

republican paper published in my home town had an item the next morning like this: "When Mr. Bryan read that plank to the convention," referring to the initiative and referendum, "the delegates looked at each other in surprise, and one delegate said to another, 'What is that?' the other replied, 'Oh, that is the new kind of democratic drink,' and, according to the papers, it went through unanimously."

That is the way a republican paper joked about the initiative and referendum eighteen years ago last summer, but four years ago last summer the very paper that made fun of us in 1896 led the fight in the republican party for the adoption of the initiative and referendum and when the conventions had adjourned every convention in Nebraska demanded the initiative and referendum, and when the legislature was elected all the parties joined together to submit it, and we have the initiative and referendum in Nebraska. This reform has swept over the nation. It is not a western reform, for they have it in Maine as well as in Oregon; it is not a northern reform, for they have it in Missouri and Arkansas as well as in Montana and Washington. Nor is it a reform for the little states for they have it in Ohio as well as in Colorado. It is a reform whose principles are democratic and, my friends, it is a reform that you will some day have in the state of Indiana.

If the members of the present legislature show so little confidence in the intelligence of your people as to deny to them the initiative and referendum, allow me to suggest that the only evidence of lack of intelligence on the part of the voters of the state is the fact that they will trust men in the legislature who have so little confidence in the intelligence of the people of the state of Indiana.

No man can dispute the principles upon which the initiative and referendum rest. Are you afraid to submit these questions to the voters of the state? You recognize the superior wisdom of these voters when you submit important matters to them. What did you mean in your last legislature when you proposed to submit to the voters of the state a number of amendments to the constitution? What do you mean when you say that before you can have a constitutional convention you must ask the consent of the voters of the state? Why do you pay this tribute to the intelligence of your voters and then insult that intelligence by not allowing them to sit in judgment upon what you do?

Are you afraid that your constituents will rebuke you for what you have done, or for what you have failed to do?

What is the advantage of the initiative? It is this, that, if the representatives do not do what the people want done, the people can do it themselves.

And what is the advantage of the referendum? It is this, that, if the representatives do what they ought not to do, the people can veto it and save themselves from the effects of bad legislation. How will you defend your position, if you are willing that they shall sit in judgment on a constitution that is more sacred than a law and yet not willing to allow them to sit in judgment upon a law? How will you defend your position if you vote that you can not have a constitutional convention until the people ask for it, and then refuse to let them ask for a statute which they desire?

Will the initiative and referendum destroy popular government. No. They will simply purify popular government, that is all. Will it be impossible to find men who will serve the people under the initiative and referendum? No. You will simply find different people ready to serve. You will find candidates who are not afraid to let the people instruct them. Of the two, I believe the initiative more important than the referendum. The referendum enables you to veto a law if you do not like it; but if you do not have referendum and do have the initiative you can repeal the objectionable law the next year through a petition, and, besides that, you can do what the referendum never enables you to do, namely, enact laws. Under the initiative you can secure legislation and it is the initiation of legislation that the people need most, for we find that those elected to the legislature do not always do what the people want done. Aye, sometimes they are elected to prevent the people from doing the things that they want done.

They may not have needed the initiative and referendum in the earlier days, before the growth of great special interests, but now when legisla-

tion is needed to protect the God-made man from encroachment at the hands of a man-made giant, called a corporation, we need these reforms now in order that the people may protect themselves when their representatives refuse to protect them.

And what will be the effect of the initiative and referendum, when we have them, on a lobbyist,—a registered lobbyist?

You have taken a great step in advance when you have compelled the men to come out of the darkness into the daylight, when he wants to lobby.

You have made a great improvement when you have compelled every man who has a pecuniary interest in legislation to put his name upon the lobby book and let it be known that he has an interest. But even the open lobbyist, even the legitimate lobbyist, whose avocation is known and whose reasons are understood, has more influence where you have not the initiative and referendum than he has where you have both. If you have the initiative and referendum and the lobbyist asks you to kill a measure that the people want, you say to him "It will do no good, for under the initiative the people can secure it themselves if we do not give it to them; if we kill this bill it will not help you—but it will kill us." If under the initiative and referendum the lobbyist says, "Pass this bill; we want it passed," you will say, "It is no use, for under the referendum the people will veto it if we pass it," so it will not help you, but it will hurt us."

Are you afraid to give the people control of their own government? Then, my friends you do not believe in the fundamental principles of free government.

Are you afraid that, if the people have this law they will make mistakes? Of course they will make mistakes. But the people have a right to make their own mistakes; no legislature has a God-given right to make mistakes for the rest of the people.

And the people will not be so apt to make mistakes as the representatives are to make mistakes for them, for it never pays the people to make mistakes. It is sometimes profitable for legislators to make mistakes at the expense of the people.

