

WRONG DOING WILL NOT BE TOLERATED

(Continued from page one.)

enforcement of and obedience to the law. At intervals during the last few months the appeal has been made to me not to enforce the law against certain wrongdoers of great wealth because to do so would interfere with the business prosperity of the country. Under the effects of that kind of fright which sufficiently acule we call panic, this appeal has been made to me even by men who ordinarily be have as decent citizens. One newspaper which has given prominence to the statement of a certain man of great wealth to the effect that the so-called financial weakness "was due entirely to the admitted intention of President Roosevelt to punish the large moneyed interests which had transgressed the laws." I do not admit that this has been the main cause of any business troubles we have had; but it is possible that it has been a contributory cause. If so, friends, as far as I am concerned it must be accepted as a disagreeable but unavoidable feature in a course of policy which as long as I am president will not be changed. In any great movement for righteousness where the forces of evil are strongly entrenched it is unfortunately inevitable that some unoffending people should suffer in company with the real offenders. This is not our fault. It is the fault of those to whose defective action these innocent people owe their false position.

NO WRONG COUNTENANCED

A year or two ago certain representatives of labor called upon me and the source of a very pleasant conversation told me I regarded him as "the friend of labor." I answered that I certainly was, and that I would do everything in my power for the laboring man EXCEPT ANYTHING THAT WAS WRONG. I have the same answer to make to the business man. I will do everything I can to help business conditions, except anything that is wrong. And it would not be merely wrong but infamous to fail to do all that can be done to secure the punishment of those wrongdoers whose deeds are particularly reprehensible. (They are not committed under the strictest administration of the law.) Whenever a serious effort is made to cut out what is evil in our political life, whether the effort takes the shape of warning against the small, sordid forms of evil in some municipality, or whether it takes the shape of trying to secure the honest enforcement of the law against very powerful and wealthy people, there are sure to be certain individuals who demand that the movement stop because it may hurt business. In each case I answer them that we earnestly hope and believe that there will be no permanent damage to business from the movement, but that if righteousness conflicts with the fancied needs of business, then the latter must go to the wall. We can not afford to substitute any other test for that of guilt or innocence, of wrongdoing or rightdoing, in judging any man. If a man does well, if he acts honestly, he has nothing to fear from this administration. But so far as in me lies the corrupt politician, great or small, the private citizen who transgresses the law—be he rich or poor—shall be brought before the impartial justice of a court. Perhaps I am most anxious to get at the politician who is corrupt, because he betrays a great trust; but assuredly I shall not spare his brother corruptor who shows himself a scoundrel in business life; and, according to our laws, crimes of fraud and cunning shall be prosecuted as relentlessly as crimes of brutality and physical violence.

CHARACTER PUT FIRST

We need good laws and we need above all things the hearty aid of good citizens in supporting and enforcing the laws. Never again shall men and women of this great state, men and women of the middle west, never forget that law and the administration of law, important though they are, must always occupy a wholly secondary position as compared with the character of the average citizen himself. On this trip I speak in audiences in each of which there will be many men who fought in the civil war. You who wore the blue and your brothers of the south who wore the gray know that in war no general, no matter how good, no organization no matter how perfect, can avail if the average man in the ranks has not got the fighting edge. We need the good general, but we need most the fighting edge in the individual soldier. So it is in private life. We live in a rough, workaday world, and we are in a long way from the millennium. We can not as a nation afford to care not as individuals afford to cultivate only the gentler, softer qualities. There must be gentleness and tenderness—the strongest men are gentle and tender—but there must also be courage and strength. I have a hearty sympathy with those who believe in doing all that can be done for peace; but I have no sympathy at all with those who believe that in the world as it now is we can afford to see the average American citizen lose the qualities that in their sum make up a good fighting man. You men must be workers who work with all your heart and strength and mind at your several tasks in life; and you must also be able to fight as need. You men have even higher and more difficult duties for I honor no man not even the soldier who fights for righteousness, quite as much as I honor the man who does her full duty as wife and mother. But she who stands on a par with the man who defends for himself and his family, for those dependent upon him, and who in time of the nation's need refuses to fight. The man or woman who shrinks his or her duty occupies

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NATIONAL WATERWAYS.

