BRYAN IS WELCOMED

(Continued from First Page.)

ant secretaries has to get out of the President's household in order to give expression to his views. These are some of the changes, the lightning changes that the thick-and-thin Republican has to go through. Is it not strange that men can become so wrapped up in partisanship; can become so tied to a party organization that they will do anything the party asks—no matter what it is?

Lincoln's Income Tax.

I have run over these briefly. Let me go back and take up some of these questions in detail. I told you that Abraham Lincoln signed a bill providing for an income tax. It was a plain income tax; it was a graded income tax, heaviest upon the largest incomes, lighter upon smaller incomes, and yet when we advocate an income tax the Republicans call us anarchists. Why? Because the Republican party has so changed that it has to get a new definition for everything it talks about. And today, according to the Republican definition, that man is a patriot whose ear is tuned to catch the slightest pulsation of the pocketbook, and he is a demagogue who dares to listen to the beating of humanity. (Applause.)

When we were securing the passage of the income-tax bill, a New York Democrat said: "If the Democratic party favors an income tax, the rich Democrats will leave the party." I had known rich Democrats, and I said they would do no such thing, but I did not know the rich Democrats then as well as I have since. "But," I said, "suppose they do leave the party, won't the poor Republicans come to take their places?" I thought they would, but I did not know the poor Republicans then as well as I did afterward. (Laughter.) I thought when the poor Republican saw the rich Democrat rushing out of the party, in order to evade a just law, that the poor Republican would rush into the party. I thought he would get some good sense. Many poor Republicans, and rich ones, too, hurrah, hurrah for anything, no matter what it is.

Contradictions.

I went over to Iowa to hear a great Republican make a speech. I wanted to hear the best that could be said on the other side. It was Autumn, and some Republican farmers were there with cornstalk canes; and whenever anything was said they liked they raised their cornstalk canes and hurrahed. And I remember an argument like this: The speaker went on to explain that the Republican party had put a tariff on wool for the benefit of the farmer, in order to raise the price of wool; and those Republican farmers raised their cornstalk canes and hurrahed for a tariff on wool to raise the price of wool. (Laughter and applause.) And then the speaker proceeded to say that the Republican party had put a tariff on woolen goods also for the benefit of the farmer, in order to lower the price of woolen goods. And they raised their cornstalk canes and hurrahed for a tariff on woolen goods. (Laughter and applause.)

They thought that they had found a law that would catch them 'a-comin' and a-gwine.' They thought they would find a law that would raise the price of wool and lower the price of the goods made out of wool, at the same time. And I have heard just such contradictions made, and have seen just such contradictions pleaded by Republicans on the money question.

I have heard a Republican speaker declare that under free coinage the Government would permit a man to take 50 cents' worth of silver to the mint and convert it into a dollar and make the difference; and then I have heard the same speaker say that the Government could not add anything to the value of metal by law, and that under free coinage the Government would simply convert a 50-cent piece of silver into a 50-cent dollar, and the man would not make a cent. (Applause and laughter.)

You have no doubt heard the same arguments. When a Republican gets through he has usually answered in the last part of his speech what he said in the first part.

But if you could not see what an income tax was in 1896, you have had a chance to see since. When the war came on we needed more revenue, and we could not get the revenue taxing incomes because of that decision, and the Republican party, instead of amending the Constitution so an income tax would stand, looked around for something to put a stamp on. You find the stamps every day. Send a telegram and you will find you have to pay the regular rate and then 1 cent for each telegram besides as a war tax. Why does the telegraph company not pay it? Because the law was so made that the telegraph company could shift the burden over on to the man that sent the telegram. Why was it so made? Because the Republican party made the law (laughter), because the telegraph companies have more influence with the Republican party than all the poor Republicans that vote the ticket and hurrah for anything that is in the platform. (Laughter.)

I had this tax brought to my notice not long ago in Iowa. They came around to collect 30 cents for fare in the chair car. I wondered why 30 cents, and, on inquiring, they said it was a quarter until this tax was put on; then, with the extra 1 cent tax, they raised the fare to 30 cents, so that they got their money back from the passenger, the 1 cent collected for the Government, and 4 cents for collecting it.

The Dollar Above the Man.

You will find that whenever the Republican party makes a law, it makes it for the benefit of the corporation, and allows a loophole by which it can transfer it to somebody else. (Applause.) Why? Because corporate interests control the Republican party today. But if you could not see into the income tax of 1895, you have had a chance to learn about it, since one of the Republican Judges of the Supreme Court, in a dissenting opinion, said: "I fear that in some hour of National peril, this decision will rise up to paralyze the arm of the Government." The hour of peril came, and then the people saw that this Government is unlimited when it deals with property. In an hour of peril the Government can draft a man, but cannot draft a pocketbook. In an hour of peril the Government can take the son from the mother, the husband from the wife, the father from the child, and stand them up in front of an enemy's guns, but in an hour of peril this Government cannot lay its hand upon unlimited wealth and make that wealth bear its share of the expenses of Government, because the Republican party has put the dollar above the man, and made money out of it. (Applause.)

