

## Marshall's Brilliant Speech to Senate

(From the Washington Star, March 4.)

Voicing his faith in the government of the United States as set up by the forefathers, Vice-President Marshall, just before concluding his duties as presiding officer of the Senate today delivered the following address:

"Very shortly I shall have ended my official life as the constitutional presiding officer of this body. That moment, when it arrives, will not mark my demotion into the ranks of the average American citizen, for I never arose above them.

"I sprang from the loins of men who helped to lay the foundations of the republic. At my birth my father placed upon my baby brow the coronal of a free-born American citizen. In my youth I was taught that if I wore it worthily, no prince nor potentate nor electorate could add to or detract from the honor of that royal coronet.

"I may have failed, but I have tried to keep the faith. I have never doubted that, so far as the principles of civil government are concerned, the pillars of Hercules rest upon the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. To my mind there is no beyond. The forms under which the principles of the republic are administered may need changes to meet changing conditions, but the underlying idea does not, for truth is unchanging and eternal. What was so when the morning stars sang together will be so when the Angel of the Apocalypse appears.

"I venture to express this much of that idea: A government dedicated to the inalienable rights of man to life, to liberty, and to the pursuit of happiness can find its perfect accomplishment only in representatives brave and strong enough to rise above the ambitions, passions, and prejudices of individuals and groups. Representative government was intended to guarantee these inalienable rights of men through the enactment and enforcement of laws calculated to preserve and promote equal and exact justice to all men. Religions die because priests mumble their creeds, but have no faith in their gods. Governments go to wreck because their statesmen shout aloud their shibboleths, but let a friendly enemy pass the word.

"I freely grant the right of this people to change our form of government and to adopt other basic principles, but, if it is to be done, let it be done decently and directly, so that all of us may know it. The old faith has already too many sleek and smiling Joabs asking of it, 'Is it well with thee, my brother?'

"While the old order endures let representatives represent the old ideals; let it be understood that they are not mere bellboys, subject to calls for legislative cracked ice every time the victims of a debauch of greed, gambling or improvidence feel the fever of frenzied need.

"The life is more than meat and the body more than raiment. It is of minor importance who holds the wealth of the nation if the hearts of all its people beat with true historic American throb. The clothes may mark but the clothes cannot make the gentleman. The economic rehabilitation of America is of vast moment, but the rehabilitation of the ancient faith which upheld the ragged Continentals, emerged in pristine glory from the throes of civil war, and hurled its smiling and undaunted face upon the fields of France, is a far greater work.

"It is enough—perhaps too much. Who am I to suggest, even with shame-faced timidity, anything to you? For eight long years, crowded with events which have forever changed the currents of the world's history, I have been with you. I come to the end of them with a feeling of heartfelt gratitude to you all for those little, nameless, unremembered acts of kindness and charity which have marked your friendship and good will. You have been good to me. The odor of your friendship will sweeten any air that I may breathe. Not one of you can wish for himself a kindlier fate than I would give you if I were omnipotent.

"I go, but you remain. I leave with the same inarticulate cry in my soul with which I came to you: My country. It is no new nor unusual cry for the American, but it has, I fear, myriad concepts. To some it means broad acres and fertile fields; to many, opportunity for personal preferment; to a thoughtless few, the right to utter every vagrant word which finds lodgment in a mind diseased; to the half-educated, that democracy should be governed as soon by the

infant's cry as by the prophet's warning. But to me it is but the composite voice of all the good and wise and self-sacrificing souls who trod or tread its soil, calling for that liberty which is law-encrowned, preaching that doctrine which seeks not its own, but the common good, and, above all, warning us by the memory of the dead and the hope of the unborn to close our ears to the mouthings of every peripatetic reformer who tells us that the way to sanctify the republic is to remove every landmark which has hitherto marked the boundaries of national and individual life.

"It is no new religion we need. Our creed should be: One Lord, one faith, one baptism—the Lord of Justice, who was with Washington at Valley Forge, Grant and Lee at Appomattox, Pershing on the fields of France, the faith that under a republican form of government alone, democracy permanently can endure; the baptism of that spirit which will not be content until no man is above the penalties and no man beyond the protection of our laws.

"Let him who goes and him who stays remember that he who saves his life at the loss of his country's honor loses it, and he who loses his life for the sake of his country's honor saves it."

## Harding's Problems

(Continued from Page 3).

coal strike at the beginning of the winter the number of those owning stock in the companies and working in the mines did not equal one million men, and, counting five to a family, not more than a total of five millions of the population. The other ninety-five millions would have suffered if the strike had continued. The time is not far distant when this large third party, known as the public, will receive greater consideration than it has in the past. The strike and the lockout are only defensible as a last resort and when no other remedy can be found. And the strike and lockout, even when necessary, are very clumsy weapons and likely to bring suffering upon innocent as well as guilty.

