

# ROOSEVELT ASSAILS POLITICAL ENEMIES

**Calls Taft a Dead Issue, Ridicules  
Wilson, and Flays Lodge  
of Massachusetts.**

**20,000 ON BOSTON COMMON**

**Colonel Tells Them Why Perkins Is  
with Him, Also About Flinn—  
Long Attack on Wilson.**

*Special to The New York Times.*

BOSTON, Aug. 17.—Col. Roosevelt carried his third party campaign into Massachusetts to-day, and if the crowds count for anything he has made no little headway in breaking the Republican ranks in this State. Some of the Progressive leaders were predicting victory for the Colonel to-night.

The Progressive Party here is itself divided into two factions, one of which is firm in its determination not to break entirely with the Republicans, although it will support the Roosevelt Electors. That has complicated matters.

Why George W. Perkins, Chairman of the Finance Committee of the International Harvester Company, and ex-Senator William Flinn of Pennsylvania are supporting him in the Progressive movement was a question which Col. Roosevelt answered to-night when he faced a crowd of fully 20,000 on Boston Common. The crowd started to heckle the Colonel as soon as he began his speech. First he answered questions about the Panama Canal and the tariff. Then a man far back in the crowd called out:

"Tell us about Perkins."

"Perkins," retorted the Colonel like a flash, "yes, I want to tell you about Perkins. I'm glad you asked that question."

"Mr. Perkins is a rich man. He came into this movement on his own initiative. I had known Mr. Perkins for fourteen years, and after he joined us I felt the same curiosity which prompted you back there in the crowd to ask me about it. And I asked him, 'Why are you supporting me?'"

#### **Perkins's Motive.**

"Perkins at first thought he ought to be offended, but he told me. He said the prime reason was because he had children. He had made all the money he wanted, he said, and had come to the conclusion that this country won't be a good place to live in when his children become the age we are unless business and government are brought into proper relations; unless the relations of capital and the wage worker are placed on a better basis. I am anxious to support any movement which will bring about those conditions."

"Curiously enough it was the same statement that Mr. Flinn of Pennsylvania made to me not long afterward, the only difference being that I didn't ask Flinn about it. I am glad of their support. It has come in the open and there is nothing invisible about this support. Mr. Flinn and Mr. Perkins both approve of the platform adopted by the progressives and of my speech before the convention."

"Now, if Mr. Perkins and Mr. Flinn are supporting this movement without asking anything and without having any assurances from me then they are honestly doing all that they can to bring about social and industrial justice. They are entitled to respect as long as they have done that."

"And let me tell you this: You can watch me in the future. If ever I do anything for Mr. Perkins or Mr. Flinn that ought not to be done then I am to be bitterly condemned. But it shows a small mind and a small character to find objection to rich men supporting such a movement."

Next some one called for an expression of the Colonel's views on socialism.

"I am not afraid to answer any question put to me in good faith," he called back. "What I can say is this: In our platform we have grappled with certain of the evils with which Socialists have sought to grapple. We are doing it in a way that can cure them. The Socialists are chasing a will o' the wisp. That is the fundamental difference."

The Colonel was just as ready with his replies to other questions, and in the end he won over the hostile element in the crowd.

Roosevelt made his principal addresses to-day before two big crowds, at Revere Beach in the afternoon and on the Boston Common at night. At Revere Beach 5,000 or 6,000 earnest people waited patiently for the Colonel singing verse after verse of "Onward, Christian Soldiers." During his speech he struck out viciously at the bosses.

#### **Taft a Dead Issue.**

"Tell us about Taft," a man in the crowd called out.

"I never discuss dead issues," was Roosevelt's retort. "I want to come back to something serious."

Then, having disposed of the President, the Colonel turned his attention to Gov. Wilson.

"In his speech the day before yesterday, as reported in THE NEW YORK TIMES, Mr. Wilson is quoted as saying of the Progressive platform that it would require a Sabbath day's journey to drive through, and that for that reason he has not yet been able to find out what it was all about. I want to call your attention to that and to a few of the things which our platform declares for."