Not only on the tax question, but on the money question also, has the Republican party put the dollar above the man. Why, when Abraham Lincoln wrote a letter to the Republicans of Boston, who were celebrating Jefferson's birthday, in 1859—the Republicans of Boston celebrating Jefferson's birthday!—Have you known them to celebrate Jefferson's birthday lately? Why, they have about quit celebrating Lincoln's birthday! Yes—and Washington's! (Laughter.) He said: "The Republican party believes in the man and the dollar," and he said: "But in case of conflict, it believes in the man before the dollar." That was Lincoln's doctrine; it ran through every speech he made. I assert that today the Republican party has reversed that doctrine; that today it puts the dollar first and the man afterward, if at all; and if you cannot see it in the abstract, let me present it to you in the concrete. Sometimes people can see things personified, when they cannot discover them as near principles.

Lincoln to Mark Hanna.

Lincoln represented Republicanism in his day. Hanna represents Republicanism today. And if you want to see the difference between Republicanism in the days of Lincoln and Republicanism today, compare Lincoln, who represented the ideals and the hopes of the Republican party then, and Hanna, who represents the ideals and hopes of the Republican party today. I wish I were skilled with a crayon. I would carry a blackboard with me, and I would draw on that blackboard a picture of Abraham Lincoln and put him on one end of the Republican party, and I would draw a picture of Mark Hanna and put him at the other end, and then I would ask you Republicans to look at the toboggan slide that leads from Lincoln down to Hanna! (Applause and laughter.)

One of the last things that Lincoln said was when he spoke to Schuyler Colfax and told him to take a message to the miners of the West. He said: "We know now what the debt is going to be," and he said: "Every dollar of gold and silver brought from the mines makes the debt that much easier to pay." Lincoln wanted to increase the quantity of money in order to make the debt easier to pay. The Republican Congress now in session has passed a bill intended to reduce the quantity of legal-tender money, in order to make its debts harder to pay. (Applause.) What is the difference? (Applause.) Lincoln spoke for the man who had to pay the debts. Hanna speaks for the men who hold the bonds and mortgages and want the dollars to grow dear while the people are robbed of their earnings. (Aplause.)

Declares Platform of 1896 a Fraud.

Republicans, you never fought a battle for the gold standard in an open field. In 1896 you hid behind the mask of international bimetalism. You thought you were going to be able to make a fight after the election in 1896, but you got scared the other day and you pulled the mask down, and you now have section 14 of that currency bill, which provides that the bill is not intended to be an obstacle in the way of international bimetalism. Republicans! Your platform of 1896 was a fraud, and most of you know that it was a fraud. (Applause.) Your leaders intended it to be a fraud. Your President sent a commission to Europe. What did he send them for if the gold standard was good? Your Congress provided money to pay the expenses of the commission. What did it do it for if the gold standard was good? Why, you know how careful the Republicans are with Republican money. Do you think they would spend $100,000 trying to get rid of a blessing? (Applause.) I cannot believe it; it would be a slander on these guardians of a public treasury. (Applause.) Why did they carefully appropriate the money if the gold standard was good? And yet, while your commission was in Europe, your Secretary of the Treasury was making gold-standard speeches in this country, and when Mr. Wolcott came back from Europe—Mr. Wolcott, a member of the commission appointed by the President—he made a speech in the Senate and complained that Secretary Gage had interfered with the work of the commission. And not a Republican of prominence wept any tears when the commission failed in its purpose.

International Bimetalism.

Your leaders have never intended that you should have the double standard. They talk about international bimetalism. They don't want it, either by independent action, or by international agreement. They quibble about 16 to 1. They would not have it at any ratio. They are fraudulent in their arguments; they are trying to deceive the people, and then say they want honest money and sound money. (Applause.)

Their bill takes one step more towards the gold standard, but we have not got to the end of it yet. That bill does not take away from silver its legal-tender qualities. When the gold standard is complete the silver dollar will not be a legal tender in the payment of debts. Whenever you find a gold-standard country, you find a country where gold alone is legal tender. In 1874 the goldbugs took the legal tender from the silver dollar in this country. It was restored in 1878, but it will be taken away again as soon as the Republican party thinks it is safe. It is just giving it a little time. That reminds me of a story.

