Democracy's Great Expositor on the Parmount Issue of 1900.

NOTIFICATION

DEMOCRACY AGAINST PLUTOCRACY

Republican Party Dominated by Those Induences Which Constantly Tend to Substitute the Worship of Mammon for the Protection of the flights of Man-**Property Rights Most Secure When** Mamas Rights Are Most Respected.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the Notification Committee: 1 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 femocratic platform. It may not be be out of place, however, to submit a few observations at this time upon the gen-eral character of the contest before us and upon the question which is declared to be of paramount importance in this

When I say that the contest of 1900 tors at once sought to lay the blame upon those who had delayed the ratification is a contest between democracy on the one hand and plutocracy on the other I do not mean to say that all our opof the war, the same republicans have poments have deliberately chosen to give to organized wealth a predominating in-fluence in the affairs of the government. accused the opponents of imperialism of giving encouragement to the mipinos. This is a cowardly evastion of the responsibility If it is right for the United States to but I do ansert that on the important asues of the day the republican party a dominated by those influences which constantly tend to substitute the worship and imitate European empires in the govof mammon for the protection of the ernment of colonies, the republican party rights of man.

in 1859 Lincoln said that the republican party believed in the man and the dollar, but that in case of conflict it beleved in the man before the dollar. This is the proper relation which should exbetween the two. Man, the handiwork of God, comes first; money, the handwork of man, is of inferior im-If the republicans are prepared to cen-sure all who have used language calportance. Man is the master, money the ervant, but upon all important questions today republican legislation tends to make money the master and man the Markin n1.

The maxim of Jefferson, "Equal rights to all and special privileges to nome." and the doctrine of Lincoln that this sentiment which still echoes in the hearts should be a government "of the people, by the people and for the r-ople," being disregarded and the in rumentali-ties of government are bei , used to advance the interests of those who are would hold their fellows in political bondage. Let them censure Washington, who n a position to secure favors from the between liberty and slavery. Or, if the statute of limitations has run against the overnment.

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 stimulds to honest toll when it promises him protection in the mjoymen of the proceeds of his labor. roperty rights are most secure when buman rights are most respected. Democevery member of society will share according to his merits.

No one has a right to expect from fort). etclety more than a fair compensation 51 W'21 for the service which he renders to solegacy of

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complications which might have arisen before the ratification of another treaty. But, whatever differences of opinion may have existed as to the best method of opposing a colonial policy, there never was any difference as to the great im-portance 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 the Filipinos, and that when we did so we had full knowledge that they were we had full knowledge that they were fighting for their own independence, and I submit history furnishes no example I submit history 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 at imperialistic policy. Some say that it is our duty to hold the Philippine islands But duty is not an argument; it is a sonjecture, but a matter of fact. In his message of December 5, 1898, the presi-ient asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1896 the army contained about 25,000. Within two conclusion. To ascertain what our duty is, in any emergency, we must apply well settled and generally accepted principles settled and generally accepted principles It is our duty to avoid stealing, no mat-ter whether the thing to be stolen is of great or little value. It is our duty to avoid killing a human being, no matter where the human being lives or to what years the president asked for four times hat many, and a republican house of representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed. and when no country was at war with the United States. If such an army is race or class he belongs. Everyone recogn.zes the obligation imposed upon in dividuals to observe both the human and iemanded when an imperial policy is contemplated, but not openly avowed, what may be expected if the people encourage ine republican party by endorsing its policy at the polls? A large standing army is not only a pecuniary burden to the people and, if accompanied by comthe moral law, but as some deny the application of those laws to nations, it may not be out of place to quote the opinior of others. Jefferson, than whom there is higher political authority, said: I know of but one code of morality no pulsory service, a constant source of irrilation, but it is ever a menace to a re-publican form of government. The army

for men, whether acting singly or collectively. Franklin, whose learning, wisdom and

