THE GOLD LEAF

THURSDAY, SEPT. 6, 1906.

BRYAN DISCUSSES POLITICAL ISSUES

20,000 Persons Cheer Nebraskan at New York Reception.

TRUSTS THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE

He Outlined What Democratic Policy Should Be, and Mighty Cheers For William R. Hearst Greeted His Declaration For Government Ownership

of Railroads. New York, Aug. 31. - The homecoming of William J. Bryan was made filled with tears as he stood and acknowledged the thundering welcome from 20,000 throats. For eight minutes, while the Garden seemed to sway and shake from the shouts and applause, he strode nervously from side to side of the narrow platform.

The reception, which was given under the auspices of the Commercial Travelers' Anti-Trust League, proved really to be the sounding of the Democratic campaign call. Mr. Bryan's speech was a clear-cut outline of his ideas as to what Democratic policy States senators by the people; regulation of trusts by the government; a universal eight-hour day; settlement of all international disputes by arbitration rather than by resort to force. and revision of the tariff-were some of his points. Mr. Bryan declared, however, that he was merely expressing his own opinion and not attempting to forecast the policy of his party. When Mr. Bryan rose to speak he was greeted with tumultuous applause. He said in part:

Mr. Bryan's Speech.

all travelers who have visited other lands. I return with delight to the land of my birth, more proud of its people, with more confidence in its government and grateful to the Providence that east my lot in the United States nation could show such a rec ord of benevolence and disinterested friendship. My love for our form of government has been quickened as I have visited castles and towers and peered into dark dungeons, and I am glad that our nation, profiting by the experience of the past and unhampered by traditions and unfettered by caste has been permitted to form a new centre of civilization on new soil and erect here "a goverament of the people, by the people and for the people.

The first message that I bring from the old world is a mexinge of peace. The cause of arbitration is making real progress in spite of the fact that the nations most prominent in the establishment of The Hague tribunal have themselves been engaged in wars since that court was organized. There is a perceptible growth in the sentiment in favor of the settlement of international disputes by

Another subject connected with our foreign relations; I venture to suggest that we may not only promote peace but also advance our commercial interests by announcing as a national policy that our navy will not be used for the collection of private debts. Many protfiable fields investment are now closed because the people of the smaller nations are afraid that an investment of foreign capital will be made an excuse for a for-Lost Prestige Through Philippines.

Before leaving international peace, let me add that our nation has lost prestige, rather than gained it, by our experiment in colonialism. We have given the monarchist a chance to ridicule our Declaration of Independence, and the scoffer has twitted us with inconsist-A tour through the Philippine Islands has deepened the conviction that we should lose no time in announcing our purpose to deal with the Filipinos as we deal with the Cubans. Every consideration, commercial and political, leads to this conclusion. Such ground as we may need for coaling stations or for a naval base will be gladly conceded by the Filipinos, who simply desire an opportunity to work out their own destiny, inspired by our example and aided by our advice. In so far as our efforts have been directed toward the education of the Filipinos, we have rendered them a distinct service, but in educating them we must recognize that we are making colonialism impossible. If we intend to hold them as subjects, we would not dare to educate them; self-government with ultimate independence must be assumed if we contemplate universal edu-

Elect Senators By Popular Vote. I return more convinced than before of the importance of a change in the methold of electing United States senators, There is noticeable everywhere a distinct movement toward Democracy in its broadest sense. In all the countries which I have visited there is a demand that the governmetn be brought nearer to the In the United States this trend toward Democracy has taken the form of a growing demand for the election of United States senators by a direct vote of the people. I am within the limits of the truth when I say that the senate has been for some years the bulwark of predatory wealth, and that it even now contains so many members who owe their election to favor-seeking corporations and are so subservient to their masters as to prevent needed legislation. The popular branch of congress has declared in favor of this reform by a two-thirds vote and more than two-thirds of the states have demanded it, and yet the senate arrogantly and impudently blocks the way.

Favors Income Tax. The income tax which some in our country have denounced as a socialistic attack upon wealth har I am pleased to report, the indersement ct the most conservative countries in the old world. It is a permanent part of the fiscal system of most of the countries of Europe and in many places it is a graded tax, the rate being higher upon the largest incomes. I have been absent too long to speak with any authority on the public sentiment in this country at this time,

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poeple will sooner or later demand an mendment to the constitution which will authorize an income tax, and thus make it possible for the burdens of the federal government apportioned among the people in proportion to their ability

Capital and Laker.

