DEMOCRATIC PARTY STANDS ON ITS RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT

"We Insist That the Forward Course Is the Only Righteous Course," Says Chairman Cummings, Addressing San Francisco Convention.

SAN FRANCISCO, June 28.—(By the Associated Press.)—The address of Homer S. Cummings as temporary chairman of the democratic convention follows:

Ladies and gentlemen of the convention:

At this high hour when the destinies not only of political parties but of peoples are at stake; when social unrest is everywhere apparent; when existing forms of government are being challenged, and their very foundations disturbed or swept away, it is well for us, here in America, to pause for a period of solemn deliberation.

We, who assemble in this great convention, counsel together, not merely as members of a party, but as children of the republic. Love of country and devotion to human service should purge our hearts of all unworthy or misleading motives. Let us fervently pray for a divine blessing upon all that we do or undertake. Let us pledge ourselves anew to equality of opportunity; the unity of our country above the interests of groups or classes; and the maintenance of the high honor of America in her dealings with other nations.

The people will shortly determine which political instrumentality is best suited to their purposes, most responsive to their needs. They will have before them many platforms and many promises. In what direction will they turn? There is no better way of judging the future than by the past. We ask, therefore, that the people turn from the passions and the prejudices of the day to the consideration of a record as clear as it is enduring.

Republican Leadership.

The republican party was unsuccessful in the election of 1912 because it had persistently served special interests and had lost touch with the spirit of the time. Those who had controlled its destiny derived their political inspiration from "the good old days of Mark Hanna" and neither desired a new day nor were willing to recognize a new day when it had dawned. To each passing problem, they sought merely to reapply the processes of antiquity.

There were elements in the republican party which were intolerant of its mental sloth and moral irresponsibility. These influences sought to gain party control in 1912 and again, in 1916. They renewed the hopeless struggle at the convention recently held at Chicago.

Despite these efforts, the leaders who have manipulated the party mechanism for more than a generation, are still in undisputed control.

The republican platform, reactionary and provincial, is the very apotheosis of political expediency. Filled with premeditated slanders and vague promises, it will be searched in vain for one constructive suggestion for the reformation of the conditions which it criticises and deplores. The oppressed peoples of the earth will look in it in vain. It contains no message of hope for Ireland; no word of mercy for Armenia; and it conceals a sword for Mexico. It is the work of men concerned more with material things than with human rights. It contains no thought, no purpose which can give impulse or thrill those who love liberty and hope to make the world a safer and happier place for the average man.

Democratic Achievements.

The democratic party is an unentangled party—a free party—owing no allegiance to any class or group of special interest. We were able to take up and carry through to success the great progressive programme outlined in our platform of 1912. During the months which intervened between March 4, 1913, and the outbreak of the world war, we placed upon the statute books of our country more effective, constructive and remedial legislation than the republican party had placed there in a generation.

The income tax was made a permanent part of the revenue producing agencies of the country, thereby relieving our law of the burdens of both excessive tariff taxes to the poor. The extravagances and inequities of the tariff system were removed and a non-partisan tariff commission was established to which future revisions might be made in the light of accurate information, scientifically and impartially obtained. Vocational training was encouraged, and the bread thus cast upon the international waters came back to us many fold. The great reaches of Alaska were opened up to commerce and development. Dollar diplomacy was destroyed. A corrupt lobby was driven from the national capitol. An effective seaman's act was enacted. The federal trade commission was created. Child labor legislation was enacted. The parcel post and the rural free delivery were developed. A national credits bill and farm loan act were passed. A secretary of labor was given a seat in the cabinet of the president. Eight-hour laws were adopted. The Clayton amendment was added to the trust act was passed, freeing American labor and taking it from the category of commodities. The Smith-Lever bill for the improvement of agricultural conditions was enacted. A corrupt practice act was adopted. A well considered warehouse act was passed. Federal employment bureaus were established. The postal savings banks and the federal reserve system were established.

These enactments, and many other provisions of a remedial character, had a cleansing and quickening effect upon the economic life of our country. The farmer was freed from the deadening effects of usurious credit exactions by the banks of his nation. Business and finance were released from the thraldom of uncertainty and hazard. The economic life of America was made free to the vitalizing breath of economic freedom.

This extraordinary narration sounds like a platform of promises. The sober fact is that it is an impressive recital of performance. It constitutes democracy's response to the demands of social justice. It is our answer to the antiquated slander that the democratic party is unable to understand the great affairs of the country.

The Federal Reserve System.

If the democratic party had accomplished nothing more than the passage of the federal reserve act, it would be entitled to the enduring gratitude of the nation. This act supplied the country with an elastic currency controlled by the American people. Panics—the recurring harbingers of disaster which the republican party could neither control nor explain—are now but a memory. Under the republican system, there was an average of one bank failure for every 21 days during a period of nearly 40 years. After the passage of the federal reserve system there were, in 1915, four bank failures; in 1916 and 1917, three bank failures; in 1918, one bank failure, and in 1920, no bank failures at all. The federal reserve system, passed over the opposition of the leaders of the republican party, enabled America to withstand the strain of war without shock or panic; and ultimately made our country the great creditor nation of the world.

