

## CUMMINS OPENS IOWA CAMPAIGN

COMING ELECTION MEANS MUCH TO THIS COUNTRY

Speech of Insurgent Senator Ignores Taft and Scores Standpat Congressmen

DES MOINES, Iowa, August 4.—One of the most important political addresses that has been delivered in this state in many years was that of Senator Cummins at the republican state convention here yesterday.

While Theodore Roosevelt was spoken of in the address, the name of William H. Taft was not mentioned, and only a very few references to him as president were made by the speaker.

Senator Cummins said in part: Gentlemen of the Convention—Harmony is like the poet, it is born, not made. If it is amongst us we will speedily hear its sweet sounds; but if it is not here, the effort to create it with deceitful protestations and false phrases will end in miserable failure. There is more discord in the suppression of honest conviction than in the open, candid expression of opposing views.

This is not an age of plain living, but it is an age of plain speaking, and therefore, "with malice toward none, and charity for all," I speak to you according to the truth as I see it, and according to my duty as I understand it.

This convention, although composed wholly of republicans, is the outcome of a political struggle, is the ried on with exceeding earnestness in every county of the state. There may be a few delegates who are here by accident, but substantially all of you are here by design. A conscious purpose behind you and a clear obligation is before you.

Every man who believes in free government must believe in the rule of the majority, but that implies no more than a peaceful submission to the will of the majority, and does not imply the surrender of the high privilege of recording a sincere belief.

In dealing with these problems the members of our party have ranged themselves along the whole stretch of economic thought and governmental action—from the hopeless and retreating reactionary to the extreme and visionary radical. The rear division of this long line with all its varying shades of political doctrine, has come to be known as the standpatters; while the other, with some diversity of opinion upon specific questions, marches forward under the name of the progressives.

It is probably true that some of the progressives want to go too fast and do too much. It is certainly true that there are many of the standpatters who want either to go back or do nothing at all.

I recur in this unparalleled situation to the calm and optimistic philosophy of Abraham Lincoln, who, in the epochal debate of 1858, after quoting the maxim "A house divided against itself cannot stand," said:

"I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free. I do not expect the union to be dissolved. I do not expect the house to fall, but I do expect it will cease to be divided. It will become all one thing or all the other."

It is even so with the republican party. It cannot endure permanently half progressive and half standpat. I do not expect to see it either defeated or dissolved, but it must speedily become all progressive or all standpat.

I understand perfectly that there are some short-sighted men amongst us who will continue either to bewail or denounce individual independence, and who will deplore free criticism of party leaders and party acts, believing that to be independent of an assumed leadership and to give expression to honest censure of a party measure is to destroy party unity, and to invite democratic victory. Such men disparage both the intelligence and the patriotism of the people. The voters of the country know that there is infinitely more hope of making the republican party progressive than there is of efficient and comprehensive legislation from the democrats.

The character of the problems which now hold the first place in the American mind makes the republican view of the constitution vital to the common good. I admit that the differences between republicans are many and that they are important; but any republican who, by reason of these differences, votes for a democratic candidate will find that he has jumped from the frying pan into the fire.

### Vote for Party Candidates

I reiterate what I have always said in every campaign during the stormy decade in which I have been in public office. We will fight with all the strength that is in us before the nominations are made, but when they are made in the appointed way we will stand shoulder to shoulder for

the republican candidates, and in this spirit I appeal to every republican in the state to give his voice and his vote to every candidate on the ticket, whether national or state.

### Protection

There is not a republican anywhere who does not yield to the protective system unreserved and unwavering allegiance. Aldrich, Lodge, Hale, Cannon, Payne and Dazell may be its sincere advocates, but in zeal for its perpetuation, and in the eloquence of its defense they cannot surpass Nelson, Clapp, Beveridge, LaFollette, Dolliver and Bristow.

There has been no controversy, and there can be none, between republicans as to the soundness or value of this doctrine.

So long as there was full and free competition in our own country it mattered little how excessive the duties were, because the rivalry among domestic producers could be depended upon to bring prices to a fair American level. We did not, therefore, seriously concern ourselves about a scientific adjustment of the tariff. Our manufacturers were protected against competition from abroad, and our consumers were protected by the natural laws of business at home.

As time passed on, however, there appeared a new factor in the industrial and commercial life of the United States, and the era of consolidation and monopoly began. With a rapidity that even now it is hard to comprehend, business of all kinds rushed into close union, and scattered capital was drawn into the strong embrace of trusts and consolidations.

