lifted up their voices and said, "Wherefore shall we die before thine eyes? Let us have corn."

And at 2 o'clock interest rates ran up to 150 per cent; Union Pacific declined ten and a half points in ten sales, and at 2.15, when the Egyptians were on the point of falling dead, and were looking at each other with ghastly faces, and considering the easiest way in which they might commit suicide, lo, the "saviors" of America, Pharaoh and his captains, "let them have corn" in exchange for their valued possessions.

"And the Egyptians lifted up their voices,

"And they said: 'Thou hast saved our lives.'"

In the leading Standard Oil bank there are 23 directors; in the leading Morgan bank there are 39 directors; and they, with their subordinates and associates, making a number something less than 100 men, have control of every railway company, telegraph company, express company, steamship company, and all of the great industrials which have a monopoly in every one of the great necessities of life.

For those who are curious to see a more elaborate description of this system and the companies they control, I commend them to the remarks of Hon. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, of Wisconsin, in the United States Senate during the last month.

These great combinations and trusts exercise a substantial monopoly upon all of the great necessities of life, and control their production, transportation, and distribution.

In the last fifteen years these monopolies, commonly called trusts, have been wonderfully developed in our country. John Moody, in his revision of these statistics, bringing the figures down to January 1, 1908, presents the following:

Table showing growth of trusts. 1904-1908.

Classification of trusts.	January 1, 1904.		January 1, 1908.	
	Number of plants acquired or controlled.	Total capitalization, stocks and bonds outstanding.	Number of plants acquired or controlled.	Total capitalization, stocks and bonds outstanding.
7 greater industrial trusts.....	1,528	\$2,602,752,100	1,638	\$2,708,438,754
Lesser industrial trusts.....	3,426	4,055,039,433	5,038	8,243,175,000
Important industrial trusts in reorganization.....	282	528,551,000		(^a)
Total important industrial trusts.....	5,288	7,246,342,533	6,676	10,951,613,754
Franchise trusts.....	1,336	3,735,456,071	2,599	7,789,393,000
Great railroad groups.....	1,040	9,397,363,907	745	^b 12,031,154,000
All trusts.....	8,664	20,379,162,511	10,020	31,672,160,754

^a The stock and bonds of industrials for 1909 aggregate \$17,529,126,232, Poor's Manual of Industrials, 1910.

^b Railroad stock and bonds and assets for 1908 aggregate \$19,370,078,153, Poor's Manual of Railroads, 1909.

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The increase in these two items thus appears to be over \$13,000,000,000, and the incomplete returns for trust properties for 1909 exceed \$45,000,000,000.

One trust which he does not mention is "the money trust," the community of interests known as the system, by which the money and bank credits of the country, which is the lifeblood of commerce, can be controlled.

The laws have been so written as to pile up, in large measure, the reserves of the banks of the country in three cities. And those who can control the supply of "credits" and of "cash" in the New York banks can, of course, control the price of stocks and bonds, whose market is fixed in New York, and there is grim humor in hearing the Egyptians pay tribute to the masters of monopoly and to see them fall down and worship and to hear them declare, "Thou hast saved our lives." It would make a man almost doubt whether such lives were worth saving.

Who is there so dull, so grossly ignorant, as not to perceive that monopoly means mastery on the one side and slavery on the other?

The slavery of monopoly is not confined to the Egyptians on Wall street; it also goes to the Egyptians on the farm. Let me, as a farmer and an humble Egyptian, give you a simple illustration: From 1887 to 1894 I handled cattle. I had free ranges, cheap labor, and I worked at this business industriously for seven years, and in that time sent to market over 17,000 steers, and as a reward for my service in preparing food for the American people "Pharaoh" paid me not one dollar in compensation above my actual expense. I earnestly thereafter addressed my extremely limited intelligence to discovering the reason why, and the reason was that when I took those cattle to the Kansas City stock yards there was but one buyer—Pharaoh—who had a monopoly on meat products, who had a monopoly by which he controlled the price of cattle and hogs and sheep. He had various buyers in the market, but only one price—the price was fixed every morning. What chances has a farmer or a cattle producer against this evil combination which fixes an arbitrary price upon his labor and upon everything which goes into the cattle; that is, upon his corn, his oats, his rye, his millet, his wheat, his grass, and the labor of himself and of his children? Why, the farmer is only an Egyptian, and he, too, is allowed to work for Pharaoh, because Pharaoh is a benevolent man.

The meat trust is more considerate in these days.

In the old days they killed the goose, of which I was one, that laid the golden egg. In these days they are wiser, and they encourage the goose to live by permitting him to have subsistence, while they content themselves with plucking the goose of all surplus and taking all the eggs.

