

Jasper Weekly Courier.

VOL. 51.

JASPER, INDIANA, FRIDAY, OCTOBER 2, 1908.

No. 3.

THE ISSUES OF THE CAMPAIGN

Fair and Able Discussion of Questions Before the People.

PLEA FOR GOOD GOVERNMENT

Honesty and Fair Play Form the Subject Matter of an Interesting Address Before the South Bend Branch of the Indiana State Alliance of German Societies by Mr. Philip Rappaport, a Prominent Attorney of Indianapolis.

A few days ago the Germans of South Bend held a meeting at Turner Hall for the purpose of organizing a city branch of the State Alliance of German Societies. The meeting was of political importance, for the State Alliance had, at its recent convention, passed a strong resolution on the temperance issue and in favor of the Democrats of Indiana as the more liberal party.

One of the speakers was Mr. Philip Rappaport, a prominent attorney of Indianapolis. He spoke as follows:

Republican Dishonesty.

It is one of the usual practices in times of a political campaign to deceive the public and slander the adversary, but it is exceedingly doubtful whether in the political history of our country this practice has ever been carried as far as the Republicans of Indiana carry it this year. If one reads their papers and their campaign literature it would seem that there is only one question before the public, and that is whether in Indiana the Anti-Saloon League or the brewers shall rule. It would seem that there is no such thing as a panic with its complement of millions of unemployed and stagnation of business, caused by an iniquitous tariff and grafting stock manipulation. It would seem that the trusts and the big corporations are nothing but charming and philanthropic benefactors of the people, impoverishing themselves for the sake of the nation. It would seem that there is no such thing as the Democratic party, nor any such thing as the people, but only the brewers, and that the Republicans and their faithful ally, the Anti-Saloon League, are the only righteous upon earth, sent by a kind Providence to save the state and the nation from the powers of darkness and sure perdition by the only means that can possibly save them, namely, County Prohibition.

It is a mean and miserable deception by which they hope to mislead the ignorant and unthinking. But the intelligent people of the state should not allow themselves to be influenced by such a dishonest policy.

The Democratic Party the Party of the People.

In the first place the great economic and political questions of national import which mark the distinguishing line between the Democratic party and the Republican party have not disappeared, but are, on the contrary, still present and are of the same weight, as they ever were. The Republican party is still the party of Wall street, still the party of the multi-millionaire, of the Standard Oil company, and other trusts, of the rebate-giving, farmer-despoiling and middle-class-ruining railroad corporations and the grasping, exploiting plutocrats. And the Democratic party is still the party of the common people, the workingman, the toiling farmer, the large middle class of business and trades men, who now suffer acutely by a panic that has been brought about by the interests protected by the Republican tariff, a Republican administration and the Republican party in general.

In the second place, leaving national questions alone, the Democratic party is not controlled by the brewers or the liquor interests. It is ridiculous to suppose that a political party consisting of hundreds of thousands of voters can be controlled by a few brewers or saloon keepers. If, for business interests, they prefer Democratic rule to Republican rule, they do no more than any other class of business men would do under similar circumstances and with certain legislation, affecting them, in view. But if the people at large were not interested, the brewers and the saloon keepers could not influence the selection of even a constable.

The Fight for Personal Liberty.

The fight in our state, so far as the temperance question is concerned, is not the fight of the liquor interests, but it is the fight of that part of the people which believe in personal lib-

erty and practical morality against the party controlled by an element which believes in coercion and sham morality, a party which proclaims him who drinks a glass of beer in an open saloon a sinner, but crowns him who gets beastly drunk in a blind tiger with the halo of martyrdom. It is a fight for the freedom of the state from domination by church and preachers.

It is all sham and hypocrisy. It is the hypocritical policy of the Republicans just now to hold the brewers responsible for every transgression anywhere from a mere fistful altercation to race riots like that in Springfield, Ill., and thus create against them an unwarranted prejudice.

Why Certain Laws Can't Be Enforced.

It is not to be denied that there exists in our country a great deal of lawlessness and disrespect of law.

But whose fault is it? The brewer's or the saloon keeper's? Would it be in their power to cause any violation of law, if there were no people approving its violation? If there is a general violation of law, it is the fault of the lawmakers who make laws to which a large part of the people do not readily yield, because they do not consider wrong what the law forbids.

Mr. William Travers Jerome, the well-known district attorney of New York, in a little book of his, entitled "The Liquor Tax Law in New York," says:

"Under democratic forms of government, based upon universal suffrage, a law is not permanently enforceable by authorities locally elected or appointed, when the acts prohibited are of such a character that a considerable number of inhabitants of such locality do not consider the prohibited acts immoral in themselves, and do not yield willing obedience to the law."

In South and Central America laws of this character would probably cause riot and revolution. But the Americans, being a peaceful, order-loving people, simply hold the law in contempt and violate it openly or clandestinely. But the danger is that contempt of one law may lead to contempt of other laws, and contempt of law must, in the end, be of a demoralizing effect.