I heard of a physician in Iowa who was called to treat a child. It grew worse and worse, and finally its life was despaired of. And the doctor told the mother that nothing more could be done; that she could simply give the child a little water if it was restless, and await the end. She watched the child through the night, and she thought in the morning it was better; she watched it through the day, and in the evening it seemed stronger; she watched it through another night, and still she felt encouraged. And the second morning the doctor came to inquire why he had not been notified of the child's death. The mother told him the child was improving. He examined the child, and said it was; and left her with the assurance that if it continued to improve in the next 36 hours as it had during the last 36 hours it would be strong enough to take some more medicine. (Laughter and applause.) That bill does not take away from silver dollars their legal-tender qualities.

The Republican party is just giving us a dose of time, and when the patient gets over the present dose, we will get the next one.

Wants an American Policy.

But when the gold standard is complete, the silver dollar will not be a legal tender. When the gold standard is complete, gold alone will be legal tender, and every dollar of the $20,000,000,000 or $30,000,000,000 of debt will be payable in gold alone. Within a week after the passage of that bill, a panic occurred in New York. What caused it? A panic in London, also. What caused it? The reverses of the English in South Africa. And then the American people began to ask themselves, if this is the result when England is fighting a handful of Boers, what will be the result if she ever takes a nation of her size and gets into a war with her? (Applause.) What will be the result if England and Germany or England and France or England and Russia ever engage in war? Do you dare to build a financial system upon that narrow base of gold?

Why, whenever there is a disturbance in the gold-standard countries they will draw on our gold. And then when that gold is drawn out, interest will rise and business men will be bankrupted, prices will fall and producers will be distressed, factories will be closed and hungry men will walk the streets, and the only people who will profit will be the money changers, who will find an opportunity in the Nation's extremity. You tell me that that is a safe system? I deny it. I want an American policy, an American system built on gold and silver, both, and then we can live and flourish, no matter what the land-grabbing nations of the Old World may be doing among themselves.

More Money Needed.

I am not willing to chain this nation to every disturbance in Europe; and yet you gold-bugs are now making arguments that you never thought of until after the election. You are saying now that we have more money because of the gold discoveries, and don't need silver. Go back to your arguments of 1896. You never promised to discover more gold. You never expected it. (Applause.) You said we had gold enough, and yet to hear Republicans talk today, you would imagine they had a plank in their platform promising to discover gold in British possessions in the Klondike. (Applause.) We have $200,000,000 more gold in this country today than we had in 1896, and yet the Republicans neither promised it nor expected it. And yet, Republicans, what would you be doing now if that had not come? Contrary to all your expectations, where would you have been if you had been left to your infamous system, and yet when that happens you seize hold of it and claim credit for it as if it was all part of your plan. (Applause.)

And yet, with all of that increase, we have not any too much money now, have we? If any think we would have had enough without this money, I want to tell you that even after this, when the Congress asked the Secretary of the Treasury why it was that he sent back money to National banks, without interest, he said he had to do it, because if he didn't the currency would be contracted and business would be disturbed. Two hundred million dollars more than we had in 1896, and yet necessary to rush money back to the National banks, without interest, the same day, for fear there would be too little money in the country to do business with! (Applause.)

Not Ready for Gold Standard.

Republicans! What is your plan for the future? You say now you are past danger. I want to tell you that the world is not yet ready for the gold standard. More people use silver alone in this world than use gold alone, and your gold standard cannot become universal until India uses gold, and China uses gold, and England, without consulting the people of India, has already brought India to the gold standard, and India has taken her share of the gold, and these gold nations are trying to divide China. When they get possession, they will put the gold standard there. What confidence have you, what promise have you, what assurance have you that the gold supply will be sufficient to spread over all the human race? I can tell you, whenever the gold supply gets

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN.

large enough to give the people relief from the grinding operation of the gold standard, you can tell it, because then the goldbugs will want to demonetize gold and use diamonds or something that is more precious. (Applause.)

Do you think that is absurd? Why, sirs, the very men who for 25 years have been denouncing silver, secured the demonetization of gold in three nations in Europe between 1850 and 1950. They thought gold was going to be too plentiful, and a man like Chevalier wrote books in which he said it was dishonest to pay the widow and the orphan in a cheap and unsteady gold dollar. And just as soon as there is gold enough to relieve the pressure upon the people, the very men who have been hounding silver for a quarter of a century, will turn their batteries against gold. Why, two years ago I read an article in the Bankers' Magazine, of London, which prophesied that if the gold discoveries in the Klondike and South Africa increased the supply of gold, it would be necessary to limit the coinage of gold by international agreement, and then the man says, "If we do that, of course the value of gold bullion will not be equal to the value of gold coin." "But," he says, "it is not our business to keep up the value of gold."

They are already planning to protect the money changer from any possible fall in purchasing power of the dollar, by limiting the coinage, but the financiers have never since time began attempted to protect the producers of wealth from the demoralization of falling prices and rising dollars that eat up his substance. (Applause.)

Currency Bill.

