

CLAYTON TALKS TO DEMOCRATS ON NATIONAL ISSUES



HENRY D. CLAYTON, Alabama congressman who is scheduled to act as chairman at the Democratic national convention.

Denver, July 8.—Following is the address of Congressman Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, permanent chairman of the Democratic national convention:

Chairman Clayton spoke in part as follows:

"Mr. Chairman and Fellow Democrats:—Let me thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me.

"This is Democratic year. Democratic ideas are now popular. Doctrines always taught by our party and scoffed at by our opponents are now urged as a gospel of their own. Measures and policies of Democratic origin are now pretentiously advocated by the leaders of the Republican party. It is no longer anarchistic to declare private monopoly to be indefensible or that the great transportation companies should be regulated and controlled by public law. Former questioning of the decision of a bare majority of the supreme court in the income tax case is not now to be heard, because of the greater noise of the vehement and confident denunciation of judges and judicial acts that have shocked the country. A demand for the revision of the tariff is no longer a threat to destroy our industrial system. Trusts are not to be tolerated, even by the Republican party. We need not now engage on the list of Republican admissions and promises for election purposes only. The Republican party has made marked progress in promises to the people and much greater progress in aiding selfish interests and special privileges. That party, guided by expediency and campaign necessity, would camp this year on Democratic ground. If it is apparent recent progress is to continue it does not require a very great sweep of the imagination to see written into a Republican platform four years hence those immortal words of Thomas Jefferson: 'Equal rights to all, special privileges to none.'

Republican Responsibility.

"The Republican party having had full control of the federal government for more than a decade, must give an account of its stewardship. Its ostentatious claims, largely without foundation and largely exaggerated, will not suffice. Let honest investigation reveal the bad and defective laws passed by that party; vicious policies maintained; reforms rejected; the present panic and its consequences; promises broken; disintegration practiced; incompetency confessed by its failure to meet urgent public needs; and exhibiting this incompetency by the appointment of jangling commissions for the alleged purpose of advising that party so long in control and of such boasted legislative wisdom what legislation is required by the country. Against the Republican party, so determined and ready, is a capable, determined, honest Democrat, in sympathy with all just public demands, and confidently asking in its behalf the candid public judgment. To that judgment the issue must be committed, and we unhesitatingly submit our cause to that fine and true sense for the right that we know distinguishes the American people.

"My Policies."

"In this question of trust Mr. Roosevelt has identified himself with Mr. Taft. Mr. Taft has identified himself with Mr. Roosevelt. The Republican party has inseparably identified the two together. To praise one you must praise the other; to criticize one is to criticize his partner. And it is not to be noted and denoted that in nothing and in nothing else had faith in the party of the American administration any income is assumed. I urge the impossibility of separating the present incumbent of the White House from his own appointed one. "It has been made evident in the pending campaign that the Republicans will seek to conjure with the name of Roosevelt and will rely upon the president's policies as a priced asset. The president has advertised himself and his policies with a frequency and ability that surpasses the best efforts of the shrewdest press agent. A distinguished Republican, a former cabinet officer, once proclaimed the president to be the greatest exponent of the art of advertising the world has known. The country has been told, not allowed to forget that, in his opinion, his energies have been devoted to the accomplishment of many high purposes,

and that if his work is yet incomplete it is only so because his undertakings were too vast to be carried to success during his term of office. 'My policies must continue.' So the champion of these would transfer office and power to his favorite cabinet minister, and his spear is to have a fellow. The pretense is that the fight must go on under the leader designated by him until the last foe shall have surrendered or lie inglorious in the dust. The nomination of his would-be successor was largely accomplished by the use of official patronage and coarse machine methods and has delighted the chief apostle of strenuousness, and, at the same time, has not perturbed the conscience of the one time civil service reformer, now the boss, an adept in the bestowal of public plunder and forgetful of all his resounding moral commences. No fair-minded American could read the daily account of the recent political doings at Chicago without feeling mortification and regret: mortification that the president should have so abused his power in dictating to a great party his choice of a successor, and regret that that party should have submitted so cowardly to a humiliation that was as manifest as it was degrading."