We have not in our country a single Pharaoh, but we have a hundred Pharaohs and 10,000 captains of Pharaoh, who have a monopoly upon every line of commerce, upon every railway, every steamship line, upon every means of transportation, of conveying intelligence, of production and of distribution; upon every express company, upon every telegraph line, upon all of the great industries. Monopolies in iron, and steel, and copper, and tin, and zinc, and lead, and all metals; monopolies in every line of chemicals; monopolies in every line of drugs; monopolies in fertilizers; monopolies in all building materials, cement, plaster, lumber, stone, glass; monopolies in house furnishings; monopolies in tobacco; monopolies in oil and all its by-products; monopolies in asphalt and salt; monopolies in various food products, including coffee, and tea, and sugar, and meats, and canned goods, and crackers, and bakery products.

Monopolies in everything from the cradle of the child to the casket and casket of the grave.

Pharaoh has not been content with a monopoly of corn.

The Ethical Social League, at its conference on April 7, 1908, in New York, pointed out some remarkable facts in relation to the smaller purchasing power of the dollar paid in wages, and pointing out the number of unemployed according to the statistics of Samuel S. Stodel, as follows:

California	95,000
Colorado	46,500
Connecticut	55,000
Illinois	300,000
Massachusetts	95,000
Missouri	85,000
Montana	18,000
Rhode Island	30,000
New York State	750,000
Pennsylvania	350,000
Ohio	200,000
Michigan	135,000
New Jersey	80,000
Delaware	30,000
Maryland	75,000
Virginia	42,000
West Virginia	40,000
North Carolina	36,000
Florida	45,000
Oregon	51,000
Washington	44,000
Idaho	26,000
Arizona	12,000
Nevada	14,000
Nebraska	19,500
Dakotas	26,000
Minnesota	43,000
Wisconsin	92,000
Indiana	60,000
Kentucky	36,000
Tennessee	23,000
Arkansas	21,000
Louisiana	47,000
Texas	40,000
Alabama	39,000
South Carolina	30,000
Georgia	27,000
Total	3,160,000

But I call your attention to these things, and to an unorganized mob of 10,000 unemployed recently reported to have assembled in this city, and driven away by platoons of mounted police. They were singing a significant song—"La Marseillaise."

I call your attention to the operations of the tobacco trust, and the apparently unthinking, unreasonable, and almost unexplainable violations of law by the "night riders" of Kentucky and Tennessee.

Abraham Lincoln demanded, as the voice of the American people, that slavery of the unoffending blacks should not be extended to the Territories of the United States, and later emancipated them all.

Thomas Jefferson protested against the slavery of man as an abstract as well as a concrete proposition.

The old Democratic party was split asunder and driven from power because a large part of that party was under the influence of those who thought slavery justified.

The Republican party, which arose out of the loins of the Democratic party, whose membership prior thereto had been Democrats, 51007-9315

whose adherents had been and still were the disciples of Jefferson, went into power, and has retained power almost as long as the Democratic party did prior to 1860.

The same evil which tore the Democratic party in twain in 1860 is tearing the Republican party in twain in 1908.

By natural processes the political power of monopoly has become enthroned in the United States under forty years of Republican administration. Both parties were agreed on the tariff in 1857. The expenses of war required a high tariff in 1861 for the raising of revenue, and high tariff stimulated home manufactories; it enabled the American manufacturers to make money easily by taxing the American consumer. Immediately there arose a special class who profited by the privilege of taxing their fellow-citizens under shelter of the tariff law which cut off foreign competition.

When foreign competition had been extinguished and home competition began to be engendered, the most natural thing in the world took place. With the telegraph and telephone and lightning express trains available, commercial competitors quickly assembled in peaceful conference, arranging various devices by which competition with each other was extinguished and a monopoly in every line of commerce was assured.

And now Pharaoh and his captains are in control, and millions of the Egyptians are paying for the privilege of working for Pharaoh and his captains, who are the "saviors" of mankind as the captains of monopoly and employers of labor.

There are said to be over 6,000,000 women driven by economic need out of the homes of America, outside of domestic service, compelled to earn their daily bread in competition with the wages of man; hundreds of thousands of young and tender children are being sacrificed on the altars of Mammon under the grinding process of modern monopoly and the exacting demands of corporation owners, who cry for "dividends, dividends, dividends," on watered stock, of which only a fractional part is honest capital entitled to interest.

The domestic and social relations of the sexes have been seriously changed by these harsh conditions, and women have invaded every avenue of labor.

