CAMPAIGN'S KEYNOTE

Sounded by the Democratic Leader in His Speech at Indianapolis.

PARAMOUNT ISSUE IS IMPERIALISM

Policy in the Philippines Exhaustively Discussed by Bryan.

PEOPLE GOVERNED MUST CONSENT

Or the Government Is Not on Lines Authorized by the Principles of the American Republic-Appeal to the Fathers.

Following is the speech delivered by Mr. Bryan at Indianapolis to the committee which notified him of his nominatoin for the presidency by the Democratic convention at Kansas

Mr. Chairman and Members of the

I shall, at an early day, and in a more formal manner, accept the nomination which you tender, and I shall at that time discuss the various questions covered by the Democratic platform. It may not be out of place, however, to submit a few observations at this time upon the general character of the contest before us, and upon the question which is declared to be of paramount importance in this cam-

When I say that the contest of 1900 is a contest between Democracy on the one hand and plutocracy on the other I do not mean to say that all our opponents have deliberately chosen to give to organized wealth a predeminating influence in the affairs of the government. Lat I do assert that on the important issues of the day the Republican party is dominated by those influences which constantly tend to elevate pecuniary considerations and ignore human rights. In 1859 Lincoln said that the Republican party be-lieved in the man and the dollar, but that in case of conflict it believed in the man before the dollar. This is the proper relation which should exist between the two. Man, the handiwork of God, comes first, money, the handiwork of man, is of inferior importance. Man is the master, money the servant, but upon all important questions today Republican legislation tends to make money the master and man the serv-

The maxim of Jefferson, "equal rights to all and special privileges to' none," and the doctrine of Lincoln that this should be a government "of the people, by the people and for the people," are being disregarded, and the instrumentalities of government are being used to advance the interests of those who are in a position to secure favors from the government. The Democratic party is not making war upon the honest acquisition of wealth; it has no desire to discourage industry, economy and thrift. On the contrary, it gives to every citizen the greatest possible stimulus to honest toil when it promises him protection in the enjoyment of the proceeds of his labor. Property rights are most secure when human rights are respected. Democracy strives for a civilization in which every member of society will share according to his merits.

No one has a right to expect from society more than a fair compensation for the service which he renders to society. If he secures more it is at the expense of some one else. It is no injustice to him to prevent his doing injustice to another. To him who would, either through class legislation or in the absence of necessary legislation, trespass upon the rights of another the Democratic party says, "Thou shalt

Against us are arrayed a compara-tively small, but politically and finanpowerful, number who really profit by Republican policies, but with them are associated a large number who, because of their attachment to their party name, are giving their support to doctrines antagonistic to the former teachings of their own party. Republicans who used to advocate bimetallism, now try to convince themselves that the gold standard is good; Republicans who were formerly attached to the greenback are now seeking an excuse for giving national banks control of the nation's paper money; Republicans who used to boast that the Republican party was paying off the national debt, are now looking for reasons to support a perpetual and increasing debt; Republicans who formerely abhorred a trust, now beguile themselves with the delusion that there are good trusts and bad trusts, while in their minds the line between the two is becoming more and more obscure; Republicans who in times past congratulated the country upon the small expense of our standing army are now making light of the objections which are urged against a large increase in the permanent military establishment; Republicans who gloried in our independence when the nation was less powerful now look with favor upon a foreign alliance; Republicans who three years ago who condemned "forcible annexation" as immoral and even criminal, are now sure that it is both immoral and criminal to oppose forcible

POLICY IN THE PHILIPPINES.

Republicans Charged with Not Meeting the Great Issue Squarely. For a fime Republican leaders were

inclined to deny to opponents the right to criticise the Philippine policy of the | have even dared to claim Jefferson as administration, but upon investigation a supporter of their policy. Jefferson they found that both Lincoln and Clay asserted and exercised the right to criticise a president during the progress of the Mexican war. Instead of meeting the issue boldly, and submitting a clear and positive plan for dealing with | the mind of every American, it is that the Philippine question, the Republic- w should have nothing to do with conan convention adopted a platform, the larger part of which was devoted to is not in our principles; it is inconsistboasting and self-congraulation. ent with our government." The forci-· · · But they shall not be permit- ble annexation of territory to be govted to evade the stupendous and far- erned by arbitrary power, differs as reaching issue which they have deliberately brought into the arena of poli- to be built up into states as a mon-

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the struggling patriots of Cuba, the land which can be settled by American propriety of a colonial policy opposisenate a treaty which recognized the independence of Cuba but provided for the cession of the Philippine islands to the United States, the menace of imperialism became so apparent that many preferred to reject the treaty er than take the chance of correcting the errors of the treaty by the independent action of this country.

