

thousand years older than the democratic party. It describes an attitude of the human heart. Nine-tenths of those who call themselves republicans are at heart democratic and some who call themselves democrats are at heart aristocratic.

To discover whether any one is at heart a democrat or an aristocrat, tell him the story of Lazarus and Dives and note his comment. If he is a democrat he will try to devise a plan for decreasing the number of the poor; if he is an aristocrat he will say: "What a lucky thing for Lazarus that there was a Dives near to furnish crumbs."

The democrat believes that society is built from the bottom, the aristocrat thinks society is suspended from the top. The democrat says: Legislate for all the people, for he believes that the prosperity of the masses will find its way up through the classes that rest upon the masses. The aristocrat, believing that society is suspended from the top, says, and he says it honestly—for he believes it: Legislate for the well-to-do and then be patient and wait until their prosperity leaks through on those below.

(From Campaign Speech of 1916.)

#### DEMOCRATIC IDEA OF REPRESENTATIVE

According to the aristocratic idea, the representative thinks FOR his constituents; according to the democratic idea, the representative thinks WITH his constituents. A representative has no right to defeat the wishes of those who elect him, if he knows their wishes.

(From The Price of a Soul.)

#### NO TWILIGHT ZONE

I am a strict constructionist, if that means to believe that the federal government is one of delegated powers and that constitutional limitations should be carefully observed. I am jealous of any encroachment upon the rights of the states, believing that the states are as indestructible as the nation is indissoluble. It is, however, entirely consistent with this theory to believe, as I do believe, that it is just as imperative that the general government shall discharge the duties delegated to it, as it is that the states shall exercise the powers reserved to them. **THERE IS NO TWILIGHT ZONE BETWEEN THE NATION AND THE STATE, IN WHICH EXPLOITING INTERESTS CAN TAKE REFUGE FROM BOTH,** and my observation is that most—not all, but most—of the contentions over the line between the nation and the state are traceable to predatory corporations which are trying to shield themselves from deserved punishment, or endeavoring to prevent needed restraining legislation.

(From speech at Conservation Conference, White House, May 15, 1908.)

#### SHORT OFFICIAL TERMS

Jefferson was an advocate of short terms, as well as of popular elections. He believed that short terms, requiring frequent return of the representative to the people, the source of power, to be conducive to fidelity. It is also a means of insuring more intimate acquaintance with his constituents and a more accurate knowledge of their needs.

#### PATRIOTISM ABOVE PARTISANSHIP

The patriot must desire the triumph of that which is right more than the triumph of that which he may think to be right if he is, in fact, mistaken, and so the partizan, if he be an intelligent partizan, must be prepared to rejoice in his own or his party's defeat if by that defeat his country is the gainer.

(From The Price of a Soul.)

#### THE STRENGTH OF A NATION

Aye, let us here dedicate ourselves anew to this unfinished work which requires of each generation constant sacrifice and unceasing care. Pericles, in speaking of those who fell in the Peloponnesian war, lauded the loyalty of his countrymen when he said:

"It was for such a country, then, that these men, nobly resolving not to have it taken from them, fell fighting, and every one of their survivors may well be willing to suffer in its behalf."

The strength of a nation does not lie in forts, nor in navies, nor yet in great standing armies, but in happy and contented citizens, who are

ever ready to protect for themselves and to preserve for posterity the blessings which they enjoy. It is for us of this generation so to perform the duties of citizenship that a "government of the people by the people and for the people" shall not perish from the earth.

(From Arlington Memorial Day Oration.)

#### "RIGHTEOUSNESS EXALTETH A NATION".

I challenge the doctrine, now being taught, that we must enter into a mad rivalry with the Old World in the building of battleships—the doctrine that the only way to preserve peace is to get ready for wars that ought never to come! It is a barbarous, brutal, unchristian doctrine—the doctrine of the darkness, not the doctrine of the dawn.

Nation after nation, when at the zenith of its power, has proclaimed itself invincible because its army could shake the earth with its tread, and its ships could fill the seas, but these nations are dead, and we must build upon a different foundation if we would avoid their fate.

Carlyle, in the closing chapters of his "French Revolution" says that thought is stronger than artillery parks and at last molds the world like soft clay, and then he adds that back of the thought is love. Carlyle is right. Love is the greatest power in the world. The nations that are dead boasted that their flag was feared; let it be our boast that our flag is loved. The nations that are dead boasted that people bowed before their flag, let us not be content until our flag represents sentiments so high and holy that the oppressed of every land will turn their faces toward that flag and thank God that there is one flag that stands for self-government and the rights of man.