the personification of force, and milivirtue are a part of the priceless legacy has taken. larism will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of bequeathed to us from the revolutionary ur young men from the arts of peace to days, expressed the same idea in ever stronger language when he said: the science of war. The government which relies for its defense upon its citi-tens, is more likely to be just than one "Justice is as strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor which has at call a large body of pro-fessional soldiers. A small standing army citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders in a gang as robber when he plunders in a gang at argument to say that for more than a when single; and the nation that makes century this nation has been a world and a well equipped and well disciplined an unjust war is only a great gang." Men may dare to do in crowds what state militia are sufficient at ordinary limes, and in an emergency the nation they would not dare to do as individshould in the future, as in the past, place uais, but the moral character of an aci ts dependence upon the volunteers who is not determined by the number of those the human race than all the other naome from all occupations at their counwho join it. Force can defend a right, trys' call and return to productive labor but force has never yet created a right. If it was true, as declared in the reso-lutions of intervention, that the Cubani "are and of right ought to be free and indpendent" (language taken from the Declaration of Independence) it is equally true that the Cubani "are and of right ought to be free and indpendent" (language taken from the Declaration of Independence) it is equally true that the Cubani when their services are no longer rejuired-men who fight when the country leeds fighters and work when the counry needs workers. The republican platform assumes that the Philippine islands will be retained true that Filipinos "are and of right ought to be free and independent." The right of the Cubans to freedom was not under American sivereignty, and we have a right to demand of the republican leadthe Filipino. Is he to be a citizen or a discussion of the future status of based upon their proximity to the United the nineteenth century. It has made this States, nor upon the language which nation conspicuous among the nations they spoke, nor yet upon the race of and given it a place in history such as races to which they belonged. Congrest no other nation has ever enjoyed. Noth-by a practically unanimous vote declared ing has been able to check the onward that the principles enunciated at Phila. march of this idea. I am not willing subject? Are we to bring into the body politic eight or ten million Asiatics, so different from us in race history that amalgamation is impossible? Are they to share with us in making the laws and delphia in 1776 were still alive and ap- that this nation shall cast aside the om-plicable to the Cubans. Who will draw nipotent weapon of truth to seize again republican of prominence has been bold a line between the natural rights of the weapon of physical warfare. I would the Cubans and the Filipinos? Who will not exchange the glory of this republic nough to advocate such a proposition. The McEnery resolution, adopted by the the Cubans and the Filipinos? Who will not exchange the glory of this republic say that the former has a right to lib- for the glory of all the empires that erty and that the latter has no rights have risen and fallen since time began. senate immediately after the ratification of the treaty, expressly negatives this idea. The democratic platform describes which we are bound to respect? And, The permanent chairman of t last if the Filipinos "are and of right ought republican national convention pl nted to be free and independent," what right the pecuniary argument in all its baldthe situation when it says that the Filipinos cannot be citizens without endanhave we to force our government upon ness, when he said: cering our civilization. Who will dispute them without their consent? Before out "We make no hypocritical pretenses of duty can be ascertained, their rights being interested in the Philippines solely must be determined, and when their on account of others. While we regard 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 squal emphasis. It declares that the Filiino cannot be a subject without endanering our government. A republic can have no subjects. A subject is possible only in a government resting upon force; he is unknown in a government deriving ts just powers from the consent of the long to others? Can it be our duty to and open new markets." kill those who, following the example This is the commercial argument. It is The republican platform says that "the largest measure of self-gov-ernment consistent with their welfare of

and our duties shall be secured to them the Filipinos) by law." This is a strange enough to fight for it? foctrine for a government which owes 's very existence to the men who offered spoken in defense of the principles set ment without consent and taxation with-orth. . . . Declaration of Independence, but representation. In what respect does lives as a protest against governwhen once destroyed cannot be restored-will be so sacred that it will never be Franklin replied: taken except when necessary to punish "To me it seems that neither the ob-

Some argue that American rule in the Philippine islands will result in the bet-ter education of the Filipinos. Be not ter education of the Filipinos. Be not deceived. If we expect to maintain a colonial policy, we shall not find it to our advantage to educate the people. The educated Filipinos are now in revolt against us, and the most ignorant ones have made the least resistance to our domination. If we are to govern them without their concept and give them no without their consent and give them no voice in determining the taxes which they must pay, we dare not educate them, lest they learn to read the Declaration of Independence and the constitu-tion of the United States and mock us for our inconsistency.

The principal arguments, however, advanced by those who enter upon a de-fense of imperialism, are:

First-That we must improve the present opportunity to become a world power and enter into international politics. Second-That our commercial interests in the Philippine islands and in the Orient make it necessary for us to hold

the islands permatently. Third-That the spread of the Christian religion will be facilitated by a colonial policy.

Fourth-That there is no honrable retreat from the position which the nation

the arst argument is addressed to the nation's price, and the second to the nation's pocketbook. The third is intended for the church member and the fourth for the partisan.