Since I have been president I have traveled in every state of this Union, but my traveling has been almost entirely on railroads, save now and then by wagon or on horseback. Now I have the chance to try traveling by river, to go down the greatest of our rivers, the Father of Waters. A good many years ago when I lived in the northwest I traveled occasionally by the Upper Missouri and its tributaries; but then we went in a flatboat and did our own rowing and paddling and poing. Now I am to try a steamboat. I am a great believer in our railway system, and the fact that I am very firm in my belief as to the necessity of the government exercising a proper supervision and control over the railroads does not in the least interfere with my belief that the government should also exercise a proper supervision and control over the waterways. I am a great admirer of the large majority of the men in all positions, from the top to the bottom, who build and run them. Yet, while of course I am anxious to see these men and therefore the corporations they represent or serve, achieve the fullest measure of legitimate prosperity, nevertheless as this country grows I feel that we can not have too many highroads, and that in addition to the iron highroads of our railway system we should also utilize the great river highways which have been given us by nature. From a variety of causes these highways have in many parts of the country been almost abandoned. This is not healthy. Our people, especially the representatives of the people in the national Congress, should give their most careful attention to this subject. We should be prepared to put the nation collectively back of the movement to reclaim them for the nation's use. Our knowledge at this time is not such as to permit me to go into details, but the nation should do, but most assuredly our great navigable rivers are national assets just as much as our great seacoast harbors. Exactly as it is for the interest of all the country that our great harbors should be fitted to receive in safety the largest vessels of the merchant fleets of the world, so by deepening and otherwise our rivers should be fitted to bear their part in the movement of our merchandise; and this is especially true of the Mississippi and its tributaries, which drain the immense and prosperous region which makes in very fact the heart of our nation; the basin of the Great Lakes being already united with the basin of the Mississippi, and both regions being identical in their products and interests. Waterways are peculiarly fitted for the transportation of the bulky commodities which come from the soil or under the soil, and no other part of our country is as fruitful as this in such commodities.

STATE OF IOWA.

You in Iowa have many manufacturing centers, but you remain, and I hope you will always remain, a great agricultural state. I hope that the means of transporting your commodities to market will be steadily improved; but this will be of no use unless you keep producing the commodities, and in the long run this will largely depend upon your being able to keep on the farm a high type of citizenship. The effort must be to make farm life not only remunerative but attractive, so that the best young men and girls will feel inclined to stay on the farm and not to go to the city. Nothing is more important to this country than the perpetuation of our system of medium-sized farms worked by their owners. We do not want to see our farmers sink to the condition of the peasants of the old world, barely able to live on their small holdings, nor do we want to see their places taken by a few huge estates, which they work purely by tenants and hired servants.

THE AMERICAN FARMER.

At present the ordinary farmer holds his own in the land as against any possible representative of the land-lord class of farmers—that is, of men who would own vast estates—because the ordinary farmer utilizes his capital, his labor, and his brains in the making of a permanent family home, and thus can afford to hold his land at a value at which it can not be held by the capitalist who seeks to make it run by leasing it or by cultivating it at arm's length with hired labor. In other words, the typical American farmer of today gets his remuneration in the shape of an independent home for his family, and this gives him an advantage over an absentee landlord. Now, from the standpoint of the nation as a whole it is preeminently desirable to keep as one of our chief American types the farmer, the farm home maker, of the medium-sized farm. This type of farm home is one of our strongest political and social bulwarks. Such a farm worked by the owner has proved by experience the best place in which to breed vigorous leaders alike for country and city. It is a matter of prime economic and civic importance to encourage this type of home-owning farmer.

FEDERAL AID TO SCHOOLS.

