Full Stenographic Report of the Rosewater-Hitchcock Debate

Issues of the National Campaign Discussed by Representatives of Leading Parties.

SOME TELLING POINTS SCORED FOR M'KINLEY

Mr. Rosewater Upholds Principles and Policies of the Republican Party and Uncovers Popocratic Misrepresentation.

The largest crowd ever drawn together by a political discussion in the city of Omaha was that which paid rapt attention to the debate between Edward Rosewater and Gilbert M. Hitchcock at the music pavilion Saturday night.

The hour for the opening of the debate was 8 o'clock, but at 6:45 people who desired choice seats began to arrive. By 7 o'clock the tent was comfortably filled, probably 3,000 persons being present. At that hour the crowd began to arrive. Through every gate it poured and throngs stood outside of the gates endeavoring to force an entrance at 7:45. The doors to the stage were then thrown open and the especially invited guests began to take their places upon the platform. The seating capacity of the platform was about 150 and every chair occupied.

Precisely at 8 o'clock Mr. Hitchcock entered upon the stage with Attorney General Smyth. He was received with cheers and applause as he took his seat. A few minutes later Mr. Rosewater, accompanied by John C. Wharton, made his appearance and the crowd again shouted itself hoarse in applause and cheers. After quiet was restored Mr. Smyth called the meeting to order and announced the terms of the debate. In his opening remarks he said that he had been selected to preside by Mr. Hitchcock and that Mr. Wharton had been selected by Mr. Rosewater. As Mr. Hitchcock would have the opening of the debate it was decided that he should open the meeting and introduce his champion, Mr. Wharton introducing Mr. Rosewater at the close of Mr. Hitchcock's opening remarks. The terms of the debate were for Mr. Hitchcock to open in a twenty-minute talk, followed by Mr. Rosewater in a twenty-minute answer. Twenty minutes more were to be consumed by each in turn and then Mr. Hitchcock was to talk ten minutes, followed by Mr. Rosewater, who was to be given fifteen minutes. With ten minutes each following this, four periods of five minutes were to follow and Mr. Hitchcock would close in five minutes.

Mr. Hitchcock opened the debate as follows:

Mr. Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen: I might well feel at this moment appalled at the enterprise I have undertaken, to meet in joint debate tonight with the recognized and acknowledged leader of the republican party in this county and discuss with him before this vast audience the principles which I believe to be vital to the life and to the future of our republic. In the twenty minutes allotted to me in opening I shall take up chiefly one issue—the one which I believe to be the commanding issue, the one which our platform declares to be the paramount issue, the one which I believe the people of the United States are more than any other interested in having discussed fairly, freely and fully. I stand at the opening of this debate, therefore, to charge that the present policy of the republican party is in the direction of imperialism, and imperialism I propose to discuss. (Applause.)

People may differ as to what ought to be the issues in a campaign, but when a president of the United States comes before the people asking re-election for a term of four years, the issue which is paramount above all others, the issue which is really the one which divides the people in the election, is an endorsement of his leading policy, or the repudiation of it at the ballot box. (Applause.)

What has been the leading policy of William McKinley during his present term? It has been to embark upon a political course revolutionary, extraordinary and unprecedented in the history of the United States. It has been to seize the republican party, to tear it away from the principles which it enunciated in its platform of 1856, 1868 and 1876—the principles which Abraham Lincoln died for, the principles which he advocated. It has been to take the republican party bodily away from those principles and embark upon principles diametrically opposed thereto. Not only that, but if the people of the United States go to the ballot box on the 6th of next November and vote to return this administration to power, they vote on that day an endorsement of a policy which is at entire variance with the teachings of our forefathers and with all the teachings, not only of the democratic party, but of the republican party up to within the last four years. (Applause.)

On the 1st day of May, 1898, Admiral Dewey sailed into Manila harbor and in a few hours of brief and brilliant action he destroyed and sunk the Spanish fleet and ended forever the naval power of Spain in the Pacific ocean. When that was accomplished he had accomplished all that he had been sent there to do. The American flag was then supreme in Manila bay. The garrison in Manila, though it could not be conquered by his soldiers, was helpless before him.

Admiral Dewey's Victory.

