

COLONEL ASSAILS WILSON POLICIES

But He Refrains from Antagonism of Republican Party in Pittsburgh Speech.

DOES ATTACK THE BOSSES

Names Penrose and Barnes—

Tariff and Trust Bills "Destructive of Prosperity."

GREAT CROWDS GREET HIM

Voice Husky at Times, but His Vigor Seemingly Little Impaired

—Speaks to Overflow Meeting.

Special to The New York Times.

PITTSBURGH, June 30.—The Pennsylvania Progressives gave Col. Roosevelt a welcome tonight which must have reminded him of 1912, when he was a candidate for President. Perhaps some of the enthusiasm which always marks the culmination of a race for office was missing, but there could be no doubting that Col. Roosevelt had retained his popularity in this section of the State. Taking into consideration the fact that election day was four months away the demonstration was a remarkable one in many ways.

And the speech the Colonel delivered in Exposition Hall was just as remarkable. In it he made no direct bid for a Republican-Progressive coalition but by the same token he refrained from antagonism of the party under whose banner he sat in the White House for seven years. He denounced Republican leaders like Penrose and Barnes, but not the rank and file.

The Wilson Administration came in for unsparing criticism. The Colonel denounced the Democratic tariff and anti-trust policies as destructive of prosperity. For the rest, his speech was in advocacy of Progressive principles as the only ones calculated to promote the well-being of the country.

Crowd at Station, Streets Thronged.

There was a crowd of perhaps 2,000 to greet the Colonel at the Pennsylvania Station when his train arrived at 6:55 o'clock, and the streets through which he passed on the way to the dinner of the Progressive League at McCreery's, and later to Exposition Hall, were thronged by men and women who cheered the Colonel heartily. Into the hall 5,000 people had jammed their way before the doors were closed. When the Colonel was introduced the crowd rose and shouted still another welcome. The applause subsided after one minute and twenty seconds. The Colonel was mightily pleased and smiled his appreciation.

In his enthusiasm the Colonel forgot that he was supposed to be a sick man, and after speaking for one hour and a half at Exposition Hall he consented to appear before an overflow meeting at Exhibition Hall and made a few remarks, although he had formally declined to make more than one address. To the casual observer there was little change in the Colonel's appearance, but those who watched him closely, realizing that much depended on the manner in which he stood the strain tonight, could see that he was holding himself back somewhat. At times he forgot all else but the task at hand, and then he would use all of the old-time vigorous gestures. He was able to make his voice reach all over the big hall whenever he put forth his best efforts. Occasionally his voice became a bit husky, but at no time did it fail him completely or materially mar the effect of his speech.

This was the first time that the Colonel had appeared as a political campaigner since the 1912 campaign. Despite his illness, he has retained all of his old power of arousing his audience and of holding its attention. The general impression among those who heard the Colonel tonight was that he would be able to take an active part in the campaign in the Autumn if for a few weeks he was careful of his health.

The police had made elaborate preparations to handle the great throng which was expected to greet the Colonel and everything moved smoothly. The precaution even had been taken to rope off the roadway along the streets through which the automobiles occupied by the Colonel and his party were to pass. At no time, however, was the crowd dense enough to give the additional detail of police much work. But it was a good big crowd for all that and a thoroughly sympathetic one. Even the politicians bitterly opposed to Roosevelt were ready to admit that for an early Summer demonstration with the campaign scarcely under way, it was a remarkable reception. They referred to it more as a personal tribute to the Colonel than as an indication of the strength of the Progressive Party, although the Progressive leaders were far from agreeing with that version.

Reinvigorated by the Cheering.

That the Colonel enjoyed being back in the fight, no one attempted to deny. The moment he heard the crowd at the station cheer when he got off his train he seemed to regain much of his old vigor. He shook his campaign hat, a Panama this time, with all of the old vigor he showed before he contracted malarial fever in the South American jungles. He was a trifle tired when he finished the day's work, however, and was taken to a hotel to wait for his train. But he said that, "By George," he enjoyed it.

