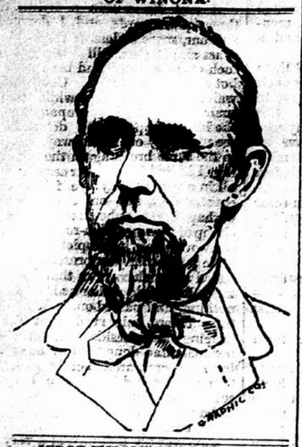
SUPPLEMENT TO
The Mower County Transcript.

FOR REPRESENTATIVE IN CONGRESS, FIRST DISTRICT,

HON. THOMAS WILSON

OF WINONA.



JUDGE WILSON'S ACCEPTANCE.

As the delegates here well know, I had hoped that this honor be conferred on someone else. I had intended under no circumstances to accept but appeals have been made to me I felt I could not resist. Gentleman, I accept your nomination. (Tremendous applause.) The honor is one any man should appreciate, and coming as it does, unsought and undesired, I assure you that I fully appreciate and will do all that is honorable in my power to secure the election. I am not unmindful of the duties and grave responsibilities of the office if elected. Gentlemen, I will not go into the campaign on any old issues. The war is over and the issues on which the Republican party was founded are dead. New issues have come before us, new questions of paramount importance to the Nation, that must be met and answered. The influence of centralized capital is becoming a source of national alarm. A very few years ago, business was done within a very small radius. Now everything is done in the large cities. Large cities, large business, large factories, large capital are growing larger; small business, small factories; small capital are growing smaller, or rather are disappearing. A few men have grown rich beyond the dream of avarice, and to increase the power of wealth have formed corporations that unite the wealth of many individuals and possess a corresponding power. This wealth so consolidated becomes a dangerous power. The transportation question is one of such magnitude that we can hardly comprehend it. A small town or small business may be wiped out completely by a slight discrimination in freight—done by a few men sitting in an office in Wall street or Boston. A struggle is pending in the near future between corporate monopoly, with its clutch on the political machinery of one of the parties, on one side, and the people, unorganized, on the other. How are we to avert this impending danger? How deal with these mighty corporations that affect so vitally every citizen of the land? That power must be controlled and repressed. I would not be such a demagogue as to attack these corporations to gain votes. I do not say that it was reprehensible to organize them. They are necessary elements of the growth of the country. Transportation by steam on water and land is necessary. But these great corporations must be controlled or they will cripple every poor man and every small town that comes in contact with them. A steam engine is a necessity of modern civilization, but it must be controlled and guided by proper authority. And so with the corporations. As I have always done, I shall continue to oppose all such oppression and favor such strict and vigilant control as shall make them subservient to the interests of the people. I am unalterably opposed to any bonus of any kind to any corporation. Not one cent should be taken from the pockets of the poor to enrich the well filled coffers of these corporations. No bonus or subsidy of money or land. I am also opposed to that other great outrage, the high protective tariff, which builds up the rich at the expense of the poor, the few at the expense of the many. One other thing. I am opposed most strongly to political corruption which pollutes our government. Not only that low form of corruption which buys votes, by the use of money, but to all corrupt combinations, intrigue and trading whereby a few control the election against the will of the people. I am opposed to any man trying to make a political bargain with any real or pretended political boss who claims that he controls the Norwegian vote or the Knights of Labor vote, or the vote of any other class. This is an insult to and an outrage on the class whose vote is thus sold and who are thus bartered away. (Applause.) A man that trades on such a vote before election is unfit for the position and will after election sell those for whom he thus bargains and whom he claims to represent. Let us stand for better methods, purer politics, honest government. We have a man in the White House who has set his foot against such abuses. I honor him. I respect his intentions and his sturdy honesty. I agree in the main with his policy. Let us stand by him in efforts to purify the public service. (Applause.) Gentlemen, I thank you for the nomination. I don't much believe in the promises a candidate may make on the eve of election. You have my record in the past. If you believe after studying it that I will represent you and your interests honestly and faithfully I believe you will vote for me. If you do not believe that I will do this you will not vote for me and I do not want you to. I have accepted your nomination. I thank you.

LOVELY'S OPINION OF NORWEGIANS

Albert Lea Democrat: A Norwegian paper of general circulation throughout the state, states that John A. Lovely is a very particular friend of the Norwegians and that he speaks their language fluently. This is but one of the many deliberate falsehoods that these bribed Republican papers circulate. No person has ever heard Mr. Lovely speak one word of Norwegian, and we have heard of but one time that Lovely has expressed himself as to his particular feelings for the Norwegains; this was however some few years ago, when he said that he cared no more for a Norwegian than he did for a hog. It might seem incredible that he would have made such a remark, but we recollect that sworn affidavits were made at the time of fact that he did do it, and those who best know the man, will notice that it sounds just like him.

CONGRESSMAN WILSON.

HOW DO YOU LIKE THE TITLE?

The Great Issues of the Day Fearlessly Presented in Two Magnificent Addresses,

By the Eloquent Democratic Candidate for Congress in the First District.