I have referred to the investigation or international controversies under a system which does not bind the parties to accept the findings of the court of inquiry. This plan can be used in disputes between labor and capital. In advocating arbitration of differences between large corporate employers and their employes, I believe we are defending the highest interests of the three parties to these disputes viz., the employers, the employes and the public. The employes cannot be turned over to the employer to be dealt with as the employer may please. The question sometimes arises: "Can 1 not conduct my business to suit myself?" This question is a plausible one, but when a man in conducting his business attempts to arbitrarily fix the conditions under which hundreds of employes will have to live and to determine the conditions under which hundreds of others thall have to exist, I contend that he has no right to deprive his employes of the right of life. liberty and the pursuit of happiness. To support this position 1 need only refer to the laws regulating the safety of the mines, the factory laws fixing the age at which children can be employed and usury laws establishing the rate of interest. But if it is unwise to make the em-

ployer the sole custodian of the rights and interests of the employes, it is equally unwise to give to the employer uncontrolled authority over the rights and interests of the employer. The employes are no more to be trusted to ac unselfishly and disinterestedly than the employers. In their zeal to secure an advantage they may not only do injustice, but even forfeit a larger future gain. No reference to the labor question is complete that does not include some menion of what is known as government by njunction. As the main purpose of the writ is to evade trial by jury, it is really an attack upon the judicial system, and ought to arouse a unanimous protest. So long as the meanest thief is guaranteed a trial by jury, a jury ought not to be denied to wage earners. However, as the writ is usually invoked in case of a strike the importance of the subject would be very much reduced by the addition of a system of arbitration, because arbitration would much reduce, even if it did not entirely remove the probability of a

Just another word in regard to the laboring man. The struggle to secure ar eight-hour day is an international struggle, and it is sure to be settled in favor of the workingman's contention. benefits of the labor-saving machine have not been distributed with equity. The producer has enormously multiplied his canacity, but so far the owner of the machine has received too much of the increase and the laborer too little. Bimetallism Not an Issue.

Thus far I have dwelt upon subjects which may not be regarded as strictly partisan, but I am sure that you wil pardon me if in this presence I betray my interest in those policies for wh the Democratic party stands. Our opponents have derived not only partisar pleasure, but also partisan advantag from the division caused in our party by the money question. They ought not therefore, begrudge us the satisfaction that we find in the fact that unexpected conditions have removed the cause of our differences and permitted us to present a united front on present issues. The unlooked for and unprecedented increase in the production of gold had brought a victory to both the advocates of gold and the advocates of bimetallism-the former keeping the gold standard which they wanted and the latter securing the larger volume of money for which they

Trusts the Paramount Issue. While men may differ as to the relative importance of issues, and while the next congress will largely shape the lines upon which the coming presidential campaign will be fought, I think it is safe to say that at present the paramount is sue in the minds of a large majority of the people is the trust issue. I congratulate President Roosevelt upon the step! which he has taken to enforce the antitrust law and my gratification is not les sened by the fact that he has followed the Democratic rather than the Repubi can platform in every advance he has

Before any intelligent action can be taken against the trusts, we must have definition of a trust. Because no corporation has an absolute and complete monopoly of any important product, the apologists for the trusts sometimes insist that there are in reality no trusts For the purpose of this discussion it is sufficient to draw the line at the point where competition ceases to be effective and to designate as a trust any corpora tion which controls so much of the product of any article that it can fix the terms and conditions of sale.

Must Protect Legitimate Business. Legislation which prevents a monopoly does not injure legitmate business, but protects it from injury. We are indebted to the younger Rockefeller for an illus which makes this distinction clear. In defending the trust system, he is quoted as saying that, as the Ameri can Beauty rose cannot be brought to perfection without pinching off 99 buds so that the 100th bud can receive the ful strength of the bush, so great industria organizations are impossible without the elimination of the smaller ones. It is a cruel illustration, but it presents a per feetly accurate picture of trust methods The Democratic party champions the cause of the 99 buds that are menaced they must not be sacrificed that one great combination may flourish, and when the subject is understood we shall receive the cordial support of hundreds of thousands of business men who have themselves felthe operation of the trusts or who, having observed the effect of the trusts upor others, realize that their safety lies not in futile attempts at the restraint of trusts, but in legislation which will make a private monopoly impossible. Our motte must be: "A private monopoly is indefensible and intolerable," and our plan of attack must contemplate the total and

complete overthrow of the monopoly principle in industry Imprison the Guilty. We need not quarrel over remedies. We must show ourselves willing to support any remedy which promises substantia advantage to the people in their warfare against monopoly. Something is to be expected from the enforcement of the criminal clause of the Sherman antitrust law, but this law must be enforced not against a few trusts as at present but against all trusts, and the aim must be to imprison the guilty, not merely to recover a fine. What is a fine of \$1000, o even \$10,000 to a trust which makes \$100, 000 while the trial is in progress? If the

eriminal clause is not going to be en forced it ought to be repealed. New Anti-Truit Laws Needed. But it is not sufficient to enforce exist ing laws. If ten corporations conspiring together in restraint of trade are threatened with punishment all they have to do now is to dissolve their separate corporations and turn their property over to a new corporation. We need, therefore new legislation and the Republican party not only fails to enact such legislation but fails even to promise it. . The Democratic party must be prepared to propose new and efficient legislation

For Tariff Reform. The tariff question is very closely allied to the trust question and the reduction of the tariff furnishes an easy means of limiting the extortion which the trusts car practice. While absolute free trade would not necessarily make a trust impossible still it is probable that very few manufacturing establishments would dare to en-ter into a trust if the president were empowered to put on the free list articles competing with those controlled by a trust. The principle embodied in the protective tariff has been the fruitful source of a great deal of political corruption as well as the support of many of our most iniquitious trusts. It is difficult to condemn the manufacturers for uniting to take advantage of a high tariff sched-ule when the schedule is framed on the theory that the industries need all the protection given and it is not likely that the beneficiaries of these schedules will consent to their reduction so long as the public waits for the tariff to be reformed by its friends.