The meeting here was the second annual gathering of the Progressive League. As soon as the Colonel arrived in town, accompanied by ex-Senator William Flinn, the Progressive State leader, and Alexander P. Moore, editor of The Pittsburgh Leader, he was taken by automobile to the department store, where 1,100 ardent Progressives, all that the dining hall would hold, were waiting to shout their greeting. It was said that it had been necessary to turn back no less than 3,500 applications for tickets to the dinner. The Colonel fairly beamed his pleasure. He looked a bit tired

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from the long ride from New York, but he soon brightened up. Percy Smith, an elderly gray-bearded man running for Lieutenant Governor on the Progressive ticket, introduced Col. Roosevelt as the greatest American in this world or any other country, and the Colonel accepted that compliment gracefully. He responded with a five-minute talk in which he came out again in advocacy of woman suffrage and assailed Boies Penrose, running for re-election as United States Senator against Gifford Pinchot, the Progressive nominee. Col. Roosevelt denounced Penrose for attempting to get back into power after he and his associates, "by the theft of the nomination at Chicago in 1912, had placed the Democrats in power and brought upon the country a period of depression and unrest.

"Penrose should be wearing sack cloth and ashes," the Colonel asserted. "There could be no more scandalous effrontery than his appeal to you to put him back into office to right the wrongs for which he and his type are responsible."

In speaking of woman suffrage, the Colonel said that the movement had started from the West, and that he hoped soon to see the East equally civilized.

No Bitterness Over Pinchot.

Gifford Pinchot, William Flinn, and William Draper Lewis, Progressive nominee for Governor, sat with the Colonel at the dinner. If there is any feeling between Mr. Pinchot and the Colonel over the Amos Pinchot controversy, it is not shown. Mr. Perkins, Chairman of the National Executive Committee, remaining in office, there was no indication of it. Col. Roosevelt was high in his praise of Pinchot, and not only told of what he called Mr. Pinchot's invaluable conservation work, but stamped him as a man typical of the high standard of citizenship, which had been brought to the front in matters political by the birth of the Progressive Party.

The principal address was delivered by the Colonel at Exposition Hall, and in it he was unsparing in his criticism of President Wilson's policies and in his attacks upon Senator Penrose, William Barnes, Jr., Chairman of the New York Republican State Committee, and others. The Colonel had intended to include ex-Senator Lorimer in the list of men against whom he aimed his shafts, but he heard on the way here of Mr. Lorimer's financial difficulties and cut all reference to him from his address, saying that he did not want to strike a man who was down.

It was stated that in the audience at Exposition Hall there were many Republicans who expected the Colonel to run in 1916 as the Republican nominee for President, and that they expected him to make some overtures, which they would be only too anxious to accept. The Colonel, however, made no bid for a chance to capture the Republican nomination. The nearest approach to an appeal to Republicans was in this passage in his attack on Penrose and his ilk:

"When we fight these men and their associates we are fighting the battles of all decent men, and in particular of all the honest Republican rank and file whom these men have misrepresented and betrayed."

Col. Roosevelt took up President Wilson's policies in detail, and showed to his own satisfaction that all of them were wrong. The Democratic Party, he said, was pursuing a course that prevented the existence of prosperity. Of President Wilson's New Freedom, he said, in attacking the Wilson anti-trust policy:

Attacks Wilson's New Freedom.

"The New Freedom is merely the exceedingly old freedom which permits each man to cut his neighbor's throat."

He accused the Democratic Party, in its anti-trust policy, of being afraid to create a Trade Commission with power to right wrongs and arbitrarily end monopoly.

"The anti-trust programme," he said, "proves the inadequacy of the Democratic Party for the present and the future of the nation. It is and always will be the State's Rights Party, the 'Party Afraid of Power.'"