Now, my friends, I have said all I care to say. You have many matters before you. I am not interested in the details of your legislation, but I am interested in the state of Indiana. It is one of the great commonwealths of this nation. It must share with other states in the trying out of the principles of free government. And not only that, but it is one of the democratic states of the union. This state is the most democratic state of the north today.

You have given to the nation its democratic vice-president. You have given to the nation the leader of the democratic majority in the United States senate, who would be here today with me but for the fact that he is needed there to stand with the president and assist in carrying out needed legislation. You have also as his colleague a senator, just re-elected, who stands among the leaders of that senate, and to whom I am especially indebted, because as a member of the committee on foreign relations he has given hearty support to the peace program of this administration. You not only are strong in the councils of the party, not only prominent in the United States senate, but you have a solid delegation in congress, and after the 4th of March only two will be lacking to make it a solid delegation. I am interested, therefore, in the stand that Indiana takes, for the democratic party is strong only as the members of that party as individuals, and in democratic states, measure up to the ideals of the party. The primary is democratic. If the primary is not democratic, then popular government is false, for the principle of the primary is a principle of popular government. If you can not trust the voters of the democratic party to control its machinery, to write its platform and nominate its candidates, then how dare you trust all the voters of the party, republicans as well as democrats, to elect their officers from the governor down to the lowest office?

I am interested, I repeat, in seeing this great democratic state stand up for things that are democratic, and especially am I interested in seeing this state stand for the primary when it has given its pledge to the world and elected its legislature upon a platform that commits it to this great reform.

I am also interested in seeing the democracy of this state take a position in favor of the initiative and referendum. Do not think for a moment that

the doctrine is unpopular in the United States. You might have said so a few years ago, but you can not now, for in the last campaign we had three presidential candidates who polled large votes and two of them were outspoken in favor of the initiative and referendum; they were the two who received the largest votes, and the third, who was not for the initiative and referendum, not only received the smallest vote, but his vote was so unfortunately distributed that he only carried two states in the union. It is not unpopular to be for the initiative and referendum, and if you have been opposed to it, do not be afraid to change your position, for it is honorable to come out of the darkness into the light.

You have high-examples to encourage you. A few years ago our president went down to speak to a meeting of teachers at Chattanooga and his speech won him favor as a candidate for the presidency. He said to those teachers, in substance: "I used to be opposed to the initiative and referendum. For twenty years I taught the students of Princeton that the initiative and referendum were wrong, but I found that I was wrong and the initiative and referendum were right." There was the man who had the courage to admit that he had been mistaken; when he understood the reform, understood that it was democratic, being a democrat, he at once adopted it.

Do not be afraid to change your mind, if you have been against the initiative and referendum. Not only has Woodrow Wilson changed his mind upon that subject, but Theodore Roosevelt changed his mind on the subject.

In the summer of 1907 the constitution of Oklahoma was being voted upon. It had in it the initiative and referendum, and President Roosevelt sent Secretary Taft all the way to Oklahoma to advise the people of Oklahoma to turn down their constitution and delay statehood until they could get the initiative and referendum out of the constitution. That is what he did in 1907. And yet, between that time and 1910 he changed his position, and in March, 1910, he went to Ohio and advised a constitutional convention to put the initiative and referendum in the constitution. He sent Mr. Taft all the way to Oklahoma to oppose it in 1907 and then went to Taft's own state to advocate it three years after that.

Here are two prominent leaders who have changed their positions; if any of you have been against the initiative and referendum, now is the time for you to change. The day is at hand and the advantage of changing now is that it will save you the trouble of changing later when it will not be so popular to change as it is now. The day will come when a man who calls himself a democrat and opposes the initiative and referendum will be very lonesome; nobody will recognize him as a democrat, for the man who is afraid to let the people control their government has yet to learn the fundamental principles of free institutions.

I come, therefore, with a message that I can deliver in every state of the Union; it is, TRUST THE PEOPLE. Trust the people. They are the controlling force in this government; if governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, you dare not admit that you are afraid to let them have their way. Let them control their parties; let them write their platform; and let them nominate their candidates.

You can do this through the primary law, and then give to the people the initiative and referendum and you legislators can face them without fear. You can say to your constituents, "We are your servants; we have tried to do what you wanted done; if we have failed, then do yourselves what we have neglected to do, and if we have made a mistake we have not intended it, and we will be as happy as you are if you will go to the polls and through the referendum protect yourselves from the mistakes we have unintentionally made."

I thank you, my friends, for the privilege you have given me of addressing the legislature of Indiana. There was a time when I came into Indiana asking that you consider my claims to the highest office in the gift of the people of the world, and I am grateful for the confidence that you have three times expressed in me. I am here now to pay back in part the debt I owe, and I have nothing to ask of you except that you help to make the democratic party deserving of the confidence of the people of this country, that it may shape the nation's destiny and put the flag of democracy beside the stars and stripes that the world may learn of free institutions interpreted by a party that believes in the rule of the people.