

strument in protecting their rights and guarding their interests. When the day comes for the world's peace to be restored and for the treaties to be written that will guard against future wars, what administration is more worthy of the honor than the administration that has given to three-quarters of the world a treaty plan that makes war a remote possibility between us and nearly all the principal nations of the earth?

I believe that there is now before this country an opportunity such as no other country has ever had since the beginning of time. I believe that God, in His providence, has reserved for the United States the honor and the task of lifting the moral code that governs individuals up to the

level of nations and making it a part of the code of all governments.

There is a picture that has attracted attention wherever it has been exhibited—the picture of Christ before Pilate. Pilate represented the power of the Roman government, and back of him were the legions of Rome. Before Pilate, helpless, unarmed, stood the Apostle of Love. Force triumphed; they nailed him to the tree, and those who stood around mocked and jeered and said, "He is dead!" But that, instead of being the end, was only the beginning. In a few centuries the power of Caesar was gone and his legions forgotten; but the power of Christ, increased until hundreds, yes, thousands of millions have taken His name with reverence upon their lips;

millions have been ready to die rather than surrender the faith He put into their hearts. He has become the great fact of history, the growing figure of all time. Today Christ and Pilate again stand face to face—Force and Love are again striving for mastery and dominion. The old world represents force. It built its hope of peace on fear and threats of violence. Each nation attempted to terrorize other nations into peace, and in their efforts they engendered hatreds that ended in war.

If the nations now at war had spent one-tenth as much trying to cultivate friendship as they have spent in cultivating hatred, there would be no war in Europe today. If I understand this nation's opportunity and this nation's task, it is to lead the

world away from its false philosophy and help it to build its hope of permanent peace on the foundation of love and brotherhood and co-operation.

If this is to be the task of this nation, what party is more fit to perform the task than the party that preaches the brotherhood of man as next in importance to the fatherhood of God?

I, as a lover of my country, want my country to win this greatest of all prizes. As a Democrat, I want my party to have the honor that will come with the accomplishment of such a task. As a lover of my country and as a Democrat I join you in the endeavor to give to Woodrow Wilson the opportunity to perform this task for the nation and the world.

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL PLATFORM

Full Text of the Declaration of Principles Adopted by the Democratic National Convention at St. Louis, June 16, 1916

Following is the text of the platform adopted by the Democratic National Convention, St. Louis, on June 16th:

The Democratic party, in national convention assembled, adopts the following declaration to the end that the people of the United States may both realize the achievements wrought by four years of Democratic administration and be apprised of the policies to which the party is committed for the further conduct of national affairs.

RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT.

We endorse the administration of President Woodrow Wilson. It speaks for itself. It is the best exposition of sound Democratic policy at home and abroad.

We challenge comparison of our record, our keeping of pledges and our constructive legislation with those of any party of any time.

We found our country hampered by special privilege, a vicious tariff, obsolete banking laws, and an inelastic currency. Our foreign affairs were dominated by commercial interests for their selfish ends. The Republican party, despite repeated pledges, was impotent to correct abuses which it had fostered. Under our administration, under a leadership which has never faltered, these abuses have been corrected, and our people have been freed therefrom.

Our archaic banking and currency system, prone to panic and disaster under Republican administration—long the refuge of the money trust—has been supplanted by the federal reserve act, a true democracy of credit under government control, already proved a financial bulwark in a world crisis, mobilizing our resources, placing abundant credit at the disposal of legitimate industry, and making a currency panic impossible.

We have created a federal trade commission to accommodate the perplexing question arising under the anti-trust laws so that monopoly may be strangled at its birth and legitimate industry encouraged. Fair competition in business is now assured.

We have effected an adjustment of the tariff, adequate for revenue under peace conditions, and fair to the consumer and to the producer. We have adjusted the burdens of taxation so that swollen incomes bear their equitable share. Our revenues have been sufficient in times of world stress and will largely exceed the expenditures for the current fiscal year.

We have lifted human labor from the category of commodities and have secured to the working man the right of voluntary association for his protection and welfare. We have protected the rights of the laborer against the unwarranted issuance of writs of injunction, and have guaranteed to him the right of trial by jury in cases of alleged contempt committed outside the presence of the court.

We have advanced the parcel post to genuine efficiency, enlarged the postal savings system, added 19,999 rural delivery routes and extensions, thus reaching 2,500,000 additional people, improved the postal service in every branch, and for the first time in our history, placed the postoffice system on a self-supporting basis, with actual surplus in 1913, 1914 and 1916.

ECONOMIC FREEDOM.

The reforms which were most obviously needed to clear away privilege, prevent unfair discrimination, and release the energies of men of all ranks and advantages, have been effected by recent legislation. We must now remove, so far as possible, every remaining element of unrest and uncertainty from the path of the business men of America, and secure for them a continued period of quiet, assured and confident prosperity.

TARIFF.