It is a sufficient answer to the first power. For ten decades it has been the most potent influence in the world. Not only has it been a world power, but it has done more to affect the politics of tions of the world combined. Because our Declaration of Independence was proother constitutions have been adopted. The growth of the principle of self-government, planted on American soil, has been the over-shadowing political fact of

rights are once determined, it is as much the welfare of those people as a sacred our duty to respect those rights as it trust, we regard the welfare of the was the duty of Spain to respect the American people first. We see our duty rights of the people of Cuba or the duty to curselves as well as to others. We of England to respect the rights of the believe in trade expansion. By every American colonists. Rights never con-flict; duties never clash. Can it be out of government and constitution, we mean duty to usurp political rights which be-to stimulate the expansion of our trade

our forefathers, love liberty well based upon the mercry that war can be ough to fight for it? rightly waged for pecuniary advantage. Some poet has described the terror and that it is profitable to purchase trade which overcame a soldier, who in the by force and violence. Franklin denied midst of battle discovered that he had both of these propositions. When Lord slain his brother. It is written "All ye Howe asserted that the acts of parlia-are brethren." Let us hope for the comment, which brought on the revolution, ing of the day when human life—which were necessary to prevent American

from Heaven to avenge the insult; but the Master rebuked them and said: "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of; for the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them." Suppose He had said: "We will thrash them until they understand who we are.' how different would have been the his-tory of Christianity! Compare, if you tory of Christianity! Compare, if you will, the swaggering, bullying, brutal doc-trine of imperialism with the golden rule and the commandment, "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Love, not force, was the weapon of the Nazarene; sacrifice for others, not the epioltation of them, was His method of reaching the human heart. A missionary recently told me that the Stars and Stripes once saved his life because his assailants recognized our flag as a flag that had no blood upon it. Let it be known that our missionaries are seeking souls instead of sovereignty; let it be known that instead of being the advance guard of conquering armies, they are going forth to help and to uplift, having their loins girt about with truth and their feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace, wearing the breast-plate of righteousness and carrying the sword of the Snirit Let it he known sword of the Spirit. Let it be known that they are citizens of a nation which

respects the rights of the citizens of other nations as carefully as it protects the rights of its own citizens and the welcome given to our missionaries will be more cordial than the welcome extend-

ed to the missionaries of any other nation. The argument made by some that was unfortunate for the nation that had anything to do with the Philippine islands, but that the naval victory at Manila made the permanent acquisition of those islands necessary is also un-sound. We won a naval victory at San-tiago, but that did not compel us to hold Cuba. The shedding of American blood in the Philippine islands does not make it imperative that we should retain possession forever; American blood was shed at San Juan hill and El Caney, and yet the president has promised the Cubans independence. The fact that the American flag floats over Manila does not compel us to exercise perpetual sovereignty over the islands; the American flag waves over Havana today, but the presi-dent has promised to haul it down when the flag of the Cuban republic is ready to rise in its place. Better a thousand times that our flag in the Orient gave way to a flag representing the idea of self-government than that the flag of this republic should become the flag of an empire.

There is an easy, honest, honorable solution of the Philippine question. It is set forth in the democratic platform, and it is submitted with confidence to the American people. This plan I unre-servedly endorse. If elected, I will convene congress in extraordinary session as soon as inaugurated and recommend an immediate declaration of the nation's purpose, first, to establish a stable form of government in the Philippine islands, just as we are now establishing a stable form of government in Cuba; second, to give independence to the Filipinos just

as we have promised to give independ-ence to the Cubans; third, to protect the Filipinos from outside interference while they work out their destiny, just as we have protected the republics of Central and South America and are, by the Mon-roe doctrine, pledged to protect Cuba. An European protectorate often results in the exploitation of the ward by the guardian. An American protectorate gives to the nation protected the ad-vantage of our strength, without making it the victim of our greed. For threequarters of a century the Monroe doc-trine has been a shield to neighboring republics, and yet it has imposed no

