

# The Oregonian

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TODAY'S WEATHER:—Increasing cloudiness, probably followed by rain; winds mostly southerly.

### PORTLAND, TUESDAY, NOVEMBER 6

#### THE MEANING OF THE CONTEST.

Shall we reopen the monetary agitation? The country knows through bitter experience what that agitation portend, down to the election of McKinley on a gold platform, four years ago.

The Bryan party, its candidate and its platform, are pledged to renewal of this agitation. Let no man say it is an imaginary danger. The party has declared for it, in strongest terms. The candidate stands for it. Are not candidate and platform to be taken at what they say? True, C. E. S. Wood and some others say not. But who has authorized them to declare that the great body of their political associates are liars?

Four years ago the country didn't want the party that declared for free silver. That party now renews its declaration for free silver. Does the country want it now?

There is, moreover, in the platform of the Bryan party now the same declaration for free silver that so offended the country four years ago, and the same menace to the Federal courts that then alarmed the country.

The platform of 1896, which the country rejected by an overwhelming vote, has been reaffirmed in its entirety by the Bryan party, and is again the issue in the election today. The country rejected it then, and has seen the result in a period of order, fruitful industry and high prosperity. Why, therefore, shouldn't the country reject it again?

The great body of active, prudent and industrious men, in every line of business, industry or action, is for McKinley. There are exceptions, of course, but they are comparatively few. On the other hand, the great body of men who do not make prudent and calculated little, who lack efficiency and run to thriftlessness, is for Bryan. Every person sees this general line of division. Men who have little or nothing to lose, who have small hopes and smaller ambitions, who do not feel the responsibilities of affairs and accustom themselves to the idea that their non-success is the result of wrongs committed against them by other men, or by society and government, are voting for Bryan, while those who look for their resources within themselves and are willing to pay and expect to pay the price of success in prudent and calculated effort, are against him. It is a line of division never seen so clearly hitherto in our politics. Bryan's methods have forced it and drawn the line.

The next great matter at issue is the Philippine Islands. Pretense is set up on our work there is a crusade against liberty. This is partisan declamation. No man really believes it. We shall put human rights and self-government in the Philippines on a better basis than the natives ever could or can, without our aid. Through the presence of our flag in the Philippines and through our sovereignty over the islands, civilization, with liberty and humanity, will be immensely the gainer.

This is the first phase of the Philippine question. We pass to the next one. Shall we surrender the Philippine Islands, withdraw from them and forfeit the immense advantage they offer us, not only in themselves for commerce, but as a position of influence and ever-growing power, in the opening trade of the Orient?

This is a vital matter to our Pacific States. He is no friend to their development who would throw this opportunity away. Thus far we have had little here, and the trade of the Orient is our only hopeful prospect.

But the Bryan politician will ask: Is trade to be set against liberty and civilization? No. Our position in the Philippines will make for liberty and for civilization as well as for trade—though not for savage warfare or free riot.

National reputation, National honor, too, our standing before the world, are very much at stake in this enterprise. It is a question whether we are actu-

ated by a spirit of courage or not; whether our spirit partakes of the world-spirit, or is merely a provincial spirit; whether we are a people to be daunted by the first considerable undertaking in which fortune, opportunity, course of National events, contact with the outer world, have carried us, or whether we are a people of courage, resolution and purpose. Disguise it as we may, there would be shame and humiliation for us before the world, in withdrawal from the Philippine Islands. It would be a confession of National defeat—the first this country can know.

These are the main issues on which the electoral contest of today is made up. We shall see what the electoral majority has to say upon them.

A WORLD IS WAITING. In the result of today's election the whole country is concerned; but no other portion has so much at stake on the result as has the Pacific Coast. The silver basis would hurt us less than it would hurt the East, because of our habitual use of gold and the national disgrace of those who "greenbacked" their creditors, the last era of debased currency. But the verdict of the country upon the Administration's foreign policy, if adverse, would affect us more disastrously than any other section.

