# OPENING GUN IS FIRED BY STANLEY

## Thousands Attend Rally of Kentucky Democrats at Glasgow

## Party Leaders Jubilant

**Burgoo is Served in Huge Quantities—Stanley Explains Democratic Platform and Says He Will Carry Out Good Road Pledges—Rousts the Republicans.**

Glasgow, Ky. September 20.—Special trains conveyed thousands of Kentucky Democrats, from all sections of the state, to the noteworthy event of the formal opening of the Democratic campaign for state, judicial and legislative offices.

The sparkling oratory of former Congressman A. O. Stanley, their nominee, pleased the multitude of voters and co-laborers for the cause of Democracy. Mr. Stanley spoke, in part, as follows:

On the 31st day of August, 1915, the Democracy of Kentucky in Convention assembled, rededicated itself to the service of the people and the

A. O. STANLEY.

faith of the Fathers, by adopting without a dissenting voice, a platform specifically pledging its nominees to the highest service of the commonwealth. Not the least important of its covenants was an unequivocal pledge to stubbornly oppose that most insidious foe to every righteous reform—"invisible government." On the same day, the Constitutional Convention of the State of New York heard from the lips of its President, Elihu Root, a most startling declaration, the more surprising when you consider the previous political alignments of the speaker and the character of his auditors.

"What is," said Mr. Root, "the Government of this State, the Government of the Constitution? Oh, no; not half of the time or half way. * * * the Government of the State has presented two different lines of activity, one of the constitutional and statutory officers of the State, and the other—they call them party bosses—the system they call "invisible government." * * *

"* * * It is all wrong. It is all wrong that the Government not authorized by the people should be continued superior to the Government that is authorized by the people."

Says Mr. Root, the fake government even in the imperial State of New York for years has been stronger than the true government. The inordinate power of such a government is not realized because it is not seen. Were all its selfish, and sinister purposes, all its secret operations, all its multitudinous misdeeds exposed in their naked hideousness to the view of honest men, they would recoil in disgust and horror from this modern and monstrous perversion of popular government.

Every public servant, every political organization seeks preferment or power, either through public approval or the secret favor of this all-pervading and unseen influence known as "invisible government." Public men and political organizations have displayed a morbid ingenuity in their efforts to secure the approval of an unsuspecting public by glittering generalities and meaningless platitudes while filling their slush funds from its inexhaustible coffers. An alert and discerning public demands not high sounding professions of party loyalty but it demands explicit promises, the adoption of concrete reforms and the remedy of known abuses—the restraint of the activities of the lobbyist and the lawlessness of the trust.

Such legislation while demanded by the people is peculiarly obnoxious to those who are to be affected by it, and too often incur the implacable and noiseless hostility of 'invisible government.' The makers of party platforms, and the candidates upon them, often find themselves between the conflicting forces which Root so graphically described, the people demanding a pledge of faithful service and the interests the omission of such pledges. For that reason, more significance should attach to the omissions in a political platform than in the things which are actually said. From the things which are said, you can, in a measure, determine what my party proposes to the people, and from those things which are omitted, you may know with reasonable certainty what the same party is about to do to them. Thus it will be seen there is an endless conflict between the advocates of honest government and these emissaries of plunder and privilege, who come to party leaders like Nicodemus by night, insisting upon silence and a covert understanding to commit the party to no policy which may result in the punishment of their crimes or the protection of the public.

The platform of a political party has an infinitely greater significance than the utterances of its candidate. One is the solemn covenant of the many thousands of men and the other is perchance the private opinion of a single individual.

**Analysis of the Republican Platform.**

For that reason, I shall in the very beginning, call your attention to a brief analysis of the declarations upon which all the candidates of the Republican Party stand and which has been described by the head of the ticket as his party's "word of honor" which "when accepted by the suffrage of the people to whom it is given, becomes a solemn contract sealed with the great seal of the Commonwealth. * * * A covenant with the people of Kentucky."