August 9, 1900

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elety. If he secures more it is at the It is no inexpense of someone else. fustice to him to prevent his doing in-fustice to another. To him who would, 11111 through class legislation or in the absence of necessary legislation, tres-pass upon the rights of another the essocratic party says, "Thou shalt not." Against us are arrayed a comparatively small but politically and finan-cially powerful number who really profit by republican policies; b . with them are associated a large num who, because of their attachment to r party name, are giving their support docar nes aningonistic to the former teachings heir own party. Republicans who used to advocate bimetallism now try to convince themselves that the gold stanuard is good; republicans who were formerly situened to the greenback are now sock ing an excuse for giving nutions harks sontrol of the distict's paper money's re-publicans who used to boast that the reoblican party was paying off the nalonal debi are now looking for reasons a support a perpetual and increasing febt; republicans who formerly abiorred a trust now beguile themselves with the feiusion that there are good trusts and and trusts, while in their minds, the fine between the two is becoming more and more obscure; republicans who times past, congratuiated the country upon the small expense of our standing trmy, are now making sight of the objecsions which are urged against a mrge normanent military estabiishment; republicans who giorled in our independence when the fation was powerful, now look with favor upon Sorvign alliance; republicans who three plars ago condemned "forcible annexation" as immoral and even criminal are now sure that it is both immoral and griminal to oppose forcible annexation that partisenship has already blinded to present dangers is certain; how many arge a porilon of the republican purty san be drawn over to the new policies remains to he seen.

For a time republican leaders were inclined to deny to opponents the right to criticize the Philippine policy of the ediministration, but upon investigation they found that both Lincoln and City asserted and energied the right to crititime a president during the progress of the Mexican

instead of 1 ng the issue boldly and submitting ar and positive plan for dealing with Philippine quesilon the republican one tion adopted a platthe larger part of which was deweeled to housting and self-congratua-\$5000.

In attempting to press economic ques-Hons upon the country to the excluof those which involve the very structure f saur government the r can leaders evidences of eir abandonment of the earlier s of the party and of their corr serviency to pe-

But they shall not be permitted to wade the stupendous and far-reaching sue which they have deliberately rought into the arena of politics. When the president, supported by a practice .y smanimous vote of the house and second EStered upon a war with Spain for the buspase of miding the strugging patriots d Cubs, the country, without regard to party, applauded. Although the demostats recognized that the administrat on would necessarily gain a political advan-iage from the conduct of a war which very nature of the case must and in a complete victory, they vied with the republicans in the support which they gave the president. When the war was over and the republican leaders began is suggest the propriety of a colonial opposition at once manifested it self. When the president finally laid be-fore the senate a treaty which recog-sized the independence of Cuba, but pro-vided for the cession of the Philippine dands to the United States, the menace f'imperialism became so apparent that many preferred to reject the treaty and the ills that might follow rather 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 ralify the treaty and end the war, release the volunteers. emove the excuse for war expenditures and then give to the Filipinos the independence which might be forced from

nquest would shil leave its the position of the republican party diaer rpetual hatred, for it was from the position taken by the English God Himsen who placed in every numan government in 1776? Did not the Engl sh heart the love of liberty. He never made ernment promise a good government a race of people so low in the scale of the colonists? What king ever promcivilization or intelligence that it would sed a bad government to his people : Did welcome a foreign master. not the English government promise that the colonists should have the largest Those who would have this nation enter

upon a career of empire must consider not only the effect of imperialism on measure of self-government ith their welfare and English duties? the Filipinos, but they must also calid not the Span sh government promculate its effects upon our own nation to give to We cannot repudiate the principle of self-government in the Philipp nes without wessening that principle here. measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and Spanish duties?

be pursued. The title of Spain being extinguished, we were at liberty to deal with the Filipinos according to American prin-

cip.es. The Bacon resolution, introduced a month before hostilities broke out at Manuz, promised independence to the Filipinos on the same terms that it was

promised to the Cubans. I supported this resolution and believe that its adop-

the prior to the breaking out of hos-thickes would have prevented bloodshed and that its adoption at any subsequent time would have ended hostilities.

If the treaty had been rejected con-

siderable time would have necessarily elapsed before a new treaty could have been agreed upon and ratified, and dur-

ing that time the question would have been agitating the public mind. If the bacon resolution had been adopted by

the senate and carried out by the presi-dent, either at the time of the ratification

of the treaty or at any time afterward,

it would have taken the question of im-perialism out of politics and left the American people free to deal with their

domestic problems. But the resolution

was defeated by the vote of the republic-

an vice president, and from that time

to this a republican congress has refused

to take any action whatever in the mat-

When hostilities broke out at Manila

republican speakers and republican edi-

of the treaty, and, during the progress

the Philippine islands permanently

ought to state its position and defend it,

but it must expect the subject races to

Fillpinos 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.

culated to make the Filipinos hate for-

eign domination let them condemn the speech of Patrick Henry. When he ut-

tered that passionate appeal, "Give me

liberty or give me death," he expressed

of men. Let them censure Jefferson; of

all the statesmen of history none have

used words so offensive to those who

declared that the colonists must choose

ington, let them censure Lincoin, whose Gettysburg speech will be quoted in de-

fense of popular government when the

bomeone has said that a truth once

spoken can never be recalled. It goes on

and on, and no one can set a limit to its ever-widening influence. But if it were

are forgotten.

