

these gentlemen get control of these things? Who handed our economic laws over to them for legislative and contractual alteration? We have in these disclosures still another view of the tariff, still another proof that not the people of the United States, but only a very small number of them, have been partners in that legislation.

The trusts do not belong to the period of infant industries. They are not the products of the time, that old laborious time, when the great continent we live on was undeveloped, the young nation struggling to find itself and get upon its feet amidst older and more experienced competitors. They belong to a very recent and very sophisticated age, when men knew what they wanted and knew how to get it by the favor of the government. It is another chapter in the natural history of power and of "governing classes." The next chapter will set us free again.

I am not one of those who think that competition can be established by law against the drift of a world wide economic tendency; neither am I one of those who believe that business done upon a great scale by a single organization—call it corporation or what you will—is necessarily dangerous to the liberties, even the economic liberties, of a great people like our own, full of intelligence and of indomitable energy. I am not afraid of anything that is normal. I dare say we shall never return to the old order of individual competition and that the organization of business upon a great scale of co-operation is, up to a certain point, itself normal and inevitable.

Sherman Law Amendments.

Power in the hands of great business men does not make me apprehensive, unless it springs out of advantages which they have not created for themselves. Big business is not dangerous because it is big, but because its business is an unwholesome inflation created by privileges and exemptions which it ought not to enjoy.

The general terms of the present federal anti-trust law, forbidding "combinations in restraint of trade," have apparently proved ineffectual. Trusts have grown up under its ban very luxuriantly and have pursued the methods by which so many of them have established virtual monopolies without serious let or hindrance. It has roared against them like any sucking dove. I am not assessing the responsibility; I am merely stating the fact. But the means and methods by which trusts have established monopolies have now become known. It will be necessary to supplement the present law with such laws, both civil and criminal, as will effectually punish and prevent those methods, adding such other laws as may be necessary to provide suitable and adequate judicial processes, whether civil or criminal, to disclose them and follow them to final verdict and judgment.

But the problems and the difficulties are much greater than that. There are not merely great trusts and combinations which are to be controlled and deprived of their power to create monopolies and destroy rivals. There is something bigger still than they are and more subtle, more evasive, more difficult to deal with. There are vast confederacies (as I may perhaps call them for the sake of convenience) of banks, railways, express companies, insurance companies, manufacturing corporations, mining corporations, power and development companies and all the rest of the circle, bound together by the fact that the ownership of their stock and the members of their boards of directors are controlled and determined by comparatively small and closely interrelated groups of persons who, by their informal confederacy, may control, if they please and when they will, both credit and enterprise. They are part of our problem. Their very existence gives rise to the suspicion of a "money trust," a concentration of the control of credit which may at any time become infinitely dangerous to free enterprise.

If such a concentration and control do not actually exist it is evident that they can easily be set up and used at will. Laws must be devised which will prevent this, if laws can be worked out by fair and free counsel that will accomplish that result without destroying or seriously embarrassing any sound or legitimate business undertaking or necessary and wholesome arrangement.

The Labor Question.

Let me say again that what we are seeking is not destruction of any kind nor the disruption of any sound or honest thing, but merely the rule of right and of the common advantage. I am happy to say that a new spirit has begun to show itself in the last year or two among influential men of business and, what is perhaps even more significant, among the lawyers who are their expert advisers and that this spirit has displayed itself very notably in the last few months in an effort to return in some degree at any rate to the practices of genuine competition.

If I am right about this, it is going to be easier to act in accordance with the rule of right and justice in dealing with the labor question. The so-called labor question is a question only because we have not yet found the rule of right in adjusting the interests of labor and capital. The welfare, the happiness, the energy and spirit of the men and women who do the daily work in our mines and factories on our railroads, in our offices and markets of trade, on our farms and on the sea, are of the essence of our national life. There can be nothing wholesome unless their life is wholesome; there can be no contentment unless they are contented. Their physical welfare affects the soundness of the whole nation. We shall never get very far in the settlement of these

vital matters so long as we regard everything done for the workingman, by law or by private agreement, as a concession yielded to keep him from agitation and a disturbance of our peace. Here again the sense of universal partnership must come into play if we are to act like statesmen, as those who serve not a class, but a nation.