Before he sailed to Manila he had a consultation with the consul of the United States at Hong Kong and had a telegraphic communication with the American consul at Singapore and he asked the American consul at Singapore to have Aguinaldo, the accepted leader of the Philippine people, come as rapidly as possible to him, and Aguinaldo came. On the night of April 26 he set sail from Singapore. He arrived at Hong Kong and in answer to Admiral Dewey's request he set sail on the American dispatch boat, McCullough, and arrived at Manila harbor. He had a consultation with Admiral Dewey and as a result of that consultation he went to work among the Philippine people, whom he had formerly led. He organized an army. He purchased arms. He accepted arms from Admiral Dewey. He raised the flag of the Philippine republic. He organized a provincial government, a revolutionary government, under the very guns of Admiral Dewey's fleet, in Cavite. Aguinaldo proclaimed himself president of the provincial government of the Philippine republic. The little government was organized, an army was raised, it joined the American navy in shutting up in he town of Manila the Spanish garrison. It sent detachments of Philippine soldiers into the interior. It captured one Spanish town after another and in a short time fifteen of the provinces of the Philippine islands were reduced and in the hands of the Philippine people. One step after another was taken. The Philippine constitution was proclaimed and in a short time the little government had extended over the entire island, except in Manila and Iloilo. Finally Iloilo fell, too, and in the whole Philippine islands there was no place except the town of Manila where the Spanish flag was flying. Now, then, Manila, sorely besieged, at last surrendered. Up to that time the American army and the Philippine army had fought side by side. The Stars and Stripes had floated beside the little Philippine republic flag. But when the town of Manila fell the Philippine general was ordered to withdraw his soldiers outside of a certain line. He did so. He had faith in the great people of the United States. The Philippine people had welcomed the Stars and Stripes, welcomed the navy and American soldiers, and they believed that the great American people, who had promised liberty and freedom to the people of Cuba, which had gone to war with Spain to free Cuba, had come also to free them. (Applause.)

Plea for Aguinaldo.

Now, Mr. Chairman, what a sudden change! What a sudden change! These people who had acted as our allies, these people who had welcomed us as friends, these people who had recognized us as the great civilizing and freedom-loving power of the world—these people have become the victims of our unbridled power of conquest in the Philippine islands. Today we have had a war going on in the Philippines for a year and a half. Every attempt of the Philippine republic, every attempt of its civil officers, every attempt of its general to have terms proposed, every effort they have made to ask of the United States that some terms of peace be allowed, has been rejected and repelled. They have been told that there were no terms except unconditional surrender, and the president of the United States, in his letter of acceptance, in his speeches before the American people, has declared that the Stars and Stripes having been once raised in the Philippine islands, was never to be pulled down.

Now, what does it mean? It means that the people who have grown great under the promises, under the pledge that all governments derive their just powers from the consent of the governed, that we, in the hour of our strength and greatness have turned upon our former allies, turned upon those who welcomed us as saviors and declared to them we are going to subjugate you and hold you as provinces of the American republic. That is what it means. I declare, Mr. Chairman, and I challenge my opponent to the fact that this policy is imperialism pure and simple.

There are only two kinds of government. They may shade together. They do. But there are in the abstract only two kinds of government—government by consent and government by force. This great republic was dedicated to the sacred idea of government by consent. (Applause.)

Listen! And when we undertake to govern by force 8,000,000 people against their will we violate the pledge which we gave to civilization when wo founded this government. We enter upon a career of imperialism like the manarchies of the old world. Listen to these solemn words:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal; that they are endowed," not by Mr. McKinley, "that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights." (Applause.)

Propounds a Question.

Listen! "They are endowed by their Creator with certain—" Oh, listen to this word; it weighs a ton—"certain inalienable rights." Rights which belong to them, which they cannot give away and which cannot be taken away from them. (Applause.) "That among these rights are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness; that to secure these rights governments are instituted among men." The governments are for the men; the men are not for the government. (Applause.) Now I ask my opponent this question: Do you believe in a government by force, or do you believe in a government by consent? (Applause.) (A voice: "That's a great one.") Do you believe in a government by force? If you believe in a government by consent how dare you deny it to those 8,000,000 people?