What covenant has Mr. Morrow or his party made to protect the State from the "miners and sappers" of every form of free government and honest endeavor? Search it, and from beginning to end, from Alpha to Omega, there is not a line, not a word, not a syllable against "invisible government," not a pledge to the people to cleanse the Legislature of corruption or the corruptionist, not a semblance of an anti-lobby plank or an anti-trust declaration. Why in the name of reason and justice and common sense, did not my distinguished opponent, who was present when that platform was reported, arise in that Convention and say then as he says now, "the Third House is still greater than the people's house; still throws upon it its dark and damning shadow; while open graft and brazen lobbying is charged by Kentucky's greatest Democratic editor?" Why did he utter no warning that such an omission would be regarded as the evidence of inexcusable ignorance or the badge of cowardness and of shame? He calls a Democratic Legislature to task for failing to pass an anti-lobby bill, but neither he nor his party offer to the people one ray of hope that in the event of his election he will suggest or will enact, such a law.

**Invisible Government.**

The Democracy of Kentucky, pure and undefiled, has declared war upon this monstrous thing, 'invisible Government.' Elihu Root on the same day in the very citadel of privilege and plunder admitted:

"Both parties are alike; all parties are alike. The system extends through all. * * * I assert this perversion of democracy, this robbing of democracy of its virility can be changed as truly as the system under which Walpole governed the Commons of England by bribery, as truly as the atmosphere which made the Credit Mobilier scandal possible in the Congress of the United States and has been blown away by the force of public opinion.

* * * * * * *

"We can take this one step toward not robbing the people of their part in government, but toward robbing an irresponsible autocracy of its indefensible and unjust and undemocratic control of government, and restoring it to the people to be exercised by the men of their choice and their control."

From the north woods to the Everglades of Florida and from Cape May to the Golden Gate, from the valleys to the mountain tops, the length and breadth of the land is filled with what Mr. Root has well described as the "deep and sullen and long-continued resentment at being governed by men not of the people's choosing."

It was war upon 'invisible government', it was the declaration of the new freedom, inspiring a trumpet's call, that made the eloquent schoolmaster of New Jersey first its Governor and then the President of the United States. The exposure of this hidden and abominable thing by the courageous representatives of the people has been the crowning glory of the 63rd Congress, rich as it is in achievement and historic in great tasks nobly done. There is but one State in the Union that can boast of a dozen intelligent men and but one party on earth, that possesses a politican organization which is either ignorant of the existence of invisible government or too corrupt or too cowardly to say anything about it—that party is the Republican Party of the State of Kentucky, and the dozen men are the Committee on Resolutions which, on the 15th of last June, wrote the platform upon which Mr. Morrow stands.

During more than a decade in the public service, the best years of my life have I freely given to fighting this abominable thing wherever it raised its Meduca head in the State or in the nation. I unearthed the ground wire that connected the Senate of the United States with 111 Fifth avenue, New York, between the desk of Nelson A. Aldrich and the home of the trust. I have turned the light upon the most intimate and secret conference between the masters of high finance and the servants of the people. I have spread upon the records of Congress the checks and vouchers, the indisputable proof of their scarlet sin. In Kentucky I have without regard to its effect upon my own political future or upon any political party, without regard to friend or foe, Democrat or Republican, have I declared, and now maintain, war to the knife and the knife to the hilt against the emissaries of 'invisible government.' It is known of all men that there is not a single soul in that reeking fortress of financial crookedness and political sin known "as the Shack that Graft built" from its master mind to the meanest sniper within its walls, who is not politically and personally hostile and ready and willing to lend aid and comfort to any old enemy of this ticket, Democratic or Republican, Progressive or what not. It is inconceivable that the men who wrote the Republican platform and named its nominees should never have heard until Mr. Morrow fired his opening gun "that the Third House is greater than the People's House." Will the intelligent citizenship of Kentucky entrust a party with power that knows nothing of invisible government, or, knowing, is too timid or too corrupt to give you its solemn pledge to destroy it? Or is it that those more potent and more silent than Mr. Morrow, high in his party's councils, the powers behind the throne, realize how easy it is to secure the sinews of war and the aid of all the cohorts, chicane and crookedness, if only they will agree to stand with their fingers on their lips and allow the Democratic party and its nominees alone to champion the cause of the oppressed against the oppressor and to advance unaided and unsustained against this unseen and inveterate foe of popular government,' this all-pervading influence, deadly as the breath of the Upas or the Olivic, under whose blighting shade every impulse of honesty, every patriotic aspiration must wither and decay. I have never sought the suffrage of the people of Kentucky without formally reasserting my fixed and unalterable opposition to those influences which have too often made constitutional government a mockery and a sham, and constitutional officers not the servants of the people, but the tools and pawns of special interests. In a letter addressed to the public on December 19, 1912, I declared:

"The interests seeking special favors can never be tolerated by a party whose prime purpose is to strip those interests of every undue advantage and every privilege obtained by the operation of bad laws or the violation of good ones."