His Position Clearly and Boldly Outlined in His Opening Speech at Rochester.

The Iniquitous Protective Tariff Which Robs the Farmers Must be Removed,

AND DUTIES COLLECTED ONLY AS REQUIRED FOR THE SUPPORT OF THE GOVERNMENT.

The Great Corporations Must be Repressed and Their Dangerous Power Circumscribed.

Laws Should be Made to Protect the People and not to Enrich Monopolists.

At Preston, Judge Wilson Reviews His Course in the State Legislature,

And Shows How Single-Handed He Fought the Infamous Bond Steal.

By His Untiring Efforts Saving to the State a Clean Million Dollars.

The Great Railroad Corporations Forced to Give up Their Unscrupulous Practices,

And, Despite Intense Opposition, Their Lands Placed on the Tax List.

A Magnificent Record, Always Consistent, Always the Champion of the People.

The Democratic Platform, Brief, Clear and Forcible in Behalf of the People.

THE OPENING ADDRESS

Judge Wilson made the first speech of the campaign at Rochester, addressing a large audience in Library hall. Judge Wilson was introduced by W. L. Brackenridge, who paid a high compliment to the eminent speaker. Judge Wilson's appearance was greeted with enthusiastic applause. He spoke as follows:

In all countries occasionally there is a breaking up of old party lines and a rearrangement on new issues. This must be so as long as men are more interested in principles than in empty names, for the issues that engage attention this year are often displaced by new and different issues next year. Thirty-one years ago I was a member of a convention at St. Paul which first, I believe, organized the Republican party in the Territory of Minnesota. That convention was composed of men, some of whom, like myself, had been Democrats; others had been Whigs. Some, therefore favored the doctrines of the former party, others those of the latter. But agreeing for the time to forget and subordinate all their differences on mere economic questions so that they might act in concert about what they deemed to be a more important one, they agreed on one single point as their platform of principles, viz.: Opposition to the extension of slavery. But when slavery became a thing of the past, and the right to carry it into the territories could no longer be an issue, those political questions which before engaged the attention of parties became living issues, upon which men who had composed the Republican party found themselves divided. The fact, of course, that men had agreed as to the right to carry slavery into the territories would not tend to harmonize their views on the questions of political economy. Those who had before been whigs were generally found to be favorable to a protective tariff and to look with some favor on certain tendencies of the government

TOWARDS CENTRALIZATION,

while those who had been democrats stood opposed. Hence, when the war closed and the issues of the war became matters of history, there was found to be no unanimity in the republican party on these questions which remained unsettled. Each faction sought to impress its peculiar views on the party. Republicans in the Eastern states especially, and in some of the Middle states, influenced by what seemed to them their own interests, have ever since the war attempted to commit the republican party to protective tariff, while the people in the West in that party by no means assented to this. But as the party, when assembled in national convention, has been controlled by the monopolists of the East, a high protective tariff has resulted as the doctrine of the prty. To this doctrine of high protective tariff and centralization---to the extent to which the republican party has carried it, many have been unable to assent. I am of that number. I have therefore, for the past few years, acted with the democratic party, whose views upon these questions accord with my own. I believe, and the Democratic party as a rule believes, that protection to the extent to which it has been carried since the war, is not what the word would imply--protection to the weak against the strong---but the contrary, protection to the strong and powerful and wealthy against

THE WEAK AND POOR:

that it is an oppressive burden unjustly imposed for the benefit of monopolists who are millionaires; that its effect has been and must be to make the rich richer at the expense of the poor. Let us not be misunderstood. The democrats are not free traders. They favor a tariff for the purpose of raising a revenue sufficient for all the wants of the country—but they do not believe in compelling one industry to aid in the support of another. No man should be compelled against his will to contribute his means for the support of another. I should add, too, lest we may be misunderstood, that the democratic party is not in favor of extreme measures. Speaker Carlisle voiced democratic views on the subject in a recent speech delivered by him. He said: "When manufacturing interests have grown up under a high protective system, or in a series of years have adjusted themselves to it, and when those engaged in them have become accustomed to rely upon government bounty for support, it might be injurious, and even disastrous, to them to suddenly repeal or greatly reduce duties. Such a course might seriously embarrass those who employ their capital in those enterprises, and when carried, is claimed, even without cause, the result for the time being is practically the same as though the dangers were real. For this reason, if for no other, it has always been my opinion that it was the duty of congress to proceed carefully and conservatively in legislating on this subject, having due regard for the large interests involved. In other words, I favor

REFORMATION, NOT REVOLUTION.

But the process of reformation must go on until the power of taxation is used only, for its proper purposes. There must be no step backward, nor any deviation from correct principle and sound policy." The democratic party is not only opposed to the principle of protection of private industries at the expense of other industries equally deserving, but especially is it opposed to the extent to which this doctrine has been carried since the war. During the war, on account of the very heavy tax on our manufactures made necessary by the war, they could not possibly have competed with outside manufacturers unless an additional duty was imposed on foreign wares. This was done and done properly, but it was distinctly understood on all hands that the extra duty then imposed should be removed when the burden of the war on such industries was removed. But though the war taxes have long been lessened and removed, the eastern manufacturers and monopolists insist that the war tariff shall remain. And it has been kept up year after year to a figure that has produced about one hundred and fifty millions of dollars per annum in excess of the demand of the treasury. A duty is placed on many articles so high that it is nearly or quite prohibition, and this does not yield any revenue to the government, its sole effect being to raise in value the price of the article manufactured in this country to the consumer, without yielding a dollar's revenue to the government.

