

as well as two kinds of republicans. But, gentlemen, there is a world-wide difference, an irrepressible conflict, an uncompromising contest between the progressive and the stand-patter, and disguise it as we will, deny it as we may, the next political contest in this country is to be between the progressives of all parties and the stand-patters of all parties. And no party lines, nor party prejudices, nor party regularity, nor party tyranny, will prevent the voters from expressing their choice along these lines in the next presidential contest. Pinchot, a few nights ago, expressed the predominant sentiment of this country at the present time, when he said: 'It is better to be right than to be regular.' This sentiment will sweep the country in the next election and it ought to. Party name and party organization should be used to carry out the will of the people and not to thwart it. Humanity today sweeps onward. Changed conditions confront us. The people are coming into their own. They are demanding results, not promises, men, not parties. They are demanding the election of United States senators by a direct vote of the people, and are keeping tab on their every vote in congress. They are demanding the tools of government, direct legislation. They are demanding that the platform pledges be kept in spirit as well as in letter. They are demanding that graft and special privilege be uprooted. The only hope of the democratic party in the future is through progressive measures backed up by progressive democracy. The next democratic national convention must nominate a progressive democrat who will command the support of the rank and file of the party, whose environment and record and sympathies and public utterances, and heart and soul, are in accord with the progressive, dominant thought of the times. The democratic party is in no position to mark time or stand pat. It must move forward or lose the fight. Let us stand by the great common people of the nation and the great commoner of Nebraska in keeping and making the democratic party the party of the masses and not of the classes.

"For fifteen years our distinguished guest, in whose honor we have met here tonight, has been the storm center of American politics. A man who, though thrice defeated for the highest office in the world, stands today vindicated and triumphant in the general and political principles of government and morality that today are sweeping, not only this country, but the governments of the world, into newer and better things, is in a great measure due to our distinguished guest and his loyal supporters, who, fifteen years ago declared that the rights of man are superior to the rights of the dollar. The power of an idea is well illustrated from that time to this. The struggle for this idea placed LaFollette in the United States senate and retired Spooner to private life; it stirred St. Louis to throw off political corruption and graft; sent political bosses to the penitentiary and Folk to the governor's chair; it turned the search-light on the great insurance scandals and elevated Hughes to a place on the supreme bench; it aroused men like Rudolph Spreckles of California, to place country above income; compelled the state supreme court to reverse its decision and sent Abraham Reuf to prison; it drove from the United States senate such men as Aldrich, Dick, Depew and Burkett, and brought in their stead such men as Poindexter, Pomerene, Kern and Hitchcock, and Maguire; it destroyed the leadership of such men as Bailey of Texas, and brought to the front such men as Shafroth, of Colorado, and Gore and Owen of Oklahoma; it destroyed the keystone of the arch of standpatism in America—Uncle Joe Cannon, and will place in his chair the great progressive democrat, only one step removed from the presidency of the United States, Hon. Champ Clark of Missouri.

"This progressive democratic doctrine has invaded the heretofore impregnable stronghold of plutocracy—the republican party, and has organized the progressive league. It has placed the ban of shame on a Lorimer and forced the resignation of a Ballinger. It has forced a president of the United States to forget Winona and Tawney, and take up reciprocity in Canada and animosity in Mexico. It has furnished thousands of readers for the progressive magazines and created two of the greatest pen pictures of the times since the 'Les Miserables,' of Hugo, 'The Jungle,' by Sinclair, and 'The Beast,' by Ben Lindsey. Well may the great commoner, on his fifty-first birthday, look out over the contending forces and say: 'It is well.' Progressive democracy is destined in fact, if not in name, to become the supreme factor in shaping

the destinies of this nation. Progressive democracy! Is it necessary to define in legal or technical phraseology? No, we can name it in the common language of every man. It means LaFollette, in Wisconsin; Cummins, in Iowa; Bristow, in Kansas; Champ Clark, in Missouri; Woodrow Wilson, in New Jersey, and Bryan, in Nebraska. I propose the toast: Progressive democracy, may she be regular as long as she may be right, but may she be right always."

MR. QUACKENBUSH'S SPEECH

Representative E. B. Quackenbush, of the Nebraska house of representatives, said: "Nebraska democracy, always a pioneer in political reform, resting securely upon its confidence in the ability of the people to rule, will have added, at the close of the present session of the state legislature, another chapter to its already splendid history, written in the cause of the people. When the speaker's gavel shall have fallen for the last time, its sound died away, and the members of the house departed for their several homes, not a single platform pledge will remain unredeemed. While this will be true, let it be understood that no pretense at perfection in matters of legislation is claimed. Errors have doubtless been made, and disappointment in certain instances will remain. It hath ever been so, and so it will continue so long as fallible man remains at the helm of affairs of state. But on the whole the present session will have done much toward advancing the cause of reform and some of the principles for which the illustrious democrat we are met here to honor stands.

"Early in the session the house passed a resolution ratifying the proposed amendment to the federal constitution providing for an income tax. By such action assisting in the accomplishment of a reform long demanded by the people, often defeated by corrupt partisan means and questionable court decisions.

