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WILLIAM J. BRYAN'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH

(Continued From Page One.)

actively needed. Further, I can not concur in the statement that the republican platform unequivocally declares for the reforms that are necessary; on the contrary, I affirm that it openly and boldly disapproves the hopes and expectations of reformers, whether those reformers be republicans or democrats. So far did the republican convention fall short of its duty that the republican candidate felt it necessary to add to his platform in several important particulars, thus making the leaders of the party, upon whose co-operation he must rely for the enactment of remedial legislation.

As I shall, in separate speeches, discuss the leading questions at issue, I shall at this time confine myself to the paramount question, and to the far-reaching purpose of our party, as that purpose is set forth in the platform.

Our platform declares that the fronts us: Shall the people control their own government, and use that government for the protection of their rights for the promotion of their welfare? or shall the representatives of predatory wealth prey upon a defenseless public, while the offenders secure immunity from such methods? This is the issue raised by the "known abuses" to which Mr. Taft refers.

In a message sent to congress last January, President Roosevelt said: "The attacks by these great corporations on the administration's actions have been given a wide circulation throughout the country, in the newspapers and otherwise; by those writers and speakers who, consciously or unconsciously, act as the representatives of predatory wealth, of the wealth accumulated on a giant scale by all forms of iniquity, ranging from the oppression of wage earners to unfair and unwholesome methods of crushing out competition, and to defrauding the public by stock-jobbing and the manipulation of securities. Certain wealthy men of this stamp, whose conduct should be abhorrent to every man of ordinary decent conscience, and who commit the hideous wrong of teaching our young men that phenomenal business success must ordinarily be based on dishonesty, have, during the last few months, made it apparent that they have intended to work for re-acton. Their endeavor is to overthrow and discredit all who honestly administer the law, to prevent any additional legislation which would check and restrain them, and to secure, if possible, a freedom from all restraints which will permit every unscrupulous wrong-doer to do what he wishes unchecked, provided he has enough money."—What an arraignment of the predatory interests!

Is the president's indictment true? And, if true, against whom was the indictment directed? Not against the democratic party.

Mr. Taft endorses the indictment. Mr. Taft says that these evils have crept in during the last ten years. He declares that, during this time, some "prominent and influential members of the community, spurred by financial success and in their hurry for a few months, have become mindful of the common rules of business honesty and fidelity, and of the limitations imposed by law upon their actions; and that "the revelations of the breaches of trusts, the disclosures as to rebates and discriminations by railroads, the accumulations of securities, the violation of the anti-trust laws, by a number of corporations, and the over-issue of stocks and bonds of interstate railroads for the unlawful enriching of directors and for the purpose of concentrating the control of the railroads under one management"—all these changes, "quickened the conscience of the people and brought on a moral awakening."

During all this time, I beg to remind you, republican officials presided in the executive department, filled the cabinet, dominated the senate, controlled the house of representatives and occupied most of the federal bench. For years ago the republican platform boastfully declared that since 1860—with the exception of two years—the republican party had been in control of part or all of the branches of the federal government; that for two years only was the democratic party in a position to steer the course of the state of Indiana while she was yet a child, and there made their home. At the age of 24 she became the wife of Jonathan J. Totten, and to this union were born seven children, three of whom are buried at DeSoto, Iowa. She leaves a husband and four children; Mrs. H. M. Weinhart, of Eugene; E. M. Totten, of Cashmere, Wash.; Mrs. W. S. Rinehart, of Thurston, and Carl C. Totten, who is still at home. Also two brothers, James E. Rose, of Auburn, Ind., and Madison L. Rose, of Chicago, Ill.

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republican campaign fund and who in return have framed the tariff schedules, has been sufficient to prevent tariff reform. As the present campaign approached, both the president and Mr. Taft declared in favor of tariff revision, but set the date of revision after the election. But the pressure brought to bear by the protected interests has been great enough to prevent any attempt at tariff reform before the election; and the reduction promised after the election is as hedged about with qualifying phrases, that no one can estimate with accuracy the sum total of tariff reform to be expended in case of republican success. If the past can be taken as a guide, the republican party will be so obligated by campaign contributions from the beneficiaries of protection, as to make that party powerless to bring to the country any material relief from the present tariff burdens.

Why No Anti-Trust Legislation? A few years ago the republican leaders in the house of representatives were coerced by public opinion into the support of an anti-trust law which had the endorsement of the president; but the senate refused even to consider the measure, and



WILLIAM J. BRYAN. Latest portrait of the Democratic candidate for president.

since that time no effort has been made by the dominant party to secure remedial legislation upon this subject.