ALL THE PROTECTED INDUSTRIES

join together and oppose any change or even a consideration of the subject. I admit that the democrats are not a unit on the question, nor are the republicans, but the democrats are by a very large majority in favor of tariff revision, and the republicans nearly a unit against it. Mr. Blaine must be conceded to be good authority on the subject in our favor, and I therefore quote him. In a speech delivered two years since he said:

"Upon every question upon which parties divide in this country the interest of the people of Maine must lead them, after a sober second thought, to support the republicans. By the spread of manufacturing industries, the growth of agricultural interests, the people of Maine become every year more and more interested in the maintenance of a protective tariff. No candid man believes a protective tariff will be upheld for a single year if the opponents of the republican party should come into power, and by so much as any voter in Maine helps to elevate free trade to power, by so much he aids to imperil the manufacturing and agricultural interests of the state, and no less so in the matter of ship-building."

And in a speech a few months ago he said:

"At the late session of congress a measure known as the Morrison tariff bill, designed first to weaken and ultimately destroy the protective policy, was resisted by so compact an organization of the republican members that a single vote from New York and two or three votes from Minnesota were all that broke the absolute unanimity of the party, and was rendered still more striking by the fact that the organs of republican opinion in New York and Minnesota declared that these exceptional votes were adverse to the wishes of a large majority of those who elected the dissenting members."

ON THE OTHER HAND,

the vast majority of the Democratic members supported the free trade side of the question, but a small minority uniting with the republicans found themselves able to defeat the measure. The hostility of the Democratic party to protection has entailed upon the country a vast loss.

It cannot be necessary to waste words in the attempt to prove to an intelligent audience that the Republicans of the East who direct the party and control its counsels, favor protection---high, oppressive protection---and I think it may be said that it is equally clear that the republicans of the West would oppose it, if permitted. But they have been overridden and misrepresented. When the republicans of the West have taken the power out of the hands of leaders and ring-men and elected a man who represents them on the economic question they soon find that that man is by hook or crook cast aside. The business of the whole country has been subordinated and compelled to pay tribute to a few protected monopolists. Especially has the business of the West suffered. And when a cry has gone up for revision and reform, we have gotten it. But how, and in what? Has the burden been taken off the necessaries of life, the daily wants of the poor? The tax has been removed from bank checks, perfumery, hair dyes, patent medicines, etc. The people have

ASKED FOR BREAD

and they have been givan a stone. On such articles as rice, glass, sugar, molasses, blankets, flannels, hosiery, and other woolen goods there is a duty varying from 40 to 100 per cent ad valorem and over. The articles of necessity to the poor are often taxed highest. There is hardly an article worn or used by the poor whose price is not largely enhanced by this iniquitous tariff, while the articles that the poor themselves produce and sell are unprotected. They are compelled to sell in the lowest market and buy in the highest. It is not so very strange that people residing in manufacturing communities which at any rate are supposed to receive some benefit from the forced contributions of the masses, should acquiesce; but that the people of Minnesota should not cry aloud against such injustice passes comprehension. Time will not permit me to call attention to the most odious features of the present tariff, but before turning from it I beg leave to quote from a speech delivered by Joseph Medill, proprietor of the Chicago Tribune, the leading Republican organ of the northwest, before the American Agricultural association in 1882, at Chicago. He says:

"I understand the truth when I say that the farmers of the West and the planters of the South are charged $500,000,000 a year on their goods for the profit of protected Eastern manufacturers, more than is fair or necessary on the principle of live and let live."

MERELY A NAME.

How irrational party spirit is, and how incredible it is that it can induce people to lose sight of their own interest—for what? To show their allegiance to a name. For I assert that to-day the difference between nineteen-twentieths of the republicans and a like percentage of the democrats in Minnesota is merely a name. The people of our state, of either party, are not in favor of such forced contribution to the manufacturer of the east. They are not in favor of contributing of their own scanty means to enable the monopolists of the east to add to their millions—for this is what it comes to. It has been very truthfully said that you never find a subsidy beggar who is not a millionaire. Point to me the proprietors of the protected industries and I will, as a rule, point you to the possessors of princely fortunes. Outside of the great wrong to the masses to be compelled unwillingly to pay tribute to the wealthy manufacturers it is an unhealthy state of things to build up such immense fortunes as thus have been built up—when the wealth of the country is massed so largely in the hands of a few the many must suffer. It leads to corruption in legislation. But I cannot longer dwell on this topic.

CENTRALIZATION.

