

# GOV. MARSHALL ACCEPTS CALL

## Candidate For Vice President Favors Safe Middle Course.

### DEMOCRACY IS IN THE HEART.

Would Follow the Ideals of Jefferson and the Constitution—Reformers Should Not Be Bled With Sore Toes. Defines Fundamental Democracy.

Indianapolis, Aug. 20.—In the presence of a distinguished company today Governor Thomas R. Marshall accepted the Democratic nomination for the vice presidency. He said:

Judge Parker and Gentlemen of the Notification Committee—Permit me to say that it is not my purpose on this occasion to present details. I wish merely to present some general observations clothed in homely language in the belief that they may be of value in fixing the opinion and determining the conduct of the intelligent voter this year.

Try as we may to separate the religious from the civic, the fact yet remains that good government has in it an element of morality. Neither constitutions nor laws nor ordinances can completely divorce civil government from religious sentiment. There are periods in the history of a people when the conflict between the good and the bad may involve almost all of the commandments. There is rarely a conflict in which at least the one commandment against covetousness does not become an issue, and this campaign is no exception to the rule.

It will be well for the voter to clear up some hazy definitions. We have for many years been entertaining a belief, founded upon no fact whatever, that Democracy and Republicanism represent different ideas of government. The Republican has looked upon the Democrat as a man opposed to the government. The Democrat has looked upon the Republican as a man opposed to the people's rule and in favor of aristocratic sway. It is time for us to remember that Democracy is not a system of government. Indeed, Democracy may find its expression in any one of numerous systems.

#### The Rule of the People.

The rule of the people is not essentially rule by the people. By their votes, even when Democracy has unfolded to full manhood suffrage, the people may have a monarchical form of government. The people's rule does not depend upon the number of votes nor necessarily upon the system of government under which they vote. Good or bad government must go back to good or bad citizenship, to intelligent or ignorant, to honest or dishonest electors. I venture the assertion that if the electoral franchise were now granted to all the citizens of Russia the Little Father would again be crowned in Peter's city.

American Democracy in its purity was intended to mean and I believe does mean something more than voting, something more than selecting officers. Like the sunlight, we cannot see it, yet we cannot see without it. And, like the sunlight, it has not only bathed this republic in a sea of beauty and glory, but it has warmed and nurtured every fruitage planted in the garden of universal brotherhood.

American Democracy does not depend upon caste or creed or condition, upon race or color, upon wealth or poverty, upon success or failure. But, unerringly, it does depend upon the inner life of the individual citizen. It is an inspiration and an aspiration. It does not always depend upon the ticket which a man votes. It does depend always upon the motive back of the ballot.

The historic Democratic party of America had its inspiration and its aspiration in the life and conduct of its great founder. It is time now to have a perfect concept of that Democracy, for in recent years we have divided ourselves into three classes, and the classification has been made not by the heart throbs of men, but by their social condition. We have those who are immeasurably rich and who are looking for more, and we have those who are unutterably poor and who are growing poorer. Between these extremes we have a great middle class living well and reasonably content except for the uncertainty of not knowing whether they are to rise into the first class or sink into the third.

#### Jefferson and Hamilton.

Many have assumed that only the unutterably poor and those sinking into that class were Democrats and that the immeasurably rich and the climbers were Republicans. But these divisions have not been logical. It was not the outward and visible which marked the inward and spiritual of Thomas Jefferson. Born of the bluest blood in the Old Dominion and accustomed as gentleman, scholar, diplomat and statesman to all the luxuries of his generation, he was the man who declared that all men were created equal and that all were endowed with certain inalienable rights, such as life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. Even to his dying hour this seeming aristocrat had not a single heart throb which was not in unison with the heart throbs of his fellow men. His great opponent in statecraft sprang from a lineage so lowly as to be unknown. With none of the advantages

of either fortune or family, Hamilton believed in hanging on princes' favors and in catering to the chosen few.