EDd.

ernment.

Henry and Jefferson and Wash-

possible to obliterate every word written their

cates of force and conquest

shaping the destiny of this nation?

governed.

protest against such a policy and to re-sist to the extent of their ability. The

ter.

whole difference between a mon-Lincoln said that the safety of this archy and a republic may be summed nation was not in its fleets, its armles, its forts, but in the spirit which prizes p in one sentence. In a monarchy, the ing gives to the people what he believes liberty as the heritage of all men i be a good government; in a republic lanus, everywhere, and he warned his countrymen that they could not destroy he people secure for themselves what hey believe to be a good government. The resublican party has accepted the this spirit without planting the seeds of ism at their gwn doors. idea and planted itself upon

Even now we are beginning to see the ground taken by George III. and by ry ruler who distrusts the capacity paralyzing influence of imperialism. ceretofore, this nation has been prompt the people for self-government or to express its sympathy with those who were fighting for civil liberty. While our enies them a voice in their own affairs. The republican platform promises that sphere of activity has been limited to the e measure of self-government is to western nemisphere, our sympathies have pledge is not fulfilled. Nearly six-months claused after the ratification not been bounded by the seas. We have felt it due to ourselves and to the world, as well as to those who were struggling te treaty before the adpournment of for he right to govern themselves, to and dealing with the Philippine situa-the will of the president has been and the interest which our people from the date of their own independence felt in every contest between may law in the Philippine islands over the American authority extuman rights and arbitrary power Street, Dr -squarters of a century ago, when Why does the republican party our nation was small, the striggity itate to legislate upon the Philiparoused our people, and Webster question? Because a law would dis-the radical departure from history precedent contemplated by these who my gave eloquent expression to the desire for Greenan independence. In 1895, all parties manifested a rolest which greeted the Porto Rican lively interest in the success of the Cubans, but now when a war is in progress was an ind cation of what may be in South Africa, which must result in an cted when the American people are tens or of the monarchial idea, or in the ought face to face with legislation on this subject If the Porto Ricans, triumph of a republic, the advocates of Imperialism in this country dare not say welcomed annexation, are to be dea word in behalf of the Boers. Sympathy the guarantees of our constitution, is to be the lot of the Filfpinos, for the Boers does not arise from any unfriendliness toward England; the resisted our authority? If secret American people are not unfriendly tofuences could compel a disregar, of r plain duty toward friendly people, ing near our shores, what treatment ward the people of any nation. This sym-pathy is due to the fact that, as stated in our platform, we believe in the prinwill those same influences provide for ciples of self-government and reject, as anfriendly people 7,000 miles away? If, did our forefathers, the claims of monthis country, where the people have archy. If this nation surrenders its belief in the universal application of the right to vote, republican leaders dare not take the side of the people the principles set forth in the Declaraagainst the great monopolies which have grown up within the last few years, how

tion of Independence, it will lose the prestige and influence which it has enjoyed among the nations as an exponent of popular government. Our opponents conscious of the weak-ness of their cause, seek to confuse im-

Is the sunlight of full citizenship to be enjoyed by the people of the United States, and the twilight of semi-citizenrialism with expansion, and have even dared to ciaim Jefferson as a supporter of ship endured by the people of Porto their policy. Jefferson spoke so freely and used language with such precision netval vasselage every the Policy petual vassalage covers the Ph'lippines? that no one can be ignorant of his views. The Porto Rico tariff law asserts the On one occasion he declared: "If there doctrine that the operation of the conbe one principle more deeply rooted than stitution is confined to the fort -- five any other in the mind of every Ameristates. can" it is that we should have nothing to do with conquest." And again he said "Conquest is not in our printhis doctrine and denounces it as repugnant to both the letter and spirit of our organic law. There is no place in our cip =: it is inconsistent with our gov-

