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# The Astorian

VOL. L.

ASTORIA, OREGON, THURSDAY, AUGUST 9, 1900.

NO. 827



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## BRYAN TELLS THE COUNTRY WHAT TO DO WITH THE PHILIPPINE ISLANDS

A Few Observations Upon the Question Which is Declared to Be of Paramount Importance in This Campaign.

### "CONTEST IS BETWEEN DEMOCRACY AND PLUTOCRACY"

"Republican Platform Devoted to Boasting and Self-Congratulation"—Bears Come in for a Little Sympathy—He Gives His Reasons for Upholding the Treaty With Spain —Says the Bacon Resolution Would Have Prevented Bloodshed—If Elected He Will Call a Special Session of Congress.

INDIANAPOLIS, Ind., Aug. 8.—William Jennings Bryan, of Nebraska, and Adlai E. Stevenson, of Illinois, were notified of their nomination for the offices of president and vice-president of the Republic in Military Park, shortly after 2:30 o'clock this afternoon. Thousands of people witnessed the ceremonies. Senator James K. Jones, chairman of the Democratic national committee, was introduced by Mayor Taggart as presiding officer. Senator Jones, in a brief speech, introduced Congressman James B. Richardson, of Tennessee. Congressman Richardson was received with wild cheers as he mounted the stand to officially notify Mr. Bryan of the fact that he had been selected as presidential nominee of the Democratic convention at Kansas City.

When Mr. Bryan rose to reply, a demonstration occurred which perhaps has never been equaled in this city. When order was finally restored, Mr. Bryan began his address, which was of considerable length. Cheer upon cheer greeted him at every telling period. He spoke as follows:

"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 our country a contest of plutocracy 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 1859 Lincoln said that the Republican party believed in the man and the dollar, but that in case of conflict he believed in the man before the dollar. This is the proper relation which should exist between the two. Man, the handiwork of God, comes first; money, the handiwork of man, is of inferior importance. Man is the master; money the servant. But upon all important questions today, Republican legislation tends to make money the master and man the 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.

"The Democratic party is not making war upon the honest acquisition of wealth; it has no desire to discourage industry, economy and thrift. On the contrary it gives to every citizen the greatest possible stimulus to honest toil, when it promises him protection in the enjoyment of the proceeds of his labor. Property rights are most secure when human rights are respected. Democracy strives for a civilization in which every member of society will share according to his merits.

"No one has a right to expect from society more than a fair compensation for the service which he renders to society. If he secures more, it is at the expense of some other member of the community. 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.'

"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 the 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 objections which are urged against a large increase in the permanent military establishment; Republicans who extolled our independence when the nation was less powerful now look with favor upon a foreign alliance; Republicans who three years ago condemned 'forcible annexation' as immoral and even criminal, are now sure that it is both immoral and sinful to oppose forcible 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 to 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 consisted of boasting and self-congratulation.

"In attempting to press economic questions upon the country to the exclusion of those which involve the very rights of man, the Republican party has evaded the stupendous and far-reaching issue which they have deliberately brought into the arena of politics. When the president, supported by the administration, has entered upon a war with Spain for the purpose of aiding the struggling patriots of Cuba, the country without regard to party applauded, and the Democrats recognized the fact that the administration would necessarily gain a political advantage from the conduct of a war which, in the very nature of the case, must soon end in a victory for the administration.

"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 the administration, has entered upon a war with Spain for the purpose of aiding the struggling patriots of Cuba, the country without regard to party applauded, and the Democrats recognized the fact that the administration would necessarily gain a political advantage from the conduct of a war which, in the very nature of the case, must soon end in a victory for the administration.

"The menace of imperialism became so apparent that many preferred to reject the treaty and risk the ill that might follow rather than take the chance of conceding the errors of the treaty by the independent action of this country.

"It was among the number of those who believed it better to ratify the treaty and end the war, release the volunteers, reduce the expense of war expenditures and then give to the Philippines the independence which might be forced from Spain by a new treaty. In view of the criticism which my action aroused in some quarters, I take this occasion to re-state the reasons given at that time. I thought it safer to trust the American people to give independence to the Philippine Islands than the accomplishment of that purpose to diplomacy with an unfriendly nation. Lincoln embodied an argument in the question, when he asked, 'Can aliens make laws which our 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. This question is settled. A clean-cut issue is presented between a government by consent and a government by force and imperialism must bear the responsibility for all that happens in 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 Philippines on the same terms that it was promised to the Cubans. I supported this resolution and believe that its adoption at any subsequent time would have ended the war.