At its best human nature is weak. The cares of the world and the deceitfulness of riches oftentimes stifle generous impulses. Great crises are necessary to awaken many men to their sense of duty. It was because I thought a crisis to be at hand that four years ago I made the statement that 80 per cent of the people of Indiana were Democrats at heart even though they did not know it. I now enlarge that statement and declare that 80 per cent of the entire country believe in the historic Democracy of Thomas Jefferson. This campaign is going to rid the Democratic party of every man who does not believe in its principles and is going to add to the party's ranks, I hope, every man who does believe in them.

Men have allowed their personal interests, ambitions and prejudices to sway their political conduct, and consequently this great body of American citizens, thinking alike and feeling alike at heart, has never been united under one banner to fight for the common rights of common humankind. The strength of those determined to give every man his chance in life, unhampered and unaided by legislative enactment, and to strike down every species of special privilege (inuring to the benefit of a few); of those like minded in their view that government is a necessity and not a luxury and that business should have its large opportunity for success, but that this government was made for men, not corporations; for principles, not interests, and of those with sufficient courage and fortitude to drive the money changers from the temple of our national life, has been impoverished by desertions due to personal interests, ambitions and prejudices.

#### Time For Patriotism.

This campaign calls upon some for justice, upon others for charity, upon all for patriotism. It does not call for the bandying of epithets nor for an appeal to the personal. We may safely leave to that senile dementia which has seized the so-called Republican party the personalities of this campaign. Its unfitness to rule the republic is disclosed by its inability to keep its temper. It was cohesive so far as its leadership was concerned while it was engaged in looting the public, but even its leaders are now disorganized while quarreling over the loot. As for the party's bosses, the improper influences in American political life are about equally divided between them. Everywhere Boss Barnes is crossing swords with Boss Flinn, and their charges and countercharges disclose greatness only when we apply Emerson's statement, "Consistency is the hobgoblin of little minds."

How comes it that we have reached such a condition of affairs in America life that the party in power is rent in twain, that boss is charging boss with knavery, crookedness and dishonesty and that each faction is claiming an exclusive patent upon honesty and patriotism while avowing that the success of the other would spell irreparable ruin for the republic? And, more particularly, how comes this to pass under a Republican system of government consisting of co-ordinate branches to which were ceded by the people none of their inalienable rights, but only such powers as were thought to be needed to redress the wrongs, preserve the rights and keep unshackled the moral, intellectual and physical forces of mankind?

Though a majority of the people have been voting the Republican ticket and have been assuming thereby that the majority would rule, the disgraceful but purifying scenes which have been enacted recently in Republican conventions disclose that a large number of those who have been voting the Republican ticket are Democrats at heart. These scenes disclose further that we have been mistaken in some of our conclusions touching government in America. We have yielded a quiet assent to the proposition that a majority is all powerful and that a minority has no rights which a majority is bound to respect. But now we know that the theory of the historic Democratic party—that it is the right of a majority to rule, but only within constitutional limitations and without the usurpation of a single inalienable right of a single individual—is correct.

#### Majority a Minority.

It is only when majorities thus rule that governmental machines move without friction. The right of a majority to thus rule must always be conceded. I wonder, however, if it has dawned upon the sober second thought of this people that it is possible for a majority to be a minority and that it is equally possible for a minority to be a majority. At first blush it would seem that the officials elected by the plurality of votes become the representatives of the majority and that as such they rule. But I am not in error when I declare that it is not the mere number of votes which determines a majority in America in the sense of having the power to formulate the policy, enact the legislation and control the government, and I point to the election of 1908 for proof. The protest of every man who voted for President Taft and who is now dissatisfied with the president's management of public affairs proves that for four years a minority has been the majority in America. At the risk of offending the sensibilities of the Republican who voted for President Taft only to be dissatisfied with his administration, I am going to tell him that he is one of the men I counted in making 80 per cent of the voters of this country members of the historic Democratic party. His present protest

against the result of his ballot reveals his belief that it is not the business of government to grant, under the guise of taxation, to any class of citizens or to any member of society special privileges which are not granted to every other class and to every other member of society.