Col. Roosevelt's accusation that it was Republican leaders such as Penrose and Barnes who were responsible for placing the Democratic Party in power attracted much attention. It was generally looked upon as a thoroughly Rooseveltian assertion. In one part of his address he used that line of thought to attack President Wilson's foreign policy.

"We suffer," he said, "from a wretched foreign policy and from home policies which have seriously impaired the well-being of the people because of the action of Penrose and his associates."

Col. Roosevelt went into much detail about the cures proposed by the Progressives.

"We propose," he said, "to carry idealism from the domain of words into the domain of deeds, and we want our business men to have the same spirit as actuated Grant and Farragut, each one of whom fought for the country which stood behind them. We are fighting for real things; we are not fighting for revenge or because of rancor or to satisfy a grudge."

Tariff and Trust Commissions.

"The present National Administration," said Col. Roosevelt, "is pursuing a course that prevents the existence of prosperity and that does not offer a single serious or intelligible plan for passing prosperity round, should prosperity, in spite of the Administration's efforts, at some future time return to our people."

"This is true both as regards the trust question and the tariff question. As regards both the only wise course to follow is that set forth in the national Progressive platform. The nation should deal with both by continuing executive action through administrative commissions of ample power."

"One commission should shape our tariff policies so as, with thorough knowledge disinterestedly acquired, to give proper encouragement to our merchants, while also giving proper protection to our wage-workers, our farmers and our business men. The other commission should exercise strict supervision and control over big business. We should treat it with entire justice, drawing the line not on size, but on misconduct. We should encourage the big business man who does well and who regards his great abilities as a trust to be exercised as much in the interest of the public as in his own interests. But we should check and punish him effectually and promptly when he exercises those abilities to the detriment either of the smaller business man with whom he competes, of the wage-workers who should share with him the benefits of his and their common efforts, or of the general public whom he serves."

"As regards the tariff, I wish especially to call your attention to the promises made by President Wilson and his supporters two years ago. They asserted that their method of tariff reduction would reduce the cost of living and would thus solve the trust question, because, as they said, the trusts were the creatures of the tariff. We then answered that their promises were empty words, that no such results as they stated could or would follow from

the course they advocated and that only by the method we propose could either the trust or the tariff question be dealt with so as to abate the existing evils and at the same time increase the general well-being.

"Two short years have proved us to be right. Their promises have not been kept. Their performance has brought distress upon the nation. The cost of living has not been reduced. But the ability of the average man to earn a living has been greatly reduced. Not the slightest progress has been made toward solving the trust question. But the business community has been harassed and harried to no purpose; and the prosperity of the business man has been checked, exactly as the prosperity of the farmer and the wage-worker has been checked."

"As for the farmer, the present tariff, the Administration's tariff, was so framed as to result in the sacrifice of his interests. He had no spokesman, no friend in high quarters, and his welfare was contemptuously sacrificed. At every point where his interest was concerned he was made to suffer. As for the wage-worker, the result of the tariff was that he suffered even more than his employer, for he was thrown out of employment and lost the means to earn his livelihood."

"As for the employer, sometimes he has been able to struggle on with the loss of profits, sometimes he has had to close his shop. In businesses in which any of the big trusts were concerned, it was the small competitors of the trusts who were injured and in many cases ruined. Tariff reduction as put into practice by the present Administration has chiefly benefited foreign rivals and competitors. It has done grave injury to the business community and the farming community and has caused suffering to the wage-workers, and the whole policy of the Administration has been one to cause our people in business, our people on the farms, our people with dinner pails, to look toward the future with grave concern and apprehension."

Attacks Penrose and Barnes.

"It is of course essential to rebuke those leaders who by their action helped to put the present Administration in power, and, moreover, it is of vital consequence to the future well-being of our people to drive from public life all men whose political activities in State and nation alike have been such as those of Senator Penrose. This is not only a political, but a moral issue."