system of government for the deposit of arbitrary and irresponsible power. The forcible annexation of territory the leaders of a great party should claim for any president or congress the right to be governed by arburary power differs as much from the acquisition of territory to treat millions of people as mere "posto be built up into states as a monarchy sessions" and deal with them unrediffers from a democracy. The demostrained by the constitution of the bill cratic party does not oppose expansion, of rights shows how far we have already expansion enlarges the area of the departed from the ancient landmark republic and incorporates land which can and indicates what may be expected if se settled by American citizens, or adus this nation deliberately enters upon a population people who are willcareer of empire. The territorial form become citizens and are capable of government is temporary and preparaf discharging their duties as such. The equisition of the Louisiana territory, tory, and the chief security a citizen of a territory has is found in the fact that orida, Texas and other tracts which he enjoys the same constitutional guarhave been secured from time to time, antees and is subject to the same genenlarged the republic and the constitueral laws as the citizen of a state. Take tion followed the flag into the new ter-ritory. It is now proposed to seize upaway this security and his rights will violated and his interests sacrificed on distant territory, already more densely at the demand of those who have politpopulated than our own country, and to Ical influence. This is the evil of the free upon the people a government, for colonial system, no matter by what nawhich there is no warrant in our contion it is applied. What is our title to the Philippine stitution or our laws. Even the argu-ment that this earth belongs to those

islands? Do we hold them by treaty or by conquest? Did we buy them or who desire to cultivate it, and who have the physical power to acquire it, cannot be invoked to justify the appropriation of the Philippine islands by the United did we take them? Did we purchase the people? If not, how did we secure title to them? Were they thrown in with States. If the islauds were uninhabited the land? Will the republicans say that inanimate earth has value, but that when American citizens would not be willing to go there and till the soil. The white that earth is molded by the divine hand race will not live so near the equator. and stamped with the likeness of the

can they be trusted to protect the Fill-

pinos from the corporations which are

The democratic party disputes

That

waiting to exploit the islands?

a crime already committed, or to prevent taining nor retaining of any trade, how a crime about to be committed.

valuable soever, is an object for which If it is said that we have assumed be men may justly spill each other's blood; fore the world obligations which make that the true and sure means of extend-It necessary for us to permanently main- ing and securing commerce are the goodtain a government in the Phil ppine isl- ness and cheapness of commodities, and ands, I reply first, that the highest ob- that the profits of no trade can ever be consistent ligation of this nation is to be true to equal to the expense of compelling it and itself. No obligation to any particular holding it by fleets and armies. I con-nations, or to all the nations combined, sider this war against us, therefore, as the Cubans the largest can require the abandonment of our both unjust and unwise. theory of government and the substitu- I place the philosophy

tion of doctrines against which our whole against the sordid doctrine of those who national life has been a protest. And, would put a price upon the head of an second, that our obligation to the Fili- American soldier and justify a war of pinos, who inhabit the islands, is greater conquest upon the ground that it will than any obligation which we can own pay. The democratic party is in favor of to foreigners who have a temporary resi- the extension of trade. It would extend lence in the Philippines or desire to our trade by every legitimate and peace-rade there. fol means; but it is not willing to make It is argued by some that the Filipines merchandise of human blood. dence trade there.

are incapable of self-government and But a war of conquest is as unwise as that therefore we owe it to the world it is dangerous. A harbor and coaling to take control of them. Admiral Dewey, station in the Philippines would answer in an official report to the navy depart- every trade and military necessity and cumstance. ment, declared the Filipinos more cap- such a concession could have been seable of self-government than the Cu- cured at any time without difficulty. bans and said that he based his opinion. It is not necessary to own people in upon a knowledge of both races. But I order to trade with them. We carry on not rest the case upon the relative trade today with every part of the world, advancement of the Filipinos. Henry and our commerce has expanded more Clay, in defending the right of the peo- rabidly than the commerce of any Euf South America to self-government, ropean empire. We do not own Japan id: or China, but we trade with their people. "It is the doctrine of thrones that man We have not absorbed the republics of said:

is too ignorant to govern himself. Their Central and South America, but we partisans assert his incapacity in refer- trade with them. It has not been neces-ence to all nations; if they cannot com- sary to have any political connections mand universal assent to the proposition, with Canada or the nations of Europe it is then demanded to particular nations; in order to trade with them. Trade and our pride and our presumption too cannot be permanently profitable unless often make converts of us. I contend that it is voluntary. When trade is secured it is to arraign the disposition of proviby force the cost of securing it and re-dence himself to suppose that He has taining it must be taken out of the created beings incapable of governing profits, and the profits are never large themselves, and to be trampled on by enough to cover the expense. Such a kings. Self-government is the natural system would never be defended but for clay was right. There are degrees of all the people, while the profits are engovernment of man.

