

ple? The ideals of America are written plain upon every page of American history. "And I want you to know how fully I realize whose servant I am. I do not own the government of the United States, even for the time being. I have no right in the use of it to express my own opinions. I have no right to express my own ambitions for the development of America if those ambitions are not coincident with the ambitions of the nation itself. And I have constantly to remind myself that I am not the servant of those who wish to enhance the value of their Mexican investments, but that I am the servant of the rank and file of the people of the United States.

"I get a great many letters, my fellow citizens, from important and influential men in this country, but I get a great many other letters. I get letters from unknown men, from humble women, from people whose names have never been heard and will never be recorded, and there is but one prayer in all of these letters."

"Mr. President, do not allow anybody to persuade you that the people of this country want war with anybody."

"I got off a train yesterday and as I was bidding good-bye to the engineer he said in an undertone, 'Mr. President, keep us out of Mexico,' and if one man has said that to me, a thousand have said it to me as I have moved about the country. If I have opportunity to engage them further in conversation they say, 'Of course we know that you cannot govern the circumstances of the case altogether, and it may be necessary, but

for God's sake do not do it unless it is necessary."

"I am, for the time being, the spokesman of such people, gentlemen. I have not read history without observing that the greatest forces in the world and the only permanent forces are the moral forces. We have the evidence of a very competent witness, namely, the first Napoleon, who said that as he looked back in the last days of his life upon so much as he knew of human history, he had to record the judgment that force had never accomplished anything that was permanent.

"Force will not accomplish anything that is permanent, I venture to say, in the great struggle which is now going on on the other side of the sea. The permanent things will be accomplished afterward when the opinion of mankind is brought to bear upon the issues, and the only thing that will hold the world steady is this same silent, insistent, all powerful opinion of mankind. Force can sometimes hold things steady until opinion has time to form, but no force that was ever exerted except in response to that opinion was ever a conquering and predominant force.

"I think the sentence in American history that I myself am proudest of is that in the introductory sentences of the Declaration of Independence, where the writers say that a due respect for the opinion of mankind demands that they state the reasons for what they are about to do. I venture to say that a decent respect for the opinion of mankind demanded that those who started

the present European war should have stated their reasons, but they did not pay any heed to the opinion of mankind, and the reckoning will come when the settlement comes.

"So gentlemen, I am willing, no matter what my personal fortunes may be, to play for the verdict of mankind. Personally it will be a matter of indifference to me what the verdict on the seventh of November is, provided I feel any degree of confidence that when a later jury sits I shall get their judgment in my favor. Not in my favor personally—what difference does that make?—but in my favor as an honest and conscientious spokesman of a great nation.

"There are some gentlemen who are under the delusion that the power of a nation comes from the top. It does not. It comes from the bottom. The power and virtue of the tree does not come from the blossom and the fruit down into the roots, but it comes from the roots in the obscure passages of the earth, where the power is derived which displays itself in the blossom and the fruit; and I know that among the silent, speechless masses of the American people is slowly coming up the great sap of moral purpose and love of justice and reverence for humanity which constitutes the only virtue and distinction of the American people.

Rulers Come From Anywhere.

"Look for your rulers of the future! Can you pick out the families that are going to produce them? Can you pick out the lo-

calities that are going to produce them? You have heard what has just been said about Abraham Lincoln. It is singular how touching every reference to Abraham Lincoln is. It always makes you feel that you wish you had been there to help him in some fashion to fight the battles that he was fighting sometimes almost alone.

"Could you have predicted, if you had seen Abraham Lincoln's birth and boyhood, where that great ruling figure of the world was going to spring from? I have provided over a university, but I never deceived myself by supposing that by university processes you were producing the ruling forces of the world. I knew that all that a university could do if it knew its business was to interpret the moral forces of the world and let the young men who set under its influence know the very truth of truths about where it came from, and that no man could produce it unless he felt in his blood every corporeal spring into delighted life with the mention of the ideals which have lifted men slowly, oh how slowly, up the arduous grades that have resisted progress since the world began.