Why No Railroad Legislation? For ten years the Interstate Commerce Commission has been asking for an enlargement of its powers, that it might prevent rebates and discriminations, but a republican senate and a republican house of representatives were unmoved by its entreaties. In 1900 the republican national convention was urged to endorse the demand for railway legislation, but its platform was silent on the subject. Even in 1904, the convention gave no pledge to remedy these abuses. When the president finally asked for legislation, he drew his inspiration from three democratic national platforms and he received more cordial support from the democrats than from the republicans. The republicans in the senate deliberated several amendments offered by Senator La Follette and supported by the democrats—amendments embodying legislation asked by the Interstate Commerce Commission. One of these amendments authorized the ascertainment of the value of railroads. This amendment was not only defeated by the senate, but it was overwhelmingly rejected by the recent republican national convention, and the republican candidate has sought to rescue his party from the disastrous results of this act by expressing himself, in a qualified way, in favor of ascertaining the value of the railroads.

Over-Issue of Stocks and Bonds. Mr. Taft complains of the over-issue of stocks and bonds of railroads, "for the unlawful enriching of directors and for the purpose of concentrating the control of the railroads under one management," and the complaint is well founded. But, with a president to point out the evil, and a republican congress to correct it, we find nothing done for the protection of the public. Why? My honorable opponent has, by his confession, relieved me of the necessity of furnishing proof; he admits the condition and he cannot avoid the logical conclusion that must be drawn from the admission. There is no doubt whatever that a large majority of the voters of the republican party recognize the deplorable situation which Mr. Taft describes; they recognize that the masses have had but little influence upon legislation or upon the administration of the government, and they are beginning to understand the cause. For a generation, the republican party has drawn its campaign funds from the beneficiaries of special legislation. Privileges have been pledged and granted in return for money contributed to "debating" elections. What an impudent show-off! When authority is turned over to the representatives of those who first furnish the sinews of war and then reimburse themselves out of the pockets of the taxpayers?

Fasting in Wilderness Necessary. So long as the republican party remains in power, it is powerless to regenerate itself. It can not attack wrong-doing in high places without disgracing many of its prominent members, and it, therefore, uses opiates instead of the surgeon's knife. Its malefactors construe each republican victory as an endorsement of their conduct, and threaten the party with defeat, if they are interfered with. Not until that party passes through a period of fasting in the wilderness, will the republican leaders learn to study public question from the standpoint of the masses. Just as with individuals, the cares of this world and the deceitfulness of riches choke the truth, so in politics, when party leaders serve far away from some

and are not in constant contact with the voters, continued party success blinds their eyes to the needs of the people and makes them deaf to the cry of distress.

Publicity As To Campaign Contributions. An effort has been made to secure legislation requiring publicity as to campaign contributions and expenditures; but the republican leaders, even in the face of an indignant public, refused to consent to a law which would compel honesty in elections. When the matter was brought up in the recent republican national convention, the plank was repudiated by a vote of 880 to 94. Here, too, Mr. Taft has been driven to apologize for his convention and to declare himself in favor of a publicity law; and yet, if you will read what he says upon this subject, you will find that his promise falls far short of the requirements of the situation. He says: "If I am elected president, I shall urge upon congress, with every hope of success, that a law be passed requiring the filing, in the federal office, of a statement of the contributions received by committees and candidates in elections for members of congress, and in such other elections as are constitutionally within the control of congress."

I shall not embarrass him by asking him upon what he bases his hope of success. It is certainly not on any encouragement he has received from republican leaders. It is sufficient to say that if his hopes were realized—If, in spite of the adverse action of his convention, he should succeed in securing the enactment of the very law which he favors, it would give but partial relief. He has read the democratic platform; not only his language, but his evident alarm, indicates that he has read it carefully. He even had before him the action of the democratic national committee in interpreting and applying that platform; and yet, he fails to say that it favors the publication of the contributions before the election. Of course, it satisfies a natural curiosity to find out how an election has been purchased, even when the knowledge comes too late to be of service, but why should the people be kept in darkness until the election is over? Why should the locking of the door be delayed until the horse is gone?

Popular Election of Senators. Next to the corrupt use of money, the present method of electing United States senators is most responsible for the obstruction of reforms. For one hundred years after the adoption of the constitution, the demand for the popular election of senators, while finding increased expression, did not become a dominant sentiment. A constitutional amendment had from time to time been suggested and the matter had been more or less discussed in a few of the states, but the movement had not reached a point where it manifested itself through congressional action. In the Fifty-second congress, however, a resolution was reported from a house committee proposing the necessary constitutional amendment, and this resolution passed the house of representatives by a vote which was practically unanimous. In the Fifty-third congress a similar resolution was reported to, and adopted by, the house of representatives. Both the Fifty-second and Fifty-third congresses were democratic. The republicans gained control of the house as a result of the election of 1894, and in the Fifty-fourth congress the proposition died in committee. As time went on, however, the sentiment grew among the people, until it forced a republican congress to follow the example set by the democrats, and then another and another republican congress acted favorably. State after state has endorsed this proposition, and nearly two-thirds of the states have recorded themselves in its favor. The United States senate, however, impudently and arrogantly obstructs the passage of the resolution, notwithstanding the fact that the voters of the United States, by an overwhelming majority, demand it. America's refusal is the more significant when it is remembered that a number of senators owe their election to the great corporate interests. The Democratic national platform—the platform of 1900, 1904 and 1908—specifically call for a change in the constitution which will place the election of senators in the hands of the voters, and the proposition has been endorsed by a number of the smaller parties, but no republican convention has been willing to champion the cause of the people on this subject. The subject was ignored by the national republican convention of 1900; it was ignored in 1904, and the proposition was explicitly repudiated in 1908, for the recent republican national convention, by a vote of 886 to 114, rejected the plank endorsing the popular election of senators—and this was done in the convention which nominated Taft, few delegates from his own state voting for the plank.