On January 17 last, in announcing my candidacy for Governor, I declared:

"I willingly surrendered a seat in Congress to fight above all else that most insidious and abominable menace to the liberties and property rights of a free people—'invisible government'—powers nominally vested in benevolent and respectable figures, actually exercised by the covert and cunning emissaries of every favor-seeking and tax-dodging interest fortunate enough to have a friend in court.

"If elected Governor of Kentucky I solemnly and earnestly pledge the people of the commonwealth here and now that I will turn the calcium light upon the lobbyist and upon all who seek to secure positions of honor or privilege by any secret or unholy alliance with him."

The pledge made as a candidate I am prepared to keep as your nominee and as your Governor.

**No Antitrust Plank.**

Not the creation, but the equitable distribution of wealth, is the great problem confronting the lawmakers of America. Men everywhere realize more and more that inordinate wealth and widespread penury are in great measure attributable to this inequitable distribution, secured by illegal combinations of capital and the creation of gigantic monopolies.

Laws governing the capitalization of corporations, regulating the operation of common carriers, forbidding the formation of holding companies, the interlocking of directorates and other multifarious devices for the destruction of competition and the prevention of the free operation of the natural law of supply and demand, fill the statutes of the various States and the Federal Government alike.

The one act calculated to protect the people of Kentucky from exploitation and plunder by trusts and monopolies has been declared unconstitutional, and today this State stands naked and defenseless, a prey to every crooked combination and every form of corporate iniquity, a snug harbor for every commercial pirate seeking refuge from the wise legislation and the righteous wrath of forty-seven sister States.

The fact that this yawning chasm is left in the only legal defense yet provided has caused an apprehension little short of consternation among thoughtful and discerning men. In the face of this appalling state of affairs the Republican platform contains no antitrust plank, no pledge to curb corporate greed or to punish corporate crime. The reason is not far to seek; it prefers to betray the people rather than offend the interests.

**Republican Convention Refuses to Endorse Its Own Administrations, State and National.**

An examination of the State or national platforms of either party in Kentucky discloses the fact that hitherto no two have been alike. This is necessarily so where platforms are written in good faith. Political organizations at stated periods promulgate platforms in order that they may apply immutable principles to constantly changing conditions. To state the attitude of the party on vital and living issues to outline an original program for future legislation requires constructive statesmanship, and constructive statesmanship is a lost art with the reactionary Republicanism of Kentucky.

The reference to the protection of American industries and labor is a veiled endorsement of the malodorous Payne-Aldrich act, the last utterance of the Republican party on the subject. I had thought that after a similar approval of that act had sent President Taft to political oblivion, and his organization to the junk heap, that "there were none so poor as to do it reverence," but the convention at Lexington has placed a last withered posey above its petrifying remains.

In fact, the last Republican convention did not attempt to write a new platform. It merely repaired an old one, and it botched the job. Hitherto Republican platforms have usually followed a sort of formula—first endorsing previous national and State administrations, and with the sole exception of this unique assemblage they have hitherto been strong on the "point with pride" and "viewing with alarm" stunt. In fact, they have "pointed with pride" on several occasions when it evidenced more gall than discretion.

And yet that party which had the stomach in 1900 "to endorse without reserve the resolute and patriotic course of W. S. Taylor in resisting with all the power at his command the usurpation of the office to which the people elected him" has at this good hour never a word to say in commendation either of the Republican national or State administrations.

Looking back over an era of crimination and recrimination, of folly, failure, perfidy and ruin in national affairs, and of force, violence, bloodshed and incompetence in the conduct of the State Government, the silence of this party, or its wise refusal to mention with approval any man or any incident in its history, is, in effect, a pathetic appeal to the people of Kentucky to let "the dead past bury its dead" and to forget the blunders of those whom even their friends dare not defend.

**Republican Repudiation of Platform Pledges.**

The Democrats of Kentucky will not soon forget that in 1903 this party in a solemn platform declaration fiercely arraigned a Democratic executive "for exercising the pardoning power to subserve political and partisan purposes with the certain effect of encouraging crime by virtually rendering criminals of Democratic faith immune from punishment."