"If the treaty had been rejected, considerable time would have necessarily elapsed before a new treaty could have been agreed upon and ratified, and during that time the question would have been agitating the public mind. If the Bacon resolution had been adopted by the senate and carried out by the president, either at the time of the ratification of the treaty or at any time afterwards it would have taken the question of imperialism out of politics and left the American people free to deal with their domestic problems. But the resolution was defeated by the vote of the Republican vice-president, and from that time to this a Republican congress has refused to take any action whatever in the matter.

"When hostilities broke out at Manila, the question was settled. Republican editors at once sought to lay the blame upon those who had delayed the ratification of the treaty and during the progress of the war, the same Republicans advised the opponents of imperialism of giving encouragement to the Philippines. This is a cowardly evasion of responsibility. If it is right for the United States to hold the Philippine Islands permanently by the aid of European empires in the government of colonies, the Republican party ought to state its position and defend it, but it must expect the subject raised to protest every word written or spoken in defense of the extent of their ability. The Philippines do not need any encouragement from Americans now living. Our whole history has been an encouragement to the Philippines to free themselves from a yoke which they never had in their own government.

"If the Republicans are prepared to ensure all who have used language calculated to make the Philippines hate foreign rule, let them condemn the speech of Patrick Henry. When he uttered that passionate appeal, 'Give me liberty or give me death,' he expressed a sentiment which still echoes in the hearts of men. Let some member of Congress of all the statesmen of history, none have used words so offensive to those who would hold their fellows in political bondage. Let them condemn Washington, let them condemn the orators must choose between liberty and slavery. Or, if the statute of limitations has run against the sins of Henry and Jefferson and Washington, let a secular 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 and the navy are the only forces which will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. The government which relies for its defense upon its citizens is more likely to be just than one which has at call a large body of professional soldiers. A small standing army and a well equipped and well disciplined state militia are sufficient in ordinary times, and in an emergency the nation should in the future as in the past rely upon its dependence upon the citizenry who come forward to occupy their country's call and return to productive labor when their services are no longer required—men who flow at their country's call and return to work when the country needs workers.

"The Republican platform assumes that the Philippines shall be retained under American sovereignty, and we have a right to demand that the Republican leaders a discussion of the future status of the Philippine. 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 negatives this idea.

"The Democratic platform describes the situation when it says that the Philippines cannot be citizens without endangering our civilization. Who will dispute it? And why? The Philippines are not to be a citizen, shall we make him a subject? On that question the Democratic platform speaks with emphasis. It declares that the Philippines 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, and the Philippines government rests upon 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 Philippines) 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 position 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 ever promised a bad government to his people? Did not the English government promise the colonists should have the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and English duties? Did not the Spanish government promise to give to the Cubans the largest measure of self-government consistent with their welfare and Spanish duties?

"The whole difference between a monarchy and a republic may be summed up in one sentence. In a monarchy the king gives to the people what he believes to be a good government; in a republic the people secure for themselves what they believe to be a good government. The Republican party has adopted the European idea and placed itself upon ground taken by George III and by every ruler who distrusts the capacity of the people to self-government or denies them a voice in their own affairs.

"The Republican platform promises that some measure of self-government is to be given to the Philippines by law; but even this pledge is not fulfilled. Nearly sixteen months elapsed after the ratification of the treaty before the adjournment of congress last June and yet no law was passed dealing with the Philippine situation. The will of the president has been the only law in the Philippines islands wherever the American authority extends.

"Why does the Republican party bear 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 dare cultivate it and have the physical power to acquire it cannot be used to justify the appropriation of the Philippine Islands by the United States. If the islands were uninhabited American 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 in the same latitude. The Netherlands have controlled Java for three hundred years and yet today there are less than 50,000 people of European birth scattered among 60,000,000 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 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, a few lease masters 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. If we have an imperial policy we must have a large standing army as its natural and necessary accompaniment. 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 5, 1898, the president asked for authority to increase the standing army to 100,000. In 1898 the army contained only 25,000 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 when not a hand was raised against the United States in any part of the world. If such an army is demanded when an imperial policy is contemplated, but not openly avowed, what can 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 and the navy are the only forces which will inevitably change the ideals of the people and turn the thoughts of our young men from the arts of peace to the science of war. The government which relies for its defense upon its citizens is more likely to be just than one which has at call a large body of professional soldiers. A small standing army and a well equipped and well disciplined state militia are sufficient in ordinary times, and in an emergency the nation should in the future as in the past rely upon its dependence upon the citizenry who come forward to occupy their country's call and return to work when the country needs workers.

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## COMMANDER IN CHIEF CHOSEN

Field Marshal Count Von Waldersee of the German Army.

### MINISTERS CAN NOW CABLE

Italian Minister Said to Have Left Peking for Tien Tsin—British May Land Troops at Shanghai—Complications Threatened.