Achievements in War.

And then the great war came on. Ultimately, by the logical steps of necessity, our peace-loving nation was drawn into the conflict. The necessary war legislation was quickly enacted.

A war finance corporation was created. War risk insurance was provided. Shipbuilding laws re-established America's supremacy upon the seas. The office of alien property custodian was created. A war industries board was established. A war trade board was created. Food and fuel regulations were formulated. All loans were successfully floated. Vocational training was provided. A national council of defense was created. Industry was successfully mobilized.

Almost over night the factories of the nation were made a part of the war machine, and the miraculous revival of the shipping industry filled the ocean lanes with our transports.

Our fleet laid the North sea mine barrage. We sent fighting fast to every sea and brought new courage and inventive genius to the crucial fight against the U-boat.

In transporting our troops to France we never lost a man in a ship convoyed by the American navy.

One of the first decisions was between the "volunteer system" and the selective draft. Many patriotic citizens strongly deprecated conscription and dreaded its possibilities. The administration, however, placed its influence behind the measure, secured its passage and made possible the winning of the war.

It proved a democratic system, assuring equal service, equal danger and equal opportunity. At one stroke of the pen, bounty jumping, and the hired substitutes that had disgraced the management of the civil war were made impossible. The selection of men to go to the front was placed not merely in the hands of civil authorities, but actually in the hands of the friends and neighbors of the men eligible for service. No fundamental law was ever administered with such scrupulous honor. Not one breath of scandal touched this legislation; and so cheerfully was it accepted that today, the term "draft dodger" is an epithet of reproach in any community.

Partisanship Put Aside.

Partisanship was put aside in the selection of General Pershing as leader of our forces, and the military commander in history was ever given a freer hand or more unflagging support. The policy of selecting officers through training camps avoided the use of political favorites and guaranteed competent leadership for the youth of the land. Ten million men were registered within three months from the declaration of war and 32 camp cities, complete in every municipal detail, were built in 90 days.

In France we had to construct our own docks, railroad lines, storage depots, hospitals and ordnance bases. We had to cut down the forests for our barracks. In June, two months after the declaration of war, our fighting men were in France; in October, Americans were on the firing line; in scarcely more than a year we had 2,000,000 men in France, had whipped the enemy at Belleau Wood, beaten them back at Chateau Thierry, wiped out the St. Mihiel salient and delivered the terrific hammer blow at Sedan that virtually ended the war.

Less than two years ago General Haig, with the bitterness of a soldier, said: "The British army is fighting with its back to the wall"; Lloyd George was crying: "It is a race between Wilson and Hindenburg"; and French leaders like a drowning man to the Rock of Verdun, turning agonized eyes toward America. And America came. We challenge the critics of the administration to point out how, within the limits of human possibility, the war could have been won more promptly or with less loss of American life.

We say that we have every chance that these things were accomplished. To readjust the processes of peace so as to serve the activities of war required leadership of unexampled skill. Petty criticism of minor defects and individual officials may for a time attract a superficial attention, but the significant things, the great outstanding facts stand eloquently for the democratic cause.

Let no one misunderstand us. These great achievements were carried forward under the stimulus of American patriotism, supported by the courage and the spirit of our people. All this is freely and gladly acknowledged, but surely the time has come when, because of the calculated criticism and the premeditated calumnies of the opposition, we are entitled to call attention to the fact that all of these things were accomplished under the leadership of a great democrat and a great democratic administration. We have no apologies to make—not one. We are proud of our great navy, we are proud of our splendid army, we are proud of the power of our country and the manner in which that power has been used, we are proud of the work that America has done in the world, we are proud of the heroism of American men and women, and we are proud of the inspired and incomparable leadership of Woodrow Wilson.

Has not the time come when all Americans, irrespective of party, should begin to broaden the achievements of our country rather than to criticise them? Surely a just and righteous sense of national pride should protect us from the insensate assaults of mere partisans. We fought a great war, for a great cause, and we had a leadership that carried America to greater heights of honor and power and glory than she has ever known before in her entire history. If the American flag must be lowered it will be hauled down in a republican convention and not in a democratic convention.

Partisan Investigations.

It is this shining record of tremendous achievement that republican managers and the Chicago platform seek to shame and besmirch. Various congressional committees, which for want of a more appropriate term, are called "republican committees," were appointed for the purpose of ascertaining whether or not there was any graft in the conduct of the great war. Over 1000 investigations have been made, over $2,000,000 have been wasted, and the one result has been to prove it was the cleanest war ever fought in the history of civilization.

Through the hands of a democratic administration there have passed more than $40,000,000,000 dollars, and the finger of suspicion has not been laid upon a single democratic official in all America. It is a record never before made by any political party in any country that ever conducted a war.