The social condition which we call Democracy and which finds its avenue of expression at the polls through our party is unalterably opposed to special privilege, whether granted by the law or seized by ruthless ambition. It is true the mother of all special privileges is the high protective tariff. All who voted the Democratic ticket at the last presidential election were unalterably opposed to this system of unjust taxation, and a sufficient number of those who voted the Republican ticket were likewise convinced of its iniquity to make an overwhelming majority against it. Save a favored few, all were agreed that relief, to a greater or less extent, should be afforded to the people from the unjust exactions of this system. All knew that we could not educate people of America indiscriminately, enlarge their views of life and happiness and then by the high cost of living deprive them of their pleasures without making of American life a seething cauldron of discontent. Theoretically speaking, therefore, the majority of votes, having put a party in power upon a platform pledged to relieve the people of these burdens, has been ruling under constitutional limitations. But this is not so. Immediately after the election the minority became the majority in the sense that it assumed control of legislation with reference to special privilege. All the members of the Democratic party and all the protesting members of the Republican party have been in the minority when it came to counting votes where the count fixed the cost of living. It may be said that this is a mere accident of politics, a single illustration, and that it will not occur again. But it is no accident. It is only one of many illustrations. It simply discloses the utter folly of a man remaining a member of a party when the party policy ceases to voice his inner spirit. The Republican party does not recede now from its protective theory. Its return to power will mean again the rule of a minority, and the theoretical idea of Democracy will continue to be the practical aristocracy of special privilege in this country.

#### Easy For the Voter.

The voter who cannot satisfy himself this year is indeed censorious. Eliminating the verbiage of platforms, taking their substance and viewing the candidates placed on them, the voter who believes that the cost of production at home and abroad should be equalized to the manufacturer of this country and who wants an oligarchy to rule may vote the straight Republican ticket; the voter who believes in a similar protective theory, but who prefers to an oligarchy that the president shall be the state, may vote the Progressive ticket; the voter who believes this government should be turned into a socialism may vote the Socialistic ticket; the voter who thinks that church and state are not separate in America and that the people have a right to settle religious questions and to determine by ballot what is good and what is bad may vote the Prohibition ticket, and all those who insist that it is not the business of government to equalize the cost of production at home and abroad to the manufacturer until it equalizes the difference in the purchase price to the consumer at home and abroad, who believes that the only equalization justifiable in our government is the equalization of opportunity, who thinks that public office is a public trust, who does not believe that disgruntled and defeated politicians are genuine reformers and who think that reforms are not born with sore toes may vote the Democratic ticket.

I respectfully urge all those who are opposed to special privilege to ally themselves this year with the historic Democracy, the cornerstone of whose edifice is the Declaration of Independence and the keystone of which is the Golden Rule. At Baltimore it proved its right to be, because there it arose and by its proposed policy met the needs and wants of a people. Am I to be met with the statement that results like those of the past four years might just as well have been produced under Democratic supremacy? This I deny. The kingdom of Democracy, like the kingdom of heaven, is within us. It comes not by observation. It is a living, growing, vital principle. It is as essential to the life of the man who is a Democrat as pure air or pure blood. The power to resist lying is not in the mouth but in the heart of a man. His power to resist larceny and murder is not in his fingers. Democrats, like poets, are born, not made. They are born with the fixed, unalterable belief that God made all men, not some men; that all men are entitled to an honest chance in life, unhampered and unharmed by law or custom. We may separate in language church and state, but we can never have that social condition which we call Democracy until all men living in the republic are full, not half, brothers; until all have been baptized in the blood of the spirit of the revolution and consecrated at every altar set up, north and south, in the war between the states.

