

millan was benevolent. Madero was generous. Huerta is malignant and revengeful. Maximilian was self-sacrificing. Madero was patriotic. Huerta is cruel and avaricious. His character is exemplified in his declaration: "It costs but thirty-five cents to buy enough rope to hang a rebel."

VILLA, THE TIGER

"The vital, dominating leader of the rebel armies is Villa; it is not Carranza. Carranza is like Madero. Villa is like Huerta. His sagacity and aggressiveness have made him the master and the terror of northern Mexico. Villa recognizes neither law nor custom. His most striking characteristic is vindictiveness coupled with a marked capacity for military leadership. It is illustrated by his now famous toast:

"I hope to live to eat the beef that will fatten on the grass which will grow on the graves of all my enemies."

"The slaughter of Benton and the murder of Bauch, respectively British and American subjects, by this 'human tiger,' have alienated the sympathy of the administration and consigned the cause of the constitutionalists to doubt, if not to doom, in the minds and consciences of all our people.

"With Villa in command in the north and Huerta in power in the south, what hope has Mexico?

"If the constitutionalist cause should triumph, the fate of Madero may become the lot of Carranza. Villa will probably dominate him or destroy him. The dark ages with all their horrors, tyranny, usurpation and torture, cannot produce names more hideous in all that implies oppression and outrage than the names of Huerta and Villa! There is little choice between these men. Huerta stands for the old regime. Villa fights for its destruction.

VILLA AGAINST HUERTA

"The war in Mexico is not so much a political upheaval. It is more a social and industrial earthquake. If Huerta prevails, cruelty and confiscation will continue. If Villa overcomes him, anarchy and outlawry will supplant tyranny. Huerta conscripts into the federal service the imprisoned and the afflicted. Villa enlists outlaws and women. No cause in any country can be hopeless which inspires its women to fight. The struggle is measurably between those who have fattened by oppression and those who have lived in spite of it. The cause of the constitutionalists will be retarded, if not defeated, by its lawless leadership, which seems to recognize no limitation upon its own wrath. It is not remarkable that the United States should refuse to recognize either Huerta or Carranza. Our sympathy for those who fight in the name of liberty is justified by the history and traditions of our own people.

WATCHFUL WAITING

"The policy of the United States toward Mexico is characterized by the president himself as 'Watchful waiting.' We cannot recognize a government founded on treachery and assassination. Neither can we intervene to establish a rule which violates the fundamental principles of individual liberty, and imprisonments and kills the innocent in the name of liberty.

"The policy of our government is justified by many considerations. The spirit of impatience which has prompted some to advocate armed intervention must be restrained. Our experience in the Philippines, and the whole history of Mexico, warn us against hasty or inconsiderate action. Intervention means a long period of occupation. It makes certain the sacrifice of thousands of lives. More than that, it contemplates the assumption of a burden which cannot now be weighed. It would array all Mexico against the United States and unite all factions there against our armies. Let those who criticize the policy of 'watchful waiting' anticipate the results of armed intervention. Let them realize the many, turbulent years of strife that must follow; the blood that must inevitably flow; the homes that must be made desolate; and the almost hopelessness of the problem of bringing order out of chaos and of establishing a stable government in Mexico on principles unfamiliar to her people. Let them grasp, if they can, the additional naval and military burdens which are the direct and necessary results of armed intervention. Unfortunately, the Mexican problem seems incapable of solution under any plan that can be pre-determined. The character, habits, and traditions of the Mexican people underlie their present struggle, and confirm the administration's policy to leave Mexico to work out her own salvation. Huerta and Villa must,

however, be made to realize the sacredness which other nations attach to human life and property. They must be instructed to look for a day when every wrong perpetrated upon a foreigner in Mexico must have restitution.

"GRAPE JUICE DIPLOMACY" AND THE "BATTLESHIP, FRIENDSHIP"

"We now celebrate the birthday of one who is, in many respects, the most remarkable man of our times. Upon his heart and conscience falls heavily this vexing problem. He is your neighbor, your favorite and friend, William J. Bryan, secretary of state. He has lived all his days in the open. He is accustomed to fighting all his battles before the people. During the last twenty years, Mr. Bryan has been the leader of political reforms in the United States. Many of his principles have been written into the law. President Wilson entrusted to him the portfolio of secretary of state. In consequence, Mr. Bryan has had the 'laboring oar' in foreign affairs. One great principle has dominated his administration. He has stood for peace, peace at home, peace with all the world! He has sought to raise the standards of diplomacy. 'Grape juice diplomacy,' and 'the battleship, friendship' have been the slogan of those who would mock him. Modest sobriety and universal peace have been his aim. The time has not yet come when all international problems may be frankly discussed before the public. But the time is approaching when simplicity and frankness will supplant the ancient and pompous practices of diplomats. The time is coming when our diplomats will represent at foreign courts the spirit of our institutions. Secretary Bryan is the originator of our policy of 'watchful waiting.' He hopes for peace; he labors to recognize and promote every agency designed to establish justice and tolerance among the nations. His heart and mind are in sympathy with all the forces of progress and enlightenment. He is not unmindful of the obligations which accompany his position, and which involve the power and dignity of the United States. He believes, however, that these can best be demonstrated through moral force. The men who provoke war are, as a rule, exempt from its dangers and consequences. Mr. Bryan believes that they who must bear its burdens and endure its hardships should be considered before yielding to the spirit of strife.