We reaffirm our belief in the doctrine of a tariff for the purpose of providing sufficient revenue for the operation of the government, economically administered and unreservedly endorsing the Underwood tariff law as truly exempting that doctrine. We recognize that tariff rates are necessarily subject to change to meet changing conditions in the world's production and trade. The events of the last two years have brought about many momentous changes. In some respects their effects are yet conjectural and wait to be disclosed, particularly in regard to our foreign trade.

Two years of a war which has directly involved most of the chief industrial nations of the world and which has indirectly affected the life and industry of all nations, are bringing about economic changes more varied and far-reaching than the world has ever before experienced. In order to ascertain just what these changes

may be, the Democratic Congress is providing for a non-partisan tariff commission to make impartial and thorough study of every economic fact that may throw light either upon our past or upon our future fiscal policy with regard to the imposition of taxes on imports or with regard to the changed and changing conditions under which our trade is carried on.

We cordially endorse this timely proposal and declare ourselves in sympathy with the principle and purpose of shaping legislation within that field in accordance with the demands of selfish interest or upon information provided largely, if not exclusively, by them.

AMERICANISM.

The part that the United States will play in the new day of international relationships which is now upon us will depend upon our preparation and our character. The Democratic party, therefore, recognizes the assertion and triumphant demonstration of the indivisibility and coherent strength of the nation as the supreme issue of this day in which the whole world faces the crisis of manifold change. It summons all men, of whatever origin or creed, who would count themselves Americans to join in making clear to all the world the unity and consequent power of America.

This is an issue of patriotism. To taint it with partisanship would be to defile it. In this day of test America must show itself, not a nation of partisans, but a nation of patriots. There is gathered here in America the best of the blood, the industry and the genius of the whole world, the elements of a great race and a magnificent society to be melted into a mighty and splendid nation.

Whoever, actuated by the purpose to promote the interests of a foreign power, in disregard of our own country's welfare, or to injure this government in its foreign relations or cripple or destroy its industries at home, and whoever, by arousing prejudices of a racial, religious or other nature, creates discord and strife among our people so as to obstruct the wholesome process of unification, is faithless to the trust which the privileges of citizenship repose in him and disloyal to his country.

We therefore condemn as subversive of this nation's unity and integrity and as destructive of its welfare the activities and designs of every group or organization, political or otherwise, that has for its object the advancement of the interests of a foreign power, whether such object is prompted by intimidating the government, a political party or representatives of the people, or which is calculated and tends to divide our people into antagonistic groups, and thus to destroy that complete agreement and solidarity of the people and that unity of sentiment and national purpose so essential to the perpetuity of the nation and its free institutions.

We condemn all alliances and combinations of individuals in this country of whatever nationality or descent, who agree to conspire together for the purpose of embarrassing or weakening our government or of improperly influencing or coercing our public representatives in dealing or negotiating with any foreign power. We charge that such conspiracies among a limited number exist and have been instigated for the purpose of advancing the interests of foreign countries, to the prejudice and detriment of our own country. We condemn any political party which, in view of the activity of such conspirators, surrenders its integrity or modifies its policy.

PREPAREDNESS.

Along with the proof of our character as a nation must go the proof of our power to play the part that legitimately belongs to us. The people of the United States love peace. They respect the rights and covet the friendship of all other nations. They desire neither any additional territory nor any advantage which cannot be peacefully gained by their skill, their industry, or their enterprise; but they insist upon having absolute freedom of national life and policy, and feel that they owe it to themselves and to the role of spirited independence which it is their sole ambition to play that they should render themselves secure against the hazard of interference from any quarter, and should be able to protect their rights upon the seas or in any part of the world.

We, therefore, favor the maintenance of an army fully adequate to the requirements of order of safety, and of the protection of the nation's rights, the fullest development of modern methods of sea coast defense and the maintenance of an adequate reserve of citizens trained to arms and prepared to safeguard the people and territory of the

United States against any danger of hostile action which may unexpectedly arise; and a fixed policy for the continuous development of a navy worthy to support the great naval traditions of the United States and fully equal to the international tasks which the United States hopes and expects to take a part in performing. The plans and enactments of the present Congress afford substantial proof of our purpose in this exigent matter.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS.

The Democratic administration has throughout the present war scrupulously and successfully held to the old paths of the legitimate objects of our national life which statesmen of all parties and creeds have prescribed for themselves in America since the beginning of our history. But the circumstances of the last two years have revealed necessities of international action which no former generation can have foreseen. We hold that it is the duty of the United States to use its power, not only to make itself safe at home, but also to make secure its just interests throughout the world, and, both for this end and in the interest of humanity, to assist the world in securing settled peace and justice.

We believe that every people has the right to choose the sovereignty under which it shall live, that the small States of the world have a right to enjoy from other nations the same respect for their sovereignty and for their territorial integrity that great and powerful nations expect and insist upon; and that the world has a right to be free from every disturbance of its peace that has its origin in aggression or disregard of the rights of peoples and nations; and we believe that the time has come when it is the duty of the United States to join with the other nations of the world in any feasible association that will effectively serve these principles, to maintain inviolate the complete security of the highway of the seas for the common and unhindered use of all nations.