"I mention the name of Senator Penrose merely because he typifies a class. I am not concerned with him as an individual; I am concerned with him as a type. Mr. Penrose stands in Pennsylvania as Mr. Barnes stands in New York. When we fight these men and their activities, we are fighting the battle of all decent men and, in particular, we are fighting the battle of the honest Republican rank and file, whom these men have misrepresented and betrayed."

"It is well to keep in mind that we now have Mr. Wilson's Administration, that we now suffer from a wretched foreign policy and from home policies in national affairs which have seriously impaired the well-being of our people, primarily because of the action of Senator Penrose in associating with men of the same type, like Mr. Barnes. Messrs. Penrose, Barnes and their associates at Chicago, taking advantage of the fact that national nominating conventions are not protected by law, followed a course of conduct morally every whit as bad as that which at elections results in wrong-doers of humbler rank being put in stripes."

"They stole from the rank and file of the Republican Party the right to govern themselves; to nominate their own candidates; to promulgate their own platform. They look this action with the deliberate purpose of electing a Democratic President because they infinitely preferred the triumph of their nominal party foes to seeing the control of their own organization wrested from their hands by the rank and file of their own party. They are foes of decent citizenship. Their political lives depend upon their keeping politics in such condition that decent men cannot succeed them and that the ordinary citizens cannot get control of their own Government. Rather than see this control broken, Messrs. Penrose, Barnes and their associates deliberately put the Democratic organization and Mr. Wilson into power at Washington."

"Of course, our contest must always be primarily one of principles. It must always be a contest to enact into law and reduce to the domain of executive action those principles. But it is impossible to do this effectively until we drive from political leadership the boss, whose very existence in politics is the negation of these principles. There is no use in endeavoring to put into effect our platform for social and industrial justice if the legislative and industrial officers of Government are mere sub-officers of a boss, whether this boss be Mr. Penrose, Mr. Barnes, or Mr. Murphy."

Progressive Purposes.

"Much of our effort is to secure laws protecting the labor of women and prohibiting the labor of children in mines and factories, providing for women's compensation and the like. * * * This effort is bound to come to naught if, in its actual working, the forces of Government are administered by men whose whole theory of action is based on the alliance of crooked politics with crooked wealth."

"Much of our effort is to help the men who live on farms. * * * This effort will fail if the Government of State and nation is controlled by men who treat with derision the very idea of seriously studying the conditions in the open country that need remedying."

"Much of our effort is to help industry. We propose to make the conditions such that honest men can earn a fair living for themselves and their families without the haunting fear of being prosecuted for violations of law which they did not and could not know were such, and which were not violations of sound public policy."

"Much of our effort is to help men and women workers. Just as we believe in co-operation among the farmers and the business men, so we believe in co-operation among the wage-workers. And we further believe that the wage-workers and the business men must cooperate together and work closer together for their mutual advantage."

"It has been the cutthroat competition of the past—the competition that Mr. Wilson is determined to preserve by law—which has not only hurt business and prevented the business man from working most effectively for the common good, but which has forced the workingman to work for ruinously small wages. We propose to substitute the era of co-operation for the era of competition among the business men and farmers and wage-workers; and, as a necessary corollary, we believe that the Government must in thoroughgoing fashion supervise and regulate this movement toward co-operation."

"But this effort will come to naught if honest business men support sinister politicians whose interested endeavor is chiefly to help the crooked business man whose success is achieved by swindling his fellows. In their resentment at the national Administration because of its part in bringing them to sore need many business men and working men and farmers threaten to vote even for such politicians as Mr. Penrose in hope of securing relief. Those who do will invite a worse disaster than that from which they now suffer."

"It is the politicians like Mr. Penrose who are responsible for the existence of the present national Administration. To put them in power would merely insure in a short time another violent swing of the pendulum against them and a continuation of government by convulsion, of a governmental seesaw between two sets of policies, both inimical to the gen-

eral welfare, and two sets of politicians, neither of them responsive to the public needs."