In 1908 this same party was not warm in the saddle before its Republican Governor brazenly proceeded to commit the crime it had solemnly denounced and to do the dastardly deed from which by necessary inference he was forever bound to abstain; liberating assassins, whose brutal butchery covered all Kentucky with a pall of sorrow and bedewed the eyes and crimsoned the cheeks of brave men with tears of sorrow and blushes of shame, acts that have appalled the conscience of the world, and today, in their unpunished enormity, "smell to heaven." Taylor, Finley, Howard and Powers were all turned loose red-handed and secure, and a Republican Governor, with "an eye of parchment and a cheek of stone" deliberately dared to do the thing his party had solemnly damned in order that he and his kind might "subserve political and partisan purposes with the certain effect of encouraging crime by virtually rendering criminal of (Republican) faith immune from punishment."

**Morrow Would Straddle Two or More Platforms.**

It may be that the nominee of the Republican party feels some part of the sentiment which he has so gracefully expressed. In that event, he is totally out of harmony with his party and is already "off of the reservation." The organization whose representative he is and to whom, prior to June 15, he delegated the right to speak for him on various and vexed public questions, has not hesitated to express its contempt for the validity of platform pledges. The platform upon which Mr. Morrow was nominated declared:

"We favor the enactment of a law which shall permit party nominations without regard to the party affiliations of the candidates."

"We favor," says this party, "amendments to the State law permitting and encouraging nominations of the same candidate by the different parties."

I have long suspected that certain Republican leaders were prone to practice this Janus faced diplomacy, but I hardly thought they would compel the "quick-change artist" to play his "Dr. Jekyl and Mr. Hyde" politics in the very presence of the people.

Let us suppose that such a platform declaration had the force and effect of existing law, what would be the result? The various parties have made their platforms which Mr. Morrow says are a solemn covenant and when adopted by the people have the binding effect of a "contract sealed with the great seal of the commonwealth." As the nominee of both factions of his party he would necessarily find himself committed to two platforms.

Let us imagine him speaking to a standpat audience on the platform for which he professes such profound reverence and to which he promises such implicit obedience. He would doubtless edify his admirers with the statement that he proposes to preserve and enforce the County Unit law now upon the statute books. "Fellow citizens," says Mr. Morrow, "is it not my covenant, my 'solemn contract, signed with the great seal of the commonwealth,' that

"We now declare our continued adherence to the County Unit law, and we do hereby endorse the present County Unit law of Kentucky and pledge ourselves to its strict and rigid enforcement."

The next day we find him upon the other platform surrounded by admiring Moosers and declaring: "Is it not my party's covenent, a solemn contract signed with the great seal of the commonwealth,' that

"The Progressive party of Kentucky pledges itself to submit to a vote of the State, an amendment to our State Constitution forever prohibiting the sale of intoxicating liquors in Kentucky."

Support me, brave Moosers, for you have a "solemn contract, sealed with the great seal of the commonwealth," that the County Unit shall be sent to the ding bow-wows and State-wide prohibition enforced, and that without delay.

On the following day the Republican nominee will return to the old fold, will assure his friends in the large cities who are somewhat uneasy about this Woman Suffrage agitation, that the Republican party positively refuses to state its position upon that question—

"Expressly reserving the right of all Republicans to vote upon the question of Woman Suffrage as they see fit."

And the "presto! change" my handsome and accomplished opponent back in the Bull Moose camp, the idol of the ladies, he assures the cheering suffragists that "We Moosers, he and she alike—

"Desire to reiterate our belief in the just principles of Woman Suffrage, and urge upon the next Legislature to submit the question to the voters of Kentucky."

This, they are told, is not an idle utterance, but a solemn covenant made to be kept by "us Progressives," a contract "under the great seal of the commonwealth."

But worse, and last of all, imagine my gifted and distinguished friend, proud of his stalwart Republican forbears, and of the great standpatters who have added luster to his honored name. Imagine him quoting again the language of the last national Republican platform to the delectation of a Bourbon Republicanism:

"We invite the intelligent judgment of the American people upon the administration of William H. Taft * * * that legislation is a record on which any administration might appeal with confidence to the favorable judgment of history."