Safe from the competition of other countries, it became the chief object of our manufacturers to destroy competition in their own country. They accomplished their purpose so effectually that years ago in nearly every important field of production prices ceased to be the result of the time-honored laws of trade, and the power of determining profits fell into the hands either of a monopoly or an acknowledged master in protected industry.

Then came a demand for a revision of the tariff. It originated in the necessities of the people, and was founded upon the fundamental instinct for justice. They felt the duties should be so modified that the continued insistence upon unfair prices would expose our manufacturers to the correction of foreign competition.

In this demand there was no disloyalty to the doctrine of protection, although for a short period the beneficiaries of excessive duties succeeded in confusing the issue.

### Standpatism Means Monopoly

It was then that the standpatter adopted the name which he now bears, and his campaign cry was "Let well enough alone." The movement, however, was irresistible and the republican national convention of 1898 responding, not only with unanimity but with enthusiasm to the progressive sentiment of the rank and file of the party, not only pledged the incoming congress to a revision of the tariff, but defined the doctrine of protection with a care and precision unknown to any former platform. It solemnly prescribed a rule with which to measure import duties, to the end that both producer and consumer, both capital and labor, might share in our prosperity.

In redemption of the pledge so made, the president convened the new congress in special session, and it did revise the tariff.

I have never been much interested in the debate over the technical proposition that our promise was to revise the tariff downward. Beyond dispute, the people generally expected that it would be revised downward, because they knew that the duties were too high, and were greatly more than the difference between the cost of production here and elsewhere.

### What the Pledge Was.

But whatever may have been said in the campaign, I agree that there was no formal pledge in the platform to revise the tariff downward.

There was, however, a pledge that it should be revised so that the duties upon protected commodities should be the difference between the cost of producing them here and in other countries, with a fair profit added, and the intent, as everybody will concede, was, that our manufacturers should be able to enter our markets and sell their products at a fair price as against their foreign competitors; and it was the further intent that grossly excessive profits growing out of abnormal prices should be prevented by reducing the duties to a point that would admit importations whenever our own manufacturers raised their prices above the level of fairness and decency.

I believe that ninety-nine republicans in every hundred desired a revision that would keep the faith and accomplish the purpose. I believe that the president wanted to fulfill the promises of the party, and to make good his own declarations; but the leaders of both the house and the senate refused to recognize the party

pledge; refused to be guided by the rule which had been announced, and forced through congress a tariff bill without even the pretense of attempting to ascertain, or of applying when ascertained, the standard which the party had established.

Some republicans, hard done as they could be, made the 501 what it should have been, finally voted for it, and I have no word of censure for them, for they did what they believed to be their duty. Some of us voted against the bill, and we make no apology for our votes.

### Open Repudiation of Pledges.

If there had been an honest attempt to fix duties according to the cost of production I might have yielded my view on the question of fact; but there was no such attempt, and I, for one, refused to follow, and would refuse again to follow Aldrich, Hale, Lodge, Cannon, Payne and Dazell into a sneering, contemptuous, open repudiation of my party platform.

It is not a republican measure, although passed by republican votes, for the men who are chiefly responsible for it thought more of swelling the overgrown fortunes of their intimate friends than they thought of the party's principles, the party pledge, or the welfare of a long suffering people.

We have revised the tariff in response to an overpowering republican sentiment, and have succeeded in taking off about one-fourth-second of the average imposition upon dutiable goods.

Let me, however, again warn republicans who are of my way of thinking concerning the shortcomings of this measure that the failure of the republican leaders in congress to abide by our platform furnishes no reason for delivering this country into the hands of the democrats.

Our course, it seems to me, is set plainly before us. I do not favor an immediate general revision of the tariff, indeed I earnestly hope that we may never be compelled to enter upon another general readjustment of the system.

In our last attempt it was made clearer than ever before, first, that some better way must be found than we now have of securing information as to cost here and abroad; and second, that we must amend the schedules separately. As to the first, the way will be found in the creation of an independent, nonpartisan tariff commission, not to change the law, for that is, and must remain, the work of congress; but to collect and lay before congress and before the people the facts.

When this is done there will be neither high tariff man nor low tariff man who will venture to disregard his duty. Fortunately, the demand for such a commission has become almost unanimous among republicans, and the few who still oppose it will soon disappear from public life.