If republican leaders are not able to rejoice with us in this American triumph, they should have the grace to remain silent, for it does not lie in the mouths of those who conducted the Spanish-American war to indulge in the luxury of criticism. What was there in this war to compare with the typhoid-infested camps and the paper-soled shoe controversy of 1898? What was there in this war to compare to the embalmed-beef scandal of the Spanish-American war? Despite all their investigations, not one single democratic official has either been indicted or accused or even suspected of being a whip dignitary in America, of any outstanding political significance who is moving in the direction of the penitentiary is Truman Newberry of Michigan.

The very power of the republican party to conduct a partisan investigation of the war, to criticise the president, to control the organization of the senate and to wreck the prospect of world peace, rests upon a bare majority of one, secured through the tainted senatorial vote from Michigan.

The republican party became so fixed in its incorrigible habit of conducting investigations that it finally turned to the fruitful task of investigating itself. For the first time since they entered upon this programme, they discovered fraud and graft and gross and inexcusable expenditures. The revelations disclose the fact, long understood by the initiated, that the meeting at Chicago was not a convention but an auction. The highest bidder, however, did not get the prize. The publicity which overtook the proceedings frustrated the initial purpose. In more senses than one, the recent Chicago convention has left the democratic party as the sole custodian of the honor of the country.

The Cost of the War.

There are men so small in spirit, so pitifully cramped in soul that they suggest that the war cost too much. The republican platform echoes this complaint. It was indeed, an expensive war. War is the most wasteful thing in the world. But is money to be compared with the blood of American soldiers? Would it not be better to spend a billion dollars for shells that were never exploded, than to have one American boy on the firing line minus an essential cartridge? Was it not better to prepare for a long war and make it short, than to prepare for a short war and make it long? Such critics disclose the of the expense of war, let us not forget that we bought with it the fredom and the safety of the civilization of the world.

Preparedness.

Again, they say that if we were not prepared for war, in a strict military sense, a democracy is never prepared for war; but America made ready in a way that was far more effective than the mere massing, at enormous cost, of great armaments, which neither party advocated and which our people would never approve.

Wars are not fought by armies alone. They are fought by nations. It is a measuring of the economic strength of nations. The front line trench is no stronger than the forces which lie behind the trench. The line of communication reaches back to every village, farm, counting house, factory and home. America prepared by making the economic life of the country sound.

What would have been our situation, if, prior to the outbreak of the war, we had not prepared so that our farmers were able to feed the armies of the world? What would have been our situation if labor had not been willing to follow the leadership of the president? What would have been the situation if we had not established a currency system which made it possible for us to finance the war? What would have been the situation if the republican party had been in control and had maintained its old attitude toward legislation? There would have been an inevitable breaking down of the economic structure of our country. We would have been caught in the throes of a panic more devastating than any we had ever known. Industrial life would have been disorganized and the tasks of war, difficult as they were, might then have become altogether impossible.

Republican Record Since 1918.

The republicans have now been in control of the senate and the house more than a year. They won the election of 1918 upon the faith of alluring promises. They said that they would earnestly support the president, at least, until the tasks of war were finished. It was the contention that they would enter upon the work of reconstruction with superior intelligence and more patriotic zeal than would be possible under democratic leadership. They gave publicity, when they entered upon the recent session, to detailed and ambitious statements as to their programme. If we are to be judged, as I hope we may be, by the record, let them also be judged by the record. What have the republicans accomplished since their political success in 1918? What beneficial results have flowed to the American people? What promises have been redeemed? What progress has been made in the settlement of foreign or domestic questions?

Twice the president went before congress, since the termination of hostilities, calling attention to needed legislation. He urged the passage of laws relating to profiteering; measures to simplify and reduce taxation; appropriate action relative to the returning soldiers; the passage of a resolution concerning the constructive plans worked out in detail by former Secretary Lane, and the measures advocated by the secretary of agriculture. He suggested that the congress take counsel together and provide legislation with reference to industrial unrest, and the mutual relations of capital and labor. After more than a year of sterile debate, our country has neither peace nor reconstruction. Barren of achievement, shameless in waste of time and opportunity, the record of this present congress is without parallel for its incompetencies, failures and repudiations. Are the American people so unjust or so lacking in discrimination that they will reject the service of a party which has kept its word, and place trust in a party which merely renews the broken promises of a previous campaign?

Attacks Upon the President.

Republican leaders have been moved by a strange and inexplicable jealousy of the president. Their feverish animosity, expressed in gross abuse and through secret intrigue, has been productive of one of the most unhappy chapters in American history, recalling the similar experiences of Lincoln and Washington. Political malice followed the president to the peace table. A senatorial "round robin" was widely circulated. Every device which partisanship could develop, was employed for the purpose of weakening the influence of our commission at Paris, and making the task there still more difficult. At a time when every instinct of patriotism demanded the whole-hearted support of the president, political antagonism and personal envy controlled the anti-administration forces.