Therefore, we should strive in every way to aid in the education of the farmer for the farm, and should shape our school system with this end in view; and so vitally important is this that, in my opinion, the federal government should co-operate with the state governments to secure the needed change and improvement in our schools. It is significant that both from Minnesota and Georgia there have come proposals in the several states, and the appearance of bills introduced into the national Congress. The congressional land grant act of 1862 accomplished much in establishing the agricultural colleges in the several states, and therefore in preparing to turn the system of educational training for the young into channels as once broader and more practicable—and what I am saying about agricultural training readily applies to all industrial training. But the colleges can not reach the masses and it is essential that the masses should be reached. Such agricultural schools as those in Minnesota and Nebraska for farm boys and girls, such technical high schools as are to be

found, for instance, in both St. Louis and Washington, have thereby success shown that it is entirely feasible to carry in practical fashion the fundamentals of industrial training into the realm of our secondary schools. At present there is a gap between our primary schools in country and city and the industrial collegiate courses, which must be closed, and if necessary, the nation must help the state to close this gap. Our present schools tend to put altogether too great a premium upon mere literary education, and therefore a train away from the farm and the shop.

WE SHOULD REVERSE THIS PROCESS.

Specific training of a practical kind should be given to the boys and girls who when men and women are to make up the backbone of this nation by working in agriculture, in the mechanical industries, in arts and trades; in short, who are to do the duty that should always come first with all of us, the duty of home-making and home-keeping. Too narrow a literary education is, for most men and women, not a real education at all; for a real education should fit people primarily for the industrial and home-making employments in which they must employ the bulk of their activities. Our country offers unparalleled advantages for domestic and social advancement, for material and economic leadership in the world. Our greatest national asset is to be found in the children. They need to be trained to high efficiency in their respective vocations, we can not afford to have them trained otherwise, and the nation should help the states to achieve this end.

LAND LAWS.

Now, men of Iowa, I want to say just a word on a matter that concerns not the states of the Mississippi valley itself, but the states west of them, the states of the great plains and the Rocky Mountains. Unfortunately, I am not able on this present trip to visit those states, or I should speak to their own people on the point to which I now intend to allude; but after all anything that affects a considerable number of Americans who live under one set of conditions, must be of moment to all other Americans, for never forget, friends, that in the long run we shall all go up or go down together.

The states of the high plains and of the mountains have a peculiar claim upon me, because for a number of years I lived and worked with them, and I have that intimate knowledge of these people that comes under such conditions. In those states there is need of a modification of the land-law that has worked so well in the well-watered fertile regions to the eastward, such as those in which you here dwell. The one object in all our land laws should always be to favor the actual settler, the actual home maker, who comes to dwell on the land and there to bring up his children to inherit it after him. The government should part with its title to the land only to the actual homemaker—not to the profit-maker, he does not care to make a home. The land should be sold outright only in quantities sufficient for decent homes—not in huge areas to be held for speculative purposes or used as real-estate, where those who do the actual work are merely tenants or hired hands. No temporary prosperity of any class of men could in the slightest degree atone for failure of our part to shape the laws so that they may work for the permanent good of the homemaker. This is fundamental, and it is simply carrying out the idea upon which I dwell in speaking to you of your own farms here in Iowa. Now in many states where the rainfall is light it is a simple absurdity to expect any man to live, still less to bring up a family, on 160 acres. Where we are able to introduce irrigation, the homestead can be very much less in size—can, for instance, be 40 acres; and there is nothing that Congress has done during the past six years more important than the enactment of the national irrigation law. But where irrigation is not applicable, and the land can only be used for grazing, it may be that you can not run more than one steer to 160 acres, and it is not necessary to be much of a mathematician in order to see that where such is the case a homestead of 160 acres will not go far toward the support of a family. In consequence of this fact, homesteaders do not take up the lands in the tracts in question. They are left open for anybody to graze upon that wishes to. The result is that the men who use them moderately and not with a view of exhausting their resources are at the mercy of those who care nothing for the future and simply intend to skin the land in the present. For instance, the small sheep farmer who has a home and who wishes that some day to pass on to his children improved in value will naturally run his flock so that the land will support it, not only today, but 10 years hence; but a big absentee sheep owner, who does not live on the land at all, but simply owns huge migratory flocks of sheep may well find it to his profit to drive them over the small sheep farmer's range and eat it all out. He will then drive his flocks on, whereas the small man can not. Of course, to permit such a state of things is not only evil for the small man, but is destructive of the best interests of the country. Substantially the same conditions obtain as regards cattle.