And for two reasons, one immediate and one remote. The immediate effect would be to discourage our newly established trade with Asia. Under cover of the American occupation of Manila goods have been introduced into unfriendly territory, the Philippines, making widened markets for our manufactures and thus affording increased employment for our labor. The election of Bryan would put the seal of disapproval upon all this activity, and give notice to our capital and our factories that they must turn their attention to the home field with increasing severity of competition, diminishing markets and shrinking profits.

More remote but more profound will be the effect upon international relations. When we consider the great forward movements undertaken under President McKinley's Administration, not only acquisition of new territory, but self-assertion in the Asiatic field for trade, and reflect that the election of Bryan would put the stamp of disapproval and rejection upon this whole tendency, we can understand why it is, as the London cable announces, that Europe has stopped work and sits down to await the result. The reason for this suspense is that the whole forward movement of the last two years, as represented in the treaty of Paris, Pacific expansion and Secretary Hay's demand for the open door in China, is called in question by the Bryan party and will be repudiated by its success.

Ordinarily, no nation ever confronts a crisis of this kind, because the general policy recognized as paramount by both parties in Great Britain, for example, both great parties stand for the greatness of the empire and the maintenance of its prestige politically and commercially, and differ in their proposals of means to ends. It is only in this country that partisanship, instructed to unstatesmanlike hands, declares war on National greatness, elevates National failure and calamity to the dignity of a civic ideal, and points with the finger of denunciation at the force of the United States.

Ordinarily, both parties are for National success if the Nation is at war, and they differ as to the shortest way to victory; but in this case one side is for the Nation and the other for its enemies.

Ordinarily, each side rejoices in the country's greatness and prosperity, and the quarrel is as to its causes; but in this case the country's greatness is viewed with alarm, its success is denied, its prosperity hoisted al.

Ordinarily, each side glories in the country's honor and prestige abroad and vies with the other in pledges of greater achievement; but in this case one side is for humbling the Nation, traducing the Army and boldly defends the principle of hauling down the flag.

It is a strange thing that party opposition should carry a party to the extreme lengths of antagonism to which the country has made, both in territory and in influence among the nations. But it has been done, and that is why the world stands still to see what the verdict will be.

Our European rivals never had the concern about an American election that they have about this one. They know that in our withdrawal from a strong position in the Pacific will come their unimpeded opportunity in Asia. They know that a removal of the policies maintained by McKinley, Hay, Root, Long, Smith and Griggs will be the signal for withdrawal of the United States from self-assertion in the contest for trade, and abandonment of the field to its rivals.

The proud position which American arms and American diplomacy have won for us the past two years is distasteful to the Bryan party, and will be abandoned by it if put in power. To that it is committed, and the world needs a plain talker on this point. It work done by Dewey and Gridley, Sampson and Schley, Otis and Lawton, Schurman and Worcester, Anderson and MacArthur, Hay and Root, Roosevelt and Wheeler, Wood and Summers, Funston and Stotsenberg, will be undone as quickly as possible by Bryan and Stevenson, Jones and Croker, Tillman and Algeid. Truly, it is not worth while to do much until the question is decided.

#### PROOF OF PROSPERITY.

Poor's report of the earnings of railroads in this country in 1899 deals with enormous figures. These earnings in total were \$1,238,960,000, or \$264,741,864, less than to the time the record closed the greatest record of earnings ever made by American railroads. As this has also been a notable railroad year, the figures for 1900 will no doubt show an increase over the phenomenal earnings of last year.

These figures tell a story of prosperity that is by no means confined to the railroads. The enormous volume of business was possible because the people were buying, selling and traveling as never before in the history of the country. They have had money and they have used it in traffic and in travel. Proof of this was and still may be found in crowded passenger cars, in enormous freight trains and in the unparalleled activity on every road. Simply stated, the country is producing and spending at a rate unequalled heretofore, and the earnings of the rail-

roads show but one phase of the general prosperity. Suggestive of another phase is the large difference between the gross and the net earnings, which represent, among other things, millions of dollars paid to railway employees. There is no such thing as a one-sided prosperity. Not all the rant indulged in Bryan in a thousand speeches can improve this simple statement or dispel its logic. A wheel within a wheel—wheels within wheels—from factory to market, from producer to consumer, from the capitalist who furnishes the plan to the humblest employee who finds therein a market for his skill or his brains—all turn upon a common pivot, and, turning, produce prosperity all along the line.

