

steamer Falaba was torpedoed by a German submarine and an American citizen was killed, but nothing was done. On the 28th of April the American vessel Cushing was attacked and crippled by a German aeroplane. On the 1st of May the American vessel Guildlight was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine and two or more Americans were killed, yet nothing was done. On the 7th of May the Lusitania was torpedoed and sunk by a German submarine and more than 100 Americans and 1,100 other non-combatants were drowned. The very thing which our government had warned Germany she must not do, Germany did of set purpose and in the most contemptuous and shocking way. Then, when all America was stirred to the depths, our government addressed another note to Germany. It repeated its assertion of American rights and renewed its bold declaration of purpose. It declared again that the American government "must hold the imperial German government to a strict accountability for any infringement of those rights, intentional or incidental," and it declared that it would not "omit any word or any act necessary to the performance of its sacred duty of maintaining the rights of the United States and its citizens and of safeguarding their free exercise and enjoyment."

Still nothing was done and a long and technical correspondence ensued, bagging over petty questions of detail, every American note growing less and less strong and peremptory until the Amble was torpedoed and sunk and more American lives were destroyed, and still nothing was done, and the correspondence continued until the allied defense against German submarine warfare made it unprofitable and led to its abandonment, and the correspondence is apparently approaching its end without securing even that partial protection for the future which might be found in an admission that the destruction of the Lusitania was forbidden by law. The later correspondence has been conducted by our state department with dignity, but it has been futile. An admission of liability for damages has been secured, but the time for real protection to American rights has long since passed. The brave words with which we began the controversy, had produced no effect, because they were read in the light of two extraordinary events. One was the report of the Austrian ambassador, Mr. Dumba, to his government that when the American note of Feb. 10 was received he asked the secretary of state, Mr. Bryan, whether it meant business and received an answer which satisfied him that it did not, but was intended for effect at home in America.

**"Too Proud to Fight"**  
The other event was the strange and unfortunate declaration of the president in a public speech in Philadelphia the fourth day after the sinking of the Lusitania that "a man may be too proud to fight." Whatever the Austrian ambassador was in fact told by the secretary of state, the impression which he reported was supported by the events which followed. Whatever the president did mean, his declaration, made in public at that solemn time, amid the horror and mourning of all our people over the murder of their children, was accepted the world over as presenting the attitude of the American government toward the protection of the life and liberty of American citizens in the exercise of their just rights, and throughout the world the phrase "too proud to fight" became a byword of derision and contempt for the government of the United States.

Later, in another theater of war—the Mediterranean—Austria, and perhaps Turkey also, resumed the practice. The Ancona and then the Persia were destroyed, and more Americans were killed. Why should they not resume the practice? They had learned to believe that, no matter how shocked the American government might be, its resolution would expend itself in words. They had learned to believe that it was safe to kill Americans, and the world believed with them.

**Shaking Fiat and Finger.**  
No man should draw a pistol who dares not shoot. The government that shakes its fist first and its finger afterward falls into contempt. Our diplomacy has lost its authority and influence because we have been brave in words and irresolute in action. Men may say that the words of our diplomatic notes were justified; men may say that our inaction was justified, but no man can say that both were wise and credible.

I have said that this government lost the moral forces of the world by not truly interpreting the spirit of the American democracy. The American democracy stands for something more than beef and cotton and grain and manufactures; stands for something that cannot be measured by rates of exchange and does not rise or fall with the balance of trade. The American people, informed by their own experience that is confirmed by their observation of international life, have come to see that the independence of nations, the liberty of their peoples, justice and humanity cannot be maintained upon the complaisance, the good nature, the kindly feeling of the strong toward the weak; that real independence, real liberty, cannot rest upon suffering; that peace and liberty can be preserved only by the authority and observance of rules of national conduct founded upon the principles of justice and humanity; only by the establishment of law among nations, responsive to the enlightened public opinion of mankind. To them liberty means not liberty for themselves alone, but for all who are oppressed. Justice means not justice for themselves alone, but a shield for all who are

weak against the aggression of the strong. To this people the invasion of Belgium brought a shock of amazement and horror. If the public opinion of the world was to remain silent upon that, neutral upon that, then all talk about peace and justice and international law and the rights of man, the progress of humanity and the spread of liberty is idle patter, mere weak sentimentality; then opinion is powerless and brute force rules and will rule the world. If no difference is recognized between right and wrong then there are no moral standards. There come times in the lives of nations as of men when to treat wrong as if it were right is treason to the right.