#### Stop, Look and Listen.

Upon whom does this campaign call for justice? Many a man devotes himself sedulously to business not because he wants money for himself, but because he believes that jewels and luxuries will make his wife happy. Sometimes, too late, he finds that which she wanted was love, not luxury. So, too, many a man in America is devoting himself to the making of money

through legislatively granted privileges, not so much that he wants the money himself as that he wants to disclose the richness, greatness and prosperity of the American republic. Meanwhile he has not stopped to consider that while the few through special privilege are adding millions to the bank balances of this country the educated and impoverished many are looking down the years and seeing at the end of them nothing but an open grave in the potter's field. The spirit of democracy and his innate sense of justice call upon this man right now to stop and look and listen, to review what really makes for greatness in a people and to answer in the silent watches of the night the accusing voice of his own conscience, which tells him it is men, not money; brains, not business; love, not lucre; peace, not prosperity, which mark the greatness of a people. Let him answer that accusing voice by resolving that, though he may not make so many dollars in the future, he will not forget that every other man's wife and every other man's child in America is equally dear to him and that he degrades the graves of those who fell from Lexington to Appomattox and stamps himself a coward when he demands or receives the aid of the law in his conflict for supremacy. Too long have some been the recipients of money made through the toil of others and turned over by unequal and unjust taxing laws. It is good to love wealth and all that wealth can bring, but it is better to love the republic more than all the trappings of outside pomp and circumstance. From this good hour let these men fight their battles of life without handicapping their less fortunate brothers. Let them hang pictures of Nathan Hale in their bedrooms and as each day's light reveals his features unto them let them vow that as this old hero thought more of men than he did of British gold so they will dedicate their lives and consecrate their efforts to his splendid ideals.

#### An Hour For Charity.

Upon whom does the hour call for charity? There are thousands of us who have not reached the land overflowing with milk and honey. Still, we wander in the wilderness of industrial despair. Still are we able to gather manna only for a day, and still we look with longing on the fresh pots of Egypt. Discontent and bitterness have entered into our souls. So long have we been impressed with the iniquity of special privilege, with the arrogance of some rich men, with the power of money to produce peace or war, plenty or famine, that we have come to hate all those who have, and to believe that the possession of money is the mark of infamy and the badge of dishonor. If you be one of these, my brother, this hour calls upon you for charity. Many have succeeded honestly in this land; most have succeeded as they thought—honestly. There are but few who have not cared how success has come to them. Let us not condemn until the sheep have been separated from the goats. Let us understand that it is possible for the man in broadcloth and the man in hodge gray to be brethren in America. Let us await the developments of a brief time lest perchance the judgment of misfortune upon fortune may be unjust, not justice. Let us be sure before we strike. Let us condemn no man unheard, and let us give to every man his advocate in the forum of American brotherhood.

It will be observed that the sum of the justice and the charity for which I am contending is the revival of Jefferson's idea of equality before the law, not equality in muscle or brain or will or energy, but that equality which guarantees to every honest and industrious man his life, his liberty, his happiness and his chance. Justice and charity are always needed to enforce this guaranty. Get into the bread line if you will, but beware in so doing not to drive out a weaker brother.

I see a people the most marvelous which has ever sprung from the loins of time and the womb of destiny. Among them are all kindreds, tribes and tongues. What are they to become in the melting pot? They are of like passions, men with hopes, fears, ambitions, prejudices. Are they to evolve into castes, not of birth and lineage, but of success and failure? Out of the crucible of these years, heated with the fires of both seeming and real injustice, is a newer generation to be poured forth to the vassalage of the paternalistic system of government born under Republican misrule or to a socialism where success depends not upon merit and honest endeavor, but upon the mere drawing of the breath of life?

#### Playing the Ostrich.

It is idle for a thoughtful man in America, whether millionaire or pauper, to longer play the ostrich. Safety does not consist in hiding one's head in the sands of either sentiment or hope. It is foolish for the vastly rich to keep on insisting that more and more shall be added to their riches through a specious system of special legislation ostensibly enacted to run the government. In reality enacted to loot the people. It is worse than ignorance for them to smile at the large body of intelligent Americans who regard themselves fortunate if the debit and credit accounts of life balance at the end of each year and to assume that the mighty many who are becoming convinced that that social system which we call democracy is but a glittering generality will long endure the industrial slavery being produced. The hour has come when patriotism must consist in something more than eulogies upon the flag. Whether voting the ticket or not, men everywhere, looking upon the awful injustice of