The Russian Government has in course of promulgation a tariff on imports into her Asiatic possessions, the object of which is to monopolize the trade for her own people. It is the policy which France employed to destroy our flourishing trade with Madagascar, and which Germany is using to cripple American exports to her empire. It is faithful indication of the policy European powers, with the possible exception of Great Britain, may with certainty be expected to employ against us in Asiatic territory, wherever not restrained by our diplomacy or our arms.

The race for markets has become very fierce among the highly civilized nations, and the activities of the great powers are directed to little else nowadays but the conservation of fields for investment of accumulated home capital and for sale of the rapidly increasing surplus of home manufactures. Every great nation is now making tremendously more goods than it can consume at home. Every great nation has immensely greater accumulations of savings than it can employ at a profit at home. Outside openings for its capital, outside markets for its manufactures, are a necessity, unless its capital is to become unproductive, unless its labor is to be thrown out of employment.

The most potent fact of this critical situation is that the only basis of effective assertion and protest in these matters rests on physical force, the laboring discipline of a power without fleet or army, navy, base or coaling stations, is impotent. If American capital is to share in the task of civilizing Asia with railroads, canals, roads, bridges and factories, its rights and its equal privilege with other capital must be guaranteed it by the United States Government, through retention of the Philippines and the maintenance of adequate naval and military force in Pacific waters. If the markets of awakening Asia are to be kept open to American manufacturers, the representations of our diplomats must be backed up with possession of the Philippines, with possession of army and navy adequate to enforce whatever those representations involve. This is the way other powers do, this is the way we ourselves have always had to do. For us to demand rights or protest against discriminations, without the equipment and military base to make those demands and protests effective, would only be to excite derision.

The prosperity of Oregon wheatgrowers and flour mills, loggers and lumber mills, hog growers and breweries, stockmen and meat packers, cracker factories and cordage works, woolgrowers and woolen mills, with all their employes and retail tradesmen, is largely in the hands of the United States Government, and depends largely upon the attitude and purposes of the Administration concerning Pacific expansion and Asiatic markets. The Bryan programme is a direct attack on the welfare of the Pacific Coast.

#### THE REAL BRYAN.

When Bryan was candidate for United States Senator from Nebraska in 1894, he announced among other things that he favored an income tax; the operation of the telegraph system by the general Government; such legislation as will hereafter prohibit the making of contracts for a particular kind of money; the issue of the paper money of the country by the general Government, in shape of full legal-tender paper; the immediate restoration of the free and unlimited coinage of silver at present ratio of 16 to 1 without waiting for the aid or consent of any other nation on earth.

It is included in his platform today, for September 4, at Zanesville, O., that year, when it was the money question. He was admitted to the bar at Lincoln, Neb., in 1885, when he was 25 years old. At the end of three years he had no practice whatever; he could not afford to practice law; for he had found out that he had a large mouth that had been put on melting hot and had run all over him. It was such mouth that Shakespeare makes Paulinobridge impute to the Duke of Austria—

That splits teeth and draws mountains, rocks and seas, Talks as familiarly of roasting lions, As made of thirteen do of puppy-dogs; What cannoner gets this lusty blood? He speaks plain cannon fire, and smoke and bounce.

He gave the bastinado with his tongue; Our ears are outgirded.

Zones! I was never so befooled with words. Since I first called my brother's father dad, I have made a reputation for myself. At the end of three years this large mouth had made Bryan a candidate for Congress. He was elected, and served four years. Since that time Bryan has had no law office, but has been traveling over the country making political speeches. At the time he entered politics his father-in-law built him a house, but he himself was worth \$50,000, and, except for what he has made by speaking and lecturing and on his book, or what has been given him by his free-silver friends, he is not worth, outside of the home built for him, more than \$500 today. He was 40 years old last March; he has never been retained in a case of any importance, and is utterly without any reputation for ability in his profession. He has never been connected with or placed in touch with any commercial, manufacturing or financial enterprise whatever. He never saw any service in the State Legislature before he went to Congress. And yet this man, without any standing in his profession, without any experience with or knowledge of the world of business affairs, without any acquired intelligence or thorough education, is put forward by the National Demo-Populist party as fitted to assume the duties of the President of this country, the greatest Nation on earth!