The president made every sacrifice for the cause of peace. The long continued strain while composing differences abroad; the expenditure of nervous vitality and intellectual force in building a new arch of human relationship upon the ruins of the old, laid heavy toll upon his reserve powers. Then came the return in triumph, only to find here a widespread propaganda of opposition, making it imperative that he take up in his own country, a struggle for the preservation of that which had been won at such incalculable cost. Following the superhuman labors of seven years of unexampled service, this meant the wreck of his health, sickness for months upon a bed of pain, and worse than the physical sickness, the sickness of heart which comes from the knowledge that political adversaries, lost to the larger sense of things, are savagely destroying not merely the work of men's hands, but the world's hope of settled peace. This was the affliction—this the crucifixion.

As he lay stricken in the White House, the relentless hand of malice beat upon the door of the sick chamber. The enemies of the president upon the floor of the senate repeated every slander that envy could invent, and they could scarcely control the open manifestation of their glee when the great man was stricken at last. The congress was in session for months while the president lay in the White House, struggling with a terrifying illness and, at times, close to the point of death. He had been physically wounded, just as surely as were Garfield and McKinley and Lincoln, for, it is but a difference of degree between fanatics and partisans. The congress, during all this period, when the whole heart of America ought to have been flowing out, in love and sympathy, did not, at a time, amid their bickerings, to pass one resolution of generous import or extend one kindly inquiry as to the fate of the president of their own country.

And what was his offense? Merely this—that he strove to redeem the word that America had given to the world; that he sought to save a future generation from the agony through which this generation had passed; that he had taken seriously the promises that all nations had made that they would unite at the end of the war in a compact to preserve the peace of the world; and that he relied upon the good faith of his own people. If there was any mistake, it was that he made a too generous estimate of mankind, that he believed that the idealism which had made the war a spiritual victory, could be relied upon to secure the legitimate fruit of the war—the reign of universal peace.

In one sense, it is quite immaterial what people think about the president. Nothing we can say can add or detract from the fame that will flow down the unending channels of history. Generations yet unborn will look back to this era and pay their tribute of honor to the man who led a people through troublous ways out of the valleys of selfishness up to the mountain tops of achievement and honor, and there showed them the promised land of freedom and safety and fraternity. Whether history records that they entered in or turned their backs upon the vision, it is all one with him—he is immortal.

The Requirements of Honor.

There are men who seem to be annoyed when we suggest that American honor is bound up in this contest, and that good faith requires that we should enter the league of nations. The whole republican case is based upon the theory that we may, with honor, do as we please about this matter and that we have made no promises which it is our duty to redeem. Let us turn again to the record.

The republican party in its platform in 1916 had declared for a world court, for the peaceful settlement of international disputes. The progressive party in 1912 and in 1916 had likewise declared for an arrangement between nations to make peace permanent. The democratic party in 1916 had specifically declared in favor of the establishment of a league of nations. The senate itself, on August 28, 1916 by unanimous vote, passed a measure requesting the president to take the lead in such a world movement.

On December 18, 1916, the president addressed an identic note to the nations at war, requesting them to state the terms upon which they would deem it possible to make peace. In this note he spoke of the creation of a league of nations, saying:

"In the measures to be taken to secure the future peace of the world, the people of no nation more than the United States are so vitally and directly interested as the governments now at war. They would, we feel, be happy to co-operate in the accomplishment of these ends when the war is over with every influence and prerogative at their command.

This was four months before America entered the war.

To this identic note the central powers answered evasively, but the allies, in their reply dated at Paris, January 10, 1917, declared:

"Their whole-hearted agreement with the proposal to create a league of nations which shall assure peace and justice throughout the world."

It is now not yet 1917. the president addressed the senate with reference to these replies, and said:

"In every discussion of the peace that must end this war it is taken for granted that the peace must be followed by some definite concert of power which shall make it virtually impossible that any such catastrophe shall overwhelm us again."

Speaking of the league of peace which was to follow the war, he said:

"I speak for peace presently to be made is to endure, it must be a peace made secure by the organized major force of mankind."

April 2, 1917, the congress of both the French and the British governments appointed committees to study the problem while the war was still in progress.

On April 2, 1917, the president delivered his famous war message to congress, and thrilled the heart of the country anew by his announced purpose to make the contest "the war that will end war." High above all of our other aims, he placed "a universal dominion of right by such a concert of free peoples as shall bring peace and safety to all nations and make the world itself at last free."

Following this message, the congress by resolution, passed April 6, 1917, recognized the existence of war.

On January 8, 1918, the president went before congress and set forth his famous 14 points. These points were in practically identical in language with the provisions of Article X of the covenant, provided that "a general association of nations must be formed under specific covenants for the purpose of affording mutual guarantees of political independence and territorial integrity to great and small states."

Senator Lodge himself, before the exigencies of politics forced him to take the other side, said that an attempt to make a league of nations was "the noble and everlasting dishonor" and that "the intent of the congress and the intent of the president was that there could be no peace until we could create a situation where no such war as this could recur."