And then, far removed from the very echoes of his last utterance, facing those who have spewed from their mouths the easy-going and invertebrate Taft, and who still worship their idol of the Big Stick, the only and strenuous Teddy, imagine the same Edwin P. Morrow declaring:

"We reaffirm our unswerving allegiance to our greatest champion, Theodore Roosevelt."

Such a principle makes party declarations "false as dicers' oaths."

A covenant with the people, "a solemn contract, under the great seal of the commonwealth?"—No. Not a pledge, but a trap. Not a promise of reform, but a delusive bait for the unwary, changed while you wait. Oh, the old elephant is down with senile debility, the Bull Moose is up for repairs and out of the ruins of the discarded carcasses of these impotent beasts despairing Republicanism would construct a hybred monster upon which to ride into office, a sort of "bull-o-moosephant," half reactionary and half progressive, a Janus-headed emblem, with one blinking face to the dawn and one sombre countenance turned toward the setting sun. This new adversary of Democracy, Progressive and Reactionary, bound to conflicting platforms, may truthfully say to the people of Kentucky: "I don't know where I am going, nor do I really care, but I am on my way to a job, and that is the real purpose of my candidacy after all."

Mr. Morrow arraigns the last Democratic administration for a willful breach of covenant:

That in violation of a promise of "retrenchment and reform," that we have been guilty of "wanton, useless and reckless extravagance," resulting in "an empty Treasury and a bankrupt State."

"The Democratic party," says Mr. Morrow, "came into control of the three branches of the government January 1, 1912. On this day there were outstanding unpaid warrants against the Treasury amounting in round figures to $560,000. On August 31, 1915, there were outstanding against the State unpaid interest-bearing warrants amounting to $3,275,000.

He therefore assumes the State to be $3,275,000 in debt, an inference absolutely unwarranted by the record and reached by an artful juggling of figures, unworthy of my distinguished opponent.

As is well known, nearly all the State's revenues collected during the last three months of the year, while the running expenses of the Government are about the same, one month with another, so that, however free from debt the State may be at the end of the year, on the last of August or the first of September, its outstanding obligations will necessarily exceed by hundreds of thousands, if not millions, the amount then on hand to meet these obligations. Just as a farmer having an annual income, say, of $2,000, the major portion of which is derived from the sale of tobacco or corn, and other products in the fall and winter, would probably find on the first of July that his indebtedness exceeds by several hundred dollars his cash on hand. If, however, this does not exceed the income which he might reasonably anticipate from the sale of his products, it can not be truthfully said that he is in debt or improvident and bankrupt. The unfairness of artfully selecting a time when 75 per cent of the State's expenses having been incurred, with practically all its revenues uncollected, is abundantly illustrated by applying the same test to the Republican administration of which Mr. Morrow speaks in such glowing terms. He says that on January 1, 1912, the outstanding warrants against his administration amounted in round figures to $560,000, and yet on August 31, 1911, one year previous (the time cunningly chosen by Mr. Morrow) the Republican party faced a deficit of $1,108,209.37.

In order that we may form an accurate estimate of the relative efficiency and economy of the present administration and its Republican predecessor, it is only just to compare the fiscal condition of both for identical periods.

The present Democratic administration came into power January 1, 1912, and has, therefore, been in control three years and eight months, i. e., from January 1, 1912, to August 31, 1915. To make a fair comparison between the two administrations, we must take the same relative period of time for both as a basis of comparison; that is, the Democratic administration from January 1, 1912, to August 31, 1915, and the Republican administration from January 6, 1908, to August 31, 1911.

The following table shows the comparative receipts and expenditures of the two administrations for identical periods:

**Republican Administration from January 6, 1908, to August 31, 1911.**

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|---|---|
| Receipts from all sources | $22,997,339.47 |
| Receipts from former Democratic administration, January 1, 1908 | 1,012,065.72 |
| Total | $24,110,387.19 |

**Democratic Administration from January 1, 1912, to August 31, 1915.**

| | |
|---|---|
| Receipts from all sources | $26,570,275.21 |
| Less deficit in Treasury January 1, 1912 | 290,597.56 |
| Total | $26,279,677.72 |

The Democratic administration has received during the same relative period of time $2,169,272.53 more than the Republican administration.