There never was a time when tariff reform could be more easily entered upon, for the manufacturers by selling abroad cheaper than at home, as many of them do, have not only shown their ingratitude toward those who built the tariff wall for them, but they have demonstrated their ability to sell in competition with the world. The high tariff has long been a burden to the consumer in the United

States and it is growing more and more a menace to our foreign commerce because it arouses resentment and provokes retaliation.

The Railway Question. The railway question is also interwover with the trust question. Nearly all the private monopolies have received rebates or secured other advantages over competitors. Absolute quality of treatment at the hands of the railways would go far toward crippling the trusts, and I rejoice that the president has had the courage to press this question upon congress. While the law, as it was finally distorted by the senate, is ont all that could be wished, it deserves a fair trial Rate regulation was absolutely neces sary, and it furnishes some relief from the unbearable econditions which previously existed, but we must not forget that the vesting of this enormous power in the hands of a commission appointed by the president introduces a new danger. If an appointive board has the power to fix rates, and can, by the exercise of that power, increase or decrease by hundreds of millions of dollars the annual revenues of the railways, will no the railways feel that they have a large pecuniary interest in the election of president friendly to the railways? Experience has demonstrated that municipa corruption is largely traceable to the fact that franchise corporations desire to control the city council, and thus increase their dividends. If the railawy maangers adopt the same policy the sen timent in favor of the ownership of the railways by the government is likely to increase as rapidly throughout the coun try as the sentiment in favor of munici pay ownership has increased in the cities

Favors Public Ownership. I have already reached the conclusion that railways partake so much of the nature of a monopoly that they mus ultimately become public property and be managed by public officials in the in terest of the whole community, in ac cordance with the well-defined theory that public ownership is necessary where competition is impossible. I do not know that the country is ready for this change I do not know that a majority of my own party favor it, but I believe that an increasing number of the member of all parties see in public ownership the sure remedy for discriminations between persons and places, and for the extor tionate rates for the carrying of freigh and passengers. Believing, however, that the operation

of all the railways by the federal gov ernment would result in a centralization which would all but obliterate state lines prefer to see only the trunk operated by the federal government and the loca lines by the several state governments. If any of you question my propriety o my mentioning this subject, I beg to re mind you that the president could no have secured the passage of the rate bil had he not appealed to the fear of the more radical remedy of government ownership, and nothing will so restrain the railroad magnates from attempting t capture the interstate commerce commis sion as the same fear. The high-handed manner in which they have violated law and ignored authority, together with the corruption discovered in high places, has done more to create sentiment in favor of public ownership than all the speeches vate ownership

Trusts Vs. Landlordism. Landlordism, the curse of Europe, is an innocent institution in comparison with logical conclusion. The man that argue that there is an economic advantage i private monopoly is aiding socialism. The socialist, asserting the economic super iority of the monopoly, insists that its benefits shall accrue to the whole people, and his conclusion cannot be denied if the superiority of monopoly is admit ted. The Democratic party, if I under stand its position, denies the economic as well as the political advantage of private monopoly and promises to oppose it wher-ever it manifests itself. It offers as an alternative, competition where competition is possible and public monopoly wherever circumstances are such as to

prevent competition. Opposes Socialism.

Socialism presents a consistent theory, but a theory which, in my judgment, does not take human nature into account. Its strength is in its attack upon evils the existence of which is confessed. Its weakness is that it would substitute a new lisease-if not a worse one-for the disase from which we suffer. The socialist honest in the belief that he has found remedy for human ills, and he must be answered with argument, not with abuse. The best way to oppose socialism is to emedy the abuses which have grown up under individualism, but which are not a ecessary part of individualism, and the ooner the remedy is applied the better. Plutocracy is abhorrent to a republic is more despotic than monarchy, more eartless than aristocracy, more selfish than bureaucracy It preys upon the nation in time of peace and conspires against it in the hour of its calamity. Conscienceless, compassionless and de old of wisdom, it enervates its votarie while it impoverishes its victims. It is dready sapping the strength of the nation, vulgarizing social life and making mockery of morals. The time is ripe fo its overthrow. Let us attack it boldly making our appeal to the awakened con science of the nation in the name of the countingroom which it has defiled, in the name of business honor which it has sul lied, in the name of the people whom has oppressed, in the name of the home which it has despoiled and in the name of religion upon which it has placed the stigma of hypocricy.

A cold taken at this time of the year is generally hard to get rid of but it will not be able to withstand Bee's Laxative Honey and Tar. That will cure all colds, coughs, croup, whooping cough, etc., by driving them out through the bowels. If you have a cold try t and if not cured get your money back. No opiates. Sold by the Kerner-McNair Drug

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