**The Wrong Done to Belgium.**  
The American people were entitled not merely to feel, but to speak concerning the wrong done to Belgium. It was not like interference in the internal affairs of Mexico or any other nation, for this was an international wrong. The law protecting Belgium which was violated was our law and the law of every other civilized country. That law was the protection of our peace and security. It was our safeguard against the necessity of maintaining great armaments and wasting our substance in continual readiness for war. Moreover, that law was written into a solemn and formal convention, signed and ratified by Germany and Belgium and France and the United States in which those other countries agreed with us that the law should be observed.

There was no question here of interfering in the quarrels of Europe. We had a right to be neutral, and we were neutral as to the quarrel between Germany and France, but when as an incident to the prosecution of that quarrel Germany broke the law which we were entitled to have preserved and which she had agreed with us to preserve we were entitled to be heard in the assertion of our own national right.

**Neutral Between Right and Wrong!**  
Yet the American government acquiesced in the treatment of Belgium and the destruction of the law of nations. Without one word of objection or dissent to the repudiation of law or the breach of our treaty or the violation of justice and humanity in the treatment of Belgium our government enjoined upon the people of the United States an undiscriminating and all embracing neutrality, and the president admonished the people that they must be neutral in all respects in act and word and thought and sentiment. We were to be not merely neutral as to the quarrels of Europe, but neutral as to the treatment of Belgium, neutral between right and wrong, neutral between justice and injustice, neutral between humanity and cruelty, neutral between liberty and oppression. Our government did more than acquiesce, for in the first Lusitania note, with the unspeakable horrors of the conquest of Belgium still fresh in our minds, on the very day after the report of the Bryce commission on Belgian atrocities, it wrote these words to the government of Germany:

Recalling the humane and enlightened attitude hitherto assumed by the imperial German government in matters of international right and particularly with regard to the freedom of the seas, having learned to recognize the German views and the German influence in the field of international obligation as always engaged upon the side of justice and humanity, etc.

And so the government of the United States appeared as approving the treatment of Belgium. It misrepresented the people of the United States in that acquiescence and apparent approval. It was not necessary that the United States should go to war in defense of the violated law. A single official expression by the government of the United States, a single sentence denying assent and recording disapproval of what Germany did in Belgium, would have given to the people of America that leadership to which they were entitled in their earnest groping for the light. It would have ranged behind American leadership the conscience and morality of the neutral world.

It was not to be. The American government failed to rise to the demands of the great occasion. Gone were the old love of justice, the old passion for liberty, the old sympathy with the oppressed, the old ideals of an America helping the world toward a better future, and there remained in the eyes of mankind only solicitude for trade and profit and prosperity.

**Shrank From the Truth.**  
The American government could not really have approved the treatment of Belgium, but under a mistaken policy it shrank from speaking the truth. Such policies as I have described are doubly dangerous in their effect upon foreign nations and in their effect at home. It is a matter of universal experience that a weak and apprehensive treatment of foreign affairs invites encroachments upon rights and leads to situations in which it is difficult to prevent war, while a firm and frank policy at the outset prevents difficult situations from arising and tends most strongly to preserve peace. On the other hand, if a government is to be strong in its diplomacy its own people must be ranged in its support by leadership of opinion in a national cause worthy to awaken their patriotism and devotion.

We have not been following the path of peace. We have been blindly stumbling along the road that continued will lead to inevitable war. When our government failed to tell the truth about Belgium it lost the opportunity for leadership of the moral sense of the American people and it lost the power which a knowledge of that leadership and a sympathetic response from the moral sense of the world would have given to our diplomacy. When our government failed to

make any provision whatever for defending its rights in case they should be trampled upon it lost the power which a belief in its readiness and will to maintain its rights would have given to its diplomatic representations. When our government gave notice to Germany that it would destroy American lives and American ships at its peril our words, which would have been potent if sustained by adequate preparation to make them good and by the prestige and authority of the moral leadership of a great people in a great cause, were treated with a contempt which should have been foreseen, and when our government failed to make those words good its diplomacy was bankrupt.