I know, Mr. Chairman, that there are many republicans in this country who have faith in their party, but they should remember that the republican party has had forced on it a policy which belongs to it and it will belong to it forever if it succeeds in this campaign. I tell those republicans that it is not only a matter of saving the republic, but if they would redeem the old republican party they must do it by repudiating this false doctrine. Government by force is imperialism. We are governing the Philippine islands by force. We are governing Porto Rico by force, and as long as that government exists it is imperialism. We may feel secure among ourselves that imperialism will not come to us. But history has taught us that no government can long endure a government by consent at home and a government by force among other people. The history of Rome is threadbare, but it illustrates the case. For several hundred years the old Roman republic lived, grew and prospered, and as long as it extended its boundaries outside the city of Rome, governing the whole Italian peninsula in a natural democratic expansion like that which we have had heretofore, so that the Roman constitution followed the flag and extended to the uttermost territory of Rome, the Roman republic was safe; but when the time came that the Roman republic, tempted by the lust of empire, by the conquest of weaker people, went further and entered upon an era of acquisition and subjugation of people for plunder and wealth, when she raised her great armies and sent them into the remote parts of the earth to conquer, then the seed of decay was sown and the same army raised to accomplish that purpose one day returned to destroy the liberties of the Roman citizen. It was in those days a proud boast to be a Roman citizen, just as it is now a proud boast to be an American citizen, but when the time came that the Roman people were held under the Roman flag by force of arms and not by consent, then the time came that the only future of Rome was in an empire and one Caesar after another not only held the foreign people in subjugation, but he placed his foot upon the neck of the Roman citizen and Roman homes were wiped from the face of the earth. (Applause.)

Rosewater Replies.

Chairman Wharton—Ladies and Gentlemen: This vast gathering here tonight bespeaks an intense interest in the great national issues that are now being discussed by the respective parties of this nation. Other audiences have been honored by the greetings of such men as the governor of New York, Theodore Roosevelt (applause) and Hon. Bourke Cockran of New York (applause). But the honor of greeting two distinguished citizens tonight to discuss the national issues here has been left to you. And in presenting the champion of the principles of the republican party I present one who needs no introduction to an audience of Omaha citizens. I present one who at all times has had convictions of what is right and wrong and has had the manhood and the courage to speak forth his convictions and his principles. (Applause.) I present one tonight who is the editor and proprietor of one of the greatest metropolitan dailies that there is in the United States, The Omaha Bee. I have the pleasure of presenting to you Hon. Edward Rosewater. (Applause.)

Mr. President and Ladies and Gentlemen: I appear here tonight, not for the party that counts itself among the has-beens and wants to resurrect itself by imitating the patriots of the revolution and prating about patriotism in the face of the history of the past. I propose to represent a party (louder)—I regret, for the present at least, that my voice cannot reach to the utmost confines of this tent. I am somewhat hoarse, but I hope before I get through that every one here will be able to hear just what I have to say.

I want to say to you that the democratic party, in the present campaign, has unearthed a new issue, having exhausted all the other issues upon which it has been able to fight battles and by which it has been defeated in the past. (Applause.) The republican party does not have to resort to championing the principles of the Declaration of Independence. It has been a walking declaration of independence in all its career. (Applause.) It started out as the party that proclaimed freedom throughout the land; it started out as the party that proclaimed liberty to every man, woman and child, and sought to lift the burden from the shoulders of labor and equalize it and place it on the shoulders of those who possessed wealth and station. The party that had the courage to stand up against 8,000,000 well informed people, intelligent, well organized, having an established government in Alabama first and in Richmond afterward—a party that stood up under Abraham Lincoln and faced 1,000,000 men in arms to maintain the integrity of this nation. (Applause.) That party stands here today. (Applause.)

We are told here that half a million of people who had established a temporary little government on one of the islands of the Philippines, among a total of something like 1,100 islands, have been deprived of the inherent rights of the Declaration of Independence, and you are told that that declaration, among other things, includes the consent of the governed. I admit that. And I have been asked to say whether I would stand here and avow myself in favor of government by force or government by consent. You have been told that this government was instituted for men by men, and I admit it. But in so stating it we have announced to the world that we do not believe in the principle of the consent of the governed, because women are governed as well as men. (Laughter.)

Let us look at this declaration more critically. Let us examine this declaration as it was issued. It was issued in a building that still stands in Philadelphia—Independence hall—and above that hall hangs a bell that is still preserved. That bell hung upon that hall for many years before the declaration was promulgated. On that bell is inscribed: "Proclaim liberty throughout the land to all the inhabitants thereof." How did that declaration come upon that bell? It came there from away back, from the land of Judea, 3,000 years back, from the jubilee days occurring every fifty years, when a proclamation was issued that all men should be free. But notwithstanding that it was a declaration that proclaimed the natural rights of man, it is attempted in this campaign to make this declaration the special property, the patent right of the democratic party and William Jennings Bryan. (Laughter and applause.) Why, you might just as well have proclaimed that the ten commandments have been put in the special care and keeping of the democratic party and that they alone are to have the right to observe them. (Laughter and applause.)