"If any man can't understand it let him call to his assistance any boy from an elementary school. Mr. Wilson said he did not understand it; well, at any rate, you understand it."

Col. Roosevelt then went on to say that Gov. Wilson, in his acceptance speech, stated that "he does not ask the people of the United States to adopt the platform," and that "the platform is not a programme."

"And it isn't," added Roosevelt, "and won't be adopted."

#### **Demonstration at the Beach.**

The crowd that greeted the Colonel at Revere Beach was a responsive one, always ready to cheer when he attacked the bosses, and his appearance was marked by a long demonstration. When he came to the name of Senator Murray Crane, leader of the standpat Republicans here, there were cries of "He's a dead one!" His remarks about President Taft and Gov. Wilson, however, did not evoke much applause. Red bandanas and flags were much in evidence in the crowd, and they were waved whenever the chance offered. The Beverly Progressive Club, composed of Progressives from the home of President Taft, took a conspicuous part in the meeting, and the parade, headed by a fife and drum corps, they carried a banner on which was inscribed: "We Love Beverly, But Oh, You Oyster Bay!"

#### **Looking for Recruits.**

Col. Roosevelt said:

"Men and Women of Massachusetts: I come to this State, with its background of adherence to lofty ideals, and ask you in the name of Massachusetts' past to place the Massachusetts of to-day on the side of those who to-day battle for all."

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# ROOSEVELT ASSAILS POLITICAL ENEMIES

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that is highest and best in our National life.

"In making my speech here in Massachusetts on behalf of the Progressive Party I wish to emphasize the fact that we are absolutely clear from affiliation with either of the old parties, that we regard both the old party machines as hopelessly corrupt and incompetent, and that we appeal to the rank and file of both the old parties equally to stand with us for good citizenship in the spirit of true Americans. Ex-Democrats and ex-Republicans alike, we hope, will share with us the task of building up the Progressive Party, and we invite into our ranks men and women entirely without regard to their former political affiliations, to their creed, their birthplace, or the color of their skin.

"Ours is a movement of genuine progress; we who at the moment lead it are endeavoring with what strength is vouchsafed to us, and according to the light that is given us, to represent the hopes, the desires, the high enthusiasm of the earnest men and women of this country, whose purpose is to smite down the wrong that sits in high places and to bring nearer the day when justice shall be done alike to great and small throughout the land.

"These men and women wish to better the living conditions of those among us who have been hardly treated in the battle of life; they think of others rather than of themselves, and ever before their eyes burns the radiant vision of a giant Republic, throned on the seats of righteousness where the voice of the people strives to utter the bidings of divine right, and where the soul of the people is bent on realizing the brotherhood of man. Theirs is a patriotism of prayers and tears, of high and solemn purpose, and of yearning to uplift the country that we so dearly love. Across the wool of their lofty striving, after a noble ideal is shot the warp of their keen common sense in endeavoring to realize that ideal.

## The Passing of Lorimer.

"Two years ago, the fight against Mr. Lorimer was started by a great Chicago newspaper, and was continued by certain private individuals. And we who then took part in that fight did so at a time when the average public man obviously thought it would come to nothing. Gradually, and especially in the recent contest in the Republican primaries we hammered it into the heads of the politicians that the people were against Lorimer and Lorimerism, and then the very men who had been seeking to profit by Lorimer's support, so long as they believed he would be useful, and some even of the men who had hitherto defended him, turned against him. But, friends, remember that our real concern was not in smashing one bad man who by improper methods had secured his own election to the Senate, but in smashing the kind of politics which he symbolized.

"It is a bad thing to win a Senatorship by such methods as Mr. Lorimer employed, but it is not one whit worse than to steal a nomination for the Presidency by such methods as were employed by the bosses who controlled the Republican Convention at Chicago last June.

"Certain of your New England Senators, I regret to say, took the lead both in conducting the campaign for the defense of Mr. Lorimer and in putting through the steal of the Republican nomination at Chicago. Whatever else is to be said against these Senators, at least their action in these respects was consistent.