I was among the number of those who believed it better to ratify the treaty and end the war, release the volunteers, remove the excuse for war expenditures, and then give to the Philippines the independence which might be forced from Spain by a new treaty. In view of the criticism which my action aroused in some quarters I take this occasion to restate the reasons given at that time. I thought it safer to trust the American people to give independence to the Filipinos than to trust the accomplishment of that purpose to diplomacy wth an unfriendly nation. Lincoln embodied an argument In the question when he asked: "Can aliens make treaties easier than friends can make laws?" I believe that we are now in a better position to wage a successful contest against imperialism than we would have been had the treaty been rejected. With the treaty ratified, a clean cut issue is presented between a government by consent and a government by force, and imperial ists must bear the responsibility for all that happens until the question is settled. If the treaty had been rejected the opponents of imperialism would have been held responsible for any international complications which might have arisen before the ratification of

another treaty. But whatever difference of opinion may have existed as to the best method of opposing the colonial policy there never was any difference as to the great importance of the question, and there is no difference now as to the course to be pursued. The title of Spain being extinguished we were at liberty to deal with the Filipinos according to American principles. The Bacon resolution, introduced a month future status of the Filipino. Is he to but as some deny the application of cured," says Rev. A A. Power, of pefore hostilities broke out at Manila, promised independence to the Filipinos | bring into the body politic eight or ten | of place to quote the opinion of othon the same terms that Rwas promised to the Cubans. I supported this resolution and believe that its adoption prior to the breaking out of hostilities would have prevented bloodshed, and that its adoption at any subsequent time would have ended hostilities.

MUST EXPECT FILIPINO REVOLT. Our Whole History Encouragement for

Their Resistance.

If it is right for the United States to hold the Philippine islands permanently and imitate European empires in the government of colonies the Republican party ought to state its position and defend it, but it must expect the subject races to protest against such a policy and to resist to the extent of their ability. The Filipinos do not need any encouragement from Americans now living. Our whole history has been an encouragement, not only to the Filipinos but to all who are denied a voice in their own government. If the Republicans are prepared to censure all who have used language calculated to make the Fili-

pinos hate foreign domination let them condemn the speech of Patrick Henry. test against government without con-When he uttered that passionate appeal, "Give me liberty or give me death," he expressed a sentiment which of the Republican party differ from the still achoes in the hearts of men. Let position taken by the English governthem censure Jefferson, * * * Washington, * * * Lincoln. * * Some one has said that a truth once spoken can never be recalled. * * * But if it were possible to obliterate that the colonists should have the large every word written or spoken in defense of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence a war of conquest would still leave its legacy of perpetual hatred, for it was God himself who placed in every human heart

the love of liberty. He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would in thir own affairs. welcome a foreign master. Lincoln said that the safety of this nation was not heritage of all men, in all lands, evmen that they could not destroy this spirit without planting the seeds of

despotism at their own doors. Those who would have this nation enter upon a career of empire must consider not only the effect of imperialism on the Filipinos, but they must also calculate its effect upon our own nation. We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philippines without weakening that principle here. Even now we are beginning to see the paralyzing influence of imperialism. Heretofore, this nation has been prompt to express its sympathy with those who were fighting for civil liberty. . . But now when a war is in progress in South Africa which must result in the extension of the monarchial idea or in the triumph of a republic, the advocate of imperialism in this country dare not say a word in behalf of the Boers.

EXPANSION IS NOT IMPERIALISM. Jefferson Quoted to Show That Conquest

Is Un-American. Our opponents, conscious of the weakness of their cause, seek to confuse imperialism with expansion, and spoke so freely and used language with such precision that no one can be ignorant of his views. On one occasion he declared: "If there be one principle more deeply rooted than any other in quest." And again he said: "Conquest much from the acquisition of territory

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tics. When the president, supported archy differs from a democracy. The by a practically unanimous vote of the Democratic party does not oppose exhouse and senate, entered upon a war pansion, when expansion enlarges the with Spain for the purpose of aiding area of the republic and incorporates

country, without regard to party, ap- citizens, or adds to our population peoplauded. Although the Democrats rec- ple who are willing to become citiognized that the administration would zens and are capable of discharging necessarily gain a political advantage their duties as such. The acquisition from the conduct of a war which, in of the Louisiana territory, Florida, th every nature of the case, must soon | Texas, and other tracts which have end in a complete victory, they vied been secured from time to time, enwith the Republicans in the support larged the republic, and the constituwhich they gave to the president, tion followed the flag into the new ter-When the war was over and the Re- ritory. It is now proposed to sieze uppublican leaders began to suggest the on distant territory already more densely populated than our own countion at once manifested itself. When try and to force upon the people a govthe president finally laid before the ernment for which there is no warrant in our constitution or our laws.