Democratic Inconsistency.

What are the facts about the Declaration of Independence? The inherent rights of man, the natural rights of man were proclaimed long before. These rights come from the very beginning. All men are created equal. They have the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and that right inures as well to every human being on the face of the globe as it does to the people of the United States. It is inherent as much in China, it is inherent as much in Central Africa as it is in these United States. Now, this theory of the consent of the governed is a beautiful theory, but it has never been put in practice. These people who proclaim liberty to everybody denied liberty to the black man for seventy years. (Applause.) And they deny it to him today notwithstanding these false pretensions. Those people who proclaimed liberty to all the people were slave owners and slaveholders, including even George Washington. Let us not worship men, but principles. Principles are immutable; they are indestructible; they are the thing that we must adhere to, and no man-worship can wipe away principles.

Government by Consent.

Government by consent is simply a declaration that men may directly and indirectly be governed by their consent, but their individual consent is not asked and never has been. The only government by consent, I maintain, is the government of married women, who go before the altar and pledge themselves to love, honor and obey their husband. (Laughter.) All governments on the face of the earth, beginning with the tribal chief, with kings and emperors and republics, have all been governments by force. Government means control and rule. And rule means obedience to the order of the ruler; and the ruler, whether he is a monarch, the president of a republic or the mayor of a city, must necessarily govern by force. They govern by the constable; they govern by the policeman. And when a mob arrays itself against law and order the deputy sheriffs are called out and finally the militia. And if there is an insurrection or a rebellion, then the whole army is called forth to enforce the law and compel obedience, whether you like it or not. In the state of Nebraska 133 men are chosen who meet in the legislature and sixty-seven of these men, aided by the governor, make the laws for you, consent or no consent. You are not asked about it. You must obey these laws. And the attorney general himself will turn in from time to time to compel the authorities to enforce the law.

I maintain that from the very beginning the same policy has been pursued and there has been no invasion of the American declaration by this government under the administration of William McKinley.

Thomas Jefferson, who is quoted as the greatest president of which the democracy can boast—Thomas Jefferson himself, who wrote the immortal declaration, was the very man who put into practice the principles and policy that are now being pursued in the Philippines. Let me say at the outset for myself and a great many others within the republican party that I was not in favor of bringing on a settlement of the Cuban question by force of arms. I was opposed to it. I believed at the time and I deplore today that there should have been a necessity of going to war to liberate the Cubans from the yoke of Spain. I should have preferred to have seen them liberated by a liberal compensation to the Spaniards for giving them their freedom and allowing them to govern themselves. But the democrats in congress and the yellow journalists and the yellow journals like that published by my friend here (applause) kept up a constant bombardment of congress and finally the explosion of the Maine brought on the climax, followed by the declaration of war. William McKinley did all he could do to avert the war, but it was forced upon him and he then stood up for the government of the United States and its flag as any other president who was loyal would have done. And when the war was over and the Spaniards had been humiliated and asked for peace, he appointed a commission that went to Paris to negotiate peace and the treaty was finally ratified by the senate of the United States.

Filipinos Never Our Allies.

It is not necessary now to go into the history of Dewey, although a statement of it has been dramatically made and has been embellished to suit the occasion, but the fact remains that Dewey destroyed that fleet and that he was not in position to leave the island. After he had destroyed the fleet that portion of the Filipinos who had been in rebellion against the Spaniards in the neighborhood of Cavite and Manila, under the leadership of Aguinaldo, made war in conjunction with the forces of the United States, that is true. But the United States had at no time taken them as their allies or promised them their independence, because it would have been a farce to recognize the government of thes Filipinos at that particular time so long as the great majority of the Philippine islands were still under the Spanish rule, notwithstanding the assurance of my friend that the Tagalogs had control. Remember there are about eighty different tribes in the Philippines. These few people, perhaps one-fourth or one-sixth of the population of the islands, could not assume for themselves the right to govern and rule. The object of Aguinaldo, as we know him, was simply to exploit the people and the church in particular, and get possession of all the church property in these islands, and McKinley stood for religious liberty and equality on those islands and does today. (Applause).