"Mr. Lorimer's personal representative at the National Republican Convention at Chicago bore an active part in consummating the steal, and eagerly supported the nomination of the man in whose interests it was conducted, and this not because they cared for him but because they recognized in me and my associates their real foes. They recognized in the movement behind us the movement which has now created the Progressive Party movement, which meant the political death of them and their kind.

"When Senator Crane, Senator Aldrich, Senator Penrose, Senator Guggenheim, Senator Gallinger, Senator Dillingham, and their associates, together with Senator Bailey, Senator Johnson, and their associates on the Democratic side, stood by Senator Lorimer and Senator Lorimer's right to sit in the Senate, they were doing precisely and exactly what Messrs. Penrose, Crane, Guggenheim, Gallinger, and their representatives later did when they secured the triumph of Lorimerism in the Republican Convention at Chicago.

"There was no essential difference between the iniquity which culminated in Mr. Lorimer's election to the Senate and the iniquity which culminated in the theft of the Chicago Convention. I condemn those who stood for both forms of iniquity. But I believe that an even heavier condemnation should rest upon those who finally denounced Lorimer when it had become popular to denounce him, but who never until that time ventured only to raise their voices against him, and who then at Chicago took part in action which from the moral standpoint did not in any fundamental way really differ from the actions which had resulted in Mr. Lorimer's own election to the Senate.

## Replies to Wilson.

"In his speech of acceptance, as reported in THE NEW YORK TIMES, Mr. Wilson is quoted as saying of the Progressive platform that 'It would require a Sabbath Day's journey to drive through it,' and that for that reason he had not yet been able to find out what it was all about.

"If Mr. Wilson has not been able to find out what our platform means it is because he has not taken the trouble to try. You may remember that Mr. Wilson stated two days after his own nomination that he had not yet looked at the platform upon which he was nominated. I do not wonder that when he did at last look at that platform he became so thoroughly discontented with it that he now feels a distaste for all platforms.

"Mr. Wilson speaks as if the Progressive platform were very long. As a matter of fact, it is of almost the exact length of his own platform. The difference is that our platform states explicitly and definitely what we intend to do on the vital questions of the day, and that it is entirely sincere and entirely practical, whereas Mr. Wilson's platform avoids the most important issues before our people, and as regards the other issues, makes such impossible and conflicting promises as to render it out of the question to believe that there was a sincere purpose to have these promises taken seriously.

"In his speech of acceptance Mr. Wilson asks himself: 'What is the meaning of the Baltimore platform?' His answer to his own question is so very vague that it was obviously unsatisfactory even to himself, and he continues by stating that he does not ask the people of the United States to adopt that platform, and that 'the platform is not a programme.' We Progressives are much more fortunate in our platform. We do not have to apologize for it nor to speak of it in language so carefully guarded as to convey the impression that we are endeavoring neither to repudiate it nor to support it. We stand on our platform.

"We do ask that our platform be adopted by the Nation. Our platform is our programme; we treat it as such, and, what is more, we treat it as a contract which we shall scrupulously fulfill if the people give us the power. Our proposals are definite and concrete, and our intention is to enact them into law and to make them part of the active governmental policy of the Nation.

"At this moment I ask your attention only to the proposals that we make to secure social and industrial justice. In the first place we set forth definitely what we mean to try to secure at the present time in the way of social and industrial justice—for instance, to secure by law one day's rest in seven for all wage workers, an eight-hour day in continuous twenty-four-hour industries, the prohibition of child labor, the establishment of an eight-hour day for women and young persons, the erection of minimum wage standards for working women, workmen's compensation acts, the securing of proper conditions of life and labor for workmen and women, and the prevention of occupational diseases and the fixing of occupational health standards.

"We propose to secure these installations of social and industrial justice by action in both the Nation and the several States. Therefore we propose to see that our representatives give the people those laws wherever in Nation or State the Progressives come into power.

"In these matters we do not intend to let our public servants, our representatives decide for us whether or not we can have the laws necessary to give justice to those who need it; we propose to settle the matter for ourselves, and we intend that our public servants shall give us the laws necessary in order to achieve the end we have in view. We do not intend to let either executive or legislative

officers forbid us to have such laws; and, my friends, neither do we intend to let the Judges forbid us to have such laws.