this economic system, are becoming socialistic in theory if not in conduct. And shall any fair minded man say that, if it redounds to the interests of the people of this country that a hundred men should control its business to the good of every one, there is anything fallacious in the theory that government, instead of transferring business to a favored few for the benefit of all, should discharge that business for the benefit of all? I have never been able to convince myself that either system would not cast a pall over human action and dull the motives which have heretofore moved mankind to the very loftiest endeavor and produced what I conceive to be the most perfect system of government ever devised by the brain of man since that faroff theocracy of the Jew went down beneath his demand for the pomp and splendor of earthly power. And yet I do not hesitate to say that if it be impossible to restore this republic to its ancient ideals, which I do not believe, and I must make the ultimate choice between the paternalism of the few and the socialism of the many, count me and my house with the throbbing heart of humanity.

#### Three Grades of Citizens.

The discontent in Republican ranks is Democratic discontent. How much of it has reached the point where, wearied of the bad workings of a good system, it is willing to topple that system over and try something new I cannot prophesy. But I am quite sure that, whatever badges men may wear in America this year, whatever ballots they may cast and whatever battlecries they may utter, there are but three grades of citizens. The first grade is made up of the favored few, their hangers-on and their beneficiaries, who think the eagle is upon the dollar not as an emblem of liberty, but as an emblem of power, and who look upon government as an annex to their business affairs. These are they who in the past years of Republican misrule have turned the temple of constitutional freedom into a money changers' mart and have made of the co-ordinate branches of government obnoxious lackeys of the jingling guinea.

The second grade consists of those whose outlook upon life has been enlarged by the civilization under which we live, who have been taught by the school and the college, by the press and the magazine, who enjoy the good things of life, whose horizon has been enlarged and whose capacity for joy and sorrow has been increased. Year after year they have seen the boundless resources of the richest country the sun ever shone upon pass into the control of the favored few. They have observed that the laws have been enacted, construed and enforced so that, struggle as they will and act as they may, they see before them naught but long years of servitude and certain poverty at the end. Conditions have become unbearable to them. They hesitate to hope for reform, so often has it been promised to them and so often has it been denied. They have reached the point where, in the struggle for that which they believe to be right, they are willing to destroy the ideals of the republic. How many there are of these I do not know, but I do know that special privilege in the republic is breeding them day by day like rabbits in a warren.

The third grade of citizens it pleases me to call old fashioned constitutional Democrats. These are they who believe that the equality of mankind does not consist in an equality of brain and brawn, but in an equality whereby every man, native and foreign born, has an inalienable right to exercise all of his ability in getting on in the world just so he reaches that in getting on he owes it to himself, to his family and to the republic to see to it that he gets on honestly and that he does not prevent any other man from obtaining the reward of his honesty and enterprise. These old fashioned Democrats believe in making money, but they believe that every dollar made should be so clean that an infant may cut its teeth upon it. They hold that it is no part of government to boost one man and to boot another and that any system of government which enables one man to take advantage of another is not a system under which a Democratic condition of life can thrive. They hold that from age to age social and economic conditions change, but that the great principle of the equality of all men before the law can never change while time shall last and that the honest interpretation of this great principle in statutory enactment, judicial construction and executive conduct will take from the life of a people the mighty avarice of the few, bind up the broken hearts of the many and loose the bonds of all who are in slavery to wrong, injustice and ignorance.

#### Jefferson's Individualism.

The individualism of Thomas Jefferson is not dead. It has not moldered back to dust in the grave at Monticello. It walks the earth this day, knocking at the door of rich and poor, of wise and ignorant, alike, calling upon all men to make of this age the millennium of statecraft wherein no one shall claim to be the master and all shall be glad to be the servants of the republic. It cannot be that it is the system of government which is wrong. It is the unjust use of the system. From Jefferson to Lincoln the republic grew in might, in majesty, in pomp and splendor, and the humblest of its citizens could obtain justice, not as a beggar crawling in the sun, but as a man. It has not been the use but the misuse of the powers of government which has produced this discontent in the minds of men.