I have said that the parties stand opposed on the question of centralization, and this too in my judgement is particularly undemocratic and opposed to the interest of the many and calculated to give wealth and monopoly an unreasonable power and advantage over the poor and middle class. Let me illustrate by an example. Our state constitution provides that "every person ought to obtain justice freely and without purchase, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay." And substantially the same provision may be found in the constitution of every state. This was not only the letter of the organic law, but the practice until a period subsequent to the war. But a great change has been wrought. I appeal to those who have seen nearly as many years as I, that until of late it was very rare to hear of a case being transferred from the state to the federal court. But since then vast corporations have been multiplied and laws have been enacted which authorize the transfer of numerous cases and classes of cases not before transferable. This is the result of practice. A widow desires to collect a sum secured to her by a policy on her husband's life, or a person having a fire policy on his personal property which has been destroyed by fire wishes to collect the amount secured! Suit is brought, payment by the company being refused. The first step by the company, if it is a foreign corporation or the defendant is not a citizen of the United States, is to remove the suit

INTO THE FEDERAL COURTS.

This largely increased the expenses of litigation and is therefore a great hardship. If the claim is over $5,000, the company can appeal from any judgment of the circuit court to the supreme court of the United States, where the case cannot be reached under four years. This is simply a denial of justice and places the person dealing with the corporation at its mercy. The same is true when it is found necessary to sue a railroad company which is a foreign corporation, on any contract or for any personal injury, or for any other tort. This, too, is a republican measure and is retained in the statute book by republican votes —or by the refusal of the republicans to consent to its repeal. Mr. Townshend, a democratic member from Illinois, at least once—I believe twice—got a bill correcting these evils through the house. I know that to prevent the passage of the bill in the senate, a prominent insurance company of New York retained one of the ablest law firms of that city to prepare a brief against the law, which was handed to the judiciary committee of the senate, and the bill, I think, has never seen the light since. And here I wish also not to be misunderstood. I have no doubt that ninety-nine out of every 100 republicans in my hearing would oppose this, but the eastern manufacturers, railroad companies, telegraph companies, express companies and all

CONCENTRATED CAPITAL

oppose repeal, and just that class have dominated the republican party for many years. While western republicans have slumbered and slept, their interests have been trifled with and disregarded. I have deeply felt the wrong of this centralizing tendency. It is undemocratic, unrepublican, unjust. Impressed with this view and with the great injustice of this law to the masses of the people and the unjust and outrageous advantage which it gives to corporations and concentrated capital, and for the purpose of calling attention to it, I read a paper before the State bar association a little over two years ago, in which I attempted to expose the injustice and wrong. In that yaper I used this language:

I have said that in my opinion this modern doctrine is not reconcilable with the constitution. I believe any one who will study the question candidly will assent to this view. I also said that it is unfortunate, and in opposition to the interests and rights of the people generally. I wish to add a word as to the aspect of the case. I admit that this final decision as to the jurisdiction of federal courts in such cases is just such as meets the approbation of corporations and organized capitalists generally, But as "God made the earth for man and not for trade," or even for corporations, we should not entirely overlook the interests and rights of the people generally in the consideration of such a question. The constitution of our State provides (as do the constitutions of the several States, as a rule,) that "every person is entitled to a certain remedy in the laws for all

INJURIES OR WRONGS

which he may receive in his person, property or character;" he ought to obtain justice freely and without purchase, completely and without denial, promptly and without delay, conformably to the laws. This should be the birthright of every American citizen, even in the absence of any constitutional provision. But the modern doctrine of the federal courts takes away this right, and delivers the masses of the people bound hand and foot to the tender mercies of corporations and concentrated and organized capital. Every lawyer of extensive practice has very frequent illustrations of this. A has insured his property in a foreign corporation for a sum exceeding $5,000, and the property is destroyed by fire. The insurance company refuses payment. The assured is compelled, at great expense, to bring suit in the federal court. Ordinarily the expense of such litigation at such a distance from his home is a great burden and hardship, in some cases nearly a denial of justice. But this is only the beginning of his calamity. An appeal may be taken by the insurance company—if a decision is adverse to it—to the supreme court of the United States. This delays the final decision about four years longer. Unless the assured is wealthy, if he relies, as is ordinarily the case, on the amount recovered from the insurance company to replace his building or his stock, the delay is simply ruin. He is therefore compelled ex-necessitate to accept such terms of compromise as the corporation sees fit to offer. I might instance too the case of life insurance, of claims for personal injuries against railroad companies, of claims on contracts or for torts

AGAINST FOREIGN CORPORATIONS,

generally. In any and all such cases the claimants, when the case is removed into the federal courts, and the amount is sufficient to give a right of appeal, are, if not wealthy, simply at the mercy of the corporation, and compelled to accept such terms of adjustment as may be offered. The supreme court may declare that "the practice founded on these decisions, (establishing the modern doctrine,) at least, injures or wrongs no one;" but this simply shows their ignorance of the practical operation of such doctrine. Some say the people will and should rise in their might and declare and insist that the rule of the constitution shall be restored, and the rule established by the federal courts be abrogated, and that the rights of the people shall be regarded, instead of the interest of capital. This modern rule is one of the most objectionable phases of centralization; it tends and is intended to magnify the officer at the expense of the people, the central government at the expense of the States, the strong at the expense of the weak, the rich at the expense of the poor, the lawyers of the principal cities at the expense of the members of the profession generally. The remedy is easily stated, but not easily applied. See to it that members of congress are elected who have influence and will use it for the repeal of the modern objectionable enactments, and leave on the statute book either the judiciary act of 1879, or one in principle the same; who will use their influence to secure the enactment of such laws as will restrain the federal judiciary within the bounds prescribed by the constitution.

