

GOVERNOR MARSHALL'S NOTIFICATION SPEECH (Continued from Page 3)

have been mistaken in some of our conclusions touching government in America. We have yielded a quiet assent to the proposition that a majority is all-powerful and that a minority is bound to respect. But now we know that the theory of the historic democratic party, that it is the right of a majority to rule, but only within constitutional limitations and without the usurpation of a single inalienable right of a single individual, is correct.

"It is only when majorities thus rule that governmental machines move without friction. The right of a majority to thus rule must always be conceded. I wonder, however, if it has dawned upon the sober second thought of this people that it is possible for a majority to be a minority and that it is equally possible for a minority to be a majority. At first blush, it would seem that the officials elected by the plurality of votes become the representatives of the majority and that as such, they rule. But I am not in error when I declare that it is not the mere number of votes which determines a majority in America, in the sense of having the power to formulate the policy, enact the legislation and control the government, and I point to the election of 1908 for proof. The protest of every man who voted for President Taft and who is now dissatisfied with the president's management of public affairs proves that for four years a minority has been the majority in America. At the risk of offending the sensibilities of the republicans who voted for President Taft only to be dissatisfied with his administration, I am going to tell him that he is one of the men I counted in making 80 per cent of the voters of this country members of the historic democratic party. His present protest against the result of his ballot reveals his belief that it is not the business of government to grant, under the guise of taxation, to any class of citizens or to any member of society special privileges which are not granted to every other class and to every other member of society.

INIQUITOUS TARIFF

"The social condition which we call democracy and which finds its avenue of expression at the polls through our party, is unalterably opposed to special privilege whether granted by the law or seized by ruthless ambition. It is true the mother of all special privilege is the high protective tariff. All who voted the democratic ticket at the last presidential election were unalterably opposed to this system of unjust taxation and a sufficient number of those who voted the republican ticket were likewise convinced of its iniquity to make an overwhelming majority against it. Save a favored few, all were agreed that relief, to a greater or less extent, should be afforded to the people from the unjust exactions of this system. All knew that we could not educate the people of America indiscriminately, enlarge their views of life and happiness and then by the high cost of living deprive them of their pleasures without making of American life a seething caldron of discontent. Theoretically speaking, therefore, the majority of votes, having put a party in power upon a platform pledged to relieve the people of these burdens, has been ruling under constitutional limitations. But this is not so. Immediately after the election the minority became the majority in the sense that it assumed control of legislation with reference to special privilege. All members of the democratic party and all the protesting members of the republican party have been in the minority when it came to counting votes

where the count fixed the cost of living. It may be said that this is a mere accident of politics, a single illustration, and that it will not occur again. But it is no accident. It is only one of many illustrations. It simply discloses the utter folly of a man remaining a member of a party when the party policy ceases to voice his inner spirit. The republican party does not recede now from its protective theory. Its return to power will mean again the rule of a minority and the theoretical idea of democracy will continue to be the practical aristocracy of special privilege in this country.

PLATFORMS SUMMARIZED

"The voter who can not satisfy himself this year is indeed censorious. Eliminating the verbiage of platforms, taking their substance and viewing the candidates placed on them, the voter who believes that the cost of production at home and abroad should be equalized to the manufacturer of this country and who wants an oligarchy to rule, may vote the straight republican ticket; the voter who believes in a similar protective theory, but who prefers to an oligarchy that the president shall be the state, may vote the progressive ticket; the voter who believes this government should be turned into a socialism, may vote the socialistic ticket; the voter who thinks that church and state are not separate in America and that the people have a right to settle religious questions and to determine by ballot what is good and what is bad, may vote the prohibition ticket; and all those who insist that it is not the business of the government to equalize the cost of production at home and abroad to the manufacturer until it equalizes the difference in the purchase price to the consumer at home and abroad, who believe that the only equalization justifiable in our government is the equalization of opportunity, who think that public office is a public trust, who do not believe that disgruntled and defeated politicians are genuine reformers, and who think that reforms are not born with sore toes, may vote the democratic ticket.

"I respectfully urge all those who are opposed to special privilege to ally themselves this year with the historic democracy, the cornerstone of whose edifice is the Declaration of Independence and the keystone of which is the golden rule. At Baltimore it proved its right to be, because there it arose and by its proposed policy met the needs and wants of a people. Am I to be met with the statement that results like those of the past four years might just as well have been produced under democratic supremacy? This I deny. The kingdom of democracy, like the kingdom of heaven, is within us. It comes not by observation. It is a living, growing, vital principle. It is as essential to the life of the man who is a democrat as pure air or pure blood. The power to resist lying is not in the mouth, but in the heart of a man. His power to resist larceny and murder is not in his fingers. Democrats, like poets, are born, not made. They are born with the fixed and unalterable belief that God made all men, not some men, that all men are entitled to an honest chance in life, unhampered and unharmed by law or custom. We may separate in language, church and state, but we can never have that social condition which we call democracy until all men living in the republic are full, not half, brothers; until all have been baptized in the blood of the spirit of the revolution and consecrated at every altar set up, north and south, in the war between the states.