The working people of America—if they must be distinguished from the minority that constitutes the rest of it—are, of course, the backbone of the nation. No law that safeguards their life, that improves the physical and moral conditions under which they live, that makes their hours of labor rational and tolerable, that gives them freedom to act in their own interest and that protects them where they cannot protect themselves can properly be regarded as class legislation or as anything but as a measure taken in the interest of the whole people, whose partnership in right action we are trying to establish and make real and practical. It is in this spirit that we shall act if we are genuine spokesmen of the whole country.

Currency Laws.

As our program is disclosed—for no man can forecast it ready made and before counsel is taken of every one concerned—this must be its measure and standard, the interest of all concerned. For example, in dealing with the complicated and difficult question of the reform of our banking and currency laws it is plain that we ought to consult very many persons besides the bankers, not because we distrust the bankers, but because they do not necessarily comprehend the business of the country, notwithstanding they are indispensable servants of it and may do a vast deal to make it hard or easy. No mere bankers' plan will meet the requirements, no matter how honestly conceived. It should be a merchants and farmers' plan as well, elastic in the hands of those who use it as an indispensable part of their daily business.

In dealing with the Philippines we should not allow ourselves to stand upon any mere point of pride as if, in order to keep our countenance in the families of nations, it were necessary for us to make the same blunders of selfishness that other nations have made. We are not the owners of the Philippine Islands. We hold them in trust for the people who live in them. They are theirs for the uses of their life. We are not even their partners. It is our duty as trustees to make whatever arrangement of government will be most serviceable to their freedom and development. Here again we are to set up the rule of justice and of right.

Presidential Primaries.

The rule of the people is no idle phrase. Those who believe in it—as who does not that has caught the real spirit of America?—believe that there can be no rule of right without it; that right in politics is made up of the interests of everybody, and everybody should take part in the action that is to determine it. We have been kept by presidential primaries and the direct election of United States senators because we wanted the action of the government to be determined by persons whom the people had actually designated as men whom they were ready to trust and follow. We have been anxious that all campaign contributions and expenditures should be disclosed to the public in fullest detail because we regarded the influence which govern campaigns to be as much a part of the people's business as anything else connected with their government. We are working toward a very definite object, the universal partnership in public affairs upon which the purity of politics and its aim and spirit depend.

I do not know any greater question than that of conservation. We have been a spendthrift nation and must now husband what we have left. We must do more than that. We must develop as well as preserve our water powers and must add great waterways to the transportation facilities of the nation to supplement the railways within our borders as well as upon the isthmus. We must revive our merchant marine, too, and fill the seas again with our own fleets. We must add to our present postoffice service a parcels post as complete as that of any other nation. We must look to the health of our people upon every hand as well as hearten them with justice and opportunity. This is the constructive work of government. This is the policy that has a vision and a hope and that looks to serve mankind.

There are many sides to these great matters. Conservation is easy to generalize about, but hard to particularize about wisely. Reservation is not the whole of conservation. The development of great states must not be stayed indefinitely to await a policy by which our forests and water powers can prudently be made use of. Use and development must go hand in hand. The policy we adopt must be progressive—not negative merely, as if we did not know what to do.

Improving Our Rivers.

With regard to the development of greater and more numerous waterways and the building up of a merchant marine, we must follow great constructive lines and not fall back upon the cheap device of bounties and subsidies. In the case of the Mississippi river, that great central artery of our trade, it is plain that the federal government must build and maintain the levees and keep the great waters in harness for the general use.

The question of a merchant marine turns back to the tariff again, to which all roads seem to lead, and to our registry laws, which, if coupled with the tariff, might almost be supposed to have been intended to take the Ameri-

can flag off the seas. Bounties are not necessary if you will but undo some of the things that have been done. Without a great merchant marine we cannot take our rightful place in the commerce of the world. Merchants who must depend upon the carriers of rival mercantile nations to carry their goods to market are at a disadvantage in international trade too manifest to need to be pointed out, and our merchants will not long suffer themselves—ought not to suffer themselves—to be placed at such a disadvantage. Our industries have expanded to such a point that they will burst their jackets if they cannot find a free outlet to the markets of the world, and they cannot find such an outlet unless they be given ships of their own to carry their goods—ships that will go the routes they want them to go—and prefer the interests of America in their sailing orders and their equipment. Our domestic markets no longer suffice. We need foreign markets. That is another force that is going to break the tariff down. The tariff was once a bulwark; now it is a dam. For trade is reciprocal; we cannot sell unless we also buy.