LONDON, Aug. 8.—Beyond the official dispatches given out yesterday morning, the papers contain no information of importance from China. Thanks to dispatches of Sir Claude MacDonald and Rear-Admiral Bruce, there is a general disposition to take a more hopeful view of the situation. The report of the appointment of Field Marshal Count Von Waldersee as commander in chief of the international forces meets with general approval.

The Rome correspondent of the Daily Mail announces the receipt there of official dispatches from the Italian minister in Peking, asserting that he left Peking July 31, presumably for Tien Tsin. This, however, is so utterly at variance with the action and intentions of the other ministers heard from, that it seems almost incredible.

If true, it opens up an interesting field of speculation concerning the fate of the Italian representative. The Chinese legation believes that the members of the foreign legations have not left Peking, but that they will do so, and declare that the edict would not have been issued had not the foreign ministers signified their willingness to accept an escort.

The Shanghai correspondent of the Daily News, writing yesterday, says: "United States Consul Goodnow strongly opposes Admiral Seymour's intention to land three thousand troops on the ground that such a move would not be warranted by the circumstances, and would be likely to create trouble. The French consul agrees to the arrangement, but says if the British land forces, the French will do likewise. The Austrians will also land men. My personal opinion is that the landing of troops here at the present moment would be a grave mistake."

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—The gravest apprehensions are felt here in official circles for the safety of the imprisoned ministers in Peking.

The alleged statement of Li Hung Chang that it is absolutely impossible for the allies to enter Peking to escort the ministers, Tien Tsin adds greatly to the strain of the situation. It clearly implies that the purpose of the Chinese government is to resist the advance of the allies. So far as known there is no purpose of calling a halt in the relief column which is not strong enough to maintain war against the Chinese kingdom for any great length of time, but heavy reinforcements are en route to China. Their arrival on the scene may alter the situation entirely and bring the obstinate Orientals to their senses.

It is the present situation, however, that worries the administration, and there is general opinion that it is not in a position to enforce its demands and bring the Chinese authorities to instant terms.

In the course of the next two months there will be about 6,000 American troops on Chinese soil, not counting many thousands more that could be transferred from the Philippines in case of necessity. The Chinese will be held to a strict accountability for any injury that may be sustained by American interests in the present crisis.

The receipt of a message from Minister Conger considered would mean certain death, brought matters to an acute stage. All day the cabinet officers who are in town have been consulting with one another, and the president has been communicated with by telegraph and telephone. The result it was announced that a message to the imperial government at Peking had been delivered to Minister Wu for transmission to his government.

The authorities of this government would not make public the text of this latest communication to China until Minister Wu had opportunity to forward it to his government. The message, according to the best information, informs that government that the removal of the restrictions upon communication with our minister, evidenced both by the receipt of Conger's message and the transmission of the edict of the fifth is very gratifying, but is not entirely in compliance with the actual demands of the president in his reply to China's appeal for mediation. The authorities consider the opening of communication with Minister Conger, therefore, only partially complies with the president's demands. With the Chinese government still under fire, the Chinese government cannot be said to have "moved all danger to their lives and liberty," and, moreover, so far as known here the Imperial authorities of China have made no efforts to communicate and co-operate with the relief expedition. The new demand upon the Chinese government is for a square-tabled compliance with these conditions.

CHE FOO, Aug. 7.—During the engagement Sunday which preceded the occupation of Pei Tsang by the allies, the Russians lost 500 killed and the British lost 50. The Germans and Japanese also lost heavily. The road to Peking is supposed to be open.

WASHINGTON, Aug. 8.—A reply has been sent to Minister Conger by the state department to the message received from him late yesterday. It advised that the government would not make public the text of this latest communication to China until Minister Wu had opportunity to forward it to his government. The message, according to the best information, informs that government that the removal of the restrictions upon communication with our minister, evidenced both by the receipt of Conger's message and the transmission of the edict of the fifth is very gratifying, but is not entirely in compliance with the actual demands of the president in his reply to China's appeal for mediation. The authorities consider the opening of communication with Minister Conger, therefore, only partially complies with the president's demands. With the Chinese government still under fire, the Chinese government cannot be said to have "moved all danger to their lives and liberty," and, moreover, so far as known here the Imperial authorities of China have made no efforts to communicate and co-operate with the relief expedition. The new demand upon the Chinese government is for a square-tabled compliance with these conditions.

## Sea Side Specialties

VERANDA FURNITURE CHAIRS AND SETTEES

A new line of these just received.

Steamer Chairs, Folding Camp Chairs, Canvas and Wire Cots always on hand.

## CHARLES HEILBORN & SON

(Continued on page 2.)

(Continued on fourth page.)