

A RINGING KEY-NOTE

Hon. Thomas R. Marshall
Sounds the Slogan of the
Coming Campaign.

AN ARGUMENT TO THE VOTERS

Clear, Reasonable and Logical Pres-
entation of Democratic Principles
as Applicable to Indiana.

WHY THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY SHOULD BE RETURNED

Candidate for High Office of Chief Ex-
ecutive of the Proud Old Hoosier
State Gives Reasons.

Some Unanswerable Arguments Pre-
sented in a Ringing Address
Delivered at Richmond.

Richmond, Ind., June 3.—Hon. Tho.
R. Marshall, candidate for governor of
the state of Indiana on the Democratic
ticket, made a ringing "keynote"
speech in this city last evening, his
stirring words being enthusiastically
applauded by the thousands who had
gathered to hear what is looked upon
as the slogan of the party in the pres-
ent important campaign in this state.
Mr. Marshall said:

Chosen by the voice of my party to
be its candidate for Governor, it be-
comes incumbent upon me to fully
present to the voters of the state such
arguments as I may truthfully ad-
vance, why the Democratic party
should be returned to power.

In accordance with the constitution
of this state, the governor is only its
chief executive, and has no right to co-
erce or compel the legislative or judi-
cial branches to do anything which
they may not desire to do. The right
of veto which was given to him is val-
ueless unless he can convince the leg-
islature by his veto that it has erred
in its judgment, because an act vetoed
by him can at once be repassed by a
majority of the members of both
branches acting separately. Aside
from his clerical duty, the transacting
necessary business with the officers of



THOMAS R. MARSHALL.

the government, obtaining knowledge
as to the manner in which they are
conducting their offices, granting re-
prieves, commutations and pardons,
and filling vacancies in office, his duty
is summed up in the general state-
ment that he shall take care that the
laws be faithfully executed. It is not
said that he shall make the laws or
compel the legislature to make them.
His is only an advisory power, and he
ought not to compel the legislature to
pass a law over his veto unless that
law is clearly unconstitutional or so
vicious that by his veto he can con-
vince the legislature of its error. It is
not said that he shall execute the laws,
but that he shall take care that they
be faithfully executed. The duty of
executing the law abides in the courts
of this state, and it seems to me that
the governor has fully discharged his
duty to the people when he sees to it
that the proper officials promptly pro-
secute all actions and promptly endeav-
or to publish all instructions of the law.
The law must always be administered
in the courts. Public opinion may be
manufactured upon the platform and
through the press. That public opin-
ion may be crystallized by the legisla-
ture into law, but the law cannot be
enforced either upon the platform or
in the press. It must be enforced in
the courts of this state. To try men
outside of the courts is only produc-
tive of angry discussion and accom-
plishes no good purpose. While this
is true, a candidate is expected to
truthfully discuss such public ques-
tions as seem of moment to him, and

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though in the final analysis he may
have no right to enforce his views.

The Form of Our Government.

Such is the form of our government
that national and state campaigns are
held at the same time, and the elec-
tions occur upon the same day. So, al-
though it is true that they have but
little to do with each other in theory,
in practice they seem to be so inter-
woven as to require at the hands of
candidates the discussion of both
state and national issues.

I recognize the truthfulness of those
who keep close watch upon political
affairs, in making the statement that,
after all, party platforms in the past
have had too little to do with the re-
sult of elections. I am sorry that this
has been so; that the platform has
been used only as a place from which
to address the citizen and appeal to
his pride, his passion and his preju-
dice, instead of being used for the pur-
pose for which such party machinery
was intended. I am also sorry that
platforms have been used like those of
railroad trains—not to stand on, but
just to get in on. It is not, however,
true that what has always been must
inevitably always be. A lawyer
brought from the privacy of his law
office into the political arena, I am to
be pardoned if I say that from my per-
sonal standpoint, I trust and believe
that the Democracy of Indiana not
only said in convention what it meant,
but also meant what it said. In the
hope and with the belief that this year
is to witness the presentation of cer-
tain questions squarely to the people,
and with an abiding confidence that
the people will settle these questions
upon principle, I desire to address my-
self to the reasons which appeal to me
for a return of Democracy to power.

Democracy vs. Aristocracy.