The very fact that we have at last taken the Panama canal seriously in hand and are vigorously pushing it toward completion is eloquent of our reawakened interest in international trade. We are not building the canal and pouring out millions upon millions of money upon its construction merely to establish a water connection between the two coasts of the continent, important and desirable as that may be, particularly from the point of view of naval defense. It is meant to be a great international highway. It would be a little ridiculous if we should build it and then have no ships to send through it. There have been years when not a single ton of freight passed through the great Suez canal in an American bottom, so empty are the seas of our ships and seamen.

Industrial Education.

There is another duty which the Democratic party has shown itself great enough and close enough to the people to perceive, the duty of government to share in promoting agricultural, industrial, vocational education in every way possible within its constitutional powers. No other platform has given this intimate vision of a party's duty. Education is part of the great task of conservation, part of the task of renewal and of perfected power.

We have set ourselves a great program, and it will be a great party that carries it out. It must be a party without entangling alliances with any special interest whatever. It must have the spirit and the point of view of the new age. Men are turning away from the Republican party as organized under its old leaders because they found that it was not free, that it was entangled, and they are turning to us because they deem us free to serve them.

We should go into this campaign confident of only one thing—confident of what we want to do if intrusted with the government. It is not a partisan fight we are entering upon. We are happily excused from personal attacks upon opponents and from all general indictments against the men opposed to us. The facts are patent to everybody; we do not have to prove them; the more frank among our opponents admit them. Our thinking must be constructive from start to finish. We must show that we understand the problems that confront us and that we are soberly minded to deal with them, applying to them not nostrums and notions, but hard sense and good courage.

A Government For Public Good.

A presidential campaign may easily degenerate into a mere personal contest and so lose its real dignity and significance. There is no indispensable man. The government will not collapse and go to pieces if any one of the gentlemen who are seeking to be intrusted with its guidance should be left at home. But men are instruments. We are as important as the cause we represent, and in order to be important must really represent a cause. What is our cause? The people's cause? That is easy to say, but what does it mean? The common sense against any particular interest whatever? Yes, but that, too, needs translation into acts and policies. We represent the desire to set up an unentangled government, a government that cannot be used for private purposes, either in the field of business or in the field of politics; a government that will not tolerate the use of the organization of a great party to serve the personal aims and ambitions of any individual and that will not permit legislation to be employed to further any private interest. It is a great conception, but I am free to serve it, as you also are. I could not have accepted a nomination which left me bound to any man or any group of men. No man can be just who is not free, and no man who has to show favors ought to undertake the solemn responsibility of government in any rank or post whatever, least of all in the supreme post of president of the United States.

To be free is not necessarily to be wise. But wisdom comes with counsel, with the frank and free conference of untrammelled men united in the common interest. Should I be intrusted with the great office of president I would seek counsel wherever it could be had upon free terms. I know the temper of the great convention which nominated me; I know the temper of the country that lay back of that convention and spoke through it. I heed with deep thankfulness the message you bring me from it. I feel that I am surrounded by men whose principles and ambitions are those of true servants of the people. I thank God and will take courage.



WOODROW WILSON
Scholar and Statesman, Democratic Candidate for President.

HON. WILLIAM J. BRYAN:

"Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance is admirable. It is original in its treatment of the issues of the campaign. I am sure the address will impress the country favorably."

JOHN W. KERN, SENATOR, INDIANA:

"Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance is a masterpiece, setting forth with great clearness his conception of the work to be accomplished by the Democratic party under his leadership. It is in complete harmony with the progressive sentiment of the country, but also appeals strongly to every legitimate business interest."

GOV. WILLIAM H. MANN, OF VIRGINIA:

"I think it was an admirable speech. It was wise, conservative, comprehensive, prophetic not only of Democratic success but of Democratic supremacy, for years to come."

GOV. FREDERICK W. PLAISTED, OF MAINE:

"It is a splendid presentation of the issues for the American people. It rings true in every sentence and in every word. It represents the spirit of the Democracy of today. It is the address of a statesman."

GOV. EUGENE FOSS, MASSACHUSETTS:

"It was an admirable presentation of the real issues upon which the campaign will be fought this fall. I think that it is bound to strengthen Governor Wilson among the thinking people of the country."