To meet such a situation Col. Roosevelt argued that the voters of Pennsylvania should repudiate Penrose and his nominee and followers and further should oppose the supporters of the present Administration. Concluding his indictment of "the bosses," he outlined what he styled the "specific performances" of the Progressive Party in State and national legislation, and again took up the tariff question.

Gradual Tariff Revision.

"We Progressives advocate the immediate creation of a non-partisan commission," he said, "with power to propose revision of the tariff rates, schedule by schedule, treating each case on an intelligent consideration of its merits, divorced from favoritism and the fostering of special interests. The programme would not be attended by the reckless haste, the improper influences, the sectional party politics which characterize our present methods of tariff legislation by general law, and remember that exactly the same methods were pursued in making the present tariff law as in making the Payne-Aldrich law, which it superseded."

"Our proposed method would never disorganize business by a complete change in all the tariff schedules at one time. This is the Progressive tariff programme. I ask all honest believers in a protective tariff, and especially all workmen, to consider the fact that this is the only programme offering hope of permanent well-being; whereas the alternative programme is one of violent oscillation between such tariffs as the Payne-Aldrich bill, made by Senator Penrose and his associates, and the present Tariff bill, made by President Wilson and his followers, such as the gentleman now running for the Senate in Pennsylvania on the Democratic ticket."

Of the Progressive anti-trust programme Mr. Roosevelt said:

"We believe in co-operation among business men, among farmers and among wage-workers. It is evident that the problem of all anti-trust legislation is effectively to determine, on the one hand, what trade practices are unfair, and on the other to prevent the exclusive control of any factor essential to production by any person or corporation or group operated as a unit. It is primarily an administrative problem. To meet it we must have adequate administrative machinery. The Progressives therefore advocate the creation of a strong Interstate Trade Commission and would give such commission, primarily, three powers:

First, the power of investigation. The commission should be able to ascertain, on complaint or on its own motion, whether a monopoly in fact exists, and if it does exist, the basis of its monopolistic power."

Second, the power directly to prohibit all unfair trade practices within its jurisdiction. This power would enable the commission to stop all monopolies based on unfair and oppressive trade practices. Whenever monopoly is based on such practices, what is needed is not the right to recommend that suits be brought by the Attorney General, or by any one else. What is needed is the direct power in the commission itself to stop the wrong."

Third, the power to end the exclusive control of a factor necessary to production by an order adapted to the circumstances of the particular case. The order may involve changes in organization, in management, or in the conduct of the business. Where exclusive possession of a natural resource is the basis of the monopoly, it may be necessary to subject its possession to the obligation of public service, that is, the obligation to sell to others a reasonable amount at reasonable rates."

No Quarrel With Big Business.

"Our constructive programme of anti-trust legislation has no quarrel with large business organizations as such. On the contrary, we recognize that business efficiency in production can be attained only through business organization. But we demand that the Government be clothed with all the necessary power to crush monopoly with all its attendant evils."

"Contrasted with this programme, we have the Democratic anti-trust programme, now under discussion in the Senate of the United States. The programme proves the inadequacy of the Democratic Party for the present and the future of the Nation. It is, and always will be, the State's Rights Party, the party opposed to strong Federal action, the 'Party Afraid of Power.'"

"We cannot control our great national business without power, national power. But the Democrats dare not use power themselves, nor let any one else have it. Their trust programme, as it stands today, is made futile by this fear. Their official Administration bills propose a weak Federal Trade Commission, with no power except to investigate and report. They fear to give the Government the strength to cope with corporate abuses. They fear to give the commission power to prevent unfair trade practices. Indeed, their measure would hardly give the commission power really to investigate, much less to destroy, by proper administrative order, monopolies based on the exclusive possession of a factor essential to production."

"To the powers of investigation and recommendation which the bill proposes to give to the commission, so far as they go, we have no objection. It is the inadequacy of the commission's power to destroy monopoly which we condemn. Progressive Congressmen voted for the bill, not because it represents an adequate attempt to deal with a great problem, but in the hope that a day will arrive when the so-called Trade Commission will be given sufficient power to make it a real Trade Commission, such as our national platform promises and such as the bills which we have introduced would provide."