But a word, my friends, in regard to the currency feature of this new bill. Did any Republican here ever ask for the retirement of the greenbacks? Not unless he is connected with a bank or under the thumb of a bank. Did any man here ever ask the Government to form a paper-money trust for an elastic currency issued by the banks, with the banks holding both ends of the elastic? Not one of you, unless you are connected with a bank or under its thumb. (Applause.) And yet the Republican party has turned over the American people to the tender mercies of the National Banks, and will allow them to decide how much money we shall have or how little. If we are good, they will give us more; if we don't behave, they won't give us so much. How pleasant to have guardians who will take care of us for their own benefit! Your Republican party has done that very thing. It didn't dare to mention it in the campaign of 1896. Under the present law, if an ordinary man buys a Government bond, he could collect interest on the bond, but he is out the use of his money. But the same law enables the National bank to buy the same bond, deposit it with the Treasury Department, get back the face value in bank notes, and then draw interest besides. The ordinary man can eat his cake or keep it. The National bank can both eat the cake and keep it. That is the difference between the two. You never asked for it, and yet you have got to swallow that if you defend Republican doctrines. Not a man in this audience ever asked the Government to make the National debt permanent. No party ever declared for a permanent National debt, and yet this currency bill contemplates a permanent, increasing debt. How can you have permanent bank notes resting on bonds unless you have permanent bonds for them to rest on? How can you have an increasing bank note currency without an increasing bonded indebtedness to form a basis for your currency?

Increasing Debt.

In this campaign not one Republican will stand upon this platform and defend a permanent and increasing debt, and yet the Republican party has placed upon the statutes a law that contemplates a permanent and increasing debt. Not only that. You people are now laboring under the burden of war taxes, and yet that same bill that increased the privileges of National banks, reduced the taxes on bank circulation from 1 per cent to ½ of 1 per cent. The men who are not in the banking business have to pay taxes laid on to carry on the war. The National banks have the taxes that were collected before the war began reduced one-half.

I repeat it, the Republican party is administered in behalf of syndicates, and by syndicates and for syndicates; and you have got to defend it.

Concerning Trusts.

But, my friends, there are some who say they don't like to think about the money question. They say it is too hard. Well, I will give you an easy question—the trust question. That's easy, and there is one beauty about the trust question; if you have not time to go to it, it will come to you. (Appiause.) If you have not time to think about it, you will have a chance to feel about it. I met a man when I was riding through Rhode Island the other day. I had known him in Nebraska. He sat down by me and began to tell about his business experience. He said he was in the rubber business, and he had come into contact with the rubber trust, and he began to denounce the trust, and as I listened to him, I said: "Why, you used to be a Republican in Nebraska!" "Yes," he said, "I was; I voted the Republican ticket in 1896, but I know of 500 men among my personal acquaintances who will vote against the Republican party this year on the trust question alone." He had learned something about the trust by experience, and I could not help thinking of one of Solomon's proverbs. I always have to go back to the Bible if I want a beautiful and apt expression of a great truth, and I could not help thinking of one of Solomon's proverbs: "The wise man foreseeth evil and hideth himself, but the foolish pass on and are punished." A great idea there—a beautiful expression. (Applause.) But for fear you may find it difficult to remember so long a proverb, I will condense it; and in its changed form it reads like this: "The wise man gets the idea into his head; the foolish man gets it in the neck." (Applause.)

You cannot help getting the idea, but you have your choice as to where you will take it.

We had a few trusts in 1896. We have more now. You saw a trust every few days in 1896. You see one on every corner now. I read the other day that they had formed a milk trust. Think of it! A milk trust! Ready to meet the infant when he comes into the world! (Applause and laughter.) And then they have a coal trust. The afternoon paper told about the consummation of a coal trust to take care of the adult in the Winter, and we have an ice trust to look after his interest in the Summer time, and then we have a coffin trust waiting for him at the bottom of the hill, when life's fitful fever is over. (Laughter.)

Is there any reason why the Republicans cannot understand the trust question today? The trust is so bad that the President had to mention he matter in his last message. I wish you would read that message. I have condensed the trust part, and it reads like this: "The trust is bad; for the life of me, I don't know what to do about it. I hope somebody knows more than I do, and will suggest something." That is all there was to it. And a Republican Congress listened to the message and proceeded to create a paper-money trust, and that is all that has been done on the trust question since the message was drafted. (Applause.)

Scarcity of Law.

You tell a Republican that his party ought to propose some new law and he tells you we have a law on the statute books now. Then you point out a trust and ask him why his party—his Administration—does not enforce the law and destroy the trust, and he says the law does not quite reach that case. Big law, when you want a new one; little law, when you want to use it. And I am reminded of the boy who watched his father help the plates, and as the father helped one plate, the boy says: "What, all that for grandma?" "No, my son, that is for you." "Oh, what a little bit!" (Laughter.)