"So, gentlemen, I have not come here tonight to do anything but to remind you that you do not constitute the United States, that I do not constitute the United States; that it is something bigger and greater and finer than any of us; that it was born in an ideal, and only by pursuing an ideal in the face of every adverse circumstance will it continue to deserve the beloved name which we love and for which we are ready to die, the name 'America.'"

Peace Without Sacrifice of National Honor

Wilson's Achievements Outlined by Senator Ollie James as Permanent Chairman of National Convention.

Following is the complete text of the speech of United States Senator Ollie James, of Kentucky, permanent chairman of the Democratic National Convention, delivered before the convention at St. Louis on June 15th:

ST. LOUIS, Mo., June 15.—The achievements of the Wilson administration in enacting beneficial legislation and in keeping the country at peace without sacrifice of the national honor were pronounced as epoch-making in American history by Senator Ollie M. James of Kentucky in his address today as permanent chairman of the Democratic National Convention.

"During three years of its national control," said Senator James, "Democracy has enacted into law more progressive remedial legislation than the nation has ever had written upon its statute books since its birth. In former national contests in the last two decades our party came as a prophet. Today we come with deeds, not words; with performance, not promise. The Democratic party has kept its word with the American people. We have made good."

The chairman reviewed at length the legislative record of the administration and eulogized the President for his direction of foreign affairs. The Democrats, he said, had enacted a tariff law under which monopolies were curbed and unexampled prosperity attained; a banking law taking the money control out of the hands of an oligarchy and making panics no longer possible; and many reform measures of lesser importance.

He decimated Wilson's Mexican policy and his course in protecting American rights against the encroachments of European belligerents has shown all the world that the President "neither bullies the weak nor fears the strong."

Mr. James said: "Mr. Chairman, Fellow Democrats, Ladies and Gentlemen: I greet my Democratic brethren of the Republic, the representatives of a proud, victorious and unconquerable Democracy—a Democracy whose life, achievements and history challenge the admiration of the world. We cheerfully meet face to face the public we have not betrayed to point with delight to a matchless record of promises we have kept."

During three years of its national control Democracy has enacted into law more progressive remedial legislation than the Nation has ever had written upon its statute books since its birth. In former national contests in the last two decades our party came as a prophet. We could only point out wrongs and promise remedies; but today we come with deeds, not words; with performance, not promise. Our deeds in the Nation have been greater than our words upon the hustings; our performance as the lawmaker greater than our promise as the campaigner. In other words, the Democratic party has kept its word with the American people. We have made good. We have by our conduct of the affairs of this Nation deserved the renewed confidence of its people by proving worthy of the confidence once bestowed.

The Democratic party believes that under this administration for the first time since the Civil War, it was enabled to send the Constitution of the United States in the interest of good government and the masses of the people. We freed the Senate from the control of the great interests by making it elective by the people at the polls. We wrote into the Constitution itself an amendment susceptible of no dispute that wealth should bear its proper burden of the taxation necessary to run the government efficiently, economically and honestly.

THE LOBBY.

President Wilson drove invisible government out of Washington and uncovered the mightiest lobby that ever ramified a republic or had its rendezvous in its capital. He drove the lobbyist out, he turned the American people in.



United States Senator Ollie James, of Kentucky.

THE TARIFF.

The Democratic party undertook to enact a new tariff law in keeping with the historic principles of the Democratic party and justice to all the people. The Democratic party believes that that right—taxation can only exist for the purpose of raising sufficient revenue to run the government. Taxation never did exist and never will in a free government for the purpose of enriching one class at the expense of all the rest of the people. We undertook the reformation of the tariff with open minds and clean hands, unswayed, unpledged to any interest except that of the public welfare, and we are proud of our achievement in writing into law the present Underwood-Simmons tariff bill. Not a schedule in it fosters a monopoly; not a rate in it protects a trust. We made as nearly free of taxation as possible the necessities of life, and sought to obtain as much revenue as they would bear from the luxuries of life. One of the greatest features of this law is the income tax, which raises from the fortunes of the rich, the prosperous, the well-to-do people of the nation \$120,000,000 per annum, and lifts this burden off the tables and backs of the poor. To my mind, no law is more just than that of an income tax. Those that prosper under the government ought to be willing to pay taxes to perpetuate it. It is a tax that forecloses no mortgages,

forces no sales. It is collected only where riches abound and prosperity smiles. Would the Republican party dare to suggest the repeal of this part of the tariff law? Will they be specific in their objections to this legislation? What schedule would they repeal? What rate would they increase? Would they substitute the Dingley rate or the Payne-Aldrich rate? If they were given control again, would they re-enact the tariff law that the Democratic party repealed, a bill that was repudiated by the Republican party itself at the polls?