Bryan's whole stock in trade lies in the gurglings of his mouth, the megalomaniac quality of his voice and the plenteous of his oratorical gale. He is a political agitator and social incendiary, utterly unqualified and unfit to be placed in the Presidential chair. Bryanism as expounded by Bryan—calls Sydney Smith's humorous denunciation of the solar system: "Damn the solar system; bad lights, planets too distant, pestered with comets, feeble contrivance."

Bryan favors the adoption of a "compulsory arbitration law" by Congress. Of course, compulsory arbitration is a curtailment of the right of freedom of contract. The Constitution of the United States would have to be changed; the whole theory and practice of the American Government would have to be changed, and if this took place the Government Board of Arbitration would have the pay of the workmen and business of the employer both at its mercy. Even today, while the employer keeps his contract with the employee and does break his contract, the employees demand that the employer be compelled to break their contracts with the Pullman Company, contracts equally binding in law and in morals. Demagogue Bryan knows perfectly well that arbitration between employer and employee can only be voluntary. He knows that compulsory arbitration could not be enforced any more than you can force in practice today a workman to keep his contract, you cannot. Compulsory arbitration would mean to deny to the owners of capital invested in railroads, manufacturing, etc., the liberty of making their own bargains. This would make capital spurn investment. The goose that laid the golden egg would fly to other countries, leaving the mass of labor with nothing to do but to ask one another whether after all National unity is a blessing when consequent upon the expropriation, and ultimate extinction, of capital.

#### THE PARAMOUNT ISSUE.

"IF THERE IS ANY ONE WHO BELIEVES THE GOLD STANDARD IS A GOOD THING, OR THAT THE MONEY QUESTION IS A BURNING ISSUE, I WANT HIM NOT TO CAST HIS VOTE FOR ME, BECAUSE I PROMISE HIM IT WILL BE MY LAST THING SAID IN THIS COUNTRY LONGER THAN I AM ABLE TO GET RID OF IT."

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, KNOXVILLE, TENN., SEPT. 16, 1898.

"I WANT TO TELL YOU WHAT I TOLD OTHERS: THAT IF YOU THINK THE GOLD STANDARD IS ABSOLUTELY NECESSARY TO MAKE A GREAT MISTAKE IF YOU VOTE FOR ME, BECAUSE IF I CAN HELP THE GOLD STANDARD YOU WILL STAY IN THIS COUNTRY FOR ONE MONTH."

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, MEMPHIS, TENN., OCT. 5, 1896.

"THE PARTY STANDS WHERE IT DID IN 1892 ON THE MONEY QUESTION."

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, ZANESVILLE, O., SEPT. 4, 1900.

"WE ARE IN FAVOR OF THE FREE COINAGE OF SILVER BY THE AID OR CONSENT OF ANY OTHER NATION ON EARTH."

WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN, ANN ARBOR, MICH., OCT. 11, 1890.

Very few are apprehensive that the country will go to the devil if McKinley is elected. Everybody knows better, because we are farther from the devil than we were four years ago. But very many are laboring under the conscious obligation of proving that the country will not go to the devil if Bryan is elected. In other words, Bryanism is apprehensive that we are trying with might and main not to be. Their paramount argument now has come to be that destiny never has hinged upon the event of an election, and that we are unjustified in attaching so much importance to the outcome. This is very good argument. An election is important because it is not important. If Jefferson had not been elected, he would not have bought Louisiana. If that is not important, if Monroe had not been elected, he would not have bought Florida. But that is not important. If Jackson had not been elected, he would not have quelled the South Carolina nullifiers. But that is not important. If Lincoln had not been elected, he would not have spoken for human rights. However, all these things are of no importance. The election of a President is the most trifling thing in the world, as everybody proves by taking such momentous interest in it.

