

Permanent Chairman Clayton's Speech

When Representative Henry D. Clayton, of Alabama, took the gavel as permanent chairman of the democratic national convention at Denver, he delivered the following address:

"Let me thank you for the honor you have conferred upon me.

"This is a Democratic idea. Democratic ideas are now popular. Doctrines always taught by our party and scoffed at by our opponents are now urged as a gospel of their own. Measures and policies of Democratic origin are now pretendedly advocated by the leaders of the Republican party.

"It is no longer anarchistic to declare private monopoly to be indefensible or that the great transportation companies should be regulated and controlled by public law. Former questionings of the decision of a bare majority of the supreme court in the income tax case cannot now be heard, because of the greater noise of the vehement and embroidered denunciation of judges and judicial acts that have shocked the country.

"A demand for the revision of the tariff is no longer a threat to destroy our industrial system. Trusts are not to be tolerated even by the Republican party. We need not now enlarge on the list of Republican admissions and promises for election purposes only. The Republican party has made marked progress in promises to the people and much greater progress in aiding selfish interests and special privileges.

"That party guided by expediency and campaign necessity, would camp this year on Democratic ground. If it is apparent recent progress is to continue it does not require a very great sweep of the imagination to see written into a Republican platform four years hence those immortal words of Thomas Jefferson, 'Equal rights to all, special privileges to none.'

"The Republican party having had full control of the federal government for more than a decade, must give an account of its stewardship. Its pretentious claims, largely without foundation, and largely exaggerated, will not suffice.

"Let honest investigation reveal the bad and defective laws passed by that party: vicious policies maintained; reforms rejected; the recent panic and its consequences; promises broken; dissimulation practiced; incompetency confessed by its failure to meet urgent public needs; and exhibiting this incompetency by the appointment of junketing commissions for the alleged purpose of advising that party so long in control and of such boasted legislative wisdom what legislation is required by the country.

"Against the Republican party, so degenerate and crafty, is a capable, determined, honest Democracy; in sympathy with all just public demands, and confidently asking in its behalf the candid public judgment. To that judgment the issue must be committed, and we unhesitatingly submit our cause to that fine and true sense for the right that we know distinguishes the American people.

Taft Mere Shadow of the Big Stick
"In this quadrennial contest Mr. Roosevelt has identified himself with Mr. Taft. Mr. Taft has identified himself with Mr. Roosevelt. The Republican party has separately identified the two together. To praise one you must praise the other, to criticize one is to criticize his pursuing shadow. And so, I must say, if it should appear to any one that in noting and denouncing abuses and failures on the part of the present administration any license is assumed, I urge the impossibility of separating the present occu-

pant of the White House from his own appointed one.

"It has been made evident in the pending campaign that the Republicans will seek to conjure with the names of Roosevelt and will rely upon the president's policies as a prized asset. The president has advertised himself and his policies with a frequency and ability that surpasses the best efforts of the shrewdest press agent.

"A distinguished Republican, a former cabinet officer, once publicly proclaimed the president to be the greatest exponent of the art of advertising the world has known.

"The country has been told and not allowed to forget that, in his opinion, his energies have been devoted to the accomplishment of many high purposes, and that if his work is yet incomplete, it is so because his undertakings were too vast to be carried to success during his term of office.

"My policies must continue. So the champion of these would transfer office and power to his favorite cabinet minister, and his spear is to have a fellow.

"The pretense is that the fight must go on under the leadership designated by him until the last foe shall have surrendered or lies inglorious in the dust. The nomination of his would-be successor was largely accomplished by the use of official patronage and coarse machine methods and has delighted the chief apostle of strenuosity, and, at the same time, has not perturbed the conscience of the one-time civil service reformer, now the boss, an adept in the bestowal of public plunder and forgetful of all his resounding moral commonplaces.

"No fair-minded American could read the daily accounts of the recent political doings at Chicago without feeling mortification and regret that the president should so have abused his power in dictating to a great party his choice of a successor, and regret that that party should have submitted so cowardly to a humiliation that was as manifest as it was degrading.

"My Policies" Filched From the Democrats

"What are the policies which constitute the capital of the Republican party in this campaign and that are relied upon to support the candidacy of Mr. Taft?

"To recall Democratic platforms, speeches, and measures is to convince any man that many of the president's public utterances were derived from an unavowed familiarity with the teachings of our party.

"His utterances that are Democratic have given him his only claim to be a reformer, and have contributed more than all else to the popularity he has enjoyed. The heir and the party are committed to unflinching adherence to the policies of the president. What are these policies and what are the achievements of president and party?

"It must be admitted that the republic cannot long survive if fraud and corruption become material factors in our elections. No man has said more than the president about the corruption of elections. You recall his message to congress in December, 1905, where he said that:

"It has been only too clearly shown that certain men at the head of these large corporations take but small note of the ethical distinction between honesty and dishonesty; they draw the line only this side of what may be called law-honesty, the kind of honesty necessary in order to avoid falling into the clutches of the law."