"Who is foremost in promoting world-wide peace? Who has preferred the award of courts to the arbitrament of the sword? Who has stood and still stands as the torchbearer, the herald of the new civilization which recognizes justice and mercy as indispensable in solving disputes among individuals and nations. God grant that in time our 'watchful waiting' may be rewarded; that peace and liberty may come to Mexico. If no other way can be found; if in the end our armies must invade that land of beauty and song, who will asperse the great Commoner for raising his voice in warning against the woe and desolation, the loss and grief which must result! What fireside will not be brighter, what home will not be made securer by his admonition; what victory will be made less glorious and triumphant by his course."

SPEECH OF GOVERNOR COX

The following are excerpts from the speech made by Governor Cox of Ohio:

"Most men who have made vast contributions to their race have been denied the satisfaction of seeing their cause vindicated while they lived. While they knew full well that their cause was just, their lives in many instances were disturbed by misrepresentation and condemnation and they died, misunderstood.

"If there is any man who deserves a rich reward for service rendered, it is the distinguished son of Nebraska, and conspicuous as he has been for the glorious part that he has played in the reformation of our principles of government, he stands out peculiarly conspicuous in that he has lived to see in the very flower of his magnificent manhood the vindication of his cause. When one goes back to the campaign of 1896, recalls the abuse, vilification and misrepresentation, and then views the present and sees the adoption of practically every principle of government enunciated at that time, he cannot but be impressed with the thought that, while Mr. Bryan was not elected to the presidency, the honors of that high office are not comparable to his triumph.

"It seems fitting, therefore, that the democracy of the country should on the birthday of this distinguished man pause and reflect upon the service which he has rendered his countrymen

and give appropriate tribute to the living, instead of reserving it as a eulogy to the dead. Of the six and a half million loyal democrats who followed him in the great battle of 1896, Ohio contributed her share, and I am here tonight to speak in behalf of the democracy of the Buckeye state in praising the name and the deeds of William J. Bryan. That the democracy is triumphant in a great majority of the states, northern and southern, and in the nation as well, is due to the CHARTER OF HUMAN RIGHTS which he sounded to the country in 1896.

"While the underlying principles of the Bryan declaration in 1896 were in precise harmony with the preachment and performance of Jefferson and Jackson, the country had drifted so far from the channels of moral and constitutional rights, that the thought of the land in regrettable part, was lost in the commercial craze of the day. In fact, the leadership of the then dominant party had been so open and brazen in its policy of raising the commercialism of the country superior to every other consideration, that at least three presidential campaigns were fought on the plea that 'Bryanism,' so called, would be destructive to business. But with a moral vision and courageous conviction characteristic of both statesman and patriot, Mr. Bryan grew stronger in defeat while his opposition became weaker in victory. The faithful army of 6,500,000 democrats remained true to their leader, because he remained true and consistent to his principles. No compromise was ever made for expedience and by the mere force of personality and sheer ability, in the face of the greatest odds that ever confronted any public man in the life of the American republic, the measure of popular affection and confidence bestowed upon him, increased year by year, until his countrymen, by formal verdict, accepted the principles which were once pronounced revolutionary and dangerous, but both sound in theory and grounded in justice and humanity.

"The Bryan birthday anniversary a year ago was an occasion of great rejoicing, because the opportunity had been afforded by the American people of adopting his theories. It is more than that this year—it is the greatest jubilee in the history of democracy, because for the most part these principles have been vitalized into law and the country gives generous recognition of the great benefits that are accruing to the people. Industrial and financial freedom has been achieved, and the electorate is no longer subjected to the corrupting influence of the interests which so successfully operated for years along purely sordid lines. There may be those who even to this day question the position taken by Mr. Bryan on the money question in 1896, but the unprejudiced mind realizes that the Almighty solved the money question in opening up the great storehouses of gold in Alaska and South Africa.

"That he was right in proclaiming the complete domination of our financial system by a few men is evidenced by the universal rejoicing occasioned by the passing of the currency law.

"That he was right in his courageous declaration on the tariff question is admitted now by the adjustment of American industries to the opportunities of a world-wide commerce made possible by the destruction of a preferential tariff system. The panic so long held out as a nebulous threat over the country by the sinister prophets of privilege is not a normal possibility now, and the power to create panics and paralyze the industries of the country no longer rests in the hands of the gamblers of Wall street.

"That Bryan was right in insisting on the popular election of United States senators is not only evidenced by the adoption of the plan by a prepondering number of our states, but the fullest vindication grows out of a complete change in the disposition and conduct of the senate. It is more truly now a representative body and the arrogance and defiance of other days are no longer present.

"That he was right in contending that our elections were debauched by interests, which by campaign contributions made a clear barter and sale for illegal, unfair and preferential laws, is demonstrated by the purification of our elections under the corrupt practices laws.

"That he was right in his insistent demand for an income tax is unquestioned now, as thousands of individuals and corporations willingly pay for the support of government on the base of the benefits which they derive from it.

"That he was right in his warfare against illegal combinations and conspiracies in restraint