TIME WILL NOT PERMIT

me to refer to other objectionable instances of centralization, which is opposed to the genius of our government and the best interests of the people. The social and political evolution of the last twenty years has presented questions not less important than those we have been considering. The rapid and unprecedented accumulation of capital in the hands of a few persons, traceable partly to the monopolistic tendency and laws above adverted to, and partly to other causes, has presented questions deserving the most serious consideration of every legislator. There has been for years a cloud in the political horizon which, though not till recently bigger than a man's hand, portended political disturbances. In an address by me, delivered about four years ago before a convention of teachers at St. Paul, I used this language: "Until recently we have been the pioneers, felling the forests, opening mines, building the highways and generally making the rough places smooth. We have looked to Europe for arts, sciences and literature, as well as for the capital to develop our internal resources. All this is changed. Now not only the mines under our mountains, but

OUR INTELLECTUAL MINES,

have been developed. While Europe has been our banker, we stand to-day the second, soon to be the first, nation in the world in amount of accumulated capital. One of the most accurate and learned staticians of the British empire, after comparing the balance sheet of the nations of the world for the decade ending 1880, says: "It would be impossible to find in history a parallel to the progress of the United States in the last ten years." While these facts, so briefly hluted at, must, must be most gratifying to our national pride and, it is to be hoped, stimulating to our patriotism, yet they bring with them the responsibilities of greatness—responsibilities which we cannot postpone and which it would be criminal to ignore. While we were mostly but a community or communities of agriculturists; while free, rich lands were to be had by all at a mere nominal price, or gratis; while concentrated capital had not overshadowed or choked individual enterprise or the private enterprises of the poorer or middle classes; while the wage-earning population were few and their condition temporary, it would have been difficult to find

A DISCONTENTED CLASS

in all the length and breadth of the land, or one who could with reason have found fault with its lot or with the government. Hitherto, therefore, except by the recent southern rebellion, our government has been subjected to but little strain. We have not had any class prejudices or contention. The man who labored by the day or month or year for his more peculiarly fortunate neighbor, could clearly see he might soon become, by the exercise of frugality and industry, a freeholder, a merchant or a manufacturer. Such a state of things was the surest guarantee of order and patriotic devotion to the government. He who has acquired property, especially real property, has given hostages to society for his good conduct. Self-interest, as well as patriotism, impels such an one to oppose disorder or violent social changes. But a new order of things has arisen. The wage-earning class is becoming much more numerous and permanent. With the vast accumulation of wealth in a few hands, and the immense power which it gives to its possessors, and with

THE PUBLIC DOMAIN

fit for cultivation nearly all disposed of or granted to railroad companies, and held at comparatively high prices, the difference between the poor and the rich is becoming more marked and emphasized. The opportunities to rise from the grade of employe to that of employer are becoming less, and for reasons which cannot be touched on in the few moments allotted to me, the purchasing power of money is growing less. It is hardly to be expected that under these circumstances the less fortunate class, who by unremitting industry merely earn their daily bread, and who know that to-morrow they may be hardly able to earn that, should not feel and express discontent when they see their neighbors spending each day what would be to them a fortune. Nor will mere education in the sense of information or knowledge mitigate or remove such discontent. On the contrary, it will prove an aggravation and be an aid and incentive to organized opposition to the order of things which it will be supposed fosters and makes possible such great disparity. The book says: "It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven;" and it must be admitted, as we grow older and more observant, we become more and more inclined to accept the scripture as literal truth rather than a figurative expression intended merely to declare that

RICHES ARE AN IMPEDIMENT

on our journey to the good land. At any rate it is not to be doubted that the influence of concentrated and centralized capital is becoming alarming. In a few years a few men have grown rich beyond the dreams of avarice and to increase their power in almost a geometrical ratio. Corporations have been formed possessing the wealth of many individuals, and practically immortal. What was dangerous in the hands of individuals becomes many times more so when consolidated. It is not exaggeration to say that less than a score of individuals could be named in our country who by the influence of their united wealth could paralyze the industries of the country and create such a financial crisis as would spread disaster throughout the land. He is indeed a happy optimist who does not feel that this is in some degree a menace to society. When capitalists so combine, it is not to be expected that laboring classes and all other classes should not associate. The rapid growth of corporate power and the malign influence which it exerts by combination on the national and state legislatures is a well grounded cause of alarm.