proficiency in the art of self-govern- joyed by a few. ment, but it is a reflection upon the Cre- Imperialism would be profitable to the ator to say that he denied to any people army contractors: it would be profitable the capacity for self-government. Once to the ship owners, who would carry live admit that some people are capable of soldiers to the Philippines and bring dead self-government and that others are not soldiers back; it would be profitable to and that the capable people have a right those who would selze upon the franto selze upon and govern the incapable, chises, and it would be profitable to the and you make force-brute force-tha afficials whose salaries would be ixed only foundation of government and invite here and paid over there; but to the the reign of a despot. I am not willing farmer, to the laboring man and to the to believe that an all-wise and an all- vast majority of those engaged in other loving God created the Filipinos and then occupations, it would bring expenditure left them thousands of years helpless un-til the islands attracted the attention of Farmers and laboring men have, as a European nations. rule, small incomes and, under systems

Republicans ask: "Shall we haul down which place the tax upon consumption, the flag that floats over our dead in the pay more than their share of the ex-"hilippines"" The same question might penses of government. Thus the very peohave been asked when the American flag ple who receive least benefit from im-floated over Chapultepec and waved over perialism will be ijured most by the the dead who fell there; but the tourist military burdens which accompany it. who visits the City of Mexico finds there In addition to the evils which he and a national cemetery owned by the United the farmer share in common, the labor-States and cared for by an American ing man will be the first to suffer if Our flag still floats over our Oriental subjects seek work in the United dead, but when the treaty with Mexico States; the first to suffer if American was signed, American authority with- capital leaves our shores to employ drew to the Rio Grande, and I venture Oriental labor in the Philippines; the first the opinion that during the last fifty to suffer from the violence which the years the people of Mexico have made military spirit arouses, and the first to more progress under the stimulus of in- suffer when the methods of imperialism dependence and self-government than are applied to our own government. they would have made under a carpet- It is not strange, therefore, that the bag government held in place by bay- labor organizations have been quick to onets. The United States and Mexico, note the approach of these dangers and

friendly republics, are each stronger and prompt to protest against both militarhappier than they would have been had ism and imperialism.

the former been cursed and the latter The pecuniary argument, though more crushed by an imperialistic policy, dis-guised as "benevolent assimilation." The pecuniary argument, though more effective with certain classes, is not likely to be used so often or presented 'Can we not govern colonies?" we are with so much emphasis as the religious asked. The question is not what we can argument. If what has been termed the do, but what we ought to do. This na- "gunpowder gospel" were urged against tion can do whatever it desires to do, the Filipinos only, it would be a suffibut it must accept responsibility for what cient answer to say that a majority of If the constitution stands in the Filipinos are now members of one does. the way, the people can amend the con- branch of the Christian church; but the stitution. I repeat, the nation can do principle involved is one of much wider whatever it desires to do, but it cannot application and challenges serious conavoid the natural and legitimate results sideration, of its own conduct. The young man upon The relia

The religious argument varies in posireaching his majority can do what he tiveness from a passive belief that providence delivered the Filipinos into our He can disregard the teachings of his parents; he can trample upon all hands for their good and our glory, to that he has been taught to consider the exultation of the minister who said sacred; he can disobey the laws of the that we ought to "thrash the natives hands for their good and our glory, to state, the laws of society and the laws (Filipinos) until they understand who we of God. He can stamp failure upon his are," and that "every bullet sent, every of God. He can stamp failure upon his are," and that "every bullet sent, every the just, "is as the shining light that life and make his very existence a curse cannon shot and every flag waved means shineth more and more unto the perfect to his fellow-men, and he can bring his righteousness." day.

pecuniary burden upon us. After the Filipinos had aided us in the war against Spain, we could not honorably turn them over to their former masters; we could not leave them to be the victims of the ambitious designs of European nations, and since we do not desire to make them a part of us or to hold them as subjects, we propose the only alternative, namely, to give them independence and guard them against molestation from

without. Franklin When our opponents are unable to defend their position by argument they fall back upon the assertion that it is destiny, and insist that we must submit to it, no matter how much it violates moral epts and our principles of governobliterates the distinction between ment. right and wrong and makes individuals and nations the helpless victims of cir-

