

power of self-defense, of self-preservation, and that the power should be absolute and complete, the only restriction being that, when the government wants to make a new application of it, it shall submit it to the voters themselves and let them decide. I go back, therefore, to that original proposition, "faith in the people." Trust the people of Nebraska; let them have what they want in government. The test of your faith in the people will come when the issue is raised between a private monopoly that is for the benefit of a few and a government monopoly that is for the benefit of all.

Every proposed change of importance should be submitted to the people for their approval; in a democracy we must trust the people on every subject. There is one exception to the referendum. If an emergency arises and there is not time for the submission of the issue the government must act immediately; you cannot allow a state or community to suffer. The recent coal strike at the beginning of winter was a case in point. The owners of the mines and the mine workers quarreled, and the federal government began to assert its rights to protect the people. Instruction followed instruction. "You must shut down your factories three days of the week;" "you must cut down the use of coal;" "you must suspend work that is not necessary;" "the essential things come first." If the condition had continued and it had become necessary, the federal government would have stepped in and taken control of the mines. The American people would not freeze; acting together they would have protected themselves. And what the nation can do in a coal strike, a state or city may have to do if an emergency arises. The right of self-preservation in any governmental unit is as complete as the right of self-defense in the individual.

Before leaving this subject, allow me to suggest that franchises, being temporary in character, should be strictly limited in duration and should always contain a provision reserving the right of the governmental unit to take over the property of the franchise holding corporation at any time upon payment of ACTUAL replacement value. No allowance should be made for the value of the franchise (which is a gift) or for what is called "going value," and, of course, no franchise should be granted without approval by the people on a referendum vote. The life of a franchise should not be over twenty-five years; no generation should bind the generation that follows.

#### THE PROFITEER

Next you will have to deal with the profiteer; you cannot escape the issue that is presented here. The profiteer is abroad in the land. The darkest blot upon this nation's prosecution of the war was the fact that while millions of our young men were ready to bleed for the nation, the nation was being bled by men whose greed outstripped their patriotism. And the bleeding at home continues even though the war is over. We have just had an illustration of it. The mine owners said they could not afford to give the increase the miners demanded. We have a law requiring corporations to make a tax return, and a government document was published showing the excess profits of many corporations, and what were they? Nearly three-hundred coal companies had profits above twenty-five per cent on capital stock; one hundred and twenty-nine of them had profits running between twenty-five and fifty per cent; seventy-five had profits running from one-hundred to two-hundred per cent; some to five-hundred per cent; some to a thousand per cent, and four had reported profits in one year twenty times as great as their capital stock; that is, they had taken from the people to whom they sold coal enough money in one year to retire their capital TWENTY TIMES; and that was a year when mothers were giving up their boys to die for their country; when wives were taking upon themselves a double burden in order that their husbands might go to war, and when the nation was straining every nerve!

The commercial classes have not been fair. We have given them judges and courts and officers to serve them, and any dealer can call any customer before the court and collect his bill if the customer has the property from which to collect it, but there is no tribunal before which the patron can go and secure an investigation of the charge of extortion. Investigation shows that even in a city like Lincoln the profit of the retailer is sometimes eighty-five per cent. What do you think of a man charging nearly as much

for handing out a pair of shoes over his counter as is paid to all who produced the animal that furnished the leather, to all who did the work in the tannery and factory and to all engaged in transporting the shoe? This convention should set the world an example and show other states how to deal with men who attempt to extort from their fellows. We need a state trade commission like the commission at Washington, with powers as complete. We need a local trade commission in every community so that every person who is charged with extortion or profiteering can be brought before the tribunal and investigated. There should be a remedy for every wrong; the government should protect every citizen from every arm uplifted for his injury.

The honest men of the community should separate themselves from the extortioner and the profiteer. The odium should not rest upon all, but it will if the merchants stand together to protect their class from fair investigation and from the punishment of guilt. This is a very important question; you should deal with it thoroughly; you should see to it that there is lodged somewhere a power to require a license, if a license is necessary; a power to fix the per cent of profit if that is necessary.

#### LIMITING PROFIT

We say that a banker cannot charge more than a certain rate of interest. If a banker is not above control, who is too sacred to have his rate of profit fixed? If the bankers who claim to hold in their hands the honor of the business community cannot be trusted to decide what rate of interest they will charge who, inferior in influence and in the respect that they command, can claim exemption from scrutiny and regulation? There ought to be a power to license, power to limit profits, power to take over, if necessary. The right of the community is superior to the right of any individual. If conditions are such that it becomes necessary for a community, for the protection of the rights of its people, to take possession of any business temporarily and administer it until the emergency is passed, it should do it, and the constitution should confer this power upon each unit of government.