The official figures from the Auditor's office show that the last Republican administration faced a deficit in the State Treasury on August 31, 1911, of $1,108,209.37; that on August 31, 1915, there was a deficit in the State Treasury of $2,445,049.20, or $1,336,839.83 greater than the deficit of August 31, 1911. That is, the present Democratic administration has received in revenues for the same relative period $2,169,272.53 and has expended in all $3,506,112.40 more than the preceding Republican administration.

The total appropriation made by the Legislatures of 1912 and 1914 to carry out platform pledges and in response to a widespread popular demand for progressive legislation in the interest of education and agriculture, of humanity, in the better care of inmates in our charitable institutions, for the maintenance of aged and dependent Confederate veterans, and for other worthy purposes, amounted to a total of $2,675,472. Had the General Assemblies of 1912 and 1914 made none of these appropriations, the Treasury on August 31, 1912, would have shown a cash balance of $2,230,424.53 instead of a deficit of $2,445,049.20.

But Mr. Morrow goes farther and grows worse, stating "that the State has been plunged $2,715,000 deeper into debt, making a total additional expenditure in the public revenues of $5,727,000," or $1,378,160.13 more than is shown by the official figures. Mr. Morrow is either very badly advised or he is a reckless guesser. This is but one of many instances showing that he is much more picturesque than accurate.

It is reasonably certain and may well be assumed that after the collection of anticipated revenues on the 1st of January, 1916, the State deficit will not exceed $1,000,000. Does that justify the reckless statement of Mr. Morrow that "this is a bankrupt State?" Can three million dollars of debt bankrupt a commonwealth the value of whose property exceeds a billion dollars?

What assurance have we that this state of hopeless insolvency, even if it actually existed, would be remedied by turning Kentucky over, "boots and breeches," to the successors of Wilson and Taylor. Do those states which for fifty years have been under an unbroken Republican regime show such freedom from debt, such prosperity as to justify this most perilous remedy?

**Bonded Indebtedness of Republican States.**

Take Maine, Republican for fifty years, the home of Dingley, Reed, Littlefield and Blaine. Let us compare the condition of poor old Kentucky, this Republican paradise.

The real and personal property of Kentucky is valued at $846,454,020. That property pays a tax rate of $5 per thousand, with no bonded indebtedness.

Maine has less than half the amount of taxable property of Kentucky, i. e., $439,025,462, and yet the tax rate reaches the appalling sum of $23.50 on the thousand dollars, with a bonded debt of $659,000.

Connecticut, Republican almost continuously for the last half century, has practically the same amount of taxable property as Kentucky, $848,399,019, with a bonded debt of $7,064,199.

New Hampshire, with less than $400,000,000 of property, has a tax rate of $16 on the thousand and a bonded indebtedness of $1,166,000.

The rock-ribbed Republican State of Pennsylvania has a bonded indebtedness of $125,614,702.

Little Rhode Island, the home of Aldrich, with $200,000,000 less property than Kentucky, has managed under the wise economy of an unbroken Republican administration for generations to get along with only $5,041,572 of bonded indebtedness.

Utah, with one-fourth of the wealth of Kentucky, under the beneficent control of Reed Smoot and an iron-clad Republican organization, has only $11,210,000 bonded indebtedness.

**Republican Misrule in the South.**

It may be said that I have mentioned only Northern States and that for purposes of comparison I should take Southern commonwealths having a similar citizenship, alike in manner, customs and laws. At one time Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, Virginia and South Carolina all had a chance at Mr. Morrow's remedy for extravagance in the administration of the State's affairs. At the close of the war they were comparatively free from debt, their affairs had been administered honestly and economically during generations of Democratic control. Then the blight of Republican misrule fell upon that ill-fated land, swept by fire and sword, her cities in ruins, her blackened fields billowed with the graves of three hundred thousand slain, dismantled and discrowned, Republicanism found her prostrate, and from the lips of hunger, from want and nakedness, it filched untold millions, and "reconstruction" is well remembered with more horror than the carnage of battle or the famine and pestilence that follow in the wake of war.

The annual cost of the State's administration in Louisiana under Democratic control was $1,162,624 in 1871, under a Republican regime, it reach the appalling sum of $7,578,148. The average cost to the State of each member of the Legislature during the single session was $113.50 per day. Ten years later, under Democratic control, expenses were immediately reduced to $1,617,164, or one-fifth of the cost during the reconstruction period. On December 31, 1873, the public debt of Louisiana was $11,182,377. After three years of Republican control it was $22,589,628.