Former President Roosevelt, on July 18, 1918, said:

"Unless we stand by our allies who have stood by us, we shall have failed in making the liberty of well-behaved, civilized peoples secure and we shall have shown that our announcement about making the world safe for democracy was an empty boast."

On November 4, 1918, the armistice was agreed to and it was concluded upon the basis of the 14 points set forth in the address of President Wilson delivered to congress on January 8, 1918, and the principles enunciated in subsequent addresses. At no point, at no time, during no period while this history was in the making, was one responsible American voice raised in protest.

Thus, before we entered the war we made the pledge; during the war we restated the pledge; and when the armistice was signed, all the belligerent nations, ourselves included, renewed the pledge; and it was upon the faith of these promises that Germany laid down her arms. Practically all of the civilized nations of the earth have now united in a covenant which constitutes the redemption of that pledge. We alone have thus far failed to keep our word. Others may break faith; the senate of the United States may break faith; the republican party may break faith; but neither President Wilson nor the democratic party will break faith.

The Fundamental Purpose.

In this hemisphere, the mere declaration of our young republic that the attempt of any foreign power to set foot on American soil would be considered an unfriendly act has served to preserve "the territorial integrity and the political independence" of the nations of central and south America. The treaty pledges all of the signatories to make this doctrine effective everywhere. It is the Monroe Doctrine of the world.

The purpose of the league is to give notice that if any nation raises its menacing hand and seeks to cross the line into any other country, the forces of civilization will be aroused to suppress the common enemy of peace. Therein lies the security of small nations and the safety of the world.

Every war between nations that has ever been fought began in an attempt to seize foreign territory or to invade political independence. In 1914, German, well known that in the event of hostilities Great Britain would have entered the war; that France would go in; that Italy would go in; that Japan would go in; and that the United States would go in—there would have been no war.

Objections to the Treaty.

The opponents of the treaty cry out: "Shall we send our boys abroad to settle a political quarrel in the Balkans?" Immediately the unthinking applaud and the orator records a momentary triumph. Have we forgotten that that is precisely what America has already done? Have we forgotten that we sent more than two million men to France, spent more than 20 billions of dollars and sacrificed nearly a hundred thousand lives to settle a Balkan dispute?

There was a controversy between Serbia and Austria. Territorial questions, political rights and boundary lines were involved. The crown prince of the house of Austria was assassinated. A little flame of war licked up into the powder house of Europe, and in a moment the continent was in flames. It took all the power of civilization to put out the conflagration. How idle to inquire whether we wish to send our boys to settle political disputes in the Balkans!

It is extraordinary that men should waste our time and try our patience by suggesting the fear that we may be forced into future wars while forgetting entirely that America was forced into this greatest of all wars. No league of nations existed when we entered the war; and—it was only when we formed in haste, in the midst of battle, a league of friendship, under unified command, that we were able to win this war. This association of nations, held together by a common purpose, fought the war to a victorious conclusion, dictated the terms of the armistice and formulated the terms of peace. If such a result could be achieved by an informal and temporary agreement, why should not the association be continued in a more definite and binding form? What plausible reason can be suggested for wasting the one great asset which has come out of the war? How else shall we provide for international arbitration? How else shall we provide for a permanent court of international justice? How else shall we provide for open diplomacy? How else shall we provide safety from external aggression? How else shall we provide for progressive disarmament? How else shall we check the spread of bolshevism? How else shall industry be made safe and the basis of reconstruction established? How else shall society be steadied so that the processes of healing may serve their beneficent purpose? Until the critics of the league offer a better method of preserving the peace of the world, they are not entitled to one moment's consideration in the forum of the conscience of mankind.

Not only does the covenant guarantee justice for the future, but it holds the one remedy for the evils of the past. As it stands today, war is the one way in which America can express its sympathy for the oppressed of the world. The league of nations removes the conventional shackles of diplomacy. Under the covenant it is our friendly right to protest against tyranny and to act as counsel for the weak nations without an effective champion.

The Existing League.

The republican platform contains a vague promise to establish another or a different form of association amongst nations of a tenuous and shadowy character. Our proposed co-partners in such a project are unnamed and unnamable. It is not stated whether it is proposed to invite the nations that have established the present league to dissolve it and, to begin anew, or whether the purpose is to establish a new association of a competitive character, composed of the nations not predicated the existing league. The devitalizing character of such an expedient requires no comment. Fatuous futility could be carried no farther. There is no method whatever, more transparent than that which expresses fealty to a league of nations while opposing the only league of nations that is, or ever can be, a league. Why close our eyes to actual world conditions? A league of nations already exists. It is not a project, it is a fact. We must either make it or remain out of it.

What nations have actually signed and ratified the treaty?

Brazil, Bolivia, Great Britain, Canada, Australia, South Africa, New Zealand, India, Czecho-Slovakia, Guatemala, Liberia, Panama, Peru, Uruguay, Siam, Greece, Poland, Japan, Italy, France and Belgium.

What nations have refused to join the league, have actually done so?

