

Tall Timber?

^{remember}
I cannot/that I have ever faced a Presidential election with a mind as uncertain as that which torments me to-day. Where is my difficulty? Why, with three as admirable candidates as are presented, why should I hesitate? Why should I hesitate to cast my vote for Franklin Roosevelt with as admirable platform as his party which on the whole is mine with strong mugwug flavoring has offered? The trouble I have concluded is, as far as I can see at the moment, is that the things I take hard ~~men~~ ^{do not} of the three candidates take hard enough to see. There has never been a time when I was not ~~unset~~ ^{by} by a notion that this or that ~~done~~ ^{if} would help mightily to straighten out the tangled world in which I live. The world has always seems desperately tangled to me. It is not that I didn't think it a good world - I always have and do - but how realize ~~en~~ in that goodness.

When I was sixteen I had a sudden burst of illumination; I sewed up a seam on the sewing machine in our little back sewing room - one of those illuminations so clear that you can always see the way things about you look. ^{I can} I could see the look of the garden out of the window as it suddenly occurred to me that all of the trouble in the world would be wiped out - the trouble I mean that comes from material things - if everybody would be put on an eight hour day - everybody. Nobody should be allowed his bread and butter unless paid for it by eight hours work.

I lived in a nice little town - nice people. Most of them were living on the result of natural resources. A lot of them had never done a day's work in their lives, that is work as I understood it. They were living on the fruit that somebody had found in the ground. They seemed to think that sufficed. They were favored by the Gods. But somehow it did not square up in my mind. *con-*
clude I didn't mean
~~though if people who~~ didn't have enough because there were so many that had too much that they hadn't earned, and so I was for putting the whole world on purely a bread-winning basis.¹

Rather interesting to me the ways my ideas gradually changed and I ceased to look on a universal eight hour day as a restorer of universal peace and contentment. However, there is something in it. Pay your way.

I had ^{gone} on picking one or another obsessions *in 2 am* securing the world. For a good many years my ~~vivid~~ *democracy in* obsession in this country has been the protective tariff. Today it seems to me the first thing to get us out of the jam we are in - the economic jam that we are in - is to wipe out this privilege, for it is a privilege which *carried* it beyond the point, ~~beyond the point~~ of revenue; cannot be made to work otherwise. And where you have a privilege of that kind recognized by a government you cease to have a democracy in a ~~secure~~ *for* sense. ~~Here you have a government by the people, for the people, or the people,~~ *claim of* to discriminate between people, the advantages it gives. ~~As we have worked out the tariff we have destroyed~~ democracy.

We have done more, we have set a most immoral force at work. I contend, I cannot see it otherwise, that at bottom the power ^{is one of murder} ~~large~~ issue. For the fifty years that we have recognized it as the American system we have steadily ^{formed} ~~formed~~ it our ethical standard, trying to justify the results it brought.

Feeling as I do you can see that I cannot vote for Herbert Hoover for Mr. Hoover believes (Quote from -
And we find the ^{Sam} Root-Hawley Tariff Bill, which hoops it higher than anybody else. His signing this ~~we~~ may rightfully conclude that in his heart he believes that we can't get it too high. So how can I vote for Mr. Hoover? But I want to say frankly the longer he has been in office the more admiration I have had for him and that admiration has come from the dogged way in which he stuck to one of the worst jobs that a man ever had. He went in as the pet of the Nation. For three years the Nation ^{has} ~~has~~ wantonly ^{valued him} ~~valued him~~ it distinguishes ^{it} ~~it~~ when ~~it~~ does not get out of the man what it hoped - ^{it} ~~it~~ has turned on him with ridicule and jeers of the cruelest kind. I don't think I am not saying that ^{Mr. Hoover has laid himself open to something...} That prosperity that he always saw just around the corner and which has proved so allusive was not to be to the serious minded people. How could it be after '29? If you had any kind of knowledge of the ^{one lucky} ~~past life~~ you knew that we were in for a long period of ^{depression} ~~depression~~ Mr. Hoover is what we call an educated man. Why should he have so deluded himself?

But what I want to say is, that in spite of the way he has made it hard for himself and the way in which hosts of people

have unjustly made it harder for him, he has stuck to it - as thankless a task as the people ever put on any man.

I heard Mr. Hoover say once during the Coolidge administration at a very difficult moment in answer to my remark that I didn't see how anybody staid on.

"Nobody would," grumbled he, "except that he is ashamed to desert. That is all that keeps him here."

Well that spirit, that unwillingness to desert in a hard moment has carried this country through many muddled period. And my admiration for Herbert Hoover has gained steadily. You may not like what he does, and I am convinced that what he does he does from a conviction that that is the thing that should be done and thinking that it should be done he will do it if it takes his life.

I wish I could vote for him just out of admiration of that doggedness. Laugh at *rugged individualist* as you will it has made this country - been responsible for the *best* good and the worst of it. What are all the Astors and the Goulds and the Rockfellers but *rugged individualists*. What *would* think - what was Lincoln - what was Grover Cleveland - rugged individualists.

But I cannot vote for this particular rugged individualist.

I can't vote for Norman Thomas because he does not seem to me to get at the heart of the difficulty. I want all that he wants but I do not see that his program would give us that.

And how about Franklin Roosevelt's program? It promises - (Quote) But I do not see that Mr. Roosevelt feels keenly about that.

What dishers me.

It is
I wish he did. / a great opportunity for Franklin Roosevelt to
carry forward that crusade against the special privilege which
protective tariff represents. He has stronger demonstration
of the economic and ethical results ^{of tariff} than has ever been offered
before. An immense opportunity to demonstrate that thing so
fundamental, such superior importance in making a country, the
moral basis of the economic thing, that it is never sound unless
it is moral. I do not see that Mr. Roosevelt is deeply interested
in getting down to the bottom of our economic trouble.

What ⁱⁿ ~~cause of reform~~ he stands for ^{in opposition to} ~~for~~ ^{the}
his distinguished cousin Theodore Roosevelt fifty years ago. All
the signs Theodore Roosevelt should have been in 1884 the leader
in a righteous campaign against the tariff. He stood with
Grover Cleveland. But because he didn't was due to Henry Cabot
Lodge no doubt. ²⁰ ~~When it came to fighting his righteous campaign~~
^{war made necessary} that is own failure to ^{do} ~~ask~~ twenty years before had
helped build up. by his refusal

The greatest privilege that could be rendered today
is to begin a substantial over-throw of the ^{protection tariff} ~~country~~ ^{that}
^{which} ~~which~~ does more to ^{help} ~~make~~ forgotten men than any other economic
practice. ^{relief a woman bill to be passed}
~~The present~~ Economic blockade has been built on tariff and
~~today it is tempting fate by them~~ and by the country's unwillingness
to pay the full price of the great War. Hold Europe to those debts
and we perpetuate our troubles.

You cannot break up the jam as long as *the tariff*
 holds its place and the war debts are *windell* ~~Neither~~

~~Mr. Roosevelt nor Mr. Hoover have done so. Mr. Hoover would~~
~~be the best~~

But how are we to expect Nations that
 insisting on our rights as debtors and thinking the day will
 come when we will force

how are we to expect
 them to do away ^{with arms.} / The greatest *sleep* in the present

world towards disarmament - the most practical step would be
 wiping out this indebtedness.

And when you get
 down to it

\$2.25 a bu. for wheat -

iron -

armor plates -

bacon, sugar, etc.