In what I shall have to say in the
way of criticism, it must be remem-
bered that I am criticizing measures,
not men. As a man may say, "I have
been" and "I am," but God alone can
say "I will be," so a man may say, "I
have not done certain things," "I am
not doing them," but God alone can tell
whether I will do them. Fairness to a
political opponent demands that you
take into consideration his point of
view. The lawyer knows that most all
men are all right from the neck down.
The difficulty is that men use their in-
tellects for the purposes of persuad-
ing themselves that certain courses of
conduct are right. Looking at these
things through their own particular
spectacles, they deem certain courses
of conduct both in legislative and ad-
ministrative affairs, to be entirely fit
and proper. They are not, therefore,
to be criticized or blamed. An effort
should be made instead of criticizing
them, to get the voters of the state to
not put on the spectacles through
which these men look at public affairs.
Aside from mere environment, there is
also a difference in the mental make-
up of men. From the beginning, while
all men have desired liberty, some
have desired it for the entire race
while others have desired liberty for
themselves and slavery for those who
did not agree with them. The line of
demarcation is not now necessarily a
party line. The man who believes in-
herently in his fellow-man, who thinks
with Abraham Lincoln, that God never
made a man good enough to be an-
other man's master without that man's
consent, who puts his trust, not in the
passionate opinion of the public, but
rather in the calm and deliberate judg-
ment of his fellow-citizens, who be-
lieves in local self-government, who
thinks that as little should be ceded
away from the individual citizen as is
necessary for the public good, who
thinks that what the township can
look after it should look after; what
the county can look after, it should
look after; what the state can look
after, it should look after; who be-
lieves that we are a people living un-
der a written constitution; that this
constitution has provided for three co-
ordinate branches of government; The

executive, the legislative and the ju-
dicial; who thinks that the business
of the executive is to administer the
laws and from time to time give to the
legislative his views upon public ques-
tions; who thinks that it is the busi-
ness of the legislative to enact the
laws for the people and who recog-
nizes the duty of the court to construe
those laws although such construc-
tion may work injury, leaving to the
injured person an appeal to the leg-
islative for redress; who thinks that all
men are to be treated alike in legisla-
tive matters; who does not admit that
either directly or by indirection, a leg-
islative body has any right, power or
authority at the instance of any man
or set of men, to enact any law which,
working to the benefit of one man or
set of men will work to the detriment
of another man or set of men; such
a man, regardless of the fact as to
whether he votes the Republican or
the Democratic ticket, is, at heart,
what I am pleased to denominate a
Democrat. Upon the other hand, that
man who thinks God made some men
better than other men, endowed them
with larger civil rights, made them by
nature commanders and rulers; who
believes in a strong government, com-
pactly managed by one or by a few
men; who thinks that the destiny of
the people may not be safely left in a
people's hands; who looks upon legisla-
tures as a means of obtaining advan-
tage over his fellow-men; that man,
whether he vote the Democratic or Re-
publican ticket, is one whom I denomi-
nate as an aristocrat. The conflict
between aristocracy and democracy is
ever old yet ever new. It will not
cease to be until the lion and the lamb
shall lie down together or the lamb
shall lie down inside the lion. Aristoc-
racy has had many manifestations

In the ages gone by. It proclaimed the
divine right of kings to rule. It ar-
rogated to itself in Rome the power to
make gods of its mortal emperors. It
built up, in our own republic, a
slave-holding oligarchy, and I trust my
eye is not jaundiced, my heart embittered,
nor my judgment biased, when I
declare that in the later hours of the
republic, it has built up an aristocracy
of special privileges and gives the in-
dividual citizen the right to vote if that
aristocracy imagines that he will vote
all right. It is against this aristocracy
of money that the Democratic party
protests. It declares, and I hope all
those who vote with it this fall will
sincerely believe, that no interest on
earth has any right to any special leg-
islation at the hands of either the na-
tional or the state legislative depart-
ments.

A Condition, Not a Theory.

There is a vast deal of difference
between the publicist who expresses
his views upon the platform, and the
official who speaks as one having au-
thority. If I have any right to voice
the sentiments of Democracy, that party
is not the enemy of capital. It be-
lieves in vested rights and in the pro-
tection of those rights by the courts.
It does not, however, believe in vested
wrong. It does not think that stolen
property can be so long retained as to
put good title in the thief. Demand-
ing the repeal of all laws which are
calculated and which have given cer-
tain classes of citizens an undue and
an unjust advantage over other citi-
zens, it pledges itself to not retaliate
by the enactment of like legislation.
It realizes that dishonesty is not a
mark of condition in life, but rather
the mark of the man. The poor man
may be honest or dishonest; so, too,
may the rich man. It believes that
the rich man, if such an one exists,
ought to be hunted out, prosecuted and
punished. It, however, believes that
such punishment rests with the courts
and with the courts alone. It depre-
cates, therefore, the general assault
upon the thrift, enterprise and busi-
ness interests of this country. It
views with alarm the general assaults
which have been made upon capital
without regard to the question as to