Norway, Venezuela, the Netherlands, Denmark, Colombia, Chile, Argentina, Paraguay, Persia, Salvador, Spain, Sweden and Switzerland.

Even China will become a member when she ratifies the treaty of peace.

Germany has signed and is preparing to take the place which awaits her in the league of nations.

What nations stand outside? Revolutionary Mexico, Bolshevist Russia, Unspeakable Turkey and—the United States of America.

It is not yet too late. Let us stand with the forces of civilization. The choice is plain. It is between the democratic party's support of the league of nations, with its promise of peace and justice and world fraternity, and the republican party's platform of repudiation, provincialism, militarism and world chaos.

Equality of Voting.

There is great pretense of alarm because the United States has one vote in the international assembly, against the six votes of Great Britain, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India and South Africa. This popular argument against the league of nations is as insincere as it is superficial. It ignores the fact that the executive council, and not the assembly, is the governing body of the league, and that our country is one of the five countries having permanent membership in the council. The colonial votes are only in the assembly.

Nor should we forget that France has but one vote; Italy has but one vote, and Japan has but one vote. If the question of voting is the arrangement, surely these nations would have sensed it and objected to it. No affirmative action can be taken in any essential matter without a unanimous vote of all members of the council of the league. No decision of the league, if America joined it, could be made effective or even promulgated without her consent. Like every other nation, we have a veto power upon every resolution or act of the league. We can be involved in no enterprise except we voluntarily consent, and if we are not satisfied with the league, we can sever our connection with it upon two years' notice. The risk exists only in the imagination, the service is tangible.

Moreover, the United States insisted that Cuba, Haiti, Liberia, Panama, Nicaragua, Honduras and Guatemala should each be given a vote as well as the United States of America, great and small. Including the nations which are bound by vital interests to the United States, or, indeed, directly under our tutelage, we have six votes in the league of nations than any other nation. How could we, in good faith, urge that these nations be given a voice and a vote, while to such self-governing nations as Canada, New Zealand and the rest, which, relatively speaking, made far more sacrifices in the war than our own country? It is desirable that all countries should have an opportunity to be heard in the league; and the safety of each nation resides in the fact that no action can be taken without the consent of all.

Responsibility for Defeat of Treaty.

It was the design of Senator Lodge, from the outset, to mutilate the treaty and to frustrate the purpose of President Wilson. And yet Senator Lodge, with the help of the irreconcilables, having torn the treaty to tatters and thrown its fragments in the face of the world, had the effrontery to suggest, in his address at Chicago, that the president blocked the ratification and postponed peace.

The trouble with the treaty of peace is that it was negotiated by a democratic president. It is not difficult to assess the responsibility for the failure. The responsibility rests, not upon the friends, but upon its enemies.

The foreign relations committee, immediately following the last election, was reorganized with a personnel consisting of the open foes of the treaty. Amongst the number was Senator Borah, who declared that he would do his part to defeat a league of nations, were the savior of mankind to advocate it. Senator Johnson, Senator Knox and Senator Moses, whose hatred of the president smoulder in volcanic fires, were also members; and Senator Lodge was chairman.

The treaty was referred to the committee this studiously prepared for a hostile reception. The members of this committee adopted every subterfuge to misrepresent the document which they were supposed to be considering as statesmen. Deputations of foreign-born citizens were brought to Washington in an effort to color and exaggerate the impression of popular opposition.

The senate had even begun the discussion of the treaty months before its necessitation was concluded, and did not terminate its debate until nine months after the submission of the treaty. It took the senate nearly three times as long to kill the treaty by protracted debate and by confusing and nullifying amendments and reservations as it took the representatives of the allied governments to draft it.

It was not the business of the president, when he brought this treaty back from France, to join with Mr. Lodge and other republican leaders in a deliberate purpose to destroy it. Had he initiated, suggested or assented to changes which would have substantially altered its texture, it would have been a distinct breach of faith with his associates of the peace council and a violation of American pledges. Everyone acquainted with diplomatic usages, or with the plain requirements of duty understands this. The foolish invention that the president refused to permit the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t" has been so often repeated that many honest people believe in its truth.

In every speech made during his tour, the president stated entire willingness to accept any and all reservations not incompatible with America's honor and true interests. It is the plain intent of the covenant that all controversies be excluded, that domestic questions are exempted, that not one American can be sent out of the country without formal action by congress and that the right of withdrawal is absolute. If there are words which can make these meanings clearer, they will be welcomed. It is not reservations that the president stands against, but nullification.

Sordid Story Told.

When the president came back from Paris in February, 1919, he brought the first tentative draft of the covenant of the league of nations. He gave publicity to it, it was published throughout the land. He invited the friends of such a league to submit criticisms. Former President Taft offered four amendments; former President Taft offered seven amendments, and Mr. Hughes suggested seven. At a meeting of the committee on foreign relations at the White House in March, 1919, 30 changes were suggested. These amendments were taken back by the president to Paris and their substance was actually incorporated in the revised draft of the covenant. President Lowell, president of Harvard university, in his joint debate with Senator Lodge, invited the latter to suggest constructive amendments which the president might incorporate in the draft, but he refused so to do. At no time has he offered constructive amendments. At no time has he failed to offer destructive criticism. Throughout was his attitude that he would not even consider a compromise proposed by former President Taft of his own party and which was assured of the support of democrats if he would only give the word. He knew that he controlled the senate and that in his own time and way he could destroy the treaty.