> Destiny is the subterfuge of the invertebraie, who, lacking the courage to oppose orror, seeks some plausible excuse for opporting it. Washington said that estiny of the republican form government was deeply, if not finally, staked on the eperiment entrusted to the American people. How different Washington's definition of destiny from the republican definition! The republicans say

that this nation is in the hands of destiny: Washington believed that not only the destiny of our own nation, but the destiny of the republican form of government throughout the world was entrusted to American hands. Immeasur-able responsibility! The destin yof this dic 's in the hands of its own peorep pie, and upon the success of the eperi-ment here rests the hope of humanity. No

exterior force can disturb this republic, and no foreign influence should be permitted to change its course. What the future has in store for this nation no one has authority to declare, but each individual has his own idea of the nation's mission, and he owes it to his country as well as to himself to contribute as best he may to the fulfillment

that mission. Mr. Chairman and Gentlemen of the Committee: I can never fully discharge the debt of gratitude which I owe to my countrymen for the honors which they have so generously bestowed upon me; but, sirs, whether it be my lot to occupy the high office for which the convention has named me, or to spend the remainder of my days in private life, it shall be my constant ambition and my controlling purpose to aid in realizing the high ideals those whose wisdom and courage and sacrifices brought this republic into existence.

I can conceive of a national destiny surpassing the glories of the present and the past-a destiny which meets the responsibilities of today and measures up to the possibilities of the future. Bethe foundation stones quarried by revolutionary patriots from the mountain of eternal truth-a republic applying practice and proclaiming to the

the self-evident proposition, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed with unalienable rights; that governments are instituted to secure rights, and that governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed. Behold a republic in which civil and religious liberty stimulate all to earnest endeavor and in which the law restrains every hand uplifted for a neighbor's injury-a republic in which every citizen is a sovereign, but in which no one cares to wear a crown. Behold republic standing erect while empires all around are bowed beneath the weight of their own armaments-a republic whose flag is loved while other flags are only feared. Behold a republic increasing in population, in wealth, in strength and in influence, solving the problems of civili-zation and hastening the coming of an universal brotherhood-a republic which shakes thrones and dissolves aristocracies by its silent example and gives light and inspiration to those who sit in darkness. Behold a republic gradually but surely becoming the supreme moral factor in the world's progress and the accepted arbiter of the world's disputes-a republic whose history, like the path of

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provide the reasons given at the second to the Flipping to the provide the second to the principle of Lucy there are less than 00,000 per- the flipping the first the second to the flipping to the provide the second to the principle of Lucy there are less than 00,000 per- the flipping the first the second to the principle of Lucy there are less than 00,000 per- the flipping the first the second to the principle of Lucy there are less than 00,000 per- the flipping the flipping the second to the principle of the second to the principle of lucy there are control of the provide stille to people, either by force or by put the second to the principle of lucy there are control of the provide stille to the principle of lucy there are control of the provide stille to the principle of lucy there are control of the provide stille to the principle of the second to the principle of lucy there are of the tax collectors. First to wage a socretest all context against law or escape in a most hear the responsible to struct a structure is and set the most to take care of the tax collectors. First to wage a socretest all context against law or escape if the first ownee a force of the tax collectors. First to wage a socretest all context against the set the most law or escape and the treaty hear reserve that we are now in a better pool if the provide structure is and in perial for the provide structure is and the principle islands for three centuries and yet, when the treat prevents agree a socretest of the the mative. The most bear the responsibility for all is the provide structure is and in perial for the provide structure is and in perial for the provide structure and imperial for the provide structure and integration is estille if the treaty had been referred the op- terial the provide structure and integration is also lost. The max bear the reponsibility for all is the food who is reigning army as its ma	 ation lean flag in the far-away Orient, will sconer or later be transplanted upon right; American soil. If true Christianity consists in carrying out in our daily lives it prophete teachings of Christ, who will say it prophete teachings of Christ, who will say cannot that we are commanded to civilize with the sword; cannot that we are commanded to civilize with the sword; that we are commanded to civilize with the sword; cannot that we are commanded to civilize with the sword; cannot that we are commanded to civilize with the sword; cannot that we are commanded to civilize with the sword; cannot that we are commanded to civilize with the sword; cannot that we are commanded to civilize with the sword; and prove his authority either by Holy tyrrany. Writ or by evidence of a special dispensation. Imperialism finds no wars out in the Bible. The command "go ye into all the world and preach the gospel to every creature" has no Gatling gun attachment. When Jesus visited a village of Samaria and the people refuges to receive Him, some of the disciples sug- bylon
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