whether the individual capitalist is
honest or dishonest. It cannot help
thinking that unless the man who is
believed to be dishonest is specifically
pointed out, a general assault upon
the theory that all capital is dishonest
is calculated to do more harm than
good to the people of this country.
Utopia is not here. It is not likely
soon to be. We are confronted by con-
ditions and not theories. One of our
principal arguments against the trust
has been that it destroyed the individ-
uality of the young American; that it
made of him but a servant of servants;
that it prevented him from jumping
into the arena of life and making his
own fight with the weapons with which
God had endowed him. If this criti-
cism is a just one, and it seems to be,
then the indiscriminate assault upon
dishonesty among men of money is
wholly unjustified. This condition of
affairs has arisen by reason of the
fact that in this as in all other mat-
ters, we have lost sight of the different
branches of our government. So long
as executives imagine that they have
a right to try the motives of men and
yet are powerless to enforce their de-
crees, that long this state of affairs
will continue. Whenever we get ex-
ecutives in this country who have con-
stitutional knowledge enough to know
that the place to try the rascal is in
court, and courage enough to put him
upon his trial there, that soon will we
have contributed somewhat to the
peace, quietude, good order and pros-
perity of the people of this country.
All, except those who are its benefi-
ciaries, and by all I mean 80 per cent
of the people of this state, are agreed
as to the iniquities of the present trust
system, whether it be one which arises
out of the natural condition of the
product itself or whether it be one
which has been created by law. Both
parties have been declaring against
this economic condition for many
years past, yet nothing to speak
of has been done. True, an injunction
against the beef trust has been issued,
but my steak has grown tougher as the
price has gone up; true, the Standard
Oil company has been fined, but the
price of coal oil and gasoline has been
advanced sufficiently so that out of the
united purchases of the people, that
fine has already been paid. I do not
pretend to be a distinguished political
economist; I am simply a lawyer. I
believe we began to go wrong when
we began to discuss the question as to
whether a high protective tariff was a
good or a bad thing for the people of
this country. So long as we discussed
the question of the right of the gen-
eral government to levy a revenue
large enough to pay the expense of
running the general government, eco-
nomically administered, that long we
were upon safe ground. When we be-
gan to discuss the question as to
whether it was a good or bad thing,
from that moment we made of the
tariff what we laughed at General
Hancock for saying it was—a local
issue. The protection of American in-
dustries naturally led to a desire upon
the part of these industries to com-
bine. Having successfully driven out
all foreign competition, observing the
income which arose to them as stock-
holders by reason of this special legisla-
tion, it stands to reason, without any
criticism of the men themselves, that
they desired to still further increase
their abundance, and this increase of
abundance, competition having been
first throttled, was easy to bring about
by the formation of the trust.

With Reference to Indiana.

We come now to a somewhat anoma-
lous situation in the state of Indiana,
and you will observe that I speak with
reference to Indiana alone, for, while
the Democrats everywhere are in fa-
vor of a tariff for revenue only, the Re-
publican party in different states is
torn, divided and in dissension upon
this question. Some want reform,
some desire to stand pat, and some, if
they could be heard, would like to ad-
vance. The Democratic platform of
this state declares for a tariff for re-
venue only, and that all articles enter-
ing into competition with articles con-
trolled by the trust, shall be immedi-
ately placed upon the free list. The
Republican platform announces that at
its last convention it declared in favor
of revision of the tariff whenever such
revision would do more good than
harm; that protection was never a
matter of schedules, and while re-
affirming the time-honored doctrine
that there shall always be discrimina-
tion in duties that will fully protect the
wage-earner of the United States, it
never desired a higher rate than would
accomplish that purpose and has al-
ways contemplated revision from time
to time as the ever-changing conditions
might make wise. I beg to differ with
the statement of the Republican state
platform upon this question. I main-
tain that for many years it distinctly
affirmed that its purpose was not only
to fully protect the wage-earner, but
that it was also to build up and foster
infant industries. The platform of
this year continues: "That we believe
that revision would be now beneficial,
and to minimize the harmful distur-
bance that tariff changes necessarily
produce, we insist that revision be
speedily done." This speed is to be
accomplished by an extra session of
congress based upon data furnished by
experts, but is always to maintain the
protective principle as heretofore.
This seems to me to be a wonderful,
wonderful statement. I have never
been able to understand how a thing
which would be beneficial would, at
the same time, produce a harmful dis-
turbance, yet such this platform de-
clares to be the condition of affairs;
that while the country wants and
needs and would be benefited by the
revision of the tariff, still if they do
revise it, there will be a very harmful
disturbance of affairs. It has seemed

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