PUBLIC LAND FENCING.

The custom has therefore grown up of fencing great tracts of government land without warrant of law. The men who fenced this land were sometimes rich men, who, by fencing it, kept out actual settlers and thereby worked evil to the country. But in many cases, whether they were large men or small men, their object was not to keep out actual settlers, but to protect themselves and their own industry by preventing overgrazing of the range on the part of reckless stock owners who had no place in the permanent development of the country and who were indifferent to everything except the profits of the moment. To permit the continuance of this illegal fencing inevitably led to very grave abuses, and the government has therefore forced the fences to be taken down. In doing this we have not only obeyed and enforced the law, but we have corrected many flagrant abuses. Nevertheless, we have also caused hardship, which, though unavoidable, I was exceedingly unwilling to cause. In some way or other we must provide for the use of the public range under conditions which shall inure primarily to the benefit of the actual settlers on or near it, and which shall prevent its being wasted and sold cheap to the speculator. This means that in some shape or way the fencing of pasture land must be permitted under restrictions which will safeguard the rights of the actual settlers. I desire to act as the actual settlers wish to have me in this matter. I wish to find out their needs and desires and then to try to put them into effect. But they must take trouble, must look ahead to their own future and real good, must insist upon being really represented by their public men, if we are to have a good result. A little while ago I received a very manly and sensible letter from one of the prominent members of the Laramie County (Wyo.) Cattle & Horse Growers' association. My correspondent remarked incidentally in his letter, "I am a small ranchman, who takes to plowing and pitch hay myself," and then went on to say that the great majority of their people had complied with the government's order, had removed their fences, and sold their land, but that they must get some kind of a lease law which would permit them to graze their stock under proper conditions or else it would be ruinous to them to continue in the business. He said that he had most at heart as regards this law was to do whatever will be of perma-

nent benefit to just exactly the people for whom this correspondent of mine spoke—the small ranchmen who plow and pitch hay themselves. All I want to do is to find out what will be to their real benefit, for that is certain to be to the benefit of the country as a whole. It may be that we can secure their interests best by preventing all homesteaders in the dry country to inclose, individually or a certain number of them together, big tracts of range for summer use, the tracts being proportioned to the number of neighboring homesteaders who wish to run their cattle upon it. It may be that parts of the range will only be valuable for companies that can lease it and put large herds on it, for the vast majority to develop a region is to put it to those uses to which it is best adapted. The amount to be paid for the leasing privilege is to be a matter of comparative indifference. The government does not wish to make money out of the range, but simply to provide for the necessary supervision that will prevent its being eaten most ruthlessly; that is, that will secure it undamaged as an asset for the next generation, for the children of the present homesteaders. Of course we must also provide enough to pay the proper share of the county taxes. I am not wedded to any one plan, and I am willing to combine several plans if necessary. But the present system is wrong, and I hope to see, in all the states of the great plains and the Rockies, the men like my correspondent of the Laramie County Cattle & Horse Growers' association, the small ranchmen, who plow and pitch hay themselves, seriously take up this matter and make their representatives in Congress understand that there must be some solution, and that the solution shall be one which will secure the greatest permanent well-being to the actual settlers, the actual home makers. I promise with all the strength I have to co-operate toward this end.

Following the address, which was heard by 30,000 people, the president was driven to the lower dock of the government canal and boarded the steamer Mississippi for the trip south. He reviewed the display of 100 pleasure launches in the river and departed, leading the flotilla of 20 big steamboats and the launches. The governors left at noon on a special train for St. Louis. Two special excursion trains brought in great crowds just before the president arrived and the city was full of strangers.

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