When that treaty was under consideration before the United States senate to ascertain whether it was the kind of bargain we should make that treaty contained a stipulation compelling us to pay $20,000,000 to the Spaniards in consideration of the cession of the sovereignty over Porto Rico and the Philippine islands to the United States. If that treaty was unjust, impolitic or contrary to established policy it was for the United States senate to modify or reject it.

But at that very juncture, while it was absolutely certain that it would be modified or rejected, William Jennings Bryan first wrote letters to members of the senate, who were of the democratic or populist persuasion, imploring them to ratify the treaty, and then he followed it up himself, resigned his commission in the army, went to Washington and lobbied—I say this truthfully, because I talked with Senator Spooner and have talked with other senators about it, who say that Mr. Bryan lobbied there for days among democratic senators to ratify the treaty, by which all these things that they now denounce were consummated. (Applause.)

Bryan Urged Ratification.

You understand that the title to the Philippines and the principle under which they are held and everything that was done by the administration in ratifying the treaty is now assailed and the administration is arraigned as revolutionary, as being unamerican, as being imperialistic, when, in fact, Mr. Bryan asked his senatorial friends to ratify and place the seal of approval upon that act. Applause.) It takes two-thirds of the senate to ratify a treaty and seventeen democrats and populists voted for it, and only by a majority of one was the treaty ratified. If William V. Allen had stood out and not voted for the ratification of the treaty the treaty would have been rejected or modified. (Applause.) Now these people come before you and tell you that we have committed a great outrage, that we have committed a great international crime that can never be blotted out. They have the audacity to condemn us for the very thing that their political leader approved of and urged the senators to approve.

Now, fellow citizens, I want to call your attention to the manner in which Louisiana was acquired. When Louisiana was bought for $15,000,000 from the empire of France, from Napoleon I, the people of Louisiana were not asked for their consent; they were not asked to vote upon the question whether they wanted to change their allegiance from France to the United States, but they rose enmasse and protested against the annexation; they signed a great remonstrance to Thomas Jefferson and to congress declaring that they had been taken in under a government which left them nothing but a sort of provincial vassalage; that they had no legislature; that the judges were to be appointed by the president; that their government was an imperialistic government, and that they were entirely deprived of the rights and guarantics of the Declaration of Independence. But Thomas Jefferson and the men who were at that time in congress, the men who made the constitution, would not listen to their petitions and insisted that these people must give allegiance to the United States of America and yield obedience to its laws, and anybody that knows anything knows that if the people of Louisiana had revolted, if they had organized a rebellion, just as one has been organized in the Philippines, they would doubtless have been put down by force of arms, for Jefferson at that time held a large force of troops in reserve to go down to Louisiana and make these people submit to the government which had assumed sovereignty over them. Now, there was Mr. Jefferson doing the very same thing now denounced as imperialism. And how has it been since that time? You talk about the consent of the governed. How was it in Nebraska in territorial days? Nebraska was first attached to Indiana territory for jurisdiction, and then it was attached to the Territory of Michigan, and after 1854 it was carved out as a territory. Then the president of the United States, a democratic president and a democratic congress, governed Nebraska with an iron hand. They sent out here South Carolina and Arkansas carpet baggers to govern us and these carpet baggers were mostly consumptives and broken-winded old politicians who died on our hands. (Applause and laughter.)

SECOND DIVISION OF TIME

Hitchcock Attempts to Show that the Filipinos Are Capable of Self-Government.

My friends, my opponent has not yet answered my question whether he believes in a government by force or a government by consent. (Applause.) He cites the case of the Louisiana purchase, which has not one thing in common with our war of conquest. We purchased Louisiana, a contiguous territory, in order to avoid war. We have undertaken the acquisition of the Philippine islands at the cost of war. By the treaty of purchase of Louisiana every man within the bounds of that newly acquired territory became at once a citizen of the United States and there is not a man upon the Philippine islands, even an American, who has the protection of the constitution of the United States today. (Applause.)