The day for which all other days in American politics was made has dawned. The American citizen will be out en masse from morn till noon, from noon till deep eve, laboring with voice and ballot to "save the Republic." And it will be saved—whatever may be disclosed by the count, though in the event of the triumph of Bryanism it may have such mouth that Shakespeare makes Paulinobridge impute to the Duke of Austria—

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such isolation there is inevitable decay. Our country is great; yet it must find room for its super-abounding energies in the outer world. Expansion is the law of National life. When the National forces that make for expansion cease to exist, National decline has already set in.

It's a sordid man who wants to know about the dollar. And yet Bryan has managed about the \$100,000,000 of more per year it will cost to stay in the Philippines. If there is sordidness anywhere, it is in Bryan's list to be President. The question of \$100,000,000 is a bagatelle compared with that of the value of the dollar. Bryan advocates a discount of 80 per cent on all debts, public and private. Sordid, indeed, the desire of the creditor and the laborer to know whether they will be paid in 50-cent dollars. Why does he refuse to answer the question rather in sordid. We ought to be willing to throw away \$100,000,000 yearly rather than to lose 50 cents on every dollar we earn.

The prohibition leaders have made themselves and the rank and file of their party happy by an estimate of from 300,000 to 500,000 votes today. What they see in the way of victory in these figures is impossible for a practical mind to understand. Yet they are gleeful in the prospect, and proclaim their determination to go marching on and at the end of each campaign "line up and be counted."

Bryan's announcement that, if elected, he would appoint a man for Commissioner of Pensions "more satisfactory to the pensioners than the Republican incumbent" means that he would appoint a Pension Commissioner who will turn a blind eye to improper and dishonest applications. The pledge is in line with the rest of Bryan's flagrant, dishonest demagoguery.

Vote in the precinct where you are registered. If you have moved away from it you can still vote there, in this election. If you are not registered in the precinct where you offer your vote, you must have the attention of election inspectors. With such proof you can vote in any precinct.

While it is true that the Kentucky General Assembly passed a new election law practically repealing the Goebel law, it does not become a law until ninety days from date, so that the election today in Kentucky will be held under the Goebel law.

John McCracken is Republican candidate to fill the Legislative vacancy in this country. He should not be overlooked at the polls today. So place an X before his name, as well as before the Republican Electors'.

Bryan asks men to vote for him on the ground that they have less wealth than some other men. The reason seems inadequate.

The letter of General Lawton is an impressive commentary on the modern copperhead character.

The South does not believe in Bryan. It is only the color question that keeps it "solid" for him.

#### ESTIMATES ON THE VOTE.

How Republicans Expect the Election to Result.

The number of votes in the Electoral College, and Republican estimates as to their distribution, are shown by the following:

STATES FOR McKinley: California, 21; New Jersey, 19; Connecticut, 9; North Dakota, 3; Delaware, 3; Oregon, 3; Illinois, 12; Pennsylvania, 23; Michigan, 11; South Dakota, 3; Kansas, 6; Nebraska, 7; Kentucky, 8; Indiana, 11; Maine, 4; Maryland, 6; Massachusetts, 11; Wisconsin, 12; Minnesota, 10; Nevada, 3. Electoral votes, 231.

STATES FOR Bryan: Alabama, 10; North Carolina, 11; Arkansas, 7; Tennessee, 11; Florida, 11; Texas, 10; Louisiana, 10; Mississippi, 7; Missouri, 10; Montana, 3. Electoral votes, 115.

STATES FOR Bryan: Colorado, 5; Nevada, 3; Missouri, 10; Nebraska, 7. Electoral votes, 25. Total electoral votes, 256; necessary to elect, 128.

Bishop Potter on Our Task in the Far East.

I would not minimize the difficulties or the costliness of the task. I have elected that in these papers for it. But a considerable number of our countrymen inadequately consists rather our instruments than in the absence of those informing principles which must forever determine the value of any instruments, and which are forever at the foundation of all good government. The greatest glory, as a history of administration, of our Civil War was that after we had blundered, and had bred swindling contractors and shoddy manufacturers and smuggling and incompetent Generals, like some great creature breathing the waves, we shook ourselves free from them, and rose above them, and did the task, and fed and moved the armies, and fought our battles, better and better. And best of all, we searched for and found the men, and lifted them from their obscurity, and put them at the head of our army and successors—who did the thinking and planned the marching, and fed and moved the armies that went through to victory. I am not one of those who believe that the people of the United States have lost the capacity to repeat such achievements. There are many who would never regret our original blunder in the Philippine Islands. But they are not so deploring of their country as to believe that she is so far gone from original righteousness that she has no virtue left with which to educate those distant islands for freedom; and meanwhile it is just as well to remember that her Republic has never estimated that the Government has any other purpose in regard to them.