GOV. GEO. W. DONAGHEY, ARKANSAS:

"It was a great speech. It will ring through the country. It is just what he should have said. The people have never felt more confident of success since the first nomination of Grover Cleveland."

JUDGE MARTIN J. WADE, IOWA:

"For the first time since the state was admitted to the Union, Iowa will this year give its electoral vote to the Democratic nominee for President."

THOMAS MOTT OSBORNE, AUBURN, N. Y.

"Governor Wilson's speech fits the occasion and the man; progressive but not wild; sane, strong and unmistakably Democratic. It makes an inspiring opening of the campaign, indicating clearly and nobly the spirit in which the leaders of our regenerated Democratic party must work; not one of mere 'partisan make-believe,' but of honesty and justice toward all men."

NEW YORK "SUN":

"Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance has good luck as well as merit. It comes just in time to contrast sharply with the inimitable Bedlamite rant of Th. Dentatus Africanus Ferox. And, if without contempt of campus it may be said, though written by a college president, very recently retired, it is in the English language, not anaemic and seldom with suspicion of priggishness or donnishness, though it has an air, a certain academic distinction of its own. What will please everybody who has a living to make is Governor Wilson's equable and moderate tone. Governor Wilson is for repair, not for destruction."

NEW YORK "TIMES":

"It is applicable. The dominant thought, the very soul of his discourse, is the common interest of all the people, their partnership in our activities and our prosperity. The partnership idea comes from his mind, not as a sublimated political theory, but as a practical, immediate remedy."

NEW YORK "WORLD":

"Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance is the ablest, clearest, sanest statement of high public purpose this country has known in a generation. 'Without passion, without invective, without abuse, without partisan bitterness, without denunciation, without egotism, without demagoguery, he has driven straight to the heart of the supreme issue of American institutions—the partnership between Government and Privilege.'

JOHN E. LAMB, EX-REPRESENTATIVE FROM INDIANA:

"Speech is discreet, able, safe and sane. Governor Wilson believes in the efficacy of the scalpel rather than the big stick. His dissection of trust and tariff evils is unique and convincing. His suggestions of reform in methods of government and reduction of tariff schedules will meet with approval of legitimate business and the laboring masses as well."

CHAMP CLARK, SPEAKER OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES:

"Considered from a literary standpoint Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance will take high rank in the political output of the year. It will make pleasant reading, and, therefore, will prove a fetching campaign document. He discusses the issues of the day philosophically, clearly and forcibly. Its courteous tone will ally opposition and win him friends. It is an admirable pronouncement."

JOHN A. DIX, GOVERNOR OF NEW YORK.

"Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance is marked with broad vision and clear thought, expressed in language every American can understand. As a business man and manufacturer, I am especially pleased with his positive and statesman-like position on the paramount issue of tariff reform, and his demand for an immediate downward revision. In sincerity, precise statement and comprehensive grasp of great principles and their application of the fundamental needs of the country, the speech is Jeffersonian to the core. It contains no appeal to passion and excites no prejudice. Governor Wilson has presented to his party and to the nation, clear conception of the truth that the real struggle in the pending campaign is between the concentrated powers of privilege and the aspiration of the American people to realize, in their government, and their economic, industrial and social relations, the full measures of the principles of freedom, justice and progress upon which the republic was founded. To all the issues and every national need, Governor Wilson applies the 'Rule of right and common advantage.' The reforms he advocates are far reaching, but they are necessary, sound and practical. The speech will awaken and stir the national conscience and lead to a triumph that will restore to the people the control of their government and inaugurate a new and happier epoch in the life and development of the republic."

HOKE SMITH, SENATOR FROM GEORGIA:

"I am delighted with Governor Wilson's speech of acceptance. It is a superb statement of the present purpose of the Democracy and points the way for justice to all through real progress by law, under the Constitution. With his election assured, it should give confidence to honest business and new courage to those who need a square deal."

JOHN F. FITZGERALD, MAYOR OF BOSTON:

"Governor Wilson's acceptance is characteristic of the man. He lays his soul bare to the people and asks them to join with him, irrespective of party, in righting present wrongs without undue clamor or injury to legitimate interests. He lays emphasis on constructive thinking and I believe this optimizes one of the nation's greatest needs at the present time. It will be President Wilson overwhelmingly in November."