The homes which women naturally love, for which they are naturally fitted, the homes where they should find their employment and render the most valuable service to the Nation in being the mothers of the Nation and in teaching to the children of the Nation the lessons of religion, morality, industry, and frugality, have been impaired in a serious degree, the man and the woman and the child being obliged to work long hours in order to retain for themselves enough for the necessities of life, after the stealthy hands of the captains of Pharaoh have levied the artful tribute of monopoly upon every dollar received for their wages.

Of course, Mr. President and gentlemen, I realize and thoroughly well understand that many of the great beneficiaries of monopoly are, in fact, men of high benevolence and of sincere patriotism.

It is also true that some men, who are so religious that they will not shave on Sunday, find no conscientious scruples against shaving other men for the balance of the week; but among the captains of Pharaoh there are also many men of great intelligence, and of great benevolence, and of great patriotism, who do not realize the effect of monopoly on the weaker laboring elements of the Nation. Their benevolence is shown by such enormous contributions to education and to the public service,

such as the benefactions of John D. Rockefeller, of Andrew Carnegie, and other very rich men. They are entitled to personal credit for their good works and to discredit for their bad works. Their good works, however, show that the men who have conducted successful monopolies under the shelter of law and in spite of law have the same generous impulses which God has planted in the hearts of the great majority of men. It would, however, be asking too much of human nature to expect those who have been or are successful in the manipulation of business and in the establishment of monopoly, by which their ambition for power and for property accumulation is gratified, to ask them to contribute to the control of monopoly by law. This duty is imposed upon the patriotic sons of America of both parties—of both those who have always adhered to the original Democratic party or to that branch of the Democratic party that arose under the new name of "Republican party."

It matters but little under what banner men may promote good government, provided they stand for those principles which shall secure to all an equal opportunity in life, an equal right to "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

It gives me the greatest pleasure to pay my homage to the patron saint of the Democracy, because he stood firmly against the terrible evils of slavery and of its twin brother—monopoly.

The people of Oklahoma have put on record their opposition to monopoly in these words:

"Sec. 32. Perpetuities and monopolies are contrary to the genius of a free government, and shall never be allowed, nor shall the law of primogeniture or entailments ever be in force in this State."

And because primogeniture and entailments promote monopoly, Oklahoma has followed the teachings of Jefferson, in forbidding primogeniture or entailment.

Thomas Jefferson, in the Declaration of Independence, made the declaration:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

And section 2 in the bill of rights of the Oklahoma constitution not only declared that all persons have the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, but added the following words, "and the enjoyment of the gains of their own industry."

The Oklahoma constitution goes further; it provides the means by which monopoly shall be controlled, and the citizens of that State may peacefully enjoy the gains of their own industry.

The first movement the people of my State adopted to protect themselves against modern monopoly was to put into effect the "initiative and referendum," by which the people of the State "reserved to themselves the power to propose laws and amendments to the constitution and to enact or reject the same" at the polls independent of the legislature, and also reserved power at their own option to approve or reject at the polls any act of the legislature. This power goes to every county and district in the State, and every city of 2,000 or more people may write their own charter of local self-government.

The constitution provides for a mandatory primary for the nomination of all candidates for state, district, county, and municipal officers for all political parties, including United States Senators.

In this way no machine politics will ever be engineered by the monopolies in Oklahoma.

The first act of the constitutional convention was to drive out of town the lobbies of railroads and monopolies assembled for the purpose of influencing the constitutional convention.

The constitution of Oklahoma did not content itself by merely declaring that monopolies should not be allowed, but they provided for the remedy of the evil by the completest publicity.

In the bill of rights will be found the following:

"SEC. 28. The records, books, and files of all corporations shall be, at all times, liable and subject to the full visitorial and inquisitorial powers of the State."

And because monopolies heretofore have hidden themselves behind the constitutional provision, "that no man shall be required to give evidence which might tend to incriminate him," section 27 of the bill of rights requires any person having knowledge of facts that tend to establish the guilt of any other person or corporation charged with an offense against the laws of the State shall not be excused from giving testimony on the ground that it may tend to incriminate him, but no person shall be prosecuted on account of any transaction, matter, or thing concerning which he may give evidence.

The corporation commission of Oklahoma, under the constitution, is given full power to compel publicity and to exercise control of corporations doing business in that State, and are required to ascertain the actual value of the capital invested in any such corporation as a basis of determining their charges, if excessive, and have the right and duty to determine the charges made by such corporations for any service performed in the State.

It has been said that Thomas Jefferson believed with Jesus of Nazareth in the doctrine of loving your neighbor as you love yourself, and that he was the first statesman to write into a public document the genuine teaching of Christ, and he wrote it in one word—"Equality."