This is the sordid story of its defeat. No blacker crime against civilization has ever soiled the pages of our history. The last chapter was written at Chicago.

The republican platform not only repudiates the league of nations, but praises, without discrimination, all of the republican senators who participated in its defeat. Some of these senators fall under the ban of the president, while others, upon the irreconcilables, the Lodge reservationists, the mild reservationists and those who proposed a separate peace with Germany. It is consistent in one thing only, the recognition of the fact that the open foes of the treaty, the secret foes of the treaty and the apparent friends of the treaty who conspired with its enemies, are equally responsible for the destruction of the instrument itself. It would be idle to inquire by what political legerdemain this meaningless and yet ominous declaration was prepared. It is enough to know that the "old guard" sold the honor of America for the privilege of nominating a reactionary for president.

The Cause of Peace.

The war has set a great task for statesmanship. The best thought of the world demanded that a serious attempt be made by the leaders of the allied governments to formulate a treaty of peace which should prevent the recurrence of war. Every rightful impulse of the human heart was in accord with that purpose. From time immemorial, men have dreamed of peace; poets have sung of it; philosophers have prayed with it; statesmen have discussed it; men everywhere have hoped and prayed that the day might come when wars would no longer be necessary in the settlement of international differences.

For the first time in the turbulent annals of the human race such a project had become feasible. The destruction of militarism, the crumbling of thrones, the dissolution of dynasties, the world's appreciation of the inner meaning of war and the final triumph of democracy had at last made it possible to realize the dearest dream that ever crossed the night of man's dark mind. The opportunity for service was as great as the need of the world and the failure to grasp it must stand as a reproach for all time.

It is said that if the dead who died in the great war were placed head to feet they would stretch from New York to San Francisco, and from San Francisco back again to New York; and if those who perished from starvation and from other causes collateral to the war were placed head to feet they would reach around the great globe itself. At this very hour millions of men and women and little children are the victims of our hesitancy. How can the heart of America be closed to these things?

I have been many miles in this country and it has been my privilege to see many of the states of the Union. It has so happened that I have been in many of these states when the boys were coming from the front. We have marched in the avenues of our splendid American cities lined with the populace, cheering and cheering again as these brave lads marched by, happy that they had come triumphant from home. But I have never witnessed these inspiring sights without thinking of the boys who did not come home. They do not lack a monument. A grateful nation keeps the soldiers of liberty. The generous heart of France enfolds them. The women and the children of France cover their graves with flowers and water them with tears. Destiny seized these lads and led them far from home to die for an ideal. And yet they live and speak to us here in the homeland, not of triflings, but of immortal things. Reverence and pity and high resolve—surely these remain to us. In the silence of the night, when the great works of man are wrought, there can be no forgetting. Oh, God, release the imprisoned soul of America, touch once more the hidden springs of the spirit and reveal to us ourselves.

Let the true purpose of our party be clearly understood. We stand squarely for the maintenance of the peace for which the war was fought. We support without flinching the only feasible plan for peace and justice. We will not submit to the repudiation of the peace treaty or to any process by which it is whittled down to the vanishing point. We decline to compromise our principles or pawn our immortal souls for political profit. We do not turn our backs upon the history of the last three years. We seek no avenue of retreat. We insist that the forward course is the only righteous course.

We seek to re-establish the fruits of victory, to reinstate the good faith of our country and to restore it to its rightful place among the nations of the earth. Our cause constitutes a summons to duty. The heart of America stirs again. The ancient faith revives. The immortal part of man speaks for us. The services of the past, the sacrifices of the war, the hopes of the future, constitute a spiritual force gathering about our banners. We shall release again the forces of civilization and America shall take up once more the leadership of the world.

HIGH LIGHTS OF KEYNOTE SPEECH BY DEMOCRATIC CHAIRMAN AT CONVENTION YESTERDAY.

Party called on to put interests of country above those of special groups and to maintain national honor in foreign relations.

Republican platform declared to be "filled with premeditated slanders and vague promises."

Democratic legislation reviewed, including income tax, tariff revision and tariff commission, seaman's act, trade commission established and other measures.

Panics declared to have been abolished by federal reserve system.

Wartime legislation and American achievements in war reviewed.

American success in war declared to be due, not to any chance, but to clear vision of administration.

Millions declared wasted in investigations of scandals that are never found.

Chicago convention declared to have left democratic party sole custodian of country's honor.

Economic preparation for war pronounced adequate and better than great armaments.

Republicans said to have accomplished nothing beneficial since their political success in 1918. As a consequence, there is now neither peace nor reconstruction.