A STRUGGLE IS PENDING

in the near future between this overgrown power, with its vast ramification all over the Union, and a hard grip on much of the political machinery, on the one hand, and the people in an unorganized condition on the other for control of the government. He will be watched by every patriot. He is blind to the signs of the times who does not see that one of the problems of the near future, under all governments and especially under a republican form of government, is, how shall these conflicting forces be reconciled, and how shall each be educated, controlled and constrained to recognize the rights of the other? How shall the governments meet the questions so that neither the rich nor the poor shall be treated unjustly, and so that neither liberty nor civilization shall suffer, nor constitutional rights be over-ridden?

In a monarchy, perhaps, a few thousand bayonets or muskets would settle the question, but with us the ultimate appeal is to the people, and nothing can be said to be settled until it is settled in accordance with the dictates of justice. When any class by mere force of numbers or wealth overrides the rights of any other class, a blow is struck at freedom which will tell on after generations.

WEALTH'S SHARE TOO GREAT.

These social and political problems are as important as have ever engaged the attention of any people. In their presence it would be imbecile cowardice to exhume the mummies and petrifactions of past political eras which have been long since buried. The handwriting on the wall is clear, and any lover of his race must rejoice in the fact that such laws must be enacted as will make impossible the accumulation of wealth in such dangerous amounts in the hands of any one. While it is the pride and glory of our country that personal liberty, personal security and private property are sacred and inviolable and must be fearlessly guarded against all attacks, on the other hand the rights of industry and labor, either physical or mental, must be guaranteed a fair compensation and a fair share of the profit which is the joint product of capital and labor. I have no hesitation in saying, and it has been my view for many years, that wealth has had an unequal and too great a share of the profits. The many dishonest shifts and artifices resorted to by stock-jobbing, stock-watering, etc., as means to this end, should be declared by law to be a criminal. And "protection," so called, which compels the poor to contribute to the princely fortunes of the rich, should be abandoned as a political heresy, as should the granting of subsidies and bonuses of all kinds at the expense of one person or class for the benefit of another.

ANARCHY AND HONEST LABOR

are as diametrically opposed as right and wrong; the former must be denounced and punished, the latter protected and honestly and liberally rewarded. The greatest inducements must be held out to honest, intelligent exertion. As each man sows so shall he reap. I believe, and always have, in the democratic doctrine of equal rights to all, special privileges to none. But as wealth is power, legislators should see to it that such laws are enacted as will surely protect the poor and more helpless classes against rapacious avarice. Just how this shall be done is a question that no man seems at present to have settled in his mind. But undoubtedly some scheme will be enacted by humane lawmakers who honestly sympathize with their race and are ready to labor for its elevation. The suggestion of the president in his special message of a department or commission of labor, seems, as far as it goes, to be wise. The democratic party in congress, under the lead of the president, has taken a stand on the question from which there is no danger that it will go back. The committee on labor appointed by the house did much to furnish such data as will make beneficent legislation not only possible but probable. And the democratic house presented and successfully carried through the bill to prohibit the importation of contract labor. The language of

OLIVER CROMWELL

to the British parliament is democratic doctrine. He said: "If there be any law which tends to make a few rich and many poor, that suits not a commonwealth." But I would not do justice to myself if I intimated that this sentiment is not heartily responded to by the masses of the republican party also. It must be admitted that there are many heartless men—that the accumulation of wealth tends to dry up the better sympathies of many—"that man's inhumanity to man makes countless thousands mourn." But the man would do injustice to his race who would intimate that among all classes whether rich or poor, broad, generous and hearty sympathy is not often found for every class and degree of his race. And he is a bad man who, without reason, attempts to prejudice one class against another. But I have by no means referred to all the menaces of accumulated capital. In the control of the railroad property of this country a few private individuals, responsible to no one but their immediate constituency and subject to no supervision and looking solely to their own interest, yearly collect from the people not less than $500,000,000. To no men or body of men is it safe to commit such a power. The mere statement of the proposition to any thoughtful man shows the necessity for government supervision and control. It matters not whether they are honest or dishonest. No man—when his own interest is at stake—should be trusted with such power. Not only do they levy and collect this tribute, but a few men sitting in their offices in Chicago or some other city may by even a slight discrimination in rates, affect most disastrously the interests of every locality, business and business man in this land.

A SLIGHT DISCRIMINATION

against any person, place or business is destruction. It cannot be expected, it should not be tolerated, that such fearful power unrestrained and unguarded should be committed to any private man or men. The people of the west have exceptional interests in this question. On this question, too, the democratic party has taken advanced ground. My limited time compels me to pass hastily over several other important issues on which I shall speak during the campaign. I favor honest civil service reform. The rule that to the victor belong the spoils carried to its logical consequences is intolerable and inconsistent with the rule that the government should be administered for the benefit of the country—of the whole people and not of a party or faction. It is human nature, and always will be true that a man who has the right or power to recommend or appoint will—other things being equal—recommend or appoint his friend rather than any one else. But he is not a patriot who would turn out a faithful, competent officer of another party to make room for one of his own party less competent. What our country most needs is more honest, independent patriotism and less blind partisanship. Party is made for man, for the country, and not man or country for party. And I wish to say on the subject germane to this that I am opposed to political corruption, to all sorts of

