

bring about (laughter.) This, I believe, is the only state in which the senators have not been chosen, and as this change will take place before another session is called in any other state, I think it is fair to say that you will have seen the last and have furnished the last of these contests.

"Now, this fight began twenty-one years ago. It is nearly twenty-one years ago that in congress the house of representatives voted in favor of the resolution submitting this amendment, but the senate refused to act. Since that time the house has passed this resolution four times more, six times the house of representatives acted. The senate refused to act until the last time. Five times it refused, but at last the pressure became so great that the senate joined with the house and the proposition was submitted. And, my friends, I am proud of the fact that this is not a victory for any party. As a democrat I might rejoice if my party alone had been responsible for this epoch-making reform. But in our country it is impossible that a party can secure entire credit for a constitutional reform. In order to pass a constitutional amendment or adopt it we must have two-thirds of both houses and three-fourths of the states, and it has been a long while since any party had two-thirds of both houses and three-fourths of the states. The parties have to join together, therefore, in securing a constitutional reform, and while I might be glad if as a democrat I could claim the entire credit for this reform for my party, I am more proud as a citizen that it is an accomplishment of all parties. Why? Because the line is drawn on this question between plutocracy and aristocracy on the one side and democracy on the other side. And when I find nine-tenths of the people of all parties back of the popular election of senators I feel sure that in the days to come whenever this issue arises and the people understand it, no matter what party is in power, the people of this country will not surrender the right to run their own government and make it do what they want it to do. (Applause.)

"I regard this reform as the most fundamental in character of any national reform accomplished in a hundred years, and I have great faith in the effect of this reform on the character of the United States senate. I believe that it will elevate the character of that body, that it will bring that body nearer to the

people and make it the most illustrious legislative body in the world.

"But that is not the only thing the people have been doing in the last two decades. Great reforms do not come singly. When a great idea is launched even the man who launches it can not set limits to its application, and it is not strange that while the people were securing control of the United States senate they should also attempt to secure control of their government in other ways and by other methods. Why, I can remember when twenty-three years ago we did not have the Australian ballot in Nebraska, and I remember that back in those days you could tell a polling place a half a mile off by the crowd out in front, and I know that in some cases, nearly half of the men were out in front hired to peddle tickets until a man had to fight his way up to the polling place through these paid men. And back in those days the boss could bring up his men and vote them. I saw men bring up a dozen at a time and make out their tickets for them and vote them.

"The people have been taking hold of their government, and another means by which they have been getting control of the instrumentalities of the government is through publicity. A few years ago a great senator said that purity in politics was an iridescent dream. It is not many years ago that if you asked where a campaign contribution came from they told you it was none of your business, and then you apologized for asking an impertinent question, but now everybody understands that an election is a public affair, and when it was found that great predatory interests were subscribing to great campaign funds and were then controlling the officers elected, the people demanded a remedy. And it came in a law which made it a criminal offense for any corporation to contribute to a national campaign. It is a good law. I am glad that it came and it has come to stay. But, oh, my countrymen, if you had only had that law in 1896 what a comfort it would have been. (Laughter.)

"But when we got that law it soon became apparent that that was not sufficient. That some men had so large a pecuniary interest in policies of government that they would contribute a sum so great as to indicate other than a patriotic interest in the result of the election. (Laughter.) And so the demand rose for publi-

city, and by 1908 we had reached a point where both of the great parties demanded publicity.

"But there was a difference of opinion then as to whether we ought to know before the election or not until afterwards, where the money came from. (Renewed laughter.) I am not surprised you laugh for it does look strange doesn't it, that as late as four years ago last fall there could have been a difference of opinion of this kind, and yet there was an honest difference of opinion. But, within the last four years the tide has risen until finally a bill passed the house providing for publicity before the election; and when it passed the house they called the roll and not a single vote was recorded in the negative. When it got to the senate the senate even improved it by adding a limitation to the amount that could be spent by a candidate for the senate. Now they are limited to \$5,000 if they run for congress, and to \$10,000 if they run for the senate; and to understand how important that limitation is I need only tell you that when the senate put that limitation on they had under consideration an investigation where a senator admitted that he had spent more than ten times as much as any senator can ever spend again to secure his election.

"Now this is what has been going on, and all this publicity has been in the direction of putting the people in control of their government; and at last we got to a point where we decided that we ought to know who owned the newspapers of the country. I do not know of anything stranger than that the people should so long tolerate a condition under which those who provide publicity should be able to avoid publicity.

"Some of our great newspapers were like dark lanterns that threw light on all in front but concealed the man who held the lamp. (Laughter and applause.) But at last we have applied the pure food law to our newspaper diet and now if a predatory interest buys a newspaper it must put the poison label on the outside of the can. (Laughter and applause.)

"I only mention these things to show you the trend of events in this country; to show you that the people are insisting that the masses shall be recognized, not only their right to self-government but their capacity for self-government. And, as we have made progress toward taking control of the government and of putting this control in the hands of the people, we are making progress toward justice in the distribution of the burdens of the government.

"I suppose I have never been called an anarchist for anything else as often as I have for believing in an income tax. Nineteen years ago when the fight for an income tax began there were a great many honest men who thought that a man who believed in an income tax was a demagogue, and was simply appealing to the passions of the poor and trying to array them against the well-to-do. Upon no other question has there been a more revolutionary change than on this question; and all over this land today you will find men with large incomes who not only believe in an income tax but stand ready to pay it because they are ready to bear their just share of the expense of the government that protects them. Today in this country the sentiment of the people is behind these things that look to justice as between man and man.

"If time permitted I might mention other things. Things that we have not yet reached but things that will come. When you know the direction of the trend of events you can tell what to expect, and if any of you have thought for a moment

that this tide that is setting in all over the world in behalf of popular government is going to stop with the reforms that are now accomplished, you are mistaken. It will go on until in every state, and in every county, and in every city the voters

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