It is said that Mr. Bryan is responsible for ratifying that treaty. If he is, then why do not my imperialist republican friends shout and acclaim with joy? If he is responsible, why don't they support him, because they say it is a good thing. But Mr. Bryan, great, courageous, open-hearted man that he is (applause) had faith that if that treaty was ratified the great people of the United States would do for the Philippine islands what they had done for Cuba. He had the right to expect that that same congress would pass for the Philippine islands that same resolution which they passed for Cuba. He had a right to expect, because Admiral Dewey had said in his cablegram to the State department at Washington that the Philippines were more capable of self-government than the people of Cuba—and he knew them both. My friend has questioned whether the Philippine people are capable of self-government. Listen to the words of George Dewey:

"Manila, August 29, 1898"—mind you, this is to the department at Washington before we had declared war upon the Filipinos; while they were asserting their independence; while they had an army in the field and a flag floating over it. Admiral Dewey telegraphed on June 23: "I express the opinion that these people are far superior in their intelligence and more capable of self-government than the natives of Cuba and I am familiar with both races." (Great applause.) "Further interviews with them has confirmed me in this opinion." That was George Dewey's certificate to the government at Washington.

Mr. Barrett, our minister to Siam, speaking of Aguinaldo's government says: "By the middle of October, 1898, he had assembled at Malalos a congress of 100 men who would compare in behavior, manner of dress and education with the average man of the better classes of the Asiatic nations, possibly including the Japanese. These men conducted themselves with great decorum and showed a knowledge of debate and parliamentary law that would not compare unfavorably with the Japanese."

General T. M. Anderson said: "The Filipinos are not far behind the Japanese in intelligence, capability or in culture. Their army is well equipped and well handled; their cities well built and kept. Many of them are mechanics, engineers, artisans and musicians."

Now what is the fact? Five million of these Philippine people are Christians. They have 2,000 schools. They have a number of universities and colleges, three of those colleges are at least 200 years old. And yet my friend intimates that these people are not as much entitled to self-government as the people of Cuba, to whom we have guaranteed it.

Concerning the charge that we have never guaranteed those people independence, I have only this to say: The American people have never had the chance, but they are going to get it at this election. (Applause.)

Mr. Rosewater says that the war to liberate Cuba was forced upon Mr. McKinley, and it is true. I glory in it. We placed a sword in his hand to free Cuba and he has taken that naked sword a thousand miles away to enslave a people fighting for independence. (A voice: "Eat him up.")

Mr. Rosewater says there is no such thing as government by consent. He says either that, or there is no such thing as government by force; I do not know which, he says one or the other. A government by consent is a government where men go to the ballot box. You go there, sir. You put your ballot in. You elect a man to go to the legislature, a man to represent you in congress, a man to preside over your city as mayor, the man who goes to Washington as president, and when they go there they are your representatives. You have consented by going to the ballot box and taking part in the election. (Applause.)

Mr. Rosewater says that this is a new doctrine of imperialism that the democratic party has faked up to get into power. (A voice: "Tell him about the south.") Is this a new doctrine that the democratic party has faked up? Why, this doctrine of imperialism, or charge of imperialism, has been made by some of the greatest republicans of the United States. It has been made in this city by Mr. E. Rosewater. (Applause.) I have here nearly a bushel of quotations from The Bee, denouncing imperialism. (Applause.) Those were all written between July, 1898, and the time that Monroe L. Hayward was elected senator from Nebraska. For some reason they stopped after that time. In The Bee of July 6, 1898, Mr. Rosewater said:

"The attempt of the advocates of territorial acquisition to depreciate those who are opposed to their policy by applying to them such epithets as little Americans will not have any weight with the thinking portion of the American people." (Applause.)

And later on he said, in that same editorial:

"But what of those who oppose the imperialistic idea that has sprung up within the last two months and threatens to lead the United States into a policy absolutely contravening the course of the nation from the beginning of its history." (Applause.) "We venture to differ," he says. "We believe the best wisdom and the best patriotism of the American people today are opposed to the proposition that we shall depart from the traditional policy of the republic and enter upon a course which we have been warned by all the great statesmen of the past—" not all republican statesmen, nor all democratic statesmen, but by "all the great statesmen of the past"—"is pregnant with danger. We believe that the men who are opposing territorial aggrandizement are the truest friends of the republic, that they have the surest idea of patriotic duty."

The Omaha Bee contained that editorial in July of 1898, and I can produce before this audience at least thirty editorials like that editorial, and yet Mr. Rosewater comes here and says that the democratic party has trumped up this new issue for the American people. (Long applause.)

