

BRYAN'S SPEECH OF ACCEPTANCE.

Mr. Chairman and Members of the National Committee: 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 campaign.

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 predominating influence in the affairs of the government, but 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 1860 Lincoln said that the republican party believed in 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 inferior. Man is the master; money the servant, but upon all important questions today, republican legislation tends to make money the master and man the servant.

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.

DEMOCRACY AND INDUSTRY.
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 ore, it is at the expense of someone 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 not."

REPUBLICAN SHIFTING.
Against us are arrayed a comparatively small, but politically and financially powerful, 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 formerly 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 objection which is 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 repudiated by three years ago condemned "forbidden annexation" as immoral and even criminal, are now sure that it is both immoral and criminal to oppose forbidden annexation. That partisanship has already blinded many to present dangers is certain; how large a portion of the republican party can be drawn over to the new policies remains to be seen.

For a time republican leaders were inclined to deny opponents the right to criticize the Philippine policy of the administration, but upon investigation they found that both Lincoln and Clay asserted and exercised the right to criticize 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 Philippine question, the republican convention adopted a platform, the larger part of which was devoted to boasting and to self-congratulation.

In attempting to press economic questions upon the country to the exclusion of those which involve the very structure of our government, the republican leaders give new evidence of their abandonment of the earlier teachings of the party and of their complete subservience to pecuniary considerations.

MUST FACE ISSUE.
But they shall not be permitted to evade the stupendous and far-reaching issue which they have deliberately brought into the arena of politics. When the president, supported by a practically unanimous vote of the house and senate, entered upon his term with Spain for the purpose of aiding the struggling patriots of Cuba, the country, without regard to party, applauded. Although the democrats recognized that the administration would immediately gain a political advantage from the conduct of a war which, in the very nature of the case, must soon end in a complete victory, they sided with the republicans in the support which they gave to the president. When Cuba was over and the republican leaders began to suggest the propriety of a colonial policy, opposition at once manifested itself. When the president finally left before the senate a treaty which recognized the independence of Cuba, but provided for the cession of the island to the United States, the measure of imperialism became so apparent that many converted to the democratic faith and risk the life that the republicans have taken. But if it was possible to obscure every word written or spoken in defense of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, a war of conquest would still leave the legacy of perpetual hatred, for it was

ratified, a clean cut issue is presented between a government by consent and a government by force, and imperialists 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 differences 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 Philippines according to American principles. The Bacon resolution, introduced a month before hostilities broke out at Manila, promised independence to the Filipinos on the same terms that it was promised to the Cubans. I supported and then gave to the Filipinos 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 with 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

friendliness toward England; the American people are not unfriendly toward the people of any nation. This sympathy is due to the fact that, as stated in our platform, we believe in the principle of self-government, and reject, as did our forefathers, the claims of monarchy. If this nation surrenders its belief in the universal application of the principles set forth in the Declaration 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 weakness of their cause, seek to confuse imperialism with expansion, and have even dared to claim Jefferson as a supporter of their policy. Jefferson spoke of free citizens, or added to our population people who are willing to become citizens and are capable of discharging their duties as such. The acquisition of the Louisiana territory, Florida, Texas, and other tracts which have been secured from time to time, enlarged the republic, and the constitution followed the flag into the new territory. It is now proposed to seize upon distant territory already more densely populated than our own country, and to force upon the people a government for which there is no warrant in our constitution or our laws. Even the argument that this earth belongs to those who desire to cultivate it and have the physical power to acquire it cannot be invoked to justify the appropriation of the Philippine islands by the United States. If the islands were uninhabited Americans citizens would not be willing to go there and till the soil. The white race will not live so near the equator. Other nations have tried to colonize the same latitude. The Netherlands have controlled Java for 200 years, and yet today there are less than 60,000 people of European birth scattered among 25,000,000 natives. After a century and a half of English domination in India, less than one-twentieth of one per cent of the people of India are of English birth, and it requires an army of 70,000 British soldiers to take care of the tax collectors. Spain has asserted title to the Philippine islands for three centuries and yet, when our fleet entered Manila Bay, there were less than 10,000 Spaniards residing in the Philippines.

A colonial policy means that we shall send to the Philippines a few traders,

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 welcome a foreign master.

Lincoln said that the safety of this nation heart the love of liberty. He never made a race of people so low in the scale of civilization or intelligence that it would welcome a foreign master.

Those who would have this nation enter upon a career of empire must consider not only the effect of imperialism on the Philippines, 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.

FRUIT OF IMPERIALISM.
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. While our sphere of activity has been limited to the Western Hemisphere, our sympathies have 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 for the right to govern themselves, to proclaim the interest which our people have, from the date of their own independence, felt in every contest between human rights and arbitrary power.