Mr. Hanna went down into Ohio last Fall and had a platform written denouncing trusts. Then he went out and made speeches defending trusts. In the first speech he said that there were no trusts. In the second speech he said that the trust was a natural evolution of business, necessary for the success of the manufacturing interests of the country, and then, as if that did not cover the entire ground, he said: "Don't be afraid of the so-called trusts. If they are injurious we will take care of them." (Applause.) What a solution! (Applause.) I used to look up some humorous book when I wanted light reading, but now when I want something funny, I read the speeches that Mr. Hanna makes seriously. (Laughter.) But I don't like to reflect on a great man. I feel it my duty to tell you that that last idea, "Don't be afraid of the so-called trusts, if they are injurious we will take care of them"—that idea was stolen from one of Aesop's Fables. A farmer was building a henhouse to protect his chickens. A fox came along and said to the farmer: "Don't waste your time building a henhouse; you go on about your plowing and leave the chickens to us foxes; we understand the chicken business; don't be afraid of the so-called foxes, we will take care of the chickens." (Applause and laughter.)

Think of that defense. First, there are no trusts; second, they are good; third, if they are bad, we will take care of them. It reminds me of the man who was sued for borrowing a kettle and cracking it. He put up three defenses. In the first place, he never borrowed the kettle; in the second place, it was cracked when he got it; in the third place, it was good when he took it home.

It is with just this kind of jugglery that the Republican party expects to deceive people who suffer from the trusts. When you go near enough to the trusts to strike them, you will find behind the trusts all the great financiers who are behind the gold standard—the men who shouted themselves hoarse in 1896 denouncing a 50-cent dollar, when they hold trust certificates that don't represent 25 cents on the dollar for the actual money invested, and when you say anything to them they tell you, "Don't worry about the trusts."

And if you think that you can get any aid in destroying industrial trusts by dropping the money man, let me tell you that the only effect would be to bring lack of confidence in the hearts of those who are opposed to the money trusts without getting any recruits from those who were against us in 1896. Why, John J. Mitchell, of the Illinois Trust & Savings Bank, of Chicago, is a good representative of the financiers who favor the gold standard; and he gave out an interview some time ago in which he said that in the long run the trusts could do no harm. What a consolation! In the long run the trusts can do no harm!

Hard on Short-Winded Men.

But what about the short-winded man who cannot stand a long run? (Laughter.) Where is he to come in? What about the young man who starts out in business and is bankrupted by the trust before the run gets through? What of the man who is the victim of extortion while the run is in progress? The Standard Oil Company raises the price of oil 2 or 4 cents a gallon and declares a dividend of $80,000,000 on $100,000,000 of capital. But don't worry, in the long run the trusts can do no harm! The barbed wire trust raises the price of barbed wire more than 100 per cent, and declares a dividend of 30 per cent on the common stock, and all you farmers got caught on the barbs when wire went up. But don't worry, in the long run the trusts will do no harm! (Applause.)

And yet this is the only consolation you have. I was passing through a town in Nebraska last Fall and a horse had been stolen, and the owner of the horse sent for bloodhounds and put them on the track of the horse and thief, and caught them both. Last May Charles R. Flint, of the rubber trust, went to Boston and made a speech at a banquet given in his honor, and the paper the next morning said that he had defended the trust principles, and that he had a sympathetic audience; that it was composed almost exclusively of Boston bankers.

And then I thought, what a difference in the enforcement of law! There is a law making it a penal offence to organize a trust and a man guilty may be sent to the penitentiary for a year. But what a difference between a horsethief and the man who organizes a trust! If a man steals a horse you follow him with bloodhounds; if he organizes a trust you give him a banquet. That is the difference. (Applause.) And why? Because the Republican party has amended the commandment so as to make it read, "Thou shalt not steal on a small scale." (Laughter and applause.)

It can punish petty larceny, but it perpetrates grand larceny, and you Republicans have been looking at the Republican party and admiring it without realizing the change that has taken place. You have been looking at the egg. It looks like the same egg, but what a change has taken place in the contents of the egg since you first got acquainted with it.

Remedy for Monopolies.

Republicans, your party neither enforces present laws nor proposes new ones. You can destroy the trust if you want to. You may have your remedy. Let me suggest one.

I believe it is possible to annihilate every private monopoly and prevent any new one from being organized. You may have your remedy. Let me suggest one. After the state has done all that it can, I believe that Congress should also act. And I have proposed a plan that I believe will be an effective plan. It is simple, easy and does not antagonize anyone who is not violating the law of justice as between man and man. The remedy is this: Let Congress declare that before any corporation organized in any state does business outside of the state it shall take out a license from the Federal Government. Let that license be based upon conditions that make a monopoly impossible. First, let the water be squeezed out of the stock. Squeeze the water out of the stock; there will be a flood for a while, but you will destroy more than half of the trusts that are in existence today. The amount of water in the stock of these corporations is so great, and the fact that the stock is watered is so well known, that somebody has defined a corporation to be a body of men entirely surrounded by water. (Laughter and applause.)