Upon the record of performance which I have tried to describe will the American people say that the Democratic party is entitled to be continued in power?

The defects of the present administration arise from two distinct causes. The first is the temperament and training of the president. The second is the incapacity of the Democratic party as it is represented in Washington both in the legislative and in the executive departments either to originate wise policies or to follow them when proposed by others or to administer them effectively if they are established. The Democrats in congress are never controlled except with a club, and government with a club is always spasmodic and defective.

We must not deceive ourselves by assuming that the critical period arising from the great war has passed. The real dangers and the real tests of the strength of our institutions lie before us. The most exacting demands upon the wisdom, the spirit and the courage of our country are still to be made. In this great conflict all forms of government are on trial, democracy with the rest. The principles of national morality are on trial. We must play our part in the universal trial whether we will or no, for upon the result depends directly the question whether our republic can endure.

**What Are People to Expect?**  
But what are the people to expect if the Republican party is restored to power? This much we can say now: They may expect, with confidence, that their government will meet the economic situation with which we must deal immediately upon the close of the war, with a policy of moderate but adequate protection to American industry.

They may expect that the government will be administered with the honesty and efficiency which have marked Republican administrations in the past. They may expect that the best possible course for the preservation of peace will be followed by a foreign policy which, with courtesy and friendliness to all nations, is frank and fearless and honest in its assertion of American rights.

They may expect that their government will stand for full and adequate preparation by the American people for their own defense. The Republican party loves peace and hates war; it abhors and will never submit to military domination; but it is composed of men who love our country and who deem that the independence, the liberty, the honor and the opportunity of the American democracy are not merely to be talked about with weak and flabby sentiment, but are to be maintained and safeguarded by the practical power of a virile and patriotic people. It is clear-sighted enough to see that preparation for defense must have due relation to the possibilities of attack; that under the conditions of modern warfare much preparation must be made before a possible attack or all preparation will be impossible after the attack. The Republican party stands for a citizenship made competent by training to perform the freeman's duty of defense for his country. It stands for a regular army no larger than is necessary, but as large as is necessary to serve as a first line, a nucleus, a source of instruction and of administration for the army of American citizens who may be called upon to defend their country. And the Republican party stands for the gospel of patriotic service to our country by every citizen, according to his ability in peace and in war. It stands for a reawakening of American patriotism. It is not content that while the people of other lands are rendering the last full measure of devotion in sacrifice and suffering and dying for their countries America shall remain aloof dull to the call of country and satisfied in the comforts and pleasures of prosperity.

**Our Power For Peace**  
They may expect that assured readiness for defense will give power to our diplomacy in the maintenance of peace. They may expect that the power and will of a united people to defend their country will prevent the application to our peaceful and prosperous land of the hateful doctrine that among nations might makes right regardless of the rules of justice and humanity.

They may expect that the manifest potential strength and competency of the nation will maintain the effectiveness and reality of that great policy of national safety which in the declaration of President Monroe forbade the destruction of our security by the establishment of hostile military powers in our neighborhood.

They may expect that their government will not forget, but will ever maintain, the principles of American freedom, the duties of America to the peace and progress of the world and those ideals of liberty and justice for all mankind which above all else make the true greatness of the American democracy.

**SANITARY ICE CREAM**  
B. K. Newman will be ready on April 15 to deliver any quantity of pure ice cream to any part of the city. His ice cream is made with a "Disc Sanitary Freezer" and is guaranteed the best quality on the market. Phone 203-N 1. 15tf

Any person can strive to be good, but—oh well!  
Oh, yes, the world will speak well of you—if you deserve it.

**SECOND-HAND AUTOMOBILES**  
We have several second hand cars, some good as new, all recently overhauled. For sale at extremely low prices.

**AT SEGUINE'S GARAGE.**  
MONEY TO LOAN ON IMPROVED RANCHES. W. J. PINNEY, ONTARIO, OREGON. 16tf

(Paid Advertisements.)