But we shall gravely blunder if we minimize the magnitude of the difficult tasks which are before us. There are influences that will tempt the leaders of political parties to do this, which it would be the crudest folly to ignore. If we are ever to win the confidence and mold the characters of these island peoples we must recognize the injustices from which too long they have suffered, and set about to right them. We must not with our hands proffer them freedom, freedom of thought, freedom of speech, freedom of worship—and take it back with the other. Our task, at the best, in the Philippine Islands are not easy. It will be necessary, at the outset, to have it definitely understood that they are not to be obstructed by influences and speculations of whomsoever named for mischief and corruption in the history of the Philippine Islands is the melancholy and tragic record.

#### REVIEW AND FORECAST.

##### An Article Worth Reading on the Contest Today.

The Brooklyn Eagle is one of the great and widely known Democratic journals that have steadily opposed Bryan. Following paragraphs are from an editorial review by it of the political field and its forecast for today:

Looking back on the debate from this point, one sees that the two strongest principles in Bryan have been expansion and honest money. We put them side by side, though others would reverse it. We are satisfied that while both are strong with the people, the expansion principle occupies the honest money principle in their minds. They are familiar with the honest-money principle. They affirmed it once and intended to affirm it again. They believe that it would do away with all opponents and conditions. But while they like it, they know it, and they have it. Hence they put it in the surer, and find the prospect of expansion a somewhat attractive and commanding idea to which they have given careful examination, and upon which they mean decisively to express their mandate.

The hopes of the Bryanites and the fears of the Republicans centered more on expansion than on honest money. To those hopes have come some frustration. To those fears some relief. Both were groundless. The Democratic party was the expansion party from the beginning of the campaign until this campaign. To appeal to its latent expansion or to expect it to unite against expansion was as foolish as to expect the Republican party to unite against honest money. It was the expansion party that was the party of its own record more shallow. A discovery of this nature is that while the people of the South are more unanimous for expansion than the people of Pennsylvania are for honest money.

For Republicans to fear the affirmative of this issue was futile, and should have been foreseen. It is an issue that has been with them since it was ever rejected by the American people. No politics against honest money has ever been endorsed by them. Our best sense and our best judgment tell us that we must have a certain amount of honest money. But the success of our cause, the power of our flag, and the authority of our Government are not to be destroyed by any party to be for those things in a way to make the other chargeable with being against them was simply extraordinary.

It is the original and consistent anti-expansionist, whether naming demagogues or sassy sentimentalists, see that expansion is the dominating and triumphant note of the campaign. The Democratic party is plain from their concerted and cunning endeavor to suggest that no expansion, but honest money, will account for Mr. McKinley's success, and that will out of the account of honest money, to the reluctant support of many anti-expansionists, who will preserve their issue and their attitude tenderly until after the polls are closed. This defensive plea should fool none, and will fool few. It is all consistent, those who make it, by softening their fall or turning the reality importance, well enough for them and ill to nobody. The party will rally as adherents, but it will be successful, and honestly expand to its logical consequences.

Resisting the honest-money issue and issuing the anti-expansion issue, Bryanism as it issues out into the campaign, is making a tremendous war on what it calls "trusts." Mr. Hanna was technically absolutely right when he said: "There are no trusts. Those who have called for them are themselves woefully arid by the meaning of words, or they have hoped by noise in the misuse of trust money in the use of terms. We care not, however, to stand on terms. What were trusts have become corporations. What are corporations stand in the way of just what machinery stands in the way of the growth of the American people, after the polls are closed. This defensive plea should fool none, and will fool few. It is all consistent, those who make it, by softening their fall or turning the reality importance, well enough for them and ill to nobody. The party will rally as adherents, but it will be successful, and honestly expand to its logical consequences.

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