Injunction and Contempt of Court.

"Let me go on. There has been and is now a public demand for legislation regulating, not abolishing, the process of injunction and power to punish for alleged indirect or constructive contempt of court. Ever since 1896 the Democratic party has protested against hasty and ill-considered use of injunctions and has been insisting on the right of fair trial in all cases of constructive contempt. The Republican party has been avoiding this question. So the president, in taking it up, and Mr. Taft, in his letter to the labor unions, advocated a measure that the Democratic party, acting in behalf of the correct administration of public justice, has been demanding for twelve years. If the president was in earnest when he sent his message to congress he was to that extent Democratic. We are authorized to conclude that in framing, revising or dictating the Chicago platform he suffered from a lapse of memory, or abandoned the policy he had so vigorously urged in his official capacity. "There has not been a session of congress in twelve years at which the Republican party could not have passed a law prescribing, defining and regulating the issuance of injunctions and providing for fair trial in contempt cases. Yet nothing has been done to give the wage-earner fair treatment and less than nothing is offered to him in the Chicago deliverance. The meaningless generalities of its injunction plank are an insult to the intelligence of those who demand reasonable and substantial legislation to prevent the admitted abuse of this judicial process.

Tariff Question.

"What does protection mean? Under the Republican policy of protection the people, the consumers, while paying a little over \$300,000,000 into the treasury through import duties on foreign goods, pay between \$1,250,000,000 and \$1,500,000,000 a year in the enhanced price of home-produced goods. Our domestic manufacturers exceed our total imports by ten to one and they are nearly all protected. It is safe to say that the people pay at least \$5 to the already wealthy beneficiaries of protection for every dollar that is paid into the treasury. Behind the wall of high protection, which in some cases is altogether prohibitive, the trusts levy enormous tribute on the people. This has amounted to not less than \$100,000,000 in the last decade, not counting the amount paid to support the government. This money has come from the pockets of the farmer, the mechanic, the merchant, the professional man and the laborer, and has been poured into the coffers of the protected class. More than two-thirds of the capital that derives benefit from protection belongs to the trusts. The Democrats will revise the tariff standard and in the interest of the taxpayers, who are always forgotten by the Republican party.

"There must be a revision and a gradual reduction of the tariff by the friends of tariff reduction for the common good and not by the beneficiaries of its abuses who justify use of the import taxing power for the chief purpose of entering privilege and profit upon the few at the expense of the many.

Trusts.

"It is the shortest of steps from the tariff to the trusts. Let it be denied if they care to deny it, that the tariff is the real mother of trusts. The president has made great promises of destroying trusts. Let him tell of the result. In a message delivered to congress he said: 'The department of justice has in the last four years devoted more attention to the enforcement of anti-trust legislation than anything else. Much has been accomplished; particularly marked has been the moral effect of the prosecutions, but it is increasingly evident that there will be a very insubstantially beneficial result in the way of economic change. The successful prosecution of one device to evade the law immediately develops another device to accomplish the same purpose. What is needed is not a sweeping prohibition of every arrangement, good or bad, which may tend to restrict competition, but such adequate supervision and regulation as will prevent any restriction of competition from being the result of the law. As well prevent other abuses in the way of restriction of competition.' "It is an admission of failure and one does not need to dwell on

this admission further than to say that the imprisonment of those who violated the law would not have a more salutary effect than all that has been done or might have been done in this direction during his entire administration. "The Democratic party will strike down special privileges, whether granted through a high protective tariff or granted to government chartered corporations by permission of law. All trusts owe their birth and their ability to continue existence to one or the other of these two forms of special privileges. For private monopoly, no business approximating private monopoly in another or in magnitude, can endure one or the other or both.