Who is it, anyhow, that desires really the repeal of the present law, made by honest men for an honest purpose, that of raising revenue sufficient to defray the expenses of the government, and substitute in its stead the lobby-made, monopoly-breeding, trust-creating, millionaire-producing Payne-Aldrich bill? Our Republican friends told us when we enacted this bill into law that it would close the factories, fill the streets with idle men, produce a panic, create soup houses, and distress would reign everywhere; but we rejoice today to point to an unexampled prosperity in the nation, with labor more generally employed, at higher rates, shorter hours and better conditions than ever before. Our Republican friends tell us that after the war is over that poor, stricken, prostrate, torn, bleeding Europe will take our home market from us; that this young, virile Republic, with 100,000,000

freemen, that has gone out to take the foreign markets of the world, must tremble in great fear lest these warring countries with millions of their men—the flower and strength of their manhood—buried in the trenches, with their factories destroyed, their country laid waste, their charred and blood-soaked land filled with widows and orphans and crippled men, and upon them the heavy debt of all ages, will come here to this happy land, uncursed by war's ravages or its burden of debt, and take our home market from us. No, gentlemen, I have no such fear; America is going to take the markets of the world; we are going to meet our competitors in the other markets of the earth and take them, and this great people I fear no competitor at home that we are willing to meet away from home. With the freight rate and cost of transportation in our favor here, we certainly have nothing to fear when we are meeting them where the freight rate and transportation and many times adverse tariffs are in their favor. But we shall cut from them their last hope of having even a false issue, for we shall pass a bill creating a tariff board to gather the facts created by the new war conditions that may exist after peace is declared, and upon these official facts, obtained by men not interested in enriching themselves by taxing others, and with this gathered information be ready to meet every new condition which may arise.

FEDERAL RESERVE LAW.

Would our Republican opponents repeal the present Federal Reserve Law that emancipated the credit of a nation; that made the credit of the country to run in life-giving currents through the avenues of business? Under the old system a few men could create a panic, as the whole world witnessed in 1907, when all the world was at peace and enjoying unusual prosperity. A small group of men upon Manhattan Island precipitated over night one of the greatest panics in the history of the nation. It toppled values, wrecked fortunes, destroyed holdings, turned out of employment thousands of men, and locked the door of almost every bank in the country against the depositor who called for his own money. The Republican party—in control for 40 years of our national life—either did not have the ability or the courage or the desire to remedy this brutal system that I aged the money of the nation in the control of this heartless group of men. The Democratic party took control of this nation, and under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson met this great problem. We took the money control out of the hands of this oligarchy; we lodged its control in the hands of the government and created the Federal Reserve banks of the country. We rested the finances of the great people of this nation upon what they own, and not upon what they owe. The output of the factory, the ore of the mine, the business achievements of the people, was the basis of the money issued under this new system. What would have been the result if the old Republican system had been in effect when the world's war broke upon us? The stock exchanges in every city in the world were closed. Europe poured its vast holdings in plethoric streams upon our shores. The cry that went up from all the nations of the old world was, "We want gold." Who thinks that the Republican system of finance under the guidance of these patriotic guardians would have been able to withstand this mighty cataclysm in the peace and credit of the world? But what was the result? Not a bank closed its doors; not a laborer was thrown out of employment; not a business man was forced into bankruptcy; but there stood strong, serving the masses of mankind, this great legislative achievement of the Democratic party. Panics no longer are possible. The truth of it is, they have only come when the Republican party was in control of its affairs or the laws that it had enacted were repealed upon our statute books.