As to the second, we must insist upon a law, or rule of congress that will allow one schedule to be amended or revised without going over the whole range of the tariff. We must exclude the opportunity for the trades and combinations which now dishonestly legislate. We must make it impossible to coerce or bribe a member of congress into voting for what he knows to be wrong in order to get what he believes to be right.

Happily, the movement for such a rule or law is steadily advancing, and it will not be long until it, too, will embrace every republican in the land.

### Railroad Regulation.

The most important legislation of

the last session of congress was the amendment to the interstate commerce law. The regulation of common carriers is altogether the most difficult undertaking upon which the government has entered, and it will require all the independence which a popular selection of lawmakers can supply; all the intelligence which general education and specific study can contribute, and all the courage which the highest type of patriotism can create to carry the government to a safe and just conclusion.

It would be an intricate and trying problem, even if the railway corporations would co-operate with congress in the effort to enact the proper legislation, but their co-operation is not to be expected. They will, in the future as they have in the past, resist every proposal to increase the efficiency of the regulation and control already in our statutes. Their influence exerted in a thousand ways and flowing in a thousand channels, is oftentimes hard to discover, and always hard to overcome.

Although the law was greatly strengthened in 1906 under the pious and patriotic leadership of Theodore Roosevelt, the experience of four years demonstrate that the power of the interstate commerce commission should be materially enlarged, and we of the west, at any rate, felt that there should be some restriction upon common carrier corporations engaged in interstate traffic with respect to the issuance of stocks and bonds.

The history of the previous decade in our national platform in 1908 made emphatic references to this phase of the subject. The president assured the initiative, but unfortunately, as I view it, he delegated to the attorney general the task of preparing a bill to be laid before congress. I have no reason to doubt the honesty of the attorney general, but he had just come from a long professional training and association which unfitted him to deal wisely with this subject, and there came from his hands into the house and senate a bill which, if it had passed, as Aldrich so emphatically declared it should pass, would have consigned the republican party to eternal disgrace and defeat.

### Remade the Bill

With the introduction of the bill there began such a struggle as has been rarely witnessed between the forces of progress and reaction. The progressive republicans did not get all they wanted, not all they ought to have had, but they succeeded in converting a measure which in its original form would have been a long step backward into a measure that is a gratifying step forward.

We earnestly contended that no increase in rates should hereafter go into effect until approved by the commission. This seems fair and just, inasmuch as the carriers made the rates that are now in force, and it may, therefore, be assumed that they are remunerative.

We failed in that effort, but as a substitute for it, it was provided that the commission can suspend new rates for a period of ten months, and that in all hearings as to the reasonableness of rates the burden of proof shall rest upon the railway companies.

We insisted that no injunction restraining an order of the commission should be issued without notice, and that there should be the right of appeal from any such injunction. The bill was so amended.

We contended that the shipper who had complained to the interstate

commerce commission, and had won his case, should have the right to appear in any suit that was brought by the railway companies to annul his victory. It is now in the law.

We urged that no greater jurisdiction over the interstate commerce commission should be conferred upon the commerce court than is now exercised by the circuit courts, and the bill was so amended.

We kept the anti-trust law intact. We remembered that it had dissolved two vicious traffic associations; that it had annihilated the Northern Securities company; that it had decreed the death of the American Tobacco company, and, finally, had sent the terror of disintegration into the ranks of the Standard Oil company, and we did not intend to see its vigor impaired or its scope narrowed until something better could be enacted in its stead.

We attempted, with all the strength we had, to put into the bill a fair and effectual provision which would have prevented the issuance of stocks and bonds without full compensation, and that would have rendered impossible hereafter the exhibitions of dishonesty and extravagance that have so startled the world in the last few

years in railroad capitalization.

### Wall Street Interests

Certain republicans who are enamored with the manipulations of Wall street, joining themselves with certain democrats who found no authority in the constitution for such legislation, defeated our amendment. We are not, however, without hope, for under the recommendation of the president a provision was adopted which will insure an immediate investigation of the subject, and we may shortly be more successful in our efforts to regulate railway stocks and bonds.

Upon the whole, the republican party is to be congratulated upon the bill, as it became a law. It is a step in the right direction, and ultimately we will reach the end toward which all patriots are striving.

I trust I will not be accused of any desire to stir up factional feelings for saying, as I am bound to say, that had it not been for the progressive republicans in the senate, men who have been derided throughout the country as insurgents, the bill would have passed the senate as it came from the pen of the attorney general, and the republican party

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## AUCTION AUCTION

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