THE CALL FOR JUSTICE

"Upon whom does this campaign

call for justice? Many a man devotes himself sedulously to business not because he wants money for himself but because he believes that jewels and luxuries will make his wife happy. Sometimes, too late, he finds that which she wanted was love, not luxury. So, too, many a man in America is devoting himself to the making of money through legislatively-granted privilege, not so much that he wants the money himself as that he wants to disclose the richness, greatness and prosperity of the American republic. Meanwhile, he has not stopped to consider that while the few through special privilege are adding millions to the bank balances of this country, the educated and impoverished many are looking down the years and seeing at the end of them nothing but an open grave in the potter's field. The spirit of democracy and his innate sense of justice call upon this man right now to stop and look and listen; to review what really makes for greatness in a people, and to answer in the silent watches of the night the accusing voice of his own conscience which tells him that it is men, not money, brains, not business, love, not lucre, peace not prosperity, which mark the greatness of a people. Let him answer that he may not make so many dollars in the future, he will not forget that every other man's wife and every other man's child in America are equally dear to him, and that he desecrates the graves of those who fell from Lexington to Appomattox and stamps himself a coward when he demands or receives the aid of the law in his conflict for supremacy. Too long have some been the recipients of money made through the toil of others and turned over by unequal and unjust taxing laws. It is good to love wealth and all that wealth can bring, but it is better to love the republic more than all the trappings of outside pomp and circumstance. From this good hour, let these men fight their battles of life without handicapping their less fortunate brothers. Let them hang pictures of Nathan Hale in their bedrooms and as each day's light reveals his features unto them, let them vow that as this old hero thought more of men than he did of British gold, so they will dedicate their lives and consecrate their efforts to his splendid ideals.

THE CALL FOR CHARITY

"Upon whom does the hour call for charity? There are thousands of us who have not reached the land overflowing with milk and honey. Still, we wander in the wilderness of industrial despair. Still, are we able to gather manna only for a day and still, we look with longing on the fleshpots of Egypt. Discontent and bitterness have entered into our souls. So long have we been impressed with the iniquity of special privilege, with the arrogance of some rich men, with the power of money to produce peace or war, plenty or famine, that we have come to hate all those who have, and to believe that the possession of money is the mark of infamy and the badge of dishonor. If you be one of these, my brother, this hour calls upon you for charity. Many have succeeded honestly in this land; most have succeeded as they thought, honestly. There are but few who have not cared how success has come to them. Let us not condemn until the sheep have been separated from the goats. Let us understand that it is possible for the man in broadcloth and the man in hoddengray to be brethren in America. Let us await the developments of a brief time lest perchance the judgment of misfortune upon upon fortune may be injustice, not justice. Let us condemn no man unheard, and let us give to every man

his advocate in the forum of American brotherhood.

"It will be observed that the sum of the justice and the charity for which I am contending is the revival of Jefferson's idea of equality before the law, not equality in muscle or brain or will or energy, but that equality which guarantees to every honest and industrious man his life, his liberty, his happiness and his chance. Justice and charity are always needed to enforce this guaranty. Get into the bread line if you will not beware in so doing not to drive out a weaker brother.

"I see a people, the most marvelous which has ever sprung from the loins of time and the womb of destiny. Among them are all kindreds, tribes and tongues. What are they to become in the melting pot? They are like passions, men with hopes, fears, ambitions, prejudices. Are they to evolve into castes, not of birth and lineage, but of success and failure? Out of the crucible of these years, heated with the fires of both seeming and real injustice is a newer generation to be poured forth to the vassalage of the paternalistic system of government born under republican misrule, or to a socialism where success depends not upon merit and honest endeavor, but upon the mere drawing of the breath of life?

FOLLY TO PLAY OSTRICH

"It is idle for a thoughtful man in America, whether millionaire or pauper, to longer play the ostrich. Safety does not consist in hiding one's head in the sands of either sentiment or hope. It is foolish for the vastly rich to keep on insisting that more and more shall be added to their riches through a spacious system of special legislation ostensibly enacted to run the government, in reality enacted to loot the people. It is worse than ignorance for them to smile at the large body of intelligent Americans who regard themselves fortunate if the debit and credit accounts of life balance at the end of each year; and to assume that the mighty many, who are becoming convinced that that social system which we call democracy is but a glittering generality, will long endure the industrial slavery being produced. The hour has come when patriotism must consist in something more than eulogies upon the flag. Whether voting the ticket or not, men everywhere looking upon the awful injustice of this economic system are becoming socialistic in theory if not in conduct. And shall

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