Under Democratic control in 1876, the cost of maintaining the government of Alabama was $655,205. In 1873, under a Republican administration, it was $2,237,200. Four years later, with the return of the Democrats to power, it was immediately reduced to $874,164.

A Republican administration between 1868 and 1874 fastened on the State of Arkansas a bonded indebtedness of $17,260,364.

In Florida the cost of administering the affairs of the State more than doubled under a Republican administration.

In 1866 Georgia, which until that time had never known Republican rule, had a bonded indebtedness of $828,802. After less than three years of Republican control its bonded indebtedness was increased to nearly $18,000,000.

The State of Virginia, under a Democratic administration in 1860, carried a public debt of $29,106,659. In 1870, under Republican rule, this debt jumped to the appalling sum of $49,290,839.

Mr. Morrow has talked much about the extravagance of Democrats in purchasing office furniture. The State Capitol at Columbia was refurnished during this period. Quoting the testimony of a Congressional committee, Honorable James M. Pike, author of "The Prostrate South," writes:

"When the Legislature met the last time the new furniture was all in the House was furnished most superbly. A great deal was said in the papers about the extravagance; a great deal of talk was made about the carpets being so fine and about the magnificent chandeliers and spittoons, and one thing and another for an impoverished people. Even several Republicans said to me that it provoked them to see so much extravagance, when we were so little able to afford it. * * * When the bill came in it amounted to $95,000. * * * The highest prices were paid for this furniture, three or four or five times its value—for instance, $750 was paid for one mirror in the Speaker's room; each official had a separate room for himself, most gorgeously fitted up, with toilet sets and all the paraphernalia of a dwelling house; clocks at $450 apiece; chandeliers at $650. * * * There were two hundred fine porcelain spittoons, at $8 apiece. * * * There were only one hundred and twenty-four members."

"It is," says the same author, "the installation of a huge system of brigandage. * * * They are the highwaymen of the State, they are professional legislative robbers, they are the men who have stolen and practiced the art of legislative graft. * * * They pick your pockets by law, they rob the poor and the rich alike by law. They confiscate your estate by law. They do none of these things even under the tyrant's plea of the public good or public necessity. They do all simply to enrich themselves personally. The sole base object is to gorge the individual with public plunder."

Even if the intelligent citizenship of Kentucky should credit the exaggerated statements of the Honorable Edwin P. Morrow, in view of the huge burden of debt with which Republicanism has saddled commonwealths in the North, and the utter devastation of its reign in the South, the violence, terror and bloodshed that have marked its wanton and ruthless course in Kentucky, I beg you beware of so desperate a remedy even for the ills of which he so loudly complains.

**Railroad Fare Bill.**

Mr. Morrow complains that the Democratic party, by its law-making body, passed a 2½-cent railroad fare bill, but in so doing joined "the State House Forgetter's Club," and forgot to insert an enacting clause in the bill, thereby rendering it null and void. The record shows that the President of the "State House Forgetters' Club" is a leading Republican, the Honorable E. D. Stone, of the County of Crittenden, and that another Republican, the then Superintendent of Public Printing, was its Right Honorable Secretary. Much is to be forgiven any Republican who attempts any kind of progressive legislation, since he must blaze his legislative way alone, without guide or precedent. Some sweet day The Historian will record with a commiserating smile that one lone Republican at one time did actually attempt to write a bill lowering railroad rates. He did it bunglingly, of course, but he deserves our eternal gratitude for ever having attempted to do it at all. He wrote a headless thing. It was introduced in that amputated form, and, taking the usual course, was referred to a Republican Superintendent of Public Printing, who prepared a caption, a sort of artificial head, attached it, sent the bill thus doctored back to the House, so that no member of that body which Mr. Morrow condemns without reason or warrant ever knew the blunders made by the Superintendent of Public Printing and the honorable but incompetent representative from the County of Crittenden. The bill was passed in the closing hours of the legislative session and then the original bill (not the doctored instrument) was enrolled, and its faulty construction was only discovered after it was too late to remedy the blunders of the Superintendent of Public Printing and the author of the bill. Why Mr. Morrow should gratuitously assail this purely Republican organization, "The State House Forgetters' Club," is past my ken.