Mr. Rosewater asks what have I got to say about an alleged disfranchisement of the negro in certain states. I have this to say, that if the negro is disfranchised in certain states it only indicates to us that we have troubles enough of our own at home without going abroad to find them. If he is right then it is true that we ought to sweep before our own door before trying to take civilization to other people's door.

Mr. Rosewater says that we have taken upon ourselves this year—the democratic party—to have a monopoly of the Declaration of Independence. He is surprised that that is in the party platform. Has he so far forgoten the republicanism of the past to know that the republican platform in 1856 quoted the Declaration of Independence, referred to it in this language:

"The maintenance of the principles promulgated in the Declaration of Independence and embodied in the federal constitution is essential to the preservation of our republican institutions. The highwayman's plea that might makes right is in every respect unworthy of American diplomacy and would bring shame and dishonor upon any people or government that gave it their sanction."

What have we today in the Philippine islands except the highwayman's plea that might makes right? The republican platform of 1888 declared: "We recognize the principles laid down in the immortal Declaration of Independence as the true foundation of democratic government."

The platform of 1876. Oh, here it is: "All men are created equal"—quoting from the language of the Declaration of Independence, at which you, sir, are surprised. (Applause.) "All men are created equal. They are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, among which are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness. For the attainment of these ends, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from," what, from force, from intelligence, from wealth? No. From consent. (Applause.)

Abraham Lincoln, the great high priest of the republican party, said:

"The doctrine of self-government is right, absolutely and eternally right. When a white man governs himself that is self-government, and when he governs himself and also governs another man that is despotism. What I do say is that no man is good enough to govern another man without that other man's consent. Allow all the governed an equal voice in the government."

Have the Filipinos an equal voice? Have they any voice? None at all. "That and that only is self-govetnment. Let every American remember that to violate the Declaration of Independence is to trample on the body of his fathers and to tear the charter of his own and his children's rights." That is what Abraham Lincoln said.

You charge we are forced to go back several hundred years for modern-day democracy. You cannot go back. You cannot go to Abraham Lincoln in this campaign. (Cheers.)

In conclusion, Mr. Rosewater has said that the time may come when we will arrogate to ourselves the guardianship of the Declaration of Independence. I want to tell you, my friends, that if imperialism is to go on with its terrible sway the time may come when the Ten Commandments will need a guardian in this country. (Applause.)

In the four minutes remaining I want to introduce the subject of the next discussion. It is trusts, and I challenge Mr. Rosewater to produce before this audience any evidence whatever that the republican leader, the republican party, proposes to grapple with the giant evil of trusts, which are growing in this country. The democratic party comes before the people with certain specific remedies. It has declared a war upon the trusts. It is proposed for one thing to put upon the free list every article which trusts—(applause). That is the remedy which we propose. What, sir, does the republican party propose?

Now, then, when Mr. Rosewater has outlined in a small degree what the republican party proposes to do with the trusts, I will undertake to show that the republican party lives by the trusts and for the trusts and if it is put in power again on the 6th of November the trusts will grow and increase more than they have the last four years.

I am ready for the trust discussion.

Rosewater Answers.

My friend has asked me to declare whether I am in favor of a government by consent or by force. I am in favor of a government that has backbone enough to uphold the honor of the flag on every foot of American territory, no matter where it lies. (Applause.)

Our attention has been called to the fact that republican platforms from year to year have reiterated the Declaration of Independence and we have been asked to say why it is that the democratic party for the first time cannot do it with any decency or self-respect, and I will answer you the reason why.

The republican party had to do it because the democratic party all the years it was in power, and after the rebellion of four years, continued to violate every principle of the Declaration of Independence and the republican party had to remind them that the declaration must be enforced wherever the Stars and Stripes floated. After the surrender of Appomattox the democrats of the south continued with their Ku Klux to suppress the negro with the shotgun; they continued to suppress him by the tissue ballot and they continued all the time to suppress every vestige of government by consent in the country in which they claim they had themselves been wrongfully subjugated by Abraham Lincoln. Now they talk about Abraham Lincoln and they never cease to quote Abraham Lincoln.