Many remedies have been suggested, one of them, arbitration, has been urged with considerable persistence. Where arbitration is voluntarily agreed upon by the parties to the dispute, no objection can be found to it, but compulsory arbitration is not likely to be favored in this country—it does not seem to be in harmony with our institutions. We would find it difficult to compel anyone to work for wages which he deemed insufficient or under conditions he deemed unjust, just as we would find it difficult to compel an employer to conduct his business at a loss. But compulsory investigation is an entirely different thing. We have thirty treaties that provide for the compulsory investigation of international disputes and the idea was embodied in the covenant of the League of Nations. And, it may be added, this is one provision to which no one objected.

The idea can be applied to labor disputes. That is, a commission on which each side will have representation could investigate and report to the public without having power to bind the parties by any finding. Public opinion can be relied upon to reconcile differences when all the facts are known—at least public opinion will settle a large majority of the cases and thus relieve both the parties to the dispute and the public generally of the evils that follow a suspension of any line of business. Such a system would be valuable for that which it prevents as well as for that which it accomplishes. When we have machinery sufficient for the settlement of industrial disputes, animosities will be lessened because neither side will consider it necessary to arraign the other in advance of the adjustment of differences. Just as the substitution of reason for force in the settlement of international disputes prevents the stirring up of passion and the inflaming of prejudice in advance of war, so the substitution of investigation for strikes and lockout will reduce to a minimum the unfriendliness that now makes co-operation difficult.

Fifth. Agriculture demands the immediate attention of the administration. The cattle raisers are at the mercy of the packers, the wheat and cotton growers are at the mercy of the gamblers and all the farmers are at the mercy of the middle men and the trusts. They need legislation to insure them a living price for their products and to provide at reasonable rate the money they need to raise and market their crops.

The sixth problem which will confront Presi-

dent Harding is the enforcement of prohibition. While there has been a very large decrease in the consumption of intoxicants and a very material improvement in conditions, there is still organized opposition to the enforcement of the Volstead act. Such difficulties as we now have arises chiefly from two sources, first the temptation to make money out of an illicit traffic and, second, the hope of weakening the law by legislation. It is important, therefore, that the new attorney-general shall give the law-breakers to understand that his oath of office will not be violated. Any weakening on the part of the Department of Justice would inaugurate a reign of terror, any concession made to those who defy the law would increase the difficulties of enforcement.

The second thing necessary is the closing of the door of hope. The new Congress was elected nearly a year after the prohibition law went into effect and nearly two years after the amendment was ratified. The wets polled their maximum strength in 1920, and, in spite of all they could do the dries have a large majority in both houses. Congress will probably have an opportunity to speak emphatically on the subject at an early date. The more emphatic the pronouncement, the sooner prohibition will be accepted as the settled policy of the country.

In speaking of enforcement, it must not be overlooked that the smuggling of liquor in from the outside will increase in relative importance as internal sources of supply dry up. We shall soon have to deal with an international question raised by the use of adjacent foreign territory as a base for conspiracies against our prohibition law. We must go to the limit in preventing American citizens from forming on foreign soil conspiracies against their own government, and then foreign governments will be unable to resist our appeal when we ask them to prevent the use of their territory by others who conspire to violate the prohibition law, just as they refuse to allow their territory to be used by pirates for the purpose of preying upon the commerce of our coasts.

These are but a few of the grave questions that President Harding will meet at the threshold when he enters the presidency. Democrats will be patriotic enough to wish him every possible success because Democrats, as citizens, will share in the good that flows from a wise administration, and the Republicans, on the other hand, cannot desire less because they know that a failure on the part of the president to act wisely, will invite defeat at the polls. The voters may call themselves Republicans or Democrats, but they are more interested in their country than they are in any party and more ready now than ever before to make their votes express approval or disapproval. W. J. BRYAN.

### LETTERS FROM COMMONER READERS

The following letters are self-explanatory:

Maquoketa, Iowa, Feb. 21.—Mr. J. B. Keathley, Brownsville, Tenn. My Dear Sir: I wish to congratulate you on your classical letter in the February Commoner. It has the true ring of a man determined to stand by and defend THE GREATEST LEADER OF THE AGE, who has been on the firing line since 1896. I have had his picture (24x30) hanging in the store since that date.—Respectfully yours, J. L. Scholl.

Brownsville, Tenn., Feb. 24.—Editor Commoner: I will thank you to have this brief communication printed in The Commoner, together with Mr. Scholl's congratulation herewith, with the hope of interesting others in backing up a man, a patriot and a statesman who realizes the value of study and service in his great work for the people. In his discussion of the protective tariff doctrine—as congressman in 1892, Mr. Bryan immortalized himself in the estimation of honest Democrats, and linked me to him as with hoops of steel by characterizing in substance the doctrine of tariff protection as legalized robbery.—J. B. Keathley.

### THE COMMONER

Bryan's Commoner, now starting its 21st year, is a 16-page monthly, discussing political questions. The principles it has advocated in all those years have been written into constitutions and statutes in many states, as well as the nation as a whole. Four federal amendments to the constitution, and more than a dozen statutes of transcendent importance enacted thereunder during the last ten years.—Equality, Chicago, Ill.

Ideas are the great warriors of the world, and a war that has no ideas behind it is simply brutality.—Garfield.