Then provide that before this license is granted, the corporation shall show that it has not attempted in the past, and is not attempting now, to monopolize any branch of business or the production of any article of merchandise, and provide for the forfeiture of the license if the conditions are violated, and I believe you can destroy every trust in existence. Pass the law; appoint your board of honest men to execute it, and then the trust will come down and ask for a license, and the evidence will show that it is a monopoly and can not get the license, and can not go outside of the state. Forty-four states will be taken from it; it must break up, and then there will be competition between different firms. Let the sugar trust come and ask for a license; the evidence will show that it produces 98 per cent of the sugar; it can not get the license, and then the trust is broken up and the separate factories enter into competition again.

But, my friends, while I believe that this plan would destroy the trusts, yet, if it is not sufficient, add conditions until you do destroy monopoly in private hands. Do not let them tell you there are good trusts and bad trusts. There is no good monopoly in private hands; there never was and never will be, until God sends us angels to take charge of them. And from our experience of those now in charge I believe they came not from above but from below. You can not defend the private monopoly.

The friends of the trust say that you cannot do anything; that you cannot interfere with the way a man uses his money. You can interfere with the way a man uses a club, even though it belongs to him. You can interfere with the way a man uses a revolver, although it is his own revolver. But, when you come to dealing with trusts you are not dealing with the tender rights of another man. You are dealing with the fictitious rights of a fictitious person created by law. Every trust rests upon a corporation, and every corporation is the creature of the law. It has no rights except law-given rights, and it is absurd to think that the people, through the law, will give to corporations rights that are injurious to the rest of the people that are not to be repealed by law.

Natural Man and Corporate Man.

I want you to note the difference between the natural man whom God made and the corporate man made by man. When God made the natural man he did not make the tallest man much taller than the shortest. He did not make the strongest man much stronger than the weakest. But, when man made the corporate man he made that corporate man a hundred, a thousand, and sometimes a million times stronger than God made man. When God made the natural man he placed a limit to his existence, so that if he was a bad man he could not be bad long; but when man made the corporate man he raised the limit on age and sometimes the corporation is made perpetual.

When God made the natural man he breathed into him a soul, and warned him that in the next world he would be held accountable for the deeds in the flesh, but when made made the corporate man he did not give that corporate man a soul; so that if the corporation can evade punishment here it need not worry about the hereafter. (Applause.) And then this man-made giant was started out to compete with the God-made man. And the Republican party has taken the side of the man-made giant. And because that giant contributes liberally in the campaign, the Republican party protects the giant in extortion from the people between campaigns. And if the man-made giant has taken the side of the Republican party, I appeal to the God-made men to take our side in this unequal contest between the individual and corporation while thus trespassing upon the rights of the individual. (Applause.)

You can destroy the trust whenever you are ready to, and I think you are about ready to. I heard of an old Quaker once, one of those long-suffering, patient men. He was out in the hayfield with a load of hay when he saw the rain coming. As he started to the barn has wagon ran into a rut, and the load of hay fell off. He put it back and did not say a word. He started for the barn again as the rain came nearer, but the wagon fell into a rut again and the hay rolled off. He put it back on the wagon again and did not say a word. The rain came nearer, and, as he hurried into the barnyard gate the wagon ran off the bridge and the load fell off again. The rain was coming down. His wife looked out to where he was working and concluded that something was the matter. She started to the barnyard to investigate the trouble. The old man's patience was exhausted, and when he saw her coming he called out: "Sarah, Sarah, go back, go back; I am about to express myself." (Laughter and applause.) It seems to me that the American people are about to express themselves on this great question.

Is Prosperity Frail?

And yet, when anybody say anything about the trusts, the Republican party tells us that prosperity has come, and they use prosperity like charity, to cover a multitude of sins. Is our prosperity so frail a thing that you have to hold your breath for fear that you will blow it off? And yet prosperity is the answer to every argument advanced on the trust. My friends, I am ready to meet the argument this way. If the Republicans say that they will produce prosperity for the people by their triumph, I will say, let every man who has received his due share of this prosperity vote the Republican ticket, and we will find that those who have not received their share will give by far the largest majority that was ever given any party in the United States.

In 1896 the Republicans said that we had rising money. In 1897, wheat went up and the Republicans were telling us about the wonderful prosperity of the farmers who were raising wheat. Then wheat went down and cattle went up, and every Republican speaker talked about the prosperity of the cattlemen. Out in our state potatoes are down, but if potatoes are up this Fall and cattle are down, every Republican speaker will carry potatoes around in his pocket to illustrate the theory of how his principles and potatoes have been associated together. (Laughter.)