Three-quarters of a century ago, when our nation was small, the struggles of Greece aroused our people, and Webster and Clay gave eloquent expression to the universal desire for Grecian independence. In 1896, all parties manifested a lively interest in the success of the Cubans, but now when a war is in progress in South Africa, which must result in the extension of the monarchical idea or in the triumph of a republic, the advocates of imperialism in this country dare not say a word in behalf of the Boers. Sympathy for the Boers does not arise from any un-

selfishness toward England; the American people are not unfriendly toward the people of any nation. This sympathy is due to the fact that, as stated in our platform, we believe in the principle of self-government, and reject, as did our forefathers, the claims of monarchy. If this nation surrenders its belief in the universal application of the principles set forth in the Declaration of Independence, it will lose the prestige and influence which it has enjoyed among the nations as an exponent of popular government.

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se few workmasters and a few office holders, and an army large enough to support the authority of a small fraction of the people while they rule the natives.

EVIL OF STANDING ARMY.
If we have an imperial policy we must have a large standing army as its natural and necessary complement. The spirit which will justify the forcible annexation of the Philippine islands, will justify the seizure of other islands and the domination of other people, and with wars of conquest we can expect a certain, if not rapid, growth of our military establishment. That a large permanent increase in our regular army is intended by the republican leaders is not a mere matter of conjecture, but a matter of fact. In his message of December 5th, 1898, the president asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000 men. Within two years the president asked for four times that many, and a republican house of representatives complied with the request after the Spanish treaty had been signed and no country was at war with the United States. If such an army is maintained when an imperial policy is contemplated, but not openly avowed, what may be expected if the people encourage the 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 compulsory service, a 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 inevitably changes the ideals of the people and turns the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. The government which ever gives its defense upon its claim is more likely to be just than one which has at its call a large body of professional soldiers. A large standing army and a well equipped and well disciplined state militia are sufficient in ordinary times and in 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 with the country needs fighters and work when the country needs workers.

CITIZENS OR SUBJECTS.
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 future status of the Filipino. Is he to be a citizen or a subject? Are we to bring into the body politic eight or ten 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 McNary resolution, adopted by the senate immediately after the ratification of the treaty, expressly negates 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. A subject is possible only in a government resting upon force; he is unknown in a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed. 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 protest against government without consent and taxation without representation. In what respect does the platform of the republican party differ from the position taken by the English government in 1776? Did not the English government promise a good government to the colonists? What king were they 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.

OUR DUTY.
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. It is our duty to avoid killing a human being, no matter whether the human being lives or to what race or class he belongs. Everyone recognizes the obligation imposed upon individuals to observe both the human and moral law, but as some deny the application of those laws to nations, it may not be out of place to quote the opinion of others. Jefferson, when whom there is no higher political authority, said:

"I know of but one code of morality for men, whether acting singly or collectively."
Franklin, whose learning, wisdom and virtue are a part of the previous legacy bequeathed to us from the revolutionary days, expressed the same idea in ever stronger language when he said:

"Justice is as strictly due between neighbor nations as between neighbor citizens. A highwayman is as much a robber when he plunders a gang as when singly; and the nation that makes an unjust war is only a great gang."

Men may dare to do in crowds what they would not dare to do as individuals, but the moral character of an act is not determined by the number of those who join in it. Force can defend a right, but force has never yet created a right. If it 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 Declaration of Independence) it is equally true that the Filipinos "are and of right ought to be free and independent." The right of the Cubans to freedom was not based upon their proximity to the United States, nor upon the language which they spoke, nor yet upon the race or races to which they belonged. Congress by a practically unanimous vote declared that the principles enunciated at Philadelphia in 1776 were still alive and applicable to the Cubans.

WHO WILL DRAW THE LINE?
Who will draw a line between the natural rights of the Cubans and the Filipinos? Who will say that the former have a right to liberty and that the latter have no rights which we are bound to respect? And, if the Filipinos "are and of right ought to be free and independent," what right have we to force our government upon them without their consent? Before our duty can be ascertained, their rights must be determined and when their rights are once determined, it is as much our duty to respect those rights as it was

great party should claim for any president or congress the right to treat millions of people as mere "possessions," and deal with them unrestrainedly by the constitution or the bill of rights, shows how far we have already departed from the ancient landmarks, and indicates what may be expected if this nation deliberately enters upon a career of empire. The territorial form of government is temporary and precarious, 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. Take away this security and his rights will be violated and his interest 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.

HIGHEST OBLIGATION.
It is said that we have assumed before the world obligations which make it necessary for us to permanently 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 Filipinos more capable of self-government than the Cubans, and said that he based his opinion upon a knowledge of both races. But he did 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."

self. Their partisans assert his incapacity in reference to all nations; if they cannot command universal assent to the proposition, it is then remanded to particular nations, and our pride and our presumption too often make converts of us. 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 upon by kings. Self-government is the natural government of man."