"Therefore in our platform we have stated that we intend to provide more easy and expeditious methods of amending the Federal Constitution, and that when in any State a State court declares that a law passed for social and industrial justice is unconstitutional, then, after an ample interval for deliberation, the people shall have the opportunity themselves to decide by vote whether the act is to become law notwithstanding such decision; for, as the platform says, the Progressive Party demands such construction of the power of the courts as shall leave the people themselves the ultimate authority to determine fundamental questions of social welfare and public policy.

"Now, remember, I am not in this in any shape or way attacking the judiciary. Let me again quote Abraham Lincoln, when, in combating the position that constitutional questions such as that contained in the Dred Scott decision were to be finally and irrevocably decided by the Supreme Court, he said:

"The candid citizen must confess that if the policy of the Government upon vital questions affecting the whole people is to be irrevocably fixed by decisions of the Supreme Court, the instant they are made in ordinary litigation between parties in personal actions the people will have ceased to be their own rulers, having to that extent practically resigned their government into the hands of that eminent tribunal. Nor is there in this view any assault upon the courts or the Judges.

"Remember, I am not discussing the judicial function of Judges at all, but the political function which American courts alone among the courts of the world possess. In every other civilized society, past or present, the function of the court is limited to the decision as to the guilt or innocence of a given individual or to the settlement of disputes among individuals. The power to set aside a law is not a judicial function at all, for it involves the right to determine the conditions under which society shall live—and this is a right which I insist belongs to the people alone. Evidently such right, such power, must exist somewhere. I hold that it inheres in the American people, that it inheres in the 100,000,000 free Americans, and I hold this with Lincoln and with every Progressive in our history.

"Now apply this concretely to our platform. I wish an eight-hour day for women in industry. I wish an eight-hour day for men employed in continuous industry. I wish safety appliances to protect both men and women employed in hazardous industry. I wish to secure healthful conditions of life and work among our wage workers. I wish to secure compensation for workmen engaged in industry. The Progressive platform has declared for legislation covering all these points.

"But in one or two cases, such as the bakeshop decision, the Supreme Court has declared that the people of the country as a whole cannot have such laws, and in many such cases the Court of Appeals of my own State of New York has declared that the people of New York cannot have such laws. In other States, in Massachusetts for instance, and in Iowa, the courts have declared, in dealing with precisely the same language of the Constitution, that the people have the constitutional right to have these laws.

"These wealthy capitalists whose eyes are blinded by their own fatted pride so that they can no longer see justice, the great corporation lawyers who serve these capitalists, the big politicians who in close and crooked alliance serve them, and are served by them, and the editors of those newspapers whom they control and who do their bidding, will all clamor against what I say; for these men are the beneficiaries and apologists of privilege, and of late years have striven even more and more to trench privilege in the courts.

"These men who insincerely assail us as attacking the courts are themselves the worst assailants of the courts, for nothing will so harm the courts as to persuade the average American citizen that they are the bulwarks of privilege. Our proposal is to leave the courts absolutely unaffected in the exercise of their judicial functions. But where they exercise legislative functions, and where they thwart the will of the people expressed through the legislative branch of the Government, we propose to give to the people themselves, after due deliberation, the right finally to decide whether in any given case they regard the Legislature or the courts as representing them best.

"Friends, we are for the Progressive platform. We treat it as a programme. We regard it as a contract into which we wish to see the American people enter. It is our purpose to see that every feature of it is made into law, and, therefore, it is our purpose to see that all the servants of the people in legislative office, in executive office, and on the bench, carry out in this matter the will of the people when the people deliberately express their will.

"We intend to secure social and industrial justice by enacting into law the concrete and definite measure that we advocate, and we believe that all honest and far-sighted business men and professional men, big and little, men of great wealth and men of small means alike, like all honest and far-sighted farmers and wage workers, will support us when they thoroughly understand our purpose. We feel that we have a right to the support of all Americans of vision, all Americans who show fealty to a lofty ideal, for we are striving with heart and soul to make the conditions of American life better for every man and every woman within the limits of this great country."