POLITICAL CORRUPTION

that by any art, intrigue or improper consideration, thwarts the will of the people. We should have laws on the statute books making penal all such practices. Until the people repudiate at the ballot box those who by any disreputable methods, succeed in securing nominations they will be misrepresented; for if it is understood that a nomination is secured by intrigue and a resort to disreputable methods, then fraud is at a premium and unworthy and disreputable men will always succeed over honorable rivals. It is almost by imperceptible and stealthy beginnings that good government is attacked, and it is from such attacks that it has most to fear. The secret burrowing of an insignificant mouse will undermine and destroy the foundation of a structure whose strength defied the force and fury of the flood. Our government can never be destroyed by force of open violence from without, but as against burrowing corruption it may truthfully be said, "eternal vigilance is the price of liberty." A Brady, a Dorsey and their coadjutors and their secret partners are more dangerous to free institutions than a Cataline or a Julius Cæsar. And, my friends, be not deceived. He who will by fraud secure a nomination or an election to office will use that office for fraud. I am in favor of being not only just but generous to our soldiers. They who were baptized in fire that our country might live and posterity enjoy the blessings of freedom, deserve this—and have a right to expect nothing less.

JUDGE WILSON AT PRESTON.

At the request of the Democrats of Filmoré county, Judge Wilson visited Preston on Thursday. As it was the second day of the county fair, there was a large attendance of farmers and others from all over the county. The Judge addressed a large audience, including many Republicans, and was frequently interrupted by enthusiastic and repeated applause. At the close of his speech, many Republican farmers crowded around him and shook hands, pledging their earnest support. Milo White's friends very generally will support Judge Wilson, and there seems little doubt that he will carry Filmore county, so strong and widespread is the feeling for him among the farmers. Judge Wilson spoke as follows:

Having discovered that my friends in the district would perhaps urge my candidature, a few weeks before the nomination I wrote and published a letter for the purpose of letting it be known not only that I was not a candidate, but also that certain potent influences in the district would be opposed to me and therefore that my nomination would be unwise. In that letter I said:

Consulting my own feelings and interests merely, I would decline to accept a nomination, even if assured of an election. Recognizing, however, my obligations to my friends, and desiring to oblige them, I might, perhaps, feel constrained to accede to their wishes in this case if I felt any reasonable assurance that my nomination would increase the chances of success. But I do not feel such assurance. On the contrary, as I stated to you, I think that I would probably lose many votes which would be cast for some other candidate if nominated on our ticket. And it is to be borne in mind that while happily party ties are growing weaker year by year and electors feel more and more inclined to vote according to their convictions, uninfluenced by party "bosses" or party names, it is hardly probable that we have so far advanced in the direction of independent political action that any one can be elected in this district this year who is called a "Republican," if any influential class or any great number of electors outside of the Republican party opposed him. I believe I would be opposed by some who could influence a great many votes. I have never been or attempted to be prudent. My action in the legislature (and out of it) has by no means been always acceptable; on the contrary, it has at times been deemed very objectionable by certain influential parties. My opposition to the granting of lands or other subsidy, or to the reviving of any land grant to any railroad company, and my course in favor of the taxation of the so-called railroad lands and in opposition to the right of power of foreign corporations to transfer cases from the state courts to the federal courts, and my opposition generally to the expansion of the power of corporations would place in opposition to me nearly every railroad company and corporation in the state; while on the other hand, the fact that I have been employed not infrequently as the attorney of some railroad companies and other corporations would enable certain persons to misrepresent me and my views and perhaps to prejudice me in the estimation of some honest persons who do not know the views I entertain, or what I have advocated or done. Under the circumstances, therefore, I wish to have it clearly understood that I am not a candidate.

Unless information coming from different quarters is wholly unreliable, the opposition which I predicted from certain corporations is already manifest, and the reason of it is not far to seek. My conduct in office and out of office has been such as to condemn me with that class as a legislator. They know me to be unchangebly opposed to all land grants, subsidies and bonuses, either by way of original grant or renewal, and to any special favor or privileges to them at the expense of the people. I have always by word and act opposed the expansion of power of corporations and any and all special immunities to them. A few examples will illustrate my principles and actions in such cases, and at the same time the ground of the opposition of these corporations to my election.

THE RAILWAY LAND GRANTS.