The Recent Panic.

"Proceeding at once to a mention of the Republican party's dealing with the disturbed finances of the country, we are brought before that curious legislative compound, the Vreeland-Aldrich bill. The Republican party boasts of its knowledge of finance. What have they given us in this law?

"It will be remembered in 1892-3, under a Republican administration, a panic was anticipated. The panic came and with Republican effrontery they charged that panic to the Democratic party. Now, controlling every branch of the government, they ignominiously seek to charge on us every consequence growing out of their own maladministration of the government.

"The only sort of legislation with any great force of public opinion behind it that the Republican party attempted to enact was a bill to prevent the recurrence of panics. The last panic was a depositors' panic, brought about by fear upon the part of depositors that they could not get back their money which had been left in the bank. This fear was produced by the fact, which had become known, that the banks had been sending their depositors' money to risky, if not unlawful concerns. A run upon the banks by depositors, not by note holders, in consequence occurred. The Republican party has attempted to prevent the recurrence of depositors' panics by emergency bank note bills, in the provisions of which they have decreased the security that the depositor had in a two-fold way, first by reducing the amount of reserve required by law to be held, and secondly, by making the new emergency notes a prior lien upon all the assets of the bank, decreasing the security that the bank had to keep for the depositor, and increasing the bank liabilities that might be charged against deposits. In my opinion it is an accomplished scheme to enable banks that have floated questionable enterprises to digest otherwise indigestible securities by making them the basis of a national circulating medium of exchange. The future will show whether this miserable makeshift, part house infamy and part senate infamy, as a great Republican newspaper has said, will answer its purpose. Whatever it may show in the way of sins of omission or commission, not only is it the fault of Republican legislation, but the evil which it pretends to cure was altogether and exclusively the fruit of Republican legislation. There is the responsibility for the bill, and there also the responsibility for the condition which led to the enactment of the law.

Republican Failures.

"The press has told us in what seemed to be semi-official statements from the White House that the president was so intent upon his policies that if congress adjourned without enacting them into law he would call an extra session. Congress did adjourn leaving unpassed most of his favored measures and the extra session was never called. If the play results in Republican votes it will have accomplished its purpose. If the president declared to have this legislation the Democrats were ready to join in its passage. The Democratic leader of the house, authorized by all his party associates, repeatedly offered the entire Democratic strength in support of these measures. The Republicans have less than sixty majority in the house. If thirty of them had joined the Democrats all of these measures would have passed there and gone to a Republican senate. So far as the house is concerned, less than one-seventh of the Republicans were needed to change these recommendations into law. The Republican support was not forthcoming.

Let us see what could have been accomplished if legislation instead of party advantage had been desired.

"If a part of the Republicans had joined the Democrats in support of measures proposed by a Republican president the power with which some federal judges have hastily thrown their authority into the scale against labor would have been regulated by law. "A fair trial in all cases of direct or constructive contempt of court would now be provided by law. "Labor would be exempt from the prohibition of the Sherman law against combinations. "Wood pulp and print paper would now be on the free list and the present tax upon intelligence to that extent abolished.

No longer would it be in the power of one federal judge, sitting in chambers, hearing evidence ex parte, upon the allegation that a state law is unconstitutional, to suspend it by temporary injunction. A Democratic measure that passed the senate at the last session of congress, providing that there should be necessary for three judges to act together for the purpose of issuing such an order, would now be the law.

A law requiring the publication of corporate contributions before election would have been enacted.

"Representative institutions must be preserved. Our federal government of delegated and limited powers must be maintained in all of its respective powers and in its integrity and autonomy forever. Therein is the safety of the Union and the state—no individual and the other individuals.

"Let us confidently hope that the time will never be far off for the change of the constitution, executive, legislative and by judicial interpretation, if it should come, to a government of law will perish from the earth and a government of rapine will be created on the ruins of

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Samuel E. Lowe to Jesse K. Lowe, W. D., 40 acres in sec. 3, tp. 19 s., r. 12 w., \$300.