The present administration has consistently sought to set upon and realize in its conduct of the foreign affairs of the nation the principle that should be the object of any association of the nations formed to secure the peace of the world and the maintenance of national and individual rights. It has followed the highest American traditions. It has preferred respect for the fundamental rights of smaller States even to property interests, and has secured the friendship of the people of these States for the United States by refusing to make a more material interest an excuse for the assertion of our superior power against the dignity of their sovereign independence.

It has regarded the lives of its citizens and the claims of humanity as of greater moment than material rights, and peace as the best basis for the just settlement of commercial claims. It has made the honor and ideals of the United States its standard alike in negotiation and action.

PAN-AMERICAN CONCORD.

We recognize now, as we have always recognized, a definite and common interest between the United States with the other peoples and republics of the Western Hemisphere in all matters of national independence and free political development. We favor the establishment and maintenance of the closest relations of amity and mutual helpfulness between the United States and the other republics of the American continent for the support of peace and the promotion of a common prosperity.

To that end we favor all measures which are necessary to facilitate intimate intercourse and promote commerce between the United States and her neighbors to the South of us, and such international understandings as may be practicable and suitable to accomplish these ends.

We commend the action of the Democratic administration in holding the pan-American financial conference at Washington in May, 1915, and organizing the international high commission which represented the United States in the recent meeting of representatives of the Latin-American republics at Buenos Aires, April, 1916, which have so greatly promoted the friendly relations between the people of the Western Hemisphere.

MEXICO.

The Monroe doctrine is reasserted as a principle of Democratic faith. That doctrine guarantees the independent republics of the two Americas against aggression from another continent. It implies, as well, the most scrupulous regard upon our part for the sovereignty of each of them. The want of a stable, responsible government in Mexico, capable of repressing and punishing

marauders and bandit bands, who have not only taken the lives and seized and destroyed the property of American citizens in that country, but have insolently invaded our soil, made war upon and murdered our people thereon, has rendered it necessary temporarily to occupy, by our armed forces, a portion of the territory of that friendly State. Until by the restoration of law and order therein, a repetition of such incursions is improbable, the necessity for their remaining will continue.

Intervention, implying as it does military subjugation, is revolting to the people of the United States, notwithstanding the provocation to that course has been great, and should be resorted to, if at all, only as a last resort. The stubborn resistance of the President and his advisers to every demand and suggestion to enter upon it, is creditable alike to them and to the people in whose name he speaks.

MERCHANT MARINE.

Immediate provision should be made for the development of the carrying trade of the United States. Our foreign commerce has in the past been subject to many unnecessary and vexatious obstacles in Congress. Until the recent Democratic tariff legislation it was hampered by unreasonable burdens of taxation.

Until the recent banking legislation it had at its disposal few of the necessary instrumentalities of international credit and exchange. Until the formulation of the pending act to promote the construction of a merchant marine, it lacked even the prospect of adequate carriage by sea.

We heartily endorse the purposes and policy of the pending shipping bill, and favor all such additional measures of constructive or remedial legislation as may be necessary to restore our flag to the seas and then provide further facilities for our foreign commerce, particularly such laws as may be made to remove unfair conditions of competition in the dealings of American merchants and producers with competitors in foreign markets.

CONSERVATION.

For the safeguarding and quickening of the life of our own people, we favor the conservation and development of the natural resources of the country through a policy which shall be positive rather than negative—a policy which shall not withhold such resources from development, but which, while permitting and encouraging their use, shall prevent both waste and monopoly in their exploitation, and we earnestly favor the passage of acts which will accomplish these objects, and we reaffirm the declaration of the platform of 1912 on this subject.

The policy of reclaiming our arid lands should be steadily adhered to.

THE ADMINISTRATION AND THE FARMER.

We favor the vigorous prosecution of investigations and plans to render agriculture more profitable and country life more healthful, comfortable and attractive, and we believe that this should be a dominant aim of the nation as well as of the States. With all its recent improvements, farming still lags behind other occupations in development as a business, and the advantages of an advancing civilization have not accrued to rural communities in a fair proportion.

Much has been accomplished in this field under the present administration—far more than under any previous administration. In the federal reserve act of the last Congress and the rural credits act of the present Congress the machinery has been created which will make credit available to the farmer constantly and readily, and he has at last been put upon a footing of equality with the merchant and the manufacturer in securing the capital necessary to carry on his enterprises.

Grades and standards necessary to the intelligent and successful conduct of the business of agriculture have also been established, or are in the course of being established, by law. The long-needed cotton futures act, passed by the Sixty-Third Congress, has now been in successful operation for nearly two years. A grain grades bill, long needed, and a permissive warehouse bill, intended to provide better storage facilities and to enable the farmer to obtain certificates upon which he may secure advances of money, have been passed by the House of Representatives, have been favorably reported to the Senate, and will probably become law during the present session of Congress.

Both Houses have passed a good roads measure which will be of far-reaching benefit to all agricultural communities.