The historic Democratic party moves forward now, as always, true to the principles of the Declaration of Inde-

pendence, loyal to the constitution and confident that if men will be imbued with the spirit of these two documents and will guide their public and private life by the concepts of righteousness therein contained peace and plenty will bless their homes and come as a benison to every weary, downtrodden and oppressed soul.

The contending forces in America are as they are in nature. There is a centripetal force which is ever drawing the earth toward the sun. There is a centrifugal force which is ever drawing it away. These two contending forces, acting each upon the other, have kept this old world of ours safely in its orbit, and springtime and harvest have not failed. Should either force become superior desolation and destruction only could result. The centripetal force would draw the earth into the sun and make it but fuel for the warmth of other planets. The centrifugal force would send it whirling out of its orbit to the northern pole of stellar spaces. There are times in July when we long for the north pole, and there are times in January when we pray to be nearer the sun. But our sober second thought convinces us that the middle course is the safe course for the world.

#### Founded by the Fathers.

The contending forces of political life are commonly denominated reactionary and revolutionary. They are the paternalistic forces of the Republican party, which would draw our government out of its orbit and consume it in the fiery heat of the lust and greed of the favored few, and the socialistic forces, which would draw it away from its constitutional conception of three co-ordinate branches and from its guaranty to each individual of an opportunity to assert his natural and acquired talents in an honest endeavor to succeed. The historic Democratic party, of which I am a humble member, stands between these contending forces and believes that some harvest for humanity may be garnered by proceeding in the old orbit which the fathers founded, by meeting in the old way each generation of men as they shall rise, by never forgetting that this government was founded, not for business nor success, nor for incompetency and for failure, but to guarantee in lawful ways the opportunity of every man for liberty and for the pursuit of happiness. Old principles applied in new ways will convince these two extremes of thought that our historic party can make exist what now is but a name—Democracy under a representative form of government.

#### Faith in Democracy.

If I doubted that the return of the historic Democratic party to power would fall to right the wrongs of industrial life, to wipe out the injustices of legislation and to preserve the opportunity of every man for happiness, then my voice, now weak, would be silent. If I did not believe that in so far as human agency can this party of ours will promote the brotherhood of mankind I would here and now repudiate it. But believing as I do that the republic had its origin in an aspiration which did not come from the mere brain of a mere man, but sprang from the heart of humanity, believing that this age more than any which has preceded it calls for conscience and brotherhood in governmental affairs, hoping that every sacrifice of mind and body and personal good which has been made, is a guaranty of the perpetuity of this, the latest and greatest, experiment upon the part of a Democracy to work out its ideals in government, and trusting that the God of Washington, the founder, and of Lincoln, the preserver, will still be the God of the republic and will not permit his chosen people to forever wander in the wilderness of legislative sin, I accept upon its platform the nomination of the Democratic party for vice president of the United States. And may my right hand forget her cunning and my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth if in all my gettings I fail to get that greatest gift—wisdom and understanding to know the heart-break and the need of our common humanity.

#### Only a Family Spat.

"Getrude!"  
"Yes, John."  
"We've been married long enough now to talk plainly to each other."  
"What's the matter now?"  
"If I do something you don't like I want you to tell me of it, and if you do things I don't like I think I ought to tell you of them too."  
"I suppose I don't suit you at all?"  
"Yes you do, but I think we ought to talk over our likes and dislikes. In that way we can get along so much better."  
"John, I want you to understand right now that I was brought up every bit as well as you and know how to behave. And as to my cooking, I can do as well as your mother ever did."  
"I had hoped that you wouldn't lose your temper. But if you're going to act this way we may as well drop the matter right here."  
"What is the matter anyhow?"  
"I only wanted to suggest that when you darn my socks it would be better for me if you would tie the knot on the outside. Instead of the inside."  
Detroit Free Press.

#### A Debt Recognized.

"The world owes me a living!" stated the excitable theorist.  
"Well," replied the serene clergyman, "you're alive, aren't you?"—Washton Star.

#### The Point of View.

"Freddy," asked the teacher, "it does leap year mean?"  
"One extra day of school," replied Freddy sadly.—London Telegraph.