In 1864 Abraham Lincoln, like McKinley at the present time, was a candidate for re-election to the presidency of the United States and the grandmother of the Omaha World-Herald (laughter), the Omaha Nebraskan, which was succeeded by the Herald, Dr. Miller's paper, and upon that was grafted the Omaha World-Herald as it is today. On October 21, 1864, almost a period corresponding with this (laughter). Keep on with your laughter. You will soon be laughing on the other side. Here is what they had to say:

"A vote for Abraham Lincoln is a vote for the abandonment of the constitution and states' rights; a vote for Lincoln is a vote for four more years of war, innumerable drafts and a quadrupling of the debt of our country, state and nation; a vote for Lincoln is a vote in favor of the seizure of men for conscience sake and imprisoning them in bastiles without process of law or hope of trial; a vote for Lincoln is a vote in favor of the suppression of free speech; a vote for Lincoln is a declaration in favor of putting the military above civil power; a vote for Lincoln is an endorsement of all his acts and an encouragement for him to go on in his career of despotism; a vote for Lincoln will be to vote away the freedom of the American people." (Cries of "Answer the question.")

Mr. Wharton—Let us have no interruptions, please.

Mr. Smyth—Mr. Rosewater is entitled to his time. Do not interrupt him.

Mr. Rosewater—I will answer the question fairly and fully. I say there is no truth whatever in the declaration that the Filipinos were promised their independence. I say that the opportunity for giving them the treatment Cuba has received presented itself in the United States senate when Senator Vest of Missouri introduced a resolution to place them there and William V. Allen and some thirty democrats voted against it. (Applause.) They had their opportunity.

There has been quoted from The Omaha Bee an article of July, 1898, and there might be a dozen of them, but it was at a time when there could be discussion as to the policy of annexation of the Philippines, and while I am not here to debate with myself or to debate about The Omaha Bee (laughter) or the World-Herald, I have got right here a bushel of articles from the Omaha World-Herald in favor of the gold standard practically and in opposition to the free and unlimited coinage of silver. (Applause and laughter.) I have that, but I am not going to cite it.

Time for Discussion is Past.

The time for discussion has passed. The Philippines have been annexed and the sworn duty of the president of the United States is to enforce the laws upon all classes, aliens and citizens, wherever they may be.

They say that there is no precedent. We have the precedent in the case of Florida. I have already quoted the precedent of Louisiana, in which the people of that territory said to President Thomas Jefferson:

"A governor is to be placed over us whom we have not chosen, whom we do not even know; he may be ignorant of our language, uninformed of our institutions and who may have no connection with our country or interest in its welfare. Taxation without representation, an obligation to obey laws without any voice in their formation, the undue influence of the executive upon legislative proceedings and a dependent judiciary, formed, we believe, very prominent articles in the list of grievances complained of by the United States at the commencement of their glorious contest for freedom."

In Florida we have another instance. The United States purchased Florida from Spain for $5,000,000, and Osceola, like your friend, Aguinaldo, rebelled against the government of the Seminoles, which was followed by a war that became almost a war of extermination. It was carried on by General Jackson, a democratic president. And he did not ask the Seminoles to consent whether they wanted to be governed. He had them whipped into subjection and then he deported them. They were deported first to Georgia and Alabama and finally across the Mississippi into the wilderness, where they have been kept. And the Indian Territory for nearly 100 years has been governed by congress without a delegate in congress, without any representation and certainly not with their own consent. But let us go further. Look at the District of Columbia, which contains more than 300,000 people. In

(Continued on Twentieth Page.)

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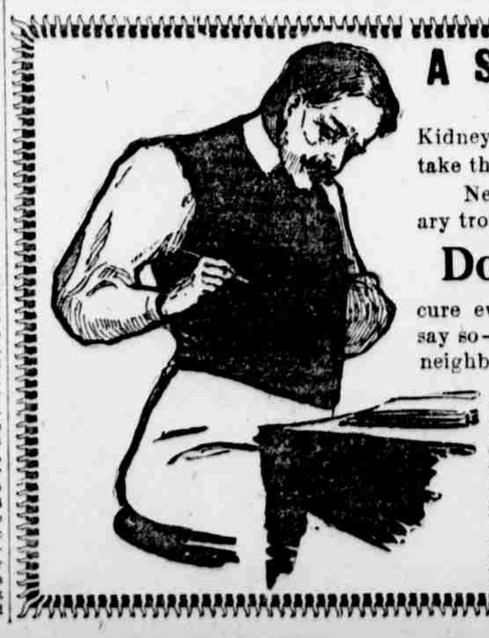

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