"The House of Representatives has also passed a bill supplemental to the Sherman Anti-Trust act. Many of the provisions of this bill deserve commendation, especially those which prohibit certain forms of unfair trade competition which the courts have not as yet clearly condemned, but which upright business men everywhere recognize as wrong and tending to monopoly. Similar provisions will be found in the Progressive anti-trust bills."

"But the Clayton bill goes hopelessly wrong in that it forbids specifically any combination or agreement in interstate commerce between any two or more corporations, firms, or even individuals

which in any way lessens or restricts the competition between them. This is the hub of their whole position. They propose that two farmers selling milk across a State line cannot co-operate, and that two men doing any business across a State line cannot form a partnership or a corporation. They insist that there must be no big business power, concentrated power, or large enterprise anywhere, and that our business must go back to the period of not merely 1850, but 1650; to the cobbler's bench, the first mill, and the blacksmith's forge."

"Economic Absurdity."

"This is economic absurdity. * * * Unlimited competition has proved one of the greatest curses of modern civilization. It was unlimited competition which created the great trusts, exactly as it created the sweat shop, and is chiefly responsible for child labor. The New Freedom is merely the exceedingly old freedom which permits each man to cut his neighbor's throat."

"The Progressive plan, on the other hand," said Col. Roosevelt, "will allow business concentration in so far as such concentration gives social and economic efficiency and good service. But it will also give the Government full power to see that business concentration does serve these necessary ends, and that it is not used for unfair competition or for monopoly, or for the unfair treatment of labor or for any other anti-social end."

"This is the only tenable position on the trust problem, for it faces the facts, and does not try to turn back the hands of the clock. By long and disappointing experience we have had several cardinal facts hammered into us:

First, we cannot, and do not want to, destroy all corporations; we must have large units to do our work."

Second, we cannot make every man compete with every other man; we cannot go back to 1850, still less to 1650."

Third, we cannot destroy monopoly by attacking all forms of concentration whether monopolistic or not."

Fourth, we cannot destroy real monopoly by attacking its legal form. We must find out and take away the real economic basis of monopoly, which is a very different thing."

Fifth, we can get no effective results through the courts, with their slow and restricted procedure."

Sixth, we must encourage honest business and allow that business concentration which will give the power necessary to serve us. This policy of the encouragement of decent business is as important to the welfare of our people as is our other policy of effective warfare against corrupt and unfair business."

Seventh, there must be co-operation among business men, among wage-workers, and among farmers."

"We have had now twenty-four years' experience with trying to regulate business by destruction," the Colonel concluded. "The result has been nearly flat failure. The Administration proposes a policy of further destruction, even more unintelligent in conception, and certain to be more futile in performance, than the existing policy which it amends."

"The only alternative is the Progressive plan. * * * From all of this it follows that we have a right to ask good citizens to join against the present Administration. The policies of the Administration should be rebuked by the people, and Senators and Congressmen returned to Washington who will strive to end these policies."

Cheer for Woman Suffrage.

At both the dinner at McCreery's and at the Exposition Hall meeting there was a large percentage of women and the Colonel took occasion to call attention to that fact, expressing his pleasure at so large a representation of women. A reference to his desire to give women the vote made at the Exposition Hall meeting brought forth a great cheer. He pledged the Progressive Party to work for suffrage if it should be placed in power.

When he left the train here Col. Roosevelt stopped to shake hands with the fireman and engineer. The fireman did not want to because his hands were greasy.

"I don't mind that a bit," retorted the Colonel. "I have had grease on my hands, too."

At the department store dinner Henry Allen, Progressive candidate for Governor of Kansas, delivered an address. Col. Roosevelt said he wished to send back to Kansas, through Mr. Allen, to Victor Murdock and his associates his thanks for "their gallant fight."

Col. Roosevelt is due in New York tomorrow morning at 9:40 o'clock.