If we have an imperial policy we must have a large standing army as its natural and necessary complement. . . That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended and risk the ills that might follow rath- by the Republican leaders is not a mere matter of conjecture, but a matter of fact. . . In 1896 the army contained about 25,000 men. Within two years the president asked for four times that many, and a Republican house of representatives complled with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed and no country was at war with the United States.

A large standing army is not only a pecuniary burden to the people and, if accompanied by compulsory service, constant source of irritation, but it is ever a menace to a Republican form of government. The army is the personification of force, and militarism will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. The government which relies for its defense upon its citizens, is more likely to be just than one which has at call a large body of professional soldiers. A small standing army and a well equipped and well disciplined state militia are sufficient in ordinary times, and in an emergency the nation should in the future as in the past place its dependence upon the volunteers who come from all occupations at their country's call and return to productive labor when their services are no longer required-men who fight when the country needs fighters and work when the country needs workers.

FUTURE STATUS OF THE FILTPINO. What Are We to Do with Him Now That

We Have Him? The Republican platform assumes that the Philippine islands will be retained under American sovereignty, and we have a right to demand of the Republican leaders a discussion of the million Asiatics, so different from us in race and history that amalgamation is impossible? Are they to share with us in making the laws and shaping the destiny of this nation? No Republican of prominence has been bold enough to advocate such a proposition. The Mc-Enery resolution, adopted by the senate immediately after the ratification of the treaty, expressly negatives this idea. The Democratic platform describes the situation when it says that the Filipinos cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization. Who will dispute it? And what is the alternative? If the Filipino is not to be a citizen, shall we make him a subject? On that question the Democratic platform speaks with emphasis. It declares that the Filipino cannot be a subject without endangering our form of government. A republic can have no subjects. * *

The Republican platform says that the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and our duties shall be secured to them (the Filipinos) by law." This is a strange doctrine for a government which owes its very existence to the men who offered their lives as a prosent and taxation without representation. In what respect does the position ment in 1776? Did not the English government promise a good government to the colonists? * * * Did not the English government promise est measure of self-government consistant with their welfare and English duties? * * * The Republican party has accepted the European idea and planted itself upon ground taken by George III, and by every ruler who distrusts the capacity of the people for self-government or denies them a voice

The Republican platform promises that some measure of self-government in its fleets, its armies or its forts, but is to be given to the Filipinos by law; in the spirit which prizes liberty the but, even this pledge is not fulfilled. · · · Why does the Republican erywhere; and he warned his country- party hesitate to legislate upon the Philippine question? Because a law would disclose the radical departure from history and precedent contemplated by those who control the Republican party. The storm of protest which greeted the Porto Rican bill was an indication of what may be expected when the American people are brought face to face with legislation upon this

> If the Porto Ricans, who welcome annexation, are to be denied the guarantee of our constitution, what is to be the lot of the Filipinos, who resisted our authority? If secret influences could compel a disregard of our plain duty toward friendly people, living near our shores, what treatment will those same influences provide for unfriendly people 7,000 miles away? If. la this country where the people have the right to vote, Republican leaders dare not take the side of the people against the great monopolles which have grown up within the last few years, how can they be trusted to protect the Filipinos from the corporations which are waiting to exploit the

> islands? Is the sunlight of full citizenship to be enjoyed by the people of the United States, and the twilight of semi-citizenship endured by the people of Porto Rico, while the thick darkness of pervassalage covers the Philip-

> pines? Porto Rico tariff law asserts the doctrine that the operation of the constitution is confined to the forty-five states. The Democratic party disputes this doctrine and denounces it as repugnant to both the letter and spirit of our organic law. There is no place in our system of government for the deposit of arbitrary and irresponsible power. . .





temporary and preparatory, and the chief security a citizen of a territory has is found in the fact that he enjoys the same constitutional guarantees, and is subject to the same general laws as

a citizen of a state. Throw away this security and his rights will be violated and his interests sacrificed at the demand of those who have political influence. This is the evil of the colonial system, no matter by what nation it is applied.