#### COOPERATION

Before leaving this subject, allow me to add that cooperation between individuals should be encouraged. The middleman can only justify his toll upon trade when his services are absolutely necessary. He is not unalloyed good; he is at best a NECESSARY EVIL. He is a burden to both producer and consumer, and should be dispensed with whenever and wherever possible. Individual cooperation is the remedy, but to be permanent it must be conducted on a sound basis and kept in the control of those for whose benefit the organization is formed. Because every cooperative plan rests on confidence, care should be taken to prevent any abuse of that confidence, and the misuse of funds held in trust.

And now I come to another proposition. I have not had time to consult any of you and my words will, of course, have no weight except as my arguments convince you. Nebraska has, in my judgment, a great opportunity today, and I shall point out that opportunity as I see it. Nebraska has been a leader in this country; measured by every standard. Nebraska is progressing. Now we are entering upon a new era. We have abolished the saloon. (Applause).

I leave here at 4:30 for the East, stopping at Omaha and Des Moines, but my destination is Washington, and I shall be there, Providence permitting, on Friday, the 16th. Why? Because Friday is the day, and Nebraska made it so, after which there will never be another legalized saloon in the United States. There is a Bible passage that expresses my feelings at this time. You will find it in the 20th verse of the 2nd Chapter of Matthew,—the language in which Joseph and Mary were assured that it was safe to take the child Jesus back to the Holy Land. "They are dead that sought the young child's life." When you remember that King Alcohol has slain more children than Herod ever did, I think that you will agree me that the most appropriate words in which to express the joy that fills the hearts of American parents today are those I have just quoted. "They are dead that sought the young child's life."

And just at this time, when the most corrupting influence ever known is passing out of politics never to return, woman enters the arena of politics, and, adding her conscience to the judg-

ment of man, hastens the triumph of every righteous cause.

Let me illustrate it as I see it. Suppose two armies of one-hundred thousand each are struggling for mastery on a hotly contested battlefield; suppose that, just at the moment when the conflict is at its height, half of the army on one side is drawn away, leaving the FIELD TO BE DEFENDED BY THE REMAINING HALF, would not the chances of victory be with the hundred thousand? And suppose that, just at that moment, fifty-thousand fresh troops came to reinforce the one-hundred thousand. That is what we have today; just as the corrupting influence of the saloon is being drawn away from one side, the conscience of woman comes to support every cause that is righteous and for the nation's welfare.

#### SINGLE STANDARD OF MORALITY

Our state has done its part—a creditable part—in securing these reforms. Now, I suggest a step in advance. I would like to see the state of Nebraska raise here the banner of the next great moral reform by writing into the constitution the SINGLE STANDARD OF MORALITY. All legislation rests upon a theory and that theory should be stated in the constitution. You necessarily endorse the single standard or the double standard. I urge the endorsement of the single standard—no segregation of sin; no licensing of vice; the penalties for immorality enforced impartially against the two sexes. That, my friends, I believe is to be the next great moral reform, and I would like to see Nebraska lead the fight. The women are here; their consciences will be with us; their influence will help us. How dare we longer discriminate against woman and give to an immoral man a respectability that we deny to her? I beg you to consider whether this is not the time to endorse the single standard of morality and declare that, in Nebraska, there shall no longer be discrimination in favor of an immoral man as against an immoral woman. They will stand side by side before the judgment bar of God, and, if they must stand side by side there, we should not give one of them an advantage over the other in the tribunals which man creates.

#### GAMBLING

This convention will have to deal with gambling. I hope the constitution you are writing will put the seal of its condemnation upon all forms of gambling. It is one of the sins that, like intoxication and immorality, has come down from the remotest past, but it overthrows God's law of rewards. When the Creator gave us the earth with its fertile soil, the sunshine with its warmth and the rains with their moisture, His voice proclaimed as clearly as if it had issued from the clouds, "Go work, and in proportion to your industry and your intelligence, so shall be your reward." That is God's law of rewards, and it must prevail except where force suppresses it or cunning evades it.

The axe should be put at the root of the tree. Gambling is not a question of amount, and it does not matter whether one wins or loses; it is the principle that should be considered. There should be no more toleration of gambling on a small scale than on a large scale. Gambling at cigar counters, gambling with slot machines, gambling with wheels of fortune—all are gambling and should not be permitted. Chance should not be allowed to be substituted for honest industry; our children should know from their youth that there is at least one state in this union that makes no discrimination between kinds of gambling, high or low, large or small, but that all gambling is prohibited in Nebraska as far as law can prevent it.

I am not sure that you can deal by constitutional provision with the subject to which I now invite your attention although it is in line with what I have said on the subject of gambling. I have been convinced for many years that we should have a law that will make it a criminal offense for any bank official, or other official entrusted with other people's money, to SPECULATE ON MARGINS. We should not wait until he loses to punish him. A few years ago I read a news item to the effect that within a radius of one-hundred and fifty miles in the state of Iowa ten bankers had in a short time committed suicide because of embezzlements discovered. We should protect trust officials from overpowering temptations. We do not allow a man to carry matches in a powder factory, no matter how careful he is, we should not allow a man entrusted with other people's money to gamble or to be tempted to gamble. We should save him