The enlightened conscience of our nation should proclaim as the country's creed that "righteousness exalteth a nation" and that justice is a nation's surest defense. If ever a nation was called to put God's truth to the test, it is ours; if there ever was a time it is now. With an ocean rolling on either side and a mountain range along either coast that all the armies of all the world could never climb, we ought not to be afraid to trust in "the wisdom of doing right."

Our government, conceived in freedom and purchased with blood, can be preserved only by constant vigilance. May we guard it as our children's richest legacy, for what shall it profit our nation if it shall gain the whole world and lose "the spirit that prizes liberty as the heritage of all men in all lands everywhere"?

(From The Price of a Soul.)

#### THE DIVINE LAW OF REWARDS

There is a Divine law of rewards. When the Creator gave us the earth, with its fruitful soil, the sunshine with its warmth, and the rains with their moisture, He proclaimed, as clearly as if His voice had thundered from the clouds: "Go, work, and according to your industry and your intelligence, so shall be your reward." Only where might has overthrown, cunning undermined or government suspended this law, has a different law prevailed. To conform the government to this law ought to be the ambition of the statesman; and no party can have a higher mission than to make it a reality wherever governments can legitimately operate.

(From Acceptance Speech, 1908.)

#### THE IDEAL REPUBLIC

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past—a destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of the future.

Behold a republic, resting securely upon the foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth—a republic applying in practice and proclaiming to the world the self-evident propositions that all men are created equal; that they are endowed by their Creator with inalienable rights; that governments are instituted among men to secure these rights and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed.

Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury—a republic in which every

citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares or dares to wear a crown.

Behold a republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments—a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared.

Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civilization and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood—a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those that sit in darkness.

Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes—a republic whose history, like the path of the just, "is as the shining light that shineth more and more unto the perfect day."

(From "Imperialism.")

## POLITICAL ISSUES

### THE TARIFF

#### A REVENUE TARIFF

The whole aim of our party is to secure justice in taxation. We believe that each individual should contribute to the support of the government in proportion to the benefits which he receives under the protection of the government. We believe that a revenue tariff, approached gradually, according to the plan laid down in our platform, will equalize the burdens of taxation, and that the addition of an income tax will make taxation still more equitable. If the republican party is to have the support of those who find a pecuniary profit in the exercise of the taxing power, as a private asset in their business, we ought to have the support of that large majority of the people who produce the nation's wealth in time of peace, protect the nation's flag in time of war, and ask for nothing from the government but even-handed justice.

(From Des Moines Tariff Speech, 1908.)

#### TARIFF NEEDED OR NOT NEEDED

I submit this proposition: Either a tariff is needed or it is not needed. If a tariff is needed, it is in order to add the amount of the tariff to the price of the home article to enable the American manufacturer to compete with the foreign. If it is not needed, who is going to justify it? Now, which horn of the dilemma will you take? Will you say that this tariff is needed and used; or will you say it is not needed and ought to be abolished?

(From Tariff Speech of 1892.)

#### THE REAL HOME INDUSTRY

When some young man selects a young woman who is willing to trust her future to his strong right arm, and they start to build a little home, that home which is the unit of society and upon which our government and our prosperity must rest; when they start to build this little home, and the man who sells the lumber reaches out his hand to collect a tariff upon that; the man who sells paints and oils wants a tariff upon them; the man who furnishes the carpets, table-cloths, knives, forks, dishes, furniture, spoons, everything that enters into the construction and operation of that home—when all these hands, I say, are stretched out from every direction to lay their blighting weight upon that cottage, and the democratic party says, "Hands off, and let that home industry live," it is protecting the grandest home industry that this or any other nation ever had.

(From Tariff Speech, 1892.)

#### THE GROUND CHUNK ILLUSTRATION

Whenever you see the government, by operation of law, send a dollar singing down into one man's pocket, you must remember that the government has brought it crying up out of some other man's pocket. You might just as well try to raise a weight with a lever without fulcrum as try to help some particular industry by means of taxation without placing the burden upon the consumer.

Back in Illinois when we were repairing a rail fence, we would sometimes find a corner