In 1857 as those whose memories reach back so far will recollect, the United States made a grant of several millions of acres of land to Minnesota to aid in the building of a number of lines of railroad. The lands were by the legislature transferred to certain railroad companies which agreed to build the roads. The companies agreed to pay in lieu of all other taxes three per centum of their gross earnings and the lands were on that consideration exempted from taxation until they should be sold or contracted to be sold by the companies. This immunity from taxation was only of the property of the companies paying the three per centum of their earnings. The property of no one else was exempted. The land-grant railroad companies in 1858 applied for a loan of state credit to the amount of $5,000,000. This could not be granted but by an amendment of the constitution which required a vote of the people. One of the roads whose eastern terminus was at Winona, was to have $1,250,000 of the loan. The directors of the company lived at Winona and they by the loan expected to be enriched, and the people of the city expected that it would be greatly benefited by the building of the road. I saw, or supposed I saw, that the scheme was one intended and whose effect would be, to plunder the state, as it in fact proved to be. I therefore opposed it; for though the officers of the railroad company who asked for bonds claimed that the state would never be called on to pay a dollar—I was not satisfied with the honesty or truth of the statement. All the companies stood together in the zealous scramble for plunder. At the election in Winona on that measure there were cast 1182 votes—(we had honestly six or seven hundred) and of these 1181 were for the loan, and one against it. I was the one. They tried to create such a feeling in our town that no one would dare to vote against it. Though they could not deter me, they caricatured and, so far as they dared, insulted and abused me for my course. After the work had advanced so far that a few hundred thousand dollars had been expended on each of the roads, the companies and the governor disagreed as to the security to be given by the companies as a condition precedent to the issue of the bonds. The governor claimed that the state should have a first lien on the property of the company, which they refused, claiming that the law did not require this. Some of the companies applied for a mandamus to compel the issue of the bonds on their terms. Such writ was issued in at least one of the districts. An application was made to me by one of the companies in my district, I then being judge of this district. I refused even to entertain jurisdiction or consider the question. After a considerable amount of bonds had been issued, the companies conceived the idea of using them as a banking basis and thus getting the money into the hands of the people—undoubtedly well knowing that the currency so issued would be unsecured. Against this I also raised my voice. The railroad companies succeeded in obtaining about half of the $5,000,000.

PROTECTING THE TAX PAYERS.

In 1881 I was a member of the legislature when the holders of the bonds made the final assault on it for payment. The bonds were largely in the hands of railroad men or railroad companies. Mr. Selah Chamberlain so boasted of himself and most of the other bond holders made an offer to accept in full settlement 50 per cent of the face value of the bonds. This was favored by many, though, when the legislature met, not by nearly a majority. The scheme I thought both dishonorable and unjust—dishonorable because it put the state in the light of a repudiator of one half of its apparent debt, and unjust to the state because it required the payment of many times more than the state owed on any principle of law or equity. The scheme was pushed through by methods that I would be glad for the honor of the state to have forever forgotten. That I opposed this earnestly and untiringly from first to last those who were then in the legislature or in the state will not have forgotten. A clause was inserted in the bill—to aid in floating it through—giving out of the sum going to the bond holders $150,000 to pay claims due for construction of the roads. These claims were largely held in Winona and many of them were at once offered to me for collection. But I declined to accept them, being determined not to place myself in a position where my interest or the interest of my clients should stand opposed to my duty as a legislator, and also being determined to oppose the measure at every move so long as opposition could be of any avail. I thus lost individually thousands of dollars in fees. The bill providing for the payment of the bonds was at the same time introduced into both the House and Senate. It provided that there should be issued "such an amount of new bonds as should be equal to fifty per cent of the amount of the principal and interest which shall be due on said Minnesota State Railroad bonds and the coupons thereto attached on the first day of January, 1884." By the bill as it was introduced and as it passed the senate it was provided that the bonds to be issued should bear interest at five per cent per annum, and it will be observed that according to the terms of the bill the old bonds and coupons were to draw interest until January, 1884, at rate of 7 per cent. This was greatly in excess of the offer of compromise made by Mr. Chamberlain.

A SINGLE HANDED FIGHT.

The bill in the house was referred to a committee of ten, all of whom were in favor of it but two—Mr. McCracken, of your county, and myself. In the committee either Mr. McCracken or I proposed as an amendment that the rate of interest on the bonds to be issued should be four per cent per annum instead of five, and after a protracted discussion the committee with one exception agreed to that. I also in the committee moved to amend so that the rate of interest to be calculated on the bonds and coupons after the date of the act up to January 1884 should be four per cent instead of seven, and that the interest should be computed on only fifty per cent of the sum then due instead of the whole sum due, as provided in the bill. This was also agreed to by the committee with but one dissent, and the bill was ordered reported back to the house with the recommendation that the amendments should be adopted. But as soon as the bond men heard of the proposed amendments every possible effort was made to defeat them. You will observe that inasmuch as the amount of bonds to be issued was about $4,300,000, the sum saved to the state in interest on the new bonds would have been $43,000 per annum, making for the thirty years which the bonds might run $1,300,000, and the sum saved to the state by the reduction of the rate of interest from seven per cent to four per cent for nearly two and one-half years (from November 1881 until January 1884,) was over $300,000.

When the bill was reported back as so amended to the House such influences were brought to bear on the members of the committee of ten that when the question came up in the House, according to my best recollection but one (Mr. McCracken) stood with me for the amendments. Of Mr. McCracken it is simply justice to state *that he was always fearless, always able and always stood by his convictions.* In the House it was moved by some one who favored the original bill that the Senate bill *which had not been amended*, should be substituted for the House bill; which motion