J. E. Kennerly et ux to F. A. Moore, W. D., tract in sec. 10, tp. 17 s., r. 1 e., \$42.

Henrietta Goldsmith to Zida Goldsmith, W. D., part of lots 5 and 8 in blk. 18, Eugene, \$10.

United States to Willard L. Card, patent, 160.25 acres in sec. 12, tp. 12 s., r. 12 w.

L. A. Hunk et ux to Michael Corfee, W. D., 208.19 acres in sec. 18, tp. 15 s., r. 2 w., \$2000.

Samuel Elmore et al to O. W. Hurd, et al, 50-100 acres in sec. 13 and 20, tp. 18 s., r. 11 w., \$10.

Grace L. Parker to W. E. Parker, W. D., 300 s. 5, 6 and 7, in blk. 192 Junction City, \$500.

Robert Gano et al to J. M. Martin, W. D., lot 1 in blk. 8 of Christian's add, to Eugene, \$500.

T. A. Hurd et ux to H. H. Wood, W. D., tract in claims 47 and 72, in 17 and 18 s., r. 3 w., \$1000.

W. E. Brown et ux to O. I. Circle, W. D., lot 3 in blk. 7 in R. F. Scott's add to Eugene, \$328.

Solomon B. Colvin et al to Chas. B. Allen, W. D., tract in sec. 22 and 27, tp. 19 s., r. 12 w., \$101.

A. C. Ellis et ux to G. M. VanOsdell, 124.50 acres in sec. 13, tp. 18 s., r. 10 w. in claim no. 40, tp. 18 s., r. 12 w., \$10.

The Eugene Loan Sav. & Bk. Co. to William Brynd, tract in sec. 8, tp. 15 s., r. 2 w., \$100.

H. A. Hurd et ux to Martha A. Pope, 30 acres in sec. 10, tp. 10, s. r. 2 w., \$1425.

Emma Leveno et al to Ludwig Keim et ux, lot 3 in block 4 in D. G.

McFarlands 2nd add to Cottage Grove, \$575.

Minnie Peebler et al to H. N. Burchell, lots 8 and 9 in block 53 in Junction City, \$1000.

P. N. Shelley et ux to James T. Awebery et ux, tract in claim 75, tp. 18, s. r. 2 w., \$1400.

Garnelia Straub to John Straub, lots 4 and 5 in block 6 in S & P add to Eugene, \$1.

G. G. Schmidt et ux to John Straub, lot 4 in block 2 in Scott's add to Eugene, \$1000.

W. R. Walker to John Straub, lots 4 and 5 in block 6 of Shaw's 2nd add to Eugene, \$1.

Laura Frazer to H. M. Wright, lots 14, 15 and 17 in block 20 in F. & H. add to Eugene, \$108.

George Lill et ux to T. H. Drinn, lot 6 in block 3 of Christian 1st add to Eugene, \$100.

U. S. to Valeria Westfall, 80 acres in sec. 14, tp. 17, s. r. 8 w.

U. S. to Stephen G. Peeg, 160 acres in sec. 12, tp. 15, s. r. 8 w.

Ludwig Christensen et ux to O. Myrland, 2 acres in sec. 16, tp. 18, s. r. 11 w.

J. R. Scott et ux to J. L. George et al, lots 4 and 5 in blk 18 in Creswell, \$200.

R. B. Board et ux to W. W. Stevens, et al, lot 2 in block 2 in Scott's add to Eugene, \$700.

N. D. McFadden et al to Edward Bailey, 172.50 acres in sec. 29, tp. 15, s. r. 4 w.; 23.15 acres in sec. 27, tp. 15, s. r. 4 w., \$1.

50 acres in sec. 28, tp. 15 s. r. 4 w.

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