The Republican party has no plan by which it assists the producers of wealth, but it has a plan by which it permits trusts to be created to force the producer to buy what he needs at higher prices.

Let the man who is selling his wheat for less than he sold it for last year, or in 1898, or in 1897 or in 1896—let him sell his wheat and go to use his money, and he finds the things he is to buy have gone up. Go into a furniture store, to furnish your house, and you will find furniture is up. I met a traveling man today whom I used to know in Nebraska. He is now selling stoves. He said stoves have gone up 30 per cent. What is it that has made prices of these articles rise, and what is it that prevents the man selling wheat for the prices of today from going into the market where he buys the necessaries of life and securing them for the same figures of last year or the year before? Who is ready to claim that this condition brings prosperity to his side? We want a rising general level of prices, so that all business would be adjusted to that level. From the Republican party now we have a gold standard to drag down the price of what you sell and laws creating trusts that drag up the price of what you buy. I ask the old men, who are approaching the time when they must lay life's burdens down, "Are you satisfied with the conditions that your are going to leave to your children?" To the middle-aged man with your family of children growing up about him, "Are you satisfied with the conditions that surround you?" To the young men, with life before them, "Are you satisfied to be ensconsed in a perpetual clerkship, to be forever under the masters for whom you work in any business in which you may engage?" (Applause.)

What Nation's Policy Shall Be.

Also, what is the Nation's policy to be? The Republican party stands for the centralization of wealth; the Republican party brings prosperity to the money-changer, to the National bank, to the task-master, to the Army contractor, to the men who have the means to constitute the syndicates that will exploit foreign lands under a flag that goes beyond the Constitution. But what of the man whose brawn and muscle and wages and chances of life are involved? What of him, I ask? My friends, I am interested in this fight. I have a son, and do not know what he will be. I have two daughters, and I do not know what my sons-in-law will be. The Republican party is making it good for the man who is at the head of the trusts, for the sons of those who roll in wealth; but I am not willing to throw my children out upon the world and let them take their chances under the reign of greed and avarice that is being educated by the Republican party today. (Applause.)

"Imperialism."

But if you do not want to think upon this question, let me attract your attention to new ones. I have spoken of the Army; if we have imperialism, will we have a large army? If we reach out among the nations and bring people under our flag by force and then deny them the guarantee of our Constitution and the privileges of citizenship we will need a large Army. We cannot have a less one. But are we ready for imperialism? Why, Republicans say these questions have been settled. When? This question has not been submitted to the American people. The last Congressional election was held in November, 1898. The treaty of peace with Spain was not signed until a month after the election. During the campaign of 1898 the Republican speakers had no policy; they had no plan. They went up and down the land and with melting patriotism appealed to the people to hold up the hands of the President, and while the people were holding up the President's hands the financiers were preparing to hold up the people. (Laughter and applause.)

You have never voted on this question; you have never declared you were in favor of the policy of imperialism. The Republican party not only did not announce its policy in the campaign of 1898, but it has not announced it even today. There is no man in the Republican party who is authorized to tell you what the Republican party intends to do with the new possessions. The Spooner resolution declares that until the war is over the President will control until Congress shall do something thereafter. The war is to go on until it stops, and then the President goes on until he stops, and then Congress commences to do something, but you do not know what.

Republicans, you dare not state a plan! (Applause.) I challenge The Oregonian to state what it wants to do with the Philippines. (Prolonged applause.) No Republican statesman has a plan; no Republican editor has a plan. The nearest approach to a plan is that they all agree that the Republican party can do no wrong, and that it will find some way out some time, but they do not know how or when. (Applause.)

Expansion a Lie.

They talk about expansion. It is a lie. It is not expansion. It is imperialism. We have had expansion before. Now they want something different. We expanded when we took on Florida; when we took on land that could be settled by American citizens and could be incorporated into the Union. We expanded when we took the Louisiana territory. Then we took on land that could be settled by American citizens and be made into an American state. We expanded when we took on Mexico and California. We then extended the limit of the Republic, but we did not change its character. But do we want this expansion they now offer, so called? You are not crossing an ocean to get land for settlement; you are crossing an ocean to get races for subjugation. (Applause.)

If you blame the Nation for taking the Indians' land, I will say that the people who took the Indians' land have lived on it and worked it ever since, but if you go to the Philippine Islands and kill the Filipinos, you cannot work there because you cannot stay there after you have killed the people. (Applause.) The Republicans do not want expansion. They want to build an empire upon the ruins of a republic. (Applause.) And if a man raises up his voice against it, he is told that he ought to support the Administration while the war lasts. Who knows how long the war will last? Republicans first said it would not last over a month; it has lasted nearly a year already. A thousand dead boys have floated back from across the ocean, while you here are spending your time protecting the trusts and taking care of the money-changers, and have not time to talk about that. (Prolonged applause.)