Republican leaders accused of being moved by strange and inexplicable jealousy of president.

Contention is advanced that good faith requires United States to enter league of nations.

Critics of league declared not entitled to consideration until they offer a better method of preserving the peace of the world. Covenant guarantees justice for the future and holds the only remedy for the evils of the past.

Republican proposals regarding "associations among nations" pronounced "tenuous and shadowy." League of nations already exists and United States must either enter it or remain out of it.

Argument as to United States not having equal voting power with Britain in league of nations is pronounced insincere and superficial. United States can be involved in no enterprises except on her own choosing. United States, in fact, has more votes in the league of nations than any other nation.

Senator Lodge said to have been resolved from outset to mutilate the treaty and frustrate the purposes of the administration.

Real trouble with the treaty of peace said to be that it was negotiated by a democratic president.

Statement that President Wilson refused to permit the dotting of an "i" or the crossing of a "t" is called a foolish invention, repeated so often that many honest people believe in its truth.

President said to have frequently stated entire willingness to accept reservations not incompatible with America's honor and true interests.

Defeat of treaty laid to Senator Lodge and declaration made that "no blacker crime against civilization ever soiled the pages of our history."

Old guard declared to have sold honor of America for the privilege of nominating a reactionary for president.

Democratic party said to stand squarely for the same ideals of peace as those for which the war was fought. Democratic party will not submit to repudiation of treaty, or to whittling it down to the vanishing point.

NOTES OF 'FRISCO CONVENTION

SAN FRANCISCO, June 28.—(Special.)—Franklin Roosevelt, assistant secretary of the navy, lays claim now to being as much of a rough rider as his distinguished cousin, the late Theodore Roosevelt. Franklin's claims rest on his having traveled all the way from Chicago to San Francisco in an upper berth.

* * *

Mrs. Abbey Scott Baker, leader of the National Woman's party buttonholders, is not impressed with Attorney-General Palmer's sense of humor.

"There are two classes of delegates here," Mrs. Baker said to the attorney-general. "Delegates at large and those who brought their wives."

When someone inquired: "Did he smile?" Mrs. Baker replied:

"No, he drew the corners of his mouth down and tied them in a bowknot under his chin."

* * *

William Jenings Bryan was entering his automobile yesterday in front of the Palace when a flock of visiting Shriners who had just reached here from the Portland convention, suddenly surrounded him. The commoner was detained in his car for ten minutes while the Shriners, with splendid harmony, sang "How Dry I Am."

* * *

Eddie Rickenbacher, the great American ace, confesses he does not know much about politics, but he sees a need of reform in the presidential nominating system. The famous flier thinks there should be some uniform primary system for the entire country, and this is what he says about it:

"There is no doubt that the majority of the people of this country want Leonard Wood for president, if they could express themselves. As it is, they lose."

* * *

How the accumulation of wealth has changed Mr. Bryan. It was 20 years ago that he exclaimed in Chicago, "You shall not crucify mankind upon this crown of gold." For one solid week he saw it acted by Chicago hotel keepers during the recent republican convention and not one word of protest did he utter, and the San Francisco taxi drivers must be handing him some more of it, and yet he sits silent.

* * *

It must have been momentarily pleasing to Keynoter Cummings to see the way the audience rose to his mention of President Wilson as "immortal." However, not so pleasing when it was shown that many of them had risen to depart. "It was too much for me," said a well-known woman from the national capital who lives within a few blocks of the White House.

* * *

Two delegates from Oregon declared in the state delegation conference yesterday that prohibition is a dead issue. Not so around the hotel lobbies, where the delegates from everywhere are mingling. The conversation would lead one to believe that this convention is nothing but a meeting called by the distillers to salvage the saloon.

* * *

Keynoter Cummings boasted today of the establishment of a department of labor with a member of the cabinet at the head and mentioned it as a democratic achievement. Chairman Cummings' historical information on this subject, like some others, was very faulty. The most active promoter of the separate department of labor was Senator William E. Borah of Idaho, who was chairman of the senate committee on education and labor at the time. The bill was passed by a republican senate and signed by a republican president.

* * *

Convention week opened in San Francisco with overcast skies and a temperature of 56 degrees, which mounted to more than 60 when the convention was called to order.

* * *

An innovation for the opening of the democratic national convention was the silencing of the great gathering by a bugle call instead of the usual pounding with the gavel. A detachment of marines in front of the platform raised the national colors and presented arms, while the band played the Star Spangled Banner.

* * *

Service men among convention delegates today perfected plans for obtaining the indorsement of the democratic party for bonus legislation.

Richard Seelye Jones, chairman of the Washington state delegation; Major Bennett Clark of Missouri, son of Representative Champ Clark; Colonel Barry of Tennessee, and E. W. Robertson of Spokane, Wash., were selected to appear before the resolutions committee.

* * *

Senator Pomerene of Ohio, today disclaimed all responsibility for the statements in explanation of Governor Cox' div