The average American citizen is inclined to be law-abiding. Whenever signs to the contrary appear it is the fault of the law-maker, who makes laws of which he knows, or should know at least, that one-half of the population consider them tyrannous and will violate them without conscientious scruples. And the worst of it is that the lawgivers themselves have no scruples in violating them or causing them to be violated; that they are well aware of the evil effect of such laws, but are cowards in politics and sacrifice their conscience and their honesty to political interests of their own or their party.

Let me again quote Mr. Jerome:

"When a large portion of the community look upon an act forbidden as not immoral or of very minor immorality, and the punishments imposed by the law are very severe, blackmail and perjury become appalling in amount and character upon any attempt to enforce the law. In addition, if the law affects a considerable number in the community, either in their pecuniary interests or because contrary to their habits of life and thought, the local political life of the community is degraded and complicated, the public service is debauched and even the courts and jury system, both grand and petit, are seriously affected."

It is well known that disrespect of one law causes disrespect of other and eventually all laws, and if this inevitable effect appears, then those who made the laws which were sure to be violated have the temerity to lay the blame on others.

The real parties that are to be blamed for disorders, disrespect and contempt of law are the Prohibitionists, the Anti-Saloon League, and the Republican party controlled by them. Conceding even to them good intentions as far as temperance is concerned, still they may say, like Mephistopheles in Goethe's Faust, "I am a part of that mighty power which wills the good, but ever creates evil."

The Brewers and Liquor Dealers in Politics.

Equally hypocritical are their accusations against the brewer and the liquor interests in politics. Whose fault is it that they are in politics? Can it be expected that these men will stand idly by and see their business interests constantly attacked and endangered? The average hardware dealer does not busy himself with politics. You can easily make him do so by attacking and endangering his business interests. The average drygoods merchant does not dabble in politics; attack his business interests and he will make politics a part of his business. What reason is there to demand of the wet goods merchants to act differently under such circumstances?

Is there any justice, any honesty in it? There is a way to rid politics of the liquor interests, and that way is very

plain and simple, but it requires the application of good sense and honesty. Make a law that is fair and reasonable, duly considering the wishes of all the people without ignoring those of a part of them, harmonizing different views in consonance with human nature and social conditions, a law that the people are ready and willing to obey, and will, therefore, be enforceable; then let it stand unchanged and suppress all attempts at violation with an iron hand.

But if you want to keep the liquor element in politics, if you want to make every brewer and every liquor dealer an out-and-out politician, make unenforceable and unenforceable laws, never let up in dithering with them under the influence of that branch of the Republican party called the Anti-Saloon League, and make it an endless chain of changes and amendments, always intending to do good and always creating greater evils.

The Republican party and its ally, the Anti-Saloon League, have driven and are driving the brewers and the liquor interests into politics and are now with unctuous pharisaism complaining that they are in it.

What a farce!

Church and State.

There is another element involved in this question which I cannot leave unnoticed. It is the church and the preacher. I cannot help thinking that neither the people, nor good government, would lose anything by their staying out of politics. If you will observe closely you will notice that the preachers and the churches meddling in politics and constantly appealing to legislation and the strong arm of secular government for the enforcement of their particular views are such who belong, or whose members mostly belong, to the Republican party.

Church and state have separate and distinct functions and the enlightened spirit of our time is opposed to the invasion of one by the other. Mr. Thomas R. Marshall, the Democratic nominee for governor of Indiana, said in his keynote speech:

"While Thomas Jefferson was

the author of the bill for religious freedom in Virginia and thus

brought about the disassociation of church and state in America,

I presume that there are not yet

many Americans who are desirous

of reuniting church and state. It

may be that our distaste of this

idea arises, to a certain extent,

from the fact that we are not quite

sure that our own particular

branch could be made the state

church.

In the state uses its power at the behest of a church or its ministers, it makes itself their servant. Centuries ago this was considered proper, with what result is shown by history. But the spirit of the twentieth century is decidedly against it.

The Failure of Prohibitive Legislation.

I frankly state it as my opinion that it would have been a decided gain for the cause of morals and temperance if the church had always confined itself to the proper sphere of moral suasion, and if the state had kept itself free from its influences.

The church is most generally guided by dogma, but the state is guided by experience.

The church is doctrinal, the state practical.

A people cannot be ruled by naked doctrines with utter disregard of natural and social influences of human needs and desires.

Yet that is precisely the method of the church, and it follows it regardless of effects and consequences.

As in the eyes of the church and its representatives the doctrine cannot be false, they must necessarily see the failure of the effect in its insufficient or false application.

When a large portion of the community look upon an act forbidden as not immoral or of very minor immorality, and the punishments imposed by the law are very severe, blackmail and perjury become appalling in amount and character upon any attempt to enforce the law.

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