## Republican Leaders Watching.

The coming of Roosevelt to Massachusetts was carefully watched by the Republican machine leaders, headed by Senator Murray Crane, Congressman Gardner, Congressman John W. Weeks, and Congressman Samuel McCall, and the crowds that he attracted and the earnest enthusiasm displayed left these men gloomy. McCall, who has been talked of as the man to succeed Murray Crane, has lost much of his confidence, and the Progressives to-day are asserting that they will be able to name enough of the members of the State Legislature to dictate and elect a Progressive.

Ex-Gov. Curtis Guild, now Ambassador to France, is being mentioned as a candidate by the Progressives for United States Senator, and it is understood he will accept if named. The only man mentioned seriously so far for Governor is Frederick Fosdick, former Republican Mayor of Fitchburg.

Col. Roosevelt made four addresses in all to-day. He motored in from Providence.

After his principal address at Revere Beach he visited a picnic of French Catholics at Oak Island, making a brief address, and then returned to Revere Beach to attend a dinner in his honor by the Progressives. He talked for half an hour, and in the course of his address put himself on record as favoring the building of two battleships a year.

Matthew Hale, member of the City Council, and the recognized leader of the Progressives in Massachusetts, was in charge of the Colonel's campaign in and about this city.

To-night John Hayes, the Marathon runner, called upon Col. Roosevelt to declare that he was out in the open now as a Bull Moose.

Col. Roosevelt leaves for New York early to-morrow morning.

## LONG TRIP FOR COLONEL.

### Off on Campaign Tour Across Continent on Sept. 2.

The itinerary of Col. Roosevelt's first important campaign tour which will take him to the Pacific Coast, was given out last night at the headquarters of the Progressive Party at the Manhattan Hotel. The trip will last through the whole month of September and it will include speeches at several State fairs.

The Colonel's speech at Hartford Conn., on Sept. 2, will be at the Connecticut State Fair. He will probably stop at Bridgeport on his way to New York from Hartford for a brief talk. His speech at St. Louis will be at the Progressive State Convention. At St. Paul he will speak at the Minnesota State Fair and there will also be a speech the same day at Minneapolis. The North Dakota State Convention comes next, on Sept. 6, at Fargo, while the speech at Helena, Mont., on Sept. 7, will be before the Montana Progressive Convention.

The speech at Seattle on Sept. 10 will be before the Washington Bull Moose Convention. This is the schedule to the Coast and back as far as Denver:

Monday, Sept. 2, Hartford and Springfield; Tuesday, Sept. 3, St. Louis; Wednesday, Sept. 4, Keokuk, Mount Lion, Eldon, Ottumwa, Oskafoosa, Des Moines; Thursday, Sept. 5, St. Paul; Friday, Sept. 6, Fargo, Jamestown; Saturday, Sept. 7, Billings, Livingston, Bismarck, Logan, Helena; Sunday, Sept. 8, Helena, Missoula, Spokane; Monday, Sept. 9, Spokane; Tuesday, Sept. 10, Seattle, Tacoma; Wednesday, Sept. 11, Tacoma, Portland; Thursday, Sept. 12, Le Grands, Huntington,

Nampa, Boise; Friday, Sept. 13, Boise, Pocatello, Ogden; Saturday, Sept. 14, Reno, Sacramento, Oakland; Sunday, Sept. 15, San Francisco; Monday, Sept. 16, Santa Barbara, Los Angeles; Tuesday, Sept. 17, Maricopa, Phoenix; Wednesday, Sept. 18, Ash Fork, Albuquerque, Lamy (twice), Santa Fe; Thursday, Sept. 19, La Junita, Pueblo, Colorado Springs, Denver.

From Denver the Colonel will come east through Kansas, Oklahoma, and Arkansas to Memphis, where he will address the Inter-State Levee Association on Sept. 26. His itinerary from Memphis back to New York will be announced next week.