

WILLIAM J. BRYAN'S ACCEPTANCE SPEECH AT LINCOLN TODAY

(Continued from Page Two.)

election is so hedged about with qualifying phrases, that no one can estimate with accuracy the sum total of reform to be expended in the 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 introduced an anti-trust law which had the endorsement of the president, but the senate refused to consider the measure, and 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 deliberately defeated several amendments offered by Senator LaFollette 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 debauch elections. What can be expected when official authority is turned over to the representatives of those who first furnish the sneers 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 home 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 850 to 94. Here, too, Mr. Taft has been driven to apologize for his convention and to declare himself in favor of a public 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 a 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."

ing 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 its 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 he 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?

An Election a Public Affair.
An election is a public affair. The people, exercising the right to select their officials and to decide upon the policies to be pursued, proceed to their several polling places on election day and register their will. What excuse can be given for secrecy as to the influences at work? If a man, peculiarly interested in "concentrating the control of the railroads in one management," subscribes a large sum to aid in carrying the election, why should his part in the campaign be concealed until he has put the officials in concealment to him? If a trust magnate contributes \$100,000 to elect political friends to office, with a view to preventing hostile legislation, why should that fact be concealed until his friends are securely seated in their official positions?

This is not a new question; it is a question which has been agitated—a question which the republican leaders fully understand—a question which the republican candidate has studied, and yet he refuses to declare himself in favor of the legislation absolutely necessary, namely, legislation requiring publication before the election.

Democratic Party Promises Publicity.
How can the people hope to rule, if they are not able to learn until after the election what the predatory interests are doing? The democratic party meets the issue honestly and courageously. It says:

"We pledge the democratic party to the enactment of a law prohibiting any corporation from contributing to a campaign fund, and any individual from contributing an amount above a reasonable maximum, and providing for the publication before election, of all such contributions above a reasonable minimum."

The democratic national committee immediately proceeded to interpret and apply this plank, announcing that no contributions would be received from corporations, that no individual would be allowed to contribute more than \$10,000, and that all contributions above \$100 would be made public before the election—those received before October 15 to be made public on or before that day, those received afterward to be made public on the day when received, and no such contributions to be accepted within three days of the election. The expenditures are to be published after the election. Here is a plan which is complete and effective.

House Rules Despotism.
The third instrumentality employed to defeat the will of the people is found in the rules of the house of representatives. Our platform points out that "the house of representatives was designed by the fathers of the constitution to be the popular branch of our government, responsive to the public will, and adds:

"The house of representatives as controlled in recent years by the Republican party, has ceased to be a deliberative and legislative body, responsive to the will of a majority of the members, but has come under the absolute domination of the speaker, who has entire control of its deliberations, and powers of legislation."

"We have observed with amazement the popular branch of our federal government helpless to obtain either the consideration or enactment of measures desired by a majority of its members."

This arraignment is fully justified. The reform Republicans in the house of representatives, when in the minority in their own party, are as helpless to obtain a hearing or to secure a vote upon a measure as are the Democrats. In the recent session of the present congress there was a considerable element of the Republican party in favor of remedial legislation; but a few leaders, in control of the organization, despotically suppressed these members, and thus forced a real majority in the house to submit to a well-organized minority. The Republican National convention, instead of rebuking this attack upon popular government, enlarged congress and nominated as the Republican candidate for the vice presidency one of the men who shared in the responsibility for the coercion of the house. Our party demands that "the house of representatives shall again become a deliberative body, controlled by a majority of the people's representatives, and not by the speaker," and is pledged to adopt "such rules and regulations to govern the house of representatives as will enable a majority of its members to direct its deliberations and control legislation."

"Shall the people rule?" They can not do so unless they can control the house of representatives, and through their representatives in the house give expression to their purposes and their desires. The Republican party is committed to the methods now in vogue in the house of representatives—the Democratic party is pledged to such a revision of the rules as will bring the popular branch of the federal government into harmony with the ideas of those who framed our constitution and founded our government.

Other Issues Will Be Discussed Later.
"Shall the people rule?" I repeat, is declared by our platform to be the overshadowing question, and as the campaign progresses I shall take occasion to discuss this question as it manifests itself in other issues; for whether we consider the tariff question, the trust question, the railroad question, the banking question, the question of imperialism, the development of our waterways or any other of the numerous problems which press for solution, we shall find that the real question involved in each is, whether the government shall remain a mere business asset of favor seeking corporations, or be an instrument in the hands of the people for the advancement of the common weal.

Democratic Party Has Earned Confidence.
If the voters are satisfied with the record of the Republican party and with its management of public affairs we cannot reasonably ask for a change in administration; if, however, the voters feel that the people as a whole, have too little influence in shaping the policies of the government, if they feel that great combinations of capital have encroached upon the rights of the masses, and if they are dissatisfied with the instrumentalities employed, the government to secure an ever-sharper edge to the Republican party and in favor of the Democratic party.

Personally I am inclined to say: "Personally I am inclined to say that 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. 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?

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 heed 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 consolidation of this branch of the federal legislature? Through a Democratic victory, and through a Democratic victory only, can the people secure smaller parties are unable to secure under its present leadership, is resolutely opposed to it; 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.

Not Revolution, But Reformation.
The Democratic party seeks not revolution, but reformation, and I need 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 an arm tomorrow or a life the next day. So poison in the body politic can not be removed too soon, 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 closes 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, cunning undermined or government suspended this law, has a different law prevailed. To conform 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 election must come, if it comes at all, from the unpurchased and unpurchaseable suffrages of the American people, I promise, if entrusted with the responsibilities of this high office, to concentrate whatever ability I have to the one purpose of making this, in fact, a government in which the people rule—a government which will do justice to all, and offer to every one the highest possible stimulus to great and persistent effort, by assuring to each the enjoyment of his just share of the proceeds of his toil, no matter in what part of the vineyard he labors, or to what occupation, profession or calling he devotes himself.

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Arrangements have lately been made so that persons wanting to go to Kitson Springs can take the mail stage at Eugene, Goshen or Springfield and connect with the stage at Lowell for the springs by way of Hazel Dell, on Tuesdays, Thursdays, and Saturdays.

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