The time has come in the United States when this great doctrine should be recognized in our statecraft. When the thousands of our citizens who have distinguished themselves in commercial enterprises or adventure shall realize the truth that their own happiness would be better subserved if they would cease exploiting their power over their neighbors and brothers; if they would be content with a small interest upon vast accumulations of the wealth produced by the labor of the American people; if they would be content with the property which they have heretofore, either justly or unjustly, taken from the producers of the Nation, and from this time forward consent that the American producers shall be allowed, in the language of the Oklahoma constitution, to have "the enjoyment of the gains of their own industry."

It seems to me that it would be unwise to destroy the great corporations which have been constructed in this country by our so-called captains of industry.

I have read with great interest the address of George W. Perkins, esq., on the "Modern Corporations," before the Columbia University, of February 7, 1908. He argues in favor of organization, and denies that these great organizations are due to the greed of man for wealth and power. He points out the injury of destructive competition, the harm of commercial warfare, the economy and efficiency of the modern corporation, its value in standardizing wares, its power to steady wages and prices.

He argues that we should control the corporations; that the corporations owe a duty to the general public, and best serve themselves and

their stockholders by recognizing that duty and respecting it; that these great corporations are, in fact, great trusteeships, and the larger the number of stockholders the more it assumes the nature of an institution of savings. He points out the great growth in the number of stockholders in various railways and in United States Steel. And with much of this argument I find myself strongly inclined to agree.

I wonder if Mr. Perkins will agree with me when I express the hope that these great trusteeships of gigantic monopolies, when controlled by the people of the United States, shall be content to be confined to a reasonable interest upon the money actually invested?

We have a perfect right to control these monopolies legally, morally, and it is a patriotic duty to do so. And they should not be permitted to tax the American people in excess of a fair interest on the capital actually invested. If they were so controlled, it would give stability to wages; we would hear no more of overproduction nor of underconsumption, but these enterprises would proceed upon rational lines and work for the welfare of all of the people of our common country.

It seems to me that such investments of capital which have established monopolies in interstate commerce should be limited to a maximum earning of 10 per cent per annum on their actual investments, and that they should be allowed to lay up as a trust fund abundant surplus to provide against contingencies. They would then cease to be private monopolies and would become public monopolies, retaining all of their desirable features and having none of the injurious features left. The owners of such monopolies, if patriotic, should be content with this adjustment, which would be equitable and fair and just to them and to the people of the United States.

The first step in the control of these corporations must necessarily be complete publicity, requiring a sworn report of actual assets, based upon a true valuation, with penalties of imprisonment for any false affidavit, together with accurate and frequent reports of the actual earnings of such company and the disposition of such earnings. The excess earnings over and above a rational return on these monopolies might well go into the Treasury and be employed in improving our national waterways and in building good roads.

THE OPPORTUNITY FOR THE REVIVED DEMOCRACY.

While there are many thousands of patriotic Republican citizens who earnestly desire the protection of our country from the corrupting political influence and the insidious robbery by these great corporations, it would be very unreasonable, if not impossible, to expect the Republican party to give such relief to the country, for the obvious reason that these selfish interests which have been built up behind a tariff wall have entwined and intertwisted themselves into the machine politics of the Republican party until they exercise a dominating influence and control over the organization of that party.

The patriotic elements of the Republican party are too disorganized to bring up to their own standards of good citizenship the selfish interests in that party. Theodore Roosevelt has made many excellent recommendations, which have either been ignored or so indifferently complied with that during the seven years of his service instead of these monopolies being abated and controlled they have increased beyond anything known in human history.

The disinterested, unselfish Republicans should be invited and encouraged by the revived Democracy to rally around the flag of Jefferson and join the Democracy in restoring the Government to the highest ideals, from which we have in recent decades departed.

The people of the new State of Oklahoma have laid down the principles of good government in their constitution, which are drawn from teachings of Jefferson, and which should be a beacon light to guide all the patriotic sons of America, of all parties, back to the days of good government and of sound national health, in which our people shall have peace and happiness, in which women and children shall be permitted to return to their homes and be withdrawn from commercial slavery, when men shall be permitted to enjoy the fruits of their own industry, and when capital shall be content with a reasonable interest upon an actual investment, and when every rich man shall find his happiness in promoting the brotherhood of man and not in stealing from his fellow-men, by craft or force, the proceeds of their labor merely to pile it up as a monument to their own ambition and folly.

When the principles of Thomas Jefferson, which have been wonderfully worked out and developed in the constitution of Oklahoma, shall have been established throughout the Union, we will see an end to harmful monopolies in our country and a wonderful intellectual and spiritual development of the American people, as well as a commercial development for which the past holds no parallel. When these principles of good government shall have been established men will more and more pay tribute to the man who pointed the way and will celebrate with greater and greater honor the 13th of April, the birthday of the immortal Jefferson, the patron saint of the Democracy.

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