**FOR JOINT REPRESENTATIVE**  
Burns, Oregon, April 2, 1916.  
I hereby announce myself as a candidate for the office of Joint Representative for the twenty-seventh Representative District comprising Harney and Malheur Counties, subject to the decision of the Republican voters at the primary election to be held May 19th, 1916.  
Jas. J. Donegan.

**FOR SHERIFF**  
I wish to announce myself as a candidate for the nomination as sheriff subject to the will of the republican voters of Malheur county.  
Emory Cole,  
Brogan, Ore.

**FOR SHERIFF**  
I hereby announce myself a candidate for the nomination for sheriff of Malheur County, subject to the will of the republican voters at the coming primaries.  
J. S. WOODS.

**FOR JOINT-SENATOR**  
We are authorized to announce that A. W. Gowan is a candidate for the office of joint-senator for the Twenty-second Senatorial District, comprising the counties of Grant, Harney and Malheur, subject to the decision of the republican voters at the primary election, May 19, 1916.

**FOR COUNTY SURVEYOR**  
I wish to announce myself as a candidate for the democratic nomination for county surveyor at the coming primary election.  
B. F. Farmer, present incumbent.

**CIRCUIT JUDGE**  
I hereby announce my candidacy for the office of Circuit Judge subject to the action of the democratic voters at the primary election to be held May 19, 1916.  
DALTON BIGGS.

**For County Commissioner**  
I wish to announce that I will be a candidate for the nomination as County Commissioner, subject to the will of the republican voters.

**FOR DISTRICT ATTORNEY.**  
I hereby announce my candidacy for the Democratic nomination for the office of District Attorney of Malheur County.  
R. W. SWAGLER.

**FOR ASSESSOR**  
I wish to announce that I will be a candidate for the nomination of assessor on the republican ticket, subject to the will of the voters.  
S. L. PAYNE.

**FOR SHERIFF.**  
I hereby announce myself a candidate for the nomination for Sheriff of Malheur County, subject to the choice of the Democratic electors in the coming primary election.  
If again nominated and elected I will continue, as heretofore, to enforce the laws to the best of my ability and give the tax payers a business administration of the affairs of the office.  
BEN J. BROWN,  
(present incumbent for re-election)

**Business Directory**

<b>PHYSICIANS</b> DRS. PRINZING & WEESE Ontario, Oregon Office in New Wilson Block.	<b>ATTORNEYS.</b> W. H. Brooke, Attorney at Law. Wilson Bldg. Ontario Ore. C. McGONAGILL ATTORNEY AT LAW Will Practice in All Courts Notary Public. Office Over Postoffice LESLIE J. AKER LAWYER Room 9, First National Bank Bldg. Ontario, Oregon. McCULLOCH & WOOD LAWYERS Rooms 1-2-3 First Nat'l Bank Bldg. Ontario, Oregon. R. W. Swagler Attorney at Law. Rooms 13-14-15 Wilson Bldg. Ontario Oregon. P. J. GALLAGHER LAWYER Rooms in Wilson Bldg. Ontario, Oregon. TRANSFER TRANSFER, BAGGAGE AND EXPRESS Meets all trains. JOHN LANDINGHAM
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**PAID POLITICAL ANNOUNCEMENTS**  
**FOR COUNTY ASSESSOR.**  
I hereby announce myself as a candidate for the nomination as county assessor subject to the votes of the democrats of the county.  
R. M. CARLILE.

**FOR COUNTY TREASURER.**  
I hereby announce myself as a candidate for the nomination for the office of Treasurer of Malheur County, subject to the will of the Democratic voters at the coming primaries.  
ROSS A. SOWARD.

**FOR ASSESSOR.**  
I hereby announce that I will be a candidate for Assessor of Malheur County, subject to the will of the democratic voters at the primary election. If nominated and elected I pledge my very best efforts towards securing an equitable assessment.  
B. W. MULKEY.

**FOR COUNTY ASSESSOR.**  
To the voters of Malheur County, I wish to announce myself as a candidate for the nomination as assessor on the democratic ticket. I have been a resident of the county over 30 years and thoroughly understand the duties of the position.  
J. M. DUNCAN.