"Bills providing for a board of control of state institutions, and for a purchasing agent for the state have been introduced and are well along upon their passage and enactment into law.

"Investigation by a special committee of the house disclosed a very inefficient, incompetent and unsatisfactory method and system of the checking and review of the accounts of receipts and expenditures of the several state offices, and institutions and bills are now before the house and will be passed looking toward a proper system for safeguarding of the state's interests in this respect.

"Another important and far-reaching piece of legislation passed by the house is the measure providing for appeals from the orders and judgments of the state railway commission directly to the supreme court of the state, thus avoiding the long delays and large expense attendant upon trials in the lower courts and subsequent appeals to the supreme court. Such procedure furnishes a speedy and effective remedy for the citizen in his unequal contest with the great public utilities corporations of the state. The benefit which will accrue to the people from this measure alone can hardly be estimated.

"Bills are also pending before the house, or have been passed covering different phases of the regulation of railways, telephones and other public service corporations, and looking toward the betterment of the highways of the state. Also measures providing for the recall of all public officers and to cure the defects in our present primary election law, non-partisan judiciary and election of supreme court judges by voters. In all this legislation there is much to look forward to and not all is discouragement.

"A subject which is now attracting much attention in the house, and should receive the greatest attention by both the legislature and the people of the state is that affecting telephones and telephone service. Bills are pending in the house permitting merger of the various companies and a consequent monopoly. The telephone has become an actual necessity in every family and place of business. For years past considerable effort has been expended in all quarters to break down the monopoly in the telephone business enjoyed by what is known as the Bell system. Much encouragement and protection by state and local city governments have been extended to the competitors of this monopoly. Local municipal governments have frequently given to independent competing companies a monopoly in their respective cities, granting long-time franchises and protecting them in their use to the exclusion of the Bell and other systems. In other communities which the Bell system did not cover, local companies

have been organized to obtain service. To permit such companies to obtain long-time franchises, and special favors from their neighbors, and now transfer them to the giant monopoly—the public to be left at its mercy—would be manifestly wrong. The smaller companies would be forced to surrender and constant conflict for good service at fair rates would result. No legislature could justify the passage of laws permitting it, and the citizens of every community should see that no long-time franchises are granted to any company.

"I have noted with much interest and some alarm the seeming willingness of the public service corporations of the state to accept at the hands of this legislature, without opposition, legislation placing these interests under the control of the state railway commission. Whether there is anything in the suggestion that it is easier and cheaper to secure the nomination and elect the three men than sixty-eight, the number necessary to control both branches of the legislature, has anything to do with this apparent willingness I cannot say. Nevertheless it is true that the concentration of so much power in the hands of three men furnishes great temptation—in fact, invites assault from more than one source. While we all have confidence in our commission, the surest and best test of their fidelity to the people's cause is soon to be made. The commission has for sometime been engaged in the arduous task of physical valuation of the railways of the state. This valuation to become the basis of the proper earning and dividend bearing capacity and ability to the several roads. Let it be hoped that no fabulous 'blue sky' valuation will be imported into any department of these roads upon any pretext, but that real, substantial, reasonable and fair value of property having an actual existence be made the basis. The people of the state should not become unmindful of the great importance of seeing that competent and honest men are elected on the commission, and should remember that from this time on the commission will be the common point of attack in every election for all the combined interests of the state.

"An initiative and referendum measure has now passed both branches of the state legislature and will be submitted at the election of 1912. While the measure does not in all particulars meet the most sanguine expectations of its friends and met with determined and stubborn opposition at every step of its course by many who, while professing to be its friends, were really its enemies, let us hope that a happy medium has been reached and that its practical application may be successful in placing the government directly in the hands of the people and that it will be a workable law. The mere passage of such a measure is a great triumph for the principle of direct legislation. It is by far the most important piece of legislation that will be placed upon the statutes at this session. It is at once a sword and a shield. It is the realization of the old fiction, that 'the people rule.' It is the real instrument of government by which the actual sovereign (the people), may again assume sovereignty and control. Nebraska democracy sees in this achievement a reason for self-congratulation and much satisfaction. It is one of the many reforms for which the democracy of this state has been contending for nearly twenty years. In most of the progressive measures which have been crystallized into law by the state and national legislature during recent years Nebraska democracy has especial reason for pride. First, because most of them found their birth in the early and fearless declarations of the progressive democracy of Nebraska, and, second, because both, before and since party declaration made them political issues they have had for their ablest and strongest advocate and their best and most powerful defender, Nebraska's most distinguished citizen. He stood for them when they could not stand alone. He became and continued to be their champion when to do so was to call down upon himself the aspersions, imprecations and abuse of the most powerful and influential, both in state and national politics. Then the terms demagogus, repudiationist and anarchist were familiar terms ringing in the ears of Nebraska democrats. Fidelity to conscience and manhood stood firm. Today he lives to see the accomplishment and realization of what some but yesterday said was an idle dream. He has lived to see written into the laws of his country more measures making for the uplift and benefit of his country more measures than any statesman, living or dead, since the organization of the government. What a source of satisfaction it must be.

"These are some of the reasons for pride in the hearts of Nebraska democrats. These prin-