DESPOT INVITED.
Clay was right. There are degrees of proficiency in the art of self-government, but it is a reflection upon the Creator to say that He denied to any people the capacity of self-government. 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. I am not willing to believe that an all-wise and an all-loving God created the Filipinos, and then left them thousands of years helpless until the islands attracted the attention of European nations.

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 waved 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, and I venture the opinion that during the last fifty years the people of Mexico have made more progress under the stimulus of their own self-government than they would have made under a carpet-bag government held in place by bayonets. The United States and Mexico, friendly republics, are each stronger and happier than they would have been had the former been cursed and the latter crushed by an imperialistic policy, disguised as "benevolent assimilation."

"Can we not govern colonies?" we are asked. The question is not what we can do, but what we ought to do. This nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it must accept responsibility for what it does. If the constitution stands in the way, the people can amend the constitution. I repeat, the nation can do whatever it desires to do, but it cannot avoid the natural and legitimate results of its own conduct. The young man upon reaching his majority cannot do what he pleases. He can disregard the teachings of his parents; he can trample upon all that he has been taught to consider sacred; he can obey the laws of the state, the laws of society and the laws of God. He can stamp failure upon his life and make his very existence a curse to his fellow men, and he can bring his father and mother in sorrow to the grave, but he can not annul the solemn "wages of sin is death." And so with this nation. It is of age, and can do

the duty of Spain to respect the rights of the people of Cuba, or the duty of England to respect the rights of the American colonists. Rights never conflict; duties never clash. Can it be our duty to usurp political rights which belong to others? Can it be our duty to kill those who, following the example of our forefathers, love liberty well enough to fight for it?

Some poet has described the terror which overcame a soldier who, in the midst of battle, discovered that he had slain his brother. It is written: "All ye are brethren." Let us hope for the coming of the day when human life—when once destroyed cannot be restored—will be so sacred that it will never be taken except when necessary to punish a crime already committed, or to prevent a crime about to be committed!

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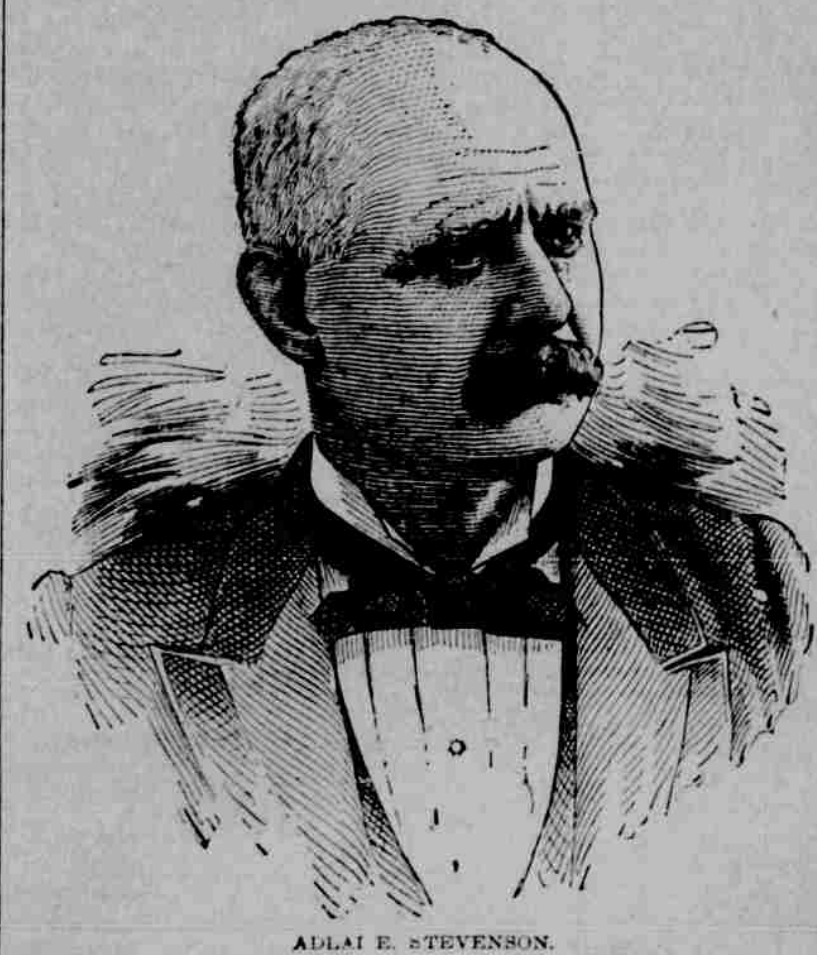
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