**FOR COUNTY ASSESSOR.**  
To the voters of Malheur County I desire to announce my candidacy for the office of assessor, subject to the decision of the democratic electors at the coming primary. If nominated and elected, I pledge economy in office and property earning power the base for finding values except as otherwise prescribed by law.  
GUY JOHNSTON.

**FOR COUNTY ASSESSOR.**  
To the voters of Malheur County, I hereby announce myself a candidate for the office of county assessor, subject to the will of the republican voters of the county at the primary election.  
F. B. ZUTZ.

**FOR COUNTY TREASURER.**  
To the voters of Malheur County, I hereby announce myself as a candidate for the nomination of County Treasurer subject to the will of the Republican voters at the primary election.  
H. H. WILLIAMS.

**FOR REPRESENTATIVE.**  
I hereby announce that I will be a candidate for the office of joint representative for Malheur and Harney Counties, subject to the will of the republican electors at the coming primaries.  
F. J. PHILLIPS.

**FOR COUNTY TREASURER.**  
I hereby announce myself a candidate for the nomination for the office of County Treasurer of Malheur County, Oregon, subject to the will of the Republican electors at the coming primaries.  
C. C. Mueller.

To the Citizens of Malheur county:  
I desire to announce that I will be a candidate for the Republican nomination for District Attorney at the coming primary election and solicit your support.  
This office spends thousands of dol-

**ANNOUNCEMENT**  
To the voters of Malheur County: I hereby announce my candidacy for reelection to the office of County Assessor subject to the will of the Republican voters at the primary election on the 19th day of May, 1916. And if nominated and elected I shall continue to assess all corporations on an equal and uniform basis with other property.  
L. E. Hill, present incumbent.

**FOR STATE SENATOR.**  
I hereby announce myself as a candidate for the office of State Senator from this district, composed of Malheur, Harney and Grant counties, subject to the will of the electors of the Republican party at the primaries to be held in May, 1916.  
Julien A. Hurley.

lars of your money and I pledge myself to every economy consistent with good government. If elected I will devote my entire time and energy to the affairs of the office. Impartial enforcement of all laws, economy and suppression of useless litigation,—my platform.  
ROBERT M. DUNCAN.

**NOTICE.**  
I hereby announce myself as a candidate for nomination to the office of Assessor on the Republican ticket, subject to the choice of the voters at the primaries.  
13tf  
A. A. ROBERTS.

**TO THE VOTERS OF MALHEUR COUNTY.**  
I hereby announce my candidacy for the Republican nomination for the office of District Attorney of this county. If nominated and elected I will endeavor to fulfill the duties of my office in a fair, fearless and efficient manner and to the best of my ability, keeping in mind at all times my duty to the tax payers.  
P. J. GALLAGHER.

**FOR COUNTY CLERK**  
I hereby announce myself a candidate for the nomination for County Clerk of Malheur County, Oregon, subject to the will of the Republican electors at the coming primaries.  
V. B. Staples.

**ANNOUNCEMENT**  
I hereby announce myself as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for County School Superintendent of Malheur County in the coming Primary Election. If nominated I will, to the best of my ability, continue to work to further the educational interests of the county.  
Fay Clark.

**FOR REPRESENTATIVE**  
Subject to the choice of the Republican voters of Malheur and Harney counties, Oregon, to be expressed at the coming primary election, I hereby announce myself a candidate for the Republican nomination as Joint Representative to the legislature from this representative district. Dated Jan. 21, 1916.  
Chas. M. Crandall.

**ANNOUNCEMENT.**  
I hereby announce myself a candidate for the nomination for County Clerk of Malheur County, subject to the will of the Democratic voters at the primaries.  
Arthur Moody.

**ANNOUNCEMENT.**  
To the voters of Malheur County: I hereby announce my candidacy for reelection to the office of County Assessor subject to the will of the Republican voters at the primary election on the 19th day of May, 1916. And if nominated and elected I shall continue to assess all corporations on an equal and uniform basis with other property.  
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Julien A. Hurley.