OUR TITLE TO THE ISLANDS.

Were the People Thrown in with the Oriental Real Estate? What is our title to the Philippine islands? Do we hold them by treaty or by conquest?' Did we buy them or did we take them? Did we purchase the people? If not, how did we secure title to them? Were they thrown in with the land? Will the Republicans say that inanimate earth has value, and when that earth is molded by the Divine Hand and stamped with the likeness of the Creator it becomes a fixture and passes with the soil? If governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed it is impossible to secure title to people, either by force or by purchase. We could extinguish Spain's title by treaty, but if we hold title we must hold it by some method consistent with our ideas of government. When we made allies of the Filipinos and armed them to buy Spain's title we are not innocent purchasers. But even if we had not disputed Spain's title she could transfer no greater title than she had, and her title was based on force alone. We cannot defend such a title, but as Spain gave us a quit claim deed we can henorably turn the property over to the party in possession. Whether any American official gave the Fillpinos formal assurance of independence is not material. There can be no doubt that we accepted and utilized the services of the Filipinos, and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were fighting for their own independence, and I submit that history furnishes no example of turpitude baser than ours if we now substitute our yoke for the Spanish yoke. Let us consider briefly, the reasons

which have been given in support of an imperialistic policy. Some say that it is our duty to hold the Philippine islands. But duty is not an argument; it is a conclusion. To ascertain what our duty is in any emergency we must apply well settled and generally accepted principles. It is our duty to avoid stealing, no matter whether the thing to be stolen is of great or little value. Every one recognizes the obligation imposed upon individuals to observe both the human and moral law: be a citizen or a subject? Are we to | those laws to nations it may not be out | ers. Jefferson, than whom there is no higher political authority, said: "I had two or three bottles of medicine know of but one code of morality for from the doctor. He used them for men, whether acting singly or col- three or four days without relief, lectively." Franklin, whose learning, wisdom and virtue are a part of the priceless legacy bequeathed to us from the revolutionary days, expressed the same idea in even stronger language when he said: "Justice is as strictly morning. He said his bowels were due between neighbor nations as be-

tween neighbor citizens. * * *" was true, as declared in the resolutions of intervention, that the Cubans "are and of right ought to be free and independent" (language taken from the equally true that the Filipinos "are him one dose; told him to take and of right ought to be free and independent." * * , Who will draw a line between the natural rights of the Cubans and the Filipinos? Who will say that the former has a right to liberty and that the latter has no rights which we are bound to respect? And if the Filipinos "are and of right ought to be free and incependent" what right have we to force our government upon them without their consent?

TH" ARGUMENT OF OBLIGATION, Also the Contention That Filipinos Cannot Govern Themselves.

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nently maintain a government in the Philippine islands, I reply, first, that the highest obligation of this nation is to be true to itself. No obligation to any particular nation, or to all nations combined, can require the abandonment of our theory of government and the substitution of doctrines against which our whole national life has been a protest. And, second, that our obligations to the Filipinos who inhabit the islands are greater than any obligation which we can owe to foreigners

who have a temporary residence in the Philippines or desire to trade there. It is argued by some that the Filipinos are incapable of self-government and that therefore we owe it to the world to take control of them. Admiral Dewey, in an official report to the navy department, declared the Filipines more capable of self-government than the Cubans, and said that he based his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But I will not rest the case upon the relative advancement of the Filipinos. Henry Clay, in defending the rights of the people of South America to self-government, said: "It is the doctrine of thrones that man is too ignorant to govern himself." * * * I contend that it is to arraign the disposition of Providence Himself to suppose that He has created beings incapable of governing themselves, and to be trampled on by kings. Self-government is the natural government of

Clay was right. * * * Once admit that some people are capable of self-government and that others are not, and that the capable people have a right to seize upon and govern the incapable, and you make force-brute force-the only foundation of government and invite the reign of the despot. Republicans ask: "Shall we haul down the flag that floats over our dead in the Philippines?" The same question might have been asked when the American flag floated over Chapultepec and was ed over the dead who fell there; but the tourist who visits the City of Mexico finds there a national cemetery owned by the United States and cared for by an American citizen. Our flag still floats over our dead, but when the treaty with Mexico was signed American authority withdrew to the Rio Grande. * * * "Can we not govern colonies?" we are asked. The question is not what we can do. but what we ought to do. This nation (Continued on Second Page.)

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