"We have here the condemnation of the practice. Has he proved his faith by his works? Is it true, or not, that

four years ago he selected for his campaign manager a novice in politics, whose principal qualification for the position was the power he held over the corporations of the land? Is it true, or not, that the official place as secretary of commerce and labor gave full knowledge of these business secrets and relations of corporations to this campaign manager, and clothed him with power, with the assent of the president, to punish or reward them by publishing or withholding their secrets that he had collected as such secretary?

"Is it true, or not, that, with this power held in terror over the corporations, he solicited, or had his agents solicit campaign contributions from them? Is it true, or not, that such a request under such circumstances was a demand upon the corporations—a demand that they acceded to, knowing that the man who made it had the power to punish them in case they refused? Can it be doubted that in this way vast sums were raised? If so, how much of these contributions were used for legitimate expenses and how much for corruption purposes we do not know.

One Lone Republican for Publicity
"Notwithstanding savage ante-election denial, we know that a subsequent investigation of certain insurance companies uncovered the fact that large amounts were contributed by these companies to the Republican campaign fund—not the money of the men who gave it, but money covertly taken without consent of stockholders or policy holders, and entered on the books in a way calculated to conceal embezzlement. All this was done in the interest of the Republican candidate for president.

"The money was used, the candidate was elected, and he continues to deliver lectures on decency and for honesty in elections, sending messages to congress on publicity of campaign contributions, but at times when these were certain to be unavailing. The Chicago convention has met, transacted its business, and has adjourned. The question of a publicity bill was mooted there, was defeated, and it would never have seen the light of day except through the unaided efforts of one solitary member of the committee on platform and resolutions, who dragged it out only to witness its deep entombment by the body of the convention. Thus died one of 'my policies,' to which that convention in effusive, if dictated, language declared in its platform their 'unflinching adherence.'

"Let me go on. There has been, and is now, a public demand for legislation regulating, not abolishing the process of injunction and the power to punish for alleged indirect or constructive contempt of courts. Ever since 1896 the Democratic party has protested against hasty and illconsidered use of injunctions and has been insisting on the right of fair trial in all cases of constructive contempt. The Republican party has been avoiding this question, so the president, in taking it up, and Taft, in his letter to the labor unions, advocated a measure that the Democratic party, acting in behalf of the correct administration of public justice, had been demanding for twelve years. If the president was in earnest when he sent his message to congress he was to that extent Democratic. We are authorized to conclude that in framing, revising or dictating the Chicago platform, he suffered from a lapse of memory, or abandoned the policy he had so vigorously urged in his official capacity, for he said in a message to congress:

"I also urge that action be taken along the line of recommendations I have already made concerning injunc-

tions in labor disputes. No temporary restraining order should be issued by any court without notice, and the petition for a permanent injunction upon which such temporary restraining order has been issued should be heard by the court issuing the same within a reasonable time—say not to exceed a week or thereabouts—from the date when the order was issued. It is worth considering whether it would not give greater popular confidence in the impartiality of sentences for contempt if it was required that the issue should be decided by another judge than the one issuing the injunctions, except where the contempt is committed in the presence of the court or other case of urgency."

"Surely he and his party eulogists at Chicago forgot that he had but a few months before advised congress that 'it is worth considering whether it would not give greater popular confidence in the impartiality of sentences for contempt if it was required that the issue should be decided by another judge than the one issuing the injunction.'

"There has not been a session of congress in twelve years at which the Republican party could not have passed a law prescribing, defining and regulating the issuance of injunctions and providing for fair trials in contempt cases. Yet nothing has ever been done to give the wage earner fair treatment, and less than nothing is offered to him in the Chicago deliverance. The meaningless generalities of its injunction plank are an insult to the intelligence of those who demand reasonable and substantial legislation to prevent the admitted abuse of this judicial process.

"Again the president said to congress:

"Twenty-two years ago, by act of June 29, 1886, trades unions were recognized by law, and the right of laboring people to combine for lawful purposes was formally recognized, this right including combination for mutual protection of the individual rights of the workmen in the prosecution of their trade or trades; and in act of June 1, 1898, strikes were recognized as legal in the same provision that forbade participation in or instigation of force or violence against 'persons or property, or the attempt to prevent others from working, by violence, threat or intimidation.' The business man must be protected in person and property, and so must the farmer and the wage worker, and as regards all alike, the rights of peaceful combination for all lawful purposes should be explicitly recognized."

"And in still another message he said:

"It must be remembered that a preliminary injunction in a labor case, if granted without adequate proof * * * may often settle the dispute between the parties, and therefore if improperly granted may do irreparable wrong. Yet there are many judges who assume a matter-of-course granting of a preliminary injunction to be the ordinary and proper judicial disposition of such cases, and there have undoubtedly been flagrant wrongs committed by judges in connection with labor even within the last few years * * *"

Labor Pleads in Vain for Twelve Years

"It is important to note that the act of June 29, 1886, was passed at the first session of the first congress that met under the first Democratic administration after the civil war, and there labor received its first recognition from the government. One Republican administration had succeeded another for twenty-four years, and not