Philanthropy and Five Per Cent.

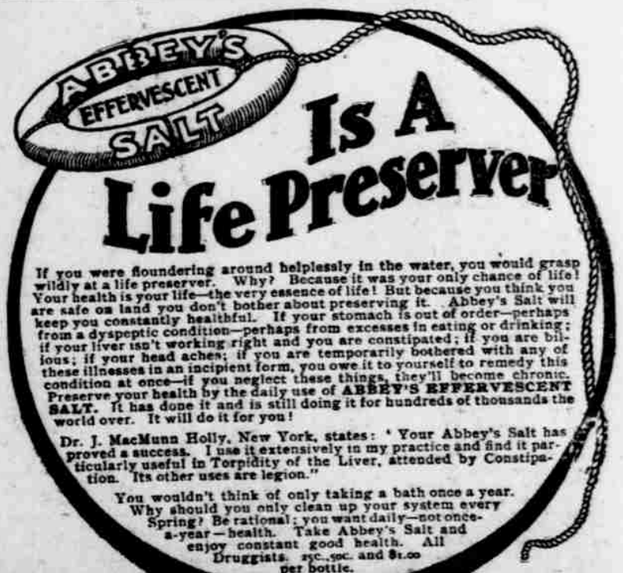
What arguments have you ever heard in favor of imperialism? I have heard three. The first is, that there is money in it; second, that God's in it; third, that we are in it, and cannot get out. (Laughter.) Have you ever heard any others? I will give you the substance of every Republican speech you will hear during the coming campaign. The speaker will start out telling that the Republican party did not bring the war on; that the Lord did it; that the Lord opened the door of conquest and made us to follow therein; made us to proselyte the sword and scatter the blessings of civilization through bursting dynamite bombs, and after it is all laid onto the Lord, the speaker will lower his voice and say: "It'll pay." (Laughter.) Philanthropy and 5 per cent. That is what Gage calls it. They have traveled together before. You can find them in every war of conquest; philanthropy by the conqueror, and 5 per cent picked from the pockets of the conquered. They go together. (Laughter.)

I do not mean to say that imperialists do not read the Bible, but I do mean to say that they are mixed in their quotations. I heard of a man who tried to tell the parable of the Good Samaritan, and got it mixed with the parable of the Sword, and it sounded about as follows: "A man went from Jerusalem to Jericho, and as he went he fell among thorns, and the thorns sprang up and choked him." His intentions were good (laughter), but his memory was bad. (Laughter.) And today imperialists are mixed in their parables. They know there is a promise to the peacemaker, a promise of the reward, and as they try to recall it, it is, "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall inherit the earth." That is not exactly as the Bible gave it, "Blessed are the meek, for they shall inherit the earth," and "Blessed are the peacemakers, for they shall be called the children of God." If we aspire to be peacemakers, let us be satisfied with God's reward, and not demand the earth as a reward. (Applause.)

Will "Imperialism" Pay?

Let us talk about this question of imperialism fairly. First, is there money in it? Who says there is money in it? The man who says that it will pay must show what it will cost, and how much work there was done for it. He has got to show that what we get back exceeds what we expend, and he must show that the people who spend will get back what is returned. But when he comes to examine he will find that all the people who pay taxes will expend what the Nation expends, and that the syndicate organized to develop and control the islands will get what we get back. (Laughter and applause.) But he cannot show that we will get back more than we expend. He has got to show how much we expend in money, and how much we expend in men. And if he says that it will pay, if he drags it down to the sordid level of dollars and cents, he must put a value upon every human life that is lost. Republicans, I dare you to put a money value upon one American boy who died in the effort to extend our trade. (Applause.) I want to extend our trade by every peaceful means, but I would not put one American soldier at auction and sell him for all the trade of the Orient. If it had to be, I would take the soldier. (Applause.) Imperialists, what shall be paid for that? Are you willing to trade in human blood? If you are, buy it with your own blood, and not with that of other people. (Applause.) Don't fill our land with Rachels weeping for their children, while you rich men spend your time in the ease of wealth.

Exchanging Blood for Trade.

I had my attention called the other day to a letter written by Abraham Lincoln to Mrs. Bixby, of Boston:

"Executive Mansion, Washington, Nov. 21, 1864.—Dear Madam: I have been shown in the files of the War Department a statement of the Adjutant-General of Massachusetts that you are the mother of five sons who have died gloriously on the field of battle. I feel how weak and fruitless must be any words of mine which should attempt to declaim to you on the grief of a loss so overwhelming; but I cannot refrain from tendering to you the consola-