**Would Demolish All Commissions.**

Says Mr. Morrow: "Kentucky has a commission regulating everything from fire to fish, from Dan to Beersheba. * * * We have a Railroad Commission, the Prison Commission, Insurance Rating Commission, Board of Control, School Book Commission, Fire and Game Commission, the Geological 'None-such' Commission, a battalion of fire marshals, a company of foresters and a squad of hotel inspectors. * * * One real commission on the job during working hours and working days could do the work of all."

It is inconceivable that Mr. Morrow would assail with a sneer institutions of which he secretly approves. For that reason I give to his facetious expression a candid interpretation and assume that he means what he plainly infers, that in the event of his election, he will abolish them all and place these various departments under the heterogeneous control of a clique of political wiseacres and Jacks-of-all-trades. When he does it he will have utterly destroyed the only feasible method yet discovered by any progressive State for the protection of the health of its citizens, the security of the traveling public, the safety of bank deposits, the adequate protection of game and fish, the conservation of forests, for securing cheapness and uniformity in school books, the detection and punishment of incendiaries, and, above all, the maintenance and development of public highways.

In this effort to overthrow all the results of the long, patient labor of constructive statesmen he will find himself opposed not by Democrats alone, but by forward-looking men and women everywhere, by every philanthropic society, by every progressive organization, by every good roads movement and by every broad-minded and public-spirited citizen who wishes to use the power and resources of the commonwealth for the material prosperity and the moral betterment of its people.

To do it he must repudiate the record and demolish the handiwork of his own political colleagues who participated in the enactment of this legislation.

It will be seen that Mr. Morrow again indulges in an ill-considered and wholesale denunciation of the work of Democrats and Republicans alike. I can not believe that the Republican party in Kentucky, even at the behest of its nominee for Governor, is willing to repudiate the honest and efficient service of men whom it has entrusted with positions of distinction and responsibility.

**A Record of Achievement.**

The convention of 1911 and the administration which has with such fidelity and efficiency enacted its mandate into law will be judged not by what we say, but by what they did.

It enacted a primary election law conducted by the State at public expense; it has made our common school system more practical and efficient; it changed the method of selecting prison commissioners; it has installed a uniform system of accounting in public offices; it has created a department providing for a more thorough inspection of banks; it enacted a workmen's compensation act; it provided for the nomination and election of United States Senators by a direct vote of the people; it has provided for the health, security and comfort of the traveling public; it has generously administered to the comfort of our aged and decrepit heroes; prevented blindness; driven the white plague from the borders of the State; it has built bridges, opened and constructed great highways and provided a system of State aid for their maintenance, and all these things it has done in fulfillment of the party's pledges honestly made and faithfully kept.

In 1911 a Democratic convention made and since that time a Democratic administration has kept more promises of reform than were ever made or kept by the Republican party from the day it was created until the last Republican administration in Kentucky went out of power, and I challenge the distinguished nominee of his party to show where it ever made a platform pledge that was not broken or ignored or that was ever enacted into law by Republican administration.

The Emperor Napoleon, standing at the cradle and of the grave of a dead civilization, inspired his marshal legions to deeds of superhuman valor by pointing to the Pyramids and reminding those sturdy warriors that "forty centuries looked down upon them." You are assembled, my fellow Democrats, in battle array, eager to meet your ancient adversary with gay and festive intrepidity. As you wage a winning fight, forty-seven expectant States look down upon you. This is the first campaign of the kind immediately preceding a national election. The eyes of the President of the United States are on you. What though some man may find the Governor of his administration imperfect, what though he little like the things I say or do, where, oh, where is the Democrat at this crucial hour who will prove recalcitrant to his mighty chief? Inspiring as a candidate, greater as a patient and constructive statesman, he is greatest as the wise, patient, fearless, far-seeing diplomat, preserving at once inviolate the honor of his country and the peace of half the world. Though living, he has already earned an immortal place even among "those dead but sceptered sovereigns who still rule our spirits from their urns." Your failure, were failure possible, will appall the Democracy of America, and your assured victory will thrill with delight and inspire with new courage the Democracy of the nation. From this platform I fly the signal of the great English Admiral:

"Your country expects every man to do his duty."

Up, boys, and at them, and victory is ours, for the glory of Democracy and the honor of Old Kentucky. God bless her!