Personal Involvement Not Sufficient. In his notification speech the republican candidate, speaking of election by the senators by the people, says: "Personally I am inclined to favor it, but it is hardly a party question." What is necessary to make this a party question? When the Democratic party endorses a proposition by a unanimous vote, and the republican convention rejects the proposition by a vote of seven to one, does it not become an issue between the parties? Mr. Taft cannot remove the question from the arena of politics by expressing a personal inclination toward the Democratic position. For several years he has been connected with the administration, what has he ever said or done to bring this question before the public? What enthusiasm has he shown in the reformation of the senate? What influence could he exert in behalf of a reform which his party has openly and notoriously condemned in its convention, and to which he is attached only by a belated expression of personal inclination?

The Gateway to Other Reforms. "Shall the people rule?" Every remedial measure of a national character must run the gauntlet of the senate. The president may personally incline toward a reform; the house may consent to it; but as long

as the senate obstructs the reform, the people must wait. The president may have a popular demand; the house may yield to public opinion; but as long as the senate is defiant the rule of the people is defeated. The Democratic platform very properly describes the popular election of senators as "the gateway" to other national reforms. Shall we open the gate or shall we allow the exploiting interests to bar the way by the control of this branch of the federal legislature? Through a Democratic victory, and through a Democratic victory only, can the people secure the popular election of senators. The smaller parties are unable to secure this reform; the Republican party, under its present leadership, is ready to open the gate; the Democratic party stands for it, and has boldly demanded it. If I am elected to the presidency, those who are elected upon the ticket with me will be, like myself, pledged to this reform, and I shall convene congress in extraordinary session immediately after inauguration and ask, among other things, for the fulfillment of this platform pledge.

Democratic Party Defender of Honest Wealth

We may expect those who have committed themselves to and purchased immunity with their political influence, to attempt to raise false issues, and to employ "the livery of heaven" to conceal their evil purposes, but they can no longer deceive. The Democratic party is not the enemy of any legitimate industry or of honest accumulations. It is, on the contrary, a friend of industry and the steadfast protector of that wealth which represents a service to society. The Democratic party does not seek to annihilate all corporations; it simply asserts that as the government creates corporations it must retain the power to regulate and to control them, and that it should not permit any corporation to convert itself into a monopoly. Surely we should have the co-operation of all legitimate corporations in our effort to protect business and industry from the odium which lawless combinations of capital will, if unchecked, cast upon them. Only by the separation of the good from the bad can the good be made secure.

Not Revolution, But Reformation

The Democratic party seeks not revolution, but reformation, and it does not hardly remind the student of history that cures are mildest when applied at once; that remedies increase in severity as their application is postponed. Blood poisoning may be stopped by the loss of a finger to-day; it may cost an arm tomorrow or a life the next day. So poison in the body politic can not be removed for the evils produced by it increase with the lapse of time. That there are abuses which need to be remedied, even the Republican candidate admits; that his party is unable to remedy them has been fully demonstrated during the last ten years. I have such confidence in the intelligence as well as the patriotism of the people that I cannot doubt their readiness to accept the reasonable reforms which our party proposes, rather than permit the continued growth of existing abuses to hurry the country on to remedies more radical and more drastic.

Our Party's Ideal The platform of our party, cloaked with a brief statement of the party's ideal. It favors "such an administration of the government as will insure, as far as human wisdom can, that each citizen shall draw from society a reward commensurate with his contribution to the welfare of society."

Governments are good in proportion as they assure to each member of society, so far as governments can, a return commensurate with individual merit.

The Divine Law of Rewards. There is a divine law of rewards. When the Creator gave us the earth, with its fruitful soil, the sunshine with its warmth, and the rains with their moisture, He proclaimed, as clearly as if His voice had thundered from the clouds, "Go work, and according to your industry and your intelligence, so shall be your reward." Only where might has overthrown, coming undemanded or government suspended this law, has a different law prevailed. To reform the government to this law ought to be the ambition of the statesman; and no party can have a higher mission than to make it a reality wherever governments can legitimately operate.

Justice to All Recognizing that I am indebted to the rank and file of our party, and that my rank and file must come if it comes at all, from the unpurchased and unpurchasable suffrages of the American people, I promise, if entrusted with the responsibilities of this high office, to consecrate whatever ability I have to the one purpose of making this, in fact, a government in which the people rule—a government which will be just to all, and offer to every one the highest possible stimulus to great and

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